

# A History of the Second Türk Empire (ca. 682–745 AD)

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*By*

Chen Hao



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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

*For my wife Martina and my son Peter*





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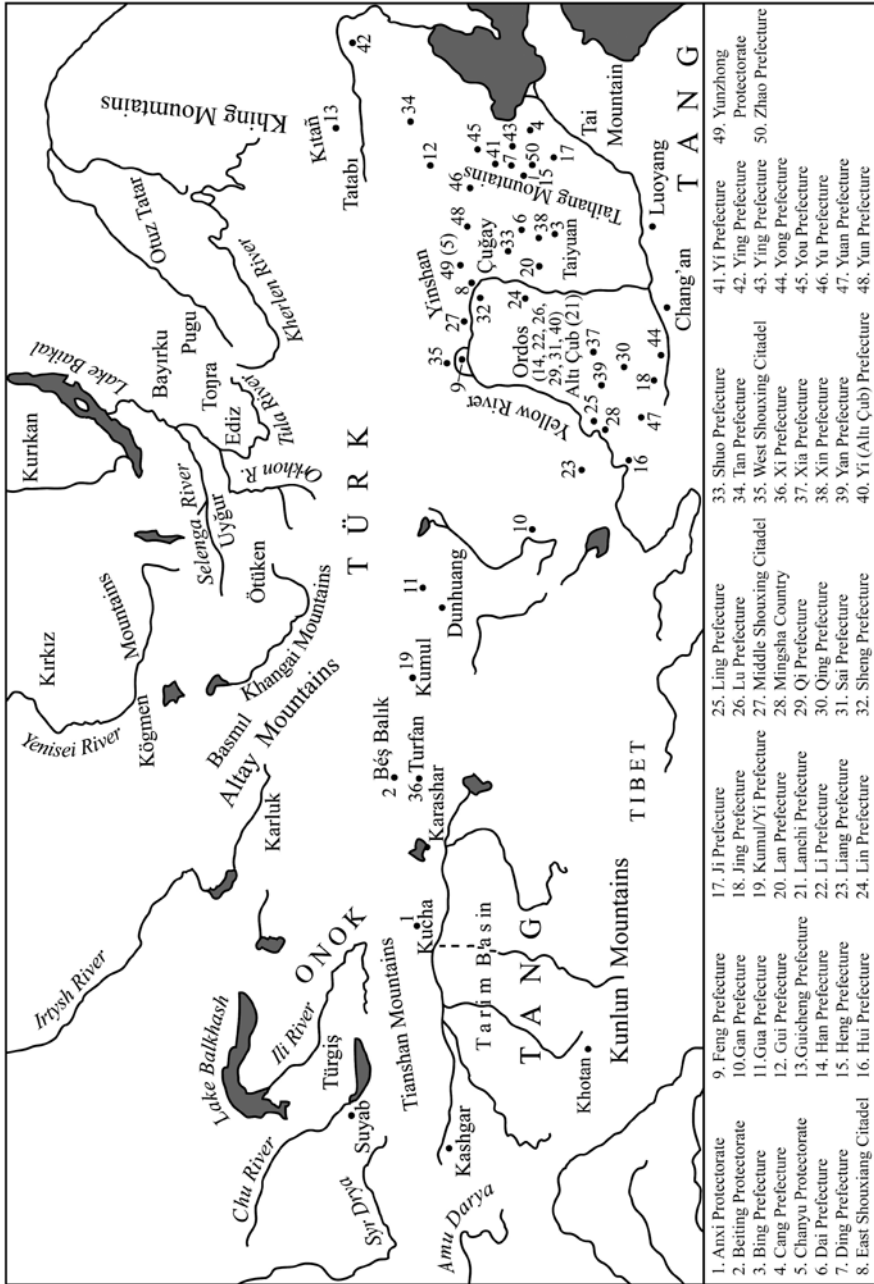
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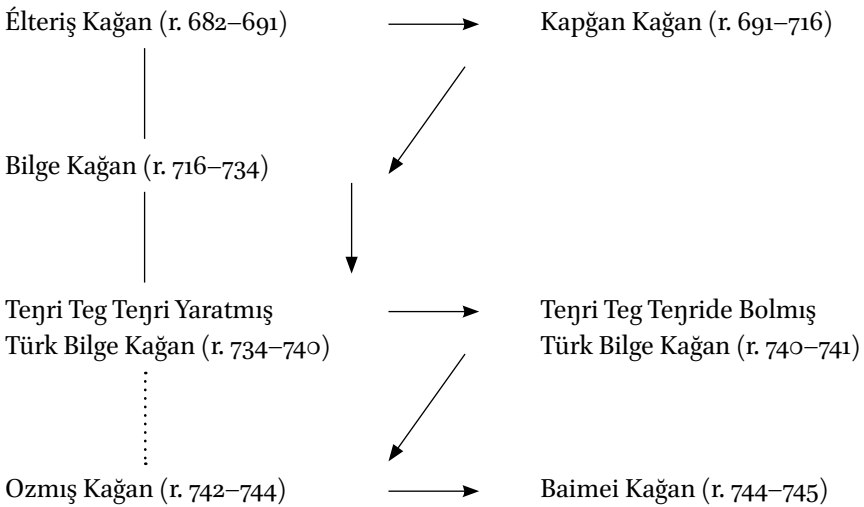
Finally, I want to thank my parents and my wife Martina A. Pittius, who quit her job in Berlin and moved to Shanghai with me. This book is dedicated to her and our lovely son, Peter.

# Map of the Second Türk Empire



# The Ruling Lineage of the Second Türk Empire (682–745 AD)

The direction of the arrows presents the sequence of the lineage. The persons appearing on the same line are brothers. The persons appearing on different lines are of different generations. A solid line means that the relationship between two persons is that of father and son. A dotted line means the relationship between the two persons is unclear.



# Abbreviations

AM	<i>Asia Major</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
AOH	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
APAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
B.	Bilge Kağan Inscription
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i>
BSOS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London</i>
CAJ	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
CFYG	<i>Cefu yuangui</i> 冊府元龜 ( <i>Prime Tortoise of the Record Bureau</i> )
CYQZ	<i>Chaoye qianzai</i> 朝野僉載 ( <i>Draft Notes from the Court and the Country</i> )
DLT	See Dankoff & Kelly 1982–1985
EMC	Early Middle Chinese
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSFOu	<i>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne/Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja</i>
JoTS	<i>Journal of Turkish Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Jiu Tangshu</i> 舊唐書 ( <i>Old History of the Tang Dynasty</i> )
K.	Kül Tëgin Inscription
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
MSFOu	<i>Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne/Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia</i>
OT	Old Turkic
QTW	<i>Quan Tangwen</i> 全唐文 ( <i>The Whole Collection of Tang Period Literature</i> )
QTWBY	<i>Quan Tangwen buyi</i> 全唐文補遺 ( <i>A Supplementary Collection of the QTW</i> )
T.	Toñukuk Inscription
TD	<i>Tongdian</i> 通典 ( <i>Comprehensive Institutions</i> )
TDA	<i>Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları</i>
TDAYB	<i>Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten</i>
TDED	<i>İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi</i>
THY	<i>Tang huiyao</i> 唐會要 ( <i>Institutional History of the Tang Dynasty</i> )
TL	<i>Turkic Languages</i>
TMEN	See Doerfer 1963–1975
TP	<i>T'oung Pao</i>
UAJb	<i>Ural-altaische Jahrbücher</i>
UAJb N. F.	<i>Ural-altaische Jahrbücher, Neue Folge</i>

WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
XTS	<i>Xin Tangshu</i> 新唐書 ( <i>New History of the Tang Dynasty</i> )
YYZZ	<i>Youyang zazu</i> 酉陽雜俎 ( <i>Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang</i> )
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZZTJ	<i>Zizhi tongjian</i> 資治通鑑 ( <i>Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance</i> )
ZS	<i>Zhoushu</i> 周書 ( <i>History of the Northern Zhou Dynasty</i> )

# Introduction

## 1 History of the Early Türks

During the second half of the 6th century, within the territory of the Rouran Empire arose a group of people who were famous for their technology as blacksmiths. They called themselves “Türk”,<sup>1</sup> which was transcribed into Chinese as Tujue (EMC: *dwət-kuat*).<sup>2</sup> According to Chinese sources, *tujue* means “helmet”.<sup>3</sup> Modern scholars generally interpret *türk* as “mighty, powerful, strong”.<sup>4</sup> A “surname” or “clan name” of this group can be found in Chinese sources: Ashina (EMC: *ʔa-ʂi'-na<sup>h</sup>*), the etymology of which still remains unclear, despite many attempts by scholars to solve this problem.<sup>5</sup>

Notwithstanding variant legendary tales about its origins, we are sure that this group had inhabited the southern slopes of the Altay Mountains for many generations. This new emerging people rapidly developed into a powerful force and soon replaced its old master, the Rouran, as a new hegemony on the steppe.

- 1 The original runiform spellings of this term are  $t^2w\ddot{r}^2k^w$  and  $t^2w\ddot{r}^2k^2$ . Theoretically, we can transcribe it as *türk*, *türük* or even *türkü*. The first form has been widely accepted by both academicians and popular readers. From the perspective of science alone, there are no solid grounds to exclude the other two possible transcriptions. The second form *türük*, for example, could be well explained by the replacement of *-rük-* for *-rk-*, which is still typical in the South-Siberian languages and in the northern Turkic languages. This information comes from my private communications with Prof. Schönig. As to the form *türük*, also see Tekin 1968: 387–388. If we take the Chinese transcription *tujue* (EMC: *dwət-kuat*) into consideration, the third form *türkü* also seems to be possible. Sir G. Clauson insisted that the original form of the ethnonym was *Türkü* (Clauson 1962: 84ff., Clauson 1972: 542).
- 2 Many scholars hold the opinion that the Chinese transcription *tujue* should be reconstructed as *\*türküt*, being a plural form of *türk* with either a Mongolian or Sogdian suffix (Marquart 1914: 72, Pelliot 1915: 687–689, Harmatta 1972: 263–273, Golden 1982: 40, Kasai 2012: 111–116). However, E. G. Pulleyblank, who was a specialist in Chinese language, argued that the Chinese form *tujue* was transcribed from *türk*, not *türküt* (Pulleyblank 1965: 121–125).
- 3 ZS 50: 907–908.
- 4 Thomsen 1924: 122, TMEN II: 483–495, Gabain 1974: 376.
- 5 H. Bailey implied that Ashina is probably from Khotanese Saka *āṣṣeina/āṣṣena* “blue” (Bailey 1985: 104). T. Moriyasu and Y. Yoshida claimed that they have found the Sogdian form of Ashina in the Bugut Inscription as *(ʔ)šy-n’s* (Moriyasu & Ochir 1999: 122–125). C. I. Beckwith maintains that this epithet or name is *Aršilas* or *Aršilaš* “the noble kings”, of Tocharian origin (Beckwith 1987: 206–208, Beckwith 2009: 138, 410–412, nn. 71, 72 and Beckwith 2016). According to the newest theory proposed by C. P. Atwood, Ashina and the Greek *Arsilas* are both cognate to Sanskrit *ṛṣi*, meaning “holy man”. In western Central Asia, the root was often pronounced *arshi-*, while the usual Chinese version is based on an older, eastern version, pronounced *ashi-*. With the Sanskrit suffixes *-la--na*, *-teg* and *-pit*, the root *ashi-* could be used to create new terms such as *Ashina*, *Ashide* and *Ashibi* (Atwood 2013: 68–78).

In the spring of 552, a Türk chief bestowed upon himself the title “kağan”, which represented the highest status in the political hierarchy in medieval Eurasia. In its heyday, the territory of the Türk Empire covered most of the Eurasian steppe. For the sake of efficient administration, the empire was divided into two parts, which gradually developed into two independent polities.

The Western Türk Empire, which was centered in Suyab in Central Asia, slowly lost its political and military importance and in later history its official designation became “On Ok” (lit. “ten arrows”). The Eastern Türk Empire was centered in the Mongolian Plateau and regarded by the Chinese government as the main threatening force. In 630, during a fierce battle, the eastern Türk kağan was captured by the Tang general, resulting in the instant collapse of the Eastern Türk Empire. As reparations of war, most of the Türk royal members spent the rest of their lives in the Tang capital city, while the common Türk soldiers were recruited into the Chinese army.

After a heated discussion on how to govern these Türk residents, the Tang government decided to settle them in the border regions and appointed chiefs from among them to govern them. However, about half a century later, a large number of the Türk officers who served on the Chinese frontier became politically awakened and started to strive for independence. After a couple of failures, in 682, under the leadership of Kutluğ, they finally managed to get rid of Chinese overlordship and revived their Türk Empire for a second time in history. The chronology and history of the Second Türk Empire is the topic of this book.

Élteriş Kağan, which was the official title of Kutluğ after his enthronement, decided on the Çuğay mountain forest as the base of his rebellious force against the Tang government. Since the Türk army consisted mainly of professional soldiers, they had to plunder the neighboring Chinese agrarian communities to support themselves. As the Tang government reinforced its defenses and the scale of the Türk army grew larger and larger, the Türks had to look for a more spacious place to settle down. The ideal place in the eyes of the Türk people was Ötüken, which had been the political center for the eastern Türks for a long time but at that time was occupied by the Tokuz Oğuz.

It was under the leadership of Élteriş Kağan that the Türk troops managed to defeat the Tokuz Oğuz people in Ötüken and settled there. After occupying Ötüken, the legitimacy and dominant status of the Türks began to be recognized by the neighboring regimes. Élteriş Kağan did not achieve this all by himself; he had the help of a very wise consultant named Toñukuk, who was one of the most famous and active politicians in the Second Türk Empire. According to Toñukuk's own narrative, his contributions to the empire were substantial.

The second Türk kağan that Toñukuk served as a consultant to was Kapğan Kağan, who was the most fierce and ambitious kağan in the Second Türk

Empire. It was during his reign that the Second Türk Empire extended into four directions and developed into a dominant power in the Eurasian steppe. During most of his lifetime, he was engaged in field battles, mainly against China. In addition to declaring war, the only diplomatic affair that Kapğan Kağan was interested in was establishing marriage relations with the Chinese royal house. After the assassination of Kapğan Kağan in 716, a severe crisis concerning the succession arose in the Türk Empire, which brought the empire to the verge of dissolution.

In this game of thrones, the lineage of Élderiş Kağan overwhelmed the lineage of Kapğan Kağan. Kül Tégin, one of Élderiş Kağan's sons, dethroned his cousin in a coup d'état and supported his own elder brother as the new kağan. As the situation in the Türk Empire was very serious, the newly enthroned Bilge Kağan called back the wise Toñukuk, who had been deposed from his position because of his support for the lineage of Kapğan Kağan during the coup. Following the advice of Toñukuk, Bilge Kağan sought a peaceful relationship with the Tang government. During his nineteen-year-long reign, there were only two small scale clashes with the Tang army. Bilge Kağan was even more vigorous in building marriage relations with the Tang royal house. However, as the Tang emperor was an extraordinarily skillful politician in dealing with international affairs, Bilge Kağan, just like his predecessor, also failed to marry a Chinese princess. Bilge Kağan was murdered by his minister in 734.

Sources concerning the history of the Second Türk Empire after Bilge Kağan are very scanty. His successor, Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan, was indifferent to the Tang and showed no interest in building marriage relations with the Tang government. The sources concerning his reign that are available to us are mostly about trade disputes between the two regimes. When his younger brother, Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan, ascended the throne, the Second Türk Empire was dissolving. Despite his attempts to persuade the Türk subjects not to leave Ötüken, Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan could not slow down the decay of his empire. In 745, as the last Türk kağan had been killed by the Uyğur chief, who then declared himself "kağan", the whole royal house of the Türk Empire went into exile in China, because the Uyğurs had become the new masters of the steppe.

## 2 Overview of Political and Social Conditions on the Steppe

Different clans and tribes on the steppe were sometimes united in the form of a loose confederation, such as Tokuz Oğuz, On Ok, Üç Karluk and so on. From the narratives concerning warfare in the Old Turkic inscriptions we know that these political confederations were often regarded by the Türk Empire

as military rather than ethnic units. A complete list has been provided by Peter B. Golden, who has also discussed the possible locations of these groups.<sup>6</sup> The frontiers between different ethnic groups on the steppe were very fragile and flexible. A random political event could destroy the old frontiers and reshape new ones. The rise of the Türgiř and their replacement of the On Ok is a good example (see Chapter 2).

The Early Türks had their own hierarchical administrative system, although many a title had a non-Turkic etymology. Thanks to the paragraph preserved in *TD* 197, we can get a sketchy picture of the Türk administrative positions and their functions. On the top of the hierarchy are the *kehan* (EMC: *k<sup>h</sup>a'-yan* < OT: *kağan*) and his wife the *kedun* (EMC: *k<sup>h</sup>a'-twən* < OT: *katun*). Their sons are called *teqin* (EMC: *dək-gin* < OT: *tégin*). The military commanders are called *she* (EMC: *ciat* < OT: *şad*). The chief officials include *qulü chuo* (EMC: *k<sup>h</sup>ut-twit tɕ<sup>h</sup>wiat* < OT: *küli çor*), *abo* (EMC: *?a-pa* < OT: *apa*), *xielifa* (EMC: *ɣet-li<sup>h</sup>-puat* < OT: *élteber*),<sup>7</sup> *tutun* (EMC: *t<sup>h</sup>ɔ<sup>h</sup>-dwən* < OT: *tudun*) and *sijin* (EMC: *zi'-kin* < OT: *irkin*). There are ten other titles for the lower ranks, many of which refer to the candidates' size, age or color. Some titles even make reference to things like wine, meat and animals. The compiler emphasized that sometimes the *kağan* could even be lower than the Yehu (EMC: *jiap-ɣɔ<sup>h</sup>* < OT: *yabǰu*), which indicates the high prestige of the title *yabǰu*.<sup>8</sup> This observation is indeed true, if we take a look at the history of the First Türk Empire and even that of the later Western Türk Empire. However, the title *yabǰu* was very seldom used in the Eastern Türk Empire. On the contrary, the post of *şad* was extremely important in the Eastern Türk Empire.<sup>9</sup> As far as we know, at least three *kağans* (Élteriş Kağan, Kapğan Kağan and Bilge Kağan) of the Second Türk Empire had held the title of *şad* before they ascended the throne. The most general title for Türk officials is *beg*, which was probably the lowest rank and often used as an opposite of *bodun* "ordinary people". Thanks to the research of Gerhard Doerfer, we know that these "Turkic" titles spread widely into different languages and societies.<sup>10</sup>

The political relationship between the Tang court and the nomadic regimes, including the Türks, cannot be accurately explained by the stereotypical "tributary system". They did pay tribute, or more exactly, diplomatic visits, to the Tang court, but they also made political demands. The interaction between the Tang court and the nomadic regimes should be regarded as political deal-makings

6 Golden 1992: 141–6.

7 New studies suggested that it should be (*h*)*elitbär* (Erdal 2016). As to *elteber*, also see Róna-Tas 2016. In this book, the traditional form *élteber* will be kept.

8 *TD* 197: 5402–3.

9 This observation comes from Prof. Schönig.

10 TMEN III: § 1159, 1161, TMEN II: § 922 ff.

rather than tribute-paying. For example, during the reign of Bilge Kağan, he dispatched diplomatic visitors to the Tang court much more frequently than earlier. The mission of those Türk envoys was simple and clear: to persuade the Tang court to marry a princess to Bilge Kağan. However, the Tang emperor took advantage of the wishes of the Türk kağan and required other things in return including that the Türks not plunder the Chinese borderlands.

In economic issues, the nomadic regimes were even more dependent on Tang China. The most important trade between Tang China and the Türks was the horse-silk trade. Whenever the Tang court restrained the scale of the trade, the Türks would complain immediately. The observations of Yü Ying-shih, who emphasized the political and economic interests within the tributary system, on the economic relations between Han China and the Xiongnu, can also be applied to the situation between Tang China and the Türks.<sup>11</sup> There are many sources indicating that within the Türk Empire there were not only nomadic but also sedentary people. Kapğan Kağan's demand for a large number agricultural tools and grain seeds from the Tang government is a good example showing us that agriculture did exist in the Türk Empire. Moreover, there was a large population of Chinese immigrants on the steppe after the collapse of the Sui dynasty.

### 3 Previous Research

The translation of Chinese sources concerning the Early Türks into western languages was started as early as 1851 by the Russian Sinologist, H. Bičurin. For the preparation of a thorough collection of all materials on ethnic groups in Central Asia, he translated the "Biography of the Türks" in *xTS* into Russian. In 1864, the French Sinologist, S. Julien, translated the accounts concerning the Türks in *Bianyi Dian*, which was compiled in the Qing dynasty, into French. After the discovery of the Old Turkic inscriptions, the English Sinologist, E. H. Parker, was engaged in translating all the "Biographies of the Türks" in the Chinese official historical works. The first complete and influential translation of Chinese sources on the Türks was completed by the French Sinologist E. Chavannes in 1903. He concentrated his work on the western Türks, which means he translated only the texts in Chinese sources concerning the western Türks and the neighboring kingdoms, especially those in Central Asia.

The gap in the translation of Chinese sources concerning the eastern Türks into a western language was soon filled by a Chinese-German Sinologist, Liu

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11 Yü 1967.

Mau-tsai. Liu translated the main “Biographies of the Türks” (regarding the eastern Türks) in the Chinese dynastic annals into German and added many useful annotations for western readers. Liu 1958 has been widely cited by scholars up until today, mainly because of his accurate understanding of original texts.<sup>12</sup> The Turkish historian and Sinologist İsenbike Togan has published her Turkish translation of the “Biography of the Türks” in *JTS*, and made many valuable comments.<sup>13</sup> She also did research on the different approaches of Chinese and Turkic historiography in the 7th and 8th centuries.<sup>14</sup>

The first historical work concerning the Second Türk Empire was written by E. H. Parker. He translated some excerpts from the Chinese dynasty annals concerning the Early Türks into English. As his book was finished before the Old Turkic inscriptions were well researched, he employed the Turkic accounts at a very superficial level.<sup>15</sup> Thanks to W. Bang’s successful deciphering of the confusing digital system in the Old Turkic inscriptions, J. Marquart for the first time managed to build a chronology of the Second Türk Empire, primarily based on the Kül Tégin and Bilge Kağan inscriptions. However, without embodying the Toñukuk Inscription and the rich Chinese sources, his work remained incomplete.<sup>16</sup> On the occasion of the discovery of the Toñukuk Inscription, the German Sinologist F. Hirth made a tremendous effort to establish a detailed chronology of the reign of Élderiş Kağan, predominantly based on the Chinese accounts. In addition to the chronology, F. Hirth also proposed many interesting opinions, for example on the identity of Toñukuk, which proved to be quite misleading for later researchers. Nonetheless, F. Hirth’s exquisite analysis of the Chinese sources and his in-depth knowledge of the Chinese language ensured that his work has not gone out-of-date til today.<sup>17</sup>

Dissatisfied with the conclusion drawn by F. Hirth that the events narrated in the Toñukuk Inscription took place during the reign of Élderiş Kağan, that is, before or during the year 689, V. Thomsen made an effort to relate the campaign against the Türgiş mentioned in the Toñukuk Inscription with another similar campaign against the Türgiş mentioned in the Kül Tégin and Bilge Kağan inscriptions, and thus came to the conclusion that Toñukuk’s memorial must have been built in 720.<sup>18</sup> Actually, from the Chinese sources we know

12 Liu Mau-tsai 1958.

13 Togan 2006.

14 Togan 2008.

15 Parker 1895.

16 Marquart 1898.

17 Hirth 1899.

18 Thomsen 1916: 92–99, Thomsen 1924: 161.

there were several campaigns against the Türgiř by the Second Türk Empire, at least one in the reign of Élteriř Kağan and three in the reign of Kapğan Kağan. The campaign against the Türgiř mentioned in the Toņukuk Inscription is not the same one as that mentioned in the Kül Tégin and Bilge Kağan inscriptions. Having failed to refer to any Chinese sources, V. Thomsen's interpretation of the Toņukuk Inscription is anachronistic.

Realizing the mistake of V. Thomsen, R. Giraud regarded the campaign against the Türgiř mentioned in the Toņukuk Inscription and the one mentioned in the Kül Tégin and Bilge Kağan inscriptions as two different campaigns. However, R. Giraud's conclusion that the former campaign happened in the winter of 696–697 was based on a false presupposition. As Toņukuk mentioned in his memorial that Tarduř řad also participated in the war, R. Giraud assumed the Tarduř řad in question to be the later Bilge Kağan, who had been appointed as Tarduř řad when he was fourteen years old, i.e. in 696–697.<sup>19</sup> However, "Tarduř řad" was only a title, which could have been held by different people in different times. The Tarduř řad mentioned by Toņukuk here was assumed to be the later Kapğan Kağan. Influenced by V. Thomsen's misleading opinion, the progress made by S. G. Kljařtornyj in chronology is almost negligible, in comparison to the progress made by him in the "Altı Çub Soğdak" question. He convincingly pointed out that the "Altı Çub Soğdak" mentioned in the Old Turkic inscriptions does not refer to the Sogdians in Sogdiana, as earlier scholars had assumed, but to the Sogdians in Ordos, today's Inner Mongolia.<sup>20</sup> Michael R. Drompp wrote his MA thesis on the history of the Early Türks with the title "The Runic Turkic Inscriptions as Sources for the History of the Second Türk Empire (A.D. 682–742)" at Indiana University in 1978.

Since the 1990s, there has been a significant turn in the studies of the Early Türks. Many a scholar has made an effort to write a concise history of the Second Türk Empire, but their works are either too skeletal or too general. Scholars of this generation were no longer obsessed with the issue of chronology. They shifted their interests from chronology to cultural studies. In *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, Denis Sinor condensed the history of the Second Türk Empire into less than four pages, a large part of which were purely quotations from the Old Turkic inscriptions.<sup>21</sup> In addition to offering us a brief overview of Türk history, Peter B. Golden still made an effort to present the social aspects, such as the ethnic groups, governance, religions, writing systems and

19 Giraud 1960: 42.

20 Kljařtornyj 1964.

21 Sinor 1990: 310–3.

economy of the Türk empires.<sup>22</sup> The culture and lifestyle of the Türk people have been exhaustively discussed by W. Scharlipp.<sup>23</sup> The Chinese Turkologist Geng Shimin wrote a chapter on the Early Türks for the *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* III. However, there are only five pages.<sup>24</sup> Other works concerning the history of the Second Türk Empire will not be cited one by one.<sup>25</sup> Both of Pan Yihong and Jonathan K. Skaff's works, which deal with Sui-Tang China and its neighbors, overlap in part with this book.<sup>26</sup> But in this book, richer and more detailed accounts of the events are provided. Sören Stark has published a monograph on the archaeological cultures in the age of the Early Türks.<sup>27</sup>

#### 4 Questions and Sources

The Türks, unlike their predecessors, such as the Xiongnu and Rouran, and also their successors, such as the Uyğurs and the Mongols, founded the only nomadic empire in history that managed to resurrect for a second time after earlier being annihilated. This outstanding feature of the Second Türk Empire deserves our special attention. In order to better understand the history of the Second Türk Empire, a reliable and complete chronology is necessary. Thanks to the rich sources preserved in Chinese imperial annals and the valuable data provided in biographical or autobiographical Old Turkic inscriptions, to establish a reliable chronology of the Second Türk Empire becomes a possible feat. Here, I obscure the distinction between “history” and “chronology” on purpose, because in this book the “history” is an extended version of the “chronology”.

The perspective of this book is Türk-centered. It is unnecessary to repeat here again that Tang China was only one of the Türks' neighboring regimes. However, restricted by the sources, which were composed by people who had differing standpoints, we can only try our best to be neutral and impartial. The “source” itself is a subjective narrative. It reflects the compiler's attitudes, standpoints, purposes, and so on. Therefore, before we employ the “sources” in our studies, we have to ask ourselves questions concerning their context, such as who wrote them, as well as when and why? In other words, the historical

22 Golden 1992: 136–153.

23 Scharlipp 1992: 45–74 and Scharlipp 2000b: 125–145.

24 Geng 2000: 118–122.

25 For example, Gabain 1950, Gumilëv 1967, Vásáry 1993, Taşağıl 2004, Taşağıl 2016, Kljaštornyj 2006, Kljaštornyj 2007, Ercilasun 2016, and more.

26 Pan Yihong 1997, Skaff 2012.

27 Stark 2008.

background of the establishment of the Old Turkic inscriptions will be discussed in this book.

The questions concerning the context of the “sources” discussed above of course also apply to Chinese sources, for example the question of what materials were at hand for the writing of a history.<sup>28</sup> However, the case of the Chinese sources is even more complicated. The most common phenomenon we come across is that the same event is recorded differently in various “original” Chinese historical works. Thanks to the contributions of Cen Zhongmian 1958 and Wu Yugui 2009, who have made great efforts to compare the narratives in different “original” sources, we do not have to spend a lot of time and labor in exploring in this field.

Cen divided his book into two parts. In the first part, he arranged Chinese sources in a chronological way. In the second part, he compiled the “Biographies of the Türks” from different Chinese historical works and made necessary annotations. Cen Zhongmian 1958 has been regarded as the authoritative work by scholars in China and Japan. However, as many new epitaphs concerning the history of the Türks have been excavated in China, Cen Zhongmian 1958 needs to be updated. The newest compilation of historical sources on the Second Türk Empire has been done by Wu Yugui. Wu made use of the chronological frame established by Sima Guang in *ZZTJ* and put all related sources into this frame in chronological order. The advantage of this book is that we can obtain not only an overall picture of the history of the Second Türk Empire, but also see the differences between different sources concerning the same event. The shortcoming of Wu Yugui 2009 is also obvious. He did not refer to any Old Turkic inscriptions in his book.

## 5 Why a New Edition of the Old Turkic Inscriptions?

It's been more than a century since the runiform Turkic inscriptions were discovered. Generations of scholars have devoted themselves to deciphering and interpreting the texts inscribed on these stones. The contributions of the pioneers, V. Thomsen and W. Radloff, were enormous. Their succeeding editors, e.g. H. N. Orkun, S. E. Malov, P. Aalto and R. Giraud, have either corrected previous misreadings or provided alternative new interpretations. Among them, T. Tekin was a unique figure. The transcription and translation of five inscriptions in Tekin 1968 represented the newest research of his time in this field, making it an authoritative work for several decades. The research has however

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28 Ware 1932: 36.

never ceased. Thanks to scholars such as G. Doerfer, Sir G. Clauson, S. Tezcan, M. Erdal, O. F. Sertkaya, V. Rybatzki, A. Berta, C. Alyılmaz, M. Ölmez, E. Aydın, H. Şirin and so on, the corpus of research on Old Turkic inscriptions has grown to be very sizable.

Nonetheless, there are still many questions left to be solved. The last English edition of the Old Turkic inscriptions was published by Talat Tekin in 1968. In the past fifty years, many new readings and interpretations have been proposed. Actually, several new editions have been published since Talat Tekin, but all in languages other than English, such as Hungarian, Turkish, German, Chinese, and others. Therefore, in order to reflect the newest research in this field, the author undertook the job of reading the inscription word by word. Our reading of the Old Turkic inscriptions is based on the original rubbings and photos. In the summer of 2014, I visited Minzu University Library (Beijing) and had the opportunity to check some unclear places on the original rubbings of the Kül Tégin and Bilge Kağan inscriptions. Meanwhile, we also use the picture of Radloff's untouched rubbings.

Every translation is an interpretation. A new translation can provide a new and unique approach to understanding the text. As different editors have different opinions on understanding the inscriptions, it's necessary for us to compare all of the variant readings and decide which one makes more sense. However, the selection itself is unavoidably very personal and subjective; so detailed footnotes in which other possible readings are included are needed. Moreover, in many cases, it is hard to decide which one is more suitable and therefore the best way is to cite all variant interpretations and leave the question open for further discussions. We often make decisions with the help of a combination of Chinese sources.

In this book, previous editions, such as Radloff 1896, 1897 and 1899, Orkun 1936, Onogawa 1943, Malov 1951 and 1959, Aalto 1958, Giraud 1961, Tekin 1968, Ajdarov 1971, Tekin 1995b, Rybatzki 1997, Berta 2004, Alyılmaz 2005, Geng 2005, Aydın 2012/2017, and Ölmez 2013 will be made use of. In addition, there are many important articles and monographs concerning Old Turkic inscriptions, such as Thomsen 1916, Gabain 1974 (1941), Sertkaya's series "Some Problems of Köktürk History", Clauson 1971, Tezcan 1976, Erdal 1991, Berta 1995, Tekin 1995, Alyılmaz 2000, Erdal 2004, and so on. Thomsen's interpretation of the three main Old Turkic inscriptions can be seen in Thomsen 1924. The bulk of Clauson's reflections on the Old Turkic inscriptions are scattered in his magnum opus, i.e. Clauson 1972. For more details about the history of research on the Old Turkic inscriptions please see Tekin 1968: 12–20 and Rybatzki 1997: "Preface".

The Ongin Inscription and the Küli Çor Inscription, whose protagonists have not yet been convincingly identified, will not be used as a main source in this study. As some inscriptions belonging to the Uyğur Empire also mention the history of the last few years of the Second Türk Empire, they are also regarded as an important source for this book, but a new edition of these inscriptions goes beyond the scope of this book.

## 6 Notes on Calendar

In imperial China, every emperor had his own reign titles called *nianhao* “reign title”, according to which the years were marked 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and so on. Some emperors used one reign title for more than twenty years, e.g. the Zhen-guan (ca. 627–649) era of Emperor Taizong. Empress Wu was quite the opposite; she changed her reign titles very frequently. Sometimes there were three reign titles within one year, e.g. in Tianshou III (for brevity’s sake, reign titles in this book will be written in Roman numerals), a second reign title Ruyi was put into use from 25 April until 22 October 692, and a third one, Changshou, was used until the end of the year. In such cases, a problem appeared for historians: which reign title should be chosen to mark the year? As a matter of fact, different historians dealt with this problem in different ways, e.g. in *JTs* the first reign title was used most often, while in *XTs* the last reign title had priority. In this book, every reign title and the period of its usage will be shown clearly.

In addition to reign titles, Chinese people have another way to mark years, by making use of two groups of abstract characters. The first group consists of ten “heavenly stems”, also called *tiangan* 天干, namely *jia* 甲, *yi* 乙, *bing* 丙, *ding* 丁, *wu* 戊, *ji* 己, *geng* 庚, *xin* 辛, *ren* 壬 and *gui* 癸. The second group consists of twelve *dizhi* 地支 “earthly branches”: *zi* 子, *chou* 丑, *yin* 寅, *mao* 卯, *chen* 辰, *si* 巳, *wu* 午, *wei* 未, *shen* 申, *you* 酉, *xu* 戌 and *hai* 亥. A combination of a heavenly stem and an earthly branch is used to mark one year, e.g. if 12th year of Kaiyuan is *jia-zi*, then the 13th year of Kaiyuan is *yi-chou*. According to the law of combination, there are sixty years in one cycle, which means there are sixty years between two *jia-zi* years. This system was also introduced into Türk society: *kap* < *jia* (EMC: *kaip*), *ir* < *yi* (EMC: *rit*), *pi* < *bing* (EMC: *piajŋ*), *ti* < *ding* (EMC: *tejŋ*), *bou* < *wu* (EMC: *maw<sup>h</sup>*), *ki* < *ji* (EMC: *ki*’), *ki* < *geng* (EMC: *kaijŋ*), *sim*/*sin* < *xin* (EMC: *sin*), *žim*/*äžim* < *ren* (EMC: *nim*), and *kui* < *gui* (EMC: *kjwi*’).<sup>29</sup>

As the characters of the “heavenly stems” and “earthly branches” were too abstract and impractical for ordinary people, especially illiterate farmers, a new

29 Gabain 1974: § 210.

and vivid system was invented. In the new system, the images of twelve common animals were introduced to replace the twelve abstract “earthly branches” as symbols to mark the year. There are different versions of the twelve animals. The most common version includes: rat, ox, tiger, rabbit (or hare), dragon, snake (or serpent), sheep (or goat), monkey, rooster, dog and pig. As farmers were quite familiar with those animals (except the dragon), this dating system very quickly became widespread, and was also introduced into Türk society. In the Old Turkic language, the twelve animals are *sıçğan/küskü* “rat”, *ud* “ox”, *bars* “tiger”, *tabışğan* “rabbit”, *luo* “dragon”, *yılan* “snake”, *yunt* “horse”, *koñ* “sheep”, *béçin* “monkey”, *takıku* “rooster”, *ıt* “dog” and *lağzın/toñuz* “pig”.<sup>30</sup> For example, in the Kül Tégin Inscription, it was clearly written that he passed away in the year of the sheep.

According to the official calendar in ancient China, there are thirty days within a “long month” and twenty-nine days within a “short month”. As to which months are long and which are short this is completely decided by calculating; and therefore it differs from year to year. In a common year, there are twelve months and an average of 354 to 355 days. In order to keep the length of one year close to a tropical year, it is necessary to arrange seven leap years in every nineteen years. In a leap year, in which an extra leap month is added, there are 383 to 384 days on average. Under such circumstances, the average length of one Chinese year is very close to 365 days.

There are various versions of the official calendar, depending on which month is counted as the first month of the year. The twelve earthly branches have also been used to mark the twelve months. The month in which the winter solstice is included is marked as the *zi* month. The rest may be deduced by analogy: *chou* month, *yin* month, and so on. If the *zi* month was chosen as the first month of the year, the calendar was called Zhou Calendar. But if the *yin* month was picked up as the first month of the year, it was called Xia Calendar. The third was called the Shang Calendar, in which the *chou* month was selected as the first month of the year. During most of Chinese history, the Xia Calendar was mainstream. Actually, the three versions of the calendars are named after three dynasties.

Although months were theoretically marked by earthly branches, they were more often marked by cardinal numbers and popular names in daily life. Usually (i.e. in the Xia Calendar), the first month of a year was called *zhengyue*, the penultimate month was called *dongyue* (“winter month”), and the last month was called *layue*. The other months were usually marked by ordinal numbers, e.g. the 2nd month, the 3rd month and so on until the 10th month.

<sup>30</sup> Gabain 1974: § 210, Bazin 1974, chapter 3.

The combination of heavenly stems and earthly branches has also been applied to mark single days, but ordinal numbers were used more often in daily life.

As calendar is a representation of time. Time, or the perception of time, was one of the mechanisms that many feudal rulers aimed to use, in order to strengthen their authority and legitimacy. The individual reign titles had the same function for emperors. Empress Wu was by no means an exception. She not only changed her reign titles unusually frequently but also abandoned the widely used Xia Calendar. On the 1st day of the 11th month of Yongchang 1 (17 December 689), Empress Wu proclaimed the replacement of the Xia Calendar with the Zhou Calendar. Her inclination to adopt the Zhou Calendar should be understood as nothing but propaganda, as she was about to overthrow her husband's family (i.e. the Tang dynasty) and establish her own Zhou dynasty. The reason why she chose Zhou as the name of her dynasty was to draw an analogy between her own situation and the ideal Zhou dynasty in history, the founder of which had also overthrown his preceding dynasty (i.e. the Shang dynasty).

According to the Zhou Calendar, the *zi* month (i.e. the 11th month) was the *zheng* (first) month of the year and the second month was the *la* month, but the other ten months were still called by their ordinal numbers, which caused much confusion: the 1st month was actually the 3rd month, the 2nd month was actually the 4th month, and the 10th month was actually the last (i.e. the 12th) month. The Zhou calendar ceased to be used eleven years later, mainly because of its inconvenience. As to the legitimacy of Empress Wu's Zhou Dynasty, it was hotly debated by Chinese historians, because a woman had never been expected to be an "emperor" according to Confucian doctrine. In this book, the reign of Empress Wu will be regarded as the "Zhou court", as it originally was. When Louis Bazin discussed the events of the reign of Empress Wu, he did not take the usage of the Zhou Calendar into consideration.<sup>31</sup>

In this book, the dates of historical events will be given in ordinal numbers, while Gregorian dates will be supplemented in brackets and the "heavenly stems and earthly branches" will be cited in the footnotes. I preserve the original dates, because much information is embedded in this dating system, e.g. many important decisions were made on the first day of the month. Such information would be lost, if we adopted the Gregorian dating system as the standard. As to the correspondence between the Chinese calendar and the Gregorian calendar, the authoritative table published by Chen Yuan in 1956 will be mainly referred to.

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31 Bazin 1974: §72.

Last but not least, the Chinese way of counting a person's age is also different from the western way. According to Chinese tradition, as soon as a baby comes into the world, he or she is one year old already. He or she will become two years old after the Spring Festival, which means they do not have to wait until their birthday to become one year older. This way of reckoning age, along with the calendar, was also introduced into Türk society.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, when counting reign years, we should also follow this practice, otherwise we will get confused. The most famous example is that of Bilge Kağan who claimed he had been *şad* for nineteen years and also *kağan* for nineteen years. Previous scholars were puzzled by this statement, because if we count in the western way, he was *şad* for eighteen years and *kağan* for the same length of time.<sup>33</sup> As most of the historical events in the Kül Tégin and Bilge Kağan inscriptions were narrated with their age as the reference point, the animal calendar will set as the standard in the chronology, while the Gregorian calendar will be provided as supplementary information.

## 7 Notes on Transcribing Chinese Characters

In this book, the Pinyin system will be used to transcribe Chinese characters. Usually, the tones will not be shown in Pinyin transcriptions. The only exceptions will be, to differentiate two characters which share the same Pinyin transcription, in which case one of them will be transcribed in a toned Pinyin. No dash will be added between syllables, except where it is necessary to avoid confusion. Homophones, two characters sharing the same pronunciation, are a very common phenomenon in the Chinese language. In this book, in such cases, the Wade-Giles system will be used to transcribe one of the homophones, in order to distinguish it from the other Pinyin-transcribed homophone. The usage of the Pinyin system and Wade-Giles system are limited to modern Chinese.

The pronunciation of the Chinese languages have undergone several stages before modern Chinese. In the age of the Second Türk Empire, the official Chinese language was what E. G. Pulleyblank has called Early Middle Chinese (abbreviated EMC), which goes back to the dialect of Luoyang in the second and third centuries.<sup>34</sup> E. G. Pulleyblank managed to reconstruct EMC with the help of a traditional Chinese lexicon called *Qieyun*. In this book, in order to

32 Bazin 1974: § 68 and § 71.

33 Thomsen 1924: 134.

34 Pulleyblank 1991: 2.

present the pronunciations of the contemporary Chinese transcriptions of Old Turkic titles, the reconstruction of Pullyblank's EMC will often be cited. For the translation of Chinese official titles, Hucker 1985 will be referred to.<sup>35</sup> Place names and personal names usually will not be translated, except in certain cases where the meaning of such proper names deserves to be pointed out.

<sup>35</sup> Hucker 1985.

# Revival of Power

## 1 Unsuccessful Rebellion

From the year 630 on, when the last kağan of the First Türk Empire was captured by the Tang Emperor Taizong, the Türk people had been subjects of the Tang government for almost fifty years. If we count thirty years as one generation, there are almost two generations of the Türk people living under Tang sovereignty. However, the Tang did not succeed in acculturating their subjects, as most of the Türk tribes were sent to live in the Tang border area, which was a perfect hotbed for the growth and spreading of political awareness.

After fifty years' fermentation, a strong desire for the revival of the Türk regime was widespread among the Türk officials who served in these semi-autonomous districts in the Tang border area. In the Chinese sources we fail to find any records that could explain why and since when the Türk people came up with the idea of fighting for their own regime. The senior politician of the Türks, Toñukuk, explained the reason why the Türks broke away from the Tang as being their demand for a Türk kağan of their own.<sup>1</sup> The motivation for the Türks' rebellion against the Tang provided by Bilge Kağan was much more eloquent and persuasive, vividly representing the strong national consciousness that arose among the Türk people. The Türk people complained that they did not have their own kağan, for whom they ought to strive for a realm. They also cherished their memory of the old times when they had their own kağan, for whom they had fulfilled their duties.<sup>2</sup> Such aggressive statements, which obviously annoyed the Tang emperor, meant an uprising.

In the 10th month of Tiaolu I (09 Nov.–08 Dec. 679), the Türk officials Ashide Wenfu and Ashide Fengzhi rebelled against the rule of the Tang in the Chanyu Protectorate and supported Ashina Nishufu as their kağan. The Türk chiefs of twenty-four districts in the Tang border area all acted in response. The number of rebels reached hundreds of thousands in a short time. Xiao Siye, the Tang senior scribe in the Chanyu Protectorate, together with two other generals Hua Dazhi and Li Jingjia were sent to suppress the rebels. At the beginning, the Tang troops were superior to the rebels and they did not take them seriously enough. When it was snowing one night, the Türk troops made a surprise

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1 T. 2.

2 K. E. 9.

attack on the Tang camps and plundered their military provisions. As a result, a lot of Tang soldiers died of starvation and the commanders were severely punished by their emperor.<sup>3</sup>

The newly appointed Tang commander, Pei Xingjian, learned a big lesson from his predecessor's mistake and set a trap for the Türks. When he arrived at Shuo Prefecture, he prepared three hundred carts of provisions, and inside each cart five well-equipped soldiers were hidden. At the same time, he ordered hundreds of weak soldiers to escort the provision carts, while many strong soldiers were deployed in strategic locations. The Türk troops did fall into the trap. They attacked the escorts and obtained the carts. When they were about to fetch some fodder from the carts to feed their horses, all the hidden Tang soldiers sprang out and attacked them. The Türk troops were frightened and ran away, but they were intercepted and routed by the Tang soldiers who had been deployed in strategic locations.<sup>4</sup>

In the 3rd month of Tiaolu II/Yonglong II (05 Apr.–03 May 680), General Pei defeated the Türk army at Heishan (“Black Mountain”) and captured their leader, Ashide Fengzhi.<sup>5</sup> The Türk kağan Ashina Nishufu was killed by his subordinate and his head was brought to the Tang emperor for a reward. The rest of the Türk rebels took refuge in Wolf Mountain.<sup>6</sup> In the 7th month (31 Jul.–29 Aug. 680), the Türk troops besieged Yun Prefecture. The Commander-in-Chief of Dai Prefecture, Dou Huaizhe, and General Cheng Wuting led troops to fight against them and routed them.<sup>7</sup> At the beginning of the 1st month of Kaiyao I (25 Jan.–28 Jan. 681), the Türk troops plundered Yuan Prefecture, Qing Prefecture and others. On the 5th day of the 1st month of Kaiyao I (29 Jan. 681), the Tang court appointed Li Zhishi to be stationed in Jing Prefecture and Qing Prefecture, preventing the Türk troops from marching further towards Chang’an.<sup>8</sup>

After Pei's withdrawal, Ashina Funian, the son of Xieli Kehan's (EMC: *yet-li<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a'-yan* < OT: *éllig kağan*) paternal cousin, proclaimed himself as the new Türk kağan in Xia Prefecture and united the forces of Ashide Wenfu. On the

3 *JTS* 194a: 5166, *XTS* 215a: 6042–3, *ZZTJ* 202: 6392.

4 *JTS* 84: 2803–4, *ZZTJ* 202: 6293–4.

5 Black Mountain was also known as “Shahu Mountain”, to the north of the Middle Shouxiang Citadel (*ZZTJ* 202: 6393). Shahu means “to kill the barbarians”.

6 Wolf Mountain was where the right wing of the Karluk people lived. In 650, the Tang government set up an administrative organization there: the Prefecture of Wolf Mountain, under the jurisdiction of Yunzhong Protectorate (*ZZTJ* 202: 6394).

7 *JTS* 5: 106, *XTS* 3: 75, *ZZTJ* 202: 6394–6.

8 *JTS* 5: 107, *XTS* 3: 76, *ZZTJ* 202: 6399.

23rd day of the 1st month of Kaiyao I (16 Feb. 681),<sup>9</sup> Pei was appointed for a second time as the commander of the Tang army campaigning against the Türks. When they arrived at Dai Prefecture, Pei settled there and sent messages to both Ashina Funian and Ashide Wenfu to sow discord between them. The vice commander, Cao Huaishun, was sent to lead a vanguard to attack the enemy. As Cao was misled by some fake intelligence that Ashina Funian and Ashide Wenfu were both in Black Sand with less than twenty cavalry, he led a lightly equipped troop to capture them.<sup>10</sup> However, when they arrived at Black Sand, they found nobody there. While Cao slowly withdrew his exhausted troops, he encountered Ashide Wenfu to the north of the Great Wall.<sup>11</sup> There was only a minor small clash between the two armies before they disengaged. Meanwhile, Ashina Funian came to attack Cao, taking his wife, children and impedimenta to Jinya Shan (“Golden Horde Mountain”).<sup>12</sup>

On the 18th day of the 5th month (9 Jun. 681),<sup>13</sup> Cao met Ashina Funian at the Heng River. Cao and his allies managed to resist the Türks’ attack for a whole day. On the following day, Ashina Funian took advantage of the wind and routed Cao’s army. Cao assembled scattered soldiers and made a peace treaty with Ashina Funian by bribing him with gold and silk. When Ashina Funian returned to his horde, he could not find his wife and children, who had been captured by Pei’s assistant, i.e. General Cheng Wuting. Ashina Funian could do nothing but lead his exhausted troops further northwards to Xisha (“Fine Sands”).<sup>14</sup> Pei ordered Cheng to lead soldiers stationed in Chanyu Protectorate to pursue and attack Ashina Funian. At the same time, Uyğur and other Tokuz Oğuz tribes approached from the north towards Ashina Funian. Ashina Funian had no choice but to capture Ashide Wenfu and go to surrender to General Pei. On the 1st day of the 10th month (16 Nov. 681),<sup>15</sup> Ashina Funian, Ashide

9 *Gui-si* (*JTS* 5: 107, *XTS* 3: 76, *ZZTJ* 202: 6400).

10 Black Sand Citadel played the role of the southern “capital” of the Second Türk Empire (see Chapter 1, Section 3).

11 The Great Wall was built by China to stop the plundering of nomads. But the place along the Wall where Türk and Tang troops met is unclear.

12 Golden Horde Mountain was a general name referring to the mountain where the Türk kağan’s horde was situated (*ZZTJ* 202: 6403).

13 *Bing-xu* (*JTS* 5: 107; *XTS* 3: 76).

14 It is unclear where Fine Sands was located.

15 *JTS* 5: 108 and *ZZTJ* 202: 6403–5 put two *bing-yin* in the 10th month, and put the execution of Türk captives on the second *bing-yin*. According to the lunar calendar, the 1st day of the 10th month was *bing-yin*, so there cannot be another *bing-yin* in the same month. According to *XTS* 3: 76, the Türk captives were presented to the emperor on the 27th day (*ren-xu*) of the 9th month (10 November), and they were killed on the 1st day (*bing-yin*) of the 10th month (16 November) (*Wu Yugui* 2009: 483).

Wenfu and fifty-two other Türk leaders were beheaded in the marketplace of Chang'an.<sup>16</sup>

These unsuccessful uprisings are very briefly mentioned in the Turkic inscriptions. Toñukuk imputed the failure of these rebellions to the disloyalty of the Türk people. Because of their abandonment of their own kağan and their submission to the Tang emperor, the sky-god Teñri was furious and cursed the Türk people. The Türks suffered a heavy population loss because of Teñri's punishment. The situation did not change until the next Türk hero (i.e. Kutluğ/Élteriş Kağan) turned up.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, Bilge Kağan also put the blame on the ordinary Türk people for failing to organize themselves. When the Türk people submitted to the Tang emperor again and asked to continue to serve him, the Tang emperor, irritated by their revolt, did not appreciate their offer and threatened to retaliate by exterminating the Türk people.<sup>18</sup>

## 2 Successful Uprising Led by Kutluğ

After the defeat of Ashina Funian's uprising, a second wave of Türk rebellion arose. This was led by the later Élteriş Kağan, whose name or title in Chinese sources is Guduolu (EMC: *kwət-tət-ləwk*)<sup>19</sup> or Gudulu (EMC: *kwət-təwk-ləwk*), which is likely a variant transcription of the Old Turkic word *kutluğ* "blessed". This Kutluğ was a distant relative of Éllic Kağan, the last kağan of the First Türk Empire. The father of Kutluğ had been a chief under the leadership of Sheli Yuanying, the Commander-in-Chief of Yunzhong Protectorate. The hereditary title of his father recorded in the Chinese sources was Tutunchuo (EMC: *tʰɔ<sup>h</sup>-dwən-tɕ<sup>h</sup>wiat* < OT: *tudun çor*). But according to the Chinese text of the Kül Tégin Inscription, the appellation of his father was Guduolu xiejin (EMC: *kwət-təwk-ləwk ɣet-kin*), which can be reconstructed in Old Turkic as *kutluğ irkin*. If we take the Chinese text of the Kül Tégin Inscription, which was composed by the Tang emperor himself, to be more reliable, then *kutluğ* should be understood as a title inherited from his father rather than his personal name. According to the Toñukuk Inscription, in the early years Kutluğ was also known as a şad, which was a special title for commanders in the army.<sup>20</sup>

16 XTS 215a: 6043, XTS 3: 76–7, JTS 194a: 5166, JTS 87: 2845.

17 T. 3–4.

18 K. E. 10.

19 The entry of *duo* 咄 does not exist in Pulleyblank 1991. However, according to *Guangyun*, *duo* is *dang mo qie* 當沒切, which can be reconstructed as EMC: *tət* (*dang* [EMC: *tay*]), see Pulleyblank 1991: 72; *mo* [EMC: *mət*], see Pulleyblank 1991: 218).

20 T. 5.

Bilge Kağan gives us a detailed description of the growth of his father's military force. At the beginning of his rebellion, Kutluğ had only seventeen followers. As the news of his rebellion spread, people from towns and mountains came to join him. When those adherents arrived, Kutluğ managed to organize a troop of seventy people. After a succession of arduous campaigns, the number of his soldiers increased to seven hundred.<sup>21</sup> We know that Bilge Kağan had not yet been born when these things happened, so the legendary stories about his father must have been heard by him from other people and therefore could have been polished.

As a witness of history, Toñukuk begins the story directly from the time when there were already seven hundred people, who had hidden among the bushes and stones.<sup>22</sup> If we believe that the legendary story told by Bilge Kağan is based on some historical facts, we have to ask ourselves why Toñukuk fails to offer us an account of the early period of his kağan's rebellion. A reasonable explanation is that Toñukuk was not a member of the original seventeen people, which means he joined the army at a later stage, and that is why he missed the early stages of the Türk rebellion.

In the Chinese sources, the number of the Türk rebels was much larger than seven hundred. When Kutluğ collected the scattered Türk rebels, there were more than five thousand people.<sup>23</sup> Considering the Tang's defensive abilities, a troop of seven hundred people would have been less likely to successfully rebel against the Tang government. Besides, it is noteworthy that "seven" seems to be a mysterious number, because it can be found in every mention of troop numbers at different stages. The Türk army grew from seventeen to seventy, and finally to seven hundred, which sounds more like a legend than real history.

The military targets of the Türk army at this period were mainly the Tang and Tokuz Oğuz forces. From the Chinese sources we know that the Türks firstly plundered the Tokuz Oğuz and obtained a lot of sheep and horses.<sup>24</sup> Tokuz Oğuz was the general designation of a nomadic confederation on the steppe, not necessarily denoting nine tribes although *tokuz* literally means "nine". In Turkic inscriptions, only two of the Tokuz Oğuz tribes are mentioned: Tülüş and Tarduş. After the plunder of the Tokuz Oğuz, Kutluğ became more powerful and decided to proclaim himself as the Türk kağan.

As to the background of Kutluğ's inauguration, the Turkic inscriptions offer us two different versions from different perspectives. In order to highlight

<sup>21</sup> K. E. 11–13.

<sup>22</sup> T. 4.

<sup>23</sup> *JTS* 194a: 5167, *XTS* 215a: 6044, *TD* 198: 5434.

<sup>24</sup> *JTS* 194a: 5167, *XTS* 215a: 6044, *TD* 198: 5434.

his own contribution to the foundation of the Second Türk Empire, Toñukuk declared that it was he together with Boyla Bağa Tarkan who made Kutluğ sit on the throne.<sup>25</sup> However, when Bilge Kağan talked about his father's enthronement, he was inclined to claim that the legitimacy of his family was divine. His parents were chosen by Teñri as kağan and katun to save the Türk people from perishing.<sup>26</sup> After his enthronement, Kutluğ received the title *Élteriş Kağan*. In order to better govern his subjects, *Élteriş Kağan* appointed a *yabğu* and a *şad* to assist him.<sup>27</sup> According to the Chinese sources, the *şad* was his younger brother Mochuo, the later *Kapğan Kağan*, and the *yabğu* was Duoxifu, who was also one of his younger brothers.<sup>28</sup>

### 3 The Base of the Türk Rebels: Çuğay Mountain and Black Sand

*Élteriş Kağan* collected the scattered Türk rebels and settled them in the Çuğay mountain forest.<sup>29</sup> Since the authoritative research by Friedrich Hirth, it has been accepted by many scholars that Çuğay in the Old Turkic inscriptions should be identified with Zongcai (EMC: *tsəwŋ'-dzaj* < OT: *çuğay*) Mountain in Chinese sources.<sup>30</sup> As to the location of the Çuğay mountain forest, there are basically two different views: in the north of the Gobi desert,<sup>31</sup> and in the south of the Gobi.<sup>32</sup> The first view is unacceptable, because Chinese sources clearly tell us that the Çuğay mountain forest was located in the south of the Gobi. Some scholars, who support the second view, have attempted to connect the Çuğay mountain forest with the Yin Mountains (or Yinshan). The meaning of *çuğay* in Old Turkic is "shade",<sup>33</sup> which is supposed to be a precise equivalent of the Chinese character *yin* "north slope, shade, shady".<sup>34</sup> However, this conclusion was unfortunately based on a misunderstanding of the meaning of the Chinese place name "Yinshan". The meaning of *yin* in Yinshan has nothing to do with "north" or "shade", but quite the opposite; it received the name because it was located on the south bank of Yellow River.

25 T. 6–7.

26 K. E. 10–11.

27 K. E. 13–14.

28 *JTS* 194a: 5167, *XTS* 215a: 6044, *TD* 198: 5434.

29 T. 7, K. S. 6.

30 Hirth 1899: 31.

31 Thomsen 1924: 126, Gabain 1950: 34, Giraud 1960: 171.

32 Hirth 1899: 31, Czeglédy 1962: 55, Kljaštornyj 1964: 26.

33 Thomsen 1896: 169, Bang 1896a: 12, Deny 1937: 301–2.

34 Czeglédy 1962: 57–58.

It was Sima Qian who for the first time recorded Yinshan. In the “Biography of the Xiongnu” in the *Shiji*:

Zhao Wulingwang (King Wuling of the Zhao Kingdom) (340–295 BC) reformed social customs and dressed like the nomads. He learned the art of archery and defeated the Linhu and the Loufan, two nomadic tribes in the north. He built a wall beginning from Dai, through Yinshan, to Gaoque, as a barrier.<sup>35</sup>

According to an early annotation by a scholar of the Jin dynasty, Xu Guang (352–425 AD), Yinshan was in the north of Anyang County, west of Wuyuan. Yinshan was located on the south side of the Yellow River, and Yangshan was on the north side of the Yellow River.<sup>36</sup> In Chinese philosophy, *yin* and *yang* are a pair of antagonistic concepts. The Yangshan mentioned by Xu refers to today’s Langshan.<sup>37</sup> Scholars have come to the conclusion that Yinshan in this context includes the greater part of today’s Yinshan Mountains, except the range of Langshan, because they were counterparts.<sup>38</sup>

The original meaning of Yinshan, according to the connotation of the word “Yinshan” in a narrow sense, refers specifically to Ula Mountain, as Xu Guang noted. Chinese people usually name a city or a mountain according to its location with respect to the closest river. The rule is: if a city or mountain lies on the north bank of the river, it will receive the name *yang*, e.g. Luoyang is on the north side of the Luo River; if the city or mountain lies on the south bank of a river, it will receive the name *yin*, e.g. Huaiyin is on the south side of the Huai River. Xu Guang’s annotation tells us clearly that Yinshan received the name because it lay on the south bank of the Yellow River. Today, Ula Mountain lies to the north of the Yellow River, but in ancient times it was on the south bank of the Yellow River, because the Yellow River has since changed its course.<sup>39</sup>

Since *çuğay* has nothing to do with Yinshan, then where is it located? Chinese sources, especially the newly unearthed epitaph of a general who fought against the Türks, shed light on this knotty question. In the 6th month of Yongchun 11/Hongdao 1 (30 Jun.–28 Jul. 683), a branch of Türk soldiers plundered Lan Prefecture. The general Yang Xuanji managed to repulse their attack

35 *Shiji* 110: 2885.

36 *Shiji* 100: 2886, note 6.

37 狼山. Tan Qixiang et al. 1982, vol. 11: 3–4, Li Xiujie 1937: 37, He Zi 1978, Bao Tong 1989: 95–97.

38 Li Xiujie 1937: 37, He Zi 1978, Bao Tong 1989: 94.

39 Li Xiujie 1937: 36.

and routed them.<sup>40</sup> General Yang's epitaph has recently been unearthed, providing us rich information about his military career.

In Yongchun I (ca. 682), Yang was promoted to Strong Brave General and Left Police Patrol Guard Command of the crown prince. He was appointed by the emperor as a defense commissioner to guard Zongcai Mountain in Lan Prefecture. He could draw several bundles of bows and shoot through the chest of a female rhinoceros. He could wield two halberds and cut the bones of a dragon. He was elevated by three ranks and promoted to General of the Left Courageous Guard, because of his meritorious deed in resisting the Türks.<sup>41</sup>

This epitaph tells us clearly that Zongcai Mountain was located in the territory of Lan Prefecture, which was a strategic district in the west of Taiyuan. The Tang court dispatched a military unit to this district in Yongchun II (ca. 683) and established it as a military Command. But two decades later, the Tang soldiers were all moved out, degrading the Command into a Defense Detachment under the jurisdiction of Datong.<sup>42</sup>

According to a Dunhuang manuscript concerning the rivers and mountains of the Tang dynasty, there are two mountains in Lan Prefecture: Zonglin and Yulong, located three hundred *li* (ca. 150 km) northwest of Kelan Military Command. There are a lot of pine trees in these mountains. Lan Prefecture and Sheng Prefecture are famous for their production of pines.<sup>43</sup> The mountain Zonglin recorded in this manuscript deserves our special attention. This first character *zong* 惣 shares the same pronunciation and meaning as the first character of "Zongcai", i.e. 總. The second character *lin* 林 is very similar in form to the second character of "Zongcai", i.e. 材. Both *lin* and *cai* have the meaning of "trees, wood", which makes much sense, as this region was famous for its pines. Considering that the Turkic name of the mountain is *cuğay*, *zongcai* (EMC: *tsəwŋ'-dʒə*) is likely the correct form of the transcription of the Turkic term than *zonglin* (EMC: *tsəwŋ'-lim*); it maybe a writing error by some local scribe in Dunhuang.<sup>44</sup>

The Kelan Military Command established by the Tang court was located in today's Kelan County, under the jurisdiction of Xinzhou City. Three hundred *li*

40 ZZZJ 203: 6415.

41 QTWBY 8: 330.

42 XTS 39: 1005.

43 The Dunhuang manuscript discussed here is catalogued as P. 2511 (Cen Zhongmian 1958: 891).

44 Cen Zhongmian 1958: 891.

(ca. 150 km) northwest of Kelan Country would almost take us to the area of Togtoh, which was called Sheng Prefecture in the Tang dynasty. That's why in the P. 2511 manuscript the pines in Zongcai Mountain are called "pines from Lan and Sheng prefectures". From this manuscript, we can broadly fix the location of Zongcai Mountain in the northwest of Shanxi Province and southeast of Togtoh, Inner Mongolia.<sup>45</sup> It is difficult for us to decide exactly which range was called Çuğay in the 7th Century, as there were no scientific or fixed methods of naming mountains in ancient times. People would give a local name to the closest spurs of an extensive mountain range, with the result that the same mountains could have different names across time and place.

Besides the Çuğay mountain forest, the other place where the Türk rebels took up residence was called Kara Kum ("Black Sand").<sup>46</sup> According to the narrative of Toñukuk, Kara Kum was next to the Çuğay mountain forest, or at least not far away from it. As discussed above, the Çuğay mountain forest was located in the northwest of Shanxi, to the southeast of Togtoh; the opinion that Kara Kum was located in the north of the Gobi can be excluded from the discussion.<sup>47</sup>

In the Chinese sources we can find a similar place-name, Heisha ("Black Sand"). It is quite possible, as Friedrich Hirth suggested, that the Chinese name *heisha* was a translation of the Old Turkic *kara kum*.<sup>48</sup> Many scholars have tried to locate the site of Black Sand;<sup>49</sup> Hirth's suggestion still remains the most acceptable one. Hirth used the Chinese sources to localize the site of Black Sand in today's Keke Yiligeng (i.e. Kuku Ilikung), Wuchuan County, Inner Mongolia.<sup>50</sup> From the Chinese sources we know that there was a citadel or town in Black Sand which was taken by Élteriş Kağan as the "capital" of the Türks at an early stage of his rebellion.<sup>51</sup> When the Türk army moved to the north of the Gobi, i.e. to the Ötüken mountain forest, the importance of the Çuğay mountain forest and the Black Sand citadel was unavoidably reduced. However, as we will discuss in Chapter 2, during the reign of Kapğan Kağan,

45 The newest discussion on this issue comes from Li Jinxiu 2018. Her conclusion is that Zongcai Mountain must be located near the junction of present-day Inner Mongolia, Shaanxi, and Shanxi, most probably in Shenmu, Shaanxi Province (Li Jinxiu 2018: 137–138).

46 T. 7.

47 Thomsen 1916: 60, Giraud 1960: 170.

48 Hirth 1899: 31.

49 For example, "Bayan-Obo" by Rui Chuanming 1997: 12–16; "Darhan Moomingyan Holbuyatu Hosiyu" by Bai and Bao 2012: 83–86.

50 Hirth 1899: 31.

51 *XTS* 215a: 6044.

he did use the Black Sand citadel again as a temporary “capital” to organize his attacks upon the Kitañ and Tang.

#### 4 Ashide Yuanzhen and Bilge Toñukuk

In the successful rebellion of Éłteriş Kağan, a defector from the Tang government to the Türks had played a crucial role. He was recorded as Ashide Yuanzhen in the Chinese sources. Ashide Yuanzhen, who was well acquainted with the military deployment of the Tang in the border area, had been in charge of a group of Türks who surrendered in Chanyu Protectorate in his early years. He had been arrested by the Tang Senior Scribe, Wang Benli, because he was involved in a criminal affair. When Éłteriş Kağan came to plunder, Yuanzhen, in order to atone for his crime, volunteered to “persuade” the rebelling Türk tribes to surrender. Scribe Wang consented to his request. However, Yuanzhen took the chance to surrender to Éłteriş Kağan. Éłteriş Kağan was so delighted to see Yuanzhen that he appointed him Abo Dagan (EMC: *?a-pa dat-kan* < OT: *apa tarkan*), in charge of military affairs.<sup>52</sup> Yuanzhen, along with other commanders, joined all the campaigns led by Éłteriş Kağan against the Tang, Kırkız, On Ok and so on. The Chinese sources tell us that Yuanzhen died during the campaign against the Türgiş.<sup>53</sup>

The Türk campaign against the Türgiş was narrated in detail by Toñukuk. When the Türk army was on its way back from the Kırkız, Éłteriş Kağan had to leave the army for home, because his wife had passed away. Though he had made very careful arrangements about the delegation of power, after he left there were still serious disputes among the Türk generals. They couldn't come to agreement on the question of whether or not to keep campaigning against the Türgiş. According to the narrative in the Toñukuk Inscription, Apa Tarkan and Böğü Kağan stood against Toñukuk, who was determined to keep campaigning.<sup>54</sup>

Apa Tarkan, mentioned here, is only a title, which was bestowed upon Yuanzhen by Éłteriş Kağan. In fact, as we will show in the following paragraphs, both *toñukuk* and *apa tarkan* are just titles, which means they were held by different personages at different times. For example, when Bilge Kağan ascended the throne, and a series of high officials were named as examples of how loyal the Türk officials were to their new kağan, both *apa tarkan* and *toñukuk* were

52 XTS 215a: 6044.

53 JTS 194a: 5168, XTS 215a: 6044.

54 T. 34–39.

on this list.<sup>55</sup> However, considering that Yuanzhen also joined this campaign against the Türgiř and lost his life in this campaign, it is reasonable for us to identify the Apa Tarkan mentioned by Toñukuk with Yuanzhen, who was his political opponent.

Friedrich Hirth, however, proposed a very controversial hypothesis that Yuanzhen and Toñukuk were the same person. He doubted the authenticity of the information preserved in the Chinese annals saying that Yuanzhen died during the campaign against the Türgiř, and conjectured that Yuanzhen fabricated a piece of fake news about his death and continued to live under a brand new name: Toñukuk.<sup>56</sup> This hypothesis has unfortunately been followed by many authoritative scholars.<sup>57</sup> A. U. Elöve even proposed that *toñukuk* was composed of *ton* and *yokuk*. In Old Turkic *ton* means “the first [born child]” and *yokuk* is a deverbal noun from *yok-* “to rise, ascend”, and therefore *toñukuk/tonyukuk* could be translated as “the highest person”.<sup>58</sup> S. G. Kljařtornyj went one step further, despite his limited knowledge in the Chinese language, to point out that the Chinese name *yuanzhen* could be interpreted as *yuan* “first” plus *zhen* “treasure”, which could somehow match the meaning of *toñukuk* proposed by A. U. Elöve. He cited the meaning of *yok-* as “to value, elevate, store” from the glossary of Malov 1951.<sup>59</sup> However, the verb *yok-* is absent from Clauson 1972 and Erdal 1991. In Clauson’s dictionary we can only find *yuk-* “to stick, infect”.<sup>60</sup>

As *toñukuk* was an official title rather than a personal name, it must have been bestowed upon Yuanzhen after he escaped from the Tang territory and surrendered to Élteriř Kağan. However, we know that Yuanzhen was born and brought up in China.<sup>61</sup> His Chinese name “Yuanzhen” had either been given to him by his parents at birth or given to him in the process of getting accustomed to the Chinese society when he grew up. Anyhow, he had received the name “Yuanzhen” before he joined the army of Kutluğ. If, as Kljařtornyj claimed, his Chinese name *yuanzhen* and the Turkic title *toñukuk* were connected in meaning, how could his parents or other people (or maybe himself) name him in accordance to the title that would be bestowed upon him two decades (or shorter) later? This is obviously anachronistic and illogical. In fact, Yuanzhen was a very common Chinese style personal name for descendants of Türks in

55 B. S. 13–14.

56 Hirth 1899: 14.

57 Thomsen 1924: 161, Gabain 1950: 33, Mori 1972 etc.

58 Elöve 1958: 70.

59 Kljařtornyj 1964: 31.

60 Clauson 1972: 897.

61 *XTS* 112: 4170.

the Tang dynasty. We can easily cite two similar names, e.g. an On Ok kağan was called Yuanqing, and a Türk chief who rebelled against the Tang rule was called Yuanchong,<sup>62</sup> both containing the character *yuan*, which has nothing to do with old Turkic *ton* or *tun*.

There are also many scholars who strongly disagree with Hirth's hypothesis.<sup>63</sup> One of the arguments put forward by them is that *JTS* and *XTS* clearly say that Yuanzhen died in the campaign against the Türgiř (ca. 690). But S. G. Kljařtornyj claimed that he found a piece of information in the Chinese sources that could demonstrate Yuanzhen was still alive in the year 698.<sup>64</sup> The source meant by S. G. Kljařtornyj is from *ZZTJ*, and it says that Apa Tarkan Yuanzhen persuaded Kapğan Kağan not to execute the Chinese diplomats in the year Shengong 1 (697, not 698 as S. G. Kljařtornyj stated).<sup>65</sup> However, this information in *ZZTJ* was copied from *CYQZ*, which is a collection of folk tales and not very reliable.<sup>66</sup> The author of *CYQZ* did not do any research but just wrote down what he heard from his fellows. His book is full of fantasy stories. Without any other supporting sources, we can't trust this record in *CYQZ* that Yuanzhen was still alive in 697. Actually, this record also contradicts the theory of Hirth, who assumed that after the Türgiř campaign (ca. 690) Yuanzhen had abandoned his Chinese name and used his Turkic name exclusively. If so, how could the author of *CYQZ* hear about him while all the imperial annalists did not?

In short, both Yuanzhen (i.e. Apa Tarkan) and Toñukuk were important commanders in the Türk army. It is unnecessary to identify the two figures as the same personage. History itself is complicated and multifaceted. To simplify history by reducing its complexity does not help us to understand history properly. The best approach to understanding history by historians is to accurately reveal and represent the multifaceted and complicated sides of history itself.

## 5 Campaigns of the Türk Army

The newly established Türk army was still within the territory of the Tang regime, more exactly in the region of the Çuğay mountain forest and Black Sand. The rebellious Türk army basically consisted of Türk immigrants who had grown up in China, and were not good at planting grains. The severe

62 *JTS* 194b: 5189, *ZZTJ* 207: 6573.

63 Liu Mau-tsai 1958: 594–7, Cen Zhongmian 1958: 865–6, Iwasa Seiichirō 1939 and Luo Xin 2009: 213–224.

64 Kljařtornyj 1964: 29.

65 *ZZTJ* 206: 6515.

66 *CYQZ* 3: 74.

environmental conditions, either mountain or sand, also did not allow them to plant any grains to support themselves. In order to survive, the Türk soldiers had no choice but to plunder the Chinese people for food and wealth. At the same time, they battled against the Chinese army, striving for more space for the expansion of their own regime. At this moment, the territory controlled by the Türks was still very limited. The first targets of the Türk army were the neighboring Tang prefectures. At the early stage of the Türk rebellion, the Tang government had not yet built its strongholds on the frontier. The Chinese local governments were not prepared at all when the Türk troops intruded. As a result, many of the local Tang officials were easily captured by the Türk soldiers and their storages facilities were robbed.

Élteriş Kağan's military actions in the Tang border regions started on the 3rd day of the 6th month of Yongchun 1 (12 Jul. 682).<sup>67</sup> The prefect of Lan, Wang Demao, was killed by the Türks.<sup>68</sup> The death of Wang implies that the land which the Türk rebels were plundering was under his jurisdiction, i.e. it was part of Lan Prefecture. Élteriş Kağan and his followers spent half a year in the Çuğay mountain forest. Living in the mountains was very difficult; they survived by eating wild game and hares.<sup>69</sup> The severe winter forced them to go downhill and take up residence in the Black Sand citadel. Afterwards, they went to plunder the northern border of Bing Prefecture.<sup>70</sup>

The Tang general Xue Rengui, who was the Acting Commander-in-Chief of Dai Prefecture, was sent to lead the defense against the Türks in Yun Prefecture. General Xue's fame was wide-spread among the Türk soldiers because of his exquisite archery.<sup>71</sup> The Türk soldiers could not believe that this famous general was still alive, because it was said that he had been sent into exile and had passed away on the journey. In order to prove his identity, General Xue took off his armor to show the Türk soldiers his face. The Türk soldiers were frightened

67 *Jia-zi*.

68 *XTS* 3: 77.

69 T. 8.

70 *JTS* 5: 110.

71 In 662, Xue Rengui was appointed Assistant-General of the Tang army campaigning against the Tokuz Oğuz. Having heard the news that Chinese troops were approaching, the Tokuz Oğuz organized an army of a hundred thousand soldiers to resist. The number recorded here is exaggerated. Before the battle began, the Tokuz Oğuz sent ten warriors to enrage the Chinese soldiers. The Tang army sent General Xue to fight against them. Xue picked up three arrows and shot. All three arrows successfully hit Tokuz Oğuz warriors. Threatened by the Tang general's magic archery, the rest of the Tokuz Oğuz warriors all dismounted and surrendered to the Tang. As a result, the Tang army defeated the Tokuz Oğuz army and captured three *yabǵu* (*ZZTJ* 200: 6328, *JTS* 83: 2781, *XTS* 111: 4141). After this show of his skill, General Xue Rengui's fame became widespread among nomadic people.

by this general's bravery and ran away. During this battle, Élateriş Kağan suffered a loss of tens of thousands of soldiers and many animals.<sup>72</sup> Actually, this defeat of the Türk army was only an exception, as, most of the time, the Türk troops crushed the Chinese troops.

The Türks managed to survive the freezing winter and set off to plunder Ding Prefecture on the 12th day of the 2nd month of Yongchun 11 (15 Mar. 683)<sup>73</sup> and Gui Prefecture on the 17th day (20 Mar. 683) respectively.<sup>74</sup> They went further to besiege Chanyu Protectorate on the 2nd day of the 3rd month (4 Apr. 683)<sup>75</sup> and killed the adjutant Zhang Xingshi.<sup>76</sup> On the 18th day of the 5th month (18 Jun. 683),<sup>77</sup> Élateriş Kağan attacked Yu Prefecture and killed the prefect Li Sijian. The Commander-in-Chief of Feng Prefecture, Cui Zhibian, led troops to fight against the Türks to the north of Zhao-na Mountain. General Cui was captured by the Türk soldiers.

Unable to resist the Türk attacks, the Tang court intended to abandon Feng Prefecture and move the residents to Ling Prefecture and Xia Prefecture. However, this plan was shelved after criticism from the adjutant of Feng Prefecture, Tang Xiujing, who saw the strategic importance of this prefecture.<sup>78</sup> In the 6th month (30 Jun.–28 Jul. 683), a branch of Türk troops attacked Lan Prefecture. The assistant general Yang Xuanji routed them.<sup>79</sup> Because of the Türks' incessant assaults on Lan Prefecture, the Tang court decided to degrade the Kelan Command to a lower ranked military institution.<sup>80</sup> On the 15th day of the 11th month (8 Dec. 683),<sup>81</sup> the Tang court appointed Cheng Wuting as the Chief Commander of Chanyu Route, leading a punitive expedition against Élateriş Kağan and Ashide Yuanzhen in the Çuğay mountain forest.<sup>82</sup>

If we take a closer look at the route of the Türk invasion in this period, we can map a picture, clearly showing the process of their expansion. The Türk military actions started in Lan Prefecture, and via Bing Prefecture and Dai Prefecture, finally arrived in Yun Prefecture, where they had earlier been settled by the Chinese government. Obviously, the Türk rebels made a detour

72 *JTS* 83: 2783, *XTS* 111: 4142–3, *THY* 94: 1691, *ZZTJ* 203: 6412. In *THY*, the battle was recorded as taking place in the tenth month, which should be an error (Wu Yugui 2009: 493).

73 *Geng-wu*.

74 *Yi-hai*.

75 *Geng-yin*.

76 *JTS* 5: 110, *XTS* 3: 78, *ZZTJ* 203: 6413.

77 *Yi-si*.

78 *JTS* 5: 111, *XTS* 3: 78, *ZZTJ* 203: 6414.

79 *ZZTJ* 203: 6415.

80 *XTS* 39: 1005.

81 *Wu-xu*.

82 *JTS* 5: 111, *XTS* 3: 78, *ZZTJ* 203: 6415.

returning to their base. On the way, they plundered many Chinese towns and managed to strengthen their forces. In the following year, they started a new wave of campaigns against Chinese towns, namely in Ding Prefecture, Gui Prefecture and Yu Prefecture, which all belonged to Hebei Route (i.e. Shandong area). Westwards, the Türk army plundered also Feng Prefecture, which had a strategically important citadel of the Tang government on the northern bank of the Yellow River.

Through military campaigns, the Türk soldiers acquainted themselves with the passes, roads, rivers, and mountains in Tang territory. Therefore, the itinerary of Élderiş Kağan's campaign in Chinese territory became a legacy for his successor. Facing the Türk invasion, neither the Tang central government nor the local governments could do anything to stop them. Their reactions were slow and their actions were passive. In short, the Tang government could not stop the expansion of the growing Türk empire.

## 6 Return to Ötüken

In the Çuğay mountain forest and Black Sand, there was not enough space for the expanding Türk empire, partly because of the increasing defense deployment of the Tang, partly because of Élderiş Kağan's personal ambition. Although he was capable of plundering the neighboring Tang towns to meet the needs of his growing army, he was not powerful enough to besiege or conquer any of them. He had to look for a more spacious living place for his growing army, and wait until his regime became powerful enough to attack or conquer Tang territory. The homeland of the early Türks, Ötüken, which was then occupied by the Tokuz Oğuz, would have been an ideal place. The Ötüken mountain forest was a sacred place in the eyes of the Türk people. It somehow represented the authority of nomadic regimes on the steppe. If the Türk kağan wanted to legitimize his regime and make it a new steppe empire, returning to Ötüken might be a good choice. There is both direct and indirect evidence showing us that the Türk forces had already begun to penetrate into the territory of the Tokuz Oğuz since the year 684.

The direct evidence comes from the Turkic inscriptions. While the Türk soldiers were striving for survival in the Çuğay mountain forest and Blank Sand, a fugitive from the Tokuz Oğuz brought them the news that the newly inaugurated kağan of the Tokuz Oğuz intended to unite with the Tang and Kıtaiñ forces to attack the Türks from different directions. The Tokuz Oğuz kağan had sent messages to the Tang and Kıtaiñ leaders, reminding them of the courage of the Türk kağan and the wisdom of his consultant (i.e. Toñukuk). The Tokuz

Oğuz kağan threatened them with the urgency of the situation saying that if they did not take any pre-emptive actions, they would get attacked by the Türks sooner or later.

Toñukuk became anxious when he received this piece of intercepted intelligence, worrying that a triple alliance forged by the Tokuz Oğuz, Tang and Kitañ, would put the Türk regime in danger. After a careful analysis of the situation, he advised his kağan to attack their enemies one by one. Their first target were the Tokuz Oğuz. The advice of Toñukuk was appreciated by Élteriş Kağan. Under the leadership of Élteriş Kağan, the Türk soldiers campaigned towards the homeland of their forefathers, Ötüken. In Ötüken, they confronted three thousand Tokuz Oğuz soldiers and completely defeated them. After their victory over the Tokuz Oğuz, people from neighboring places came to surrender to the Türks.<sup>83</sup> Since Toñukuk has not given us any hints about when he led the Türk troops northwards, we have to rely on the Chinese sources to ascertain when the Türks conquered the Tokuz Oğuz people.

The Tokuz Oğuz kağan mentioned by Toñukuk might be the key to solving this problem, so it is necessary for us firstly to reveal his identity. Within the Tokuz Oğuz confederation, the Uyğur polity was the most powerful polity and probably the only one which had its own kağan. Since Zhen-guan xx (ca. 646), although they were nominally still under the rule of the Tang government, the Uyğurs had already had a kağan. In that year, the Uyğur chief Tumidu ascended the throne and established an administrative system similar to that of the First Türk Empire, including six outer ministers, three inner ministers, plus several *dudu*, *jiangjun* and *sima*.<sup>84</sup>

The Chinese titles *dudu* and *jiangjun* were both borrowed into Old Turkic, as *tutuk* and *sejün*, meaning “commander” and “general” respectively. What is hardly known is that the title *sima* mentioned here was also borrowed into Old Turkic as *sime*, meaning “adjutant”, referring to a lower military rank. In the Toñukuk Inscription, the envoy sent by the Tokuz Oğuz kağan to the Kitañ was called Toñra Sime, which was exactly the same title as that found among the Uyğurs. Besides, in the Toñukuk Inscription the envoy dispatched by the Tokuz Oğuz kağan to the Tang was Kunı Sejün, whose title can also be found in the Uyğur administrative system. Thus, we assume that the Tokuz Oğuz kağan mentioned by Toñukuk was an Uyğur kağan, but which one?

Historical sources about the history of the Uyğurs before they established their own empire, in 744, are quite scarce, and from them we can only draw a sketchy picture. In 648, Tumidu was killed by his nephew Wuhe, who had an

83 T. 8–17.

84 *XTS* 217a: 6113, *JTS* 195: 5196.

affair with his wife. However, Wuhe did not manage to win the support of the Tang court. In the end, he was executed by a Tang general. The son of Tumidu, Porun, was appointed by the Tang court as the Grand Silifa (EMC: *zī'-li<sup>h</sup>-puat* < OT: *élteber*), in charge of military affairs among the Uyğurs. Porun took a very cooperative policy to the Tang court and made a great contribution to the Tang conquest of the On Ok people to the west. He passed away during the Longshuo years (661–663).

After Porun's death, his nephew Bisudu ascended the throne and turned hostile to the Tang government.<sup>85</sup> Along with the Pugu and Tongluo (EMC: *dəwŋ-la* < OT: *toŋra*) tribes, he plundered Tang territory. The Tang emperor could not bear this kind of provocation and sent a punitive campaign against the Tokuz Oğuz. The Tang government succeeded in putting down the rebellion and established the central area of the Tokuz Oğuz as a Chinese administrative unit. Bisudu fled away and after that he disappears from the Chinese sources. The next ruler of the Uyğurs was Dujiezhi (r. 680–?).<sup>86</sup> But from there on, records about the Uyğurs in the Chinese sources become even scarcer and sometimes contradict each other.

The Tang court's inability to get updated information about the Uyğurs after the reign of Dujiezhi may be due to the conquest of the Tokuz Oğuz by the Türks. If this is the case, then the kağan of the Tokuz Oğuz mentioned by Toñukuk must be the "Dujiezhi" mentioned in the Chinese sources. According to the Kül Tégin Inscription, the enemies to the north of the Türks were Baz Kağan and the Tokuz Oğuz people.<sup>87</sup> According to the chronology, this Baz Kağan must be the same Tokuz Oğuz kağan mentioned by Toñukuk in his inscription. That is to say, the Baz Kağan in the Old Turkic inscriptions should be the same as the Dujiezhi of the Chinese sources.

When Élateriş Kağan died, Baz Kağan was depicted on his funerary monument as a *balbal*.<sup>88</sup> There are many interpretations of what a *balbal* was,<sup>89</sup> but basically it was related to a custom in Türk society. In order to honor a hero's achievements, the Türk people would erect a stone figure or stone figures at his death, imitating the look of an enemy or enemies that he had killed in his lifetime. So, Baz Kağan, whose name in the Chinese sources was Dujiezhi, was killed by the Türk Élateriş Kağan in battle. *JTS* tells us that Dujiezhi's son Fudifu ascended the throne in the Sisheng year (ca. 684) after his father's death. This

85 *JTS* said he was the son of Porun.

86 *JTS* 195: 5197–8, *JTS* 217a: 6113–4.

87 K. E. 14.

88 K. E. 16.

89 *Jisl* 1997: 61–71.

information helps us to ascertain that the Türks must have finished their conquest over the Tokuz Oğuz people by the end of the Sisheng year.

After the conquest of the Ötüken mountain forest, the Türks supported and instigated the Tokuz Oğuz people in turning hostile against the Tang government. From the perspective of the Tang court, the hostile and provocative attitude of the Tokuz Oğuz was regarded as a rebellion. The Chinese sources tell us that in Chuigong I (ca. 685) thirty thousand On Ok troops were dispatched towards the Tokuz Oğuz under the leadership of the Tang General Tian Yangming. The On Ok troops were so eager to crush the Uyğurs that they did not act in accordance with the orders of the Tang general.<sup>90</sup> However, due to strategic considerations, the Tang court did not mean to crush the Uyğur tribes. Thanks to the advice of Chen Zi'ang, the On Ok generals and soldiers escaped punishment for not observing discipline, and instead received awards from the Tang court.<sup>91</sup> In order to accept and resettle those Tokuz Oğuz who had surrendered, the Tang court moved the administrative office of Anbei Protectorate to the citadel of Tongcheng in the 6th month of the same year (7 Jul.–5 Aug. 685).<sup>92</sup> From this we can infer that their attack upon the Tokuz Oğuz people must have taken place before July 685.

The rebellion against the Tang government by the Tokuz Oğuz people did not cease because the Uyğurs had suffered a crushing defeat. The Toņra and Pugu tribes started to rebel against Tang rule, too. General Liu Jingtong was sent to lead the cavalry in Hexi to suppress the rebels on the way to Juyanhai. In the 5th month of Chuigong II (28 May–25 Jun. 686), Tang troops were gathering in the Tongcheng Citadel, ready to march across the Gobi desert.<sup>93</sup>

For the Tokuz Oğuz people, misfortunes did not come singly. There was a severe drought, which had lasted for three years in their homeland. Seventy to eighty percent of their livestock died of starvation. More than ten thousand people came to Tongcheng to surrender. The road across the desert was so long and the conditions were so adverse that most of their sheep and horses died on the way. They had to catch field mice and dig up the roots of grass to survive.

90 In 651, the western Türk (i.e. On Ok) kağan, Helu (EMC: *ya<sup>h</sup>-lɔ*'), captured Bés Balık. The Tang emperor sent twenty thousand Chinese soldiers and five thousand Uyğur cavalry to fight against western Türk troops. With the help of the Uyğur cavalry, the Tang army managed to regain the control of Bés Balık. In 656, the western Türk kağan came to plunder Tang territory again. Thanks to Uyğur troops, the Tang army succeeded in defeating the On Ok again (*JTS* 195: 5197, *XTS* 217a: 6113). From then on, the On Ok people hated the Uyğurs to the core.

91 *QTW* 211: 2140, *XTS* 107: 4071–2.

92 *ZZTJ* 203: 6435.

93 *ZZTJ* puts this event in the last year. According to the reports by Chen Zi'ang, the Tang sent General Liu in the year Chuigong II (Wu Yugui 2009: 517, 532).

An old man told the Tang officials that there had never been such severe starvation since the Tokuz Oğuz people were created.<sup>94</sup> A large number of Tokuz Oğuz people moved to the Hexi Corridor (today's Gansu Province) under the control of the Tang, and the Ötüken mountain forest was gradually dominated by the Türk people.

## 7 The Türk Campaign against Shandong

In the monkey year (23 Feb. 684–8 Feb. 685), there was good news from the Türk royal house. Élateriş Kağan's wife (Élbilge Katun) gave birth to a son, who was later known as Bilge Kağan. While the Türks were migrating towards the Ötüken, they launched an intensive attack upon Tang territory. On the 16th day of the 7th month (31 Aug. 684),<sup>95</sup> Élateriş Kağan and Ashide Yuanzhen attacked Shuo Prefecture. General Cheng Wuting was sent to resist them.<sup>96</sup> Cheng was good at leading his troops. All of the Tang generals and soldiers were willing to do their best. The Türk soldiers were greatly frightened by him and dared not plunder Tang land. However, two months later, this general was involved in a political scandal and was executed. Having heard news of Cheng's death, the Türk soldiers were delighted and built a shrine for him. They always worshipped this general at his shrine before they set off on military campaigns.<sup>97</sup>

In the year of the rooster (9 Feb. 685–29 Jan. 686), Élateriş Kağan had a second son, the later Kül Tégin. In this year, according to the Chinese sources, there were two waves of plundering by the Türks in the Tang border regions. The first wave took place in the 2nd month (11 Mar.–8 Apr. 685); the victims were the people of the Shuo and the Dai Prefectures. The Tang court appointed Chunyu Chuping as the commander of Yangqu Route, to campaign against the Türks who remained in the Çuğay mountain forest. The second wave of Türk plundering took place on the 8th day of the 4th month (16 May 685),<sup>98</sup> again in Dai Prefecture. General Chunyu led his troops to fight against the Türks. The Tang troops encountered their enemy in Xin Prefecture and suffered a loss of five thousand soldiers.<sup>99</sup>

In the 10th month of Chuigong II (23 Oct.–20 Nov. 686), there was a small group of Türk troops, about three thousand, that came to plunder Tang land.

94 QTW 209: 2119–20.

95 *Yi-chou*.

96 XTS 4: 83, JTS 6: 116, ZZTJ 203: 6420.

97 JTS 83: 2785, XTS 111: 4147–8, ZZTJ 203: 6432–3.

98 *Gui-wei*.

99 XTS 4: 84, XTS 215a: 6044, ZZTJ 203: 6434.

The Tang general Heichi Changzhi, who was originally a Korean, led only two hundred cavalry to intercept the enemy. The Türk army suffered a small defeat during the battle at Liangjing (“two wells”). But at sunset, the Türk army launched a surprise attack against the Tang camp. General Heichi ordered his soldiers to light fires in different corners of the camp, making the Türk soldiers believe that Tang reinforcements were arriving. The Türk soldiers were so frightened that they fled away.

Neither Élderiş Kağan nor Ashide Yuanzhen are mentioned in Chinese accounts of this battle, which indicates that the main Türk military force had already been dispatched to the north of the Gobi. There is further evidence that could prove Élderiş Kağan had by then already moved his military base out of the Çuğay mountain forest. In this year, the Tang government decided to downgrade Chanyu Protectorate to a lower military institution.<sup>100</sup> The downgrading of Chanyu Protectorate was obviously a result of the decreasing strategic importance of this region, as there were no more Türk soldiers stationed nearby.

According to the narrative of Toñukuk, after the Türk conquest over the Tokuz Oğuz people in the Ötüken mountain forest, he advised Élderiş Kağan that they should campaign further into Tang territory, to places the Türk troops had never reached before. The two place names mentioned by Toñukuk are Shandong and Taluy.<sup>101</sup> Literally, *shan* means “mountain” and *dong* means “east”. Shandong at that time was a geographic term referring to the area east of the Taihang Mountains.<sup>102</sup> According to Friedrich Hirth, *taluy* was a transcription of the Chinese *da* (EMC: *da'*) and *lei* (EMC: *lwi'*). The first character *da* is an adjective meaning “big, great”; and the second character *lei* refers to the Lei River, which is called the Sang-gan River today.<sup>103</sup> Despite its foreign origin, *taluy* in Old Turkic basically means “sea, ocean”.<sup>104</sup> Toñukuk said that Türk troops managed to reach cities in Shandong as well as by the sea (i.e. East China Sea). They attacked twenty-three Tang cities.<sup>105</sup> Unfortunately, none of these cities' names are mentioned. For further information about the Türk military actions in Shandong, we have to turn to Chinese sources.

The twenty-three cities might represent the sum of all the Tang cities or towns that the Türks had plundered during the reign of Élderiş Kağan. Concerning the Türk campaign in Shandong, only one city is mentioned in the

100 *THY* 73: 1309.

101 T. 18.

102 Hirth 1899: 16–17.

103 Hirth 1899: 18.

104 Clauson 1972: 502.

105 T. 19.

Chinese sources: Changping. On the 22nd day of the 2nd month of Chuigong III (9 Apr. 687),<sup>106</sup> Éłteriř Kağan and Ashide Yuanzhen plundered Changping in You Prefecture. General Heichi was sent to lead troops to fight against the Türks.<sup>107</sup> However, we don't know whether the two sides met or not. In the 8th month (12 Sept.–11 Oct. 687), when Éłteriř Kağan and Ashide Yuanzhen came to plunder Shuo Prefecture, General Heichi was again sent to intercept them. The Tang troops encountered the Türks in Huanghua Dui (“the Yellow Flower Hillock”). Tang troops defeated their enemy completely and pursued them for forty *li* (ca. 20 km). The rest of the Türk soldiers fled to the north of the Gobi.<sup>108</sup>

About one month later, when Éłteriř Kağan had not yet recovered from this military setback, thirteen thousand Tang troops appeared on his doorstep. General Cuan Baobi, who was jealous of General Heichi's achievements, had volunteered to lead an army to capture the rest of the Türk soldiers in the north of the Gobi. The Tang court had consented to his request but ordered him to act in cooperation with General Heichi. Cuan was so eager to achieve victory that he did not wait for General Heichi's troops and led his own troops deep into the desert.

Before he arrived, astonishingly, he sent scouts to tell the Türks to get prepared. The result of this battle was not surprising: the whole of Cuan's army was annihilated by the Türks. On the 9th day of the 10th month of Chuigong III (19 Nov. 687), General Cuan returned to the Tang court alone. He was of course executed by the Tang court. The empress was so ruffled by this humiliating defeat that she decided to change the Chinese name Kutluğ (i.e. Éłteriř Kağan) into Buzulu, which was a curse indicating that Éłteriř Kağan would die soon. The last character of *buzulu* was the last character of Éłteriř Kağan's Chinese name/title “Gudulu”.<sup>109</sup> The first two characters *buzu* literally mean “not to die”, but in fact the tone is a rhetorical, and it means: “Why not die?”<sup>110</sup> In the 9th month of Chuigong IV (30 Sept.–29 Oct. 688), Empress Wu intended

106 *Bing-chen*.

107 *XTS* 4: 86, *JTS* 194a: 5167, *ZZTJ* 204: 6443.

108 *XTS* 4: 86, *JTS* 194a: 5167, *ZZTJ* 204: 6445, *TD* 198: 5434.

109 *JTS* 194a: 5167–8, *XTS* 215a: 6044, *TD* 198: 5434, *ZZTJ* 204: 6446.

110 Previous understandings of this phrase are not correct. Parker's translation: “useless fellow” was a pure assumption, having nothing to do with the original meaning of this phrase (Parker 1895: 213). F. Hirth cited a text from *Shijing*, interpreting *buzu* as “unfinished”. He understood the last character *lu* as a Chinese word, meaning “luck”, and therefore translating *buzulu* as “unfinished luck” (Hirth 1899: 64). But, *lu* was actually a part of Gudulu's name/title in the Chinese transcription, having nothing to do with “luck”. Liu Mau-tsai understood the pejorative meaning of this name correctly, but, influenced by Hirth, he also treated the character *lu* here as a pure Chinese character meaning “luck” (Liu Mau-tsai 1958: 594).

to send General Cao Renshi to lead troops in a campaign against the Türks. However, she was dissuaded from her plan by Chen Zi'ang.<sup>111</sup>

## 8 The Tripartite Alliance against the Türks

After the victory over the Tang army, Élateriş Kağan adjusted his policy and concentrated on campaigning westwards. From Chuigong IV (ca. 688) to Changshou III (ca. 694), the Chinese sources are almost silent on the Türks, so we have to rely on the Turkic inscriptions for a reconstruction of the history of this period. According to the news intercepted by Toñukuk, there seemed to have been a military coalition between the Tang, On Ok and Kırkız. These three parties discussed their plans against the Türks and meant to dispatch troops to the Altay Mountains and from there campaign eastwards against the Türks. The Türgiş kağan declared that when his troops arrived in the territory of the Türks, he would not let the Tokuz Oğuz off.<sup>112</sup>

The Türgiş Kağan, whose name or title in the Chinese sources was Wuzhile (EMC: ʔɔ-*tri<sup>h</sup>-lək*),<sup>113</sup> was the actual ruler of the On Ok regime and seemed to play the most active role in this political and military coalition. The Türgiş kağan had been the Mohe Dagan (EMC: *mak-ɣa<sup>h</sup> dat-kan* < OT: *bağa tarkan*) during the reign of Ashina Huseluo, who had been the kağan of the On Ok people. Because of Huseluo's cruelty, the On Ok people started supporting Wuzhile as their new kağan. Wuzhile appointed twenty *tutuks* (i.e. commanders), each in charge of seven thousand soldiers. He campaigned against Transoxiana and managed to capture the city of Suiye (EMC: *swəj<sup>h</sup>-jiap* < Suyab). After the capture of Suiye, he moved his people there. Under his leadership, the Türgiş grew to be a superpower, neighboring the Türks to the northeast, the Central Asian kingdoms to the southwest and Xi Prefecture and Ting Prefecture of the Tang to the southeast. The Türgiş kağan became the real master in the land of the On Ok, while descendants of the former royal house (i.e. the Ashina Huseluo) took up residence in China and did not dare return home.<sup>114</sup>

From the Chinese sources we know that there was only one campaign against the Türks by the Tang army during this period. On the 18th day of the 5th month of Yongchang I (10 Jun. 689),<sup>115</sup> a monk named Xue Huaiyi, who was

111 QTW 213: 2159.

112 T. 19–22.

113 As to the Turkic form of "Wuzhile", Beckwith suggests *Očirliq* (Beckwith 1987: 65, 71–72), J. A. Zuev suggests *Üčliq/Üč Eliq* (Zuev 2002: 145).

114 JTS 194b: 5190, XTS 215b: 6066.

115 Ji-si.

actually the secret lover of the empress, was appointed Grand Commander of the Xinping Army, to lead a punitive expedition against the Türks. When they reached the Zi River, they found no enemies. They left some boastful inscriptions about their campaign and withdrew.<sup>116</sup>

However, there is no sign that the military action led by Xue Huaiyi had anything to do with an alliance of the Tang with the Türgiř kağan against the Türks. Quite the opposite, this idle military action by the Tang army reflects unfamiliarity with the situation of the Türks. This military action should be understood within the context of the political turbulence of the Tang court. At this point in time, Empress Wu intended to abolish the Tang dynasty and proclaim herself as the founder of a new dynasty known as Zhou, an action which was fiercely opposed by many princes of the Tang royal family. She had executed twelve royal family members just one month earlier.<sup>117</sup> Considering this political background, we can assume that the empress herself was probably quite sure that there were no Türk troops on the border regions and deliberately sent her lover to lead such an expedition, for nothing if not to improve her own prestige, in preparation for her inauguration. There was an attempt at a similar expedition on the 3rd day of the 9th month (21 Sept. 689),<sup>118</sup> but it seems that they did not set off.<sup>119</sup>

As the inscription of Toñukuk is an oral account of his early military career without any information about concrete dates, On Ok's attempt to build an alliance with the Tang to attack the Türks and their Tokuz Oğuz subjects could be the same event as that which happened in Chuigong I (ca. 685), when thirty thousand On Ok troops, under the supervision of the Tang general Tian Yangming, routed the Tokuz Oğuz completely (see above).

## 9 The Türk Campaign against the Kırkız

Within this tripartite political coalition, the Kırkız were a relatively new power. There seemed to be almost no diplomatic relations between the Tang and Xiajiasi (EMC: *γəit/γe-kəit/ke:t-siä/si* < OT: *kurkız*) regimes in this period, at least from what we can say based on the Chinese sources. The last time that the Kırkız sent an envoy to the Tang court was in 648. When the Tokuz Oğuz tribes surrendered to the Tang government, the élteber of the Kırkız also came to

116 ZZTJ 204: 6458.

117 ZZTJ 204: 6457.

118 *Ren-zì*. According to *xTS*, Xue was appointed Grand Commander of the second campaign against the Türks on the 3rd day of the 8th month (23 Aug.) (*xTS* 4: 89). See Wu Yugui 2009: 559.

119 ZZTJ 204: 6460.

Chang'an. The Kırkız élteber was warmly received by the Tang emperor, since this was the first time that the Kırkız built an official diplomatic relationship with the Tang government. In the eyes of the Tang emperor, the arrival of the Kırkız envoy was even more important than his capture of three Türk chiefs. The territory of the Kırkız was established as an autonomous district under the supervision of the Tang government.<sup>120</sup>

We hardly know how Tang governance functioned in the land of the Kırkız; and there is no record left to us concerning political interaction between the local Kırkız district and the Tang central government. Forty years later, as Tang influence in the north of the Gobi had already faded away, the Kırkız had developed into an independent and significant power on the steppe. They had a kağan, and even threatened the newly established Türk Empire.

Such a political and military tripartite alliance made Toñukuk sleepless and anxious. After careful consideration, he made the decision to campaign, first of all, against the Kırkız. After a ten-day painstaking trek under arduous conditions, the Türk troops managed to launch a surprise attack on the Kırkız people while they were still sleeping.<sup>121</sup> The arduous conditions on the way to the Kırkız mentioned by Toñukuk agree with the Chinese sources. According to *XTS*, the territory of the Kırkız was to the north of Tanman Mountain. It was moist and damp in summer. There was snow in winter.<sup>122</sup> The name of this mountain recorded in another Chinese source as Quman (EMC: *k<sup>h</sup>uawk-man<sup>h</sup>*):<sup>123</sup> *k<sup>h</sup>uawk-man<sup>h</sup>* is most likely a transcription of the word *kögmen* from the Toñukuk Inscription.<sup>124</sup> Since there is no chronological information in the Toñukuk Inscription, it is difficult for us to say exactly when the Türk troops campaigned against the Kırkız. However, as mentioned in the inscription, the Türk troops rode on horseback and broke through snow,<sup>125</sup> so we can broadly say that it happened in winter, but in which year? The answer will be offered in the following sections.

## 10 Toñukuk's Isolation in the Army

The Kırkız kağan was executed by the Türks, and the Kırkız people all came to pledge their allegiance to the Türk kağan. The defeat of the Kırkız was a significant victory for the expanding Türk Empire, because it destroyed the

120 *XTS* 217b: 6149, *ZZTJ* 198: 6252.

121 T. 22–28.

122 *XTS* 217b: 6147.

123 *YYZZ* 4: 45.

124 T. 23.

125 T. 25.

potentially hostile tripartite alliance against them and they could now concentrate on coping with the other two opponents. While the Türk troops were returning from the Kırkız, a fugitive brought them a piece of intelligence: that the Türgiŝ kağan meant to form an alliance with the Tang army to fight against the Türks.<sup>126</sup> The role played by the Tang in this alliance should not be overestimated, because Chinese sources are silent about such an alliance, and Toñukuk did not mention any Tang troops in his battle against the Türgiŝ either.

When the fugitive arrived at the Türk camp, he said that both the Türgiŝ kağan and the Tang troops were already on the way. However, at the same time, a piece of much more shocking news arrived in the Türk camp: their katun had passed away. Éłteriŝ Kağan had to leave the camp for home immediately, in order to organize a funeral feast for his deceased wife. Before he left, he ordered the army to continue marching towards the Altay Mountains and made careful arrangements about the delegation of power. He appointed Inel Kağan and Tarduŝ Ŝad as the nominal heads of the army, while Toñukuk was to be the actual commander of the campaign against the Türgiŝ. This arrangement, however, caused strong resentment towards Toñukuk in the army. Toñukuk became isolated.<sup>127</sup>

Here, we encounter two new personages: Inel Kağan and Tarduŝ Ŝad. It is necessary for us to clarify their identities. The most senior figure was Inel Kağan, as he held the title “kağan”. Since at this time Éłteriŝ Kağan was still alive, this Inel Kağan must have been a junior kağan, who was a candidate to succeed to the throne after Éłteriŝ Kağan passed away. This junior kağan was most probably the eldest son of Éłteriŝ Kağan. It is a pity that we don’t have any further information about his identity, either in the Chinese sources or in the Old Turkic inscriptions.

Previous conjectures by scholars on the identity of this person are anachronistic. They tried to identify this Inel Kağan with one of Kapğan Kağan’s sons, Yinie (EMC: *?ji-net* < OT: *inel*) Kağan, who had been sent to besiege Béŝ Balık in the year 714.<sup>128</sup> However, appointing junior kağans was a common practice in the first and the second Türk empires.<sup>129</sup> “Inel” was a title, which means it was held by different persons at different times. It is anachronistic to identify the junior kağan in the reign of Éłteriŝ Kağan with the junior kağan in the reign of Kapğan Kağan.

126 T. 28–30.

127 T. 30–32.

128 Thomsen 1916: 92–99, Thomsen 1924: 161.

129 Michael Drompp used “subordinate qaghan” instead of “junior kağan” (Drompp 1991: 92–115).

The other important figure was Tarduş Şad, or more exactly, “the Şad over the Tarduş people”, which was also an official title rather than a name. At this time, the personage holding this title was probably Mochuo, the later Kapğan Kağan, because from the Chinese sources we know that he had been appointed by his elder brother to the position of Şad in 682.<sup>130</sup> When he ascended the throne in 691, he should already have left the position of Şad. However, we have no idea who his successor in this position was. It was only in 697 that the later Bilge Kağan was appointed as Tarduş Şad.<sup>131</sup> René Giraud’s assumption that the Tarduş Şad mentioned by Toñukuk referred to Bilge Kağan is anachronistic.<sup>132</sup>

Discord in the Türk army broke out when they reached the Altay Mountains and settled down there. New intelligence about the Türgiş arrived: they meant to assemble at Yarış Plain. The prudent Toñukuk sent a message about the urgent situation to his kağan in Ötüken and asked for new orders. But his power had been restricted, at least in the field of intelligence. He could not obtain the original message sent back by Élderiş Kağan, but only got an indirect order from Böğü Kağan that the army should settle down in the Altay Mountains and build strongholds. At the same time, Böğü Kağan sent a secret message to Apa Tarkan, saying that Toñukuk had become evil, and asked him not to act in accordance with Toñukuk.

Toñukuk realized that the order of a defensive policy was not from Élderiş Kağan, especially when he happened to hear a private message between Böğü Kağan and Apa Tarkan. Therefore, in spite of strong opposition, he insisted on marching the army further, passing the Altay Mountains and crossing the Ertiş River (today Irtysh River).<sup>133</sup> Though we don’t have any detailed information about how Toñukuk handled such conflicts between him and his opponents, he must have been a competent politician, as can be clearly seen from the Chinese records about his advice to the Türk kağan in his twilight years (see Chapter 3).

A political faction against Toñukuk was forged by Böğü Kağan and Apa Tarkan. About the identity of this Böğü Kağan there have been many anachronistic assumptions. Considering the practice of appointing junior kağans in the Türk empires, Böğü Kağan, just like Inel Kağan, was probably one of Élderiş Kağan’s sons. Therefore we can assume that Élderiş Kağan had at least four sons, two of whom were appointed by him as junior kağans (i.e. Böğü Kağan and Inel

130 Hirth 1899: 66.

131 B. E. 15.

132 Giraud 1960: 38.

133 T. 32–35.

Kağan) during his reign and the other two (i.e. the later Bilge Kağan and Kül Tégin) were too young (i.e. six and seven years old) to receive such titles.

Considering the fact that Élteriş Kağan passed away one year later, his health was probably in a bad condition after the death of his wife. Under such circumstances, one of his sons, Böğü Kağan, was appointed as an acting kağan, in charge of military affairs. One of the Chinese transcriptions of the Old Turkic title *bögü* is Moju (EMC: *mək-giäʾ*). From the Chinese sources we know that he was appointed as Right Şad by Kapğan Kağan in 699.<sup>134</sup> After his father passed away, his uncle ascended the throne, which means he would automatically have lost the privilege of being a junior kağan. In the year 698, Kapğan Kağan appointed his own son as a junior kağan.<sup>135</sup> As to Apa Tarkan, as we have discussed above, at this time the personage holding the title of *apa tarkan* was no one other than Ashide Yuanzhen.

## 11 The Westward Campaign of the Türks

When the fugitives arrived with the intelligence that a hundred thousand soldiers of the Türgiş and Tang had assembled at Yarış Plain, Toñukuk's political opponents in the army insisted that the Türk troops should retreat rather than attack, because of the small size of their army compared with the coalition force of the Türgiş and Tang. Toñukuk insisted on fighting against their enemy, because the Türk troops had overcome so many obstacles to finally arrive, which the enemy had not been expecting. It seems that at this point the army was still under the control of Toñukuk. He led his army to battle against the Türgiş troops and managed to defeat and rout them. He captured the Türgiş kağan, but did not execute him. Only the Türgiş yabğu and şad were killed as punishment. He collected and reorganized the On Ok officials and people and integrated them into his own army.<sup>136</sup> From the way he dealt with the captives and with those who surrendered, we can see that Toñukuk was a mature and far-sighted commander.

It is not recorded in the inscription what kind of role had the Tang troops played in this battle. But from the Chinese sources we know that since the On Ok people had been plundered by the Türks in the 10th month of Tianshou 1 (7 Nov.–5 Dec. 690), the On Ok Jiwangjue Kağan, who was supported by the Tang court, collected sixty to seventy thousand On Ok people and surrendered

<sup>134</sup> *JTS* 194a: 5169, *XTS* 215a: 6046.

<sup>135</sup> *JTS* 194a: 5170, *XTS* 215a: 6046.

<sup>136</sup> T. 36–42.

to the Tang court. Because of this deed, he was bestowed by the Tang court with a title meaning “serving the master loyally”.<sup>137</sup> The immigration of so many On Ok people to Tang territory could have been a direct result of the defeat of the Türgiř kağan and his On Ok people in the battle against the Türks. If so, we can ascertain that the Türk campaign against the Kırkız and Türgiř happened in the winter of 690. The Türgiř kağan and the On Ok people were used as “cannon fodder” by the Türk troops during their further campaigns westwards.<sup>138</sup>

Under the guide of the Türgiř soldiers, the Türk troops crossed the Yinçü River.<sup>139</sup> The name *yinçü* is presumably a loan-word from Chinese *zhēnzhū* (EMC: *tein-təuǎ*), meaning “genuine pearl”.<sup>140</sup> Today the river is called the Syr Darya. According to the narrative of Toñukuk, beyond the Yinçü River, there was a mountain, the name of which was very complicated: *ténsi ođlu aytıđma beñilig ek tađ*. The first term *ténsi* is a loan-word from the Chinese *tianzi* (EMC: *tʰen-tsi*), referring to the Chinese emperor. This area used to be occupied by the Sogdian people, but since 657 it had become a vassal state of the Tang government. From the half-Chinese style name of this mountain we can still see the political and cultural influence of the Tang in Transoxiana.<sup>141</sup>

The following word, *aytıđma* has been transcribed by many scholars as *yatıđma*, a deverbal noun from *yat-* “to lie down”.<sup>142</sup> However, Talat Tekin’s transcription of the word as *aytıđma* “so-called”, a deverbal noun from *ay-* “to say”, is more acceptable.<sup>143</sup> Thus, the long name can be translated: “Beñilig Ek Mountain, which is called ‘Son of Ténsi’”.<sup>144</sup> The location of this mountain also remains unknown to us,<sup>145</sup> despite many different places being conjectured, such as Ak Mountain,<sup>146</sup> Ak Tau,<sup>147</sup> or the Alay range.<sup>148</sup>

137 *ZZTJ* 204: 6469, *JTS* 194b: 5190.

138 T. 43–44.

139 T. 44.

140 Clauson 1972: 944.

141 Kljaštornyj 1964: 148–9.

142 Radloff 1899: 20, Malov 1951: 44, Giraud 1961: 28.

143 Tekin 1968: 252, 289.

144 Tekin translated *ténsi ođlu* as “son of heaven” (Tekin 1968: 289). But actually, it should be translated as “son of the son of heaven” in a strict way, because *ténsi* itself already means “son of heaven”. This has also been pointed out by V. Rybatzki (Rybatzki 1997: 116). This term also appears in *Irk Bitig* (Tekin 1993: 8).

145 Kljaštornyj 1964: 149.

146 Chavannes 1903: 235–7.

147 Giraud 1960: 182.

148 Clauson 1971: 131.

Having crossed that mountain, the Türk troops arrived at Temir Kapıĝ (“Iron Gate”). They withdrew from there.<sup>149</sup> The so-called Iron Gate was a strategic pass along the road from Samarkand via Termez to Balkh and one of the frontiers between Sogdiana and Tocharistan. It was the Buzgala defile in the Baysun range, about 90 km south of the village Kach. The pass is recorded in Arabic sources as *Dar-i-āhanīn*.<sup>150</sup>

The famous Tang Buddhist pilgrim, Xuanzang, left us a detailed report about this pass and its surroundings on his way to India (ca. 630). According to his report, the two sides of this pass were covered by dark stones, which looked like iron. There was a gate locked with an iron bolt; many iron bells decorated the gate and windows. That’s why it was called “Iron Gate”. Beyond this pass was the territory of Tocharistan.<sup>151</sup> As the Türk troops arrived, many people, including Arabs (i.e. Tezik), Tocharians, and Sogdians came to surrender to the Türk Inel Kaĝan. The Türk troops brought back incalculable quantities of gold, silver, women, camels and silk.<sup>152</sup>

Toñukuk said the Türk troops had never arrived as far as the Iron Gate before.<sup>153</sup> It was indeed the first time that the Second Türk Empire campaigned against the Türgiř and deep into the territory of Central Asia, but not the last time. Actually, there were many such westward campaigns by the Türks, especially in the reign of Kapĝan Kaĝan (at least three, in 708, 709 and 711–712, see the Chronology). This campaign towards the Türgiř and Central Asia which was recounted by Toñukuk happened in the winter of 690, in the reign of Ėlteriř Kaĝan. In the Chinese sources, there is only indirect information that could help us fix the date of this campaign.

As we have mentioned above, in the 10th month of Tianshou 1 (11 Nov.–5 Dec. 690) there were sixty to seventy thousand On Ok people who surrendered to the Tang government. This large scale immigration of the On Ok people must have been a result of the Türk invasion. Previous scholars have failed to give the correct date for this campaign, partly because they confused it with other westward campaigns under the leadership of Kapĝan Kaĝan in 711–712.<sup>154</sup> Toñukuk mentioned that the Tarduř řad also took part in this campaign.<sup>155</sup> According to the Bilge Kaĝan Inscription, the future Bilge Kaĝan was appointed Tarduř řad when he was fourteen years old

149 T. 45.

150 Thomsen 1896: 137, Marquart 1901: 217.

151 Ji Xianlin et al. 1985: 98.

152 T. 45–48.

153 T. 46.

154 Thomsen 1916: 92–99, Clauson 1971: 130, Kljařtornyj 1964: 141.

155 T. 41.

(30 Nov. 696–19 Dec. 697). Therefore, René Giraud put this campaign in the winter of 696–697.<sup>156</sup> R. Giraud's theory is not acceptable, because, as we have discussed above, the title "Tarduş Şad" at this time was held by Élderiş Kağan's younger brother, the later Kapğan Kağan.

F. Hirth also used the records about the On Ok people in the Chinese sources as evidence in dating the westward campaign of the Türks. He ignored the fact that a large number of On Ok people surrendered to the Tang government in the winter of 690, and based his conclusion on a minor note saying that the On Ok people were plundered by the Türks starting in the Chuigong period. As the Chuigong period began from 09 Feb. 685 and ended on 26 Jan. 689, lasting four years, F. Hirth claimed that the Türk invasion of the Türgiş lands should be dated no later than 689.<sup>157</sup> However, our conclusion that the westward campaign in the reign of Élderiş Kağan took place in the winter of 690 is based on the fact that in that winter a large number of On Ok people came to surrender to the Tang government.

## 12 When Did Élderiş Kağan Pass Away?

The last time Toñukuk mentions Élderiş Kağan in his narrative is in the context of the Türk campaign against the Türgiş, when he left the army for home, in order to organize a funerary ceremony for his wife, but not Élbilge Katun. When the Türk troops under the leadership of Toñukuk finally arrived at the Altay Mountains, Toñukuk still received an order from Élderiş Kağan. But we are uncertain about the authenticity of this order, because it was conveyed by Toñukuk's opponent (Bögü Kağan) in the army. As we will discuss in Chapter 3, Toñukuk limited his narrative to the reign of Élderiş Kağan. When he summarized the military career of Élderiş Kağan, Toñukuk provided us very detailed data: seventeen battles against the Tang, seven battles against the Kıtāñ and five battles against the Oğuz.<sup>158</sup>

However, Toñukuk did not talk about Élderiş Kağan's death, mentioning only that Kapğan Kağan ascended the throne at the age of twenty-seven, which implies that Élderiş Kağan passed away that same year. In comparison with the Toñukuk Inscription, the narratives about Élderiş Kağan's life in the Kül Tégin Inscription and the Bilge Kağan Inscription are so epic that we can't get any factual details about his military career that he campaigned forty-seven times

<sup>156</sup> Giraud 1960: 42.

<sup>157</sup> Hirth 1899: 67–8.

<sup>158</sup> T. 49.

and took part in twenty battles, which is smaller than the number provided by Toñukuk.<sup>159</sup> We have no information about the cause of Éłteriř Kağan's death and how old he was when he died. The only thing we can do is to ascertain in which year he died.

In the Chinese sources there are different versions of when Éłteriř Kağan died. *JTS* and *TD* say he died in the middle of the Tianshou period.<sup>160</sup> *XTS* says he died at the beginning of the Tianshou period.<sup>161</sup> More precisely, Sima Guang recorded in his *Jigulu* that Éłteriř Kağan died in Tianshou 11.<sup>162</sup> We know that Tianshou was the first reign title of Empress Wu, which was first adopted on 16 Oct. 690 and ended on 24 Apr. 692. As Tianshou was used for three years, "the middle of the Tianshou period" as recorded in *JTS* and *TD* should be understood as Tianshou 11, which accords with the information in the *Jigulu*. Since in Tianshou 1 the title "Tianshou" was in use for only fifty days, the "beginning of the Tianshou period" as recorded in *XTS* could also be interpreted as Tianshou 11.

In contrast, the Turkic inscriptions offer us much more concrete information. According to Bilge Kağan's narrative, when Éłteriř Kağan died, Kül Tégin was seven years old and Bilge Kağan was eight years old.<sup>163</sup> The death of his father was such an important event in his early life that he must have had a vivid memory of that, which means that the year of his father's death given by him is likely to be reliable. Kül Tégin passed away in the year of sheep, at the age of forty-seven. We can calculate that, the year when he was seven years old was the year of the rabbit, i.e. Tianshou 11 (06.12.690–25.11.691). This conclusion perfectly matches the record in the Chinese sources.

159 K. E. 15, B. E. 13.

160 *JTS* 194a: 5168, *TD* 198: 5435.

161 *XTS* 215a: 6044.

162 However, the record on the date of Éłteriř Kağan's death in *ZZTJ* mentions Changshou 111 / Yanzai 1 (03 Dec. 693–22 Nov. 694) (*ZZTJ* 205: 6493).

163 K. E. 30, B. E. 14.

## Years of Warfare

### 1 Honeymoon between the Türks and China

After Élderiş Kağan's death, as all of his sons were too young to succeed him, his younger brother usurped power and styled himself Kapğan Kağan.<sup>1</sup> Kapğan Kağan, whose name or title recorded in the Chinese sources was Mochuo (EMC: *mək-tc<sup>h</sup>wiat* < OT: *beg çor*),<sup>2</sup> was the most remarkable politician and commander in the history of the Second Türk Empire. During his reign, the Türk Empire grew into a great power. Generally speaking, Kapğan Kağan took a very flexible and pragmatic diplomatic policy against his counterparts, especially China.

The term “China” is used instead of “Tang”, because the Tang regime was suspended for fifteen years, namely from 690 to 705. During this period, China was governed by a woman, Empress Wu. Her short-lived dynasty was called “Zhou”. But many historians still question the legitimacy of Empress Wu and regard her reign as a part of the Tang dynasty. In this book, both “China” and “Zhou” will be used to refer to this period.

Kapğan Kağan was adept at negotiating with the Chinese emperor or empress. Marriage proposals, whether asking for a Chinese princess to marry a Türk prince or offering a Türk princess to marry a Chinese prince, are the key to understanding his foreign policy towards China. However, the Chinese rulers were also good at negotiating and therefore, unfortunately, Kapğan Kağan never managed to marry a Chinese princess, despite his frequent requests.

After Kapğan Kağan ascended the throne, he spent several years dealing with domestic affairs. Until the 19th day of the *la* month of Yanzai I (20 Jan. 694),<sup>3</sup> Kapğan Kağan began an attack on Ling Prefecture, killing many Zhou officials

1 *JTS* 194a: 5168, *XTS* 215a: 6044.

2 P. Pelliot identified the epithet *'Bugčor* in a Tibetan manuscript (P. Tib. 1283) with “Mochuo”/“Beg Çor”, and G. Clauson demonstrated that it referred to the Eastern Türks (Pelliot's view, see Bacot 1956: 151; Clauson 1957b: 12). L. Ligeti admitted that the Tibetan form *'Bugčor* was indeed the same title as *beg çor*, but he refused to connect it with the Eastern Türks (Ligeti 1971: 178). Many scholars have accepted Clauson's hypothesis (eg. Moriyasu 1980: 175, Czeglédy 1972: 279, Venturi 2008: 20–21, n. 35). It is assumed that the Tibetans heard of Beg Çor first by Chinese mediation (Czeglédy 1972: 279). Some scholars argued that the original form of *mo* in Old Turkic was not *beg* but *bögü* (Rybatzki 2000: 223).

3 *Jia-xu*.

and people. The Zhou court sent General Li Duozuo to lead the defense.<sup>4</sup> On the 16th day of the 2nd month (17 Mar. 694), Xue Huaiyi was appointed as the Grand Commander of Daibei Route to fight against the Türks, and General Li Duozuo was to campaign with him.<sup>5</sup> However, there is no further information about this campaign and its result.

On the 1st day of the 3rd month (31 Mar. 694),<sup>6</sup> Empress Wu once more appointed Xue Huaiyi as the Grand Commander of Shuofang Route, along with eighteen other generals, including Shazha Zhongyi (i.e. Çaça), to campaign against Kapğan Kağan. However, the Zhou troops returned without finding the enemy.<sup>7</sup> On the 26th day of the *zheng* month of Yanzai 11/Tiance Wansui 1 (18 Dec. 694),<sup>8</sup> Wang Xiaojie was appointed as the Commander of Shuofang Route, to guard against the Türks.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, General Wang was soon dismissed from his position, because of his defeat in the battle against Tibet.<sup>10</sup>

From the above records we can tell that there were no large-scale confrontations or clashes between the Türks and China in the early years of Kapğan Kağan's reign. Just like Kapğan Kağan, Empress Wu was also very busy with domestic affairs. Basically, she adopted a policy of appeasement against the Türks during her whole reign. As far as the diplomatic field is concerned, China was in a relatively passive position under the reign of Empress Wu. On the contrary, the Türks took an active and flexible policy towards China. In the 10th month of Tiance Wansui 1 (12 Nov.–11 Dec. 695), Kapğan Kağan sent envoys to make peace with the Zhou court. Empress Wu was delighted by this friendly gesture and bestowed on Kapğan Kağan the titles of Grand Left Guard General and “Guiguogong”, which means “the Duke who has returned”.<sup>11</sup> This period can be regarded as the honeymoon between the Türks and China. However, the honeymoon did not last very long.

## 2 The Kitañ Rebellion against China

Compared with the Türks, the Qidan (EMC: *k<sup>h</sup>ej<sup>h</sup>-tan* < OT: *kitañ*) regime to the north of Tang China was relatively less influential. Its history in the early years

4 XTS 4: 94, ZZTJ 205: 6493.

5 XTS 4: 94, ZZTJ 205: 6493–4.

6 *Jia-shen*.

7 XTS 4: 94, ZZTJ 205: 6494.

8 *Bing-wu*.

9 XTS 4: 95, ZZTJ 205: 6501.

10 JTS 93: 2977, XTS 111: 4148.

11 ZZTJ 205: 6503, JTS 194a: 5168.

of the Tang dynasty was similar to that of the Türks. The land of the Kitañ had been divided into ten autonomous prefectures under the jurisdiction of the Tang Chinese government. The cause of the Kitañ rebellion against Chinese rule was also similar to that of the Türks. The Zhou Commander-in-Chief of Ying Prefecture, Zhao Wenhui, did not manage to save the Kitañ people from famine and treated the Kitañ chiefs as servants. His unfair and improper treatment instigated the anger of two young Kitañ chiefs and drove them to rebel against the Zhou government. One of the rebel leaders was the commander of Songmo, Li Jinzhong, whose surname had actually been bestowed on his grandfather by the Tang emperor when he had surrendered to the Tang court. The other Kitañ leader was Sun Wanrong, whose official title was the Prefect of the Guicheng Prefecture. On the 12th day of the 5th month of Wansui Tongtian I (16 Jun. 696),<sup>12</sup> they captured Ying Prefecture and killed the local Chinese official Zhao Wenhui. Then Li Jinzhong proclaimed himself as Wushang Kehan (“Supreme Kağan”) and occupied Ying Prefecture. Sun was appointed as the commander on the front line, and his job was to invade Chinese territory. The Kitañ troops increased to tens of thousands within ten days.<sup>13</sup>

When the Chinese central government realized the seriousness of the situation in the Kitañ territories, they promptly took corresponding measures. On the 25th day of the 5th month (29 Jun. 696),<sup>14</sup> twenty-eight Chinese generals, including Cao Renshi, Zhang Xuanyu, Li Duozuo and Ma Renjie, were sent to fight against the Kitañs. As the Chinese army marched off, Empress Wu decided to build a second line of defense. On the 11th day of the 7th month (14 Aug. 696),<sup>15</sup> she appointed her nephew Wu Sansi as the Pacifying Ambassador of Yuguan Route to guard against the Kitañs. In addition to military actions, Empress Wu also used some sorcery tactics to curse the leaders of the Kitañ. She changed the last name of Li Jinzhong (*jinzhong* means “completely loyal”) into *jinmie* “to die completely” and the last name of Sun Wanrong (*wanrong* means “all-prosperous”) into *wanzan* “all will be killed”, which reminds us of how she had cursed Élateriş Kağan.<sup>16</sup>

Having heard the news that the Chinese army was approaching, the Kitañs set a trap. The Kitañs asked the Hsi<sup>17</sup> (Otuz Tatar) doorkeepers to mislead the Chinese captives who were kept in the dungeon, saying that their (i.e. the Hsi

12 *Ren-zi*.

13 *ZZTJ* 205: 6505, *XTS* 4: 96, *XTS* 219: 6168, *JTS* 199b: 5350.

14 *Yi-chou*.

15 *Xin-hai*.

16 *ZZTJ* 205: 6505–6, *XTS* 4: 96, *XTS* 219: 6168, *JTS* 199b: 5350.

17 In order to make a difference between 霫 *Xi* (i.e. Otuz Tatar) and 奚 *Xi* (i.e. Tatabi), the former will be given a Wade-Gilles pronunciation.

doorkeepers') family members were suffering from starvation and were unable to survive, and all they could do was to wait for the Chinese troops to arrive and save them. Later, the Kitañ soldiers released those Chinese prisoners and fed them with porridge, making them believe that there was not enough food for the prisoners in Kitañ and that the best way was to let them go.

When those Chinese prisoners arrived in You Prefecture, they blurted out what they had heard in Kitañ. The false information that the Kitañs were suffering from starvation quickly spread in the Chinese army. Every Chinese soldier was eager to rush to the Kitañ lands. When the Chinese troops arrived at Huangzhang Valley, the Kitañs confused them by sending some old and weak people to welcome them and leaving a few old cows and emaciated horses on the road, creating the impression that they were "really" suffering from famine. Deceived by the Kitañ's trick, the Chinese general Ma Renjie decided to take the cavalry ahead first, leaving the infantry behind.

On the 28th day of the 8th month (29 Sept. 696),<sup>18</sup> the Kitañ successfully ambushed the Chinese troops and captured Zhang and Ma with flying ropes. The Huangzhang Valley was filled with the bodies of the Chinese soldiers and generals. Interestingly, the Kitañ soldiers found a Chinese government seal on the battle field and forged a document, urging the rest of the Chinese troops (the infantry) to march on as quickly as possible. After receiving the forged document, the Chinese infantry went on marching day and night. When they arrived in the Kitañ lands, both soldiers and horses were exhausted. The Kitañs successfully ambushed them and wiped out the whole Chinese army.<sup>19</sup>

### 3 The Intervention of the Türks

While the Zhou court was occupied with the Kitañ rebellion, tens of thousands of Türk troops suddenly assembled at the door of Liang Prefecture in the northwest of China on the 18th day of the 9th month (19 Oct. 696).<sup>20</sup> The Commander-in-Chief Xu Qinming, who attempted to resist the Türk's provocative action, was captured by Kapğan Kağan.<sup>21</sup> However, the main purpose of Kapğan Kağan in this campaign was not to plunder the Chinese territory, but to take a hand in the military conflict between China and Kitañ.

18 *Ding-you*.

19 *ZZTJ* 205: 6506–7, *CYZQ* 1: 7–8.

20 *Ding-si*.

21 *JTS* 6: 125, *ZZTJ* 205: 6507, *XTS* 4: 96.

Kapğan Kağan put forward at least three requirements as conditions for a military coalition against the Kitan̄s. According to the Chinese sources, he demanded to become a nominal son of Empress Wu and wanted to marry one of the Chinese princes to his daughter. The most tangible thing that Kapğan Kağan hoped to obtain from this deal with China was the return of the large population of Türk immigrants who had settled down in the Chinese border regions. Considering the rapid invasion of the Kitan̄s, the Zhou court promised to meet all the requirements of the Türks and dispatched an envoy, Yan Zhiwei, to confer the title Qianshan Kehan, meaning “the kağan who has become good”, upon Kapğan Kağan.<sup>22</sup>

On the 22nd day of the 10th month (22 Nov. 696),<sup>23</sup> the Kitan̄ kağan, Li Jinzhong, passed away; the second in command, Sun Wanrong, took charge of the army. While Sun was away plundering Chinese territory, Kapğan Kağan took advantage of the opportunity to attack the Kitan̄ backyard. They captured the wives and sons of Li and Sun. The Türk attack in the very backyard of the Kitan̄s not only slowed down the Kitan̄s’ invasion of China, but also reduced China’s need to organize a defense. Empress Wu was grateful for Kapğan Kağan’s intervention and bestowed on him the titles “Xiedie Lishi Dachanyu” (“Élteriş Grand Chanyu”) and “Ligong Baoguo Kehan”, which means “the kağan who made contributions for the country (i.e. China)”.<sup>24</sup>

Sun Wanrong collected his scattered troops and again launched an assault on the Chinese Ji Prefecture, killing the prefect Lu Baoji and slaughtering thousands of Chinese officials and common people. They went on to besiege Yíng Prefecture.<sup>25</sup> The Kitan̄s’ speedy attack caused a great deal of anxiety among the Chinese people in Hebei and forced the Zhou court to strengthen its investment in defense.<sup>26</sup>

The Türks’ position in the Kitan̄-China War was very flexible, which means the Türks not only attacked the Kitan̄s but also attacked China. On the 1st day of the *zheng* month of Wansui Tongtian 11/Shengong 1 (30 Nov. 696),<sup>27</sup> Kapğan Kağan besieged Ling Prefecture, taking along the Commander-in-Chief Xu Qinming, who had been seized as a hostage one month earlier in Liang Prefecture. Xu was requested to persuade the defending Chinese troops to surrender. However, they underestimated the loyalty of Xu. Having found that the

22 ZZTJ 205: 6509–10, CFYG 964: 11170, XTS 215a: 6045, JTS 185: 4794.

23 *Xin-mao*.

24 ZZTJ 205: 6510, JTS 199b: 5351.

25 In order to differentiate 營州 (Ying Prefecture) and 瀛州 (Ying Prefecture), the latter had an accent, indicating the word’s pronunciation (tone) in pinyin.

26 JTS 6: 126, XTS 4: 97, ZZTJ 205: 6510.

27 *Ji-hai*.

Türk camp was pitched in a muddy field and there was only one road to get in, Xu wanted to convey this information to the Chinese defenders.

In danger of being killed at any time, Xu decided to speak in an enigmatic language. He shouted loudly at the foot of the city wall, asking for some “tasty sauce”, “fine rice” and “black ink”. In the Chinese literary language, the character “sauce” shares the same pronunciation as the character “general”; both are *jiang*. The “rice” is a metaphor for “soldiers”. The “black ink” is a metaphor for “darkness” (meaning at night). So, the real request of general Xu was to send selected generals and good soldiers to fight against the Türks at night. However, nobody inside the citadel managed to figure out his meaning.<sup>28</sup> On the 25th day of *zheng* month (24 Dec. 696),<sup>29</sup> the Türk troops plundered Sheng Prefecture, but were defeated by the vice ambassador of the Pingdi Army,<sup>30</sup> An Daomai.<sup>31</sup>

On the 12th day of the 3rd month (8 Apr. 697),<sup>32</sup> China suffered another crushing defeat at the hands of the Kitañs. The Grand Commander of Qingbian Route, Wang Xiaojie, along with his eighteen thousand soldiers was crushed by the Kitañs in Dong Xiashigu (“East Xiashi Valley”).<sup>33</sup> This humiliating defeat caused China to be more eager to seek support from the Türks, and therefore increased the Türks’ bargaining power significantly.

#### 4 The Türk Requirements for Military Aid

The Chinese envoy Yan Zhiwei, who had been dispatched by Empress Wu to confer titles upon Kapğan Kağan, encountered Türk envoys on the way. Yan Zhiwei handed them red robes and sent a report to the Zhou court, saying that when the Türk envoys arrive in the Chinese capital, they should be welcomed with a grand ceremony. However, his colleague Tian Guidao dissuaded the court from this proposal, arguing that Yan should never have given the red robes to the Türk envoys. He insisted that Yan should ask for the red robes back and let Her Majesty herself grant them. Moreover, he argued that the envoys from a small country (such as that of the Türks) did not deserve any grand welcome ceremony.

28 *JTS* 59: 2329, *XTS* 90: 3772, *ZZTJ* 206: 6512.

29 *Gui-hai*.

30 Pingdi Army was stationed in the north of Dai Prefecture (*ZZTJ* 206: 6514).

31 *XTS* 4: 97, *ZZTJ* 206: 6514.

32 *Wu-shen*.

33 *JTS* 6: 126, *XTS* 4: 94, *ZZTJ* 206: 6514.

The empress took Tian's advice. Later, when Kapğan Kağan was about to visit Chanyu Protectorate, Tian was sent to lead a delegation to welcome him. During the negotiations with China, Kapğan Kağan made additional demands. In addition to the Türk residents who had surrendered to China, he also requested the territory of the former Chanyu Protectorate, plus grain seeds, silk, farm implements and iron. These excessive demands were at first turned down by Empress Wu. Kapğan Kağan was annoyed by Empress Wu's refusal and arrested her envoy, threatening to kill him. Tian criticized Kapğan Kağan's greediness and reminded him about the danger of his actions, which mollified him slightly.<sup>34</sup>

There was a heated discussion in the Zhou court on whether or not to meet the Türk kağan's excessive demands. Yao Shu and Yang Zaisi held the opinion that China still needed the Türks' support in putting down the Kitañ rebellion, so it was better to meet their demands. On the other hand, Li Qiao reminded the empress of the greediness and lack of trustworthiness of the Türk people. To meet these requests would make the enemy even stronger, he added. The best solution would be to train strong soldiers to fight against them. However, at the insistence of Yao and Yang, Empress Wu in the end agreed to meet the kağan's demands, sending thousands of tents of Türk people and offering forty thousand *hu* (ca. 2,400 m<sup>3</sup>) of grain seeds,<sup>35</sup> fifty thousand pieces of silk, three thousand pieces of farm tools and forty thousand *jin* (ca. 26.44 t) of iron;<sup>36</sup>

34 *JTS* 185: 4794, *XTS* 197: 5624. There is a different and much more interesting version of this event in *CYQZ*. According to that version, Yan did not go to the Türks alone, but together with Tian. On arrival, Yan danced and kissed Kapğan Kağan's shoes. By contrast, Tian only made a deep bow but refused to kneel down. Kapğan Kağan arrested him and threatened to execute him. Tian refused to make any concessions. Ashide Yuanzhen advised that ambassadors from the big country (that is China) should not be killed. Kapğan Kağan was a little relieved by this advice, but still refused to release Tian (*CYQZ* 3: 74). The author of *ZZTJ*, Sima Guang, made use of this source with some minor changes, for example he made Ashide Yuanzhen into Apa Tarkan Yuanzhen (*ZZTJ* 206: 6515). He acknowledged in his *Tongjian Kaoyi* that he had made full use of the record in the *CYQZ* (*ZZTJ* 206: 6516). However, this story is dubious in many respects. Firstly, two different diplomatic missions, one led by Yan Zhiwei to the Türks to confer titles, and the other by Tian Guidao to Chanyu Protectorate to welcome Kapğan Kağan, were merged into one by the author of *CYQZ*. Secondly, the role of Ashide Yuanzhen was added by the author himself. All official and reliable annuals say it was Tian himself who persuaded Kapğan Kağan not to kill him. We have already discussed in Chapter 1 that Ashide Yuanzhen died during the campaign against the Türgiș. S. G. Kljaštornyj was misled by this source, as he held this to be concrete evidence proving that Ashide Yuanzhen was still alive in this year (Kljaštornyj 1964: 29).

35 In the Tang dynasty, 1 *hu* 斛 was equal to 60 litres.

36 In the Tang dynasty, 1 *jin* 斤 was equal to 661 grams.

and most important of all, she agreed to the marriage proposal suggested by the Türk kağan. When those goods were transported to the Türks, the envoy Tian was released.<sup>37</sup>

## 5 The Winner of the Kitañ-China War: The Türks

After defeating the Chinese commander Wang Xiaojie, the Kitañ kağan built a strategic citadel, four hundred *li* (ca. 200 km) northwest of Liucheng. He kept the elderly Kitañ people, children, women and equipment inside the citadel and ordered his brother-in-law, Yiyuanu, to protect them. Meanwhile, he led an army to attack the Chinese You Prefecture. Worried that Kapğan Kağan would come to plunder his backyard again, the Kitañ kağan sent five envoys to the Türks. The message he wanted to convey to the Türk kağan was that his victory over the Chinese commander Wang had struck terror into the hearts of the Chinese people and he would like to attack You Prefecture along with the Türk kağan.

Three of the five envoys arrived earlier than the other two. Kapğan Kağan was delighted by the visit of the three envoys and granted them red robes. But the latecomers annoyed Kapğan Kağan. He threatened to execute them. In order to save themselves, they revealed the real intentions of the Kitañ kağan and the actual situation of the Kitañs. Having heard this, Kapğan Kağan released them and killed the first three envoys. He rewarded the two latecomers with red robes and ordered them to guide him in his campaign towards the newly constructed citadel of the Kitañs. At the departure ceremony, the captive Chinese Commander-in-Chief of Liang Prefecture, Xu Qinming, was sacrificed to Teñri. Kapğan Kağan besieged the citadel for three days and finally broke in. He took everything in the city and returned. The defender Yiyuanu was released to bring the news to his brother-in-law, Sun Wanrong, who was fighting against the Chinese soldiers on the front line.<sup>38</sup>

The news of another Türk attack in their backyard was like a big bomb exploding in the Kitañ military camp, while they were engaged in a fierce battle against the Chinese soldiers. A dreadful fear gripped the army. For the Kitañs, the straw that broke the camel's back was Xi's (i.e. Tatabi's) betrayal. The Kitañs were under attack from the Chinese troops in front and from the troops of the Xi and the Türk troops in the back. The Kitañ army was completely routed.

37 ZZZTJ 206: 6516, JTS 194a: 5168–9, XTS 215a: 6045.

38 ZZZTJ 206: 6521.

The Kitañ kağan Sun Wanrong managed to escape and fled with his servants. When they reached the east bank of the Lu River, they took a rest in a wood. Sun sighed and said: “Now I am a criminal to China. I can’t surrender to the Chinese government. But if I surrender either to the Türks or Korea, I will be executed too. Where shall I go?” His hopelessness and depression caused his servants to cut off his head and surrender to China for a reward. Both Tatabı and Otuz Tatar, who had been Kitañ subjects, were integrated into the Türks. As Sun was killed on the 30th day of the 6th month (23 Jul. 697),<sup>39</sup> the Kitañ-China war came to an end.<sup>40</sup>

If we review of the gains and losses of the participants in this war, we immediately come to the conclusion that the Türks were undoubtedly the biggest winners. In addition to the abundant benefits from China’s acceding to their demands, the Türks absorbed the Kitañ, Tatabı and Otuz Tatar into their domain. China on the other hand suffered two large-scale humiliating defeats against the Kitañs and many prefectures were plundered by the Kitañs and the Türks. However, with the political landscape in East Asia having changed, a full-scale war between the Türks and China was about to break out.

## 6 Breakdown of the Türk-China Negotiations

There was still one clause of the Türk-China agreement that needed to be fulfilled: that one of Chinese princes should marry the Türk princess. If we take a look at history, we will find out that the most common situation was that a Chinese princess married a Türk prince; for example, many princesses in the Sui dynasty were married into the Türk ruling house.<sup>41</sup> The only exception

39 *Jia-wu*.

40 *ZZTJ* 206: 6521–2, *JTS* 199b: 5351, *XTS* 219: 6169–70.

41 According to Chinese sources, at least three Chinese princesses were married into the Türk ruling family in the Sui dynasty. The first marriage was in the 2nd year of Northern Zhou’s Daxiang period (ca. 580). Yuwen Zhao’s daughter, Princess Qianjin, was married to the Türk Tabo Kehan (OT: \*Taspar Kağan). After Tabo Kehan’s death, she married Shabolue Kehan (EMC: *ṣai-pat-liak* < OT: Işbara Kağan). In the 4th year of the Kaihuang period of the Sui (ca. 584), Princess Qianjin requested the surname Yang, which was Sui’s royal family name. The Sui emperor conferred on her a new title: Princess Dayi, which was a sign that her royal identity had been recognized by the Sui court. In the 17th year of the Kaihuang period (ca. 597), Tuli Kağan married one of the Sui princesses, Princess Anyi. In the 19th year (ca. 599), as Princess Anyi died, Sui court married him another imperial daughter, Princess Yicheng. Princess Yicheng was the wife of four Türk kağans during her life. In the 2nd year of the Zhen-guan period of the Tang (ca. 628), she was killed by General Li Jing. She lived in the Türk Empire for more than thirty years, and always

was at the heyday of the First Türk Empire, when one daughter of the Türk kağan married the emperor of the Northern Zhou.<sup>42</sup>

Actually, marriage is a mechanism of power representation. In order to visualize the power contrast between the two regimes, it is important to remember that a princess from a more powerful regime would typically marry a prince from a less powerful regime. In other words, the wife-giver is superior. As for China and the Türks, it's hard to say which side was more powerful, but the constant proposals by Kapğan Kağan can be seen as a reflection of his active and aggressive policy. Despite strong opposing opinions, Empress Wu chose one of her grandnephews, Wu Yanxiu, to marry Kapğan Kağan's daughter.

The pro-Türk diplomat Yan Zhiwei was also a member of the delegation to the Türks. On the 6th day of the 6th month of Shengli 1 (18 Jul. 698),<sup>43</sup> the Chinese delegation set off, carrying an immeasurable quantity of gold and silk.<sup>44</sup> On the 1st day of the 8th month (10 Sept. 698),<sup>45</sup> the Chinese delegation arrived in Black Sand. Kapğan Kağan was angry when he found out that his future son-in-law was a grandnephew of Empress Wu, complaining: "I want to marry my daughter into the Li Family. Why did you send me a son of the Wu Family? Is he a son of the Son of Heaven? The Türks have been indebted to the Li Family for generations; now we want to repay that gratitude by supporting the last two surviving Li princes to ascend the throne."

Kapğan Kağan arrested Wu Yanxiu, imprisoned him in a cabin, and styled Yan Zhiwei the "Southern Kağan", nominally in charge of China, which was to the south of the Türks. Moreover, Kapğan Kağan attacked three Chinese

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enticed the Türk kağans to attack the Tang, in order to re-establish the Sui dynasty. Here, we can ask ourselves an interesting question: what kind of role did these Chinese princesses play in the political arena of the Türk Empire? One of them even had the power to decide which candidate could ascend the throne as kağan. When Chuluo Kağan died, Princess Yicheng disliked the ugliness and weakness of her own son and lent her support instead to Chuluo Kağan's younger brother Duobi as the new Xieli Kehan (от: Éllig Kağan) (*JTS* 194a: 5154). The real reason why Princess Yicheng picked one of her step-sons as the new kağan was to marry him and keep controlling the country. There was a tradition in the Türk Empire that when a kağan died, his wife would marry his brothers or even sons (not her own son, but sons of the deceased kağan's other wives) (*ZS* 50: 910). Princess Yicheng could not marry her own son, if she had supported him to ascend the throne, and that's why she prevented her own son from becoming the new kağan. She realized her aim in the 3rd year of Wude (ca. 620), when Éllig Kağan married her (*JTS* 194a: 5155).

42 *ZS* 9: 144.

43 *Jia-wu*.

44 *JTS* 6: 127, *ZZTJ* 206: 6530. The compiler of *JTS* put this event in the 7th month (12 Aug. ~ 9 Sept. 698).

45 *Wu-zi*.

armies stationed in the border area.<sup>46</sup> The commander of the Jingnan Army, Murong Xuanze, led five thousand soldiers in surrender to the Türks, which made the Türk force even stronger. They continued on their way and attacked Gui Prefecture and Tan Prefecture.<sup>47</sup>

When the Chinese delegation returned from the Türks, Empress Wu took away from them all the Türk robes which had been bestowed by Kapğan Kağan. This act annoyed Kapğan Kağan. He declared an all-out war on China. He accused the Chinese government of five offenses, three of which concerned the quality of the goods that China had used to pay the Türks for their help in the Kitan-China war.

First, the grain seeds had been boiled before being given to the Türks. Second, the gold and silver wares were inferior and counterfeit. Third, the silk given to the Türks was coarse. Fourth, the robes that had been bestowed by the Türk kağan upon Chinese diplomats were all taken away. Fifth, the Türk kağan's daughter should have married a real Chinese prince, not a fake one; a young man of the Wu Family is not good enough. Because of these five reasons, Kapğan Kağan campaigned against China, claiming that he would conquer Hebei.<sup>48</sup>

Empress Wu swiftly deployed massive troops in defense, appointing Wu Chonggui as the Grand Commander of Tianbing Middle Route, Shazha Zhongyi (i.e. Çaça) as the Commander of Tianbing West Route and Zhang Rendan as the Commander of Tianbing East Route, to lead thirty thousand soldiers to fight against the Türks. Meanwhile, she appointed Yan Jingke as Backup Commander of Tianbing West Route, leading a backup force of fifteen thousand soldiers.<sup>49</sup>

It should be clarified that Kapğan Kağan's disparaging comments on the Wu Family and his claim that he was going to support the Li Family should not be construed as him not recognizing the legitimacy and authority of Empress Wu and her family. Louis Bazin understood the comments of Kapğan Kağan literally.<sup>50</sup> But it was, to some extent, an excuse, which had also been used by the Kitan rulers when they declared a war on China two years earlier.<sup>51</sup> In reality, Kapğan Kağan manipulated the legitimacy issue of the Chinese ruling

46 The three armies attacked by the Türks were: the Jingnan Army, the Pingdi Army and the Qingyi Army.

47 *ZZTJ* 206: 6530–1, *TD* 198: 5435–6.

48 *ZZTJ* 206: 6531.

49 *JTS* 194a: 5169, *ZZTJ* 206: 6533, *TD* 198: 5436.

50 Bazin 1972: §72b.

51 *ZZTJ* 206: 6526.

family to escalate the dispute between the Türks and China, in order to attain greater benefits.

On the 26th day of the 8th month (5 Oct. 698),<sup>52</sup> the Türk army attacked Feihu County in Yu Prefecture by way of Hengyue Route. Two days later,<sup>53</sup> the Türks besieged Ding Prefecture, killing the prefect Sun Yan-gao as well as a thousand officials and common people. Irritated by the aggressiveness of the Türks, Empress Wu offered a reward for the capture of Kapğan Kağan and changed his Chinese epithet from Mochuo to Zhanchuo, *zhan* meaning “to kill”.<sup>54</sup> It seems that Empress Wu was really good at cursing her enemy. She had already successfully cursed Ēlteriş Kağan and the Kitañ kağan. Now, she was cursing the Türk Kapğan Kağan.

On the 11th day of the 9th month (20 Oct. 698),<sup>55</sup> the Türk army besieged Zhao Prefecture. Yan Zhiwei was asked to persuade the Chinese defenders to surrender. He started singing and dancing with the Türk soldiers. The Chinese defender, General Chen Lingying, satirized him saying: “Minister (Yan’s official Chinese title) is not a low rank, why do you dance with the Türks? Don’t you feel ashamed?!” Yan answered under his breath, “I am constrained to do this”, and continued to sing and dance.<sup>56</sup>

In the end, the city was captured by the Türks, because of the betrayal of the Chinese Senior Scribe, whose name was Tang Bore. The prefect Gao Rui and his wife attempted to commit suicide. But they did not succeed and were brought to meet Kapğan Kağan. They were lured with silk belts decorated with gold and purple robes. Kapğan Kağan told them that if they surrendered, they would be honored with high ranks, but if they refused to surrender, they would be immediately executed.

Gao turned to look at his wife. She said: “We are indebted to our empress. It is the right time to repay our gratitude.” After those words, they kept their eyes closed. Kapğan Kağan could do nothing but kill them. Their heroic act touched the empress. When the Türk troops retreated, Empress Wu executed the traitor, Tang Bore, and praised the loyalty and bravery of Gao Rui and his wife. The two contrasting examples were used by Empress Wu as propaganda to instruct her people to act properly in such situations.<sup>57</sup>

52 *Gui-chou*.

53 *Yi-mao*.

54 *XTS* 4: 99, *ZZTJ* 206: 6533, *JTS* 6: 127. The compiler of *JTS* put the time of the Türks’ plundering in Ding Prefecture on the 2nd day (*ji-chou*) of the 8th month (11 Sept. 698).

55 *Wu-chen*.

56 *ZZTJ* 206: 6533, *CYQZ* 4: 94.

57 *JTS* 187a: 4887, *ZZTJ* 206: 6534, *XTS* 191: 5505.

On the 15th day of the 9th month (24 Oct. 698),<sup>58</sup> Empress Wu's son, Li Xian, was appointed as the crown prince. Two days later,<sup>59</sup> he was appointed as the Marshal of Hebei Route and Di Renjie was appointed as the Vice Marshal, to attack the Türks. As the news of the appointment of Li Xian as the crown prince spread, the number of recruits in the Chinese army increased from less than one thousand to more than fifty thousand, reflecting public sentiment which still favored the Li Family rather than the Wu Family.<sup>60</sup> Empress Wu made the decision to let one of her sons (from the Li Family) rather than one of her nephews (from the Wu Family) be her successor, partly because of popular will, and partly because of the pressure from the Türks.

## 7 The Türks' Second Wave of Attacks on China

On the 26th day of the 9th month (4 Nov. 698),<sup>61</sup> having killed tens of thousands of captives,<sup>62</sup> the Türk troops withdrew from Zhao Prefecture by way of Wuhui Route. On the way, they killed even more Chinese civilians. General Shazha Zhongyi (Çaça) led troops chasing after them but dared not fight against them. Di Renjie led ten thousand soldiers in pursuit but failed to catch up with them. When Kapğan Kağan arrived at his home in the north of the Gobi, the number of his soldiers had increased to four hundred thousand, and his territory extended to around ten thousand *li* (ca. 5000 km). All neighboring regimes acknowledged allegiance to him, and as a result he despised China.<sup>63</sup>

Kapğan Kağan had finished his first wave of intensive plundering of China, which proved to be very successful. During this period, the Türk military forces were stationed not in the Ötüken mountain forest but in Black Sand (i.e. Kara Kum, see T. 7), which had been the center of the Türk rebels during Élderiş Kağan's reign. In other words, Kara Kum played the role of a temporary political center of the Türks during this period.

58 *Ren-shen*. *JTS* says it was on the 19th day (*bing-zi*) of the 9th month (28 Oct. 698).

59 *Jia-xu*.

60 *XTS* 4: 99, *JTS* 6: 127, *ZZTJ* 206: 6534.

61 *Gui-wei*.

62 On set-off, Kapğan Kağan deliberately released Yan Zhiwei. When he returned home, Empress Wu ordered him dismembered and put his body on the south side of Tianjin Bridge in Luoyang, asking officials to shoot at it. Then she asked someone to cut his flesh and file his bones. This horribly brutal execution showed how much Empress Wu hated his treachery (*JTS* 77: 2680, *XTS* 100: 3942, *ZZTJ* 206: 6537, *CYQZ* 1: 11).

63 *JTS* 6: 127, *ZZTJ* 206: 6535.

Even though the Türk troops had already retreated, China did not reduce its investment in defense. On the 25th day of the *la* month of Shengli 11 (31 Jan. 699),<sup>64</sup> every unit of one hundred and fifty families was ordered to provide fifteen soldiers and one horse, to establish a cavalry troop in Hebei and He-nan to guard against any invasion by the Türks.<sup>65</sup> On the 8th day of the 4th month (12 May 699),<sup>66</sup> Wei Yuanzhong was appointed as the Senior Scribe of Bing Prefecture, as well as the acting Grand Commander of Tianbing Army, in order to guard against the Türk invasion.<sup>67</sup>

From the Chinese sources we know that, in the 10th month (29 Oct.–26 Nov. 699), Kapğan Kağan appointed his younger brother Duoxifu as the Left Şad and Moju, who was Élteriş Kağan's son, as the Right Şad. Each of them was in charge of twenty thousand soldiers. Kapğan Kağan's son, Fujū (EMC: *buwk-kuǰ'*),<sup>68</sup> was appointed as the Junior Kağan, supervising the two şads and was in charge of the On Ok people plus forty thousand soldiers. The Junior Kağan was also called Tuoxi Kağan, *tuoxi* meaning "to extend in the west".<sup>69</sup>

If we consider the time required to bring news from the Türks to China, which was usually about two months, we should consider that the appointments by Kapğan Kağan probably took place in the 8th month (30 Aug.–28 Sept. 699). After Kapğan Kağan usurped power, one of his sons obtained the right to be a crown prince or junior kağan. The former junior kağan, Moju, who was a son of the ex-kağan (i.e. Élteriş Kağan), had lost the right to succeed and was demoted to şad.

On the 7th day of the 10th month of Jiushi 1 (21 Nov. 700),<sup>70</sup> Wei Yuanzhong was appointed as the Grand Commander of Xiaoguan Route, to guard against the Türks.<sup>71</sup> On the 10th day of the 12th month (23 Jan. 701),<sup>72</sup> the Türk army plundered more than ten thousand Chinese military horses in Longyou and left. The Türk campaigns of this year, in which Bilge Kağan was seventeen years old, are also mentioned in his memorial. Bilge Kağan mentioned in particular

64 *Xin-hai*.

65 *THY* 78: 1438, *ZZTJ* 206: 6539.

66 *Ren-chen*.

67 *XTS* 4: 100, *ZZTJ* 206: 6540.

68 It is possible that the corresponding Old Turkic title of the Chinese transcription Fujū is the same as that of the Moju, both are *bögü*.

69 *JTS* 194a: 5169–70, *XTS* 215a: 6046–7, *ZZTJ* 206: 6543–4.

70 *Xin-hai*.

71 *XTS* 4: 101, *ZZTJ* 207: 6552.

72 *Jia-yin*.

that the Türk troops attacked the Tañut people, capturing their sons, women, horses and treasures.<sup>73</sup>

On the 5th day of the 5th month of Chang'an 1 (15 Jun. 701),<sup>74</sup> Wei Yuanzhong was appointed as the Grand Commander of Lingwu Route, to guard against the Türks.<sup>75</sup> In the 8th month (7 Sept.–5 Oct. 701), the Türk army plundered the Chinese border regions again. The other prince of the Li Family, Prince Xiang, was appointed as the Marshal of Tianbing Route, leading troops to fight against the Türks. However, the Türk troops had already withdrawn before the Chinese troops set off.<sup>76</sup> From the Chinese sources we know that, in coalition with the Tibetans, the Türk army attacked dozens of citadels in Longyou and besieged Liang Prefecture.<sup>77</sup>

This successful campaign has also been narrated in the Old Turkic inscriptions. According to the narrative of Bilge Kağan, when he was eighteen years old, he joined the campaign against Altı Çub Soğdak. The Chinese general Oñ Tutuk led fifty thousand troops to fight against them. They battled at Iduk Baş. The Türk army routed the Chinese soldiers.<sup>78</sup>

The title of the Chinese general mentioned by Bilge Kağan is very interesting. The first part *oñ* is a transcription of the Chinese character *wang* (EMC: *wuəŋ*), which literally means “prince”. The second part *tutuk* is a loan-word from Chinese *dudu* (EMC: *to-twak*), meaning “general, commander”. So, the Oñ Tutuk (i.e. “prince commander”) mentioned by Bilge Kağan of course refers to the Chinese Prince Xiang, who had been appointed as marshal to guard against the Türk troops.

As Bilge Kağan was eighteen years old in that year, his brother, who was one year younger, must have been seventeen. However, the same event is also mentioned in Kül Tégin's memorial, but it says that his younger brother was sixteen years old at that time.<sup>79</sup> One possible explanation is that Bilge Kağan made a mistake in his earlier narrative and later corrected it. Another explanation is that in the Kül Tégin Inscription, a reference to his age in that campaign was omitted. That is to say, the text should be reconstructed as “[When Kül Tégin was seventeen years old,] we campaigned against the Sogdians in the Six Prefectures and destroyed them.”

73 B. E. 24.

74 *Ding-chou*.

75 *XTS* 4: 102, *JTS* 6: 130, *ZZTJ* 207: 6555.

76 *JTS* 194a: 5170, *XTS* 215a: 6047, *ZZTJ* 207: 6556.

77 *QTW* 233: 2354.

78 B. E. 24.

79 K. E. 31.

In Chang'an II, the Türks intensified their attacks upon Chinese territory. In the 1st month (2 Feb.–2 Mar. 702), the Türk army attacked Yan Prefecture and Xia Prefecture. They captured a hundred thousand sheep and horses. On the 23rd day of the 3rd month (24 Apr. 702),<sup>80</sup> the Türk army broke through Shiling Pass and plundered Bing Prefecture. The Senior Scribe of Yong Prefecture, Xue Jichang, was appointed as the Ambassador of the Defense Army in Shandong, in charge of a number of prefectures (Cang Prefecture, Yíng Prefecture, You Prefecture, Yì Prefecture, Heng Prefecture, Ding Prefecture and others) in Hebei. In the 4th month (2 May–30 May 702), Zhang Rendān was also appointed to be in charge of the defense against the Türks, in cooperation with General Xue.<sup>81</sup>

On the 29th day of the 5th month (28 Jun. 702),<sup>82</sup> Prince Xiang was appointed as the Prefect of Bing, and Acting Marshal of Anbei Route, to guard against the Türks. Wei Yuanzhong was the vice marshal.<sup>83</sup> On the 29th day of the 7th month (26 Aug. 702),<sup>84</sup> the Türk army attacked Dai Prefecture. On the 8th day of the 9th month (3 Oct. 702),<sup>85</sup> the Türk army attacked Xin Prefecture.<sup>86</sup> Empress Wu attempted to dispatch an army to fight against the Türks, but the plan fell through.<sup>87</sup>

From the above accounts we can see that, during this period, the Türks absolutely gained the upper hand over China. It seems that China was not capable of stopping the Türk incursions at all. The empress herself was almost eighty years old. Her age prevented her from figuring out any effective way of coping with the Türks. There is one phenomenon deserving our attention. During this period, the Türk army focused its plundering activities mainly on the prefectures of Guannei and Hedong. One of the reasons was that China had intensified its defenses in the Hebei area (see above).

Surprisingly, the Türks suddenly changed their policy towards China in the following year, and became friendly. On the 1st day of the 6th month of Chang'an III (19 Jul. 703),<sup>88</sup> Kapğān Kağān's envoy, Mohe Dagan (EMC: *mak-ya<sup>h</sup> dat-kan* < OT: *bağa tarkan*), arrived in China, requesting that one of the Chinese crown prince's sons marry Kapğān Kağān's daughter. Empress Wu

80 *Genq-yin*.

81 *XTS* 215a: 6047, *XTS* 4: 102–3, *ZZTJ* 207: 6558, *JTS* 6: 130.

82 *Yi-wei*.

83 *XTS* 61: 1666, *ZZTJ* 207: 6559.

84 *Jia-wu*.

85 *Ren-shen*.

86 *XTS* 4: 103, *ZZTJ* 207: 6559.

87 *ZZTJ* 207: 6560.

88 *Xin-you*.

asked her two grandsons, Prince Ping-en and Prince Yixing, to dress well and meet the Türk envoys in court.<sup>89</sup>

On the 2nd day of the 11th month (14 Dec. 703),<sup>90</sup> the Türk envoy Yili Tanhan (EMC: *ji-lik t<sup>h</sup>am-yan<sup>h</sup>* < OT: *éllig tamğan*) came to express Kapğan Kağan's appreciation for Empress Wu's positive response to his proposal, bringing one thousand horses and immeasurable quantity of special goods as presents. One week later (21 Dec. 703),<sup>91</sup> Empress Wu entertained the Türk guests at a banquet; the crown prince also attended.<sup>92</sup> As China finally agreed to marry a son of the crown prince of the Li Family to Kapğan Kağan's daughter, on the 25th day of the 8th month of Chang'an IV (28 Sept. 704), the Türks released Empress Wu's grandnephew, Wu Yanxiu, who had been chosen as a candidate to marry Kapğan Kağan's daughter, and sent him back to China. Wu Yanxiu had picked up the Turkic language while he was under arrest in the Türk lands.<sup>93</sup> He could also sing Türk songs and dance like a Türk, which greatly amused the empress.<sup>94</sup>

## 8 The Türks' Victory over Çaçā

As Empress Wu passed away on the 26th day of the 11th month of Shenlong I (16 Dec. 705)<sup>95</sup> at the age of eighty-three, the Türk-China marriage negotiations reached a deadlock.<sup>96</sup> The short-lived Zhou dynasty (690–705) came to an end. As the crown prince Li Xian, whose posthumous title was Zhongzong, ascended the throne, the Tang dynasty revived. The new emperor abandoned his mother's appeasement policy and took an active defense policy against the Türks.

On the 9th day of the 12th month of Shenlong II (17 Jan. 707),<sup>97</sup> the Türk army attacked Mingsha County in Ling Prefecture. The Grand Commander of Lingwu Army, Shazha Zhongyi (Çaçā) led troops to fight against the Türks. The Chinese army suffered a crushing defeat. As to the death toll of the Chinese

89 *JTS* 194a: 5170, *XTS* 215a: 6047, *ZZTJ* 207: 6562.

90 *Ji-chou*.

91 *Bing-shen*.

92 *JTS* 194a: 5170, *XTS* 215: 6047, *ZZTJ* 207: 6568.

93 Wu Yanxiu once wrote *tejianyao* (EMC: *dək gian<sup>h</sup> jia<sup>k</sup>* < OT: *tejri* [?]) on the label of a piece of famous calligraphy work (Fan Xiangyong 2013: 77). He also carved a seal with Old Turkic alphabets (Fan Xiangyong 2013: 80).

94 *JTS* 183: 4733, *XTS* 206: 5839.

95 *Ren-yin*.

96 *JTS* 6: 132, *XTS* 4: 105.

97 *Ji-mao*.

soldiers in this battle, it differs from source to source. The most conservative estimate comes from *JTS* and *ZZTJ*, saying it was six thousand.<sup>98</sup> Interestingly, *JTS* offers us a different number in another place, increasing it to thirty thousand.<sup>99</sup> Probably confused by the different estimates in earlier sources (e.g. *JTS*), the author of *XTS* mentions only a rough number: tens of thousands.<sup>100</sup>

Considering the necessity of the Tang court to decrease the negative influence of this frustrating defeat, the death toll in the Chinese official reports was certainly downplayed. However, the number we get from the Bilge Kağan Inscription is even larger: eighty thousand,<sup>101</sup> which can be regarded as a more reliable figure, despite the argument that the Türks, as the winners, could possibly have exaggerated their achievement by inflating the number of Chinese soldiers they supposedly killed.

In this battle, the twenty-one-year-old Kül Tégin showed his unbelievable bravery and fighting talent. He launched three assaults on the Chinese troops with three different horses and managed to return safe and sound, despite all of his three horses dying in battle and more than one hundred arrows hitting his armor and robe.<sup>102</sup> This epic narrative composed by Bilge Kağan about his younger brother's bravery should be interpreted as an attempt to persuade his officials and common people to believe that his family member was indeed blessed and protected by Teŋri.<sup>103</sup>

Two days after the triumph over General Shazha (Çaça),<sup>104</sup> the Türk army went further and attacked Yuan Prefecture and Hui Prefecture, plundering more than ten thousand horses in Longyou. Annoyed by this provocation, Emperor Zhongzong froze the Türk-Tang marriage negotiations and offered a big reward for the capture of Kapğan Kağan.<sup>105</sup>

## 9 The Construction of Three Strategic Citadels

The battle in Mingsha was a humiliating defeat for Tang China. However, it was the beginning of China's active defense policy against the Türks. That defeat

98 *JTS* 194a: 5170, *ZZTJ* 208: 6608.

99 *JTS* 7: 143.

100 *XTS* 215a: 6047.

101 B. E. 26.

102 K. E. 32–33.

103 K. E. 34.

104 *Xin-si* (19 Jan. 707). *ZZTJ* 208: 6608 and *JTS* 7: 143 say it was on *ding-si*. The first day of this month was *xin-wei*, there are forty-six days between *xin-wei* and *ding-si*. It is impossible that *xin-wei* and *ding-si* are in the same month.

105 *JTS* 194a: 5170, *XTS* 215a: 6047, *ZZTJ* 208: 6607–8, *JTS* 7: 143.

led to a heated debate in the Tang court on the 11th day of the 1st month of Shenlong III/Jinglong I (17 Feb. 707),<sup>106</sup> concerning its causes and how to find effective strategies of defense against the Türk army.

The You Buque ("Right Rectifier of Omissions"), Lu Fu, blamed the defeat of the Mingsha Battle on the Chief Commander's lack of wisdom. He advised the central government to carefully select commanders and generals to defend the frontier prefectures. General Ren Ji suggested building a stone wall at Feihu pass in Yu Prefecture, and filling the wall with melted iron. In his opinion, the iron wall would forever prevent the Tang territory from being plundered by the Türk troops. He further suggested installing spiked nails along the eight thousand *li* (ca. 4,000 km) long borderline, to stab the Türk horses' feet. The Commandant, Tian Hai, suggested digging a ten-*bu*-wide (ca. 20 m)<sup>107</sup> and three-*zhang*-deep (ca. 10 m)<sup>108</sup> ditch along the Great Wall, to prevent the Türk cavalry from entering Tang territory. General Song Jing advised to send soldiers to break a thousand miles of river ice, in order to stop the Türk troops from crossing the Yellow River in winter.<sup>109</sup>

These suggestions may have sounded quite absurd, but they reflected the Chinese generals' helplessness in front of the Türk incursions and their eagerness to figure out an effective way to stop the Türks. Then a general named Zhang Rendan, who had already accumulated rich experience in fighting against the Türk troops, put forward some very helpful advice, which completely changed the passive position of the Tang. On the 1st day of the 5th month (5 Jun. 707),<sup>110</sup> he was appointed Grand Commander of Shuofang Route, to guard against the Türk army. A few days later (13 Jun. 707),<sup>111</sup> the Türks killed the Chinese ambassador Zang Siyan.<sup>112</sup> On the 13th day of the 10th month (11 Nov. 707),<sup>113</sup> Zhang Rendan led his troops in an attack on the Türks. When the Chinese troops arrived, the Türk troops had already retreated. General Zhang pursued them and attacked their camps at night.<sup>114</sup>

106 *Genq-xu*.

107 *Bu* 步 was an informal unit of length in the Tang dynasty, measuring two steps. One *bu* is equal to circa two meters.

108 *Zhang* 丈 was a very common unit of length in the Tang dynasty. There were two different standards of *zhang*: the longer *zhang* was equal to 3.6 m and the shorter *zhang* was equal to 3 m.

109 *QTW* 173: 1768.

110 *Bing-xu*.

111 *Bing-wu*.

112 *JTS* 7: 144, *ZZTJ* 208: 6610, *JTS* 194a: 5172. *JTS* 194a, which puts the execution of Zang Siyan before the appointment of Zhang Rendan, is wrong. See Wu Yugui 2009: 822.

113 *Ding-chou*.

114 *JTS* 93: 2982, *XTS* 111: 4152, *ZZTJ* 208: 6617.

The helpful advice put forward by General Zhang was to take the opportunity of the Türk campaign against the Türgiṣ to build three military citadels on the north bank of the Yellow River. This advice was categorically opposed by the other general, Tang Xiuqing, who argued that the Yellow River was the traditional borderline between the Türk and the Tang, and that citadels built on the north bank would eventually be occupied by the Türks. Nonetheless, at the insistence of General Zhang, the Tang emperor finally agreed to this proposal.<sup>115</sup>

The construction of the three citadels started on the 1st day of the 3rd month of Jinglong 11 (27 Mar. 708)<sup>116</sup> and they were finished within two months. General Zhang showed both his harshness and his wisdom in directing the construction of the three citadels. He detained those soldiers who had finished their yearly military service and forced them to take part in the construction. More than two hundred soldiers who originally came from Xianyang attempted to flee. General Zhang captured them and executed all of them at the foot of the city wall. The whole army was shocked by the severe penalty for escaping, and everyone began to work hard. What helped General Zhang win respect from the soldiers was that he refused to build any fortifications within the citadels, because he wanted the soldiers to focus on fighting the enemy and get rid of the ideas of retreating into inner fortifications for protection.<sup>117</sup>

The three strategic citadels were named *shouxian cheng* or Shouxian Citadels, meaning “citadels used to receiving those have surrendered”. The middle citadel was built on top of the Biyun shrine. It was said that when the Türk troops were about to plunder Chinese territory, they always worshipped at this shrine before setting off. The eastern and western citadels were located at a distance of four hundred *li* (ca. 200 km) from the middle citadel. The eastern citadel was two hundred *li* (ca. 100 km) northeast of Sheng Prefecture. The western citadel was eighty *li* (ca. 40 km) north of Feng Prefecture.

With the construction of the three citadels, the Tang court managed to extend its border by more than three hundred *li* (ca. 150 km) northwards. One thousand and eight hundred beacon towers were built on the north side of Niutou Zhaona Mountain. General Lun Gongren, who was of Tibetan origin (Tibetan: Mañporje, see Beckwith 1987: 61), was appointed as the Commander of the Mobile Calvary, to guard Nuozhen River.

After the Tang finished construction of the three citadels, the Türk nomads no longer dared to graze their animals on the southern side of Niutou Zhaona

115 *JTS* 93: 2982, *XTS* 111: 4152.

116 *Jia-wu. THY* 73: 1310 also says the construction was started on the 1st day of the 3rd month. *ZZTJ* 209: 6620 says it was started on the 23rd day (*bing-chen*) of the 3rd month.

117 *JTS* 93: 2982, *XTS* 111: 4152, *ZZTJ* 209: 6621.

Mountain. As Shuofang was no longer in danger of being plundered, the Tang court decided to reduce the frontier guards by tens of thousands.<sup>118</sup> There is no source informing us directly about how many Chinese soldiers were stationed in each citadel. But according to a record concerning the reduction in troops at the three citadels by Zhang's successor, at a conservative estimate, the number of the regular troops at the three citadels was more than a hundred thousand.<sup>119</sup>

## 10 The Involvement of the Türgiř and Kırkız

There is one important piece of information mentioned in the last section that deserves our special attention: how the Tang took advantage of the Türk campaign against the Türgiř to build the three strategic citadels. Previous scholars have attempted to connect this event with the Türk campaign against the Türgiř when Bilge Kağan was twenty-seven years old and Kül Tégin was twenty-six years old, which is narrated in their inscriptions.<sup>120</sup> Their assumption, however, is wrong.

Firstly, in this year Bilge Kağan was not twenty-seven but twenty-four years old and Kül Tégin was not twenty-six but twenty-three (see the Chronology). Secondly, the Chinese sources tell us that there were at least two other battles between the Türks and the Türgiř before Kapğan Kağan's eventual campaign against the Türgiř that is narrated in the Old Turkic inscriptions. Therefore, this campaign against the Türgiř led by Kapğan Kağan was not the one narrated by Bilge Kağan, probably because Bilge Kağan and Kül Tégin did not take part in this campaign.

Before we discuss the Türks' westward campaigns, it is necessary to insert a sketchy overview of the history of the Türgiř. The history of Türgiř before 699, how the Türgiř leader managed to win support from the On Ok people, has been discussed in Chapter 1. On the 20th day of the 8th month of Shengli 11 (18 Sept. 699),<sup>121</sup> the Türgiř kağan, Wuzhile, dispatched his younger son, Zhe-nu, to be a hostage in China. Wuzhile was given the title of "Huaide Commander" by the Chinese government.<sup>122</sup>

118 *JTS* 93: 2982, *XTS* 111: 4152, *ZZTJ* 209: 6621.

119 *JTS* 100: 3112, *XTS* 130: 4500–1, *ZZTJ* 210: 6666.

120 K. E. 36–38, B. E. 27–28.

121 *Gui-si*.

122 The title bestowed upon Türgiř kağan by the Tang court has different versions in the Chinese sources. According to *JTS*, the title bestowed upon Wuzhile was Xihejun Wang, and that bestowed upon Suoge was Jinhejun Wang.

In the winter of Shenlong 11 (ca. 706–707), Wuzhile died of the cold during negotiations with Guo Yuanzhen, who was the Tang protector-general of Anxi Protectorate. General Guo was persuaded by one of his colleagues to flee during the night. However, in order to prove his innocence, General Guo refused his colleague's advice and attended Wuzhile's funeral straightaway. This brave deed made Wuzhile's oldest son, Suoge (EMC: *sa-kat*),<sup>123</sup> who had intended to arrest him, believe in his innocence. On the 28th day of the 12th month (5 Feb. 707),<sup>124</sup> Suoge received the title "Tutuk of Walu Prefecture" from the Tang court and inherited his father's noble position.<sup>125</sup>

Probably threatened by the close relationship between the Tang and the Türgiř, Kapğan Kağan decided to send a punitive expedition against the Türgiř, after the significant triumph over Tang China in Mingsha. From the Chinese sources we know that the Türk troops were still plundering Chinese territory in the 10th month of Shenlong 111/Jinglong 1 (30 Oct.–28 Nov. 707). Therefore, we can fix a time frame for Kapğan Kağan's first campaign against the Türgiř: between 30 Oct. 707 and 27 Mar. 708 (the 1st day of the 3rd month of Jinglong 11). 27 Mar. 708 was the day when Tang China started the construction of the three strategic citadels. No additional details about this campaign are provided in the Chinese sources, but it seems that the Türk army got the upper hand, because the Türgiř turned hostile towards Tang China after this campaign.

On the 2nd day of the 11th month of Jinglong 11 (18 Dec. 708),<sup>126</sup> Suoge declared himself the kağan of the Türgiř, which means that he abandoned his Chinese official titles. This however is the narrative as told from the perspective of the Tang court. Suoge must have become the Türgiř kağan as soon as his father died. His abandonment of the Chinese titles was regarded as a very hostile action by the Chinese official historians.

The direct cause of the split between the Türgiř and the Tang was that Quechuo Zhongjie,<sup>127</sup> who had been a general in the reign of Wuzhile, refused to obey the new Türgiř kağan. On the advice of the Chinese general Zhou Yiti, he attempted to seek help from the Tang and from Tibet by bribing the Tang Prime Minister Zong Chuke to attack the Türgiř kağan. Over the objections of General Guo Yuanzhen, the Prime Minister Zong Chuke persuaded the Tang emperor to send the generals Feng Jiabin, Lü Shousu and Niu Shijiang to

123 Beckwith reconstructed Suoge as \*Sagal in Old Turkic (Beckwith 1987: 71).

124 *Wu-xu*.

125 *JTS* 194b: 5190, *XTS* 215b: 6066, *ZZTJ* 206: 6540, *ZZTJ* 208: 6608.

126 *Geng-shen*.

127 This first part of his name or title, *quechuo* (EMC: *k<sup>h</sup>uat-tc<sup>h</sup>wiat*) can be reconstructed in Old Turkic as *kül çor* (see Beckwith 1987: 73 *kül cur*). The second part seems to be a Chinese name.

lead the troops of Gan Prefecture and Liang Prefecture, together with Tibetan troops, to attack the Türgiṣ kağan. However, the news of this campaign was accidentally overheard by the Türgiṣ kağan's envoy, who was presenting horses to the Tang court in Chang'an. The envoy rode day and night to bring the news to his master. When this information reached the ears of the Türgiṣ kağan, he instantly dispatched five thousand soldiers towards Anxi Protectorate, five thousand towards Bohuan (today's Aksu<sup>128</sup>), five thousand towards Yanqi (today's Karashahr<sup>129</sup>) and five thousand towards Shule (today's Kashgar<sup>130</sup>). Without any difficulty, the Türgiṣ kağan captured his rebellious subordinate, Quechuo Zhongjie, and killed the Tang generals Feng Jiabin and Lü Shousu in Kashgar.<sup>131</sup>

The war between the Türgiṣ and the Tang escalated. On the 25th day of the 11th month (10 Jan. 709),<sup>132</sup> the Tang General Niu Shijiang fought against the Türgiṣ kağan in the citadel of Huoshao (EMC: *xwa'-ciaw'*, OT: Koço, today's Turfan). The Türgiṣ kağan defeated Niu Shijiang and went on to besiege Anxi Protectorate in Qiuci (EMC: *kuw-dzi*, Sanskrit *Kuci*,<sup>133</sup> Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī recorded this as Kūsān and Kuça, see *DLT*: 308, today's Kucha). The kağan cut off the road between the Tang heartland and the four citadels (Karashahr, Khotan, Kashgar and Kucha) in Anxi, and asked for the head of the Tang Prime Minister Zong Chuke, whom he held responsible for the outbreak of this war.

However, Zong Chuke further suggested that the emperor should replace Guo Yuanzhen with Zhou Yiti and send Ashina Xian to station troops in Karashahr and guard against the Türgiṣ army. But the Türgiṣ kağan wanted to make peace with the Tang court. He sent a private letter to General Guo, explaining that the cause of this war was the misbehavior of the Tang Prime Minister Zong Chuke, who had been bribed by the Türgiṣ general Quechuo Zhongjie. After careful consideration, the Tang emperor decided to make peace with the Türgiṣ kağan and reinstated General Guo Yuanzhen. The Tang emperor forgave the Türgiṣ kağan's "guilt" and conferred on him the title of

128 Bohuan, EMC: *pa<sup>h</sup>-γwan<sup>h</sup>*, Sanskrit *Bharuka*, Sogdian *Parūān/Barūān*, see Henning 1938: 568.

129 Yanqi, EMC: *ian-gji*, Sanskrit *Agni*, Sogdian *Ark*, see Pelliot 1936: 266, Hening 1938: 570–1.

130 Shule, EMC: *ṣā-lak*, in the Kharoṣṭhī documents *Sulīga*, Tibetan *Śu-lig*, see Thomas 1945: 525.

131 *ZZTJ* 209: 6625–8, *JTS* 194b: 5190–1, *XTS* 215b: 6066–7.

132 *Gui-wei*.

133 Lüders 1922: 246, Pelliot 1959: 414.

“Fourteen-Tribe-Kağan”, in charge of the ten tribes of On Ok plus four newly conquered tribes.<sup>134</sup>

On the 2nd day of the 7th month of Jinglong III (11 Aug. 709),<sup>135</sup> the Türgiṣ kağan sent his envoys to pay obeisance to the Tang. The Tang court conferred on him the title of “Guihua Kehan”, meaning “the kağan who came to surrender”.<sup>136</sup> This “surrender” of the Türgiṣ kağan should be interpreted as a reaction to his defeat in the battle against the Türk troops, because there was no conflict between the Türgiṣ and the Tang in this year, as they had come to a peace agreement in the previous year.

The reconciliation between the Türgiṣ and the Tang displeased Kapğan Kağan and he sent a second punitive expedition towards Türgiṣ. From an edict by the Tang emperor on the 15th day of the 5th month of Jinglong IV/Jingyun I (16 Jun. 710) we know that, in the 6th month (Jinglong III, 12 Jul.–09 Aug. 709), Kapğan Kağan led troops to attack the Türgiṣ kağan at the Altay Mountains. In cooperation with the Türgiṣ, the Kırkız attacked the Türk troops in a pincer movement. The Tang soldiers were also partly involved in this battle.<sup>137</sup> Nonetheless, Kapğan Kağan still got the upper hand and defeated the Türgiṣ kağan. This defeat forced the Türgiṣ kağan to send envoys to the Tang court for more help.

So, the real purpose of the Türgiṣ kağan was to seek help from the Tang court to fight against the Türks. But his deed was described as “surrendering” by the Tang official historians. From the imperial edict mentioned above, we know that in Jinglong IV/Jingyun I, the Tang emperor attempted to dispatch a large number of soldiers to fight against the Türks alongside Türgiṣ kağan.<sup>138</sup> However, this plan fell through, because the emperor himself was poisoned two weeks later (see below).

Besides the Tang, the Türgiṣ and the Türks, a new player joined the game: the Kırkız. On the 8th day of the 12th month of Jinglong II (23 Jan. 709),<sup>139</sup> after many years of not having sent diplomats to each other, Kırkız envoys were warmly welcomed by the Tang emperor. The emperor emphasized the genetic

134 The newly conquered four tribes are Yanmai (EMC: *ʔen<sup>h</sup>-mǝjɨk*), Geluolu (i.e. Karluk), Mohe Dagan (i.e. Bağa Tarkan) and Dumozhi (EMC: *tɔ-ma-tɛi*) (ZZTJ 209: 6629, JTS 194b: 5191, XTS 215b: 6067).

135 *Bing-chen*.

136 JTS 7: 147–8, XTS 4: 111, ZZTJ 209: 6636.

137 QTW 253: 2562.

138 QTW 253: 2563.

139 *Bing-shen*.

connection between the Kırkız and the Tang.<sup>140</sup> The Chinese official historians have not offered us any details about the negotiations between the Kırkız envoys and the Tang officials. But from the military coalition of the Kırkız and the Tang against the Türks in the following year, we can assume that military cooperation was one of the issues discussed in the negotiations.

## 11 Resumption of the Türk-Tang Marriage Negotiations

On the 2nd day of the 6th month of Jinglong IV/Jingyun I (3 Jul. 710),<sup>141</sup> the Tang emperor was poisoned by his wife and daughter. After a period of political turbulence, on the 24th day of the 6th month (25 Jul. 710),<sup>142</sup> Emperor Zhongzong's younger brother Li Dan (the former Prince Xiang), whose posthumous title was Ruizong, was acclaimed as the new emperor.<sup>143</sup> It was already his second time ascending the throne.

After this second enthronement, Emperor Ruizong made many adjustments to his elder brother's policy against the Türks. He dismissed General Zhang Rendan from his post for unknown reasons. Actually, in order to show respect to the new emperor, General Zhang even changed his name to Renyuan, because the last character of his name *dan* had the same pronunciation as the new emperor's name.<sup>144</sup> However, this prudent deed was not sufficient to eliminate the emperor's dissatisfaction with him. Emperor Ruizong reinstated the retired Tang Xiuqing, who had argued against General Zhang's proposal to construct the three citadels, as the new Grand Commander of Shuofang Route.<sup>145</sup> One year later (13 Oct. 711), as General Tang insisted on retiring, Emperor Ruizong appointed Xie Wan as the new Grand Commander of Shuofang Route and reduced by a hundred thousand the soldiers stationed in the three citadels.<sup>146</sup> But most importantly of all, the new emperor restarted marriage negotiations with the Türks.

140 XTS 217b: 6149, CFYG 974: 11275. There was a legend that the Kırkız people were the descendants of the Chinese general Li Ling in the Han dynasty. General Li Ling surrendered to the Xiongnu during a battle in 99 BC. As his family members were executed by the Han government, he gave up the idea of returning (*Hanshu* 54: 2457).

141 *Ren-wu*.

142 *Jia-chen*.

143 *JTS* 7: 150.

144 *JTS* 93: 2981–3, *XTS* 111: 4151–3.

145 *JTS* 93: 2980, *XTS* 111: 4150.

146 *Ji-si*. *JTS* 100: 3112, *XTS* 130: 4500–1; *ZZTJ* 210: 6666.

On the 7th day of the 1st month of Jingyun II (30 Jan. 711),<sup>147</sup> Kapğan Kağan sent envoys to negotiate a marriage relationship with the Tang. Emperor Ruizong consented to his request.<sup>148</sup> In the 3rd month (24 Mar.–22 Apr. 711), the Tang emperor conferred on his granddaughter the title of “Princess Jinshan” and intended to marry her to Kapğan Kağan.<sup>149</sup> The Tang court sent the ambassador He Fengyao to the Türks to negotiate the details of the wedding.

When He Fengyao arrived, Kapğan Kağan sent an official to complain about the inferiority of the presents given him by the Tang emperor: “The imperial edict promised a gold saddle, but we have found it to be silver with only a gold layer on top. This cannot have been the emperor’s true intention. The original gold saddle must have been replaced by you (i.e. the envoy). As you have played such a trick on me, the princess that you meant to bring must be a false one, too. Please take the fake saddle back and cease the marriage negotiations.” After these words, the Türk envoy immediately rode away.

The Tang ambassador He Fengyao asked his followers to bring the Türk envoy back and explained: “The Chinese customs attach great importance to son-in-laws. The saddle is only a symbol of being safe and sound.<sup>150</sup> Why do you care so much about whether it is made of gold or silver? Does the Türk kağan prefer gold to silver? Or does he care about the betrothal presents more than about our princess?” Hearing those words from his envoy, Kapğan Kağan appreciated He Fengyao’s audacity and entertained him at a banquet.

Ambassador He further persuaded Kapğan Kağan: “When the Kırkız and Chumi people hear the news that you are going to marry a Chinese princess,<sup>151</sup> they will surely come to surrender to you. Why don’t you go one step further and dress in Chinese official robes to show the neighboring regimes that you have a close relationship with the Tang?” Kapğan Kağan agreed. On the following day he wore the Chinese official headgear and purple robe, and bowed, facing south, the direction in which the Chinese emperor was supposed to be. He also sent his son Yangwozhi to the Tang court.<sup>152</sup> Since He Fengyao arrived at

147 *Gui-chou*.

148 *JTS* 7: 156, *ZZTJ* 210: 6661.

149 *XTS* 215a: 6047, *ZZTJ* 210: 6664.

150 The characters for “saddle” 鞍 and “safe” 安 share the same pronunciation: *an*.

151 Chumi, EMC: *te<sup>h</sup>iä<sup>h</sup>-mit*, Sogdian \**cūnmūḍa*, Saka *cumuḍa*, Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī rendered as *Čomul/Čömül* (Henning 1938: 558). *Čomul/Čömül* is a tribe of the Turks, see DLT: 301.

152 *JTS* 185b: 4817, *XTS* 123: 4378, *ZZTJ* 210: 6669. In *XTS*, there is another slightly different version of this story. He Fengyao persuaded Kapğan Kağan that: “The Tang emperor has been the Protector-General of the Chanyu Protectorate. He wants to resume his former relationship with you. Why don’t you dress in Chinese robes to win respect from neighboring regimes?” (*XTS* 123: 4378). This information is very valuable, because it implies that Kapğan Kağan had served in the Chanyu Protectorate. As to the period when Emperor

the Tang court on the 8th day of the 11th month (21 Dec. 711),<sup>153</sup> we can reckon that he was dispatched by the Türk kağan at the beginning of the 9th month (ca. 17 Oct.–27 Oct. 711), because envoys usually spent two months on the way.

The dialog with the Tang ambassador reveals the real intention behind Kapğan Kağan's persistent proposals for a marriage relationship with the Chinese imperial family. On the one hand, such a marriage would mean a peace contract, implying a close diplomatic relationship between the two regimes. It would also be regarded as a deterrent force by the neighboring regimes, helping to keep Türk's influence on the steppe.

On the other hand, probably Kapğan Kağan himself did not realize that dressing in Chinese official robes and bowing southwards would be regarded by the Chinese emperor as a humble and submissive gesture. The ambassador He Fengyao received high praise from the Chinese government for his diplomatic tactics that led to the Türk kağan bowing to the Tang emperor. This also implies that Kapğan Kağan at that time really needed Chinese support (through marriage) to strengthen his control over the neighboring regimes.

He did not request that a Chinese prince marry his daughter, on the contrary, he requested that he himself be allowed to marry a Chinese princess. As we have discussed, marriage is a symbol of power and the side that gives the wife in marriage is often considered superior. In other words, the Second Türk Empire had passed its heyday and became, to some extent, dependent on Tang China. The position of Kapğan Kağan on the steppe was starting to be challenged.

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Ruizong was the Protector-General, *THY* offers us an answer. As Ashide had advised Emperor Gaozong to send one of his sons to be the kağan of the Chanyu Protectorate, explaining that *kağan* meant "heaven above heaven", Emperor Gaozong asked: "Is my son qualified to be your 'heaven above heaven'?" Ashide replied: "Absolutely." On the 21st day (*jia-zi*) of the 1st month of Linde 11 (11 Feb. 664), Emperor Gaozong appointed his two-year-old son, Prince Yin, as the Protector-General of the Chanyu Protectorate and ordered the building of a house there for him. Two years later, Prince Yin was granted the title Prince Xiang. His father urged him to leave for the Chanyu Protectorate. The little prince innocently asked his daddy: "Papa, if I set off early in the morning, can I return home by evening?" His father replied: "Son, it is two thousand *li* (ca. 1000 kilometers) away, you can't go and return in one day." The little prince cried: "I don't want to leave mama." The emperor sympathized and did not send his little son away (*THY* 73: 1309).

153 *Wu-yin*.

## 12 The Türk Campaign against the Kırkız and Türgiř

In the winter of Jingyun 1 (21 Oct. 710–24 Jan. 711), in order to preserve the Türks' dominant status on the steppe, Kapğan Kağan decided to send a large-scale punitive expedition towards the Kırkız and Türgiř, who had united to fight against the Türks one year earlier. When the battle was over and the news of the outcome reached the Tang court, it was already the following year, Jingyun 11.

This campaign is narrated in detail in the Kül Tégin and Bilge Kağan inscriptions. The Türk troops first campaigned against the Kırkız, by way of the snow-covered Kögmen mountain forest, and took the Kırkız by surprise. Kül Tégin, at the age of twenty-six, showed his exquisite fighting skills again in the ensuing battle against the Kırkız kağan in the Soņa mountain forest. Though his white stallion's thigh was injured, Kül Tégin still managed to kill the Kırkız kağan and obtain his realm.<sup>154</sup> The narrative in the Bilge Kağan Inscription is almost the same, changing only the subject from the third person to the first person.<sup>155</sup>

After the triumph over the Kırkız, the Türk troops continued marching towards the Türgiř by crossing the Altay Mountains and the Irtysh River, and took them by surprise. On Kül Tégin's first charge, he managed to capture two enemies, at the price of his grey horse.<sup>156</sup> His second charge was however much more successful, as he captured the Türgiř kağan, ministers and generals with his own hands. The Türgiř kağan was killed and his realm fell to the Türks.<sup>157</sup>

There is a satirical story about Kapğan Kağan's campaign against the Türgiř in this year preserved in the Chinese sources. The Türgiř kağan's younger brother Zhe-nu was unsatisfied that he controlled fewer subjects than his elder brother. He surrendered to the Türks and persuaded Kapğan Kağan to campaign against his elder brother. He volunteered to be the guide. But Kapğan Kağan left him at home and led twenty thousand soldiers towards the Türgiř. Without any difficulty, he captured the Türgiř kağan and brought him back. However, Kapğan Kağan did not appreciate the surrender of Zhe-nu and censured him for his betrayal of his elder brother. After denouncing him, Kapğan Kağan killed both of the brothers.<sup>158</sup>

As to the time of the execution of the Türgiř kağan Suoge, it differs from source to source. According to *JTS* 194b, *XTS* 215b and *TD* 199, he was killed in

<sup>154</sup> K. E. 34–36.

<sup>155</sup> B. E. 26–27.

<sup>156</sup> As this place in the memorial is blurred, we don't know what happened to his horse. But from other similar narratives, his horse must have been injured or killed.

<sup>157</sup> K. E. 37–38, B. E. 27–28.

<sup>158</sup> *JTS* 194b: 5191, *XTS* 215b: 6067, *ZZTJ* 211: 6707.

Jinglong III.<sup>159</sup> The author of *ZZTJ* mentioned that he saw an official report written by Ashina Xian in Kaiyuan II, foretelling that the Türgiř kağan would die in three years and that Kapğan Kağan would die in eight years. Puzzled by these sayings, he was not sure about the exact time of the Türgiř kağan's death and put it in Kaiyuan II.<sup>160</sup> The report by Ashina Xian is lost by now, but there is another clue to solving this problem. Sima Guang mentioned that in the report there was also a prediction about Kapğan Kağan's death. As Kapğan Kağan died in Kaiyuan IV (ca. 716) and the prediction said that he would die in eight years, we can conclude that the prediction must have been made eight years earlier, in Jinglong II (ca. 708). According to the prediction, Türgiř kağan would die three years after that, namely Jingyun II (ca. 711), perfectly matching our chronology.

We can find another piece of supporting evidence in *XTS* 215a, which mentions that Kapğan Kağan campaigned against the Türgiř in the middle of Jingyun.<sup>161</sup> There are only three years of the reign period "Jingyun", which means that the middle of Jingyun is Jingyun II.<sup>162</sup> On the 3rd day of the 12th month (15 Jan. 712),<sup>163</sup> the former prince of the On Ok, Ashina Xian, was appointed by the Tang court as the ambassador to appease the On Ok people.<sup>164</sup> The appointment of a former Ashina prince to appease the On Ok people could be explained as a reaction to the disorder caused by the sudden death of the Türgiř kağan. After the victory over the Türgiř, the Türk troops campaigned further towards the Sogdians in the West, crossing the Yinçü River and reaching the Iron Gate.<sup>165</sup>

### 13 Suspension of the Türk-Tang Marriage Negotiations

The Türk prince Yangwozhi arrived at the Tang court together with the Chinese ambassador He Fengyao on the 8th day of the 11th month of Jinyun II (21 Dec. 711).<sup>166</sup> Ten days later,<sup>167</sup> he was entertained by the Tang emperor at a banquet in the Hall of Chengtian Gate.<sup>168</sup> On the 1st day of the 1st month of

159 *JTS* 194b: 5191, *XTS* 215b: 6067, *TD* 199: 5463.

160 *ZZTJ* 211: 6707.

161 *XTS* 215a: 6048.

162 Chavannes also put this event in 711 (i.e. Jingyun II) (Chanvannes 1903: 194).

163 *Gui-mao*.

164 *ZZTJ* 210: 6669. There is no further information about Ashina Xian's activity among the On Ok. He died in Chang'an a few years later (*JTS* 194b: 5189, *XTS* 215b: 6066).

165 K. E. 39.

166 *ZZTJ* 210: 6669.

167 *Wu-zi*.

168 *CFYG* 110: 1197.

Jingyun III/Xiantian I (12 Feb. 712),<sup>169</sup> the Tang emperor entertained the Türk prince for a second time at a banquet in the Hall of Anfu Gate and showed him his father's fiancé: Princess Jinshan.<sup>170</sup> However, just when the Türk-Tang marriage plans were about to be realized, something unexpected happened.

The relationship between the two regimes suddenly became strained. While the Tang emperor ordered the crown prince to accompany his sister to Bing Prefecture and then further on to the Türks, he also appointed the Chief-Commander of You Prefecture to take thirty thousand troops to join the Dawu Army, the Chief-Commander of Liang Prefecture to lead thirty thousand troops towards Heishan Route, and the Senior Scribe of Bing Prefecture to take forty thousand troops to Fen Prefecture, to welcome the crown prince, while the Grand Commander of Shuofang was to lead twenty thousand troops to Chanyu Route. All of these armies were at the disposal of the crown prince.<sup>171</sup>

If the crown prince was coming only to accompany his sister to the Türks and to attend her wedding ceremony, it would not have been necessary to dispatch such a large number of soldiers. Therefore, the author of *ZZTJ*, Sima Guang, doubted the authenticity of this record.<sup>172</sup> Unfortunately, we can't find any further information in the Chinese sources that could explain the causes of this sudden military tension between the Türk and the Tang. In any case, the Türk-Tang marriage negotiations were suspended again, as Emperor Ruizong abdicated and handed over the crown to his son, Li Longji, whose posthumous title was Xuanzong, on the 3rd day of the 8th month (8 Sept. 712).<sup>173</sup>

## 14 The Rise of the Tatabı

In the Old Turkic inscriptions, the Tatabı are often mentioned together with the Kıtāñ.<sup>174</sup> The Tatabı exist already several centuries before the Türks in the Chinese sources and are recorded as Kumoxi (EMC: *k<sup>h</sup>ɔ<sup>h</sup>-mak-ɣej*), or simply as Xi (EMC: *ɣej*).<sup>175</sup> The connection between the Turkic designation *tatabı* and the Chinese transcription of this original name as *k<sup>h</sup>ɔ<sup>h</sup>-mak-ɣej* is unclear.

In Zhen-guan XXII (ca. 648), the Tatabı chief Keduzhe surrendered to the Tang court and received the Chinese imperial family surname, Li. When the

169 *Xin-wei*. The 1st day of the 1st month in this year was *xin-wei*. *CFYG* and *ZZTJ* say it was *yi-wei*, but this is wrong (Wu Yuguı 2009: 875).

170 *ZZTJ* 210: 6671, *CFYG* 110: 1197.

171 *CFYG* 259: 2945.

172 *ZZTJ* 210: 6671.

173 *Geng-zi*. *ZZTJ* 210: 6671.

174 K. E. 4, 14, 28; K. N. 12; B. E. 5, 23.

175 *TD* 200: 5484.

Kitañs rebelled against China in 696 (see Chapter 2, Section 2), the Tatabı also changed their position and joined the alliance led by the Türks.<sup>176</sup> Sandwiched between the two superpowers (the Türks and China), the Tatabı and the Kitañs played the role of a key balancing force. In order to survive and somehow to sustain their autonomy, their diplomatic policy had to be very pragmatic. Therefore, to some extent, the swaying political standpoints of the Tatabı and Kitañ can be seen as a barometer of the power differences between the Türks and China. For example, after Empress Wu passed away and the Tang dynasty was restored, the Tatabı again dispatched envoys to China and tried to rebuild their relations with the Tang court.<sup>177</sup> However, their basic pro-Türk policy did not change, and two years later it caused a clash between the Tatabı-Kitañ alliance and China. For most time in history, the Kitañs were superior to the Tatabı in strength. But the Kitañ rebellion against China cost them dearly and from then on they gradually lost their dominant position to the Tatabı. In the coming military operations, the Tatabı clearly played the leading role.

On the 22nd day of the 6th month of Xiantian 1 (30 Jul. 712),<sup>178</sup> the Tang suffered a crushing defeat by the Tatabı and the Kitañs, who were backed up by the Türks. The newly appointed Commander-in-Chief of You Prefecture, Sun Quan, led three armies, including twenty thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, to fight against the Tatabı and Kitañ troops. General Wukeli had tried to dissuade him from this campaign and said: "We will definitely fail, if we march such a long way in such hot weather." However, Commander Sun said: "My predecessor Xue Ne held this position for many years, but he never tried to recapture the lost territory of Ying Prefecture. Now, as the Tatabı and Kitañ people are not prepared, if we campaign against them, we will definitely succeed." He ordered his assistant General Li Kailuo to lead the vanguard with four thousand cavalry.

In Lengxing, General Li encountered eight thousand Tatabı cavalry and fell into trouble. Commander Sun was too frightened to rescue the soldiers in front. When he was about to withdraw, he was attacked by the enemy. Sun organized his troops and took advantage of a hillside so they could defend themselves. The leader of the Tatabı, Li Dapu, sent him a message: "The Tang court has agreed to coexist with me peacefully. Why have you brought so many soldiers here?"<sup>179</sup> Sun lied: "I come here to comfort you. Li Kailuo acted in defiance of orders. I shall kill him, and apologize to you."

176 *JTS* 199b: 5354, *XTS* 219: 6173–4.

177 *JTS* 199b: 5354–5.

178 *Geng-shen*.

179 The original Chinese text has *heqin* 和親, which should be translated as "marriage relationship". But in this context it should be understood as a peaceful agreement rather than a marriage issue. Tatabı had sent envoys to the Tang court two years earlier (*JTS* 199b:

Li Dapu asked: “If you come to comfort me, do you have anything to prove that?” Sun collected ten thousand pieces of silk from the army; and together with purple robes, gold belts and fish-bags,<sup>180</sup> he gave them all to Li Dapu. Li realized that Sun was deceiving him and said: “General, please withdraw and don’t disturb us.” The Tang generals and soldiers were so eager to escape that they withdrew in a disorderly fashion. The Tatabı army took advantage of the chaos and routed the Tang troops completely. Sun and his assistant Zhou Yiti were captured by the Tatabı soldiers and were handed over to the Türks. Kapğan Kağan executed both of them. General Li Kailuo and general Wukeli managed to escape and return home.<sup>181</sup>

The conflict between the Tang and the Tatabı-Kitañ coalition escalated. On the 20th day of the 11th month (22 Dec. 712),<sup>182</sup> twenty thousand Tatabı-Kitañ troops attacked Yuyang. The Commander-in-Chief of You Prefecture, Song Jing, shut the door of the citadel and concentrated on defense. The Tatabı-Kitañ troops plundered the environs of the citadel and left.<sup>183</sup> The Tang emperor proceeded on a tour of inspection of the frontiers. On the 29th day (31 Dec. 712),<sup>184</sup> he appointed Song Jing as the Grand Commander of the Left Army, Xue Ne, who was the Senior Scribe of Bing Prefecture, as the Grand Commander of the Middle Army, and Guo Yuanzhen, who was the Grand Commander of Shuofang and Military Minister, as the Grand Commander of the Right Army.<sup>185</sup> With these three armies, the Tang managed to establish a strong defense line from Longyou to Hebei, against the Türks, Tatabı and Kitañs. Such a defensive strategy by the Chinese government effectively restrained the expansion of the Tatabı and the Kitañs.

## 15 The Fruits of the Türk-Tang Marriage Negotiations

It is noteworthy that the Chinese princess selected by Emperor Ruizong to marry Kapğan Kağan was in fact not his daughter but his granddaughter. Common sense shows that the marriage partners would have been highly mismatched. Probably having realized the impropriety of this arrangement, Kapğan Kağan

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5354–5). But no detailed information about the dialog between the Tatabı envoys and the Tang court is available.

180 The fish-shaped bag was a symbol of high rank in the Tang dynasty.

181 *JTS* 199b: 5355, *XTS* 106: 4056–7, *XTS* 219: 6174, *ZZTJ* 210: 6672–3, *CFYG* 446: 5032.

182 *Yi-you*.

183 *ZZTJ* 210: 6679.

184 *Jia-wu*.

185 *XTS* 5: 120, *ZZTJ* 210: 6679.

dispatched his son to continue the marriage negotiations with the Tang government. On the 25th day of the 8th month of Kaiyuan I (19 Sept. 713),<sup>186</sup> the Türk prince Yangwozhi arrived at the Tang court.

On the following day,<sup>187</sup> the Tang emperor decided to marry off the daughter of Prince Shu, titled Princess of Nanhe County, to Yangwozhi. The real name of this Prince Shu was Li Yu. He was a great-grandson of Emperor Taizong, which means he was a distant cousin of Emperor Xuanzong.<sup>188</sup> There was a condition for this marriage: Yangwozhi had to stay in the Tang court and serve in the palace as a *comitatus*.<sup>189</sup>

The Tang emperor sent a letter to the Türk kağan, saying: "I want to be doubly related to you, so I married a Chinese princess to your son. I hope you will be relieved, when you hear this good news."<sup>190</sup> From another version of the letter, which was composed by Shen Quanqi in the name of the Tang emperor, we can obtain more information. "Kağan, you yourself have already been a Chinese son-in-law. Now there is a Chinese princess marrying your son. The whole world will be delighted by such a close relationship between Türk and Tang. Though there have been so many envoys between us, they could not convey our minds accurately. As you yourself live far away, we have not met in person. Now I am attaching an iron badge, which stands for trust and credit. If either of us breaks the oath, he will not be blessed."<sup>191</sup>

We don't know whether Kapğan Kağan was really relieved or not when he received the letter from the Tang emperor, especially when he heard the news that his son had finally married a lady of the Chinese royal house. However, the significance of the marriage between the Türk prince Yangwozhi and the Tang princess of Nanhe County should not be overstated, because, firstly, the selected princess was only a distant niece of the emperor, and secondly, the Türk prince Yangwozhi spent the remainder of his life in the Tang court.<sup>192</sup> He was more like a hostage than an imperial son-in-law.

From the letter sent by Emperor Xuanzong we know that he acknowledged the legitimacy of the marriage negotiations between his father and Kapğan Kağan. As his father had agreed to marry Princess Jinshan to Kapğan Kağan, and Princess Jinshan was one the nieces of Emperor Xuanzong, Kapğan Kağan

186 *Bing-chen*.

187 *Ding-si*.

188 *JTS* 76: 2651.

189 *ZZTJ* 210: 6686, *XTS* 215a: 6047.

190 *CFYG* 979: 11331.

191 *QTBWB*: 2101.

192 *XTS* 215a: 6048. The exact date of Yangwozhi's death is not clear. When he died, all high ranking officials of the royal family paid condolence calls to his house in Chang'an.

was regarded a son-in-law by Emperor Xuanzong, even though the marriage had never taken place because of diplomatic and military tensions between the two countries. In the letter, Emperor Xuanzong not only showed his approval of the earlier Türk-Tang marriage negotiations, but also presented his wish of keeping friendly relations with the Türks. His humble gesture to the Türk kağan should be understood within the context of Tang inner politics. The newly enthroned emperor still felt threatened by his political opponents during the first years of his reign. A peaceful international environment was helpful for him to concentrate on internal issues.<sup>193</sup>

As has been discussed above, marriage is a representation of the close political relationship between two countries. It can also be manipulated for other political purposes. Building a marriage relationships with the Tang court was a kind of political competition among different regimes in Eastern Asia. The Türks could not allow themselves to fall behind. However, the proposals by the Türk kağan had either been rejected or postponed by the Chinese rulers, for different reasons.

Under such circumstances, Kapğan Kağan had to take second best. He married at least two Chinese wives: Ms. Lü and Ms. Xiang, but neither of them came from the royal house. It seems that they were also members of the delegation led by Yangwozhi in this year to China. Ms. Lü was given the title of Hanhai Furen (“Madame Hanhai”) by the Tang court; Ms. Xiang was given the title of Nakuan Furen (“Madame Nakuan”).<sup>194</sup> Whether the two women stayed in China just like the Türk prince or returned to the side of Kapğan Kağan is unknown.

## 16 The Béş Balık Battle

Béş Balık was the Turkic name for a strategic city in today’s Jimusaer (Jimsar) County, Xinjiang. This place was inhabited by an Indo-European-speaking tribe called the Jushi several centuries prior to the Türks. At some time, most probably when it was initially constructed, the city consisted of five towns. Therefore, it was also called “the city of five towns” by local inhabitants.<sup>195</sup> The

193 Emperor Xuanzong was threatened by his aunt, Princess Taiping, who was the daughter of Empress Wu. Princess Taiping had attempted to prevent him from ascending the throne. She also fostered a powerful political force in opposition to Emperor Xuanzong. Five of the seven prime-ministers belonged to her camp. So, the most urgent thing for Emperor Xuanzong after ascendance was to destroy her aunt’s political faction. He made it (*ZZTJ* 210: 6681–5).

194 *QTW* 20: 239.

195 *JTS* 40: 1646.

city had been abandoned for a long time before the First Türk Empire occupied it and settled Turkic-speaking people in it. Following the Türks' common practice, place names in the territory of the Türk Empire were turkicized. It is obvious that *bés balık* was a translation of the local name, as *bés* means "five" and *balık* means "city, town" in Old Turkic.

After the First Türk Empire collapsed, the city came under the control of the Tang government and a large population of Chinese immigrants began to take residence near and in the city.<sup>196</sup> Therefore, the composition of the population of Bés Balık was very complex, and included Chinese-speaking people, Turkic-speaking people, and Indo-European-speaking inhabitants. Considering the strategic location of this city, the Tang government used it as a bastion to guard against the invasion of the Türgiș, Kırkız and Türks. The protectorate established by the Tang government in this area was called Beiting. In the eyes of the Türk kağan, the strategic importance of Bés Balık was self-evident and forced him to spare no efforts to seize it.

In the Chinese sources, the outcome of the Bés Balık Battle is recorded on the 7th day of the 2nd month of Kaiyuan II (25 Feb. 714).<sup>197</sup> Kapğan Kağan sent his sons Yinie Kehan (EMC: *ji-net k<sup>h</sup>a'-yan* < OT: *inel kağan*) and Tong-e Teqin (EMC: *dəwŋ-ŋa dək-gin* < OT: *toŋa tégin*), and his son-in-law Huoba Xielifa Shi Ashibi<sup>198</sup> to lead troops to besiege the Beiting Protectorate (i.e. Bés Balık). The Chinese Protector-General Guo Qianguan was appointed to lead the defense. Toŋa Tégin rode a horse and pressed up to the city wall alone. He was ambushed by the strong Chinese soldiers, who had earlier hidden by the side of the road. The Türks wanted to ransom Toŋa Tégin for all the provisions in the army. When they heard of the death of their Toŋa Tégin, they burst into tears and left.<sup>199</sup>

Having lost Toŋa Tégin, Shi Ashibi (short form of Huoba Xielifa Shi Ashibi) dared not return home to face the punishment by Kapğan Kağan. On the 25th day of the leap 2nd month (14 Apr. 714),<sup>200</sup> Shi Ashibi, along with his wife, came to surrender to the Tang government. He was appointed Grand General of the Right Guard and Yanshanjun Wang.<sup>201</sup> His wife was appointed Princess

196 *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 40: 1033.

197 *Yi-wei*.

198 It is a complicated title. Wu Yugui analyzed *huoba* as a tribal name, *xielifa* (EMC: *yet-li<sup>h</sup>-puat* < OT: *élteber*) as an official title and *shi-ashibi* as the personal name (Wu Yugui 2009: 91).

199 *JTS* 103: 3187, *XTS* 133: 4543, *JTS* 194a: 5172, *ZZTJ* 211: 6696.

200 *Gui-wei*.

201 *JTS* 194a and *ZZTJ* record his title as "Yanbeijun Wang" (Wu Yugui 2009: 918).

of Jinshan.<sup>202</sup> They received a house, ten maids, ten horses and several thousand pieces of silk, as a reward from the Chinese government.<sup>203</sup>

The Bés Balık Battle is also narrated by Bilge Kağan in one of the Turkic inscriptions, but in a different way. According to his narrative, the Türk army besieged the city Bés Balık and launched six assaults in total. Eventually, the inhabitants living inside the city came out to welcome the Türk army and therefore the city avoided being slaughtered.<sup>204</sup> Bilge Kağan did not mention a word about a Türk loss in the battle. Neither did he mention that one of his cousins lost his life. His younger brother Kül Tégin probably did not take part in this campaign, because the Kül Tégin Inscription is completely silent about this event.

Bilge Kağan claimed that he was thirty years old when he campaigned against Bés Balık. From the Chinese sources we know that the outcome of the Bés Balık Battle was recorded on the 7th day of the 2nd month of Kaiyuan 11, the year in which Bilge Kağan was thirty-one years old according to our chronology. It seems that there is a one-year difference between our chronology and Bilge Kağan's narrative. However, if we take into account the time required by the Türk troops to travel all the way from the Ötüken mountain forest to Bés Balık, a journey which usually lasted two months, we can conclude that the Türk army set off at the end of Kaiyuan 1, when Bilge Kağan was thirty years old.

The date offered by Bilge Kağan is the starting point of this campaign and the date recorded in the Chinese sources is the end point of the battle, and between the starting point and the end point there was marching and fighting, which likely lasted for several months. So, as far as the Bés Balık Battle is concerned, our chronological data in the Chinese sources and in the Old Turkic Inscriptions can in fact be harmonized.<sup>205</sup>

## 17 Kapğan Kağan's Last Attempt

Though Kapğan Kağan had already married two Chinese women, neither of them came from the Tang royal house. However, he did not give up on the idea of marrying a true Chinese princess. On the 25th day of the 2nd month of Kaiyuan 11 (15 Mar. 714), the Türk envoy Ashina Ju was entertained by the Tang

202 Her title is the same as that of the Tang princess who had been promised to marry Kapğan Kağan (see Chapter 2, Sections 11 and 13). In order to show that they were different persons, we offer here a slightly different English translation as "Princess of Jinshan".

203 *JTS* 8: 172, *JTS* 194a: 5172, *ZZTJ* 211: 6697.

204 B. E. 28.

205 Chen Hao 2018.

emperor in the Hall of Chengtian Gate.<sup>206</sup> The purpose of the Türk delegation is unclear, but very possible it was another attempt to achieve a marriage relationship between the two countries.

On the 25th day of the 4th month of Kaiyuan 11 (11 Jun. 714),<sup>207</sup> the Türk envoys arrived again, bringing a letter from Kapğan Kağan to the Chinese emperor, in which he made an offer of marriage for himself. In the letter, Kapğan Kağan called himself “Qianhe Yongqing Dafuma Tianshang Deguobao Tiannan Tujue Shengtian Guduolu Kehan”. The title claimed by Kapğan Kağan for himself was a mixture of Turkic and Chinese elements. The beginning three attributive elements are purely Chinese phrases, *qianhe* meaning “heavenly harmony”, *yongqing* meaning “eternal purity” and *da fuma* meaning “honorable son-in-law of the emperor”. The following attributive elements are Chinese transcriptions or translations of Turkic titles.<sup>208</sup> Four days after the Türk envoys arrived,<sup>209</sup> the Tang court agreed to marry off a princess.<sup>210</sup>

On the 15th day of the 10th month (26 Nov. 714),<sup>211</sup> the Türk envoys came again to urge on the marriage process. The Tang emperor replied: “I am already linked by marriage with the Türks. Our negotiations have not just started today. I put off the wedding date because our princess was too young. What’s more,

206 CFYG 971: 11237. *Gui-chou*, Wu Yugui 2009: 942.

207 *Xin-si*.

208 A similar title “Tianshang Deguobao Tiannan Tujue Shengtian Guduolu Mochuo Dakehan” appears on the epitaph of Princess Xianli Pijia. Many scholars have attempted to reconstruct the Old Turkic origins of this title (Chavannes 1912: 86, Pelliot 1928: 151–152, Pritsak 1985: 211, Bombaci 1971: 117). V. Rybatzki, on the contrary, sought to interpret those attributive elements as purely Chinese, rather than Old Turkic (Rybatzki 2000: 226). The Chinese transcriptions of *türk* (*tujue*), *kutluğ* (*guduolu*) and *kağan* (*kehan*) have already been thoroughly discussed, and will not be repeated here. The phrase *tianshang* “in heaven” is a Chinese expression used to translate Old Turkic *teyride*. The phrase *guobao* is a Buddhist terminology meaning “retribution for good or evil deeds, implying that different conditions in this (or any) life are the variant ripenings, or fruit, of seed sown in previous life or lives.” (Soothill 1937: 264). In this context, it should be understood as “retribution for good deeds”. With the verb *de* “to obtain”, the phrase *deguobao* makes much sense, meaning “to receive rewards [that one deserves]”. P. Pelliot reconstructed the Old Turkic form of *tianshang deguobao* as *teyride kut bulmuş*. This reconstruction within this context is not impossible. However, the argument that the word *bolmuş* (*bol-* “to become”) of the title *teyri teg teyride bolmuş türk bilge kağan* appearing on the south side of the Kül Tégin Inscription and the north side of the Bilge Kağan Inscription, should be read as *bulmuş* (*bul-* “to find”), with the element *kut* “fortune” being not spelled out, is not convincing (Pelliot 1929: 152, Ögel 2016: 76–77). In Old Turkic, there are many ways to express “being divine”, e.g. *teyri yaratmış*, *teyride bolmuş*, and *teyride kut bulmuş*. Therefore, the form *teyride bolmuş* will be kept in this book.

209 *Yi-you*.

210 CFYG 979: 11331, ZZTJ 211: 6699.

211 *Ji-si*.

your kağan has failed to send envoys for a long time. If you are sincere, let's select a lucky day next year for the wedding. In order to strengthen our bilateral trust, you can send a prince to me as hostage, and escort him to the palace. That would be perfect."<sup>212</sup> Obviously, the Tang emperor did not take Kapğan Kağan's proposal seriously and just used dilatory tactics in coping with the Türk envoys. As the last proposal by Kapğan Kağan was not taken seriously by the Tang emperor, he didn't marry any Chinese princesses his whole life. The only fruit the negotiations achieved was that his hostage-son in the Tang court had married a distant niece of the Tang emperor.

## 18 Risk of Collapse

From Kaiyuan II (ca. 714) on the situation of the Türk Empire became serious, as it was facing both economic sanctions and military threats from the Tang government. In the leap 2nd month of this year, the Tang government closed the markets in border regions and forbade the export of many commodities, including silk, cloth, brocade, yak tails, pearls, gold, and iron, to the Türks. Travelers and envoys were not allowed to bring any metal utensils into the Türk lands.<sup>213</sup>

From the list of forbidden commodities, we get the impression that the Tang government meant to impose economic sanctions on the Türks by cutting off the inflow of silk and iron, which were the two most important commodities for the Türk economy. On the 28th day of the 2nd month (18 Mar. 714), the Tang emperor published an edict in which he attacked the Türk kağan's cruelty and dishonesty and announced a large scale assault on the Türks.<sup>214</sup>

The military operation against the Türks was somehow delayed by two years, but the threatening effect of this announcement must have increased the Türk kağan's anxiety. Kapğan Kağan was unable to plunder Chinese territory any more; he diverted his attention into dealing with the neighboring regimes to the West and North. At this moment, the Türk Empire was at risk of collapse, not only because of the economic sanctions and military threats from the Tang government, but also because its vassal regimes, such as the Karluk, Tokuz Oğuz, On Ok, Kitañ and Tatabı, began to declare independence and even draw closer to the Tang government. For example, in Kaiyuan II (ca. 714), both the Kitañ and Tatabı leaders dispatched ambassadors to the Tang

<sup>212</sup> *CFYG* 979: 11331, *ZZTJ* 211: 6706.

<sup>213</sup> *THY* 86: 1581.

<sup>214</sup> *QTW* 253: 2563–4.

court and both in return were allowed to marry Chinese princesses;<sup>215</sup> in the 10th month (12 Nov.–11 Dec. 714), the On Ok chief Huluwu (EMC: *ɣɔ-ləwk-ʔəw* < OT: ?) led twenty thousand people in surrender to the Tang government.<sup>216</sup>

The Geluolu (EMC: *kat-la<sup>h</sup>-ləwk* < OT: *karluk*), consisting of three tribes, also known as Üç Karluk, namely Mouluo (EMC: *muw-lak* < OT: ?), Chisi (EMC: *tɕ<sup>h</sup>ɪ<sup>h</sup>-zɪ'* < OT: ?), and Tashili (EMC: *t<sup>h</sup>əp-zit-lik* < OT: ?), lived to the west of the Altay Mountains.<sup>217</sup> According to the Kül Tëgin Inscription, when Kül Tëgin was thirty years old, the Karluk people became independent and turned hostile to the Türks. As a countermeasure, the Türk army fought against the Karluk people at Tamağ Iduk Baş and defeated them.<sup>218</sup> The narrative concerning the battle against the Karluks in the Bilge Kağan Inscription is similar, but it additionally informs us that in the following year there was a second battle against the Karluks.<sup>219</sup>

The accounts about the Karluks in the Old Turkic inscriptions match well with the records in the Chinese sources. On the 28th day of the 9th month of Kaiyuan II (9 Nov. 714),<sup>220</sup> the Karluk tribes surrendered to the Tang government. They were settled in Liang Prefecture.<sup>221</sup> The Karluk immigrants to China of this year were only a part of the Karluk population. According to the Chinese sources, on the 4th day of the 4th month of Kaiyuan III (11 May 715),<sup>222</sup> the Üç Karluk, under the leadership of Sanlan Sijin, surrendered to the Tang government. The Tang emperor composed a letter to them, appreciating their loyalty and bringing his best wishes to the Karluk chiefs.

From the perspective of China, the surrender of the Karluks was regarded as loyalty, but from the perspective of the Türks, it was a rebellion. In order to punish them, Kapğan Kağan launched a second assault on the Karluk tribes. Bilge Kağan also took part in this campaign, since he particularly mentions in his inscription that the Türks fought against the Karluks for a second time the following year when he was thirty-two or thirty-three years old.<sup>223</sup> Bilge Kağan did not mention this campaign in his younger brother's memorial, probably because Kül Tëgin did not join it. On the 12th day of the 5th month

215 *JTS* 199b: 5351, 5355.

216 *CFYG* 977: 11312.

217 *XTS* 217b: 6143.

218 K. N. 1–2.

219 B. E. 29–30.

220 *Ren-zì*.

221 *CFYG* 977: 11312, *ZZTJ* 211: 6705.

222 *Yi-mao*.

223 B. E. 29.

(17 Jun. 715), the Tang court sent troops to help the Karluk people to repel the Türk incursion.<sup>224</sup>

However, for some unknown reason the Türk army continued marching towards the Az people. The Türk troops fought against the Az people at Kara Köl (lit. “Black Lake”) when Kül Tégin was thirty-one years old. He rode a white horse and captured the élteber of the Az people.<sup>225</sup> The battle against the Az people is not mentioned in Bilge Kağan’s memorial, probably because he himself did not take part in it. The ethno-title “Az” appears several times in the Old Turkic inscriptions.<sup>226</sup> As it is sometimes mentioned together with the Kırkız, many scholars have attempted to identify the “Az” in the Old Turkic inscriptions with the people group transcribed in Chinese as A-re (EMC: *ʔa-niat*).<sup>227</sup> According to the Chinese sources, A-re was originally the name or title of the Kırkız leader in the first half of the 9th century.<sup>228</sup> It was under his leadership that the Kırkız finally overthrew the regime of the Uyğur Empire.<sup>229</sup> The identification of Az with A-re seems anachronistic.

The next target of the Türk army were the Tokuz Oğuz. According to the narrative in the Kül Tégin Inscription, the first Oğuz tribe encountered by the Türk troops was the Izgil. The Türk army defeated the Izgil people.<sup>230</sup> As a result, the Izgil people surrendered to the Tang court in the 9th month (2 Oct.–31 Oct. 715). The Chinese transcription of Izgil is Sijie (EMC: *si-ket*).<sup>231</sup> In the same year, there was still another Oğuz tribe that came to surrender to the Tang court. In the 2nd month (10 Mar.–8 Apr. 715), a tribe called the Adie (EMC: *ʔa-det*), also transcribed as Xiedie (EMC: *ʔet-det*)<sup>232</sup> or Hedio (EMC: *xa-det*), coming from Türk territory, surrendered to the Tang government.<sup>233</sup> The phonetic value of

224 ZZTJ 211: 6710.

225 B. N. 2–3.

226 For example, in K. E. 19, B. E. 16, T. 23, 24 ff.

227 Geng 2005: 132.

228 XTS 217b: 6147.

229 Drompp 1999.

230 K. N. 3–4.

231 ZZTJ 211: 6712, XTS 215a: 6048. J. Hamilton read Sijie as a transcription of \*Siyir/Siqir (Hamilton 1955: 2, n. 11). Gumilëv made the Sijie = Izgil connection (Gumilëv 1967: 265 ff.). It is uncertain whether this Oğuz tribe Sijie had something to do with the On Ok tribe Axijie (EMC: *ʔa-sit-ket*) or Axiji (EMC: *ʔa-sit-kjit*). Among recent studies, Andrés Róna-Tas compares Axijie/Axiji with اسكىل (‘skl) and اسغل (‘sǵl): Āsägäl, Askil, in his reconstruction, the name of a Volga Bulgar tribe (Róna-Tas 2016: 70–71).

232 The entry of *xie* 蹠 does not exist in Pulleyblank 1991. However, according to *Guangyun*, it is *xijie qie* 奚结切, which can be reconstructed as EMC: *ʔet* (xi 奚 [EMC: *ʔeʃ*]), *jie* 结 [EMC: *ket*], see Pulleyblank 1991: 329, 154).

233 JTS 8: 175, CFYG 977: 11312, XTS 217: 6142.

*ra-det* could match the *ediz* mentioned in the Kül Tëgin Inscription.<sup>234</sup> The Türk army had fought against the Ediz people at Kuşlağak.<sup>235</sup>

## 19 The Türk-Oğuz War

The Izgil were also a member of the Tokuz Oğuz confederation. The Türks' military operation against the Izgil was actually a part of their campaign against the Tokuz Oğuz. However, Bilge Kağan narrates the Türk battle against the Izgil people and the later battles against the other Oğuz tribes separately. After their victory over the Izgil, the Türk troops marched deep into the territory of the Tokuz Oğuz.

According to the Kül Tëgin Inscription, there were five battles between the Türks and the Tokuz Oğuz people in the year when Kül Tëgin was thirty-one years old. The first battle took place at the citadel of Toğu, where Kül Tëgin killed thirteen enemies in total. In the second battle the Türk army fought against the Ediz people in Kuşlağak. In this battle, the Türks defeated the Ediz people. Kül Tëgin killed ten enemies. The location of the third battle between the Türks and the Oğuz people is unclear. Kül Tëgin also killed a number of enemies.

After the third victory over the Oğuz people, the Türks fought a fourth time against the Oğuz army at the top of Çuş. This time the Oğuz tribe that battled against the Türks was the Toņra, whose chief is called Abusi in the Chinese sources. In this battle, the Türk troops obviously got the upper hand. Kül Tëgin killed eleven Toņra soldiers at the place where Toņra Tëgin's funeral was held. We know Toņra Tëgin had lost his life one year earlier when the Türk troops besieged Béş Balık (see Chapter 2, Section 16).<sup>236</sup> After being defeated by the Türks, Abusi led his followers to surrender to the Tang government. Chinese

<sup>234</sup> Marquart 1898: 18.

<sup>235</sup> K. N. 5.

<sup>236</sup> According to Türk burial customs, the period between a person's death and their funeral was not fixed. If a person passed away in spring or summer, their funeral would be held when the grass and leaves turned yellow. If he passed away in autumn or winter, the funeral would be held when the leaves blossomed (zs 50: 910, Parker 1895: 135, Thomsen 1924: 132, Liu Mau-tsai 1958: 9). So generally, the corpses of Türk soldiers or ordinary people would be kept for more than half a year before being buried. For example, Kül Tëgin died in the 1st month and he was buried in the 9th month, and Bilge Kağan passed away in the 10th month and his funeral was held in the 5th month of the following year. The period between Toņra Tëgin's death and his funeral was a little bit longer than usual, probably because his father was busy with military campaigns and could not find a proper time for his funeral.

sources say that the battle between the Türks and the Oğuz people happened in autumn.<sup>237</sup> Before winter came, the Türks fought a fifth time against the Oğuz people at Ezgenti Kadaz. The Türk army completely routed the Oğuz troops and Kül Tégin killed two enemy soldiers. After this battle, the Türk army withdrew and spent the freezing winter in the fortress of Amğa.<sup>238</sup>

The Türk campaign against the Oğuz in this year was of course under the leadership of Kapğan Kağan, but both Kül Tégin and Bilge Kağan took part in it. Bilge Kağan has given us a slightly different narrative in his own inscription than that of his younger brother. According to the Bilge Kağan Inscription, there were only four battles between the Türks and the Oğuz in this year. The first battle took place at the citadel of Toğu, as mentioned in the Kül Tégin Inscription. But the second battlefield was Antarğu, not the Kuşlağak mentioned in the Kül Tégin Inscription. Accounts of the third and the fourth battles in the Bilge Kağan Inscription and Kül Tégin Inscription agree with each other.<sup>239</sup>

Of course, in his own inscription, Bilge Kağan did not have to highlight his younger brother's bravery. Reasons why the narrative concerning the Türk-Oğuz War in the Bilge Kağan Inscription differs from the Kül Tégin Inscription (four battles vs. five battles) can also be sought in this direction. In his autobiographical text, Bilge Kağan was concerned with highlighting only his own achievements, which means it was necessary for him to narrate only those battles that he himself had joined. It is quite possible that the two brothers did not always fight shoulder to shoulder. That is to say, Bilge Kağan may not have taken part in the second and third battles that Kül Tégin joined. But we can't exclude the possibility that when Bilge Kağan narrated this event for his own memorial his memory had already somehow faded away, especially after he was poisoned by Buyruk Çor.

After spending the winter in the fortress of Amğa, the Türk army campaigned again against the Oğuz in the spring. The Türk soldiers were divided into two groups. The first went to fight and the second stayed at home to ensure the defense. Kül Tégin was the leader of the second group, which means his task was to protect women and children at home. The Oğuz people also divided their soldiers into two groups and dispatched one of them to attack the Türk royal camp. Kül Tégin managed to resist the attacks from the Oğuz soldiers and

237 *JTS* 194: 5173.

238 K. N. 2–8.

239 B. E. 29–31.

prevented his [step-] mothers, aunts and sisters from being captured by the Oğuz soldiers.<sup>240</sup>

Bilge Kağan has not offered us too much information about the battle on the front line. But from his narrative we know that the Tokuz Oğuz and Tokuz Tatar allied to resist the Türk attack.<sup>241</sup> Here *tokuz tatar* (“nine Tatar groups”) is a new designation. We can find *otuz tatar* (“thirty Tatar groups”) in the Old Turkic inscriptions in several places.<sup>242</sup> The Otuz Tatar in Old Turkic inscriptions can be identified with the Hsi in the Chinese sources. Here we can also relate these Tokuz Tatar with the same ethnic group, the Hsi, because the Chinese sources tell us that after the war with the Türks in this year, the Hsi people, along with other Oğuz tribes (the Bayegu [EMC: *bəit-jia'-kəʰ* < OT: *bayırku*], Huihu [EMC: *ɣwəi-kwət* < OT: *uyğur*],<sup>243</sup> Toŋra, and Pugu) came to surrender to the Tang government.<sup>244</sup>

From the Turkic inscriptions we can get the impression that the Türk troops always won. But in reality, the Türks suffered a huge loss during this campaign against the Tokuz Oğuz: their kağan was assassinated. From the Chinese sources we know that on the 29th day of the 6th month of Kaiyuan IV (22 Jul. 716), Kapğan Kağan's head was brought to the Tang emperor. He had been killed by a soldier of the Bayırku. In the beginning, the Türk troops had overwhelmed the Bayırku army at Tuğla River. But then Kapğan Kağan relaxed his vigilance and reduced the defensive forces. Suddenly, a Bayırku soldier, Xiezhilue (EMC: *ɣet-tsit-liak*), ran out from the willows and successfully assassinated him.<sup>245</sup>

The assassination of Kapğan Kağan is likely to have happened two months before the date when his head was brought to the Tang court, considering

240 K. N. 9.

241 B. E. 34.

242 K. E. 4, 14, B. E. 5, 12.

243 The entry of *hu* 鶻 does not exist in Pulleyblank 1991. However, according to *Guangyun*, it is *gu hu qie* 古忽切, which can be reconstructed as EMC: *kwət* (*gu* [EMC: *kəʷ*], *hu* [EMC: *xwət*], see Pulleyblank 1991: 111, 126). The other transcription is Huihe (EMC: *ɣwəi-ɣət*).

244 *JTS* 8: 176. Since both *otuz tatar* and *tokuz tatar* can be identified with the same ethnic group, they must be designations from different historical periods. At an earlier stage, the Hsi lived between the Kitañs, the Tatabı and the Türks. The relationship of the Hsi with the Shiwei is unclear, but for some time the Hsi seem to have played the role the Shiwei had played in international affairs. When the Hsi were very powerful, they may have consisted of thirty tribes and that is why they were called *otuz tatar* by the Türk people. After they immigrated to the territory of the Oğuz, they became weaker and had only nine tribes, so the Türks designated them as *tokuz tatar*. But it is also possible that the Tokuz Tatar and Otuz Tatar had separated a long time ago, because the Hsi in the Oğuz region were also called Bai Hsi (White Hsi) in the Chinese sources and their history went back to the beginning of the Tang dynasty (*JTS* 199b: 5349, *XTS* 217b: 6145).

245 *JTS* 8: 176, *XTS* 5: 125.

the time it must have taken to bring it there. Since neither Toñukuk nor Bilge Kağan have left us a complete biography of Kapğan Kağan, we can only build a very rough biography for him. Toñukuk said that he supported Kapğan Kağan's ascension the throne when the latter was twenty-seven years old.<sup>246</sup> In that year, Bilge Kağan was eight.<sup>247</sup> That is to say, Bilge Kağan was nineteen years younger than his uncle. We can conclude that Kapğan Kağan was born in the year of the ox, Linde II (ca. 665), and died at the age of fifty-two.

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246 T. 51.

247 B. E. 14.

# Compromise and Negotiation

## 1 Bilge Kağan's Enthronement

After the assassination of Kapğan Kağan, his son, the junior kağan (Fuju, also called “Tuoxi Kağan”), was acclaimed as the new kağan of the Türk Empire, according to linear succession. However, the newly enthroned kağan could not win the support of several political factions, especially that of his cousins. Within the Türk Empire, there broke out a clash over the throne between the lineage of Élteriş Kağan and the lineage of Kapğan Kağan.<sup>1</sup> Soon, the former faction overwhelmed the latter.

Kül Tégin, who was Élteriş Kağan's youngest son, collected his earlier followers and dethroned the new kağan. The new kağan along with his brothers and supporters were slaughtered by Kül Tégin. After the coup d'état Kül Tégin encouraged his older brother, Mojilian (EMC: *māk-kik-lian*), to ascend the throne. But Mojilian persuaded Kül Tégin himself to ascend, because the coup had been his own achievement.<sup>2</sup> However, Kül Tégin insisted on supporting his older brother Mojilian as the new kağan (Bilge Kağan). Actually, the succession of Bilge Kağan after his uncle and his cousin was not linear but lateral, and it was achieved through power, which was the root of many challenges for himself during his reign. The successful enthronement of Bilge Kağan symbolized the victory of Élteriş Kağan's lineage over Kapğan Kağan's.

There are basically two patterns of succession in nomadic society: linear and lateral. Linear succession means that the male children of the deceased leader have the right to succeed him. On the contrary, lateral succession means that the male siblings of the deceased leader, and their descendants, may succeed him.<sup>3</sup> So, lateral succession seems to be more “democratic”. However, in real political practice, the two patterns were often used in turns.

As the founder of the Second Türk Empire, Élteriş Kağan seems to have been interested in having one of his sons succeed him. From the Toñukuk Inscription we know that during Élteriş Kağan's reign there were two other kağans: Inel Kağan and Bögü Kağan. The attempt by previous scholars to identify these two with Kapğan Kağan and his son is anachronistic (see Chapter 1,

<sup>1</sup> See also Saito 2016.

<sup>2</sup> *JTS* 194b: 5173, *XTS* 215b: 6051.

<sup>3</sup> Goody 1966: 33.

Section 10). Both were adult sons of Élderiş Kağan, which means they could not have been Kül Tégin (only six years old at that time) nor Bilge Kağan (only seven years old). Élderiş Kağan appointed them as junior kağans (maybe not at the same time) in an attempt to ensure that one of his sons, rather than one of his brothers, would ascend the throne after his death. Unfortunately, we don't have much information about the two junior kağans. The only thing we know about Bögü Kağan is that he was appointed by his uncle as a şad in the year 699, when he had lost the privilege of being a junior kağan.<sup>4</sup> Élderiş Kağan probably appointed his son junior kağan in hopes that he would in fact succeed him, just like heir apparents succeeded to the emperorship in China.

Although Élderiş Kağan intended to have one of his sons succeed him, what actually happened was that his younger brother managed to ascend the throne after his death. According to the Chinese sources, when Élderiş Kağan passed away, his sons were still young, so his brother Mochuo usurped power and declared himself Kapğan Kağan.<sup>5</sup> We don't know any details about how Kapğan Kağan managed to ascend the throne. It must have been the result of a severe political struggle. The reason provided in the Chinese sources that Élderiş Kağan's sons were too young to succeed, is not convincing. At that moment, at least three sons of Élderiş Kağan were candidates for the throne. The two younger brothers, Kül Tégin and the later Bilge Kağan, were seven and eight years old respectively. But the oldest brother, the junior kağan Bögü, might have been old enough to ascend the throne.

Although Kapğan Kağan's accession to the throne was not according to linear succession, his ascendancy to the throne was still regarded as valid by the future Bilge Kağan.<sup>6</sup> Of course, Bilge Kağan had to recognize his uncle's legitimacy, because at that time Bilge Kağan himself was not old enough to be a competent candidate for the position of kağan. He could not afford on behalf of his older brother to become hostile against his powerful uncle.

When comparing the situation of Kapğan Kağan with the situation of Élderiş Kağan, we find some similarities. Kapğan Kağan followed his older brother's example and also appointed one of his sons as junior kağan in 699.<sup>7</sup> If the purpose of appointing a junior kağan was indeed to legitimize linear succession, we can say that this institution was prone to challenges, because Kapğan Kağan himself had once broken it. However, this time, surprisingly,

4 *JTS* 194a: 5169, *XTS* 215a: 6046.

5 *JTS* 194a: 5168, *XTS* 215a: 6044–5. Dr. Florence Hodous has kindly reminded me this is typical of the Mongols: if the presumed heir is too young, he doesn't have a chance when the time comes for the real political struggle. This is because power was personalized (unlike in China), not institutionalized.

6 K. S. 16, B. S. 14.

7 *JTS* 194a: 5170, *XTS* 215a: 6046.

the linear succession was realized, even though only for a short time. Kapğan Kağan's son, the junior kağan Fujū or Tuoxi Kağan, ascended the throne after his father's assassination.

Kapğan Kağan also had a younger brother. We can't avoid the question: why did Kapğan Kağan's brother not follow the practice of older brother and ascend the throne according to lateral succession? This question is not difficult to answer. The younger brother, Duoxifu, was kind of an invisible personage. We don't have any other information about him either from the Old Turkic inscriptions or from the Chinese sources. The attempt by some scholars to identify this personage with the protagonist of the Ongin Inscription is not convincing.<sup>8</sup> The reason why he did not or could not challenge the linear succession was that either he was not powerful enough or he was already dead by the year 716.

Kül Tégin's murder of his cousin Fujū ("Tuoxi Kağan") cast a shadow over his whole life. From the narrative of Bilge Kağan, who kept reminding the Türk officials of his younger brother's bravery on the battlefield, we can infer the dissatisfaction of the Türk officials towards Kül Tégin. Bilge Kağan could not avoid recounting this event when he narrated Kül Tégin's life story. It's astonishing that the biography of Kül Tégin suddenly comes to its end in the year when he was thirty-two years old. It is well known this Türk prince died at the age of forty-seven. We can't accept the theory that the rest of his life was not worth telling. He was not only appointed by Bilge Kağan as the chief military commander, but also played an active role in Türk foreign affairs (see Chapter 3, Section 6).

The year (Kaiyuan IV, 716) when Kül Tégin's biography stops is exactly the same year in which he dethroned his cousin and slaughtered the supporters of the latter. The logical explanation for the absence of the remaining fifteen years in his biographical account is that his brutal deed in the year Kaiyuan IV was so controversial that even his older brother, Bilge Kağan, did not know how to narrate it properly. The best was to end the narration there and escape the responsibility of having to take a position. It seems that the bloody game of thrones in the year 716 had become a political taboo in the Second Türk Empire.

## 2 Background of the Toñukuk Inscription

The assassination of the powerful Kapğan Kağan caused a wave of political turmoil on the steppe. Many regimes that were previously subordinate to the Türks, such as the Tokuz Oğuz, Kitañ and Tatabi, turned to China for support.

<sup>8</sup> Onogawa 1950: 440.

What's more, the chief of the Türgiŝ proclaimed himself as an independent kağan. The Türk tribes were scattered. The newly enthroned Bilge Kağan was so worried about the chaotic situation that he called back the deposed Toñukuk, who was senior, wise, and had high prestige in the country.

Toñukuk had been an official in the reign of Kapğan Kağan. He had probably played a role in supporting Kapğan Kağan's son as the new kağan, and therefore he had been deposed from his position by Bilge Kağan. Toñukuk was the only person in Kapğan Kağan's political camp who had not been executed by Kül Tégin in the coup, because he was the father-in-law of Bilge Kağan.<sup>9</sup> Toñukuk's daughter, who had been married to Bilge Kağan, played a very important and active role in politics until the end of the Second Türk Empire.

The reason provided in the Chinese sources for why Toñukuk was called back somehow reflects the perspective of Bilge Kağan, who indeed needed Toñukuk's expertise and prestige to handle the crisis. However, from the perspective of Toñukuk, it was another matter. In spite of his age (he was already in his seventies), Toñukuk was still ambitious to serve the new kağan. However, deeply involved in the political clashes between two political factions, he was unsure of his future in politics. We can imagine how strong the anxiety of Toñukuk after being deposed and his eagerness to communicate with his son-in-law was. At that time, the best way to express one's political views was to set up a stele in a busy place and inscribed one's words onto it, so that people could read and spread them. Toñukuk hoped that his wishes could be conveyed to the ears of Bilge Kağan and looked forward to returning to the political center.

The inscription of Toñukuk is not an obituary text, as previous scholars have assumed.<sup>10</sup> It was a propaganda text composed by Toñukuk during his suspension. The purpose of Toñukuk in establishing his own memorial while he was still alive was to ask for Bilge Kağan's forgiveness, and to persuade Bilge Kağan to reinstate him. In other words, Bilge Kağan was the targeted reader of the Toñukuk Inscription. With this background we can interpret the Toñukuk Inscription better than ever before.

In addition to the necessity of highlighting his own contribution to the revival of the Second Türk Empire, Toñukuk also had to soften his political colors and pledge allegiance to the new kağan, which means he had to belittle the lineage of Kapğan Kağan and put a higher value on the lineage of Élteriŝ Kağan in his narrative of Türk history. In doing this, Toñukuk limited his narrative mostly to Élteriŝ Kağan's reign and kept reminding Bilge Kağan of the

<sup>9</sup> *JTS* 194a: 5173, *XTS* 215b: 6051.

<sup>10</sup> Clauson 1971: 132.

irreplaceable role that he himself had played. Additionally, there are quite few references to Kapğan Kağan, for example T. 51: “When Kapğan Kağan was twenty-seven, I (Toñukuk) made him ascend the throne.”

This statement on Kapğan Kağan’s ascending the throne is however unfair. From the Chinese sources and the Kül Tëgin Inscription we know that Kapğan Kağan ascended the throne through his own power and the legitimacy inherent in the lateral succession. The role played by Toñukuk in Kapğan Kağan’s ascendance must have been exaggerated by Toñukuk. At most, Toñukuk was one of the supporters of Kapğan Kağan when he ascended the throne. The statement that it was he who put Kapğan Kağan on the throne is not accurate. Actually, Toñukuk said this on purpose.

One of his aims in establishing such a propagandized memorial was to belittle Kapğan Kağan, mentioning him as little as possible. Judging from the importance of Toñukuk in Türk politics, he must have joined the battles that were led by Kapğan Kağan. The absence of Kapğan Kağan’s achievements in the Toñukuk Inscription can be explained by his intention to play down the importance of Kapğan Kağan in Türk history.

Only with this context can we understand why in line 50 of his inscription Toñukuk said “For Élderiş Kağan, Türk Böğü Kağan and Türk Bilge Kağan ...” Previous scholars have attempted to identify the Böğü Kağan mentioned here with Kapğan Kağan, because it would have made sense for Toñukuk to refer to the three Türk supreme kağans. This interpretation is however improper. First, in this same text, just a few lines later, “Kapğan Kağan” is mentioned. Obviously, Böğü Kağan and Kapğan Kağan were two different persons. Second, in the inscription Toñukuk was trying to highlight Élderiş Kağan’s lineage and belittle Kapğan Kağan’s lineage. As we have discussed in Chapter 1, Section 10, Böğü Kağan was likely a junior kağan, one of Élderiş Kağan’s sons. So here, what Toñukuk really did was to refer to the three male members of Élderiş Kağan’s lineage.

In his memorial, Toñukuk depicts himself as a heroic figure, whose contribution to the Türk realm is second only to that of the founder, Élderiş Kağan. From his personal narrative we could form the impression that every decision he had made was just, every criticism of him by other people unfair, and that he had never missed any momentous events. Restricted by the scarcity of the sources, we are unable to check whether every statement by Toñukuk is correct or not. The basic tone of Toñukuk’s narrative is argumentative and persuasive. In the end, Toñukuk revealed his wish directly: “I am already old. I am already senior. In any land, if there was a person like me, for the people who have a kağan, what [kind of] sorrow could there be? I let them write [this inscription] for the realm of the Türk Bilge Kağan. I am Bilge Toñukuk.” Here, he forthrightly pointed out that his targeted reader was nobody else but Bilge Kağan.

Probably having heard the words of Toñukuk, Bilge Kağan called the experienced politician back to his side. In other words, Toñukuk's aim was achieved.

We don't know the exact time when Toñukuk returned to the political center, but it was not later than the winter of Kaiyuan IV. A few days after the 2nd day of the 10th month of Kaiyuan IV (21 Oct. 716),<sup>11</sup> Toñukuk already began to play an active role in the Türk politics.<sup>12</sup> Bilge Kağan intended to campaign southwards against China. However, he was dissuaded by Toñukuk, who reminded him of the Tang emperor's bravery and the wealth and harmony of Chinese society. Toñukuk insisted that the Türk troops, who were still very weak because of their recent recruitment, should not campaign without good reason. They should train for at least three years and then await an opportunity to campaign against China.

Later, Bilge Kağan wanted to construct cities and build Buddhist and Daoist temples. He was again dissuaded by Toñukuk, who pointed out that the Türk population was less than one percent of China's and that the reason why the Türks were able to resist China was their flexibility. The Türk people lived in a pastoral way, chasing after water and grass, never fixed to a particular place. If they changed their lifestyle, they would lose the advantage of being flexible, and once besieged by Chinese troops, they would be completely annihilated by China. Moreover, religions such as Buddhism and Daoism teach their adherents to be compassionate and sympathetic, which are fatal characteristics for soldiers. Bilge Kağan approved of Toñukuk's argument.<sup>13</sup>

As there is no chronological data provided in the Toñukuk Inscription, many scholars have tried to determine the year in which it was established. The theories proposed by those who asserted that the Toñukuk Inscription was an epitaph raised at Toñukuk's death or funeral can be excluded from discussion.<sup>14</sup> The establishment of his memorial must have taken place during his suspension, which means after his exile and before his return to the political center. The news of Kapğan Kağan's death arrived at the Tang court on the 29th day of the 6th month of Kaiyuan IV (22 Jul. 716).<sup>15</sup> Soon, the news of the Türk coup d'état was also brought to the Tang court. And, by 21 October 716, Toñukuk had already begun to play an important role in Türk politics.

We may broadly say that the memorial of Toñukuk was established by Toñukuk himself between 22 July and 21 October 716. However, considering

11 *Jia-chen*.

12 *ZZTJ* 211: 6721.

13 *JTS* 194a: 5174, *XTS* 215b: 6052.

14 Thomsen 1924: 161, Kemp 2004: 47.

15 *Gui-you*. *JTS* 8: 176, *XTS* 5: 125.

the asynchronous character of medieval society, where it could take around two months for news from the Türk lands to reach China, it might be safer to say that the Toñukuk memorial was established between May and August of 716.<sup>16</sup> Some previous scholars have also come to the conclusion that Toñukuk's memorial was established in the year 716, but their argument for saying this, that the events narrated by Toñukuk go as late as 716, is not acceptable.<sup>17</sup> As we have discussed above, Toñukuk limited his narrative to the reign of Élteriş Kağan, which means that it goes up to 691.

### 3 Swaying the Attitudes of the Small Regimes

Because of the political turmoil in the Second Türk Empire caused by Kapğan Kağan's death and Kül Tégin's coup, a large population of Türk subordinate groups rushed to Chinese territory and found shelter there. In fact, a coalition of the Tokuz Oğuz and Tokuz Tatar had already formed when the Oğuz-Türk War broke out. The Türk army fought twice against the allied forces of the Tokuz Tatar and Tokuz Oğuz at Ağu. According to the narrative of Bilge Kağan, the Türk army defeated their enemy and obtained their realm.<sup>18</sup> According to the Chinese sources, at least four Tokuz Oğuz groups, Bayırku, Uyğur, Toñra and Pugu, along with the Tokuz Tatar, surrendered to China after the assassination of Kapğan Kağan.<sup>19</sup>

When the Oğuz groups and the Tokuz Tatar surrendered to the Tang government, they were settled in the border regions. In order to prevent any military conflicts, the Tang government confiscated all weapons from those who had surrendered. Although living in China, they henceforth paid close attention to the political situation among the Türks and waited for an opportunity to return home. As soon as Bilge Kağan ascended the throne and the political situation in the Türk Empire became stable, those who had surrendered rebelled against the Tang government. As they had no weapons in hand, they cheated the Chinese officials, saying they needed bows and arrows for hunting. When they received them, they started rebellion. The leaders were Axilan and Xiedie Sitai. The Tang General Zhang Zhiyun led an army to chase after them, but he was captured by the Türk soldiers. When a second Tang army put

16 The author of *ZZTJ* put the return of Toñukuk to the political center between the 28th day of the 8th month of Kaiyuan IV (16 Sept. 716) and the 2nd day of the 10th month (21 Oct. 716) (*ZZTJ* 211: 6720–1).

17 Clauson 1971: 132.

18 B. E. 34.

19 *JTS* 8: 176.

down the rebellion, General Zhang was released. The rest of the Türk soldiers returned to the Türk lands. This happened in the 11th month of Kaiyuan IV (19 Nov.–18 Dec. 716).<sup>20</sup>

When the Tokuz Oğuz people left the Tang and surrendered to the Türks again, Bilge Kağan accepted them. However, as they had a bad reputation for surrendering to the Tang government, the Tokuz Oğuz people were treated as slaves in the Türk Empire.<sup>21</sup> For unclear reasons, Bilge Kağan campaigned against the Tokuz Oğuz, and in particular against the Uyğur people in the region of the Selenga River.<sup>22</sup> The Türk military action against the Tokuz Oğuz caused a new wave of refugees who fled to China.

In the 7th month of Kaiyuan V (11 Aug.–9 Sept. 717), the Tang government settled the new Türk refugees in the north of Taiyuan. Having learned a lesson from the Türk refugees' fickleness, the Tang government stationed a well-equipped army to "protect" them.<sup>23</sup> Bilge Kağan was furious with the Oğuz people and campaigned against them again, killing their sons, daughters and wives. In that year, Bilge Kağan was thirty-four years old.<sup>24</sup> Most of the Oğuz refugees in China chose to stay and joined the Chinese military actions against the Türks in the following year (see Chapter 3, Section 4).

Among the Türk refugees who surrendered to the Tang, some members of the Türk imperial house deserve our special attention. Bilge Tégin, who claimed to be a great-grandson of Éllig Kağan, may have been involved in the assassination of Kapğan Kağan. His epitaph has recently been excavated. From his epitaph we know that he received a large reward from the Tang government. At first, he was appointed by the Tang government to work in the border regions, dealing with the refugees. In Kaiyuan VII (ca. 719), he moved to the Tang capital city and spent the rest of his life there.<sup>25</sup> One of Kapğan Kağan's sons, Mo Tégin, escaped from being slaughtered by his cousin and sought shelter from the Tang government. He was appointed by the Tang emperor as a general to fight against Bilge Kağan in the following years.<sup>26</sup>

About two months after the assassination of Kapğan Kağan, on the 28th day of the 8th month of Kaiyuan IV (18 Sept. 716),<sup>27</sup> the Kitañ leader, Li Shihuo, and the Tatabı leader, Li Dapu, surrendered to China. The Tang

20 *JTS* 194a: 5173–4, *XTS* 5: 127.

21 B. E. 35–36.

22 B. E. 37.

23 *JTS* 99: 3090, *XTS* 127: 4442, *ZZTJ* 211: 6728.

24 B. E. 38.

25 *QTBWBY* 3: 59.

26 *CFYG* 986: 11416, also see Chapter 3, Section 4.

27 *Xin-wei*.

government decided to re-establish the administrative unit of Ying Prefecture in the territory of the Kitañ and Tatabı.<sup>28</sup> On the 10th day of the 3rd month of Kaiyuan v (25 Apr. 717),<sup>29</sup> the Tang government chose the city of Liucheng, which had been the political center of the Kitañ, as the provincial capital of Ying Prefecture.<sup>30</sup> As a reward, on the 5th day of the 4th month (19 May 717),<sup>31</sup> the leader of Tatabı, Li Dapu, married the Chinese Princess Gu'an, who was a distant niece of the Tang emperor.<sup>32</sup>

As the Tatabı stopped paying tribute to the Türks, Bilge Kağan decided to lead a punitive campaign against them. In the summer, Bilge Kağan led troops against the Tatabı, killing their people and capturing their horses. The place names are obscured in Bilge Kağan's memorial. However, in combination with the Chinese sources, we can assume that the blurred part might have included a reference to the "Kitañ".<sup>33</sup> In the same year, on the 3rd day of the 11th month (10 Dec. 717),<sup>34</sup> the leader of the Kitañ, Li Shihuo, also married a Chinese princess, Princess Yongle, who was a distant grand-niece of the Tang emperor.<sup>35</sup> The close relations between the Kitañs, the Tatabı and the Tang made the Türks very jealous, especially since both regimes managed to marry a Chinese princess, which had been the dream of two generations of Türk kağans. Several years later, when Chinese envoys visited the Türks, Bilge Kağan was still using the examples of the Kitañs and Tatabı to get the Tang emperor to allow him to marry a princess (see Chapter 3, Section 6).

The Türgiř leader, Sulu, also took advantage of the political turmoil among the Türks and declared himself kağan. Sulu used to be a Chebishi Chuo (EMC: *te<sup>h</sup>ia-hji<sup>h</sup>-ei te<sup>h</sup>wiat* < OT: Çabiř Çor).<sup>36</sup> Since Kapğan Kağan had killed the Türgiř kağan and his brother in the winter of 710–711 (see Chapter 2, Section 12), Sulu had coveted the position of kağan. Twenty thousand On Ok people were under his control. From the Chinese sources we know that in Kaiyuan III, he was admitted by the Tang government as the acting leader of the Türgiř.<sup>37</sup> As the influence of the Türks decreased because of the political turbulence in Kaiyuan IV, Sulu officially declared himself the kağan of the Türgiř and On Ok.

28 ZZTJ 211: 6720.

29 *Genq-xu*.

30 JTS 8: 177, ZZTJ 211: 6727.

31 *Jia-xu*.

32 JTS 199b: 5355, XTS 219: 6174.

33 B. E. 39.

34 *Ji-hai*.

35 JTS 8: 178, XTS 219: 6170.

36 On the title *çabiř* or *çabuř* (basically the principle escort of the sovereign), see Clauson 1972: 399. Toñukuk used to hold this title too (T. 7).

37 JTS 194b: 5191.

One year later, he made a state visit to the Tang court. However, the “surrender” of the Türgiř kağan was only half-hearted.<sup>38</sup> Actually, the Türgiř were becoming a threatening power, both for the Chinese and for the Türks, and especially for the latter (see Chapter 3, Section 6). Besides the Türgiř, the Karluks were also an important force between the Tang and the Türks. From an edict issued by the Tang emperor we know that he had attempted to unite with Üç Karluk (the Three Karluk tribes) to attack the Türks from both sides in Kaiyuan IV.<sup>39</sup> The edict was dated the 7th month, but Kapğan Kağan’s head had already been brought to the Tang court on the 29th day of the 6th month. Maybe this was because the official report was presented to the emperor one or two days later.<sup>40</sup>

Bilge Kağan did not forget about the betrayal of the Karluks and sent Tudun Yamtar to fight against them. The Türk troops killed the élteber of the Karluks and forced his brother to go into exile.<sup>41</sup> Bilge Kağan also mentioned another people group that refused to pay tribute to the Türks and therefore he decided to send a punitive campaign against them. However, the place on the stone where their name was written is almost illegible. Looking at a combination of Chinese sources, we can assume that they were the Basmıl, who will be the topic of the following section.

#### 4 The Türk Campaign against the Basmıl

At Toñukuk’s suggestion, Bilge Kağan pursued a friendly policy towards the Chinese government. However, the friendly gestures of Bilge Kağan did not dispel the misgivings of the Tang emperor. In order to prevent any potential attacks, the Tang government strengthened its defenses on the frontier. On the 23rd day of the 2nd month of Kaiyuan VI (29 Mar. 718),<sup>42</sup> in order to strengthen the defenses against the Tokuz Oğuz people, the Tang government moved the Hengye Army in Yu Prefecture to the north, and stationed thirty thousand soldiers there.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Bayırku, Xiezhilue, the Commander-in-Chief of the Toñra, Pijia Mochuo (EMC: *bji-ke: mək t<sup>h</sup>wiat* < OT: *bilge beg çor*), the Commander-in-Chief of the (Tokuz) Tatar, Biyan (EMC: *bji<sup>h</sup>-ñian* < OT: ?), the Commander-in-Chief of the Uyğur, Yijian Xielifa (EMC: *ji-gian<sup>h</sup>*

38 XTS 215b: 6067.

39 CFYG 992: 11488.

40 Wu Yugui 2009: 1009.

41 B. E. 40.

42 *Wu-zi*.

*ye-t-li<sup>h</sup>-puat* < OT: *irkin élteber*), and the Commander-in-Chief of the Pugu, Yelege (EMC: *ja<sup>h</sup> lak ka* < OT: *yolluğ[?]*) all dispatched soldiers, forming three troops in total. The three Tokuz Oğuz troops were at the command of the Chinese generals. The Tang emperor intended to unite the neighboring regimes to campaign against the Türks.<sup>43</sup> However, the plan was delayed for two years.

In Kaiyuan VIII, the Chinese Grand Commander of Shuofang, Wang Jun, attempted to unite the Baximi (EMC: *bə:t-sit-mit* < OT: *basmil*) in the west, and the Tatabı and Kitañ in the east, to attack the Türks in the autumn (9 Aug.–5 Oct. 720).<sup>44</sup> According to the Tang emperor's edict, the military forces that Wang intended to unite included also Gudulu Pijia Kehan (EMC: *kwət-təwk-ləwk bji-kə-k<sup>h</sup>a'-yan* < OT: *kutluğ bilge kağan*) of the Kırkız and many Türk princes who were living in China, such as Kapğan Kağan's son, Mo Tégin, and Bilge Tégin, the great-grandson of Éllig Kağan, and Kapğan Kağan's son-in-law, who had surrendered to the Tang government in 714 because of his failure in the Béş Balık Battle.<sup>45</sup>

Bilge Kağan was shocked at the news that a united army was coming. Toñukuk comforted him: "Don't worry about it. The Basmil people are in Béş Balık, which is thousands of *li* from the Tatabı and from the Kitañ. They won't be able to coordinate with each other. The troops of Shuofang won't manage to come either. If they come, we only need to move our camps the distance of a three-day walk northwards. The Chinese troops will definitely withdraw as soon as they run out of provisions. The Basmil people are rash and covetous. Once they receive the order from General Wang, they will come in a hurry. Moreover, General Wang has a bad relationship with Zhang Jiazhen, the minister of the Tang court. General Wang's proposal will definitely be thwarted by the minister Zhang in court. General Wang doesn't dare dispatch troops without authorization. If the Tang government does not send troops, then the Basmils will arrive here alone. It will be easy for us to defeat them."<sup>46</sup>

Exactly as Toñukuk had predicted, only the Basmil sent troops to attack the Türks. The Tang, Tatabı and Kitañ all failed to keep their promise. Realizing this, the Basmil soldiers were so frightened that they began to retreat. Bilge Kağan was about to attack the Basmil soldiers while they were withdrawing.

43 *CFYG* 986: 11415–6, *QTW* 21: 251–2.

44 *JTS* 194a: 5174, *TD* 198: 5440. The autumn of Kaiyuan VIII was from 9 Aug. to 4 Nov. 720, including the 7th, the 8th and the 9th months. As the battle between the Basmil and the Türks took place before the Türk plundered in Liang Prefecture in the 9th month, we put the event between the 1st day of the 7th month (9 Aug. 720) and the 1st day of the 9th month (5 Oct. 720).

45 *XTS* 215b: 6052. See Chapter 2, Section 16.

46 *JTS* 194a: 5174, *TD* 198: 5440, *ZZTJ* 212: 6742.

But Toñukuk dissuaded him: “As they are thousands of *li* from home, they will fight to the bitter end if you press on towards them. We’d better follow them and look out for a good opportunity.” When the Türk troops arrived at a place two hundred *li* from Bés Balık, Toñukuk dispatched troops to besiege the city of Bés Balık, using a shortcut. Meanwhile, the main Türk army started to attack the Basmıl soldiers and routed them completely. The fleeing Basmıl soldiers ran towards the city of Bés Balık, which had already been captured by the Türk soldiers. Then the whole Basmıl army was annihilated by the Türks.<sup>47</sup>

Toñukuk withdrew his army by the way of Chiting, which was a strategic fortress in Yi Prefecture (today’s Kumul). In the 9th month (6 Oct.–21 Oct. 720),<sup>48</sup> the Türk soldiers plundered sheep and horses in Liang Prefecture. The Commander-in-Chief Yang Jingshu sent his subordinates to fight the Türk troops. Toñukuk said: “If commander Yang remains in his citadel, I will make peace with him. If he sends troops to fight against us, I will defeat him.” The two armies met in Shandan. The Tang general Yuan Cheng asked his soldiers to use all their strength to stretch their bows, ready to shoot at the Türk soldiers. However, it was freezing cold and all their bows were frozen and broken. As a result, the Tang troops were soundly defeated. After the victory, the Türk troops went still further to plunder the Qibi (EMC: *khejh-bjit*) tribe, which used to be a member of the Tokuz Oğuz confederation but had settled in Liang Prefecture. Toñukuk’s victory over the Basmıl and the Tang increased the reputation of the Türks. The Türk population grew to about the same number as in Kapğan Kağan’s age.<sup>49</sup> According to the narrative of Bilge Kağan, in this battle, the Türk army defeated at least seventeen thousand Chinese soldiers.<sup>50</sup>

We attributed the Türk victory over the Basmıl and the Tang to Toñukuk, because in the Chinese sources the role he played is exaggerated. However, in reality, Bilge Kağan was the actual leader of this campaign. According to the first line on the south side of the Bilge Kağan Inscription, the battle between the Türks and the Tang lasted for at least two days. As the year of this battle is not provided in the inscription, or the place on the stone where the year was given has already become illegible, we have to refer to other information to fix the year of this battle. It is quite possible that the text carved on the southeast edge is the text preceding the first line on the south side. The signs on the southeast edge are so blurred that we can’t read any date. However, in the

47 *JTS* 194a: 5174–5, *XTS* 215b: 6052, *ZZTJ* 212: 6742–3.

48 The 9th month of Kaiyuan VIII was from 6 Oct. to 5 Nov. 720. As this event was recorded before the date of *jia-zi*, which was the 15th day of the 9th month, it must have taken place between 6 Oct. to 20 Oct., 720.

49 *JTS* 194a: 5175, *XTS* 215b: 6052–3, *TD* 198: 5441.

50 B. S. 1.

following sentence (B. S. 2) it is clearly written that Bilge Kağan was thirty-eight years old when he campaigned against the Kitañs. So, we can be sure that Bilge Kağan was younger than thirty-eight when he fought against the Basmıl and the Tang. According to the Chinese sources, the Türks came to plunder in the year Kaiyuan VIII, in which Bilge Kağan was thirty-seven years old according to our chronology, and this agrees with our conjecture on the basis of the Bilge Kağan Inscription.

## 5 Rebellion of the Sogdians in Altı Çub Soğdak

In medieval times, long distance trade along the Silk Road was firmly controlled by merchants from Sogdiana. Actually, the influence of the Sogdians went beyond the field of economics, and was felt also in politics and culture. The First Türk Empire used Sogdian as its official language, and the Bugut Inscription, for example, was written in Sogdian. After the First Türk Empire collapsed, a large population of Sogdians were resettled by the Tang government in the south of Ordos. The Tang government established six prefectures, namely Lu Prefecture, Li Prefecture, Han Prefecture, Sai Prefecture, Yi Prefecture<sup>51</sup> and Qi Prefecture, and appointed six Chinese prefects to govern them. From then on, that area was informally known as Liuhuzhou, the “Six Sogdian Prefectures”, although the number and form of the local administrative organizations changed from time to time, and in 707 the six prefectures were merged to become Lanchi Prefecture.<sup>52</sup>

E. Pulleyblank has done excellent research about the history of these Sogdian communities in the Tang dynasty.<sup>53</sup> The term “Six Sogdian Prefectures” was also borrowed into the Turkic language, half translated and half transcribed, as “Altı Çub Soğdak”. Here the Old Turkic *altı* means “six”, and *çub* is a transcription of the Chinese *zhou* (EMC: *tcuʷ*) “prefecture”. In the reign of Kapğan Kağan, when Kül Tégin was sixteen years old, the Türks campaigned against Altı Çub Soğdak for the first time (see Chapter 2, Section 7). The early scholars misinterpreted “Altı Çub Soğdak” as Sogdiana in Central Asia. It was S. G. Kljaštornyj who for the first time correctly pointed out that this “Altı Çub Soğdak” referred to the Sogdians in Ordos.<sup>54</sup>

51 This Yi Prefecture 依州 is different from the Yi Prefecture 伊州 in today's Kumul.

52 *XTS* 37: 974–5.

53 Pulleyblank 1952.

54 Kljaštornyj 1964, chapter 3. A. G. Maljavkin presented a different interpretation and considered Kljaštornyj to be in error (Maljavkin 1989: 258–261).

On the 14th day of the 4th month of Kaiyuan IX (14 May 721),<sup>55</sup> two chiefs of the Sogdians in Lanchi Prefecture, Kang Daibin and An Murong, claimed for themselves the title of yabǧu. Together with three other Sogdian generals, He Heinu, Shi Shennu and Kang Tietou, they seized Changquan County and captured the “Six Sogdian Prefectures”. The reason why they rebelled against the Tang government was the high taxation and heavy military service imposed on them. The Sogdian troops increased to seventy thousand in a short time. The Tang Military Minister, Wang Jun, dispatched the Longyou armies and the Tokuz Oǧuz soldiers to fight against the Sogdians.<sup>56</sup> The Tang troops surrounded the Sogdians from four directions, with the other two armies coming from the three Shouxiang Citadels and Six Sogdian Prefectures.<sup>57</sup>

The Sogdians secretly communicated with the Tañut government. They managed to occupy the Chinese grain depots in Yincheng and Lian-gu in Sheng Prefecture. The Tang general Zhang Yue, at the head of ten thousand soldiers, crossed the Hehe Pass and attacked the Sogdians. The Tang troops chased after the Sogdians as far as Luotuo Yan (lit. Camel Dam). The Tañut army also joined the battle against the Sogdians. As a result, the Sogdians were routed. General Zhang collected the Tañut soldiers and was about to send them back home. The other general Ashina Xian, who had been a prince of the On Ok, suggested executing all the Tañut soldiers as a punishment for their secret communications with the Sogdians. General Zhang dissuaded him from this plan of action and settled the Tañut tribes in Lin Prefecture.<sup>58</sup> The rest of the rebellious Sogdians fled to Tiejian Mountain.<sup>59</sup>

On the 4th day of the 7th month (1 Aug. 721),<sup>60</sup> General Wang Jun captured the Sogdian rebel leader Kang Daibin and killed fifteen thousand Sogdian rebels.<sup>61</sup> On the 16th day of the same month (13 Aug. 721),<sup>62</sup> the Tang emperor invited all the chiefs of the neighboring regimes to witness the execution of Kang Daibin, which took place at the market of the capital city Chang’an.<sup>63</sup> The Tang emperor wanted them to see how severe the punishment would be if they dared to rebel.

55 *Geng-yin*.

56 *JTS* 8: 182, *ZZTJ* 212: 6745.

57 *QTW* 34: 379.

58 According to *THY* 70: 1247 and *XTS* 37: 975, Lin Prefecture was established in Kaiyuan XII. The saying in *ZZTJ* that General Zhang settled Tañut tribes in Lin Prefecture in Kaiyuan IX is not accurate (Wu Yugui 2008: 1082).

59 *JTS* 97: 3052–3, *XTS* 125: 4407, *ZZTJ* 212: 6746.

60 *Ji-you*.

61 Another source tells us that thirty-five Sogdian cavalry soldiers were killed (*JTS* 8: 182).

62 *Xin-you*.

63 *CFYG* 128: 1396, *ZZTJ* 212: 6746.

The Taņuts were a crucial force in the battle between the Chinese army and the rebellious Sogdian troops. From the Chinese sources we know that the Taņut had a large population, located in the south of Ordos, very close to the Sogdians. The relationship between them must have been both cooperative and competitive. For example, during the battle between China and the Sogdians in this year the position of the Taņuts was very flexible. At the beginning, they cooperated with the Sogdian rebels to rob grain from the local Chinese government. However, later, the Taņuts changed their position and helped the Chinese army to suppress the Sogdian rebels. The outcome of this battle was advantageous for the Taņuts, because their rivals were defeated by the Tang government.

The Taņuts were also not strangers to the Türks. In the reign of Kapğan Kağan, more precisely when Bilge Kağan was seventeen years old, the Türk army campaigned against the Taņuts. One year later, they campaigned against the Sogdians in Altı Çub.<sup>64</sup> It seems that at that time both of these neighboring regimes took a hostile attitude to the Türks. The fame of the Sogdians gradually faded away, while the Taņuts finally developed into an independent and influential kingdom (1038–1227).

In spite of the execution of Kang Daibin, the Sogdian rebellion against the Tang government did not stop. In the 9th month of the following year (15 Oct.–13 Nov. 722), Kang Yuanzi, who was Kang Daibin's son, proclaimed himself kağan and rebelled against China. General Zhang Yue led troops to attack him. The Sogdians were completely defeated. General Zhang captured the rebel leader Kang Yuanzi in Mupan Mountain. In order to prevent any further rebellions, the Tang court decided to remove all the Sogdians from the Six Sogdian Prefectures. The fifty thousand Sogdians were resettled in the Chinese heartland, in Xu Prefecture, Ru Prefecture and others.<sup>65</sup> The Sogdians were not permitted to return home until sixteen years later.<sup>66</sup>

It is interesting that the Sogdians used Türk titles to give concrete expression to their rebellious attitude towards the Tang government. The father claimed the title of yabġu for himself and the son went one step further and proclaimed himself kağan. However, there is no historical source that could directly support our hypothesis that the Sogdians were backed by the Türks in their rebellion against China. Nonetheless, it is at least safe to say that, from the titles of the Sogdian leaders, we can see their pro-Türk attitude.

64 B. E. 24.

65 *JTS* 97: 3053, *XTS* 125: 4408, *ZZTJ* 212: 6752.

66 *QTW* 35: 391–2.

## 6 The Türks' Foreign Policy

The most remarkable feature of the reign of Bilge Kağan was that the Türks kept a friendly foreign policy towards China, except for a small military clash in 720. The reason why Bilge Kağan did not follow his uncle's and father's foreign policy was that the Türk Empire had gone beyond its heyday. Moreover, he was manipulated by the Tang emperor. The Tang emperor used the illusory hopes of a Türk-Tang marriage as bait, deceiving the Türk kağan into maintaining the friendly relationship with him. Bilge Kağan kept on dispatching envoys to the Tang court, urging the Tang emperor to keep his promise. From Kaiyuan v to Kaiyuan XXII, at least thirty Türk delegations were sent to the Tang court. Most of the Türk envoys were dispatched by Bilge Kağan with the aim of achieving the promised Türk-Tang marriage. However, the poor Türk kağan was turned down again and again, with different excuses.

On the 2nd day of the 7th month of Kaiyuan v (12 Aug. 717),<sup>67</sup> a Türk envoy paid tribute to the Tang emperor. He was granted honorable titles. The Tang emperor asked him to deliver a letter to Bilge Kağan. The content of the letter is as follows.

His Majesty conveys greetings to the Türk kağan.

Your envoy Taman Dagan (EMC: *t<sup>h</sup>a-man' dat-kan* < OT: *taman tarkan*)<sup>68</sup> has arrived. I heard from him that the Kırkız envoys wanted to come to China but the Tibetan envoys did not want to; and some information about the Tataḅı and the Kıtāñs. I have nothing but trust in my neighboring regimes. If they come, I will welcome them. If they don't come, I will not force them. Türk kağan, you are so warm-hearted to tell me such things [about the Kırkız, Tibetans, Tataḅı and Kıtāñs]. I appreciate your honesty and present you with some silver glasses, plates and seventy bolts of various kinds of silk as a gift. Please accept them when they arrive.<sup>69</sup>

On the 6th day of the 1st month of Kaiyuan vı (10 Feb. 718),<sup>70</sup> the Türk envoys arrived at the Tang court and again requested that the Türk-Tang marriage be finalized. However, the Tang emperor composed a second letter to Bilge Kağan,

67 *Ji-hai*.

68 The title "Taman Tarkan" also appears on the south side of the Bilge Kağan Inscription (B. S. 14).

69 *CFYG* 974: 11277.

70 *Xin-chou*.

without consenting to his marriage request. In this letter, the Tang emperor used the earlier title of Bilge Kağan.

Türk Şad,

I have read your letter. Previously, Mochuo (Kapğan Kağan) was arrogant and rebellious. He was a dangerous person. He pretended to send envoys and wanted to marry Chinese princess. We did not turn him down and rewarded him with countless gifts. For reasons of reconciliation, we decreased our investment in military defense in the border prefectures. However, Mochuo betrayed us and took advantage of the weakness of our defense to plunder our land and rob our people, invading several prefectures. Since then, he has always been playing tricks. Recently, this formidable person died. He was killed by heaven (in other words, he deserved his death). If you can learn a lesson from him and are reconciled with us, how can I refuse your proposal? In the Han dynasty, there was a certain Huhanye, who was of the same race as yourself, and led tribes to surrender to China. He managed to keep his honor his whole life. He is a good example for you. What's more, recently the Kitañs and Tatabı have also surrendered to me. Their kağans were both honored with titles and married to Chinese princesses. I let them go back to their homeland, in order to make their people prosperous. If you also surrender to me, I will do the same for you. If you come to China, I will reward you with honorable titles and wealth. It is not only because we have plenty of treasures, but also because you yourself need them. If you have bad intentions, if you don't pay tribute, and if you carry on with your predecessor's evil ways, you are bringing destruction on yourself. I'm sure you can understand this.<sup>71</sup>

After the military clash in Gan Prefecture and Liang Prefecture in 720 (see Chapter 3, Section 4), Bilge Kağan sent envoys to the Tang again to bring about reconciliation and marriage. Bilge Kağan requested to be a nominal son of the Tang emperor. On the 9th day of the 2nd month of Kaiyuan IX (11 Mar. 721),<sup>72</sup> the Türk delegation arrived at the Tang court. The Tang emperor consented to Bilge Kağan's request to be a nominal son but refused his proposal of marriage. He composed a third letter to Bilge Kağan.

71 *CFYG* 980: 11344.

72 *Bing-xu*.

Bilge Kağan,

Previously, the Tang and the Türks were reconciled and bound together by marriage.<sup>73</sup> The Chinese people and the Türk people lived together in peaceful co-existence. The Tang government purchased the Türk horses and sheep with silk. We benefited from each other. However, in recent decades, because of Mochuo's (Kapğan Kağan's) faithlessness, the situation has been getting worse. He pretended to reconcile with us but in reality deceived us. He sent several armies, plundering our border region. My people resented him and heaven was angry at him. He died because of what he did. Bilge Kağan, you are an eye-witness of that. Now, you are repeating your uncle's mistakes and attacking my Gan Prefecture and Liang Prefecture. After the attack, you send envoys for reconciliation. The tolerance of China is as broad as the sky, and as wide as the ocean. As long as you come for reconciliation, I will forgive your previous faults. Bilge Kağan, if you are sincere, we can enjoy the future happiness together. If you are insincere, please don't send your envoys any more. If you dare attack our border region again, I will also have something ready for you. Please think about this carefully.<sup>74</sup>

On the 13th day of the 9th month of the same year (8 Oct. 721),<sup>75</sup> the Tang emperor entertained the Türk envoys at a banquet in Danfeng Hall. On the 18th day of the 5th month of Kaiyuan x (6 Jun. 722),<sup>76</sup> the Türk grand chief Ashide Tunnishu (EMC: *tʰwən-nej-dzuwk*) came to China. He was awarded the honorable title "General".<sup>77</sup> On the 1st day of the 9th month (15 Oct. 722),<sup>78</sup> the Türk grand chief Kehuan<sup>79</sup> Bahu Taman Dagan (EMC: *kʰa'-laʰ bəit-γɔʰ tʰa-man' dat-kan* < OT: Kara Bağa Taman Tarkan) arrived at the Tang court. He was also awarded the honorable title "General".<sup>80</sup> In the 12th month (12 Jan.–9 Feb. 723), Türk envoys came again.<sup>81</sup>

73 It is unclear what the emperor exactly meant by mentioning the marriage relationship in history. It seems more like a general comment rather than referring to any particular marriage relationship between the Tang and the Türks.

74 ZZTJ 212: 6744, CFYG 980: 11345.

75 Ding-si.

76 Wü-wü.

77 CFYG 975: 11281.

78 Ji-si.

79 huan 還 is an error for luo 邏.

80 CFYG 975: 11281.

81 XTS 5: 129.

On the 5th day of 7th month of Kaiyuan XI (10 Aug. 723),<sup>82</sup> the Türk grand chief Ashina Sebo Dagan (EMC: *ṣit-pat dat-kan* < OT: ? *tarkan*) led a delegation of thirty-two people to the Tang court. Sebo Dagan was awarded the honorable title of “Grand General”. His fellows were awarded the title of “General”.<sup>83</sup> On the 12th day of the 11th month (14 Dec. 723),<sup>84</sup> the Türk high official Keluo Bahu Taman Dagan arrived at the Tang court.<sup>85</sup> He was awarded the title “General” and granted purple robes and golden belts.<sup>86</sup>

On the 5th day of the 7th month of Kaiyuan XII (29 Jul. 724),<sup>87</sup> the Türk envoy, Gejie Xielifa (EMC: *ka-kaij' ʁet-li<sup>h</sup>-puat* < OT: ? *élteber*) paid tribute to the Tang court, bringing local products. Not surprisingly, he asked again about finalizing a Türk-Tang marriage relationship. He was entertained at a banquet and rewarded with fifty bolts of silk. On the 9th day of the 8th month (1 Sept. 724),<sup>88</sup> the Türk envoys took their leave, but the marriage request was not consented to. The Tang court took the inadequacy of the Türk gifts as an excuse. The Tang emperor composed a fourth letter to Bilge Kağan.

Kağan,

You are fond of justice and pursue righteousness. You put a high value on Chinese gold, silk and women. You insist on achieving a Türk-Tang marriage. However, you know that, once the marriage is realized, it will last forever. We should attach importance to the marriage contract, which means that the betrothal gifts should be adequate. As the envoy you sent to me is not of high rank and his gifts are inadequate, I am sending him back without my consent. If you can maintain the peaceful relationship with us without deviating from your faithfulness, I will not refuse your future requests. The faithfulness of China is as steady as the four seasons. The kindness of China is as vast as heaven and earth. Once uttered, a promise is binding. If we can eventually achieve a transnational marriage, your faithfulness will be demonstrated. As long as there are no misgivings between us, we can decide a date for the wedding ceremony. As to other details, I have talked with your envoy in person. I am sending you

82 *Wu-chen*.

83 *CFYG* 975: 11281.

84 *Jia-xu*.

85 *da* 達 is written as 庭.

86 *CFYG* 975: 11281.

87 *Ren-xu*.

88 *Bing-shen*.

some silk robes, belts decorated with mother-of-pearl, silver plates and Sogdian pans. Please accept them when they arrive.<sup>89</sup>

From this letter we see that the Tang emperor was an experienced politician, who was very good at using expressions, such as “the faithfulness of China is as steady as the four seasons” and “the kindness of China is as vast as heaven and earth”. He used the illusory transnational marriage as bait for the Türk kağan, so that the Türk soldiers would not come to plunder Chinese territory.

On the 5th day of the 12th month of Kaiyuan XII (25 Dec. 724),<sup>90</sup> the Türk envoy Peiluo Chuo (EMC: *baj-la-tc<sup>h</sup>wiat* < OT: *boyla çor*)<sup>91</sup> arrived at the Tang court. He was awarded the title “General”. On the 3rd day of the leap 12th month of Kaiyuan XII (21 Jan. 725),<sup>92</sup> the Türk envoy Ashide Tunnishu arrived at the Tang court. He was awarded the title “General” and granted purple robes, golden belts, and fish-shaped bags.<sup>93</sup> In the space of a month two Türk diplomatic delegations arrived at the Tang court, reflecting the impatience and eagerness of Bilge Kağan to achieve the Türk-Tang marriage. It is noteworthy that this was the second time the Türk envoy Ashide Tunnishu came to the Tang court. His last visit had been on 6 Jun. 722.

In the following year, there was a golden opportunity for the Türk kağan to achieve his aim, because this time the Tang court needed something from the Türks. In Kaiyuan XIII, the Tang emperor was about to visit Tai Mountain and hold a grand ceremony there. As a common practice, some representatives of foreign countries would often be present at such an important ceremony. In the 4th month (17 May–14 Jun. 725), after a short discussion among the Tang officials, the Tang emperor decided to send an official from the Secretariat, Yuan Zhen, to convey his wish to the Türk kağan.

Bilge Kağan entertained the Chinese envoy at a banquet in his tent. Kül Tégin, Toñukuk and Bilge Kağan’s wife also attended the dinner. They sat in a circle. Bilge Kağan proposed a toast and queried his Chinese guest: “The Tibetans are a race of dogs. The Tatabı and Kitañ people used to be my subjects. But all of them now have succeeded in marrying Chinese princesses. We Türks have proposed this so many times, but you have always turned us down. Why?” Yuan replied: “Kağan, you are a nominal son of our emperor. How can a father and his son build a marriage relationship?” Bilge Kağan and his

89 *CFYG* 979: 11332.

90 *Xin-mao*.

91 The title preserved in the other source is Peichuo lu, which is likely a writing error (*CFYG* 975: 11282).

92 *Wú-wǔ*.

93 *CFYG* 975: 11282.

companions queried further: “The Tatabı and Kitañ have been granted Tang royal surname Li too. If they can marry Chinese princesses, why can’t we? We have also heard that the princesses married by them are not the emperor’s own daughters. We have been requesting just a princess from China, no matter whether she is really the daughter of the emperor or not. We have proposed this again and again, but never succeeded. It is a shame for us when we are confronted with other regimes at international occasions.” Having heard this, the envoy Yuan promised to bring Bilge Kağan’s request to the emperor. Bilge Kağan also agreed to send his minister Zhishi Xielifa (EMC: *tcip-çit yet-li<sup>h</sup>-puat* < OT: ? *élteber*) and his deputy Ashide Tunnishu to the Tang to attend the emperor’s mountain worship ceremony.<sup>94</sup>

The dialog between the Chinese envoy and the Türk kağan shows clearly that building marriage relations with the Tang royal house was a political competition with the other regimes. To some extent, marriage relations with the Tang were a sign of a regime’s status on the international stage. Bilge Kağan wanted to use his agreement to send a representative to attend the Tang emperor’s mountain worship ceremony as a bargaining chip, so that the Chinese emperor would give him a princess in marriage. However, he was still too young and naive in handling political deals with the Chinese emperor.

In the 9th month (11 Oct.–9 Nov. 725), the Türk representatives arrived at the Tang court. On the 11th day of the 10th month (20 Nov. 725),<sup>95</sup> the Tang emperor together with his officials and the international representatives set off for the mountain worship ceremony. On the way, the Tang emperor took the international representatives hunting. Suddenly, there was a hare running in front of the emperor. He shot it with his bow. The Türk representative, Ashide Xielifa, dismounted to fetch the dead hare for the emperor. Then he started to dance and spoke to the interpreter: “Teñri Kağan (the Tang emperor) is valiant. There is no person like him on earth. He belongs to heaven.” Flattered by such sweet words, the Tang emperor asked him whether he was hungry or not. The Türk representative replied: “As I have seen such an extraordinary person, I will not be hungry even if I don’t eat for ten days.” The emperor was of course happy to hear such flattering words. From then on he often invited the Türk representative to accompany him on hunting expeditions. However, seeing the danger of a potential assassination, Secretary Lü Xiang persuaded the emperor to keep his distance from the Türk representative. The emperor accepted his secretary’s advice and asked the international representatives to ride in front.<sup>96</sup>

94 *JTS* 194a: 5175–6, *XTS* 215b: 6053, *QTW* 291: 2956.

95 *Xin-you*.

96 *THY* 27: 521, *JTS* 194a: 5176–7, *XTS* 215b: 6053.

On the 20th day of the 12th month (27 Jan. 726),<sup>97</sup> the Tang emperor returned to the eastern capital, Luoyang. A few days later, the Türk representative took his leave. The Tang emperor rewarded him generously, but did not agree to his request for a marriage.<sup>98</sup> Bilge Kağan was disappointed again. However, he did not give up.

In order to achieve a marriage with the Tang royal house, the Türk kağan dispatched envoys more frequently than ever before. In Kaiyuan XIV, there were six Türk delegations to China in total. On the 3rd day of the 1st month (9 Feb. 726),<sup>99</sup> a Türk delegation led by Linhe Dagan (EMC: *lim-ya dat-kan* < OT: ? *tarkan*) Kang Sicong arrived at the Tang court. Probably on the 20th day of the 1st month (26 Feb. 726), a second Türk delegation led by Xiedie Pei[luo] Chuo (EMC: *kep-det baj-la te<sup>h</sup>wiat* < OT: *ediz boyla çor*) arrived.<sup>100</sup> There were seventy members in this delegation.<sup>101</sup>

On the 2nd day of the 2nd month (10 Mar. 726),<sup>102</sup> the Türk envoy Zhishi Xielifa, at the head of three hundred delegates, arrived at the Tang court. They came to congratulate the Tang emperor for the success of his mountain worship ceremony. It is necessary to clarify one thing here. The previous Türk representative had left the Tang court only a few days earlier. If Zhishi Xielifa was one of the representatives who had attended the Tang emperor's mountain worship ceremony, it would have been impossible for him to arrive at the Tang court for a second time on 10 Mar. 726. The round trip between the Türks and the Tang took at least four months. It is possible that it was Zhishi Xielifa's deputy, Ashide Tunnishu, who attended the Tang emperor's mountain worship ceremony in Kaiyuan XIII and Zhishi Xielifa himself who led a large-scale delegation in the following year to the Tang court, congratulating them on the success of the ceremony. The Chinese historians merged the two events into one.

The fourth Türk delegation to the Tang court in this year was again led by Linhe Dagan Kang Sicong, in the 5th month (5 Jun–3 Jul. 726).<sup>103</sup> The fifth Türk delegation arrived on the 1st day of the 11th month (28 Nov. 726). The sixth delegation was led by Meilu Chuo (EMC: *maj-lawk te<sup>h</sup>wiat* < OT: *buyruk çor*),

97 *Ji-si*.

98 *JTS* 8: 189, *JTS* 194a: 5177, *XTS* 215b: 6053.

99 *Ren-wu*.

100 The character *luo* between *pei* and *chuo* is missing.

101 *CFYG* says the Türk delegation arrived on *yi-hai*, but there was no *yi-hai* in this month (Wu Yugu 2008: 1175). Here, *yi-hai* is probably an error for *ji-hai*, as the characters for *yi* and *ji* are easily confused.

102 *Xin-hai*.

103 *CFYG* 971: 11239.

on the 26th day of the 11th month (23 Dec. 726).<sup>104</sup> Buyruk Çor was granted the title “General” and given purple robes and golden belts decorated with mother-of-pearl.<sup>105</sup>

In Kaiyuan xv, the Türks continued their peaceful foreign policy towards the Tang government and continued dispatching envoys. In the 7th month (23 Jul.–21 Aug. 727), the Türk chief, Gutulu (EMC: *kwæt-tʰɔʹ-ləwk* < OT: *kutluğ*) led a delegation to the Tang court, offering horses and Persian silk.<sup>106</sup> On the 17th day of the 9th month (6 Oct. 727),<sup>107</sup> the Türk envoy Buyruk Çor arrived at the Tang court again, bringing a letter written by the Tibetan leader to Bilge Kağan. In the letter, the Tibetan leader suggested uniting with the Türks to attack the Chinese Gua Prefecture. Being informed of this, the Tang emperor was delighted by Bilge Kağan’s loyalty and allowed the resumption of the horse and silk trade in the West Shouxiang Citadel. The Tang government approved a budget of thousands of bolts of silk to purchase Türk horses every year.<sup>108</sup>

In Kaiyuan xvi, the Türks continued their peaceful foreign policy towards the Tang, though envoys were not dispatched quite as frequently. There were only two Türk delegations to the Tang court in this year. On the 16th day of the 8th month of Kaiyuan xvi (23 Sept. 728),<sup>109</sup> the Türk grand-chief, Qu Dagan (EMC: *kʰut dat-kan* < OT: *kül tarkan*) arrived at the Tang court. He was awarded the title “General”. On the 9th day of the 9th month (16 Oct. 728),<sup>110</sup> the Türk grand-chief, Geluolu Yinanru Pei[luo] (EMC: *kat-laʰ-ləwk ʔji-nan-ɲiə bəj-la* < OT: *karluk inançu boyla*) and other envoys arrived at the Tang court. They were all awarded the title “General” and granted purple robes and silver belts decorated with mother-of-pearl.<sup>111</sup>

There was no Türk embassy to the Tang court in Kaiyuan xvii (3 Feb. 729–22 Jan. 730). In Kaiyuan xviii, there were at least four Türk delegations to the Tang court. On the 23rd day of the 2nd month (16 Mar. 730),<sup>112</sup> the Türk envoy, Gejie Guzhi Chebi Xiejin (EMC: *ka-kaijʹ-kwæt-tei teʰia-bjiʰ ɣet-kin* < OT: *ʔ çabiş irkin*) paid tribute to the Tang government, bringing local products. The second Türk delegation probably arrived on the 14th day of the 3rd month

104 *Ji-hai*.

105 *CFYG* 975: 11283.

106 *CFYG* 971: 11239.

107 *Bing-xu*.

108 *JTS* 194a: 5177, *XTS* 215b: 6053, *ZZTJ* 213: 6779.

109 *Ji-mao*.

110 *Ren-yin*.

111 *CFYG* 975: 11284.

112 *Wu-yin*.

(5 Apr. 730). They were all granted silk.<sup>113</sup> The third Türk delegation was led by the Türk chief, Milü Peiluo (EMC: *měj- liə bəj-la* < OT: ? *boyla*). They arrived at the Tang court on the 17th day of the 11th month (30 Dec. 730).<sup>114</sup> He was awarded the title “General”.<sup>115</sup> There was still a fourth Türk delegation to the Tang court in this year, but the exact date is unknown.

The Chinese sources tell us that in Kaiyuan XVII the Türgiř kağan also sent an envoy to the Tang court. The Tang emperor entertained him at a banquet in Danfeng Hall. The Türk envoy had arrived a few days earlier. He was also invited to the dinner. However, before the dinner started, the two diplomats had an argument about the seating order. The Türk envoy argued: “The country of the Türgiř is small. It used to be subject to us. You can’t sit on the seat of honor.” The Türgiř envoy refuted him: “Today, the banquet is set for me. I won’t sit on the lower seat.” Having heard the dispute, the Chinese officials carefully discussed this and decided to put two separate tables in the hall. The Türk envoy was seated on the seat of honor of the east table and the Türgiř envoy was seated on the seat of honor of the west table.<sup>116</sup> The quarrel between the Türk and Türgiř envoys should not be regarded merely as a diplomatic affair. It was a symbol of a Türgiř challenge to the dominant position of the Türks on the steppe.

## 7 Establishment of the Kül Tégin Memorial

The Kül Tégin Inscription tells us that he died on the 17th day of the sheep year. Previous scholars assumed that this was in the 1st month. This conclusion agrees with our chronology. As we have mentioned, it usually took two months for Türk envoys to bring news to the Tang court and the news of Kül Tégin’s death arrived at the Tang court at the end of the 3rd month, therefore, he must have passed away in the 1st month. The assumption by J. Marquart that Kül Tégin died in the 3rd month is wrong.<sup>117</sup> If we convert the date to the Gregorian calendar, Kül Tégin died on February 27, 731.

On the 3rd day of the 4th month of Kaiyuan XIX (13 May 731),<sup>118</sup> the Tang emperor sent a message of condolence, which can be succinctly translated as:

113 *CFYG* 975: 11285. *CFYG* says the Türk envoys arrived on *wu-xu* of the 4th month. There is no *wu-xu* in the 4th month. It is probably a mistake for the 3rd month.

114 *Ding-mao*.

115 *CFYG* 975: 11285.

116 *JTS* 194b: 5191–2, *XTS* 215b: 6067, *ZZTJ* 213: 6792.

117 Marquart 1898: 14.

118 *Xin-si*.

“I heard that Kül Tégin passed away. I am so sorry. Now I am dispatching envoys to attend his funeral, conveying my mourning and bringing gifts.”<sup>119</sup> However, the Chinese sources do not tell us who was dispatched by the emperor to attend Kül Tégin’s funeral. In the list of guests provided in the Kül Tégin Inscription, the representative from the Tang is called *işiyi likeng*. From a comparison with the Chinese sources we know that *likeng* was the Turkic transcription of Lü Xiang (EMC: *liǎ'-xiarŋ<sup>h</sup>*), and *işiyi* might be the transcription of his official title *sheren* (EMC: *ɕiah-jin*), meaning “secretary”.<sup>120</sup> Some Chinese scholars have tried to identify the Old Turkic term *işiyi* with the terms *yishi* and *shiyi*, but both based their analysis on the modern pronunciation of these words.<sup>121</sup> Kül Tégin’s funeral was held on the 27th day of the 9th month of the sheep year (1 Nov. 731), so Secretary Lü Xiang must have set off at the beginning of Sept. 731.

In Kaiyuan XIX, two large Türk delegations were led to the Tang court by the same envoy. On the 17th day of the 6th month (25 Jul. 731),<sup>122</sup> the Türk grand-chief, Sunong Qu Dagan (EMC: *so-nawŋ k<sup>h</sup>ut dat-kan* < OT: ? *kül tarkan*) arrived at the Tang court. He was awarded the title “General” and granted fifty bolts of silk.<sup>123</sup> The purpose of the Türk delegation was probably to officially invite the Chinese representatives to attend Kül Tégin’s funeral. On the 18th day of the 10th month (21 Nov. 731),<sup>124</sup> Sunong Qu Dagan led another delegation consisting of twenty-four officials to the Tang court. All of the Türk delegates were granted honorable titles and sixty bolts of silk.<sup>125</sup> Probably the main purpose of the second Türk diplomatic delegation was to convey to the Tang emperor Bilge Kağan’s request that the Tang court send some craftsmen to the Türks to help them build a memorial for Kül Tégin.

According to the Chinese sources, following the request of Bilge Kağan, in the 11th month (4 Dec. 731–2 Jan. 732), the Tang emperor sent General Zhang Quyi and Lü Xiang, along with six skillful craftsmen, to the Türks. Slightly different from the Chinese sources, the Kül Tégin Inscription says that it was General Zhang who brought the craftsmen to Bilge Kağan.<sup>126</sup> Probably it was Lü Xiang who attended Kül Tégin’s funeral and it was Zhang Quyi who brought

119 CFYG 975: 11285.

120 It is noteworthy that the final *-n* of the *sheren* (EMC: *ɕiah-jin*) is not represented in the Turkic form *işiyi*. On the title *sheren*, see Hucker 1985: 417.

121 Cen Zhongmian 1958: 906, Rui Chuanming 1997: 260, Geng 2005: 135.

122 *Jia-wu*.

123 CFYG 975: 11285.

124 *Gui-si*.

125 CFYG 975: 11286.

126 K. N. 13.

the craftsmen. Their assignment was to build a memorial for Kül Tégin, to construct a shrine and to paint frescoes.

After spending two months on the way, the Chinese delegation would have arrived in the Ötüken mountain forest in the 1st month of the year of the monkey (1 Feb.–29 Feb. 732). The first of their activities was probably to search for a piece of marble in order to establish a memorial. At the same time, they started designing the shrine. The stone had to be carved into the shape of a tablet. As was common practice, the top of the stone was carved in the shape of an intertwined dragon and the basement of the memorial was carved in the shape of a tortoise. The architecture of the shrine was Chinese style. However, it is hard to imagine that the whole construction was finished by the two Chinese officials (or only General Zhang) and the six Chinese craftsmen. Local Türk laborers must also have contributed to its construction. According to the date provided in the Chinese part of the Kül Tégin Inscription, the Chinese text was inscribed onto the stone on the 7th day of the 7th month of Kaiyuan xx (1 Aug. 732),<sup>127</sup> which means it took half a year for the craftsmen to finish the construction.

By 1 Aug. 732, the Chinese delegates had finished all of the tasks assigned by their emperor. However, the Türk kağan (Bilge Kağan) also had something to inscribe onto the stone. According to the information provided on the southeast edge of the Kül Tégin Inscription, we know that it took twenty days for the scribe, Yolluğ Tégin, to write all of the Turkic text onto the stone.<sup>128</sup> The whole construction was finished on the 27th day of the 7th month of the year of the monkey (21 Aug. 732). The interval between the completion of the Chinese inscription (1 Aug. 732) and the completion of the Turkic inscription (21 Aug. 732) is exactly twenty days.

Generally speaking, in ancient China, there were three steps to establishing a memorial. First, someone composed a text. Second, the scribe, usually a calligrapher, wrote the text onto the stone with cinnabar (red ink). Third, the job of engraving was done by craftsmen, who were sometimes illiterate. In the case of the Chinese part of the Kül Tégin Inscription, the process was slightly different. The Tang emperor composed the text and wrote it down himself on paper or silk in China. The reason why the Tang emperor wrote down the text himself was that he himself was a talented calligrapher and a text written by him was much more prestigious than a text written by scribes (the Chinese part of the

<sup>127</sup> According to the calendar reconstructed by modern scholars, the first day of the 7th month of Kaiyuan xx was *renyin* (27 Jul. 732). The Kül Tégin Inscription tells us that the first day of this month was *xinchou*, one day earlier than *renyin*. It is very common for there to be a one day difference between the reconstructed calendar and the actual historical calendar. Here we take the record on the stone as the correct one.

<sup>128</sup> K. SE.

Bilge Kağan Inscription on the other hand was written by an official called Li Rong). The Chinese envoys brought the calligraphy work of their emperor to the Türks. The craftsmanship of the Chinese artisans could guarantee that his calligraphy would be accurately represented on the stone.

The process of construction of the Turkic part of the Kül Tégin Inscription was a little bit different. Bilge Kağan composed the text, which was probably just an oral account. At Bilge Kağan's dictation, from 1 Aug. 732 on, Yolluğ Tégin started inscribing it onto the stone with red ink. The job of engraving was done by Chinese craftsmen. Twenty days later, on 21 Aug. 732, the whole construction, including the memorial, shrine and frescoes, was finished. In the 11th month of Kaiyuan XX (22 Nov.–21 Dec. 732),<sup>129</sup> the Chinese envoys and craftsmen, accompanied by the Türk diplomat, Ge-a-mo Chazhi (EMC: *kat-ʔa-mək-tʃhəit-təi* < OT: ?), returned to the Tang court. Bilge Kağan was amazed at the fantastic craftsmanship of the Chinese artisans. There was no comparable craftsmanship in the Türk Empire. The frescoes depicting Kül Tégin's battle scenes were so vivid that when Bilge Kağan looked at them, he would feel as if his younger brother were still alive. In order to express his appreciation, Bilge Kağan sent an official to accompany the Chinese delegates back home.<sup>130</sup>

The first and foremost purpose of Bilge Kağan in building such an elaborate memorial for his deceased younger brother was of course to commemorate Kül Tégin's enormous contribution to the Second Türk Empire. The first half of the inscription, from line 1 to line 29, is a brief history of the Türk Empire up to the reign of Bilge Kağan. The biographical description of Kül Tégin begins from line 30. He lost his father when he was seven years old. The military career of Kül Tégin started when he was sixteen years old. The heroic behavior of Kül Tégin in every battle gave us the impression that he was undoubtedly the greatest hero of the Second Türk Empire.

Surprisingly, the biographical description of Kül Tégin stops abruptly in Kaiyuan IV (716), when he was thirty-two, although he died at the age of forty-seven. The absence of the remaining fifteen years of Kül Tégin's life in his biography can only be explained by the fact that in 716 he staged a coup d'état and slaughtered the lineage of his uncle Kapğan Kağan. This cruel behavior of Kül Tégin must have been very sensitive among the Türk officials and common people. Therefore, it was best for Bilge Kağan to avoid expressing any opinion about the coup and to stop the biographical description of Kül Tégin right in this year (see Chapter 3, Section 1).

129 *CFYG* says it was in Kaiyuan XIX. Cen Zhongmian has pointed out that it must be in Kaiyuan XX (Cen Zhongmian 1958: 433).

130 *CFYG* 999: 11559.

Bilge Kağan also took the advantage of Kül Tégin's memorial to warn his buyruk (minister), the officials and the common people to behave properly. He particularly mentioned that in the golden times of Türk history, the buyruks were wise and brave, and the officials and common people were impartial.<sup>131</sup> Unfortunately, just three years later, Bilge Kağan was poisoned by his buyruk (see Chapter 3, Section 9). Maybe Bilge Kağan had already become aware of the growing ambitions of Buyruk Çor, who had been dispatched to the Tang court twice, in 726 and 727 respectively.

## 8 The Türk Campaign against the Tatabı

The Tatabı were a small regime among the big powers such as the Türks, the Kitañs and the Tang. The foreign policy of the Tatabı was very pragmatic (see Chapter 2, Section 14). Since Kaiyuan VIII, Lusu (EMC: *lʷ-sɔ*) had been the leader of the Tatabı. We have no idea what his title was in his native language, because in the Chinese sources he is described using Tang titles, such as “General” or “Ambassador”. It seems that he kept a closer relationship with the Tang than did the Türks or the Kitañs.

Two years after his ascendance, Lusu visited the Tang emperor. He was granted honorable titles, thousands of pieces of silk and a Chinese princess, Princess Gu-an. However, the Chinese princess could not communicate well with her mother-in-law. As she was constantly complaining, the Tang emperor finally allowed her to divorce Lusu and granted him a new princess, Princess Dongguang.<sup>132</sup>

In the 5th month of Kaiyuan XVIII (21 May–19 Jun. 730), the Tatabı people were forced by the new Kitañ leader, Ketugan (EMC: *kʰaʷ-dwət-kan*), to surrender to the Türks. As a result, Lusu lost control of the Tatabı army and fled to the Chinese military pass of Yúguan. His Chinese wife also ran to a military zone controlled by the Tang army. In autumn, the Tang General Zhao Hanzhang led troops to attack the Tatabı, killing more than two hundred people. After that battle, the Tatabı people surrendered to the Tang government.<sup>133</sup>

However, the standpoint of the Tatabı in foreign affairs was very much dependent on their neighbors, the Kitañs. It was under threat from the Kitañs that the Tatabı people abandoned their pro-Tang leader and surrendered to the Türks. The Tang court had already realized the role that the Kitañs had

<sup>131</sup> K. E. 3.

<sup>132</sup> *JTS* 199b: 5355, *XTS* 219: 6174.

<sup>133</sup> *JTS* 199b: 5356, *XTS* 219: 6175.

played in the betrayal of the Tatabı people, so they decided to teach the Kitañs a lesson.

On the 11th day of the 1st month of Kaiyuan xx (11 Feb. 732),<sup>134</sup> the Tang emperor appointed Prince Xin-an as commander and ordered him to campaign against the Kitañs and the Tatabı. Two months later, when the Tang troops arrived at the border of Kitañ territory, they divided themselves into two armies. General Zhao Hanzhang led one army and marched into Kitañ. The Kitañ troops pretended to be frightened by the Tang army. General Zhao thought that the Kitañ soldiers were cowards and kept moving his army deeper into Kitañ territory. However, the Tang troops were ambushed by the Kitañ soldiers. Luckily, General Zhao was rescued by his colleague, who was in charge of the second army.<sup>135</sup>

On the 26th day of the 3rd month (25 Apr. 732),<sup>136</sup> the Tang troops soundly defeated the Kitañ and Tatabı soldiers and captured many people. The Kitañ leader Ketugan fled with his followers, while the rest of the Kitañ soldiers ran into the mountains. The chief of the Tatabı, Lishi Suogao, at the head of five thousand soldiers, surrendered to the Tang court.<sup>137</sup> The military incursion of the Chinese army directly caused the break of the Tatabı from the Kitañs and Türks, and greatly upset Bilge Kağan. Bilge Kağan decided to make a counter-attack.

According to the narrative in Bilge Kağan's inscription, the Tatabı people broke away from the Kitañs when he was fifty years old. Then, the Chinese General Guo led forty thousand troops to attack the Kitañs. But Bilge Kağan led his Türk soldiers to fight against the Tang troops at Töñker Mountain. The Türks killed thirty thousand Chinese soldiers and routed another ten thousand. General Guo was made into a *balbal* for Bilge Kağan's deceased son.<sup>138</sup>

This event is also recorded in the Chinese sources. On the 6th day of the leap 3rd month of Kaiyuan XXI (24 Apr. 733),<sup>139</sup> General Guo Yingjie led ten thousand well-equipped cavalry, along with the Kitañ and Tatabı soldiers who had surrendered to the Tang, to camp in Yúguan. The Kitañ leader Ketugan, along with Türk troops, came to attack. They fought at Du Shan ("Du Mountain"). As the Tatabı soldiers turned against the Tang during the battle, the Tang army suffered a humiliating defeat. General Guo was killed. Around six thousand

134 *Yi-mao*.

135 *ZZTJ* 213: 6797.

136 *Ji-si*.

137 *JTS* 8: 197, *ZZTJ* 213: 6797.

138 B. S. 7–8.

139 *Gui-you*.

Chinese soldiers refused to surrender even when they saw General Guo's head. As a result, all of them were executed by the Türks.<sup>140</sup>

If we compare the narratives of this battle in the Turkic inscription and in the Chinese sources, we find out that except for the number of Chinese soldiers who were killed, they match well with each other. The location of this battle in the Chinese sources is Du (EMC: *tu*) Mountain, which must be an abbreviated form corresponding to the Töŋker Mountain in the Turkic inscription. The original Chinese transcription of *töŋker* is not available to us. This was the first and last large-scale battle against the Tang during Bilge Kağan's reign. However, his victory over the Tang army did not help him to strengthen his standing inside his empire.

### 9 Bilge Kağan's Death: A Murder Case

On the 24th day of the 3rd month of Kaiyuan XXII (1 May 734), the Türk envoy Sibi Yusixian Que (EMC: *si-ŋejk ʎuă-si-sian kʰuat* < OT: ?) arrived at the Tang court.<sup>141</sup> The Türk envoy brought a letter written by Bilge Kağan to the Tang emperor. In this letter, Bilge Kağan emphasized how the Türk and Tang common people were benefiting from the peaceful relationship between the two countries. However, the real purpose of this letter was still to achieve the promised Türk-Tang marriage. He reminded the Tang emperor of his promise and called him "father". In the letter, Bilge Kağan also mentioned that he dispatched Kexiesubi to express his gratitude and Taman Tarkan to arrange a date for the wedding.<sup>142</sup>

The envoys sent by Bilge Kağan were all awarded silk and gold in the Tang court, but the reply brought by them from the Tang emperor was very disappointing. In the letter, the Tang emperor encouraged Bilge Kağan to maintain the peaceful relationship, and completely ignored the marriage issue. From the date of the Tang emperor's letter we know that it was composed in autumn (4 Aug.–30 Oct. 734). This was the last attempt of Bilge Kağan to achieve a political marriage with the Tang royal house. Unfortunately, all his attempts turned out to be unsuccessful.

According to the Bilge Kağan Inscription, he passed away on the 26th day of the 10th month in the year of the dog (25 Nov. 734, Kaiyuan XXII). In the

140 *JTS* 103: 3190, *ZZTJ* 213: 6801–2.

141 *CFYG* 975: 11287.

142 *CFYG* 979: 11335.

inscription, Bilge Kağan claims that he had been şad for nineteen years and kağan for nineteen years. The way of counting reign years in ancient China and among the Türks was different from that of modern Europe. That is why previous scholars were puzzled by this statement.<sup>143</sup> Similar to the way of counting one's age, we have to add one year to the result we get counting in the European way.

His epic autobiography of course did not mention the cause of his death. Chinese sources tell us that he was poisoned by his minister, Meilu Chuo (EMC: *maj-ləwk tə'wiat* < OT: *buyruk çor*). The reason why Buyruk Çor attempted to murder Bilge Kağan is unclear. The only information we have about Buyruk Çor is that he had been dispatched to the Tang government at least twice.

Bilge Kağan did not die immediately after being poisoned. Realizing what had happened, he acted quickly. Bilge Kağan executed Buyruk Çor and other members of his clan. However, sometime later, the poison in his body began to show its effect and eventually took his life. The news of Bilge Kağan's death arrived at the Tang court on the 23rd day of the 12th month (21 Jan. 735). The Tang emperor, in mourning for Bilge Kağan, ceased holding the court meetings for three days. He issued an edict in which he spoke highly of Bilge Kağan's friendly policy to the Tang. Four days later, the Tang court held a funeral ceremony for Bilge Kağan at the south gate of Luoyang. General Li Quan attended the ceremony and expressed his condolences. According to the information on Bilge Kağan Inscription, his official funeral was held on the 27th day of the 10th month of the year of the pig (Kaiyuan XXIII). The Chinese emperor sent Li Quan to attend the funeral.<sup>144</sup>

There is still one thing that Bilge Kağan must have done in his last few hours or days in the world. We are not sure how long he survived after being poisoned, but as he still had the energy to execute Buyruk Çor and his entire clan, we have reason to believe that he also had the energy to finish his autobiographical narrative before he died. If we make a comparison between the Kül Tégin Inscription and the Bilge Kağan Inscription, we will see how Bilge Kağan re-edited his earlier narrative, which had been prepared for his younger brother two years earlier.

Bilge Kağan borrowed the passages concerning his forefathers, father and uncle from his previous composition, making only a few minor changes. But he replaced the biographical description of his younger brother with his own

143 Thomsen 1924: 134.

144 The Chinese delegates departed at the end of Kaiyuan XXII. *JTS* 8: 202; *JTS* 194a: 5177; *XTS* 215b: 6054.

autobiography; though in fact, he simply changed the narrative pronoun from the third person singular “he” to the first person singular “I”, since the two brothers had been in most of the campaigns together. There are a few campaigns narrated only in the Kül Tëgin Inscription, as well as the other way around. The two inscriptions supplement each other and offer us an almost complete chronology of Bilge Kağan’s reign.

## Empire in Decay

### 1 Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan (r. 734–740)

#### 1.1 *Who Was the Successor of Bilge Kağan?*

In the Chinese sources, the records concerning Bilge Kağan's successor look "contradictory". On the one hand, *JTS* and *XTS* say that the new Türk kağan was Yiran (EMC: *?ji-jian*).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, in the letters of Zhang Jiuling addressed to the Türk kağan and in the Chinese text of the Bilge Kağan Inscription the kağan's title is given as Dengli (EMC: *təŋ-li<sup>h</sup>* < OT: *teñri*).<sup>2</sup> Previous scholars have attempted to solve this problem. Paul Pelliot proposed two solutions. One solution is that Yiran was the successor of Bilge Kağan, but when the Chinese envoy reached the Türks, he had already passed away and his brother Dengli had ascended the throne. The other solution is that Yiran was the successor of Bilge Kağan and that he later changed his title to Dengli.<sup>3</sup>

Cen Zhongmian rejected the first of Pelliot's proposals and agreed with his second proposal that Yiran and Dengli were the same person.<sup>4</sup> Xue Zongzheng also followed the second proposal of Pelliot, but with some modifications. Xue pointed out that Yiran and Dengli may be transcriptions of different parts of the same title *teñri yaratmış bilge kağan*.<sup>5</sup> However, the second proposal of Pelliot clearly contradicts the records in *XTS* and *JTS* which say that after the death of Yiran Kağan his younger brother Dengli Kağan ascended the throne, implying that Yiran and his brother Dengli were two different people.<sup>6</sup>

Actually, Xue has already correctly pointed out that *yiran* and *dengli* are two transcriptions of two different elements of the same Turkic title. The first sentence of the Bilge Kağan Inscription is *teñri teg teñri yaratmış türk bilge kağan sabım, kañım türk bilge kağan...*, which can be translated as: "These are my words, the words of Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan. My father Bilge Kağan ..." This opening sentence clearly informs us that Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan was Bilge Kağan's son. Yiran and Dengli in the Chinese sources

1 *JTS* 194a: 5177; *XTS* 215b: 6054.

2 Zhang Jiuling *ji jiaozhu*: 627. On the Chinese side of Bilge Kağan Inscription, see Cen Zhongmian 1937: 841.

3 Pelliot 1929: 239–241.

4 Cen Zhongmian 1937: 232–240.

5 Xue Zongzheng 1992: 572, Xue Zongzheng 1998: 45.

6 *JTS* 194a: 5177, *XTS* 215b: 6054.

are two different transcriptions of Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan. More exactly, *yiran* is a transcription of *yaratmış*, while *dengli* is a transcription of *teñri*. More precisely, *yiran* is an abbreviated form, corresponding to *yarat*–“to make”, the suffix *-mış* is not transcribed. Therefore, actually, the records in the Chinese sources concerning the identity of Bilge Kağan’s successor are not contradictory. The reason why the Chinese historians were confused by the Türk royal lineage was partly because the Türk kağan who succeeded to the throne in Kaiyuan XXVIII was also recorded as “Dengli”. In other words, there were two Dengli kağans after Bilge Kağan in the Türk Empire. Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan was the first Dengli Kağan.<sup>7</sup>

As to how long Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan stayed on the throne, the Chinese sources provide us with two different versions. According to *XTS*, he ascended the throne in Kaiyuan XXII (ca. 734) and ruled for eight years. *XTS* also informs us that his successor (the other Dengli Kağan) was acknowledged and recognized by the Tang envoy Li Zhi in Kaiyuan XXVIII (ca. 740), thus indicating that Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan died in the same year.<sup>8</sup> However, from Kaiyuan XXII to Kaiyuan XXVIII there are only seven years, if we count in the Chinese way.<sup>9</sup> This mistake by the author of *XTS* should be regarded simply as carelessness. On the contrary, the record in *JTS* is much more ambiguous: “Yiran ascended the throne. Later, he died of illness.”<sup>10</sup> We can’t figure out how long “later” was. So, here we follow the record of *XTS*, except the arithmetic error, which means that Yiran Kağan reigned for seven years, from ca. 734 to 740.

We sum up the main points of the above discussion. The successor of Bilge Kağan was one of his sons: Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan, whose title appears at the beginning of his father’s memorial because it was he who established it. The title of Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan was transcribed into Chinese in two different ways: Yiran and Dengli. The two variant Chinese terms were transcribed from two different parts of his Turkic title: *yiran* was an abbreviated transcription of *yaratmış* and *dengli* was transcribed from *teñri*. Both of these different transcriptions were recorded in the Chinese sources, thus creating much confusion for historians. Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan ascended the throne in Kaiyuan XXII, and his reign lasted for seven years, until Kaiyuan XXVIII. Some earlier scholars correctly pointed out that the Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan can be identified with the

7 Chen Hao 2020.

8 *XTS* 215b: 6054; *CFYG* 964: 11175; *JTS* 194a: 5177.

9 P. Pelliot counted in the European way and said there were six years (Pelliot 1929: 230–1).

10 *JTS* 194a: 5177.

Yiran Kağan in Chinese sources, but they did not try to figure out the relationship between Yiran Kağan and Dengli Kağan.<sup>11</sup>

### 1.2 *The Establishment of Bilge Kağan's Memorial*

When the Türk envoy Gejie Guzhi Chebishi Xiejin (EMC: *ka-kaij'-kwət-tæi tɕ<sup>h</sup>ia-bji<sup>h</sup> yet-kin* < OT: ? *çabiş irkin*) arrived at the Tang court with the news of Bilge Kağan's death, he was received by the Tang emperor. The Türk envoy conveyed to the Tang emperor his new kağan's request for funeral utensils and Chinese craftsmen to build a memorial. The Tang emperor approved the request. He dispatched General Li Quan, a senior member of the royal family, to the Türks as his representative. As had been the case of Kül Tégin, the Tang government likewise composed a memorial text for Bilge Kağan. But this time, the Tang emperor only wrote the first line and asked his scribe, Li Rong, to compose the main text. At the beginning of Kaiyuan XXIII, General Li Quan, set off with the skilled craftsmen.<sup>12</sup> In addition to the memorial text, General Li Quan also brought countless gifts for the new Türk kağan. From the Old Turkic inscription we know that the utensils that General Li Quan brought to the Türks included items such as incense, candles, gold, and silver.<sup>13</sup>

As we have discussed in Chapter 3, Bilge Kağan must have left his autobiographical text to his son (Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan) before he died. The first part of this text was copied from his earlier composition for his younger brother Kül Tégin, and the second part was a narrative of his own military career. Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan ordered the Chinese craftsmen to carve his father's words onto the stone. However, at the beginning of the inscription, Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan added several sentences, describing who he was and how he was enthroned.<sup>14</sup> At the end of the inscription, Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan also added a paragraph talking about the international envoys that came to attend his father's funeral ceremony.<sup>15</sup>

The funeral ceremony was held seven months after Bilge Kağan's death, on the 27th day of the 5th month of the year of the pig (i.e. 22 Jun. 735).<sup>16</sup> The aim of Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan in building a memorial for his father was not very clear. It was more likely an unfulfilled wish of his father, who wanted his autobiography to be carved onto everlasting stone, just like

11 Thomsen 1924: 128 ff.

12 *QTW* 286: 2901.

13 B. S. 11.

14 B. E. 1–2.

15 B. S. 11–15.

16 B. S. 10.

what he himself had done for his younger brother Kül Tégin. The Chinese text on the west side of Bilge Kağan's memorial is too blurred to read. But we can still make out some traces of Confucian theology. Obviously, the Tang literati intended to use Chinese cosmology to influence and educate the Türk kağan. However, quite the reverse of his predecessor, the new Türk kağan showed no interest in the Chinese culture at all.

### 1.3 *Economic Disputes between the Türks and the Tang*

After Bilge Kağan's death the Türks and the Tang were not as intense as before. On the one hand, the influence of the Türk Empire decreased. Unlike his father, the new Türk kağan was not at all interested in building a marriage relationship with the Tang court. On the other hand, the Tang government became indifferent to the Türks. Accounts concerning the Türks in the Chinese historical sources decrease dramatically after Bilge Kağan's death. The only sources available to us are seven letters addressed to the Türk kağan, six of which were composed by the chancellor Zhang Jiuling in the name of the Tang emperor.

Here we focus on the six letters composed by Zhang Jiuling. The first two letters were composed after the death of Bilge Kağan and concern mainly the preparations for his funeral. The Tang emperor emphasized that as the deceased Bilge Kağan had been his nominal son, so he should call the new kağan grandson. However, since a grandson is not as close as a son, therefore he would call the new kağan "son". The third letter was about international affairs concerning the Kitañ, Tatabı and Türgiř, and will be discussed in the next section. The other three letters were all about trade disputes between the Türks and the Tang. So, the key to understanding the reign of Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmıř Türk Bilge Kağan is trade.

We will translate these three letters composed in the name of the Tang emperor and discuss the economic disputes between the Türks and the Tang, and how they were solved.

Addressed to my son, the kağan:

Recently, there has been trade between the Türks and the Tang. There used to be a limit on the scale of trade between us. The number of horses for sale used to be only several thousand annually. As you have only recently ascended the throne, last year we accepted all of the horses that Teqin Yugu (EMC: *dək-gin juawk-kəwk* < OT: *tégin* ?) brought here, though they were many times the usual number, and paid [for all of them] with silk. Meanwhile, Sunong Hele arrived with many Kırkız horses. I promised to buy all of his horses next year. This had never happened before in the trade history between the Türks and the Tang. When your envoy

Gejie Guzhi [Chebishi Xiejin] departed, I specifically explained this to him. Later, when Yijian Dagan (EMC: *ji-gian*<sup>h</sup> < OT: *irkin tarkan*) came, I also told him not to bring any more horses to the Tang. But they did not take my advice and brought me still more horses. It is ridiculous. They lack courtesy and trust. Considering that you are righteous, I will of course forgive that. But they are so ignorant, how can I not blame them? You are very filial and loyal; this cannot have been your intention. I don't understand why they did it. Considering that they had made such a long and difficult journey, if I had asked them to bring the horses back to the Türk [lands], that would have been unreasonable. You must have heard that I bestowed on Sunong Hele and the Kırkız envoys twenty thousand pieces of silk and let them purchase goods. Now, I send the newly arrived horses back. When the envoys arrive home, please explain the reason to them. Summer is very hot; you and your ministers take care of yourselves. I can't mention everything in this letter.<sup>17</sup>

From the above letter we know that the new Türk kağan dramatically increased the scale of the horse-silk trade between the Türks and the Tang. However, obviously the Tang government could not afford to buy such a large number of horses. The economy of the Tang was in bad shape and the budget to purchase horses was very limited. The Tang court only paid twenty thousand pieces of silk to the Türk businessmen. The total price was five hundred thousand pieces of silk. In other words, the Tang government paid only 4% of the total silk they owed. Such a small quantity of silk of course made the Türk kağan unhappy. However, as the historical records are very scanty, we can only imagine how upset Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan was when he received the letter. But one thing is sure. From then on, the Türk kağan stopped dispatching any diplomatic envoys to the Tang court. The last time had been when he dispatched a diplomat named Sahezhu, who arrived at the Tang court on the 11th day of the 3rd month in this year (26 Apr. 736).<sup>18</sup> Having sensed the dissatisfaction of the Türk kağan, the Tang emperor composed another letter and sent his private representative to the Türks, explaining the reasons why he did not pay the full amount of silk.

Addressed to my son, the Türk kağan,

I have not received [any letters] from you recently and I miss you very much, you know that. The relationship between us is so close that we can

<sup>17</sup> QTW 286: 2903.

<sup>18</sup> *Xin-mao. CFYG* 975: 11287.

be as frank with each other as family members. The horses brought by Sunong Hele Chuluo Dagan last year were several times the usual number. Besides, he still brought the Kirkız horses here. I'm sure all the horses were dispatched by you, my son. When your father [Bilge] kağan was alive, he sold only three to four thousand horses every year. As the number of horses was not large, the deal between us was also very easy. But the horses dispatched by you were fourteen thousand in total. Considering that you have only recently ascended the throne and we have established a father-son relationship, I kept all of them and promised to pay five hundred thousand pieces of silk. Since the budget of my government is very limited, I couldn't pay the silk all at once and therefore asked Chuluo Dagan to stay in my country. I did not mean to be in arrears. You should be relieved when you receive my letter. The Tang economy is booming. I think we can pay the debt in the near future. But if you dispatch horses again, please do not send so many! The number should not be larger than that in your father's time. If we act in accordance with this contract, trade will be easier. You should have a long-term plan. I am sending my envoy, Zhao Huicong, to you to bring you some gifts. When he arrives, you can take the gifts. As the weather in autumn gets cooler, you, your ministers, chiefs and people should take care of yourselves. I can't mention everything in this letter.<sup>19</sup>

This letter was composed in the late autumn. In the letter, the Tang emperor complains that the Türks dispatched so many horses that the Tang government could not afford to buy them all. Since the budget was limited, the Tang court had to pay the price of the horses in installments. The Türk kağan was not satisfied with the Tang emperor's excuses and penned a reply to him, complaining of the unfairness of the horse-silk trade between the Türks and the Tang. It is a pity that the letters composed by Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan are not preserved in the Chinese sources; otherwise we could form a complete image of how the Türk and Tang governments solved their economic disputes. When the Tang envoy returned from the Türks, the Tang emperor composed a new letter and dispatched envoys to the Türks again, in order to repair the diplomatic relationship with the Türks.

Addressed to my son, the kağan:

My private representative Zhao Huicong has returned from your land. He gave me a detailed report, which relieved me a lot. In the letter, you

19 QTW 286: 2903–4.

complained that I returned too many horses and I detained Sunong Hele Chuluo Dagan in China for three years. Since we are like family members, I have asked Zhao to explain all the reasons to you. It seems that you have not understood completely. The horses sent by you last year were many more than usual. As to the quality of the horses, it was not as good as what you had claimed. Many horses were too old, weak, sick, ill or small to drive. How could I purchase all of them? So I selected the good ones and returned the rest. The ratio of returned horses was only 10% to 20%. I did you a big favor! How can you still complain that I returned too many horses? If you insist on selling inferior horses, you will be scoffed at by the countries around you. Since you are a leader in the north and we have established a father-son relationship, we should maintain justice and set an example for the neighboring regimes. Don't be deceived by your subordinates. The business of Sunong Hele Chuluo Dagan in China goes well. The amount of his trade goes down, but the goods are of better quality than before. He will return very soon. Please don't blame me for that. Besides, if you want to dispatch envoys to me, just do it. As we are father-son countries, it is normal to exchange envoys. Just ensure their security. I am expecting to receive your envoys at the occasion of next year's court gathering. As the winter is very cold, you and your ministers, chiefs and people, take care of yourselves. More details will be conveyed by my envoy. I can't mention everything in this letter.<sup>20</sup>

This letter was composed by Chancellor Zhang Jiuling in the winter of Kaiyuan XXIV. On the 27th day of the 11th month (2 Jan. 737),<sup>21</sup> he was removed from his position.<sup>22</sup> From this letter we know that the Türk kağan was upset by the Tang emperor's being in arrears with the silk, returning his horses and detaining his envoys. But it seems that the Tang emperor was more crafty and better at negotiating.

To some extent, the economic disputes between the Türks and the Tang were solved through the frequent and effective exchange of letters. In the 2nd month of the following year (6 Mar.–4 Apr. 737), the Türk diplomatic delegate Gejie Guzhi Chebishi Xiejin came to Tang to join the court gathering, just as the Tang emperor had expected.<sup>23</sup> He was the same diplomat that had brought the news of Bilge Kağan's death to the Tang court.

20 QTW 286: 2904.

21 *Ren-yin*.

22 *JTS* 1: 203.

23 *CFYG* 971: 11241.

In the following two years, Türk diplomats visited the Tang court regularly. For example, on the 14th day of the 6th month of Kaiyuan xxvi (5 Jul. 738),<sup>24</sup> the Türk grand chief Wuhu Dagan (EMC: ʔɔ-*kwət dat-kan* < OT: *oğul[?] tar-kan*) arrived at the Tang court, and on the 23rd day of the 7th month of the same year (13 Aug. 738),<sup>25</sup> the Türk chief Teqin Moheduo Xiejin (EMC: *dək-gin mak-ɣa<sup>h</sup>-ta* < OT: *tégin bağatur irkin*) arrived at the Tang court.<sup>26</sup> On the 14th day of the 2nd month of Kaiyuan xxvii (27 Mar. 739),<sup>27</sup> the Türk grand chief Yantuo Jumo Chuola Dagan arrived at the Tang court.<sup>28</sup>

The Tang emperor also dispatched envoys to the Türks. For example, in the 8th month of Kaiyuan xxvi (19 Sept.–17 Oct. 738), Wei Tai was sent to the Türks with a letter. This is the seventh letter that we have mentioned. It is likely that the letter was composed by the emperor himself, addressed to the so-called “Tujue-qishi” kağan.<sup>29</sup> However, judging from the context, scholars have pointed out that this letter must have been addressed to the Türk kağan.<sup>30</sup> In the letter, speaking of the trade disputes between the Türks and the Tang, the Tang emperor put the blame on the Türk kağan having been deceived by his subordinates and encouraged him to act properly in the future.<sup>31</sup>

#### 1.4 *The Campaigns of Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan*

Unlike his father, Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan did not leave us any autobiographical inscription. We can only rely on the Chinese sources, which are very scanty, to reconstruct his military career. The sole source concerning his campaign against the Kitan and Tatabi is preserved in a letter composed by Zhang Jiuling in the name of the Tang emperor.

We have discussed in the last chapter that the Kitan under the leadership of Ketugan stood by the Türks against the Tang (730) (see Chapter 3, Section 8). However, the pro-Türk Kitan leader, Ketugan, and his followers were killed by Li Guozhe in 734, who was a military commander of the Kitan.<sup>32</sup> Then, Li Guozhe himself ascended the throne and chose the Tang as his new masters. However, in the same year, Li Guozhe and most of his sons were killed by

24 *Xin-hai*.

25 *Geng-yin*.

26 *CFYG* 951: 11288.

27 *Bing-zi*.

28 *CFYG* 951: 11288.

29 The first part *tujue* is a transcription of “Türk”, and the second part *qishi* is an incomplete transcription of “Türgiṣ”. The complete transcription of Türgiṣ is *tuqishi*. Therefore, the character *jue* is likely an interpolation.

30 *Gen Zhongmian* 1958: 453; *Wu Yugui* 2009: 1334–5.

31 *CFYG* 980: 11345.

32 *XTS* 5: 138.

Ketugan's supporters. Only one of his sons survived and received protection from the Tang.<sup>33</sup> After this political turmoil, the Kıtāñs had no powerful political leader and therefore their strength decreased a lot. The situation of the Tatabı was similar. The two regimes stood much closer to the Tang than to the Türks, which displeased the Türk kağan.

On the 25th day of the 8th month of Kaiyuan xxiii (16 Sept. 735), four thousand Türk cavalry campaigned against the Kıtāñs. However, for some reason the Türk army suddenly retreated and subsequently got attacked by the Kıtāñ troops. From the information intercepted by the Tang government, this was because the junior Türk kağan passed away.<sup>34</sup> Previous scholars have been confused by the identity of this junior kağan, because in some places he is called merely "kağan".<sup>35</sup> Cen Zhongmian even doubted the authenticity of this information, because if the Türk kağan passed away in this year, it would contradict many other historical facts.<sup>36</sup>

Actually, if it was the Türk kağan who had passed away in this year, then the Tang government would have been officially informed by the Türk ambassadors and they would definitely have sent envoys to the Türks to express their condolences. We don't have to question the authenticity of this information. We need to interpret it properly. Without doubt, it was the junior kağan, not the supreme kağan, who had died.

From Zhang Jiuling's letter we know that the Tang government complained that the Türk campaign against the Kıtāñ and Tatabı was not righteous, even though the Türks had informed the Tang government about this campaign in advance. However, because of the father-son relationship, the Tang emperor chose to "forgive" the Türk kağan's misbehavior. The Tang emperor persuaded Tenri Teg Tenri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan to give up the plan of attacking the Kıtāñ and Tatabı, because their land was not suitable for stock-raising and they did not in fact have much livestock. Instead, the Tang emperor encouraged the Türk kağan to attack the Türgiș, in cooperation with the Tang army.<sup>37</sup>

Since the enthronement of Sulu in Kaiyuan III (ca. 715), the Türgiș had been growing into a powerful force on the steppe. The Türgiș kağan was a good leader both in domestic and foreign affairs. He always shared the captured booty with his generals and soldiers. He married three wives from three different peoples,

33 *JTS* 199b: 5353, *XTS* 219: 6171.

34 "A report on the death of the Türk junior kağan", see *QTW* 289: 2932.

35 "A report concerning the emperor's prophecy of the death of the Türk [junior] kağan has come true", see *QTW* 289: 2932.

36 Cen Zhongmian 1937: 288.

37 *QTW* 286: 2901.

the Tibetans, the Türks and the Tang.<sup>38</sup> Under his leadership, the Türgiř grew to be a formidable power, even overreaching the Türks. We have talked about the dispute on the seating order between the Türk and the Türgiř envoys in the Tang court in Kaiyuan XVIII (730). In a diplomatic situation such as this, the seating order represented a country's political position. The Türgiř envoy refused to sit on the lower seat, because he wanted to challenge the dominant position of the Türks (see Chapter 3, Section 6).

The growth of the Türgiř had become a threat not only for the Türks, but also for the Tang. From the letter of Zhang Jiuling we know that Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmıř Türk Bilge Kağan had already intended to campaign against the Türgiř. The Tang emperor pointed out that the race of the Türgiř was not superior; they were descended from different families (than the Türks). He also told Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmıř Türk Bilge Kağan about the Türgiř envoy's lack of respect at the memorial ceremony held at the Tang court for Bilge Kağan. The Türgiř envoy refused to cry for the deceased Bilge Kağan, which was seen as an insulting gesture. In other words, the Tang emperor incited Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmıř Türk Bilge Kağan to campaign against the Türgiř, in cooperation with the Tang troops.<sup>39</sup>

Details of the Türk and Chinese military actions against the Türgiř are not preserved in any sources, but the result was very clear: the Türgiř fell into disorder in the following years. In the summer of Kaiyuan XXVI (738), the Türgiř kağan Sulu was killed. In the last years of his life, Sulu had become extravagant and stopped sharing booty with his soldiers. He had a stroke and lost control of one hand. Because of that, Sulu's prestige took a hit and his subordinates started to consider replacing him.<sup>40</sup> However, the pressure from outside, the military interference of the Türks and the Tang, also played an important role in the collapsing of the Türgiř regime. Since the death of Sulu, the Türgiř suffered from civil wars and eventually surrendered to the Tang government.<sup>41</sup>

In the above two paragraphs we have discussed Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmıř Türk Bilge Kağan's campaigns in the east and west. However, his campaigns to the north and south, that is, against the Tokuz Oğuz and the Tang, are completely absent in the Chinese sources. From the text on the south side of the Kül Tégin Inscription and the text on the north side of Bilge Kağan Inscription we know that during the reign of Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmıř Türk Bilge Kağan, the Türks also campaigned against the Bayırku in the north and against the Tokuz

38 *JTS* 194b: 5192.

39 *QTW* 286: 2902.

40 *JTS* 194b: 5192, *XTS* 215b: 6068.

41 *JTS* 194b: 5192, *XTS* 215b: 6069.

Ersin in the south.<sup>42</sup> In the west, they reached the Yinçü River and the Iron Gate after the battle against the Türgiř. The route they took while campaigning from the Türgiř to the Yinçü River and then to the Iron Gate was a regular route for the Türk army. During the reign of Élteriř Kağan, Toñukuk had led his army on just such a long distance campaign.<sup>43</sup> In the reign of Kapğan Kağan, the Türk army had campaigned at least three times against the Türgiř and further west (see Chapter 2, Section 10).

Unlike his father, Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan was more interested in the economic and military fields rather than in culture. He gave up the idea of establishing a marriage relationship with the Tang court. The nominal father-son relationship between the Tang and the Türks was one-sidedly declared by the Tang emperor. Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan showed his courage and wisdom in solving the trade disputes with the Tang emperor. During his reign, he continued the military tradition set by his grandfather. The exact date of Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan's death is unknown, but it must have been in the year Kaiyuan XXVIII (ca. 740), because in that year the Tang dispatched an envoy to acknowledge the new Türk kağan. The exact cause of Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan's death is also unknown to us. He probably died of an illness.<sup>44</sup>

## 2 Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmış Türk Bilge Kağan (r. 740–741)

### 2.1 *Authorship of the South Side of the Kül Tégin Inscription*

The text on the east side, north side and on the three edges of the Kül Tégin Inscription was doubtless composed by Bilge Kağan and inscribed by Yolluğ Tégin on the occasion of Kül Tégin's funeral. They finished the inscription on the 27th day of the 7th month in the year of the monkey (22 Aug. 732). After being poisoned in 734, Bilge Kağan re-edited his earlier composition, copying the first part concerning Türk history and replacing the second part concerning Kül Tégin's career with his own autobiography. Before Bilge Kağan died, he must have handed this text to his son and ordered him to inscribe it onto his memorial.

What about the south side of Kül Tégin Inscription? Who was the author of the text on this side? Previous scholars have never asked the question of

42 K. S. 3–4, B. N. 3.

43 T. 43–45.

44 *JTS* 194a: 5177.

authorship. They thought the author was self-evidently Bilge Kağan.<sup>45</sup> If the text on the south side of Kül Tégin Inscription was composed by Bilge Kağan on the occasion of Kül Tégin's funeral, there are at least four counter-arguments.

(1) The first sentence on the south side of the Kül Tégin Inscription is: *teñri teg teñride bolmuş türk bilge kağan bu ödke olurtum*, which can be translated as “I, Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan (lit. the heaven-like, created in/from heaven, wise Türk kağan), have ascended the throne at this moment.” There are two questionable points in this sentence. First, the kağan's title here is much longer and more complicated than that of Bilge Kağan. Before Bilge Kağan, the Türk kağan titles were quite pithy, as in Élteriş Kağan, Kapğan Kağan and Bilge Kağan.<sup>46</sup> The addition of further components to the title of kağan in the Second Türk Empire was probably started by Bilge Kağan's successor, Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan.<sup>47</sup> Second, Bilge Kağan ascended the throne in the year 716, seventeen years before “this moment” (i.e. 732). The statement that “I have ascended the throne at this moment” was in no way spoken by Bilge Kağan at the occasion of Kül Tégin's funeral.

(2) The campaign itinerary described on the south side of the Kül Tégin Inscription does not agree with the itinerary described by Bilge Kağan on the east side.

K. S. 3–4: *ilgerü şantuy yazıka tegi süledim, taluyka kiçig tegmedim. bérgerü tokuz ersinke tegi süledim, tüpütke kiçig tegmedim. kuruğaru yinçü ögüz keçe temir kapıçka tegi süledim. yurğaru yer bayırku yeriñe tegi süledim.*

I campaigned eastwards as far as the Shandong Plain and almost reached the sea. I campaigned southwards as far as Tokuz Ersin and almost reached Tibet. I campaigned westwards, crossing the Yinçü River, and as far as the Iron Gate. I campaigned northwards, as far as the land of the Bayırku.

K. E. 17: *eçim kağan birle ilgerü yaşıł ögüz şantuy yazıka tegi süledimiz, kuruğaru temir kapıçka tegi süledimiz, kögmen aşa kırkız yeriñe tegi süledimiz.*

45 Thomsen 1924: 127.

46 Kapğan Kağan did use a longer title in his letter addressed to the Tang emperor (see Chapter 2, Section 17). However, it remains uncertain whether this title was only used in the Chinese context or not. As far as the Old Turkic inscriptions are concerned, he is always referred to as “Kapğan Kağan” or “my uncle, the kağan”.

47 B. E. 1, B. S. 13.

Together with my uncle, the kağan, we campaigned eastwards as far as the Yellow River and the Shandong Plain, westwards as far as the Iron Gate, [northwards] across the Kögmen mountain forest as far as the land of the Kırkız.

It's not difficult to notice that apart from the western campaign towards the Iron Gate and the eastern campaign towards Shandong, the other campaigns are quite different in the two texts. Bilge Kağan does not even mention any campaign southwards. In fact, the western campaign towards the Iron Gate and the eastern campaign towards Shandong were two campaigns regularly undertaken by the Türk kağans. Every kağan up to and including Bilge Kağan had made such campaigns.<sup>48</sup> Bilge Kağan's successor Teŋri Teg Teŋri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan also campaigned in these two directions.<sup>49</sup> If both of these texts were composed by Bilge Kağan, we should ask ourselves two questions: What was the necessity for him to describe his campaigning itinerary twice on the same stone? And why are the two narratives different from each other?

(3) The basic tone of the text on the south side is threatening. The narrator speaks to his audience with an arrogant air. His audience included the Türk officials, common people, and even the On Ok people. As his subjects planned to move to Chinese territory, he warned them of the Chinese people's trickery and cunning. The fine treasures and sweet promises of the Chinese people were nothing but sugar-coated lies. Obviously, the crisis situation described here does not look like the actual situation under Bilge Kağan. After eighteen years' peaceful relationship with the Tang government, under the leadership of Bilge Kağan, the Türks had grown to be very stable and united. The Türk officials and common people had no reason to leave their homeland.

The critical situation described here looks more like what was happening at the end of the Second Turk Empire. Moreover, the anti-China sentiment expressed in this text contradicts the pro-China posture of Bilge Kağan, who maintained peaceful relations with the Tang government during his nineteen-year-long reign.<sup>50</sup> Besides the campaign against the Kıtāñ and Tatabı in Kaiyuan XXI (733), which happened one year after the construction of Kül Tégin's memorial, there was only one small clash between the Türks and the Tang during his reign. Until his death, Bilge Kağan also persisted in trying to achieve a Türk-Tang marriage through his friendly gestures towards the Tang.

48 See Chapter 1, Sections 7 and 11; Chapter 2, Sections 7 and 10.

49 See Chapter 4, Section 1.4.

50 It is true that Bilge Kağan also blamed the Chinese for being tricky and deceitful (B. E. 6), but the historical context was the time of his forefathers, and not his own time.

(4) Kül Tégin is not mentioned a single time in the whole text, which indicates that it has nothing to do with Kül Tégin and it could not have been composed on the occasion of his death or funeral.

Considering the above four counter-arguments, we have to abandon the traditional theory and look for a new solution. The narrator of the text has actually already given us a hint about the authorship. The opening sentence is “I, Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmış Türk Bilge Kağan, have ascended the throne at this moment”. The author has a complicated kağan title. As we have discussed above, the phenomenon of having complicated kağan titles appeared after Bilge Kağan. From the Chinese sources we know that Bilge Kağan had two sons who succeeded him, one who ascended the throne in Kaiyuan XXII (734) and the other in Kaiyuan XXVIII (740). As discussed above, the title of the former was transcribed in Chinese in two different ways: Yiran and Dengli.<sup>51</sup>

The other son's title is also recorded as “Dengli” in the Chinese sources. Actually, *dengli* was a transcription of the first attributive part of his title (*teñri*). In order to make a distinction between the two, we will label the first as Dengli I and the second as Dengli II. Since Dengli I held the Turkic title “Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan”, then “Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmış Türk Bilge Kağan” must be Dengli II. In other words, the author of the south side of the Kül Tégin Inscription was Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmış Türk Bilge Kağan, who was one of Bilge Kağan's sons. He ascended the throne in Kaiyuan XXVIII (740). He is recorded in the Chinese sources as Dengli Kehan (Teñri Kağan).<sup>52</sup>

The text of lines 1–8 and 14–15 on the north side of the Bilge Kağan Inscription is almost the same as that on the south side of Kül Tégin Inscription. So, the author of that must also be Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmış Türk Bilge Kağan. However, there are a few lines (i.e. lines 9–14) that can't be found on the south side of the Kül Tégin Inscription.

(9) When my father, the kağan, and my uncle, the kağan, ascended the throne, they ruled the people in the four directions well. As mandated by

51 See Chapter 4, Section 1.1.

52 *xTs* says that after Yiran Kehan (Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan) passed away his younger brother ascended the throne. He was titled “Pijia Guoduolu Kehan” (Bilge Kutluğ Kağan). The Chinese emperor sent Li Zhi to title him “Dengli Kehan” (Teñri Kağan). This report is very confusing, especially the title “Bilge Kutluğ Kağan”, which is not preserved in *JTs*. The element “kutluğ” can not be found in the Turkic title “Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmış Türk Bilge Kağan”. However, this is not the only case. For example, the title of Élteriş Kağan in the Chinese sources is “Kutluğ”, and in a Chinese epitaph the title “Guoduolu Mochuo Da Kehan” (Kutluğ Mochuo Grand Kağan) is used to refer to Kapğan Kağan, but neither of their Turkic titles contain the element “kutluğ”.

heaven, I myself ascended the throne; I organized and ruled the people in the four directions [too]. I made ... I married off my daughter to the Türgiř kağan with an extremely grand ceremony. I married the Türgiř kağan's (10) daughter to my son with an extremely grand ceremony. I pacified ... the people in the four directions. I caused the people who had heads to bow down and the people who had knees to kneel down. As mandated by heaven above and earth below, (11) I settled people, who had never been heard of nor seen before, eastwards as far as the sunrise, southwards as far as the sun-zenith, westwards as far as the sunset, and northwards as far as the night-zenith. I strove for yellow gold, white silver, damask with selvages, silk with hems, high-bred horses and stallions, black sables, (12) and grey (or blue) squirrels, for my Türk subjects. I organized. I removed sorrow from them. Mighty heaven above ... ten thousand ... "You should (13) feed both the officials and the people! Don't let them suffer or be in pain!" ... I bestowed titles on the Türk officials and people ... stones ... striving for ... the Türk people, as long as you don't leave this kağan, these officials and this country, (14) you will look after yourselves well, you will [all] return home, and you will become [people who have] no sorrow....

Judging by the context, the words of lines 9 up to the first half of 13 could not have been spoken by Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan. Instead, we assume that these words are a direct quotation of his father Bilge Kağan. The form of address, "my father, the kağan" and "my uncle, the kağan", can help us identify the speaker as Bilge Kağan, because among the rulers of the Second Türk Empire, only he had both a father who was kağan and an uncle who had also been kağan.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, the formulation "I caused the people who had heads to bow down and the people who had knees to kneel down" appears several times in the autobiographical narrative of Bilge Kağan.<sup>54</sup> As to marriage relations with the Türgiř kağan, we can find some supporting evidence in the Chinese sources and Old Turkic inscription.<sup>55</sup> From line 13 onwards, after the expression "I bestowed titles on the Türk officials and people", Teñri

53 The formulas "my father, the kağan" and "my uncle, the kağan" can be seen in K. E. 12, 15, 16, 17 and 25.

54 K. E. 2, 15, 18; B. E. 3, 13 and 16.

55 After Kaiyuan 111 (ca. 715), the Türgiř kağan was Sulu. According to the Chinese sources, Sulu married three wives, one of whom was a Türk princess (*JTS* 194b: 5192). In the Kül Tégin Inscription, when talking about representatives of other peoples at Kül Tégin's funeral, Bilge Kağan refers to the Türgiř kağan as his son-in-law (K. N. 13).

Teg Teŋride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan returns to his own crisis situation. He attempts to persuade his people not to leave their country.

At the end of his narrative, Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan mentions that he asked the Chinese craftsmen to build a gorgeous shrine and establish a stele. According to the Chinese sources, in Kaiyuan XXVIII, when Teŋri Teg Teŋri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan passed away, the Chinese emperor dispatched General Li Zhi to “appoint” the new Kağan (Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan).<sup>56</sup> The Chinese sources don’t mention the construction of a stele or a shrine. Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan must have seized the opportunity of the visit of the Chinese delegates and asked them to carve his words onto stone. The text of his inscription was not to commemorate his brother but his father, Bilge Kağan. This can also explain why it was carved on Bilge Kağan’s memorial. Almost at the same time however, a shorter edition of the same text was inscribed on Kül Tégin’s memorial. The Türk scribe of the text is still Bilge Kağan’s (also Kül Tégin’s) nephew Yolluğ Tégin.

It is noteworthy that the text concerning Bilge Kağan’s funeral in 735, Teŋri Teg Teŋri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan does not mention the construction of shrine and stele.<sup>57</sup> The Chinese accounts on the other hand say that the Chinese craftsmen built a stele and shrine.<sup>58</sup> However, the Chinese accounts do not mention whether the craftsmen painted on the sides of Bilge Kağan’s shrine. Considering the fact that Bilge Kağan’s tomb is much larger in scale and much richer in treasures than Kül Tégin’s, it is reasonable for us to assume that Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan might have repaired his father’s imperial tomb in the year of Kaiyuan XXVIII (740), and had his words inscribed onto his father’s (and also his uncle’s) stele. If so, the report that he asked the Chinese craftsmen to build a gorgeous shrine and decorate the interior and exterior of the shrine could be well explained.

After his enthronement, Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan faced many challenges. His most important task was to prevent or slow down the process of decay of the Türk Empire. The Türk people were tempted to leave Ötüken and move to Tang territory. In order to stop this migration wave, he composed an edict and inscribed it in stone, so that his people would read it and change their mind about migrating. In the next section, we will deal with this topic in detail.

56 *JTS* 194a: 5177, *XTS* 215b: 6054.

57 B. S. 11 and S. W.

58 *JTS* 194a: 5177.

## 2.2 *Challenges Faced by Teḡri Teg Teḡride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan*

In the year Kaiyuan XXVIII (ca. 740), having heard the news that the new Türk kağan had ascended the throne, the Tang court dispatched General Li Zhi, who was a member of the Tang royal house, to the Türks. General Li Zhi brought an imperial edict to “appoint” the new Türk kağan.<sup>59</sup> However, it is self-evident that all of the Türk kağans were independent. The Tang envoy did no more than recognize the legitimacy of the newly enthroned kağan, in a diplomatic sense.

General Li Zhi’s predecessors, such as General Zhang Quyi in Kaiyuan XX (ca. 732) and General Li Quan in Kaiyuan XXIII (ca. 735), not only recognized the legitimacy of the newly enthroned kağans, but also helped them to build memorials. General Li Zhi was no exception. The words narrated by Teḡri Teg Teḡride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan were written down by Yolluḡ Tégin and engraved by the Chinese craftsmen onto the north side of Bilge Kağan’s memorial.

In his narrative, Teḡri Teg Teḡride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan first addresses his listeners and declares his authority over a large area.<sup>60</sup> Then he talks about the military campaigns that he joined and the places where he had been, and comes to the conclusion that Ötüken is the best place in the world.<sup>61</sup> He must have accompanied his elder brother on these campaigns, because his own reign lasted for only one year. He goes on to remind his people of the trickery and deceitfulness of the Chinese and to implore them not to leave Ötüken for China. He emphasizes the potential benefits for his subjects if they stay in Ötüken.<sup>62</sup> Finally, he threatens his people and orders the craftsmen to carve his words upon the everlasting stones, so that his people can read and comprehend them.<sup>63</sup> The purpose of Teḡri Teg Teḡride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan in preparing such an inscription was obvious: to slow down the collapse process of his empire. However, in this he failed.

The image depicted in Teḡri Teg Teḡride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan’s narrative agrees perfectly with the situation in the Second Türk Empire after his enthronement. From Chinese sources we know that Teḡri Teg Teḡride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan faced many challenges both internally and externally. Externally, he faced challenges from the Tokuz Oḡuz tribes, who were ready to usurp the dominant status of the Türks on the steppe. Internally, he lost

59 *CFYG* 964: 11195.

60 B. N. 1–2, K. S. 1–3.

61 B. N. 3, K. S. 3–4.

62 B. N. 4–6, K. S. 5–8.

63 B. N. 7–8, 14–15, K. S. 9–13.

control of the army. His two uncles, the Right Şad and the Left Şad, both had a considerable number of well-equipped troops in their hands.

In order to decrease his two uncles' military influence and take back power over the army, he discussed the situation with his mother. They decided to deal with the Right Şad first. They managed to kill the Right Şad and absorbed his military forces. However, before they carried out their next plan, the Left Şad realized what they were doing and preempted them. The newly enthroned Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan was killed by his uncle in the second year of his reign.<sup>64</sup> The news of Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan's death arrived at the Tang court on the 18th day of the 7th month of Kaiyuan XXIX (2 Sept. 741).<sup>65</sup> If we take the two months spent on the way into consideration, he was supposed to pass away in June or July 741.

### 3 Collapse of the Second Türk Empire

We are not sure who ascended the throne after Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan passed away. In the Chinese sources, there are two different versions. According to *JTS*, after killing Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan, the Left Şad ascended the throne and titled himself Wusumishi Kehan (EMC: *ʔɔ-sɔ-mɛj'-ciä k<sup>h</sup>a'-yan* < OT: *ozmuş kağan*).<sup>66</sup>

On the other hand, in *XTS* it was the son of the Left Şad who was enthroned as "Ozmuş Kağan", after a series of political coups: After the execution of Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan, the Left Şad, who was also called Panque Teqin (EMC: *p<sup>h</sup>an<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>uat dək-gin* < OT: *? tégin*), put one of Bilge Kağan's sons on the throne as the new kağan. Later, the new kağan was killed by Guduo Yehu (EMC: *kwət-tət jiap-γɔ<sup>h</sup>* < OT: *kut yabǵu*). Then Kut Yabǵu made one of Bilge Kağan's brothers the new kağan. Later, he killed the new kağan and took the title of "kağan" for himself. After ascending the throne, he was threatened by an allied force of the Basmıls, Uyğurs and Karluks. In Tianbao 1 (ca. 742), the allied force attacked the Türks and killed Kut Yabǵu. They acclaimed the chief of the Basmıls as Xiedie Yishi Kehan (EMC: *yet-det-ʔji-ci k<sup>h</sup>a'-yan* < OT: *élteriş kağan*). The chiefs of the Uyğurs and Karluks were appointed as the right and left yabǵus respectively. The rest of the Türk people gathered again and acclaimed the son of Panque Teqin as Ozmuş Kağan. The son of Ozmuş

64 *JTS* 194a: 5177–8, *XTS* 215b: 6054, *ZZTJ* 214: 6844.

65 *Bing-yin*. *ZZTJ* 214: 6844, *JTS* 9: 213, *CFYG* 975: 11288. According to *CFYG*, the news arrived in the 4th month. Here we should follow the date recorded in *JTS* and *ZZTJ*.

66 *JTS* 194a: 5177.

Kağan, Gelachi (EMC: *kat-lap-te<sup>hiä</sup>'* < OT: ?),<sup>67</sup> was appointed as the West Şad by the Türks.<sup>68</sup>

Having heard the news of Ozmiş Kağan's enthronement, the Tang emperor urged him to surrender to the Tang. As Ozmiş Kağan ignored the advice of the Tang emperor, the Tang General Wang Zhongsi sent a large number of soldiers to the border regions, threatening the Türk people. Ozmiş Kağan was frightened and promised to surrender. However, he was still undecided and was reluctant to take his troops and surrender to the Tang.

Wang Zhongsi incited the Basmils, Uyğurs and Karluks to besiege the Türk army. Ozmiş Kağan fled away. General Wang took advantage of Ozmiş Kağan's flight to attack the Türk army and successfully captured its right wing. On the 15th day of the 8th month of Tianbao 1 (18 Sept. 742),<sup>69</sup> the Türk West Yabğu, Abusi, along with the West Şad (Gelachi), Bodezhi (a grandson of Kağan Kağan), Princess Daluo (a daughter of Bilge Kağan), Yusaifu (a concubine of Teŋri Teg Teŋri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan), Princess Yuzhuo (a daughter of Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmış Türk Bilge Kağan) and thousands of hordes (including two hundred thousand heads of camels, horses and sheep) surrendered to the Tang government. From then on, the Türks were on the verge of collapse. On the 9th day of the 9th month (12 Oct. 742),<sup>70</sup> the Tang emperor entertained the surrendered Türks at a banquet in Hua-e Hall (lit. Calyx Hall) and gave them lots of rewards.<sup>71</sup>

According to the Uyğur inscriptions, in the year of the sheep (Tianbao 11), the Uyğurs campaigned against the Türks. On the 6th day of the 6th month (20 Jul. 743), they fought against each other. In the year of the monkey (Tianbao 111), the Uyğurs campaigned against the Türks again. They captured Ozmiş Kağan and his wife.<sup>72</sup> According to the Chinese sources, on the 16th day of the 8th month of Tianbao 111 (26 Sept. 744),<sup>73</sup> the Basmils executed Ozmiş Kağan and brought his head to the Tang court.<sup>74</sup> The Türk people acclaimed the younger brother of Ozmiş Kağan, Hulongfu Baimei Teqin (EMC: *kwät-luawŋ'-buwk-baijk-mi* < OT: ? *tégin*) as the new kağan. The second part of

67 The entry of *chi* 哆 does not exist in Pulleyblank 1991. However, according to *Guangyun*, it is *chi shi qie* 尺氏切, which can be reconstructed as EMC: *te<sup>hiä</sup>'* (*chi* [EMC: *te<sup>hijak</sup>]*, *shi* [EMC: *dziä'*], see Pulleyblank 1991: 56, 284). The character *chi* has another pronunciation, *duo*.

68 *XTS* 215b: 6054, *ZZTJ* 215: 6854–5.

69 *Ding-hai*.

70 *Xin-hai*.

71 *ZZTJ* 215: 6855, *XTS* 215b: 6054, *JTS* 194a: 5178.

72 Shine-Ussu, N. 9–10, Terkhin 25, see Geng 2005: 195, 213–214.

73 *Bing-wu*.

74 *JTS* 9: 218.

his designation is probably a translation rather than a transcription, as *bai-mei* means “white eyebrows” in Chinese. At that time, the situation among the Türks was a total mess. Wang Zhongsi again led troops to attack the Türks. The Tang army fought against the Türk troops at Sahenei Mountain and routed eleven tribes of the Türk left wing.<sup>75</sup>

Meanwhile, the coalition of the Uyğurs, Karluks and Basmils unraveled. The Basmıl kağan was killed by the Uyğurs and Karluks, and Guli Peiluo (EMC: *kwət-lik-baj-la* < OT: *külüğ boyla*) of the Uyğurs took the title of Guduolu Pijia Que Kehan (EMC: *kwət-təwk-ləwk bji-kε k<sup>h</sup>uat k<sup>h</sup>a'-yan* < OT: *kutluğ bilge küll kağan*).<sup>76</sup> According to the Shine-Usu Inscription, his official title was Kül Bilge Kağan.<sup>77</sup> The newly enthroned Uyğur kağan immediately sent envoys to the Tang court. The Tang court bestowed on him the Chinese title Huairen Kehan (lit. “the benevolent kağan”), which means the legitimacy of the Uyğur kağan on the steppe had been acknowledged by the Tang government.

The Uyğurs occupied the former Türk “capital” (i.e. the Ötüken mountain forest) and built camps there. Thus, the Uyğurs officially replaced the Türks as the new masters of the steppe. In the year of the rooster (Tianbao IV), the Uyğurs campaigned against the Türks for a third time and captured the Türk kağan.<sup>78</sup> On the 20th day of the 4th month (26 Apr. 745), the head of the last Türk kağan was brought to the Tang court by the Uyğur leaders. A few months later, the wife of Bilge Kağan, Guduolu Pofu Kedun (EMC: *kwət-təwk-ləwk babuwk k<sup>h</sup>a'-twən* < OT: *kutluğ ? katun*), led all of the rest of the Türk people into exile in China. The Türk katun was given an honorable title and rewarded with two hundred thousand *wen* per year to buy cosmetics.<sup>79</sup>

75 ZZTJ 215: 6860, XTS 215b: 6055.

76 XTS 215b: 6055, ZZTJ 215: 6860.

77 Shine-Usu, N. 5, see Geng 2005: 194.

78 Terkhin 25, see Geng 2005: 214.

79 JTS 194a: 5178, XTS 215b: 6055. *Wen* was the currency of the Tang dynasty. As for the purchasing power of 200,000 *wen*, we can refer to the economic datas in XTS. In Yonghui I (650), the highest officials (those of the 1st rank) in the Tang government had a salary of 11,000 *wen* every month, or 132,000 *wen* every year, much less than the sum the Tang government gave the Türk katun for cosmetics (XTS 55: 1396).

# Conclusion

## 1 Reconstruction of the Chronology

In the process of preparing an accurate chronology of the Second Türk Empire, I failed many times. No matter how I adjusted it, the chronology based on the Chinese sources never matched perfectly with the chronology provided in the Old Turkic inscriptions. Later I realized that I had failed because I didn't take two crucial factors into consideration. The date of a particular military action narrated by Bilge Kağan denoted the time when the Türk army set off from Ötüken, which was the starting point of the event. The date recorded in the Chinese sources was the time when the outcome of the battle was reported to the Tang court, which was the end point of the event. When we establish a chronology, we need to take into consideration the interval between the starting point and the end point, namely, the time spent by the Türk troops on the way, the duration of the battle, the time required for Chinese officers to bring the news from the frontier to the Tang court, and so on.

Generally speaking, the journey from the Ötüken to Chang'an or Luoyang (the two capital cities of the Tang) took about two months. For example, Kül Tegin died on the 17th day of the 1st month of the sheep year (27 Feb. 731) and the news of his death arrived at the Tang court in the 3rd month (ca. 10 May 731); Bilge Kağan died on the 26th day of the 10th month of the dog year (25 Nov. 734) and the news reached the Tang court on the 23rd day of the 12th month (21 Jan. 735). In the case of military campaigns, the speed of the cavalry might be faster than that of envoys, but two months can still be regarded as standard.

The second crucial factor that we have to take into consideration is that the Türk troops usually set off at the end of the year. The Yellow River was a big barrier for the Türk troops. It had played the role of a natural "Great Wall" in the Tang Chinese defense system. Therefore, the Türk army usually chose to set off from the Ötüken in late autumn or winter, when the Yellow River was frozen.<sup>1</sup> They could take advantage of a thick layer of ice to cross the Yellow River and move towards the Tang heartland. Considering the time spent on the way and in the fighting, which could also last for many days, especially when the battle was fierce, by the time the news of the Türk invasion reached the

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1 The Huns and the Goths also chose the time when rivers were frozen to plunder (Thompson 1948: 17, Martens 1884: 90).

ears of the Tang emperor, it could be already the spring of the following year, which means Kül Tégin and Bilge Kağan had become one year older.

The chronology put forward in this book, which is established through a combination of the Old Turkic inscriptions and the Chinese sources, is, to some extent, still experimental. We will test our chronology with some significant events recorded both in the Chinese sources and in the Old Turkic inscriptions. For reasons of convenience, it is necessary for us to choose some significant events in Bilge Kağan's autobiography as signposts. I have chosen the following five events as five milestones in his career:

- (1) Bilge Kağan fought against Çaça when he was 22 years old.<sup>2</sup>
- (2) Bilge Kağan joined the Béş Balık Battle when he was 30 years old.<sup>3</sup>
- (3) Bilge Kağan ascended the throne when he was 33 years old.<sup>4</sup>
- (4) Kül Tégin died when he was 47 years old.<sup>5</sup>
- (5) Bilge Kağan campaigned against the Tatabı when he was 50 years old.<sup>6</sup>

According to the date provided on the Bilge Kağan Inscription, he died on the 26th day of the 10th month of the year of the dog (25 Nov. 734), which was Kaiyuan XXII. As we have discussed in Chapter 3, he composed the text of this memorial himself after he was poisoned, also in Kaiyuan XXII. In other words, the events narrated in this memorial make up a complete autobiography of his life. Bilge Kağan claimed that he had been şad for nineteen years and sat on the throne for nineteen years. The year when he ascended the throne is clearly recorded in the Chinese sources, Kaiyuan IV, which was also the same year in which his uncle Kapğan Kağan died. From Kaiyuan IV to Kaiyuan XXII is exactly nineteen years according to the ancient Türk and Chinese way of reckoning time. The last military action in Bilge Kağan's life was the campaign against the Tatabı when he was fifty years old. The Chinese sources record this battle as taking place on the 6th day of the leap 3rd month in Kaiyuan XXI (24 Apr. 733). As Bilge Kağan passed away in the following year, we can conclude that Bilge Kağan died at the age of fifty-one.

The second important event in his late life was the death of his younger brother. The date of Kül Tégin's death is recorded in both the Old Turkic inscription and in the Chinese sources as Kaiyuan XIX (a sheep year). As Bilge Kağan was fifty years old in Kaiyuan XXI, he must have been forty-eight years old when his younger brother died. It is well known that Bilge Kağan was one

<sup>2</sup> B. E. 25–26.

<sup>3</sup> B. E. 28.

<sup>4</sup> B. E. 34.

<sup>5</sup> K. N. E.

<sup>6</sup> B. S. 7–8.

year older than Kül Tégin.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, according to our chronology, Kül Tégin must have passed away at the age of forty-seven. This outcome agrees perfectly with the data provided on the Kül Tégin Inscription.<sup>8</sup>

At the advice of Toñukuk, Bilge Kağan kept a friendly relationship with the Tang government. During his reign, apart from the campaign against the Tatabı, the only battle against the Tang government mentioned in his inscription is on the first line on the south side. Unfortunately, the place where the information concerning his age must have been severely damaged. However, judging from the following sentences, which say that he campaigned against the Kıtāñ at the age of thirty-eight and against the Tatabı at the age of thirty-nine, we can infer that he was possibly thirty-seven years old when he fought against the Tang army. This event was of course recorded also in the Chinese sources. It was in the 9th month of Kaiyuan VIII that the Türk troops attacked Liang Prefecture. According to our chronology, in Kaiyuan VIII Bilge Kağan was exactly thirty-seven years old.

When Bilge Kağan was thirty years old, he joined his uncle's campaign against Béş Balık. In the Chinese sources, the result of this battle was recorded on the 7th day of the 2nd month of Kaiyuan II (27 Feb. 714). According to our chronology, in this year Bilge Kağan was thirty-one years old, not thirty years old as narrated in his inscription. However, if we take into account the time spent fighting and traveling to and from the battlefield, it is safe to conjecture that the Türk troops could have left Ötüken already at the end of Kaiyuan I, when Bilge Kağan was thirty years old. The Türk troops chose to set off in late winter because they wanted to take advantage of the time when the Yellow River was frozen.

Our chronology meets a difficulty when we compare the dates of the Türk battle against the Tang General Çaça in the Old Turkic inscriptions and in the Chinese sources. The event was recorded in the Chinese sources on the 9th day of the 12th month of Shenlong II (17 Jan. 707). According to our chronology, in this year Bilge Kağan was twenty-three years old. However, Bilge Kağan said in his inscription that he was twenty-two when he fought against Çaça.<sup>9</sup>

If we take the asynchronous character of medieval society into consideration, just as in the Béş Balık Battle, we realize that this is not enough to explain the discrepancy. If we assume that the Türk army set off two months before the Chinese date, this would still have been the 10th month of Shenlong II. The only resolution to this one-year difference is to move the departure of the Türk

7 K. E. 30, B. E. 14.

8 K. N. E.

9 B. E. 26.

army into Shenlong 1, more than twelve months earlier than the date given in the Chinese sources. Theoretically, it is conceivable that the Türk army set off one year earlier, living on plunder while in Tang territory. But there is no evidence either in the Turkic inscriptions or in Chinese sources that would prove this. We know that during the reign of Kapğan Kağan, military activity occurred regularly and Bilge Kağan could easily have confused this battle with any other. However, there is also the likelihood that there is an error in the Chinese annals. To readjust our chronology because of this one event would mean to deny the convincing arguments stated in the preceding paragraphs, since our chronology has generally proved to be reliable.

## 2 Contextualizing the Old Turkic Inscriptions

Such a reliable and complete chronology of the Second Türk Empire can help us avoid many anachronistic interpretations of the Old Turkic inscriptions. It offers us a new approach, different from linguistic and philological approaches, to understand the Old Turkic inscriptions.

The memorial of Toñukuk was established by Toñukuk himself during his suspension in the autumn of 716. Earlier in that year he was deposed from his position because he had supported the lineage of Kapğan Kağan in the political battle against the lineage of Élderiş Kağan, which eventually won. However, since Toñukuk was the father-in-law of the new Bilge Kağan, he escaped being executed. As punishment, Toñukuk was deposed from his position and driven out of the political center. Eager to return, Toñukuk built up a memorial for himself, in which he belittled the camp of Kapğan Kağan and highlighted the achievements of Élderiş Kağan. In doing so, Toñukuk limited his narrative mostly to the reign of Élderiş Kağan (ca. 682–691) and talked very little about the reign of Kapğan Kağan (ca. 691–716).

With this background information, we can put the chronological narrative of Toñukuk in order. And we can avoid confusing the campaign against the Türgiş in the year 680 narrated in the Toñukuk Inscription with the other campaign against the Türgiş narrated by Bilge Kağan. The latter took place under the leadership of Kapğan Kağan in the winter of 711–712 (see Chapter 1, Section 11). And this debunks the anachronistic interpretation by previous scholars who attempted to identify the “Inel Kağan” mentioned by Toñukuk in the campaign against the Türgiş in the year 680 with one of Kapğan Kağan’s sons, “Yinie Kehan”, who was sent to besiege Béş Balık in the year 714 (see Chapter 1, Section 10).

The Kül Tégin Inscription is a eulogy composed by Kül Tégin's elder brother Bilge Kağan. In the first half of the eulogy, Bilge Kağan briefly narrates the history of the First Türk Empire. He mentions in particular that during the glorious age of Türk history the buyruks (i.e. ministers) and officials were loyal to their kağans. If we relate this statement to the fact that Bilge Kağan was poisoned by his own buyruk three years later, we can assume that he must have already been aware of the ambition of his buyruk when he composed the eulogy for his younger brother. In other words, Bilge Kağan's comments on "ideal" buyruks can be interpreted as a warning to his own buyruk.

The second half of the eulogy is an incomplete biography of Kül Tégin. The biography begins with Kül Tégin losing his father at the age of seven and ends with his successful defense against the Oğuz at the age of thirty-two. However, it is well known that Kül Tégin died fifteen years after this, at the age of forty-seven. The reason why Bilge Kağan ends the narrative about his younger brother in the year 716 is not difficult to find out. In that year, a severe political crisis shook the Türk Empire after the assassination of Kapğan Kağan, when a bloody war broke out between the lineage of Élderiş Kağan and the lineage of Kapğan Kağan. One of Élderiş Kağan's sons, Kül Tégin, dethroned the son of Kapğan Kağan and slaughtered all his supporters. After the success of this coup, Kül Tégin supported his elder brother as the new kağan, Bilge Kağan.

However, the mercilessness of Kül Tégin caused him to be strongly disliked by the Türk officials and common people. In the eulogy, Bilge Kağan deliberately highlights the heroic deeds of Kül Tégin by describing his archery and fighting skills in detail. He felt obligated to remind the Türk officials and common people of the contributions of Kül Tégin to their country. Nonetheless, Bilge Kağan did not know how to properly narrate the coup of the summer of 716. The best way was to end the narrative and avoid the whole topic. The construction of Kül Tégin's mausoleum, including the memorial, shrine and frescoes, was finished on the 27th day of the 7th month of Kaiyuan XX (22 Aug. 732). By that time, only the east side, the north side and some edges had been inscribed with Bilge Kağan's eulogy, and the west side was inscribed with the eulogy written by the Tang emperor, but the south side was left blank.

The background of Bilge Kağan Inscription is another story. Chinese sources tell us that Bilge Kağan was poisoned by his Buyruk Çor in Kaiyuan XXII (734), but he survived for a short time. The first thing Bilge Kağan did after being poisoned was to execute Buyruk Çor and his co-conspirators. The second thing he did was to compose an autobiographical text. The first part of the autobiography was based on his earlier eulogy for his younger brother, replacing only the narrative pronoun for Kül Tégin with his own. The second part

recounted his military career after the year 716, which was totally absent in the Kül Tégin Inscription.

Soon, the poison in his body started to show its effects and eventually took his life. Before dying, Bilge Kağan handed his autobiographical text to his son, Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan, who was also his successor. Following the practice of his father, Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan also invited the Chinese artisans to establish a memorial for his father. When they arrived, he asked them to inscribe the autobiographical text of his father onto the memorial, adding only an introduction about his own enthronement and a paragraph concerning the funeral ceremony. The funeral ceremony of Bilge Kağan was held on the 27th day of the 5th month of the year of the pig (22 Jun. 735). The Tang representative Li Quan attended the ceremony. At that moment, the east side, the south side and two edges of Bilge Kağan's memorial were inscribed with his autobiography, and the west side was inscribed with Chinese text, but the north side had been left blank.

### 3 Authorship of the Old Turkic Inscriptions

Last but not least, we have to answer the question: when were the south side of the Kül Tégin Inscription and the north side of the Bilge Kağan Inscription inscribed, and by whom? In this book, for the first time we have managed to reveal the different layers of the Kül Tégin Inscription and the Bilge Kağan Inscription. The complexity of the historical backgrounds of the two inscriptions had never been noticed or discussed by previous scholars.

The conventional theory that the south side of Kül Tégin's memorial and the north side of Bilge Kağan's memorial were inscribed by Bilge Kağan at the occasion of Kül Tégin's funeral (in the year 731), faces at least four counter-arguments: (1) The title "Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmış Türk Bilge Kağan" is much longer than "Bilge Kağan"; (2) The time of his enthronement was much later than that of Bilge Kağan; (3) The situation in the Türk Empire described on the south side of Kül Tégin's memorial does not match the situation of Bilge Kağan's reign at all; (4) Kül Tégin is not mentioned at all.

Considering the above four counter-arguments, we have to abandon the traditional theory and look for new interpretations. The Chinese sources tell us that after Bilge Kağan there were two Türk Dengli (*teñri*) kağans who were acknowledged by the Chinese government, in 735 and 740 respectively. The first Teñri Kağan, whose title was also transcribed into Chinese as Yiran Kağan, was obviously the successor of Bilge Kağan in the year 735. His official Turkic title was Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan. *Dengli* was the Chinese

transcription of *teŋri* and *yiran* was the transcription of *yaratmış*. It must have been, then, the second Teŋri Kağan who authored the south side of Kül Tégin's memorial and the north side of Bilge Kağan's memorial. From the inscriptions we know that his official Turkic title was "Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmış Türk Bilge Kağan". When he ascended the throne in the year 740, the Second Türk Empire was collapsing rapidly. Facing so many outer and inner challenges, he made use of the blank space of his father's and uncle's memorials and inscribed two similar propaganda texts onto them.

The purpose of Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmış Türk Bilge Kağan in inscribing such a text was of course to persuade the Türk people not to leave their country. He wanted to stop or least to slow down the decay of his empire. In brief, the text of the south side of the Kül Tégin Inscription is independent from those on the east and north sides. It was composed by Bilge Kağan's son, Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmış Türk Bilge Kağan, in the year 740 on the occasion of his own enthronement, which Chinese generals and craftsmen were invited to attend. So was the north side of the Bilge Kağan Inscription. The extra few lines on the north side of the Bilge Kağan Inscription must be a quotation of Bilge Kağan's words.

# Old Turkic Inscriptions

## Notes on Transliteration, Transcription and Translation

### *Alphabet*

Vowels	𐰀A	a	𐰁I	i	𐰂w	o	𐰃w̄	ö
		e		i		u		ü

Front	𐰄	b	𐰅	d	𐰆	g	𐰇	k	𐰈	l	𐰉	n	𐰊	r	𐰋	s	𐰌	t	𐰍	y
Back	b <sup>2</sup>		d <sup>2</sup>		g <sup>2</sup>	k <sup>2</sup>	l <sup>2</sup>		n <sup>2</sup>		r <sup>2</sup>		s <sup>2</sup>		t <sup>2</sup>		y <sup>2</sup>			
	𐰎	𐰏	𐰐	𐰑	𐰒	𐰓	𐰔	𐰕	𐰖	𐰗	𐰘	𐰙	𐰚	𐰛	𐰜	𐰝	𐰞	𐰟	𐰠	𐰡
	b <sup>1</sup>	d <sup>1</sup>	g <sup>1</sup>	k <sup>1</sup>	l <sup>1</sup>	n <sup>1</sup>	r <sup>1</sup>	s <sup>1</sup>	t <sup>1</sup>	y <sup>1</sup>										

λ	𐰢	𐰣 k <sup>w</sup>	𐰤	𐰥	𐰦	𐰧	𐰨	𐰩	𐰪	𐰫	𐰬	𐰭	𐰮	𐰯	𐰰	𐰱	𐰲	𐰳	𐰴	𐰵
ç	<u>iç</u>	k/ük/kü/ök/ kö	<u>lt</u>	m	<u>nç</u>	ŋ	<u>nt</u>	ñ	p	k/ik/kı	k/uk/ku/ ok/ko	ş	z							

### *Transliteration*

Considering the complicated consonant system of the old Turkic alphabet,<sup>1</sup> cardinal numbers <sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> in superscript are introduced into the transliteration in order to differentiate between a “back” consonant and a “front” one. For example, 𐰉𐰄 is transliterated as b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>, while 𐰎𐰏𐰎 is transliterated as b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>. There are many cases in which one sign represents two consonants. In order to differentiate these from other consonants, such signs will be underlined in transliteration. Thus 𐰦 will be transliterated as nç and 𐰤 will be transliterated as lt. It is noteworthy that there are some minor writing differences between the signs on the Toñukuk and Kül Tëgin inscriptions, especially nt, k<sup>i</sup> and z. Moreover, there are two special signs that only appear once in the Toñukuk

1 In Old Turkic inscriptions, there are two sets of consonants for the front vowels and the back vowels respectively.

Inscription: T. 8 η<sup>1</sup> and T. 26 lk. For more discussions on the alphabet please see Tekin 1968: 21–30.

### *Transcription*

The transcription style established by Sir G. Clauson will be followed in this book. Though the transcription style of Old Turkic differs from editor to editor, quotations in this book will likewise be represented according to Clauson's style.

### *The Question of é*

In runiform inscriptions, there are four signs representing eight vowels: A (either a or e), I (either ı or i), w (either o or u) and w̄ (either ö or ü). In addition to the eight parallel vowels (i.e. *a/e*, *ı/i*, *o/ö* and *u/ü*), there is a ninth vowel *é*, which has often been transcribed as *i* or *e*. G. Doerfer and M. Erdal have persuasively proved the existence of *é* in Old Turkic (Dorfer 1994, Erdal 2004: § 2.22). Different opinions concerning the phoneme /*é*/ will not be regarded as variant readings of the text.

### *Orthography*

Sometimes *n*<sup>2</sup>, *y*<sup>2</sup> and *s*<sup>2</sup> are used in words with back vowels representing *n*<sup>1</sup>, *y*<sup>1</sup> and *s*<sup>1</sup>. In such cases, they will be treated as “back” consonants. As to the *o/u* and *ö/ü* question, Clauson 1972, Erdal 1991 and Erdal 2004 are the authoritative works for this book. When it comes to place names and personal names, which have corresponding forms in the Chinese sources, the reconstruction of EMC will be used to help decide the correct form in Old Turkic. When a word ends with a consonant that is identical with the first consonant of the suffix that is attached to the word stem, only one consonant is transcribed, while the omitted consonant is added in square brackets, for example: T. 18 *baluk*[*k*]*a* (written as *baluka*), T. 31 *toñukuk*[*k*]*a* (written as *toñukuka*), and on on. For more discussions on orthography please see Tekin 1968: 30–49.

### *The Archphoneme Vowels*

Different editors have different understandings of the archphoneme vowels, which are dropped if the phoneme stretch preceding the suffix ends in a vowel. For the sake for brevity, capital letters are used to represent the cases of both “back” and “front” phonemes, thus, the letter *I* stands for *i* and *ı*, the letter *U* stands for *o* and *u*, and the letter *X* stands for *I* and *U*. The letter *g* stands for *g* and *ğ*. M. Erdal has offered us a comprehensive classification of the suffixes by archphoneme vowels. Here only a few common suffixes that have been understood differently by editors are cited. For example, the possessive suffix of the 1st person plural is *+(X)mXz*, not *+(I)mIz* nor *+(X)mIz*. The perfect participle is *-mIş*, not *-mXş*. The verbal noun suffix, which has a future-necessitative meaning, is *-sXk*, not *-sIk* (*-sIk*, see Tekin 1968: 175–6). The denominal privative

suffix is +sXz “without”, though the possibility of +sIz cannot be excluded (Erdal 2004: 130 note 232). The accusative suffix is +(X)g, not +(I)g. The instrumental suffix is +(X)n, not +(I)n. The suffix which forms nouns meaning “possessing or having something” is +lXg, not +llg (see Tekin 1968: 105). The converb suffix is -(X)pAn, not -(I)pAn. For more examples please see Erdal 2004: 129–30.

### *Miscellaneous*

Barely legible words will be written in italics. Writing mistakes in the runiform text will be highlighted in bold type. Additional information will be written in square brackets. The Kül Tégin Inscription, the Bilge Kağan Inscription and the Toñukuk Inscription are abbreviated as K., B., and T. respectively. For the first two inscriptions the side of the stone is indicated (E. stands for “east side”, W. stands for “west side”, and so on) as well as the lines. For the Toñukuk Inscription only the lines will be given. No attempt has been made to correct the numerous misprints in previous editions although attention has been drawn to them when they occur in connection with the items under discussion.

## Bilge Toñukuk Inscription – Text

### Stone 1

#### West Side

(1) b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>At<sup>1</sup>wñk<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>w̄zm : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çılŋA : k<sup>1</sup>il<sup>1</sup>ntm : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çk<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>w̄</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı (2) t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>my<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çd<sup>1</sup>A : d<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ltı : k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ntı : k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>p : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çk<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ıçk<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>ŋr<sup>2</sup>ı : nçAt<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>nç : k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : (3) k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ŋn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>p : ıçk<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ŋ : ıçk<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup>w̄çn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ŋr<sup>2</sup>ı : w̄lt<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>nç : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ntı : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>A : (4) b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup>ı : ıd<sup>1</sup>At<sup>1</sup>şd<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>w</sup>wbr<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>p : y<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>w̄zb<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ı : k<sup>2</sup>ıw̄l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>w̄z : k<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup> : (5) wd<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>mA : wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ı : şd<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>ıb<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>wñk<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>mwk<sup>ı</sup>s<sup>ı</sup>y<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ntm : t<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>w</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>mzb<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>ı : Ar<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : (6) b<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>mzb<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>w</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>At<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>mzr<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : nçAsk<sup>1</sup>ntm : ntAk<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>ŋr<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup>w̄çn<sup>2</sup> : w̄zmk<sup>w̄</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>m : b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>At<sup>1</sup>wñk<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wylAb<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>At<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : (7) b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>ı<sup>2</sup>A : ıl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çg<sup>1</sup> : w̄ŋr<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ñg<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>Awg<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup> : w̄k<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup> : w̄l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ı : çb<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>ı : b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : çwg<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>wzin<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>Ak<sup>1</sup>wmg<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz :

1. bilge toñukuk ben özüm<sup>2</sup> tabğaç éliñe kılntım.<sup>3</sup> türk bodun tabğaçka körür erti.<sup>4</sup>
2. türk bodun kanın bulmayın<sup>5</sup> tabğaçda adrlı, kanlantı. kanın kodup tabğaçka yana

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- 2 *bilge toñukuk ben özüm*. In Old Turkic, *bilge* is basically a word meaning “wise, bright”. Radloff 1899, Thomsen 1924, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 translated *bilge toñukuk* as “I am the wise Toñukuk”. But *bilge* is also used as a title, as in Bilge Kağan. Orkun 1936, Tekin 1968 and Rybatzki 1997 regarded *bilge toñukuk* as a fixed title. In addition, *bilge* also means “counselor”, as in line 7: *bilgesi çabışı ben ök ertim* “It was I who was his counselor and his army commander”. Clauson 1972: 340 suggested translating *bilge toñukuk* as “Counselor Toñukuk”. Here I regard *bilge toñukuk* as a fixed title. Sertkaya translated this sentence as “I am Toñukuk. I myself was born in China.” (Sertkaya 1979b).
  - 3 *tabğaç éliñe kılntım*. There is a similar expression in the Ongin Inscription: *kapğan éłteriş kağan éliñe kılntım*. Clauson translated it as “I grew up for (i.e. as a subject of) the realm of Kapğan and Éłteriş” (Clauson 1957: 188), while Ōsawa translated as “I was born in the country of Qapğan and Éłteriş Kağan” (Ōsawa 2011: 173). The verb *kılın-* “to be made, created” is the passive form of *kıl-* “to make”. Radloff 1899 translated *tabğaç éliñe kılntım* as “I joined/followed the Chinese government”, probably because he considered the case of *tabğaç éliñe* to be dative. Thomsen 1916 and 1924 treated the dative case flexibly: “I was born belonging to the Chinese empire.” Regardless of the dative case of *tabğaç éliñe* or the basic meaning of *kılın-*, Malov 1951 produced a free translation: “I received education under the influence and culture of the Chinese people”. Orkun 1936 and Tekin 1968 changed the dative case in the original text into a locative in their translations: “I was born in the realm of China.” Clauson translated in an extended sense: “I grew up for (i.e. as a subject of) the Chinese empire” (Clauson 1972: 623). Erdal, asserting that there is no local dative in Orkhon Turkic, followed the translation of A. Nautu: “(I was born) during the Chinese empire/Chinese rule” (Erdal 1991: 605). Rybatzki 1997 followed Clauson’s interpretation. Erdal’s argument that there is no local dative in Orkhon Turkic is justified. In the Old Turkic inscriptions, the use of dative case is sometimes temporal, for example *altı yégirmi yaşuğa eçim kağan élin törüsün ança kazğantı* “When [Kül Tégin] was sixteen years old, my uncle, the kağan, was working hard for his realm and laws” (K. E. 31). Therefore, I follow Erdal’s interpretation and translate it as “I was born in the reign of China” or “I was born when China ruled [the Türks]”.
  - 4 Many theories have been proposed by previous editors on how to translate *tabğaçka kör-*. Radloff 1899 translated it as “The Türk people were subjects of China”. Thomsen 1916 and 1924 translated it as “The Türk people were under the control of China”. Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Tekin 1968 basically followed Radloff’s interpretation; Tekin translated it as “The Turkish people were subject to China [at that time]”. Rybatzki 1997 translated it as “The Türk clans served China”. The above translations are all going in the right direction but stray away from the basic meaning of the verb *kör-* “to look”. In the Old Turkic *Biography of Xuanzang*, *kör-* is used in a similar context: *kolulayu kör-* “to look up to sb. (with respect)”, where the original Chinese text is *yangwei* 仰惟 “to look up to” (Semet 2005: 181). This Chinese phrase is used in particular when people pay their respects to their emperor, as in *yangwei bixia* 仰惟陛下 “to look up to His Majesty”. There are also a few similar examples in the Old Turkic inscriptions, e.g. K. S. 2 *bodun kop maya körür* “people all look up to me (Bilge Kağan)”, K. S. 12 *bödke körügme begler* “the official who looks up to the throne (i.e. to His Majesty/the kağan)”, K. E. 7–8 *tabğaç kağanka körmiş* “they (pro-China officials) looked up to the Chinese emperor”.
  - 5 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Aalto 1958 read this as *bolmayın* < *bol-* “to be, to become”. Both *bol-* “to be” and *bul-* “to find, obtain” are possible (Erdal 2004: 316).

içikdi. teñri ança témiş erinç: kan bértim. 3. kanıñın kodup içikdiñ. içikdük üçün teñri öl témiş<sup>6</sup> erinç. türk bodun ölti, alkıntı, yok boltı. türk sir bodun yérinte 4. bod kalmadı. ida taşda kalmıñı kubranıp yéti yüz boltı. éki ülügi atlıǵ erti, bir ülügi yadaǵ erti. yéti yüz kişig 5. uduzuǵma uluǵı şad erti. ayǵıl<sup>7</sup> tédi. ayıǵması ben ertim. bilge toñukuk, kağan mu kısıayın? tédim. sakıntım: turuk bukalı semiz bukalı ırakda<sup>8</sup> 6. bölser,<sup>9</sup> semiz buka turuk buka téyin bilmez ermiş téyin. ança sakıntım. anta késre teñri bilig bértük üçün özüüm ök kağan kısıdım. [ben] bilge toñukuk boyla baǵa tarkan<sup>10</sup> 7. birle élderiş kağan

- 6 Radloff 1899 *ötmüş* < *öt-* “to be angry with”; Thomsen 1916, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, and Tekin 1968 *ölütmüş* < *ölüt-* “to cause to be killed”; Aalto 1958 *ületmiş* < *ület-* “to divide”; Giraud 1961, Rybatzki 1997 *öl temiş* “said: die!” Clauson treated the sign <sup>l2</sup> as a small crack and read the word as *ötmüş* “abandoned” (Clauson 1972: 133 *ölü-*). Here I follow the reading of Giraud and Rybatzki.
- 7 *ayǵıl* and the following *ayıǵması*, Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Aalto 1958 read as *yaǵıl* and *yaǵmışı*, Tekin 1968 *yaǵ(ǵ)ıl* and *yaǵmisi* < *yaǵ-* “to join”; Giraud 1961, Tezcan 1976 *ayǵıl* and *ayıǵması* < *ay-* “to say”; Clauson 1972: 897, Rybatzki 1997 *yıǵ[ǵ]ıl* < *yıǵ-* “to bring together”. Tekin conceded that his earlier reading was not correct and agreed with the reading of Giraud (Tekin 1995: 211). The preceding sentence informs us that seven hundred people had already come together under the leadership of the şad. Thus, Clauson’s interpretation of *yıǵ[ǵ]ıl* “Bring them together!” is not very likely. I follow the reading of Giraud. But his translation “Advise me!” is not satisfying. According to the soliloquy of Toñukuk which follows, after brief consideration, he made the decision to support the şad as kağan. In this context, Toñukuk must have been requested to declare or decide who he supported as kağan (*ay-* also has the meaning of “to declare”, see Clauson 1972: 266).
- 8 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *arkada*, which is the locative case of *arka* “the back”. It is noteworthy that Orkun translated it as “in the distance” (Orkun 1936: 101). It was Thomsen who for the first time translated this word as “in the far distance” (Thomsen 1924: 163). Aalto 1958, Tekin 1968 and Rybatzki 1997 all read it as *ırakda* “in the distance”. According to the untouched rubbing in Radloff 1899, the first sign looks like an *A*. Tekin thought that the letter *A* was in all likelihood a misreading for *I* (Tekin 1995: 212).
- 9 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *bilser* < *bil-* “to know”; Aalto 1958 and Tekin 1968 as *bünser* < *bün-* “to kick”. But Aalto translated it as “to recognize”. Tekin 1995 revised his earlier reading and agreed to *bilser* (Tekin 1995: 212). However, the second sign looks more like a *w* than an *I*. Therefore, Clauson read the word as *bölser* < *böl-* “to distinguish” (Clauson 1972: 332). Rybatzki found more evidence from Uyǵur documents that could support Clauson’s reading (Rybatzki 1997: 45). Here I follow the reading of Clauson. Alyılmaz’s field research confirmed this reading (Alyılmaz 2000: 105–6).
- 10 Here I interpret *bilge toñukuk boyla baǵa tarkan* as two persons, *bilge toñukuk* and *boyla baǵa tarkan* respectively. More discussions, see Rybatzki 1997: 84–85.

bolayın. bérye tabğacığ, öñre kitañıg, yrya oğuzuğ üküş ök ölürti. bilgesi<sup>11</sup> çabışı ben ök ertim. çuğay<sup>12</sup> kuzın, kara kumuğ olurur ertimiz.

South Side

(8) k<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>w̄ : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>šg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>y<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>w̄ : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>zı : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>mz : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>A : wçk<sup>w</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>2</sup>ız : añt<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : nçAw<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ı : wg<sup>1</sup>zd<sup>1</sup>ntn<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı;(9)k<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ıntg<sup>1</sup>:t<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>zwg<sup>1</sup>z:b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>w̄ZA:k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>:wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>:t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w:k<sup>w</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ñw̄n<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>:ıd<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>:k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ñg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w:t<sup>1</sup>wñr<sup>1</sup>As<sup>2</sup>mg<sup>2</sup>:ıd<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>:s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>nçAıd<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>:zk<sup>1</sup>ñA:t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>: (10)y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>ıy<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>:k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>:l<sup>1</sup>pr<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>:y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>wçıs<sup>2</sup>:b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>Ar<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>:wl<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ık<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>:b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup>:s<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çg<sup>1</sup>:w̄l<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çı:t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup>:w̄ñr<sup>2</sup>Ak<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ñg<sup>1</sup>:w̄l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çı:t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup>:b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>ıwg<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>:(11)w̄l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çık<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup>:t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç:b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>:k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ñ:w̄ñd<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>:b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>nty<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>:t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>:t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>A : ıd<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>mzwn<sup>1</sup> : ws<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>ı</sup>s<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>m : (12) t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>p : t<sup>2</sup>w̄n<sup>2</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ık<sup>1</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>md<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>2</sup>w̄n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>z : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>mk<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>md<sup>2</sup>ı : n<sup>1</sup>tAw̄t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄ : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>mAw̄t<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m:nçAw̄t<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m:t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç:wg<sup>1</sup>z:k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ñ:bwçg<sup>2</sup>w̄:k<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>:(13)k<sup>1</sup>ltçıb<sup>2</sup>z:w̄zçı:t<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>ız : y<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>Ar<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>wpl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ıwçzr<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>nçg<sup>2</sup>Ar<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : w̄zg<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ı : wçz : y<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wpl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>pr<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>nçg<sup>2</sup>A : (14) y<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : w̄zg<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>l<sup>1</sup>pr<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : w̄ñr<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ñd<sup>1</sup>A : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çd<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>tA : y<sup>1</sup>ıy<sup>1</sup>A : wg<sup>1</sup>zd<sup>1</sup>A:k<sup>2</sup>r<sup>w</sup>çb<sup>2</sup>ıñ:s<sup>2</sup>w̄mz:k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çmz:b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>mwn<sup>2</sup>A:nçAw̄t<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m:(15)k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m:b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>w̄zm:b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>At<sup>1</sup>wñk<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>:w̄t<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>w̄t<sup>2</sup>nçmn<sup>2</sup>:s<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>w̄b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı:k<sup>2</sup>w̄ñl<sup>2</sup>ñçA:wd<sup>1</sup>zt<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı:k<sup>2</sup>w̄k<sup>2</sup>w̄ñg<sup>2</sup>:y<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : w̄t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : wd<sup>1</sup>zt<sup>2</sup>m : m<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>l<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : wg<sup>1</sup>zk<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : (16) s<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>w</sup>çb<sup>1</sup>ıñr<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ız : k<sup>2</sup>ıb<sup>1</sup>ıñ : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñs<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : t<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>ñd<sup>1</sup>mz : w̄g<sup>2</sup>zk<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>ñd<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>tA : y<sup>2</sup>mA : w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ık<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : n<sup>1</sup>tAw̄t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄ : wg<sup>1</sup>zk<sup>w</sup>pn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : (17) ... t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : w̄t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A : b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>w̄zm : b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>wñk<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : w̄t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>:s<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>p:b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ı:b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>:k<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>:y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>:w̄ñr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ı:b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı:

11 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958 and Giraud 1961 read this as *bilig eşi*. Similarly, Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958 and Giraud 1961 read *çabışı* as *çab eşi*. According to the lexicon of Radloff 1899, *eş* means “companion”, *bilig eşi* means “the companion of wisdom” and *çab eşi* means “the companion of fame” (Radloff 1899: 89). Thus Radloff translated this sentence as “I, as the companion of his wisdom and the companion of his fame, loyally devoted to him” (Radloff interpreted the verb at the end of the sentence as *körtüm* < *kör-* “to look up to”, and Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 followed Radloff’s interpretation). Thomsen made a few changes and translated: “His companion in wisdom and his companion in fame are both me.” (Thomsen 1922: 163). Tekin 1968 for the first time interpreted these phrases as official titles and read them as *bilgesi çabışı*. Clauson 1972: 340 and Rybatzki 1997 also interpreted them as titles. Here I follow Tekin’s reading.

12 Aalto 1958 read this as *açuğay*; Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read it as *çoğay*. The Chinese transcription is 總材 (EMC: *təw̄y - dzaj*); the pronunciation of the first character in the Yuan dynasty was *tsuy*, suggesting that the first vowel was high (i.e. /u/) instead of low (i.e. /o/). We have another similar example, where the Chinese place-name 山東 (EMC: *ʃe:n-təw̄y*) is transcribed into Old Turkic as *şantuy*, the second vowel of which is also high.

8. kényik yéyü, tabışğan yéyü olurur ertimiz. bodun boğzı tok erti. yağımız tegre<sup>13</sup> uçuk teg erti; biz aŋ teg<sup>14</sup> ertimiz. ança olurur erkli oğuzdundan<sup>15</sup> küreg<sup>16</sup> kelti. 9. küreg sabı antağ: tokuz oğuz bodun üze kağan olurtı tér. tabğaçğaru kunı seŋütüğ idmiş; kitanğaru tonra simeğ<sup>17</sup> idmiş. sab ança idmiş: azkıña türk 10. yoriyur ermiş. kağanı alp ermiş; ayğucısı bilge ermiş. ol éki kişi bar erser sini tabğacığ ölüртеçi térmen, öñre kitanğ ölüртеçi térmen, bini<sup>18</sup> oğuzuğ 11. ölüртеçi-k<sup>19</sup> térmen. tabğaç, bérdin

- 13 Radloff 1899 and Malov 1951 read this as *teğire* < *teg*- “to reach, attack”. Radloff translated it as “... against the attack of our enemy, it was like yearning” (Radloff 1899: 5). Aalto 1958 read it as *teğüre* < *teg*-. However, Aalto understood *yağımız* as *yağ+ımız* “fat” instead of *yağı+ımız* “the enemy”, and thus he translated the sentence as “To touch our fat – it was like yearning” (Aalto 1958: 32). Thomsen translated this sentence as “Our enemies were around us like predatory birds” (Thomsen 1924: 163). The other scholars all interpreted this sentence in the same way as Thomsen. Here I also follow the reading of Thomsen.
- 14 Radloff 1899 read this as *beg*; Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Aalto 1958 read it as *biz seg*; Tekin 1968 read it as *aşığ*. Tekin 1995 interpreted this sentence in a different way: *yağımız tegre oçok teg erti, biz aş[t]eg ertimiz* “Our enemies were like a hearth around (us). We were like food (in a cooking pot)” (Tekin 1995: 213). Here there is an uncommon sign, which appears once on a Yenisei inscription. Thomsen transcribed this as *ŋ*<sup>1</sup> (Thomsen 1916: 60). Erdal found a similar sign on a Yar Khoto inscription, and transcribed it *aŋ* (Erdal 1993: 91–93). Giraud 1961 and Rybatzki 1997 also interpreted this sign as *aŋ*.
- 15 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Aalto 1958 read this as *oğuzdantan*; Giraud 1961 read it as *oğuzdantun*; Tekin 1968 read it as *oğuzduntan*; and Rybatzki 1997 read it as *oğuzduntun*. The first suffix is the orientational suffix *+dXn* (Erdal 2004: 181; “Ortsbezeichnung”, see Gabain 1974: § 70, 84). The second suffix is the ablative *+dAn* (Erdal 2004: 174; *+tIn* and *+tAn*, see Tekin 1968: 134, Gabain 1974: § 183). According to Erdal, the ablative suffix in runiform inscriptions always follows the phoneme /n/, so that its alveolar must be /d/. As to the vowel, Erdal said, it would have had to be explicitly spelled as *I* if the inscription had had the ablative suffix *+dIn*. Therefore, he transcribed this word as *oğuzdundan* (Erdal 2004: 174–5). Here, I follow the interpretation of Erdal.
- 16 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958 and Tekin 1968 read this as *körüg*; Giraud 1961 read it as *körig* “scout, spy”. Hamilton found the right form of this word: *küreg* “deserter, fugitive”, in the Uyğur manuscripts (Hamilton 1986: 20, 7). Hamilton’s reading has been widely accepted by scholars (Tekin 1995: 213, Berta 1995: 314–5, Rybatzki 1997: 47). Erdal interpreted *küreg* as a subject noun of *kür+e-* (Erdal 1991: 196, 422). However, K. Suzuki insisted that the word should be read as *körüg*, which was used in the inscription to celebrate Toñukuk’s military achievements (Suzuki 2008b: 80). Here I follow the reading of Hamilton.
- 17 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958 and Giraud 1961 read this as *semig*; Tekin 1968 read it as *esimig*. Geng suggested that *sime* could be the Chinese title 司馬 (EMC: *si-me:*) “adjutant”, which was a lower military rank than *señün* “general” (Geng 2005: 109). Here I follow the interpretation of Geng.
- 18 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read this as *bini*; Aalto 1958 and Rybatzki 1999 read it as *bizni*. The sign looks more like *n*<sup>2</sup> than *z*, if we compare it with the *n*<sup>2</sup> in line 11.
- 19 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *ölürteçi-ök*. The emphatic particle *ok/ök* drops its vowel if the word it is added to has a vowel coda (Erdal 2004: 125).

yen<sup>20</sup> teg! kıtañ, öñdün yen teg! ben yırđnta yan tegeyin. türk sir bodun yérinte idi yonmazun! usar idi yok kısılam 12. térmen. ol sabığ éşidip tün udısıkim kelmedi, küntüz olursukum kelmedi. anta ötrü kağanıma ötüntüm. ança ötüntüm: tabğaç, oğuz, kıtañ, bu üçegü<sup>21</sup> kabış[s]ar<sup>22</sup> 13. kaltaçı biz, öz içi<sup>23</sup> taşın tutmuş teg biz. yuyka erkli<sup>24</sup> topolğalı<sup>25</sup> uçuz ermiş; yınçge erklig üzgeli uçuz [ermiş]. yuyka kalın bolsar topolğuluk alp ermiş; yınçge 14. yoğun bolsar üzgölük alp ermiş. öñre kıtañda, bérye tabğaçda, kurıya kurdanda,<sup>26</sup> yırya oğuzda éki üç biñ sümüz kelteçimiz. bar mu ne?

- 20 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *beridenyen*. Radloff interpreted this as the ablative ending *+dan* plus the adverbial-affix *yan* “side” (Radloff 1899: 40). Giraud 1961 read it as *bérdiniyin*, regarding *+din* as an ablative suffix and *+yin* as a postpositional suffix (Giraud 1961: 80; *iyin* as postpositional phrase, see Gabain 1974: § 296). The theory of Gabain and Giraud has been refuted by Tekin (Tekin 1995: 213–4). In reality, *bérdin* embodies the orientational suffix *+dXn*, not the ablative *+dAn*. *Yen* is a postpositional phrase signifying “on the side of” (Erdal 2004: 335). Tekin 1968 and Rybatzki 1997 read this word correctly. This analysis also applies to the following *öñdün yen* and *yırđnta yan*.
- 21 Orkun 1936 read this as *bu üçügü*; Tekin 1968 read it as *buçegü*, a shorter form of *bu üçegü*.
- 22 Radloff 1899 and Malov 1951 read this as *kabışur*; Orkun 1936 and Giraud 1961 read it as *kabsar*; Aalto 1958 and Rybatzki 1997 read it as *kabısar*. Although the transcriptions differ from editor to editor, the meaning of the verb, either *kabış-*, *kabis-* or *kab-*, is clear: “to come together, unite”.
- 23 Radloff 1899 read this as *üzeci*; Orkun 1936 read it as *özeçi*; Giraud 1961 read it as *üzçi*; Aalto 1958 and Rybatzki 1997 read it as *özçe*. None of the above interpreters has managed to offer us a sound translation of this sentence. Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968, but I don’t agree with his translation. I understand *öz içi taşın tutmuş teg biz* as a comparative clause of *kaltaçı biz* rather than an independent sentence. About *-mİş teg* forming comparative clauses, see Erdal 2004: 469.
- 24 Radloff 1899 read this as *erklig*. He mistook the sign *I* for a *g*<sup>l</sup>. He translated the word as “free”. Thomsen 1916, Orkun 1935, Giraud 1961 and Rybatzki 1997 read it as *erikli*; Malov 1951 read it as *eriklig*; Aalto 1958 read it as *erkeli*. Gabain also read it as *erikli* (Gabain 1974: § 111). Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968, which has been supported by Erdal (Erdal 2004: 287–8). According to Tekin and Erdal, *erkli* is a participle of *er-* “to be”. The participle form is usually *-(X)gll*, but in runiform inscriptions the */g/* may be spelled with *k*<sup>2</sup> after */r/* to show that it is a stop in this position (Erdal 2004: 287, n. 477). The *erklig* in this line is in the accusative case (Erdal 2004: 288). This word first appears in line 8.
- 25 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read this as *toplağalı* < *topla-* “to fold up, bend”. Tezcan for the first time read it as < *topul-*, “to pierce” (Tezcan 1976: 175–8). In Clauson’s dictionary, the verb is spelled *tupul-* (Clauson 1972: 440). Tekin approved of Tezcan’s reading and disapproved of Clauson’s *tupul-* (Tekin 1995: 214). Erdal cited the word *(to)polgak* found in a manuscript and deduced the first vowel phoneme as */o/*, which is also documented in the *Codex Comanicus* and modern Turkish. Thus, he read the verb as *topol-* (Erdal 1991: 394). Here I follow the reading of Erdal. This discussion also applies to the *topolğuluk* in this line.
- 26 Aalto 1958, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read this as *kurıdnta*; Clauson 1971 read it as *kordanda*. Considering the historical context, *kurdan* here should refer to the On Ok people (i.e. the western Türks). Radloff understood this name solely as an ethnic name, referring to the people who lived in the west (Radloff 1899: 94). Some scholars interpreted *kur(i)*

ança ötüntüm. 15. kağanım ben özüm bilge toñukuk ötüntük ötünçümün éşidü bérti. köñlünçe uduz tédi. kök öñüg yoğuru ötügen yışğaru uduztum. ingek<sup>27</sup> kölökin<sup>28</sup> tuğlada<sup>29</sup> oğuz kelti. 16. süsi üç<sup>30</sup> bıñ ermiş; biz éki bıñ ertimiz. sünjüsdümüz. teñri yarlıkadı.<sup>31</sup> yañdıımız. ögüzke tüşdi. yañduk yolta yeme ölti kök. anta ötrü oğuz kopın<sup>32</sup>

- dn* as *kur(ı)* “west”+ *dn*, referring to “the western people/Türks” (Thomsen 1924: 164, Tekin 1968: 348). Following the reading of Tekin, G. Hazai pointed out that the expression *kurya kurıdında* actually refers to only the geography, and not to any concrete ethnical background (Hazai 1974). Clauson, inspired by H. W. Bailey, identified this place-name as Khotan (Clauson 1971: 127–8). For more discussion see Rybatzki 1997: 96. Li Yong-söng 2003 read it as *kurıdn*, and interpreted it as the same people of Kurikan (Li Yong-söng 2003: 235–6).
- 27 Aalto 1958, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read this as *inıgek*. According to Clauson, *ıngek* is a denominal noun from \**ın* (Clauson 1972: 184). On the denominal suffix +*gek*, see Gabain 1974: § 59.
- 28 Radloff 1899 read this as *ıngek-kölge*, but he mistook the second to last letter *g*<sup>2</sup> as a *k*<sup>2</sup> in his transliteration; Orkun 1936 and Giraud 1961 read it as *kölke*; Malov 1951 and Aalto 1958 read it as *kölükın*; Tekin 1968 read it as *kölükın*. Radloff and some other editors interpreted this phrase as a place-name. Thomsen translated it as “with cows and baggage animals” (Thomsen 1924: 164). According to Clauson, *kölük* is a deverbal noun from *köl-* “to harness” (Clauson 1972: 717). Erdal cites two examples of *kölök* that have been found in the Old Turkic texts, demonstrating that the second vowel of the lexeme should be /*ö*/ instead of /*ü*/. As to the meaning of *kölök*, he is inclined to agree to “cart” as suggested by Tekin, rather than “baggage animal” as suggested by Clauson. It seems that Erdal understood *ıngek kölökin* as a possessive composite phrase (with the +*i* after *kölök*) with the instrumental suffix +*n* (Erdal 1991: 238–9). Tekin understood the +*n* after *kölük* (*kölök*) as an instrumental suffix, while regarding *ıngek kölık* (*kölök*) as a composite phrase meaning “carts drawn by oxen” (Tekin 1968: 352). Clauson also understood the ending +*n* as an instrumental suffix, but he treated *ıngek* and *kölük* (*kölök*) as parallel words which he translated as “with the cattle and baggage animals”, which is the same as Thomsen’s translation (Clauson 1972: 184). Here I follow the interpretation of Erdal. But, as oxen are more often used for pulling heavy items, I prefer Tekin’s translation. Rybatzki also discussed this sentence from the perspective of syntax, questioning whether the subject is the Türk people or the Oğuz people are its subject (Rybatzki 1997: 99, n. 256).
- 29 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read this as *toğlada*. The Chinese transcription of this name is 獨樂 (EMC: *dəwk-lak*, Yuan: *tu'-lak*), indicating that the first vowel is probably /*u*/ rather than /*o*/.
- 30 Radloff 1899, Giraud 1961, Malov 1951 and Aalto 1958 read this as *altı*. It is hard to imagine that two thousand Türk troops could have defeated six thousand Oğuz troops.
- 31 Radloff 1899 and Malov 1951 read this as *yarlıkadı*; Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read it as *yarlıkkadı*. According to Clauson, *yarlıka-* is a crasis of \**yarlığka-*, which must be a denominal verb from *yarlığ* “a command from a superior to an inferior” with the suffix +*ka-* (Clauson 1972: 968, 966). Erdal 1979 regarded the difference between *yarlıka-* and *yarlığka-* as a matter of age (Erdal 1979, and Erdal 1991: 462–3).
- 32 Radloff 1899 read this as *ukupan*; Orkun 1936 and Giraud 1961 read it as *okın*. Tekin understood the +*n* as an instrumental suffix of *kop* (Tekin 1968: 137). However, according to Erdal, *oğuz kopın* is a possessive composite phrase (+*i* after *kop* “all” with an instrumental suffix +*n*) (Erdal 2004: 183).

kelti. 17. *türk kağanı*<sup>33</sup> türk bodunuğ ötüken yérke ben özüm bilge toñukuk ötüken yérig konmış téyin eşidip béryeki bodun, kuriyaki, yiryaki, öñreki bodun kelti.

East Side

(18) k<sup>2</sup>ib<sup>1</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : ... b<sup>1</sup>ltı : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : ... g<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>rg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ı : s<sup>1</sup>ntwñb<sup>1</sup>lk<sup>1</sup>ıA : t<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>2</sup>zk<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ıma : wt<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>p : s<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : (19) s<sup>1</sup>ntwñb<sup>1</sup>lk<sup>1</sup>ıA : t<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>2</sup>zk<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : wçwt<sup>1</sup>zb<sup>1</sup>lk<sup>1</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>1</sup>r : ws<sup>2</sup>m<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wnttw : y<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : ..... wn<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ı : y<sup>2</sup>g<sup>1</sup>mzr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : (20) ..... b<sup>1</sup>wltı : wl<sup>1</sup>wçk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wçg<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>p : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>1</sup>wza : k<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>mt<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : nçawçg<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : wñr<sup>2</sup>At<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : s<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>mt<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : ñr<sup>1</sup>ws<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>çn<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>b<sup>2</sup>zn<sup>2</sup>ı : (21) k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>pr<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>wçıs<sup>2</sup>ıb<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>Ar<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>çn<sup>1</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : wl<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çık<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : wçg<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>p : s<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>m : d<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : nçAt<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>ñb<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>mntAr<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : (22) t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ıma : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>nçw<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : wg<sup>1</sup>zıy<sup>2</sup>ıma : t<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>nçw<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ın<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>p : t<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ıma : wd<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>mk<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>mzr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>mzr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : ntAs<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ntm : (23) ..... t<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>w</sup>wçg<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ı : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wms<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>p : b<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>mçt<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>çıt<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : çwl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ıZR<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : (24) ... t<sup>2</sup>m : zy<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>y<sup>1</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ıb<sup>2</sup>ıR ... r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ıR<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>w</sup>ı : r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : ñr<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>p : b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : wñç<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ntm : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ıma :

18. éki bıñ ertimiz. *éki sümüz*<sup>34</sup> boltı. türk bodun *kulñalı*,<sup>35</sup> türk kağan olurğalı şantıñ balık[k]a, taluy ögüzke tegmiş yok ermiş. kağanıma ötüñüp sületdim.<sup>36</sup> 19. şantıñ balık[k]a, taluy ögüzke tegürtüm. üç otuz balık sıdı. usın buntatu yurtda yatu kalur erti. *tabğaç kağan yağımız erti*; on ok kağanı yağımız erti. 20. *artuk kırkız küçlüğ kağan yağımız*<sup>37</sup> boltı. ol üç kağan ögleşip altun yış üze kabışalım témiş. ança ögleşmiş: öñre türk kağanğaru sülelim témiş. anğaru sülemeser kaçan neñ erser,<sup>38</sup> ol

33 Radloff 1899 and Malov 1951 read this as *kelürtim ök*; Orkun 1936 read it as ...; Giraud 1961 read it as *kelürtim özüm*; Aalto 1958 and Rybatzki 1997 read it as *tün....* Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968.

34 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Aalto 1958, Giraud 1961 and Rybatzki 1997 read this as ...; Malov 1951 read it as *biz eki sü*. Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968.

35 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *olurğalı*; Aalto 1958 read it as *kazurğalı*. Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968.

36 The reading of Aalto 1958, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 as *sü éltđim* “I led the army”, is also possible. See Erdal 1991: 786 and Rybatzki 1997: 52 note 138, where he also discusses whether an accusative suffix *-g* after *sü* is needed, if we read it as *sü éltđim*.

37 Radloff 1899 read this as .....; Orkun 1936 read it as ... *küç....* It is Thomsen who for the first time offered us a complete reading of this sentence, and his interpretation was followed by the subsequent editors (Thomsen 1916: 9).

38 Radloff 1899, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958, Tezcan 1976 and Rybatzki 1997 read this as *kaç neñ erser*; Orkun 1936 read it as *kaçun erser*; Giraud 1961 read it as *kaçan ejırser*. There is a similar phrase in the next line, where it is spelled with a “back” *n*. Tekin took this “back” *n* as evidence that the phrase should be transcribed as *kaçan [n]eñ* (Tekin 1995: 216). Erdal is inclined to read it as *kaçaney*, a contraction of *kaçan neñ*. He explained the

bizni, 21. *kağanu alp ermiş*,<sup>39</sup> ayğuşısı bilge ermiş, kaçan nañ erser ölürtçi kök. üçegün kabışıp sülelim, idi<sup>40</sup> yok kısılam temiş. türğiş kağan ança temiş: benir bodunum anta erür temiş. 22. *türk bodun yeme bulğanç*<sup>41</sup> *ol temiş*; oğuzı yeme tarkınç<sup>42</sup> *ol temiş*. ol sabın eşidip tün yeme udısıkm kelmez erti, [kün yeme] olursukum kelmez erti. anta sakıntım.<sup>43</sup> 23. *ilk kirkızka süleser yég ermiş*<sup>44</sup> tédim. kögmen yolu bir ermiş. tumış téyin eşidip bu yolun yorisar yaramaçı tédim. yérçi tiledim. çölgi<sup>45</sup> az eri bultum.

variation of  $n^1$  and  $n^2$  as the outcome of its position between a back and a front vowel (Erdal 2004: 216).

- 39 Radloff 1899 read this as ... According to the translation of Thomsen, it should be *kağanu alp ermiş*, and this view has been followed by the subsequent editors (Thomsen 1924: 165).
- 40 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *anu*. It is Tekin who for the first time read this word correctly. Here, *idi* is used to intensify the negative, while the object (Türk kağan and his people) has been omitted. The other reading *anu*, accusative form of *ol*, is regarded as the object in the sentence by editors.
- 41 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936 and Giraud 1961 read this as *bulğak*. Clauson held *bulğanç* to be parallel to *tarkınç* in the text below. The form *bulğanç* is a hapax legomenon, and the right reading is probably *bulğak* (Clauson 1972: 336). The form *bulğak* also appears in K. N. 4 and B. E. 30.
- 42 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958 and Giraud 1961 read this as *tarkanç*. It was Tekin who for the first time read this word correctly, but he translated it as “offended, displeased” (Tekin 1968: 376). As to the etymology of *tarkınç*, Clauson suggested that it could come from *tarkin-*, which is the reflective form of *tark-*, a denominal verb from *tar* “narrow” (Clauson 1972: 540, 528). Erdal refuted this etymology and analyzed it in a new way: *tarkınç* comes from *tar-ık-* < *tar-* “to disperse” with the deverbal nominal suffix *-(X)nç* (Erdal 1991: 278). I follow the reading and translation “prone to dissolution” suggested by Erdal.
- 43 Radloff 1899 transliterated this as *s<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ndm(a)*, but transcribed it as *sakıntım*; Aalto 1958, Giraud 1961, Tekin 1968 and Rybatzki 1997 read it as *sakıntuma*. If Tekin’s reading of the following sentence is acceptable, *sakıntım* in this place is correct.
- 44 Radloff 1899 and Orkun 1936 read this as ..... *sü* .....; Malov 1951 read it as ... *sülelim* ...; Giraud 1961 read it as (*anta ötrü kağanum*)*a sü (yorutayın)*; Aalto 1958 and Rybatzki 1997 read it as ..... *a : sü* ... *r* ... Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968.
- 45 Radloff 1899 suggested that this should be read *çölgi* < *çöl* “desert, steppe”, and this has been accepted by most subsequent editors. Thomsen 1924 translated it as “distant”. Aalto 1958 transcribed it as *çüliüg* and translated it as “strange”. Giraud 1961 accepted the etymological root *çöl* suggested by Radloff, but he transcribed it as *çöllig*. Moreover, he interpreted the following phrase completely differently: *iz eri* “man who knows the tracks of the desert”, which has however been refuted by Tekin (Tekin 1995: 216). Clauson criticized the suggested translations of “distant” and “strange” as hypothetical and regarded *çölgi* as a place-name (Clauson 1972: 420). Rybatzki also interpreted this word as a place-name, but he transcribed it as *çölüg*, regarding the *l* after the *g*<sup>2</sup> as a mistake for *A*, which together with the following sign *z* makes the word *az*. Rybatzki interpreted *çöl[l]üg* as the place-name *çöl* with the suffix *+lüg* denoting the people from that place. As to the location of the place *çöl*, Rybatzki identified it with place-names found in Mongolian documents, which share the same form *çöl*, and localized it in western Mongolia. He offered still another possible location in eastern Iran, because there is also a similar-sounding

24. *éşidtim*:<sup>46</sup> az *yér yakını bir ...*<sup>47</sup> ermiş. bir at orukı<sup>48</sup> ermiş. anın barmış. anjar aytıp<sup>49</sup> bir athğ barmış téyin ol yolun yorisar unç tédim. sakıntım. kağanıma

North Side

(25) *w̄t<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m* : *s<sup>2</sup>w̄y<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>m* : *t<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m* : *k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ml<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>çA* : *wg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>m* : *t<sup>1</sup>w̄ZA* : *b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>Ak<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>* : *s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m* : *y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w<sup>1</sup></sup>r<sup>1</sup>w* : *t<sup>1</sup>y<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>Ay<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>* : *ıg<sup>1</sup>ç<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>w* : *g<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m* : *w̄ñr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>* : (26) *y<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>çA* : ... *ıb<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>lk* : *s<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mz* : *y<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>w* : *m<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz* : *wn<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>w̄n<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A* : *y<sup>1</sup>ntk<sup>1</sup>* : *t<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>w̄* : *b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mz* : *y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>çı* : *y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>y<sup>1</sup>ñl<sup>1</sup>p* : *b<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>z<sup>1</sup>ntı* : *b<sup>1</sup>wñd<sup>1</sup>p* : *k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>* : *y<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>w̄k<sup>w̄</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>* : (27) *n<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>1</sup>...* *w<sup>1</sup>ısb<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>* : *b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mz* : *s<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>* : *t<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz* : *t<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>* : *ık<sup>1</sup>A* : *b<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz* : *k<sup>w̄</sup>w̄n<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>mA* : *t<sup>2</sup>w̄n<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>mA* : *y<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>w̄* : *b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mz* : *k<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>z<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>* : *wk<sup>1</sup>Ab<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mz* : (28) ... *s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñg<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>* : *çd<sup>1</sup>mz* : *k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>* : *s<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>ı* : *t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>* : *s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñs<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz* : *s<sup>1</sup>nçd<sup>1</sup>mz* : *k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup>* : *w̄l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz* : *k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A* : *k<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>z* : *b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>* : *ıçk<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı* : *y<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı* : *y<sup>1</sup>ntmz* : *k<sup>w̄</sup>w̄g<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup>y<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>* : *b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄* : *k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz* : (29) *k<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>z<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A* : *y<sup>1</sup>ntmz* : *t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ntA* : *k<sup>w̄</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı* : *s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ımtg<sup>2</sup>* : *w̄ñd<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w* : *s̄w̄y<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup>mt<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>* : *y<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup>* : *b<sup>2</sup>ızn<sup>2</sup>ı* : *k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup>pr<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>* : *y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>wçırsı* : *b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>Ar<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>:k<sup>1</sup>ç<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>* : (30) *b<sup>2</sup>ızn<sup>2</sup>ı:w̄l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çık<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup>:t<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>:t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ı:t<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>2</sup>ı* : *wn<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>* : *k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>z<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>* : *t<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>* : *t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çs<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>ı* : *b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>* : *w<sup>1</sup>ısb<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>sd<sup>2</sup>p* : *k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m* : *b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄* : *t<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>2</sup>* : (31) *k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>* : *y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı* : *n<sup>1</sup>ıy<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı* : *s<sup>2</sup>w̄b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ñ* : *t<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı* : *l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A* : *w<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>1</sup>ñt<sup>2</sup>dı* : *s<sup>2</sup>w̄b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>* : *m<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>* : *t<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ws<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>* : *b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>zwn<sup>2</sup>* : *t<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı* : *b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>At<sup>1</sup>wñk<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>A* : *b<sup>1</sup>ñAy<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ı* : (32) *b<sup>1</sup>ws<sup>2</sup>w̄g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>* : *t<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>2</sup>ı* : *k<sup>1</sup>ıy<sup>1</sup>n<sup>2</sup>g<sup>1</sup>* : *k<sup>w̄</sup>w̄ñl<sup>2</sup>ñçAy<sup>1</sup>* : *b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>sñAn<sup>2</sup>Ay<sup>1</sup>ım<sup>2</sup>:t<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>2</sup>ı:k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>:k<sup>w̄</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>:k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>mzr<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>:t<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>:l<sup>1</sup>rwl<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>:t<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>2</sup>ı:l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A:w<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>mz* : (33) *w̄çk<sup>w̄</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>:k<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı:s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ı:b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>:k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>w̄t<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ı* : *wn<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>s<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>ı:k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>z:t<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>:y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>zıd<sup>1</sup>A:t<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>mt<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>:w<sup>1</sup>ısb<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>sd<sup>2</sup>p:k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w* : *w<sup>1</sup>ısb<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m* : *k<sup>1</sup>ınty<sup>1</sup>n<sup>2</sup>* : *s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>* : *y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>A* : (34) *k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı* : *w<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>1</sup>ñt<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>* : *t<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>* : *y<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>mA* : *k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>w* : *d<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w̄t<sup>2</sup>ı* : *w<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>* : *b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>mat<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>* : *b<sup>2</sup>w̄g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>* : *b<sup>1</sup>ñr<sup>1</sup>w* : *nçAy<sup>1</sup>ıd<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>* : *pat<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w* : *ıçr<sup>2</sup>As<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>:ıd<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>:b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>At<sup>1</sup>wñk<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>:ñıg<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>:w̄zw<sup>1</sup>...* (35) *s<sup>2</sup>w̄y<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup>mt<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>çı* : *wn<sup>1</sup>Amñ* :

place name (*çöl*) in that area. The etymology of *çöl* “desert” was denied by Rybatzki, who also doubted the rightness of the translation “steppe” (Rybatzki 1997: 105).

46 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *özüm* “myself”. It is Aalto who for the first time read this word correctly as *eşitim*, which has been accepted by Tekin 1968 and Rybatzki 1997. Here I also follow the reading of Aalto 1958, but transcribe the word as *éşidtim* < *éşid-* “to hear”.

47 Radloff 1899 and Orkun 1936 read this as ... *ermiş*; Malov 1951 read it as *yirim anı bil ... ermiş*; Giraud 1961 read it as ... *nı b ... ermiş*; Aalto 1958 read it as *yakını bir ... t ermiş*; Rybatzki 1997 read it as *yakını bir ... ermiş*; Tekin 1968 read it as *y(olı?) anı b(ırlı?)...*. Here I follow the reading of Aalto 1958.

48 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *turuku* “standpoint”. It is Aalto who for the first time read this word correctly as *at orukı*, a reading which was accepted by the later editors.

49 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *yatıp* < *yat-* “to lie down”. Aalto suggested it be read as *aytıp* < *ayıt-* “to ask”. Aalto’s reading has been accepted by the later editors. Here I also follow the reading of Aalto 1958.

wl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>p : s<sup>2</sup>wy<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>m : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>zn<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>m : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>2</sup>zg<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>çg<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>zn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>çd<sup>2</sup>mz : t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mz : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>çwk<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>ñw<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz

25. ötüntüm. sü yoritdim. atlat tédim.<sup>50</sup> ak termel<sup>51</sup> keçe uğur kalıtdım.<sup>52</sup> at üze bintüre<sup>53</sup> kanğ sökdüm. yokaru at yéte yadağın içaç tutunu ağırturtum. öñreki er 26. yoğurça tegürüp<sup>54</sup> ı barlık<sup>55</sup> aşdımız. yubulu<sup>56</sup> éntimiz. on tünke yantakı

- 50 Aalto 1958 read this as *atlatun tidim*; Giraud 1961 read it as *at alt(urt)ım*; Tekin 1968 read it as *tal atın*. Tekin acknowledged that his earlier reading was mistaken and agreed to *atlat tédim*, translating it as “I said: ‘Have [the men] mounted on the horses.’” (Tekin 1995: 216). Similarly, Rybatzki interpreted this word as a causative verb (with the suffix *-t*) from *atla* “to ride” (Rybatzki 1997: 57).
- 51 Tekin 1968 read this as *termil*. As to the location of this river, Clauson suggested that it is between the Hanghai and Tannu Ola ranges (Clauson 1971: 129).
- 52 Radloff 1899 and Orkun 1936 read this as *oğuz aklatdım*; Malov 1951 read it as *oğraklatdım*; Aalto 1958 read it as *oğur kalıtdım*; Giraud 1961 read it as *oğuz kalatdım*; Tekin 1968 read it as *oğurkalatdım*; Clauson 1971 read it as *uğraklatdım* “I chose a suitable moment”. From the historical context we know that this campaign against the Kırkız had nothing to do with the Oğuz, who had already been conquered by the Türks. So the reading of *oğuz* here is absolutely wrong. Tekin proposed a new interpretation of this phrase as *uğur kalıtdım* “I gained time” (Tekin 1995: 217). Rybatzki 1997 accepted the transcription of Tekin 1995 but translated it in a way similar to Clauson. Here, I follow the reading of Tekin 1995.
- 53 Radloff 1899 read this as *yüzre*. Thomsen read it as *bintüre* (Thomsen 1916: 75), which has been accepted by most of the later editors except Giraud 1961, who read it as *ben tere*.
- 54 Radloff 1899 read this as *yoğarça ıdıp*. The first verb is *yoğur-*, which can be also found in T. 15. Here *-ça* is a converb form, meaning “as soon as” (Gabain 1974: § 223). Our concern here is the second verb. Thomsen read it differently: *yoğurça tegürüp* or *yoğurçı tegürüp* < *teğür-* “to cause sb. to reach” (Thomsen 1916: 82). The later editors all accepted Thomsen’s reading, so Orkun 1936 read it as *yoğurça tegürüp*, Malov 1951 as *yuğuru tegürüp*, Aalto 1958 as *yuğurça tegürüp*, except for Giraud 1961 who read it as *yoğurça ...* and Tekin 1968 who read it as *yoğurça ıdıp*, which is closer to Radloff’s reading. Tekin made a small adjustment to his earlier reading, from *yoğurça* to *yuğurça*, and translated the clause *öñreki er yuğurça ıdıp* as “sending the vanguard forward as if kneading the snow” (Tekin 1995: 217). Clauson read it as *yoğaruça tegürüp*, where meaning of the first word is similar to Radloff’s, meaning “upwards” (Clauson 1972: 906). Rybatzki offered an alternative to the earlier readings: *yoğurça tegirip* < *tegir-* “to cross” (Rybatzki 1997: 58). \**tegir-* is, however, known mainly through its converb *tegre* “around” (Clauson 1972: 486, Erdal 1991: 537). Here, I follow the reading of Thomsen.
- 55 Radloff 1899 read this as *ıbarık*; Orkun 1936 read it as *ıbar*; Giraud 1961 read it as *ı barça*; Malov 1951 and Tekin 1968 read it as *ı bar baş*; Aalto 1958 read it as *ıbarlık*. The sign after *r<sup>1</sup>* is questionable. W. Bang suggested that it be read as *baş* (Bang 1917: 288–9). Malov and Tekin accepted Bang’s reading, and interpreted it as *ı bar baş* “the wooded peak” (Malov 1951: 67, Tekin 1995: 217). On the other hand, Aalto, following a suggestion of Ramstedt, read it as *lık* (Aalto 1958: 55). Aalto’s reading was accepted by Clauson and Rybatzki, who interpreted *barlık* as a place-name (Clauson 1971: 129, Rybatzki 1997: 33–4). Giraud offered a third possibility: *ça*, and interpreted *barça* as an adverb from *bar*, meaning “entirely” (Giraud 1961: 98). Here, I follow the interpretation of Clauson.
- 56 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958 and Giraud 1961 read this as *yobalu* < *yobal-* “to struggle” (Radloff 1899: 97). It is Tekin who for the first time read this word

toğ<sup>57</sup> ebirü<sup>58</sup> bardımız. yérçi yér yañılıp boğuzlantı. buñadıp kağan yelü kör témiş. 27. anı subka<sup>59</sup> *bardımız*.<sup>60</sup> ol sub kodı bardımız. aşıñğalı<sup>61</sup> tüşürtümüz. atığ ıka bayur ertimiz. kün yeme tün yeme yelü bardımız. kırkızığ uka basdımız. 28. *usin*<sup>62</sup> süñügün açdımız. kanı süsi térilmiş. süñüşdümüz. sançdımız. kanın ölürtümüz. kağanka kırkız bodumı içikdi, yükünti. yantımız. kögmen yışığ ebirü keltimiz. 29. kırkızda yantımız. türğış kağanta küreg kelti. sabı antağ<sup>63</sup> öñdüñ kağanğaru sü yorılım témiş. yorımasar bizni, kağanı alp ermiş, ayğucısı bilge ermiş, kaçan neñ erser, 30. bizni ölüртеçi kök témiş. türğış kağanı taşıkmiş tédi. on ok bodumı kalısız taşıkmiş tér. tabğaç süsi bar ermiş. ol sabığ eşidip kağanım ben ebgerü<sup>64</sup> tüşeyin tédi. 31. katun yok bolmış erti, anı yoğlatayın tédi. sü barıñ tédi. altun yışda oluruñ tédi. sü başı inel kağan, tarduş şad barzun tédi. bilge toñukuk[k]a barıa aydı: 32. bu süğ élt tédi. kıyıñğ köñlüñçe ay. ben saña ne ayayın tédi: kelir erser körü kelür,<sup>65</sup> kelmez erser tılığ sabığ alı oluruñ tédi. altun

correctly as *yubulu* < *yubul*- “to roll” (Tekin 1968: 407, Clauson 1972: 877). Here I follow the reading of Tekin.

- 57 Radloff 1899, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read this as *tuğ* “obstacle”. According to Clauson, it should be read as *toğ* < *to*- “to block” (Clauson 1972: 463). Here I follow the reading of Clauson.
- 58 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936 and Giraud 1961 read this as *berü* “on the side of” (Radloff 1899: 102). Malov first read it correctly as *ebirü* < *ebir*- “to turn”. Here I follow the reading of Malov 1951 and the flexible translation “to skirt” by Clauson (Clauson 1972: 14).
- 59 Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *sub*(*uğ*). Here I follow the reading of Radloff 1899, which has been accepted by Aalto 1958, Tekin 1968 and Rybatzki 1997.
- 60 Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *baralum*; Aalto 1958 read it as *bar* ...; Giraud 1961 read it as *ba(sa)lum*; Rybatzki 1997 read it as.... Here I follow the reading of Radloff 1899, which has been accepted by Tekin.
- 61 Radloff 1899 read this as *aşıñğalı* < *aşın*- “to cross over”. Thomsen interpreted it as: *sanağalı* < *sana*- “to count” (Thomsen 1916: 87). Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Giraud 1961 and Rybatzki 1997 followed the reading of Thomsen. Aalto 1958 transcribed it as *asinğalı* < *asin*- “to cook” (Aalto 1958: 56). Tekin 1968 read it as *aşanğalı* < *aşan*- “to be fed”. Clauson also suggested it be read as *aşanğalı* “to eat”, though he accepted the interpretation of Aalto (Clauson 1972: 248). Tekin later interpreted this word as a gerund form of the verb *asın*- “to climb up, ascend” (Tekin 1995: 218). At such a critical moment, eating, cooking or counting were less urgent things. Trifles such as eating and cooking were not the priority for a military commander like Toñukuk, as he narrated his lightening attack on the enemy. Here I follow the reading of Radloff 1899.
- 62 Radloff 1899, Aalto 1958 and Rybatzki 1997 read this as ... *nu*; Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read it as ...; Giraud 1961 read it as *u*. Here I follow Tekin’s interpretation (Tekin 1968, and Tekin 1995: 218).
- 63 Radloff 1899 read this as *kentintek*; Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read it as *anteg*. The last letter *g*<sup>2</sup> is a writing error, it should be *g*<sup>1</sup>.
- 64 Radloff 1899 transcribed this as *begrü* < *beg* “officials” and translated it as “I will leave my officials”. Thomsen transcribed it as *ebgerü* < *eb* “home” and translated it as “I will go home” (Thomsen 1924: 167). Thomsen’s reading was accepted by the later editors. Here I also follow the reading of Thomsen.
- 65 Radloff 1899 read this as *küg ökülür*; Orkun 1936 read it as *kög ökülür*; Malov 1951 read it as *kü er ökülür*; Tekin 1968 read it as *kör ökülür*. Aalto transcribed it as *körü kelür* and

yışda olurtumuz. 33. üç küreg kişi<sup>66</sup> kelti. sabı bir: kağanı sü taşıkdı. on ok süsi kalısız taşıkdı tér. yarış yazıda térilelim témiş. ol sabığ eşidip kağanğaru ol sabığ ıt[d]ım. kanta yan<sup>67</sup> sabığ yana 34. kelti: oluruñ téyin témiş. yelme<sup>68</sup> karğı<sup>69</sup> edğüti urğıl basıtma témiş. böğü<sup>70</sup> kağan banjaru ança yıdımış,<sup>71</sup> apa tarkanğaru içre sab ıdımış; bilge toñu-kuk añığ ol, üz<sup>72</sup> ol ...<sup>73</sup> 35. sü yorlım tédeçi, unamañ. ol sabığ eşidip sü yoritdım. altun yışığ yolsuzun aşdım;<sup>74</sup> ertış öğüzüg keçıgsızın keçdimiz. tün akıtdımız.<sup>75</sup> bolçuka tañ üntürü tegdimiz.

translated it as “let a scout come” (Aalto 1958: 41). Rybatzki followed Aalto’s reading but translated it in a different way: “Be careful” (Rybatzki 1997: 110). Tekin accepted Aalto’s reading but interpreted it differently: “they come by being seen” (Tekin 1995: 219). I also follow Aalto’s reading, and offer an alternative to previous translations such as “watch out and bring [the news to me]”. I take *körü kelür* as a parallel to *tulıǵ sabıǵ alı olur*, except that the object of the former has been omitted. On *kelür*- “to bring”, see Gabain 1974: § 161, and Clauson 1972: 719. The following sentence *kanta yan sabıǵ yana kelti*, which was regarded by Tekin as agrammatical (Tekin 1995: 219), can be explained, if we take *kel-* as having a causative meaning.

- 66 Aalto 1958 and Alyılmaz 2000 read this as \**yıy* “one after another”.
- 67 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958 and Giraud 1961 read this as *kantayın*. Here *yan* is a postpositional phrase signifying “on the side of”.
- 68 Radloff 1899 and many other editors interpreted *yelme* as the negative of the verb *yel-* “to rot a horse”. *Yelme* is actually a deverbal (< *yel-*) form with suffix *-me*, meaning “reconnoitering patrol” (Clauson 1972: 929). Tekin translated the word as “advanced columns, vanguard; campaign, expedition” (Tekin 1968: 400). It is Orkun who for the first time understood this word correctly as *muhafızlar* “guardians”, probably influenced by Thomsen’s translation, “guard” (Thomsen 1924: 167).
- 69 Radloff 1899 and Malov 1951 read this as *karǵı* < *karǵı*- “to fight” (Radloff 1899: 93). It is Orkun who for the first time read this word correctly as *karǵı* and translated it as *ateş kuleleri* “beacon towers” (Orkun 1936: 112).
- 70 Orkun 1936 and Giraud 1961 read this as *böğ*; Malov 1951 read it as *bög(ü?)*; Rybatzki 1997 read it as *büğü*. The Chinese transcription of this title in EMC is: *mək-giä*, indicating that the two vowels should be different.
- 71 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *ayıdımış* < *ayıd-* “to let somebody speak” (Radloff 1899: 86). Aalto 1958 for the first time read this word correctly as *yıdımış* < *yıd-* “to send”.
- 72 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *öz* “self”. Tekin 1968 transcribed it as *üz* and translated it as “evil-minded”. Aalto 1958 mistook the sign *z* for *n*<sup>2</sup> and transcribed it as *ön*. Rybatzki transcribed the word as *öz* but translated it as “bad, evil” (Rybatzki 1997: 62, 112). Here I follow the reading of Tekin.
- 73 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *añlar* < *añla-* “to understand”. Radloff interpreted *öz ol añlar* as “he understands himself”. But actually *ol* in this sentence is a verb meaning “to become” rather than the pronoun “he”.
- 74 Tekin 1968 read this as *aşdmız*; Rybatzki 1997 transliterated it as *şdmz*, but transcribed it as *aşdm*.
- 75 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *katdımız* < *kat-* “to enclose”. Radloff translated it as “we continued marching in the night” (Radloff 1899: 18). Aalto 1958 for the first time transcribed it as *akutdımız* but astonishingly translated it as “we dried”. Tekin read it as *akutdımız* and translated it as “we made [the army] march”

Stone II

West Side

(36) t<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>mtg<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>zid<sup>1</sup>A : wn<sup>t</sup>2w<sup>mn</sup>2 : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>t</sup>2r<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>p : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wp : (37) y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>m : r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>y<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>n<sup>c</sup>at<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>at<sup>1</sup>w<sup>n</sup>k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>ak<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>g</sup>2z<sup>g</sup>2 : (38) k<sup>2</sup>çak<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>1</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>pt<sup>2</sup>id<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>nr<sup>2</sup>iwmy<sup>1</sup> : id<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>ab<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>n<sup>c</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>at<sup>2</sup>zr<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>iz : (39) k<sup>w</sup>ws<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>iz : zt<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>ab<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>mt<sup>2</sup>id<sup>2</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : y<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>id<sup>1</sup>mz : k<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>wn<sup>2</sup> : (40) w<sup>r</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çak<sup>1</sup>izpk<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>n</sup>js<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : b<sup>2</sup>izn<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>iwç<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>nr<sup>1</sup>çA : r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>nr<sup>2</sup>iy<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>d</sup>l<sup>k</sup>w<sup>w</sup>çn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>ws<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : (41) k<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup>mz : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>n</sup>js<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : t<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ws<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>A : wd<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mz : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mz : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ws<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : (42) n<sup>t</sup>Aw<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>çar<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mz : w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>n</sup>2 : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : it<sup>1</sup>mz : w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>p : wn<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wp : (43) k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>w<sup>k</sup>w<sup>n</sup>2t<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ma : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : it<sup>2</sup>p : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>p : zçA : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>zms<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : wn<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>s</sup>2m<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : (44) b<sup>2</sup>izy<sup>2</sup>ma : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : n<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>c</sup>w<sup>g</sup>2z<sup>g</sup>2 : k<sup>2</sup>çA : t<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>iwg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ma : b<sup>2</sup>nr<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup> :

36. tılığ kelürti. sabı antağ: yarış yazıda on tümen sü térliti tér. ol sabığ eşidip begler kop<sup>76</sup> 37. yanalım, arığ ubutu<sup>77</sup> yég tédi. ben ança térmén: ben bilge toñukuk. altun yışığ aşa keltimiz; ertış öğüzüg 38. keçe keltimiz. kelmiş alp<sup>78</sup> tédi, tuymadı. teñri

(Tekin 1968: 288). Clauson also read it as *akitdmuz* but translated it as “we sent out a raiding party” (Clauson 1972: 81). Rybatzki also transcribed it as *akitdmuz* but translated it as “we came out” (Rybatzki 1997: 113 note 293). Here I follow the interpretation of Clauson. This word also appears in K. N. 8.

76 Radloff 1899 transliterated this as *k<sup>w</sup>wpn<sup>1</sup>*, but transcribed it as *ukup*. Orkun 1936, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read it as *kopun*; Malov 1951 read it as *kopan*. First, it is really difficult to recognize the sign *n<sup>1</sup>* after *p*. Second, the word *kopin* appears once in line 16, but the *n* there is an *n<sup>2</sup>* rather than an *n<sup>1</sup>*. Even if there is an *n<sup>1</sup>* after the *p*, there are still two different readings among editors: *kopin* and *kopan*. According to Gabain, *ko-pan*, just like *ko-p*, is a converb form of \**ko-*, which is also the root of *kod-* “to put down” (Gabain 1974: § 302, 303). As to *kopin*, please see Erdal 2004: 183. However, as suggested by Erdal, if it is an *n<sup>1</sup>*, the word should be read as *kopun*, with the instrumental suffix +(*X*)*n* added to *kop+* (Erdal 2004: 183 note 318). Here I cannot recognize any sign after *p*, so I read it *kop*. Alyılmaz also read it as *kop* (Alyılmaz 2000: 108–109).

77 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *obuti* (*obut+i* “shame”). Giraud 1961 read it as *ubatu*. Tekin 1968 understood it wrongly, reading *arığu batu* and translating it as “to become tired”. In Tekin 1995 he corrected his earlier reading to *arığ ubutu*, and translated it as “the shame of a retreated army”, which is close to the interpretations of Radloff 1899, Thomsen 1924 and Aalto 1958 (Tekin 1995: 220). Here I follow the interpretation of Tekin 1995.

78 Editors have interpreted this sentence differently. There are two basic meanings of *alp*: “brave” and “difficult”. Radloff 1899, Thomsen 1924, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Rybatzki 1997 translated *alp* here as “brave”, but they had different opinions on who the subject of the sentence was. Radloff translated it as: ... but they (the officials who suggested the retreat) said “those of you who have arrived here are brave.” [But I said:] “They (the enemies) were not aware (and it is a sign that) God ...” Thomsen translated: “Someone said [the enemies] who have arrived are brave; but they (the enemies) did not notice us.” Rybatzki translated: “They (the referent of *they* is unclear, it could be some person,

umay, ıduk yér sub basa bérti erinç. neke tezer biz? 39. üküş téyin neke korkur biz? az téyin ne basınalım? tegelim tédim. tegdimiz, yuhıdımız. ékinti kün<sup>79</sup> 40. örtçe kızıp kelti. süñüşdümüz. bizinte éki uçı sıñarça artuk erti. tenrı yarlıkaduk üçün üküş téyin<sup>80</sup> 41. korkmadımız. süñüşdümüz. tarduş şad ara udı<sup>81</sup> yañdıımız. kağanın tutdumuz. yabğusun şadın 42. anta ölürti. eligçe er tutdumuz. ol ok tün bodunun sayu it[d]ımız. ol sabığ eşidip on ok begleri bodunı kop 43. kelti, yükünti. keligme beglerin bodunun étip yığıp<sup>82</sup> azça<sup>83</sup> bodun tezmiş erti. on ok süsin sületdim. 44. biz yeme süledimiz. anı ert[t]imiz. yinçü ögüzüg keçe ténsi<sup>84</sup> oğlı aytığma<sup>85</sup> beñilig ek<sup>86</sup> tağğ erti

or the enemies or God) said, the arrival [of the army] was brave. [And you (the officials who suggested retreating)] have not noticed [all of them].” In contrast, Aalto 1958, Giraud 1961, Tekin 1968 and Clauson 1972 translated *alp* here as “difficult” and they also had different ideas on who the subject of the sentence was. Aalto translated it as: “Someone said the arrival was difficult. They have not noticed us.” (Aalto 1958: 43). Tekin translated it as: “Those who have come [with us] said that it is difficult [to go forward]. But they did not suffer [these difficulties so much].” Clauson’s translation is similar to Aalto’s: They said “it would be difficult for them to approach” and did not notice us (Clauson 1972: 567). Here I follow the interpretation of Aalto 1958 and Clauson 1972.

- 79 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936 and Giraud 1961 read this as *üküş kelti*; Malov 1951 read it as *kün kelti*. Radloff 1899 transcribed it as *öküş kelti*; he translated *ékinti öküş* as “the second time”. Radloff’s reading was accepted by a few of the subsequent editors. Aalto 1958 for the first time read it correctly as *kün*<sup>2</sup> and translated *ékinti kün* as “on the following day”.
- 80 After *téyin*, Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 added *biz*.
- 81 As to *şad ara*, Aalto 1958, Tekin 1968 and Rybatzki 1997 transcribed it as *şadra. udt*, while Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 transcribed it as *badı*. They mistook the first sign as a *b<sup>l</sup>*. Aalto 1958 and Rybatzki 1997 translated it as “following Tarduş Şad ...”. Tekin 1968, similarly, translated it as “pursuing them towards the Şad of the Tarduş”. I understand *ara* as “among”, which also appears in T. 54 as *türk bodun ara* “among the Türk people”. Thus I translate: “We chased [the enemy] among [the army of] Tarduş Şad, and we routed [the enemy].”
- 82 Radloff 1899 read this as *yazıka*. Thomsen 1916 corrected Radloff’s reading and transcribed it as *yığıp*, which has been followed by the later editors except for Aalto 1958, who transcribed it as *yığa*. Here *yığıp* < *yığ-* “to collect”, is in parallel with *étip* < *ét-* “to organize”.
- 83 Radloff 1899 read this as *tegi*. Thomsen 1916 denied Radloff’s reading and suggested it be read as *azça*, which has been accepted by the later editors except for Aalto 1958, who transliterated it as *zd<sup>2</sup>A* but transcribed it as *ezçe*.
- 84 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *tinesi*; Aalto 1958 and Rybatzki 1997 read it as *tensi*; Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read it as *tinsi*. From the blurred rubbing we can still see that the second sign is *I*, not *A*. This word also appears in *Irk Bitig*. It is a transcription of Chinese 天子 (EMC: *t<sup>h</sup>en-tsi<sup>’</sup>*), meaning “son of heaven”, which usually referred to the emperor. The first vowel, according to the reconstruction of the Chinese pronunciation, is more likely to be /é/ than /i/.
- 85 In Radloff 1899 the transcription is missing. But according to the lexicon, he transcribed *yatığma* < *yat-* “to lie”, which was followed by Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958 and Giraud 1961. Tekin 1968 for the first time read this word as *aytığma* < *ayt-* “to speak”, meaning “called”. Here I follow the reading of Tekin.
- 86 Radloff 1899 and Malov 1951 read this as *beñligek*; Orkun 1936 read it as *beñ elig k?* (Orkun also misread the following word *tağğ* as *tuğğ*); Rybatzki 1997 read it as *beñülüğ ek*. Radloff

South Side

(45)  $t^2mr^2k^1pg^1k^1A : t^2g^2r^1 : ir^2t^2mz : \underline{ntay}^1ntwr^1t^2mz : m^2l^2k^1g^1... k^1 ...t^1... : t^2zik^2 : t^1k^wrs^1A...$  (46)  $\underline{ntab}^2r^2k^w^1 : s^1k^wb^1s^1l^1g^1s^1wg^1d^1k^1 : b^1wd^1n^1 : k^wwpk^2l^2t^1 : y^2k^wn^2t^1 : ... t^1 : t^2wr^2k^wb^1wd^1n^1 : t^2mr^2k^1pg^1k^1A : t^2m^2s^2iwg^1l^1 : (47) t^2m^2s^2iwg^1l^1 : y^1t^1g^1mat^1g^1k^1A : t^2g^2ms^2id^2ry^1k^wr^2ms^2 : wl^1y^2r^2k^2A : b^2n^2b^2l^2g^2A : t^1wn^1k^wk^w : t^2g^2wr^2t^2k^w^w^cn^2 : (48) s^1r^1g^1l^1t^1wn^1 : wr^2rk^w^wms^2 : k^1zk^1wd^1z : g^2r^2it^2b^2A : g^1b^1wn^1s^2z : k^2l^2wr^2t^1 : il^2t^2r^2s^2k^1g^1n^1 : b^2il^2g^2s^2m^2w^cn^2 : (49) l^1pm^2 : w^cn^2 : t^1b^1g^1ck^1A : y^2t^2ry^2g^2r^2m^1 : s^2w^ns^2d^2r^1 : k^1t^1nk^1A : y^2t^2is^2w^ns^2d^2r^1 : wg^1zk^1A : b^2s^2s^2w^ns^2d^2r^1 : \underline{ntay}^1g^1w^c ... (50) y^2mA : b^2n^2k^wr^2t^2m : y^1g^1c^1r^1 : y^2mab^2n^2Ar^2t^2m : il^2t^2r^2s^2k^1g^1n^1k^1A : t^2wr^2k^wb^2g^2wk^1g^1n^1k^1A : t^2wr^2k^wb^2il^2g^2Ak^1g^1n^1k^1A$

45. temir kapıgka tegi értimiz. anta yanturtumuz. inel kağanka ...<sup>87</sup> ...<sup>88</sup> tezik tokar<sup>89</sup> ...<sup>90</sup> 46. anta berüki<sup>91</sup> şuk<sup>92</sup> başlıg soğdak<sup>93</sup> bodun kop kelti, yükünti,<sup>94</sup> sögti.<sup>95</sup> türk bodun temir kapıgka, ténsi oğlı 47. ténsi oğlı aytıgma tağka tegmiş idi yok ermiş. ol

and subsequent editors interpreted *beñlige* as the name of a mountain. Aalto 1958 transcribed it as *beñlik* and translated it as “joyful”. Giraud 1961 transcribed it as *beñlig* and translated it as “spotted” (Giraud 1961: 141). Tekin 1968 also transcribed it as *beñlik* or *beñtik* but translated it as “sacred, holy” (Tekin 1968: 252, 312). Rybatzki transcribed it as *beñülüg*, meaning “eternal” (Rybatzki 1997: 115–6 note 308). This reading is however not likely. First, the word meaning “eternal” in Old Turkic is *beñgü*, not *beñü*. Second, *beñgü* itself is already an adjective, as in *beñgü taş* (K. S. 11, 12 and so on). Third, the vowel *ü* is generally spelled out after syllables formed with unrounded vowels (Tekin 1968: 36). Nonetheless, his discussion about the identification of this mountain is very important.

- 87 Giraud 1961 read this as *karaçuk*; Aalto 1958 read it as *añıp mançud*; Tekin 1968 read it as *añıp ...*
- 88 Radloff 1899 and Giraud 1961 read this as *tağka*; Orkun 1936 read it as *tuğka*; Malov 1951 read it as ... *ğka*; Tekin 1968 and Clauson suggested it be read as *saka* (Clauson 1972: 364).
- 89 Radloff 1899 read this as *tokrasin*; Malov 1951 read it as *tokrisin*; Tekin 1968 read it as *takar(sun)*. It refers to the Tocharian people.
- 90 Aalto 1958 suggested *ind*. Giraud 1961 suggested *aşa éntimiz*.
- 91 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Aalto 1958 read this as *yerüki*; Giraud 1961 read it as *yeröki*. They mistook the sign  $b^2$  for a  $y^2$ . It is Tekin who for the first time read this word correctly.
- 92 Radloff 1899 read this as *aşa*; Aalto 1958 read it as *aşoka*; Giraud 1961 read it as *sok*; Tekin 1968 read it as *asuk*. Here I follow the reading of Thomsen 1924: 169.
- 93 Radloff 1899 read this as *ardak*; Orkun 1936 read it as *suğdak*; Rybatzki 1997 read it as *soğdak*. I follow the reading of Aalto 1958 and Tekin 1968. Here, *soğdak bodun* refers to the Sogdian people.
- 94 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *ol күnte* “on that day”. They mistook the sign  $y^2$  for  $w^1$ . It is Aalto who for the first time read this word correctly as *yükünti* < *yünkün*- “to do obeisance to someone”.
- 95 Radloff 1899 transliterated this as  $t^2g^2t^2l$  but did not transcribe the word. Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read it as *tegti*. Tekin 1968 did not transcribe this word. Aalto 1958 suggested it be read *sögti*. However, according to Clauson’s dictionary, *sög-* means “to curse, revile” (Clauson 1972: 818). Rybatzki followed Aalto’s reading and related it to the Middle Mongolian *sögüt*- “to kneel” (Rybatzki 1997: note 198). K. Suzuki read *otuz* (Suzuki 2006: 8). Here I follow the interpretation of Rybatzki.

yérke<sup>96</sup> ben bilge toñukuk tegürtük üçün 48. sarıǵ<sup>97</sup> altun, ürünj kümüş, kız koduz,<sup>98</sup> egri tebe,<sup>99</sup> aǵı buñsuz kelürti. élderiş kaǵan bilgesin üçün,<sup>100</sup> 49. alpın üçün tabǵačka yéti yégirmi süñüşdi, kutañka yéti süñüşdi, oǵuzka béş süñüşdi. anta ayǵuçsı 50. yeme ben ök ertim, yaǵıçı[sı]<sup>101</sup> yeme ben ertim. élderiş kaǵanka, türk böǵü kaǵanka, türk bilge kaǵanka

- 96 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Aalto 1958, Giraud 1961, Tekin 1968 and Rybatzki 1997 read this as *yerte*. Only Malov 1951 read this word correctly as *yerke*. It is clearly *k*<sup>2</sup>, not *t*<sup>2</sup>, that is written here.
- 97 Radloff 1899 read this as *kızıl* “red”. Thomsen 1924 read it as *sarıǵ* “yellow”, which has been accepted by the later editors. The phrase *sarıǵ altun ürünj kümüş* means “yellow gold, white silver”. There is a similar saying in Chinese: 黄金, 白银 “yellow gold, white silver”. The character *jin* was originally used to refer to “bronze, metal”.
- 98 Radloff 1899 read this as *kızıl udaz*. Thomsen 1916 corrected Radloff’s reading and transcribed this as *kız kuduz*, which was followed by the later editors. However, as to the vowels of *k<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>z*, different editors have different opinions. Orkun 1936 and Giraud 1961 read *kuduz*; Tekin 1968 and Clauson 1972 read *koduz*. According to Clauson, *koduz* “femme sole” (a concept less narrow than *tul* “widow”), is derived from the verb *kod-* “to abandon” (Clauson 1972: 608). Sertkaya argued that *kız koduz* must have the same structure (adjective + noun) as *sarıǵ altun* “yellow gold”, *ürünj kümüş* “white silver” and *egri tebe* “humped camels”. On the one hand, he cited many examples where *kız* is used as adjective meaning “female”. On the other hand, he related *koduz* with the *kutuz/kotuz* “wild cattle” recorded in *DLT*, proposing that there had been a change from /d/ to /t/. Thus he translated *kız koduz* as “a valuable or female yak” (Sertkaya 1979: 186). This reading has however been refuted by L. Bazin and J. Hamilton, who argued that *kızın koduzın* “his girls and his widows” in the Şine-Usu Inscription are both in the accusative case with a possessive suffix, which means *kız* cannot be an attribute for *koduz* (Bazin & Hamilton 1979: 189). Rybatzki has also discussed in detail how we should translate the phrase *kız koduz* (Rybatzki 1997: 119). Here I follow the traditional translation “girls and women”.
- 99 Radloff 1899 read this as *egrit aşı* or *egri taşı*. Thomsen 1916 corrected Radloff’s reading and transcribed it as *egri tebi*, but he was not sure about the meaning of this phrase, and only suggested the meaning of “horse-furnishings”. Thomsen’s reading was accepted by the later editors except for Aalto 1958, who transcribed it as *eger it ebi* “hunting dogs, their tents”. Malov 1951 followed the suggestion of Thomsen 1916 and translated it as “horse blanket”. Ajdarov suggested it should be translated as “cows” (Ajdarov 1971: 332). Tekin 1968 translated it as “crooked camels”. Clauson pointed out that the final vowel could be *-e* instead of *-i*, and translated it, similarly to Tekin, as “humped camels” (Clauson 1972: 115). Here I follow the interpretation of Clauson.
- 100 Radloff 1899 and Orkun 1936 read this as *bilg....*; Malov 1951 and Aalto 1958 read it as *bilig ešin üçün* “because of the wise companion”; Giraud 1961 read it as *bilgesin* (*üçün* is missing). According to the translation of Thomsen 1924, it was he who for the first time understood the phrase *bilgesin üçün* correctly as “because of his wisdom” (Thomsen 1924: 169).
- 101 Radloff 1899 read this as *yaǵıda* “in the war”. Thomsen 1924 corrected Radloff’s reading and transcribed it as *yaǵıçısı* “leader in the war”, which was accepted by the later editors except for Aalto 1958, who followed Radloff’s reading, and Giraud 1961, who transcribed it as *ayǵuçısı* “consultant”. Here I follow the reading of Thomsen. The possessive suffix *+sı* is not written in the inscription.

East Side

(51) k<sup>1</sup>pg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>rwt<sup>1</sup>z ..... n<sub>TA</sub> ... r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>i : k<sup>1</sup>pg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>wn<sup>2</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>mt<sup>1</sup> : (52) k<sup>w</sup>wn<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>zwl<sup>1</sup>mt<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>izl<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>t<sup>2</sup>i : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>at<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>my<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>i : s<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>wçg<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mk<sup>w</sup> : wzn<sup>1</sup>y<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>mg<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>mk<sup>w</sup> : (53) r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mk<sup>w</sup>.y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ma.y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>.k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m.k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>mn<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz.t<sup>2</sup>nr<sup>2</sup>iy<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>zw:(54) b<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>A.y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>.y<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>md<sup>2</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>.y<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>md<sup>2</sup>m : il<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : (55) wd<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>wzm : k<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : il<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ma : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ma : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çir<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>i : k<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>ntk<sup>w</sup>in<sup>2</sup>wçn<sup>2</sup> : wd<sup>1</sup>wwzm : k<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>ntk<sup>w</sup>mwçn<sup>2</sup> : (56) il<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ma : il<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wlti : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ma.b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>lti.wzmk<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wltm.wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wltm.n<sup>2</sup>ny<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>i.k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : (57) b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>i : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>Ab<sup>1</sup>wjı : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çir<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : (58) t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : il<sup>2</sup>ıA : b<sup>2</sup>rt<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>At<sup>1</sup>wik<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup> :

51. kapğan kağan *yéti otuz yaşka* ..... anta ... erti.<sup>102</sup> kapğan kağan olur[t]dum.<sup>103</sup> tün udımatı, 52. күнтүз olurматı, kızıl kanım töküti,<sup>104</sup> kara terim yügürti,<sup>105</sup> éşig<sup>106</sup>

102 This is a much deteriorated part of the inscription. Radloff 1899 suggested it be read as *yéti otuz yaşka* ... erti, which was followed by Orkun 1936, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968. Thomsen was very prudent in this place and did not offer any suggested reading, nor did Malov 1951 and Rybatzki 1997. Aalto 1958 did not follow the reading of Radloff, but transcribed *ilihe* after *kağan*. Sertkaya suggested it should be read as *kapğan kağan yéti otuz yaşka tegi çor erti anta késre kağan bolmuş erti* “When Kapğan Kağan was twenty-seven years old, he was a çor. Later he became a kağan.” (Sertkaya 1988: 55).

103 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936 and Giraud 1961 read this as *olurdu*; Malov 1951, Aalto 1958, Tekin 1968 and Rybatzki 1997 read it as *olurdum*. Alyılmaz’s field research confirmed the latter reading (Alyılmaz 2000: 109–110).

104 Radloff 1899 transcribed this as *töküti* < *tök-* “to pour, spread”. Malov 1951, Aalto 1958 and Clauson followed Radloff’s reading (Clauson 1972: 477). Thomsen suggested it be read as *tüketi* < *tüke-* “to finish” (Thomsen 1916: 68 note 1). Orkun 1936 and Giraud 1961 followed Thomsen’s reading. Tekin 1968 transcribed it as *töküti* < *töküt-* “to cause to shed”. Sertkaya 1988 and Rybatzki 1997 followed Tekin’s reading. According to Tekin, here *töküt-i* is a converb with suffix *-i*. The above two verbs *udımatı* and *olurmatı* are also converbs with the negative converb suffix *-matı* (On the negative converb suffix *-matı*, see Gabain 1974: § 235, Tekin 1968: 184 and Erdal 2004: 314–5). Here I follow the interpretation of Tekin.

105 Radloff 1899 read this as *töküti*; Thomsen 1924 followed the reading of Ramstedt 1913–18 *yügürti* < *yügür-* “to shed”. Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 accepted Thomsen’s reading. Aalto 1958 read it as *yügürü*. Giraud 1961 read it as *yégirti* < *\*yégir-* “to feel”. Tekin 1968 read it as *yügürti* < *yügürt-* “to let flow”. Again, according to Tekin, *yügürt-i* is a converb with suffix *-i*.

106 *éşig küçüg bértim*. Most editors transcribed the first word as *işig*, the accusative case of *iş* “work, labor”, for example Thomsen 1924 translated it as “I contributed work and labor (lit. strength)”. So did Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958, Tekin 1968 and Giraud 1961 (though he transcribed it as *éşig*). However, Erdal and Doerfer argued that it should be transcribed as *éşig*, the accusative case of *éş* “duty”. Doerfer also managed to find a similar expression in the Yakut language *ēš küč bē-* “to fulfill a duty” (Doerfer 1993: 72). Rybatzki accepted the interpretation of Doerfer (Rybatzki 1997: 72, 121). Here I also follow the interpretation of Doerfer.

küçüg bértim ök.<sup>107</sup> uzun yelmeg yeme it[d]ım ok. 53. arkuy karğuğ olğurtdum<sup>108</sup> ok. yanığma<sup>109</sup> yağığ kelürir ertim. kağanımın sületdimiz. teñri yarlıkazu, 54. bu türk bodun ara<sup>110</sup> yarlıkğ yağığ yeltürmedim, tögünlüg atığ yügürtmedim. élderiş kağan kazğanmasar 55. udu ben özüm kazğanmasar él yeme bodun yeme yok erteçi erti. kazğantukın üçün udu [ben] özüm kazğantukum üçün 56. él yeme él boltı, bodun yeme bodun boltı. özüm karı boltum, uluğ boltum. neñ yérdeki kağanlığ bodunka 57. binteği<sup>111</sup> bar erser ne buñı bar erteçi ermiş? 58. türk bilge kağan éliñe bititdim. ben bilge toñukuk.

- 107 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Rybatzki 1997 added *ben özüm* after *ök*. I can't read those two words from the rubbing. It is not even necessary to add them here, because *bértim ök* and the following *udum ok* are in perfect parallel.
- 108 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read this as *ulğartdum* < *ulğart-* "to make something big" (Radloff 1899: 91). Aalto 1958 read it as *uluğartdum* < *\*uluğart-* "to erect, put up". Aalto's transcription is similar to Radloff's, but his translation is totally new. We know that Aalto's interpretation was influenced by Clauson, with whom he was in contact privately (Aalto 1958: 61, 91). Clauson said that the transcription *ulğartdum* was morphologically impossible and suggested the word be read as *olğurdum* < *olğurt-* "to place; to establish". According to Clauson, *olğurt-* is a causative of *\*olğur-*, which is possibly a very early form of *olur-* "to seat" (Clauson 1972: 139). Here I follow the reading of Clauson.
- 109 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *basınığma*. They mistook the sign *y<sup>l</sup>* for *b<sup>s</sup>*. Aalto 1958 read it as *yanığma* < *yan-* "to threaten". This interpretation was probably influenced by Clauson, who offered the same interpretation in his dictionary (Clauson 1972: 942). It is necessary to include the two following words to better explain their understanding. Unlike most other editors, they transcribed *kelürir ertim* "I made someone come" as *kelü bilirtim* "I came and reported to someone". In the views of Aalto and Clauson, the whole sentence means "I came and reported the threatening enemy". This interpretation is not acceptable. Tekin 1968 followed the transcription of Aalto, but he interpreted it in a different way: *yan-* "to turn back". Tekin still transcribed the second half of the sentence in the traditional way, and translated the whole sentence as "I used to force the withdrawing enemies to come [on us]". Rybatzki also transcribed *yanığma* and translated this as "threatening", following the interpretation of Aalto and Clauson. But in the second half of the sentence, he followed the traditional reading of *kelürir ertim* (Rybatzki 1997: 72 note 207, 121). Here, basically, I follow the interpretation of Tekin.
- 110 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *bodunka*. They mistook the sign *r<sup>l</sup>* for *k<sup>l</sup>*. The word *bodun* is written here as *b<sup>l</sup>d<sup>l</sup>n<sup>l</sup>* rather than the common form *b<sup>h</sup>wd<sup>l</sup>n<sup>l</sup>*. However, most editors transliterated it as *b<sup>h</sup>wd<sup>l</sup>n<sup>l</sup>*.
- 111 Radloff 1899 read this as *ebin tegi*; Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Aalto 1958, Tekin 1968 and Rybatzki 1997 read it as *büntegi*; Giraud 1961 read it as *böntegi*. Tekin interpreted *büntegi* as *bunu+teg*, meaning "like this" (Tekin 1968: 322, cf. Clauson 1972: 349 *buntağ*). It is Alyılmaz who for the first time read this word correctly as *binteği*, meaning "someone like me" (Alyılmaz 2000: 111; Erdal 2004: 193).

North Side

(59)  $il^2t^2r^2is^2k^1g^1n^1 : k^1zg^1n^1ms^1r^1 : y^1k^wr^2t^2ir^2s^2r^2 : b^2n^2wzmb^2il^2g^2At^1wñk^wk^w :$   
 $k^1zg^1n^1ms^1r^2 : b^2n^2y^1k^wr^2t^2mr^2s^2r^2$  (60)  $k^1pg^1n^1k^1g^1n^1 : t^2wr^2k^ws^2ir^2b^1wd^1n^1 : y^2ir^2n^2t^2A :$   
 $b^1wd^1y^2ma : b^1wd^1n^1y^2ma : k^2is^2iy^2ma : id^2iy^1k^wr^2t^2çir^2t^2ı$  (61)  $il^2t^2r^2s^2k^1g^1n^1 :$   
 $b^2il^2g^2At^1wñk^wk^w : k^1zg^1ntk^wçn^2 : k^1pg^1n^1k^1g^1n^1 : t^2wr^2k^ws^2ir^2b^1wd^1n^1 : y^1wr^1id^1k^wıb^1w$   
 (62)  $t^2wr^2k^wb^2il^2g^2Ak^1g^1n^1 : t^2wr^2k^ws^2ir^2b^1wd^1n^1g^1 : wg^1zb^1wd^1n^1g^1 : ig^2d^2w : wl^1r^1wr^1$

59. élderiş kağan kazğanmasar, yok erti erser, ben özüm bilge toñukuk kazğanmasar, ben yok ertim erser 60. kapğan kağan türk sir bodun yérinte bod yeme bodun yeme kişi yeme idi yok erteçi erti. 61. élderiş kağan bilge toñukuk kazğantuk üçün kapğan kağan türk sir bodun yorıduki bu.<sup>112</sup> 62. türk bilge kağan türk sir bodunuğ oğuz bodunuğ igidü olurur.

112 Radloff 1899 read this as *yorıduk sab o(l)*; Orkun 1936 read it as *yorıduk ...*; Malov 1951, Aalto 1958, Tekin 1968 and Rybatzki 1997 read it as *yorıduki bu*, and translated as “have flourished (this much)”. Here I also read it as *yorıduki bu*, but I understand *yori-* (“to walk; to go on”) as “to continue, survive”, which fits in the context better than “to flourish”.

## Bilge Toñukuk Inscription – Translation

### Stone 1

#### West Side

1 I myself, Bilge Toñukuk, was born in the reign of China. The Türk people were looking up to China. 2 Having failed to have their [own] kan, the Türk people broke away from China and got themselves a kan. [But] they abandoned their kan and submitted to China again. Teñri must have said: “I gave [you a] kan. 3 You abandoned [him] and submitted [to China].” Because they had abandoned him, Teñri said: “Die!” The Türk people died, exhausted themselves and ceased to exist. In the land of the Türk Sir people, 4 the [Türk] clan did not remain. Those who had remained among the bushes and stones came together and became seven hundred [people]. Two thirds [of them] were equipped with horses and one third were on foot. 5 The chief that led the seven hundred people was a şad. “Declare!” he said. It was I that declared [him kağan]. I said [to myself]: “Bilge Toñukuk, shall I support [him (the şad)] as kağan?” I reflected that, 6 if one were to try to distinguish thin bulls from fat bulls in the distance, one would not be able to tell the difference. Thus I considered. Afterwards, thanks to the wisdom bestowed upon me by Teñri, I supported [him as] kağan. [I,] Bilge Toñukuk, with Boyla Bağa Tarkan, 7 let [the şad] become Élteriş Kağan. So many Chinese in the south, Kitañ people in the east and Oğuz people in the north were killed [by us]. It was I who was his counselor and his army commander. We settled down on the northern side of the Çuğay mountain forest and at Black Sand.

#### South Side

8 We settled down, eating wild game and hares. People's throats (i.e. stomachs) were full. Our enemies were like birds around us; we were like wild animals. While we were settling down like that, from the side of the Oğuz came a deserter. 9 His message was like this: “A kağan has ascended the throne over the Tokuz Oğuz people. He has sent General Kunı to China and Adjutant Toñra to the Kitañ. He has sent the following message [to China and Kitañ]: ‘It seems that some Türks 10 are marching. Their kağan is said to be brave, their consultant wise. If those two persons exist, they will kill you Chinese [in the south], kill [you] Kitañ in the east, and kill me Oğuz. 11 [You] China, attack [the Türks] from the south side! [You] Kitañs, attack them from the east side! I shall attack from the north side. Let [the Türks] in the land of Türk Sir not survive. If possible, let's crush [them] completely.’” 12 Having heard those words, I could not sleep at night nor sit down in the daytime. I submitted a request to my kağan. The request went like this: “If these three, that is China, the Oğuz and the Kitañ, join together, 13 we will come to a halt as if held fast by both inside and outside [forces]. If something is thin, it is easy to pierce; if something is slender, it is easy to tear. [But] when the thin becomes thick, it will be hard to pierce; when the slender 14 becomes dense, it will be

hard to tear. We will have two to three thousand soldiers coming from the Kıtāñs in the east, from China in the south, from Kurdan in the west and from the Oğuz in the north. Is there anything [wrong in what I have said]?" This is what I requested. **15** My kağan heard the request that I myself, Bilge Toñukuk, had submitted. He said: "Conduct [the army] as you want." I led [the army], crossing the Kök Öñ, towards the Ötüken mountain forest. From the Tuğla River came the Oğuz people with ox carts. **16** Their troops were three thousand. Ours were two thousand. We fought. As Tenri blessed [us], we defeated them. They fell into the river and died as they were fleeing. Then the Oğuz people all came [to us]. **17** Having heard that I myself, Bilge Toñukuk, had settled the Türk kağan and the Türk people down at Ötüken, the people situated in the south, west, north and east [all] came [to us].

#### East Side

**18** We had two thousand soldiers [in each army]. We had two armies. Since the Türk people had been created and the Türk kağan had been enthroned, they had never reached the Şantuñ cities or the Taluy River. I submitted a request to my kağan and marched off with the army. **19** I caused them to reach the Şantuñ cities and the Taluy River. They captured twenty-three cities. Usın Buntatu (?) was left in ruins. The Chinese kağan was our enemy. The On Ok kağan was our enemy. **20** What's more, the powerful Kırkız kağan became our enemy [too]. Those three kağans discussed [a joint attack] and said: "Let's assemble at the Altay Mountains." They said: "Let's campaign against the Türk kağan in the east. If we don't campaign against him, he will eventually kill us, **21** as their kağan is said to be brave, and their consultant wise. Let the three of us assemble and campaign! Let's crush [them] completely." The Türgiş kağan said: "[When] my people get there, **22** the Türk people will be in disorder, and their Oğuz [subjects] will be nearly destroyed as well." Having heard those words, I could not sleep at night nor sit down in the daytime. I reflected and said: **23** "It's better to campaign against the Kırkız first. There seems to be [only] one road to the Kögmen [mountain forest] (i.e. the Sayan Mountains). I hear that it's been blocked. If we take that road, it will not go well." I sought a guide. I found an Az man from Çölgi. **24** I heard that there was one ... near the land of Az. It was a one-horse-path. We could take that path. I asked him. He replied that we should go in single file. I said: "If we take that road, it will be promising." This is what I thought.

#### North Side

**25** I submitted a request to my kağan. I set off with the army. "Let the men mount [their] horses!" I said. Having crossed Ak Termel, I saved time. I let them ride on horseback and broke through the snow. I, barefoot, led the horse and caused it to climb, while holding branches out of the way. As soon as the vanguard **26** had crossed over, we moved [the army] and passed through the woody Barlık. We came stumbled

downwards. We marched for ten days, skirting obstacles on the side. The guide made a mistake about the way and had his throat cut. Distressed, the kağan said: "Proceed with caution!" 27 We went to the Anı River. We went along the river. We dismounted to cross [the Anı River]. We fastened the horses to trees. We went [on] riding day and night. We made a surprise attack upon the Kırkız people while they were asleep. 28 We woke them up with lances. Their kan and army assembled. We fought. We defeated them. We killed their kan. The Kırkız people surrendered and made obeisance to [our] kağan. We returned [in triumph]. We bypassed the Kögmen mountain forest. 29 [While] we were returning from the Kırkız, a deserter came [to us] from the Türgiř kağan. His message was as follows: "[The Türgiř kağan] said: 'Let's march [our] armies in the direction of the [Türk] kağan in the east. If we don't campaign, as their kağan is said to be brave and their consultant wise, they 30 will kill us eventually.'" [The deserter continued]: "The Türgiř kağan has set off. All of the On Ok people have set off. The Chinese troops are on the way [too]." Having heard these words, my kağan said: "I shall return home. 31 [My] katun has passed away. I shall hold a funeral for her. You march on with the army. Settle down in the Altay Mountains. Let Inel Kağan and Tarduř řad be the heads of the army." He [then] spoke to me, Bilge Toñukuk: 32 "You command the army. Mete out punishment according to your mind (lit. heart). What [else] shall I tell you?" He said: "If they come, watch out and bring [the news to me]. If they don't come, stay [there] and gather intelligence (lit. tongues and words)." We settled down in the Altay Mountains. 33 Three deserters came. Their words were the same: "Their (the Türgiř) kağan has set off with the army; all the troops of the On Ok have set off. They said: 'Let's assemble at Yarıř Plain.'" Having heard about that, I sent these words to my kağan. From the kağan they brought a message: 34 "Settle down! Establish reconnoitering patrols and watch-towers properly! Don't get attacked!" Bögü Kağan sent these [words] to me. [But] he sent a private message to Apa Tarkan: "Bilge Toñukuk becomes bad and evil. 35 If he says 'Let's march on with the army', don't agree [with him]!" Having heard these words, I marched on with the army. I passed the Altay Mountains, where there were no roads. We crossed the Irtysh River, where there were no fords. We sent out a raiding party in the night. We arrived in Bolçu at the break of dawn.

## *Stone II*

### West Side

36 They (i.e. the raiding party) brought a message. The words were as follows: "A hundred thousand soldiers have assembled at Yarıř Plain." Having heard those words, all the officials said: 37 "Let's retreat! The shame [of retreating] is better [than being defeated]." I said this: "I am Bilge Toñukuk. We have passed the Altay Mountains and come [here]. 38 We have crossed the Irtysh River and come [here]. They (i.e. the enemy) said: 'It will be difficult for them to arrive.' They did not notice [that we had already

arrived]. Teṅri and Umay, holy soil and holy water have surely crushed [the enemy]. Why should we run away? 39 Why should we fear because [their troops are] many? Why should we get beaten because [our troops are] few? Let's charge!" We charged. We pillaged. On the following day, 40 they came like blazing fire. We fought. [The soldiers of] their two flanks were one and a half times as numerous as ours. As Teṅri blessed [us], 41 we did not fear because [their troops were] many. We fought. We chased [the enemy] among [the army of] Tarduş Şad, and we routed [the enemy]. We captured their kağan. Their yabǵu and şad 42 were killed there. We captured about fifty men. That night, we sent [messages] to everyone. Having heard those words, all the officials and people of the On Ok 43 came and made obeisance [to us]. While I was organizing and collecting the people and officials that had arrived, [only] a few people ran away. I ordered the army of On Ok to march. 44 We marched too. We followed them. Having crossed the Yinçü River we passed Benjilig Ek Mountain, which is called "Son of Ténsi".

### South Side

45 We reached the Iron Gate. We returned from there. All the people of..., Tezik, Tokar 46 and, on that side, the Sogdians headed by Şuk, came and made obeisance to Inel Kağan. The Türk people had never reached the Iron Gate or 47 the so-called Son of Ténsi Mountain. As I, Bilge Toñukuk, caused them to reach [these places], 48 they brought [back] yellow gold and white silver, girls and women, humped camels and countless treasures (or silk). Because of Élderiş Kağan's wisdom and 49 bravery, he fought seventeen times against China, seven times against the Kitañ and five times against the Oğuz. 50 It was I that was his consultant. I was also the commander. For Élderiş Kağan, Türk Böǵü Kağan and Türk Bilge Kağan ...

### East Side

51 When Kapǵan Kağan was twenty-seven years old ..... I put him on the throne. Without sleeping at night 52 or sitting down in the daytime, letting my red blood pour out and making my black sweat flow, I fulfilled my duty. I also sent long-distance reconnaissance patrols. 53 I established fortifications and watch-towers. I made the enemies who had returned come [back to us]. I commanded the army together with my kağan. [Because of] Teṅri's blessing, 54 I did not let the armor-clad enemies walk among the Türk people. I did not let [their] branded horses run fast. If Élderiş Kağan had not striven 55 and if I myself had not striven [like that], there would have been neither [the Türk] realm nor [the Türk] people. Because of his striving and my own striving, 56 [the Türk] realm became a realm again, [the Türk] people became a people again. I am already old. I am already senior. In any land, 57 if there was a person like me, for the people who have a kağan, what [kind of] sorrow could there be? 58 I let them write [this inscription] for the realm of the Türk Bilge Kağan. I am Bilge Toñukuk.

## North Side

59 If Éłteriř Kağan had not striven and if he had never existed, if I myself Bilge Toñukuk had not striven and if I had never existed, 60 there would have been neither clans nor people nor human-beings in the lands of Kapğan Kağan and the Türk Sir people. 61 Because Éłteriř Kağan has striven and [I] Bilge Toñukuk has striven, Kapğan Kağan and the Türk Sir people thus survived. 62 The Türk Bilge Kağan is sitting [on the throne] and feeding the Türk Sir and the Oğuz people.

Kül Tégin Inscription – Text

East Side

(1) w̄zak²w̄k² : t²ŋr²ı : s¹r¹A : y¹g¹z : y²r² : k¹l¹ntk¹wd¹A : k²m²r¹A : k²ıs²ı : wg¹l¹ı : k¹l¹n¹ms² : k²ıs²ı : wg¹l¹ınta : w̄za : çw̄mpam : b¹wmn¹k¹g¹n¹ : ıs²t²mık¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹m̄ş : wl¹r¹pn¹ : t²w̄r²k̄w̄ : b¹wd¹n¹ŋ : ıl²m² : t²w̄r²... n² : t¹wt¹A : b²ır²ms² : ıt²ı : b²ır²ms² : (2) t²w̄r²t² : b¹wl¹ŋ : k¹wp : y¹g¹r²ms² : s²ws²w̄l²pn² : t²w̄r²t² : b¹wl¹ŋd¹k¹ı : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : k¹wpl¹ms² : k¹wpb¹z : k¹l¹ms² : b¹şl¹g¹g¹ : y²k̄w̄nr²ms² : t²ızl²g²g² : s²w̄k²w̄r²ms² : ıl²g²r²w̄ : k¹d¹r¹k¹n¹ : y²ışk¹At²g²ı : k²ır²w̄ : t²mr²k¹pg¹k¹At²g²ı : k¹w̄nr¹ms² : k²m²r¹.. (3) ıd²ıwk¹s¹z : k̄w̄k² : t²w̄r²k̄w̄ : n̄ça : wl¹r¹wr¹r²ms² : b²ıl²A : k¹g¹n¹r²ms² : l¹pk¹g¹..... : b¹wy¹r¹k¹w̄ıy²ma : b²ıl²g²A : r²ms²r²n̄ç : l¹pr²ms²r²n̄ç : b²g²l²r²ıy²ma : b¹wd¹n¹ıy²ma : t²w̄zr²ms² : n¹r̄w̄çw̄n² : ıl²g² : n̄çAt¹wt¹ms² : r²n̄ç : ıl²g²t¹wt¹p : t²w̄r²w̄g² : ıt²ms² : w̄zın̄ça : (4) k²r²g²k² : b¹wl¹ms² : y¹wg¹çı : s²ıg¹t¹çı : w̄ŋr²A : k̄w̄w̄n² : t¹wg¹s¹k¹d¹A : b²w̄k²l²ı : çw̄l²g²l² : t¹b¹g¹ç : t²w̄pwt² : pr¹pwr¹m : k¹r¹k¹z : w̄çk¹wr¹k¹n¹ : wt¹zt¹t¹r¹ : k¹t¹ñ : t¹t¹b¹ı : b¹wn̄ça : b¹wd¹n¹ : k²l²pn² : s¹g¹t¹Ams² : y¹wg¹l¹Ams² : ntg¹ : k²w̄l²g² : k¹g¹n¹r²ms² : ntAk²ıs²r²A : ın²s²ık¹g¹.. (5) b¹wl¹ms²r²n̄ç : wg¹l¹ıt¹ı : k¹g¹n¹b¹wl¹ms²r²n̄ç : ntAk²ıs²r²A : ın²ıs²ı : çıs²m²t²g² : k¹ıl¹n¹md¹k¹w̄r²n̄ç : wg¹l¹ı : k¹ŋm²t²g² : k¹ıl¹n¹md¹k¹w̄r²n̄ç : b²ıl²g²s²ız : k¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹ms²r²n̄ç : y¹b¹l¹k¹ : k¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹ms²r²n̄ç : b¹wy¹r¹k¹w̄ı : y²ma : b²ıl²g²s²ızr²n̄ç : y¹b¹l¹k¹r²ms²r²..

1. üze kök teŋri asra yağız yér kılıntukda ékin ara kişi oğlu kılınmış. kişi oğlın̄ta üze eçüm apam bumın kağan iştemi kağan olurmuş. olurupan türk bodunuŋ élin törüsün tuta bérmiş, éti bérmiş. 2. tört buluŋ kop yağı ermiş. sü sülepen tört buluŋdaki bodunuŋ kop almış, kop baz kılmuş. başlıĝğ yüküntürmiş; tizligig sökürmiş. ilgerü kadirkan yışka tegi, kériu temir kapıĝka tegi konturmuş. ékin ara 3. idi oksuz kök türk<sup>113</sup> ança olurur ermiş. bil[g]e kağan ermiş; alp kağan ermiş. buyruku yeme bilge ermiş erinç, alp ermiş erinç. begleri yeme bodumı yeme tüz ermiş. anı üçün élig ança tutmuş erinç. élig tutup törüg étmiş. özi ança 4. kergek bolmış.<sup>114</sup> yoĝçı sıĝıtçı öŋre kün toĝsukda bökli,<sup>115</sup>

113 For *kök türk*, see Tezcan 1991. In the *Biography of Xuanzang*, *kök* is used to translate the Chinese character *tian* 天 “heaven, sky” (Semet 2005: 157).

114 *özi ança*. Thomsen 1896, Radloff 1897, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *özınça*; Malov suggested it be read as *öz inça* or *özi ança*. Here I follow the transcription of Tekin 1968 as *özi ança*, which had been suggested by Malov 1951. As to the word *kergek*, Radloff translated it as “end”, Tekin translated it as “lack, absence, want”, and Clauson translated it as “necessity”. Radloff translated this sentence as “[Finally,] he was distinct”. It is Thomsen who for the first time understood the phrase *kergek bol-* correctly as “to pass away”. Clauson transcribed it as *kergek bul-* “to meet one’s fate, die” (Clauson 1972: 742).

115 Thomsen 1896, Radloff 1897 and Malov 1951 read this as *bökli*. The Japanese historian I. Seichirō identified it with Korea, the Chinese transcription of which is Gaogouli 高句麗 (EMC: *kaw-kaw-lej<sup>h</sup>*). According to his theory, *bökli* is made up of *bö(k)* and *kli*. *Kli* corresponds the last syllables of Gaogouli (i.e. *gouli*). The first part, *bök*, corresponds to *Mo* 貊 (EMC: *maiĝk*), which is another Chinese term referring to the Koreans (Seichirō 1939b). The Chinese historian Cen Zhongmian suggested that *bökli* could correspond to

çöl[l]üg él, tabğaç, tüpüt, apar, purum, kırkız, üç kurkan, otuz tatar, kıtañ, tatabı bunça bodun kelipen sığtamış, yoğlamış. antağ külüg kağan ermiş. anta késre inisi kağan 5. bolmış erinç, oğlıtı kağan bolmış erinç. anta késre inisi eçisin teg kılınmaduk erinç, oğlı kañın teg kılınmaduk erinç. biligsiz kağan olurmış erinç; yablak kağan olurmış erinç. buyruki yeme biligsiz erinç, yablak ermiş erinç.

(6)  $b^2g^2l^2r^2_1 : b^1wd^1n^1_1 : t^2wzs^2z : wçn^2 : t^1b^1g^1çb^1wd^1n^1 : t^2b^2l^2g^2m^2 : k^2wr^2l^2g^2 : wçwn^2 : r^1mk^1çis^2m^2 : wçwn^2 : m^2l^2_1 : çil^2_1 : k^2ik^2s^2wr^2t^2k^w^2m^2 : wçwn^2 : b^2g^2l^2_1 : b^1wd^1n^1l^1g^1 : y^1wnşwr^1t^1k^w^2m^2 : wçwn^2 : \dots : b^1wd^1n^1 : il^2l^2d^2k^w : il^2m^2 : \dots : w : id^1ms^2$   
 (7)  $k^1g^1n^1l^1d^1k^w : k^1g^1n^1m^1 : y^2it^2r^2w : id^1ms^2 : t^1b^1g^1ç : b^1wd^1n^1k^1A : b^2g^2l^2k^2 : wr^2rwg^1l^1m^2 : k^1wl^1b^1wlt^1 : s^2il^2k^2 : k^1izwg^1l^1n^2 : k^2wñb^1wlt^1 : t^2wr^2k^w : b^2g^2l^2r^2 : t^2wr^2k^w : At^1m^2 : it^1 : t^1b^1g^1çg^1_1 : b^2g^2l^2r^2 : t^1b^1g^1ç : At^1m^2 : t^1wt^1pn^1 : t^1b^1g^1ç : k^1g^1n^1k^1A : (8) k^2wr^2ms^2 : l^2g^2y^2il^1 : is^2g^2k^2wçg^2 : b^2ir^2ms^2 : il^2g^2r^2w : k^wwn^2 : t^1wg^1s^1k^1d^1A : b^2wk^2l^2_1 : k^1g^1n^1k^1A : t^2g^2_1 : s^2wl^2y^2w : b^2ir^2m^2s^2 : k^wvr^1g^1r^1w : t^2mr^2k^1pg^1k^1A : t^2g^2_1 : s^2wl^2y^2w : b^2ir^2ms^2 : t^1b^1g^1ç : k^1g^1n^1k^1A : il^2m^2 : t^2wr^2ws^2m^2 : l^1b^2ir^2ms^2 : t^2wr^2k^w : k^1r^1 : k^1mg^1 : (9) b^1wd^1n^1 : nçat^2ims^2 : il^2l^2g^2 : b^1wd^1n^1r^2t^2m : il^2m : mt^1k^1n^1 : k^2mk^2A : il^2g^2 : k^1zg^1n^1wr^1mn^2 : t^2ir^2r^2ms^2 : k^1g^1n^1l^1g^1 : b^1wd^1n^1 : r^2t^2m : k^1g^1n^1mk^1n^1 : n^2ak^1g^1n^1k^1A : is^2g^2k^2wçg^2 : b^2ir^2wr^2mn^2 : t^2ir^2r^2ms^2 : nçat^2ip : t^1b^1g^1ç : k^1g^1n^1k^1A : y^1g^1ib^1wl^1m.. (10) y^1g^1ib^1wl^1p : it^2n^2w : y^1r^1t^1wn^1w : wmd^1k^w : y^1n^1A : rçk^2ms^2 : b^1wnçA : is^2g^2k^2wçg^2 : b^2ir^2t^2k^w^2r^2w : s^1k^1n^1mt^1 : t^2wr^2k^w : b^1wd^1n^1 : wl^2wr^2y^2m^2 : wr^1g^1s^1r^1t^1y^1m^2 : t^2ir^2r^2ms^2 : y^1wk^1d^1w : b^1r^1r^1 : r^2ms^2 : wza : t^2wr^2k^w : t^2nr^2is^2_1 : t^2wr^2k^w : id^1k^w : y^2_1...$

Moli 莫離 (EMC: *mak-liä*), an abbreviation of Molizhi 莫離支, which was the name of a kingdom in the history of Korea (Cen Zhongmian 1958: 892). Inspired by Seichirō's theory, another Japanese historian M. Mori proposed that this word should be read as *bök eli*, meaning "the state of Bök", with Bök corresponding to Mo (*Maijk*) (Mori 1984). There is almost no disagreement among scholars about the identification of *bükli* with Korea. I would like to provide a historical background for this identification. In the 8th line of this inscription (on the east side) the narrator mentions that during the fifty years when the Türks were under the control of Tang China, the Türk soldiers served in the army and campaigned against *Bükli* in the east. There was a famous war between the Tang and Korea in the year 645. From the Chinese sources we can find many clues showing that the Türk soldiers indeed took part in this war. For example the Türk general Li Simo, whose surname was bestowed by the Tang emperor, was struck by an arrow. The Tang emperor sucked the wound for him, which moved the whole army (ZZTJ 197: 6221). Kürşat Yıldırım suggested that *bökli* or *bükli* can correspond to Mohe 靺鞨, which was a Tungus people (Yıldırım 2019: 328).

6. begleri bodum tüzüz üçün, tabğaç bodun tebligın kürlüg<sup>116</sup> üçün, armakçısım üçün, inili eçili kıkşürtükün<sup>117</sup> üçün, *begli* bodunlğ yonşurtukın üçün türk bodun éllédük élin ıçğunu idmiş, 7. kağanladuk kağanın yitürü idmiş. tabğaç bodunka beglik urı oğlın kul boltı, silik kız oğlın küñ boltı. türk begler türk atın ıt[d], tabğaçğı begler tabğaç atın tutupan tabğaç kağanka 8. körmiş. elig yıl éşig küçüg bérmiş. ilgerü kün toğsukda бүikli kağanka tegi süleyü bérmiş; kunğaru temir kapıgka tegi süleyü bérmiş. tabğaç kağanka élin törüsin alı bérmiş. türk kara kamağ 9. bodun ança témiş: éllig bodun ertim, élim amtı kanı? kemke élig kazğanur men? tér ermiş. kağanlğ bodun ertim, kağanım kanı? ne kağanka éşig küçüg bérür men? tér ermiş. ança tép tabğaç kağanka yağı bolmış. 10. yağı bolup étinü yaratunu umaduk,<sup>118</sup> yana içikmiş. bunça éşig küçüg bértükgerü sakınmatı, türk bodun ölüreyin, uruğsıratayın tér ermiş. yokadu barr ermiş. üze türk teñrısı, türk ıduk yéri

(11) s<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>ı : nçat<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>mzwn<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : ..wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>çwn<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ηm : ıł<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>m : ıł<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>ıł<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>wps<sup>2</sup>mta : t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>p : y<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>nç : k<sup>1</sup>ηmk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ıt<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mır<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>şk<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>ş ... (12) y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>p : b<sup>1</sup>ık<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ı : t<sup>1</sup>şk<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ı : m<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ıł<sup>2</sup>p : y<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>w</sup>wç : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : wçn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ηmk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>w</sup>wñt<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : ıł<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w : k<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : s<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>p : t<sup>2</sup>..... : k<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : ..... (13) y<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>wzr<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>wzr<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>p : ıł<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ηd<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : ıçğn<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : çwmpam : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ınça : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wşg<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>..... (14) y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup> : şd<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : nta : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>a : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>a : b<sup>1</sup>zk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wzwg<sup>1</sup>z : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>z : k<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>ık<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wt<sup>1</sup>zt<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ñ : t<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wp : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ηmk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wnç..... (15) k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ı : ...ı : y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mı : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ηs<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ηs<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ık<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> :

116 Radloff 1894 transcribed this as *körlüg* and translated it as “hostility”. But in Radloff 1897, he abandoned his earlier reading and suggested it be read as *küreleg* “surroundings, neighborhood”. Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 transcribed it as *körtlig*, like in Radloff’s early transcription, but translated it as “cunning, slyness”. Malov 1951, Tekin 1968 and Clauson 1972: 745 transcribed the first vowel as a *ü*: *kürliğ/kürliüg*.

117 Radloff 1897 read this as *kekşürtükün* < *kekşür-* “to treat with hostility”. Thomsen 1896 read the third sign as *η* rather than *k*<sup>2</sup> and transcribed the word as *kişesürtükün* < *kişesür-* “to conspire against each other”. Thomsen was not sure whether it should be *kişesür* or *kişür*. Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Tekin 1968 all followed Thomsen’s reading and transcribed it as *kişsürtükün*. Tekin on the other hand translated *kişsür-* as “to create a rift between”. It seems that between *k*<sup>2</sup> and *η* Erdal prefers the former. But the verb is *kikşür-* “to incite to mutual enmity” (Erdal 1991: 716–7). Besides, he also offers a new possible reading *kekürtükün için* (Erdal 1991: 567 note 196). Here I read the second consonant as *k*<sup>2</sup>.

118 Radloff 1897 and Thomsen 1896 read this as *umduk* < *um-* “to hope”. But in Thomsen 1924 he translated the verb as “can” (*u-*). Orkun 1936 followed Thomsen’s interpretation, but still transcribed it as *umduk*. From Malov 1951 on, the editors transcribed it as *umaduk* < *u-* “can, to be able to”.

wçwñ²: il²l²g²g²: l²s²r²t²ms²: k¹g¹n¹l¹g¹g¹: k¹g¹n¹s¹r¹t¹ms²: y¹g¹g¹: b¹zk¹il¹ms²: t²izl²g²g²: s²w²k²wr²ms²: b¹şl¹g¹g¹: y²w²k²ntw̄.....

11. subı ança témiş:<sup>119</sup> türk bodun yok bolmazun téyin, bodun bolçun téyin, kañım éłterış kağanıñ, ögüm élbilge katunuñ teñri töpüsinte<sup>120</sup> tutup yögerü kötürmiş erinç. kañım kağan yéti yégirmi erin taşıkmuş, taşra 12. yoriyur téyin kü éşidip balıkdakı taşıkmuş,<sup>121</sup> tağdakı énmış, térilip yétmiş er bolmış. teñri küç bértük üçün kañım kağan süsi böri teg ermiş, yağısı koñ teg ermiş. ilgerü, kurıgaru sülep *térmiş*, kubratmış. *kamağı* 13. yéti yüz er bolmış. yéti yüz er bolup élsiremiş kağansıramış bodunuñ, küñedmiş kuladmış bodunuñ, türk törüsin ıçğınmış bodunuñ eçüm apam törüsinçe yaratmış, boşğurmuş. tüliş<sup>122</sup> *tarduş bodunuñ anta étmiş*, 14. yabğuş şadıñ anta bérmiş. bérye tabğaç bodun yağı ermiş. yırya baz kağan, tokuz oğuz bodun yağı ermiş. kırkız, kurikan, otuz tatar, kitañ, tatabı kop yağı ermiş. kañım kağan bunça *sülemiş* 15. kırk artukı *yéti* yolu sülemiş; yégirmi süñüş süñüşmiş. teñri yarlıkaduk üçün éllig élsiretmış, kağanlığğ kağansıratmış, yağıñ baz kılmış, tizligig sökürmiş, başlığğ yüküntürmiş. *kañım kağan inçe élig*

(16) t²wr²wğ²: k¹zg¹n¹p: wçA: b¹r¹ms²: k¹ñm: k¹g¹n¹k¹A: b¹şl¹y¹w: b¹zk¹g¹n¹g¹: b¹l¹b¹l¹: t²ik²ms²: wl¹t²wr²wd²A: wZA: çmk¹g¹n¹: wl¹r¹t¹: çmk¹g¹n¹: wl¹r¹pn¹: t²wr²k²w̄: b¹wd¹n¹g¹: y²ıçA: it²d²ı: ig²t²ı: çig¹ñg¹ ..... (17) çmk¹g¹n¹: wl¹r¹t¹k¹d¹A: wzm: t¹r¹d¹wş: b¹wd¹n¹: wZA: şd¹r²t²m: çmk¹g¹n¹: b²ır²l²A: il²g²r²w̄: y¹şl¹wğ²z: şntwñ: y¹zik¹at²g²ı: s²wl²d²mz: k¹wr¹g¹r¹w: t²mr²k¹pg¹k¹A: t²g²ı: s²wl²d²mz: k²wğ²mn²: şA: k¹ı..... (18) k¹mğ¹: b²ışwt¹z: s²wl²d²mz: wçy²g²r²mı: s²wñşd²mz: il²l²g²g²: il²s²r²t²d²mz: k¹g¹n¹l¹g¹g¹:

- 119 Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Tekin 1968 read this as *itmiş/etmiş* < *ét-|it-/et-* “to act”.
- 120 Radloff transcribed this as *töpesinde* (*töpe* means “parting of hair”) in Radloff 1894 and Radloff 1897. Thomsen 1896 also transcribed it as *töpesinde* but translated *töpe* as “summit, top”. Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 followed Thomsen’s interpretation. Tekin 1968 and Clauson 1972 transcribed it as *töpüsinde*, with *ü* as the second vowel rather than *e*. Here I follow the transcription of Tekin and Clauson.
- 121 Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Tekin 1968 read the second consonant as *g¹* instead of *ş* and transcribed the word as *taşıkmuş* < *tağık-* “to go up to the mountains”. According to Thomsen’s interpretation, the people living in the town climbed up into the mountains to find followers, and then came back down together with the mountain dwellers. However, taking a closer look at the rubbing, the sign looks much more like a *ş* than a *g¹*. Generally, there were two kinds of Türk people in China, sedentary people who lived in towns and nomadic people who lived in the mountains or on the steppe. Bilge Kağan wanted to create the impression that the Türk people came from different directions to join his father’s military campaign against Tang China, by referring to two kinds of Türk people in China. Therefore, *taşık-* here is more acceptable than *tağık-*.
- 122 Radloff 1897 read it as *töles*; Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Tekin 1968 and Geng 2005 read it as *tölis*; Gabain transcribed it as *tölış* (Gabain 1974: 373). In the revised edition, she cited the Khotanese form *ttüđışa* (Gabain 1974: 373). The Chinese transcription is *tulishi* 突利失 (EMC: *dwät-lih-cit*) (XTS 217b: 6135). The LMC of the character *tu* is *thü*. Both the Khotanese and Chinese transcriptions indicate that the first vowel should be *ü* rather than *ö*. Therefore, I transcribe it as *tülüş* in this book.

k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mz : t<sup>2</sup>izl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>wk<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : b<sup>1</sup>šl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wntwr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>mz ..... (19) wčwn<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>izŋA : y<sup>1</sup>ŋl<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : wčwn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ma : w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : wn<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : mg<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : çwmz : pamz : t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup> : id<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>z : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>mzwn<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>iy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : zb<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : it<sup>2</sup>p : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>..... (20) b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wntA : b<sup>2</sup>iz : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : s<sup>2</sup>ŋl<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>w</sup>wncy<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : wzy<sup>1</sup>ŋl<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>wŋk<sup>w</sup>wl<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup> : id<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>z : k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>mzwn<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>iy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : zk<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>z : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>.....

16. törüg kazğanıp uça barmış. kañım kağanka başlayu baz kağanıǵ balbal tikmiş. ol törüde üze eçim kağan olurtı. eçim kağan olurupan türk bodunuǵ yiçe étdi igit [d]i. çığańıǵ *bay kultı; azıǵ üküş kultı*. 17. eçim kağan olurtukda özüm tarduş bodun üze şad ertim.<sup>123</sup> eçim kağan birle ilgerü yaşıł öǵüz şantun yazıka tegi süledimiz, kurıǵaru temir kapıǵka tegi süledimiz, kögmen aša *kırkız yériñe tegi süledimiz*. 18. kamaǵı beş otuz süledimiz, üç yéǵirmi süñüşdümüz. élligig élsiretdimiz, kağanlıǵıǵ kağansıratdımız, tizligig sökürtümüz, başlıǵıǵ yüküntürtümüz. türgiş kağan türkümüz *bodunumuz erti. bilmedükin* 19. üçün, biziñe yañıl [t]ukın<sup>124</sup> üçün kağanı ölti, buyrukı begleri yeme ölti. on ok bodun emgek körti. eçümüz apamız tutmış yer sub idisiz bolmazun téyin, az bodunuǵ étip yaratıp ..... 20. bars beg erti. kağan at bunta biz bértimiz. sıñlim kunçuyuǵ bértimiz. özi yañılıtı. kağanı ölti, bodunu küñ kul bolıtı. kögmen yer sub idisiz kalmazun téyin, az kırkız bodunuǵ yaratıp *keltimiz, süñüşdümüz. élin*<sup>125</sup>

(21) y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>A : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w : k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ıǵg<sup>1</sup> : šA : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : nçAk<sup>w</sup>wntwr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>mz : nçArt<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : k<sup>2</sup>ŋwt<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>mn<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : nçAk<sup>w</sup>wntwr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>mz :

123 The text corresponding to *eçim kağan olurtukda özüm tarduş bodun üze şad ertim* in the Bilge Kağan Inscription is *eçim kağan olurtukka özüm tégin er ... teñri yarlıkaduk üçün tört yéǵirmi yaşımka tarduş bodun üze şad ertim*. In the Bilge Kağan Inscription *olurtuk* is in the dative case, which is the most common way to express time in runiform inscriptions, so we can translate the sentences as “When my uncle kağan ascended the throne I was tégin ... When I was fourteen years old, I was the şad over the Tarduş people.” In comparison with the Bilge Kağan Inscription, we cannot understand *olurtukda* here as a locative case meaning “when he ascended the throne” for two reasons. First, the case used to express time is usually the dative, for example *olurtukka* in B. E. 15, and not the locative. Second, Bilge Kağan was only seven years old and only a tégin (“prince”) when his uncle ascended the throne. He did not receive the appointment of şad over the Tarduş people until he was fourteen years old (B. E. 15). Therefore, it is better for us to understand *olurtukda* as an ablative and translate it as “since my uncle had ascended the throne”.

124 According to the corresponding text in the Bilge Kağan Inscription, this should be spelled *y<sup>1</sup>ŋl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>m<sup>2</sup>*. The Kül Tégin Inscription is the earlier text. In the later Bilge Kağan Inscription, the scribe corrected this writing error. Thomsen 1896, Radloff 1897, Malov 1951 and Tekin 1968 read it as *yañılukın*.

125 Radloff 1897, Orkun 1936 and Tekin 1968 read this as ... Here I follow the opinion of Thomsen, who suggested that the blurred word should be read as *ilin* and translated the sentence as “we gave their independence back to them” (Thomsen 1896: 104, Thomsen 1924: 148).

nçat<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : wl<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>w</sup>wl : k<sup>w</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>m ..... (22) nçak<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : it<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : l<sup>2</sup>mz : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>wmz : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>I : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : wg<sup>1</sup>z : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>I : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>η : wZA : t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>I : b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>Ay<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : l<sup>2</sup>ηn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>wηn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>mr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> ..... (23) wk<sup>2</sup>wn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>wηn<sup>2</sup> : wçwn<sup>2</sup> : Ig<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ηn<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : d<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>η.. : k<sup>2</sup>ntw : y<sup>1</sup>ηtg<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>lk<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>Ig<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>kl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ntn<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>p : y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>Al<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>I : s<sup>w</sup>ηg<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ntn<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>pn<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>Al<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>I : d<sup>1</sup>lk<sup>w</sup> : wt<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>I ..... (24) b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : wr<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ma : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>A : d<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>2</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>nç : k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>η : s<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>çA : y<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>I : s<sup>2</sup>wηk<sup>w</sup>wη : t<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çA : y<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup> : wr<sup>1</sup>rwg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>η : k<sup>w</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wlt<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>izw<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>η : k<sup>2</sup>wηb<sup>1</sup>wlt<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>md<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wç ..... (25) b<sup>1</sup>ş<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>zk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ik<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ws<sup>2</sup>I : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>mzwn<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ry<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ηmk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>mk<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>wt<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mş : t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>I : il<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ma : t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>I : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ws<sup>2</sup>I : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>w .....

21. yana bértimiz. ilgerü kadirkan yışığ aşā, bodunuğ ança konturtumuz, ança étdimiz. kuñgaru keñü tarmanka tegi türk bodunuğ ança konturtumuz, ança étdimiz. ol ödke kul kulluğ bolmış erti, küñ küñlüg bolmış erti. 22. ança kazğanmış, étmiş. élimiz törümüz erti. türk oğuz begleri bodun eşidin: üze teñri basmasar, asra yér telinmeser,<sup>126</sup> türk bodun, élinin törünün kem artat[d]ı udaçı erti? türk bodun er ...<sup>127</sup> 23. ökün. küregünün<sup>128</sup> üçün igidmiş bilge kağanın, érmış barmış edgü éliñe kentü yañltıg, yablak kigürtüg. yarıklıg kantın kelip yaña éltidi? süñüglüg kantın kelipen süre éltidi?

126 Radloff 1897 transcribed this as *tilenmeser* < *tilen-* “to want, draw sb. to someone” and translated *asra yér tilenmeser* as “[as long as] the earth below had not curled up”. It seems that he mistook this word for *tile-* “to desire” (T. 23). Thomsen 1896 transcribed as *telinmeser* and translated the sentence as “[as long as] the earth below had not opened”. Orkun 1936 followed Thomsen’s transcription but translated it more accurately using the modern Turkish verb *delinmek* “to be perforated”. Malov 1951 followed Thomsen’s transcription and translated *telin-* as “to open wide, crack”. Tekin 1968 translated *telin-* as “to give way”. Clauson explained this word in the same way as Orkun (Clauson 1972: 501). Here I follow the interpretation of Orkun and Clauson.

127 Radloff 1897 transcribed the blurred word as *ertiz* and translated the sentence as “You were obedient Türk people”. Thomsen 1896 also transcribed it as *ertiz* and translated the sentence as “Türk people, tremble and do a bit of soul-searching (regret your actions)”. Orkun 1936 followed Thomsen’s interpretation. Malov 1951 did not transcribe this word. Tekin 1968 suggested that the blurred word should be read as *ertin-* “to regret”. However, this questionable word *ertin-* can’t be found in any other sources.

128 Radloff 1897 read this as *körügünin* < *körüg* “look, loyalty”; Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read it as *körgünin* < *körgü* “subordination, obedience”; Tekin 1968 read it as *köregünin* < *küregü* “unruliness”; Clauson read it as *körgünin üçün igidmiş* “who nourished you because you looked to him” (Clauson 1972: 742). In the view of Clauson, here the noun is *körgü* “the act of seeing”. Basically there are two variant interpretations of this sentence. Thomsen 1896, Radloff 1897, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Clauson 1972 understood *körügünin/körgünin üçün* as a causal clause of *igidmiş bilge kağanı*, and thus translated it as “You yourselves betrayed your kağan, who had nourished you because of your obedience”. However Tekin interpreted *küregünin üçün* as the causal clause of the whole sentence and translated it as “Because of your unruliness, you yourselves betrayed your kağan

ıduk ötügen yış *bodun bardıǵ, ilgerü barıǵma* 24. bardıǵ, kurıǵaru barıǵma bardıǵ. bar-duk yérde edgüg ol erinç: kanıǵ subça yügürti, süñükün taǵça yatdı, beglik urı oǵluǵ kul boltı, silik<sup>129</sup> kız oǵluǵ küñ boltı. bilmedük üçün, *yablakıñın üçün eçim kaǵan uça bardı*. 25. başlayu kırkız kaǵanıǵ balbal tikdim. türk bodunuǵ atı küsi yok bolmazun téyin, kañım kaǵanıǵ ögüm katunuǵ kötürmiş teñri, él bérigme teñri, türk bodun atı küsi yok *bolmazun téyin, özümün ol teñri*

(26) k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ı<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>nç : n<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup>m : ıçr<sup>2</sup>A : şs<sup>1</sup>z : t<sup>1</sup>şr<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>z : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>zy<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ı<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>nta : wza : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : m<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>w</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ı<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>wz<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ş<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>1</sup>ıñmz : çımz : k<sup>1</sup>z ..... (27) t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wçw<sup>n</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wn<sup>2</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>wn<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>z : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup> : m<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ı<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>ışd<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ı<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A : w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>wy<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>w : k<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>ntm : nçAk<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>p : b<sup>2</sup>ı<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : wt<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ı<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup>m : mn<sup>2</sup>..... (28) b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>mş : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>wy<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>w : y<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>ıñn<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ak<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : ıg<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>..y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ı<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : wg<sup>1</sup>zb<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>pa : ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>... : k<sup>1</sup>ıt<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ı : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>pa : b<sup>2</sup>ı<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çt<sup>1</sup>pa : wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>w : k<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>..... (29) k<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>ıñr<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ı<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>zw : k<sup>w</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>m : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>wçn<sup>2</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>wçw<sup>n</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çı : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ı<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w : ıg<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : y<sup>1</sup>ıñb<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>ıg<sup>1</sup> : çıg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ıltm : zb<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>şk<sup>1</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : ıg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ı<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>A ..... (30) b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wp : b<sup>1</sup>zk<sup>1</sup>ıltm : y<sup>1</sup>ıg<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ız : k<sup>1</sup>ı<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ltm : k<sup>w</sup>wp : mña : k<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : ıs<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>wçg<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ı<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wnçA : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>p : m<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : w..ıñç.. : k<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>..b<sup>1</sup>wltı : k<sup>1</sup>ıñmk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wçd<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : m<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ı.....

26. kaǵan olurtdı erinç. neñ yılsıǵ<sup>130</sup> bodunka olurmıdım. içre aşız, taşra tonsuz, yabız yablak bodunta üze olurtum. inim kül<sup>131</sup> tégin birle sözleşdimiz. kañımız eçimiz *kazǵanmış bodun atı küsi yok bolmazun* 27. téyin, türk bodun üçün tün udımadım, küntüz olurmad[ım]. inim kül tégin birle, éki şad birle ölü yitü kazǵantım. ança kazǵanıp biriki bodunuǵ ot sub kılmadım. men *özüm kaǵan olurtukuma yér sayu* 28. barmış bodun ölü yitü yadaǵın yalıñın<sup>132</sup> yana kelti. bodunuǵ igideyin téyin, yıǵaru

who had nourished you, and you yourselves betrayed your good realm which was free and independent.” Here I follow the interpretation of Tekin.

- 129 Tekin 1968 read this as *esilik* < *esi* “lady”.
- 130 Radloff 1897 read this as *yılsaǵ* “rich in animals”. Since Thomsen, all editors have transcribed it as *yılsıǵ*. Clauson thought that there was no obvious etymology for *yılsıǵ*, and suggested reading it as *yılsıǵ* < *yılış*- “to warm” (Clauson 1972: 933). Here I follow the transcription of Thomsen.
- 131 The runiform letters of this name can be transcribed both as *kül* and *köl*. All of the early editors gave the form *kül* (Radloff 1897, Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Tekin 1968). Since 1970s, however, some scholars are inclined to transcribe it as *köl*, and connect it with the *köl* meaning “lake, sea” (eg. Sertkaya 1974; Erdal 2004: 10; Kasai 2012: 91). Some recent editors have accepted the form *köl* (Berta 2004, Alyılmaz 2005, Aydın 2012, Aydın 2017), while some not (Şirin User 2010, Ölmez 2013). The Chinese transcription of this word, 闕 (EMC: k<sup>h</sup>uat), indicates that there should be a /ü/ rather than /ö/ (also see Clauson 1972: 715). Therefore, the traditional form *kül* will be maintained in this book.
- 132 Thomsen 1896, Radloff 1897, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *yalañın* (*yalañ* “naked” + *n*); Tekin 1968 read it as *yalıñın* (*yalıñ* “naked” + *n*). According to Clauson,

oğuz bodun tapa, ilgerü kitañ tatabı bodun tapa, bérgerü tabğaç tapa uluğ sü éki yégirmi süledim ... süñüşdüm anta. 29. késre teñri yarlıkazu, kutum bar üçün, ülügüm bar üçün ölteçi bodunuğ tırgürü<sup>133</sup> igit[d]im. yalıñ bodunuğ tonluğ, çığañ bodunuğ bay kılıtm. az bodunuğ üküş kılıtm, ığar élligde ığar kağanlığda yég kılıtm. tört bulıñdaki 30. bodunuğ kop baz kılıtm, yağısız kılıtm. kop maña körti. éşig küçüg bérür. bunça törüg kazğanıp inim kül tégin özi ança kerçek boltı. kañım kağan uçdukda inim kül tégin yéti yaşda kalıtı.<sup>134</sup>

(31) wmy<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : w̄g<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>ηA : m<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ı : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mı : y<sup>1</sup>şıñA : çımkl<sup>g</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : ıl<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : n̄çAk<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>ntı : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ıçwb<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>pA : s<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : b<sup>1</sup>wzd<sup>1</sup>mz : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç : wñt<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>..... (32) k<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wpl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı : wñt<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>çın<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ka:n̄çwl<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>r:w<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>w̄g<sup>2</sup>:ntay<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ısd<sup>1</sup>mz:b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>z:y<sup>1</sup>şıñA:ççAS<sup>2</sup>ñwn<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A:s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñşd<sup>2</sup>mz:ñl<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>..çwr<sup>1</sup>ñ : b<sup>1</sup>wz ..... (33) w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : ışb<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>Ay<sup>1</sup>mt<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wzt<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>p : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı : wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ntA : w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : w̄çn̄ç : y<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ñ : k<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ml<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>p : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>... : wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ntA : w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ntA : y<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>1</sup>ntA : y<sup>2</sup>w̄zr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ı : y<sup>2</sup>w̄... : b<sup>1</sup>şıñA : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>..... (34) t<sup>2</sup>..d<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wpb<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>z : wl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>w̄g<sup>2</sup> : ntay<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ısd<sup>1</sup>mz : ntak<sup>2</sup>... r<sup>2</sup>A : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ıb<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ı : n<sup>1</sup>ıy<sup>1</sup>ñp : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>A : b<sup>1</sup>wzd<sup>1</sup>mz : wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : zk<sup>1</sup>ñA : r<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>zp : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ı : k<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>..... (35) y<sup>2</sup>şıñA : k<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>zt<sup>1</sup>pA : s<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : s̄wñw̄g<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>mı : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w̄k<sup>2</sup>pn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>w̄g<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ışg<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>ıp : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>z : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : wd<sup>1</sup>A : b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mz : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A : s<sup>1</sup>wñAy<sup>2</sup>ısd<sup>1</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>wñşd<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>.....

31. umay teg ögüm katun kutıña inim kül tégin er at bolıtı. altı yégirmi yaşına eçim kağan élin törüsin ança kazğantı. altı çub soğdak tapa süledimiz, buzdumuz. tabğaç oñ tutuk béş tümen sü kelti. süñüşdümüz. 32. kül tégin yadağın oplayu tegdi.

yalıñ < \*yal- (Clauson 1972: 929). Here I follow the transcription of Tekin and Clauson. Tekin 1968 translated it as “When I succeeded to the throne, the people who had gone in almost all directions came back utterly exhausted, without horses and without clothes.” According to his translation, people were coming back at the time that Bilge Kağan ascended the throne. However, the Chinese accounts tell us that when Bilge Kağan ascended the throne, people were leaving. Therefore, I translated it in a different way: “The people who had gone elsewhere when I was ascending the throne came back again, exhausted, on foot and naked.”

133 Radloff 1897 read this as *tirigerü*; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as *tirigerü*; Malov 1951 read it as *tirigrü*. Tekin 1968 and Clauson 1972 read it as *tırgürü* < *tırgür-* “to revive, to bring to life”. Here I follow the transcription of Tekin and Clauson.

134 Malov 1951 added *on yaşda*.

oŋ tutuk yurçın<sup>135</sup> yarıklıĝ<sup>136</sup> eligin tutdı, yarıklıĝdı kaĝanka ançuladı.<sup>137</sup> ol süg anta yok kışdımız. bir otuz yaşıŋa çaça seŋünke süñüşdümüz. eŋ ilki tadıkıŋ<sup>138</sup> çorıŋ boz atıĝ binip tegdı, ol at anta 33. ölti. ékinti işbara yamtar boz atıĝ binip tegdı, ol at anta ölti. üçünc yegin silig<sup>139</sup> beĝiŋ kedimlig toruĝ at binip tegdı, ol at anta ölti. yarıknta yalmasınta<sup>140</sup> yüz artuk okun urtı, yüzüŋe<sup>141</sup> başıŋa bir tegürmedi.<sup>142</sup> 34. tegdükin türk begler kop bilir siz. ol süg anta yok kışdımız. anta késre yér bayırku uluĝ irkin yaĝı boltı. anı yañıp türĝi yaĝun költe buzdumuz. uluĝ irkin azkıña erin tezip bardı. kül tégin altı otuz 35. yaşıŋa kırkız tapa süledimiz. süñüg batımı karıĝ söküpén köĝmen yışıĝ toĝa yorıŋ kırkız bodunuĝ uda basdımız. kaĝanın birle soŋa yışda süñüşdümüz. kül tégin bayırkunıŋ ak adĝurıĝ

(36) b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>p : wpl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>r : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : wd<sup>1</sup>sr<sup>1</sup>w : s<sup>1</sup>hçd<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>d<sup>2</sup>A : b<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wn<sup>2</sup>ŋ : k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : wd<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>1</sup>w : wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>z : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : il<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>mz : w<sup>1</sup>ly<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ış ..... (37) t<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>A : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>2</sup>zg<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>çA : y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>ıd<sup>1</sup>mz : t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : wd<sup>1</sup>Ab<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mz : t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> :

- 135 Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read this as *yoriçın*; Radloff 1897 read it as *yoraçın*; Malov 1951 read it as *yorçın*. Tekin for the first time transcribed it as *yurıç+ın*, “brother-in-law”. However, he translated the sentence as “He took the governor’s brother-in-law prisoner while he (the prisoner) had weapons in his hands.” Here I follow the transcription of Tekin, but I translate it in a different way.
- 136 Thomsen 1896, Radloff 1897, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Tekin 1968 read this as *yaraklıĝ*. Clauson transcribed it as *yarıklıĝ* (Clauson 1972: 964). Here I follow the transcription of Clauson.
- 137 Radloff 1897 read this as *eŋ uldı, eŋç* “peace”, *ul-* “to give in”; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as *eŋç uladı*. It was Malov 1951 who for the first time suggested that it should be read as *ançuladı* < *ançula-* “to present, submit”. Here I follow the interpretation of Malov.
- 138 Radloff 1897 read it as *tadık saçuran*; Thomsen 1896 read it as *tadıkıŋ çurıŋ*, and discussed two possible interpretations: regarding *tadıkıŋ* either as a proper name or as a genitive form of *tadık* (Thomsen 1896: 155). Malov 1951 and Geng 2005 read it as *tadıkın çurıŋ*; Orkun 1936 and Tekin 1968 followed Thomsen’s transcription and interpreted *tadıkıŋ* as genitive. Here I also take *tadıkıŋ* as genitive of *tadık*.
- 139 Radloff 1897 transcribed it as *yeginsil*; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as *yeginsilig*; Malov 1951 read it as *yegin silig*; Tekin 1968 read it as *yégen silig*. Here I follow the reading of Malov.
- 140 Thomsen 1896 read this as *yalama+sında* “moon-diamond ornament”; Radloff 1897 read it as *ailama+sinde* “surroundings”. Orkun first transcribed it as *yalma+sında*, and translated as “horse’s armor”. Malov 1951 translated *yalma* as “cloak”. Similarly, Tekin 1968 translated it as “caftan”. Clauson 1972 translated it as “a thick quilted coat; linen armor” (Clauson 1972: 929). Here I follow the interpretation of Orkun and Malov.
- 141 Radloff 1897 read this as *yer+iye* “place”; Thomsen 1896 read it as *yüzke*; Orkun 1936 read it as *yizke*; Malov 1951 read it as *yizek*. Here I follow the transcription of Tekin 1968, who transcribed it as *yüziye*.
- 142 Thomsen 1896 and Radloff 1897 read this as ...; Orkun 1936 read it as *tegmedi*; it was Malov 1951 who for the first time read it correctly as *tegürmedi* < *teğür-* “to cause to reach”, which was accepted by Tekin 1968. Here I follow the reading of Malov.

s<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>çwda : wt<sup>1</sup>çA : b<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>çA : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñşd<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>şg<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>wzt<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>pt<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>r : b<sup>1</sup>şg<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>wz..... (38) t<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>z<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ı : k<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : w̄zıl<sup>2</sup>z<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı : ntay<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>p : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>ı : zt<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>ı : l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ı : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup>nta : w̄l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : l<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>mz : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>At<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wpiçk<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı : wl<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>w ..... (39) s<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>çw̄ : w̄g<sup>2</sup>z<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>çA : t<sup>2</sup>mr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>pg<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : ntAk<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>At<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ıb<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>ş : k<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>pA : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ı : b<sup>2</sup>ızn<sup>2</sup>w̄ : t<sup>1</sup>ı : t<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : zwk<sup>1</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>w</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>ı : r<sup>2</sup>..... (40) l<sup>1</sup>pr<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ızn<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>m<sup>1</sup>şr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : ntg<sup>1</sup>w̄d<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A : w̄k<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>p : k<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : zr<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : ır<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>w̄ : ır<sup>1</sup>mz : wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñş : s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñşm<sup>1</sup>ş : l<sup>1</sup>pşl<sup>1</sup>çı : k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>p : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>m<sup>1</sup>ş : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>At<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : ntaw̄l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>m<sup>1</sup>ş : l<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>ş : y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>p .....

36. binip oplayu tegdi. bir erig okun urtu, éki erig uduşuru<sup>143</sup> sançdı. ol tegdükde bayırkunuy ak adğırığ udlukın sıyu urtu. kırkız kağanın ölürtümüz, élin altımız. ol yılka türğış *tapa altun yışğ* 37. toğa ertiş ögüzüg keçe yordımız. türğış bodunuğ uda basdımız. türğış kağan süsi bolçuda otça borça<sup>144</sup> kelti. süñüşdümüz. kül tégin başğu boz at binip tegdi, başğu boz ..... 38. tutuztı. ékisin özi altızdı.<sup>145</sup> anta yana kirip türğış kağan, buyruki, az tutukuğ eligin tutdı. kağanın anta ölürtümüz, élin altımız. kara türğış bodun kop içikdi. ol bodunuğ tabarda *konturtumuz*.<sup>146</sup> 39. soğdak bodun éteyin téyin, yinçü ögüzüg keçe temir kapığka tegi süledimiz. anta késre kara türğış bodun yağı bolmış. keñeres tapa bardı. biziñ sü atı turuk azuki yok erti. yablak kişi er ..... 40. alp er biziñe tegmiş erti. antağ ödke ökünüp kül téginig az erin értürü it[d]ımız. uluğ süñüş süñüşmiş. alp şalçı ak atın binip tegmiş. kara türğış bodunuğ anta ölürmüş, almış. yana yorıp .....

143 Radloff 1897 read this as *udşru* “back again”; Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read it as *udşru* “one after the other”. Tekin 1968 transcribed it as *ud aşru* “through the thigh”. Clauson interpreted *uduşur-* as a causative of *uduş-*, meaning “to crowd together and follow one another” (Clauson 1972: 73). Erdal thinks the form mentioned by Clauson *uduşur-* is quite dubious (Erdal 1991: 571). Here I follow the interpretation of Clauson.

144 Radloff 1897 read this as *otaça buraça* “from all sides”. Thomsen 1896 transcribed it as *otça buraça* “like fire and storm”. Thomsen 1916 suggested that there was an old word *bor* meaning “storm” (Thomsen 1916: 94). Orkun 1936 transcribed it as *otça borça* “like fire and water”. Malov 1951 translated it as “like fire and wine”. Tekin 1968 followed Thomsen’s interpretation. Here I follow Thomsen’s reading too.

145 Radloff 1897 read this as *altızdı*, causative of *al-*. Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 *ldızd*(?). Malov 1951 followed the reading of Radloff 1897. Tekin 1968 and Clauson transcribed it as *altuzdı*, because in Kāshgharī’s *DLT* the form is *alduz-* (Clauson 1972: 134). However, Erdal insisted that here it can only be read as *altız* (or possibly *aldız-*) (Erdal 1991: 707). I follow the interpretation of Erdal.

146 Radloff 1897 read this as *ku(rıǵaru)*; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as ...; Malov 1951 suggested *konturtumuz*, *yana yorıp*; Tekin 1951 partly followed Malov’s reading, *konturtumuz* ... Here I also follow Malov’s suggestion of *konturtumuz*.

*North Side*

(1) ..... l<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>w</sup>w<sup>š</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>ñ</sup>ñw<sup>m</sup> ... : r<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wp : w<sup>l</sup>l<sup>2</sup>w<sup>r</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>.....  
 l<sup>1</sup>is<sup>2</sup>z : k<sup>w</sup>wp : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>w<sup>r</sup>t<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>l</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>z : y<sup>1</sup>šm<sup>ñ</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> :  
 r<sup>2</sup>w<sup>r</sup>2b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>:r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup>:y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ib<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>:t<sup>1</sup>mg<sup>1</sup>id<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>:b<sup>1</sup>šd<sup>1</sup>A:s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>ñ</sup>ñs<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz(2).....g<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>:w<sup>l</sup>l<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>ñ</sup>ñs<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>A:  
 wt<sup>1</sup>zy<sup>1</sup>šy<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>pšl<sup>1</sup>... n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>p : wpl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>... : wd<sup>1</sup>šr<sup>1</sup>w : s<sup>1</sup>ñçd<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>...  
 wg<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>l</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>mz : zb<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ib<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>A : ..w<sup>l</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>ñ</sup>ñs<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>l</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> :  
 b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>šy<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>pšl<sup>1</sup>ç<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : (3) ..... l<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup> : z<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> :  
 zb<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>ay<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : çm<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : il<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>m<sup>š</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>im<sup>2</sup>A : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ik<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup> :  
 b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>im<sup>2</sup>A : izg<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>ñ</sup>ñs<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>l</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>pšl<sup>1</sup>ç<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>p :  
 (4) .....I : w<sup>l</sup>l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>n<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>s</sup>d<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup> ..... w<sup>l</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wzwg<sup>1</sup>z : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> :  
 t<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup> : ... g<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : ..... g<sup>1</sup>ib<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>il<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : b<sup>2</sup>išy<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>ñ</sup>ñs<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : ñl<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup> :  
 t<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>ñ</sup>ñs<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>... (5) ... l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : zmn<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>.. : wpl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> :  
 s<sup>1</sup>ñçd<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>t</sup>g<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>im<sup>2</sup>A : y<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>çr<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>il<sup>1</sup>ç<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>wš<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : d<sup>2</sup>z : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A :  
 s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>ñ</sup>ñs<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>l</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : zy<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>zm<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>p : wpl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>p : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>ñçd<sup>1</sup> :

1. ....birle, koşu tutuk birle süñüşmiş. erin kop ölürmüş. ebin barımın kalısz<sup>147</sup> kop kelürti. kül tégin yéti otuz yaşına karluk bodun érur barur erkli yağı boltı. tamağ iduk başda süñüşdümüz. 2. kül tégin ol süñüşde otuz yaşayur erti. alp şalçı akın<sup>148</sup> binip oplayu tegdi. éki erig uduşuru sançdı. karlukuğ ölürtümüz, altımız. az bodun yağı boltı.<sup>149</sup> kara költe süñüşdümüz. kül tégin bir kırk yaşayur erti. alp şalçı akın 3. binip oplayu tegdi. az elteberig tutdı.<sup>150</sup> az bodun anta yok boltı. eçim kağan éli kamsaş<sup>151</sup> boltukanta, bodun élig ékegü<sup>152</sup> boltukanta izgil bodun birle süñüşdümüz. kül tégin alp şalçı akın binip 4. oplayu tegdi. ol at anta tüşdi. izgil bodun ölti. tokuz oğuz bodun kentü bodunum erti, teñri yér bulğakın üçün yağı boltı. bir yılka beş yolu süñüşdümüz.

147 Radloff 1897 read this as *tegipen*; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as ... *in*. Malov 1951 suggested it should be read as *kalısz*, a view which was followed by Tekin 1968. I follow Malov's reading too.

148 Thomsen 1896 read this as *ak/at?*; Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read it as *ak atın*. I follow the reading of Radloff *ak*, which was also accepted by Tekin 1968. The original meaning of *ak* is "white", but here it refers to a "white horse".

149 Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read this as *kaldı*. Here I follow the reading of Radloff 1897 *boltı*, which was also accepted by Malov 1951 and Tekin 1968.

150 Radloff 1897 read this as *tutmadı*. Thomsen 1896 for the first time transcribed it as *tutdı*, which was accepted by Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Tekin 1968.

151 Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *kamaşıǵ*, Malov also suggested it should be read as *kamşaǵ*. Tekin 1968 and Clauson transcribed it as *kamşaǵ* "insecure" < *kamşa-* "to move or sway" (Clauson 1972: 629). Here I follow the transcription of Tekin and Clauson.

152 Radloff 1897 read this as *ölüg-ikli*; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as *ilgikigi*; Malov 1951 read it as *iligi kegi*. Thomsen in the note suggested *ilig|ülüğ ikegü*. Tekin 1968 transcribed it as *ilig ikegü* and translated *ikegü* as "two parts". According to Clauson, it should be \**ékkegü* (Clauson 1972: 105).

erig ilk<sup>153</sup> toğu balıkda sünjüşdümüz. 5. kül tégin azman akıg binip oplayu tegdi. altı erig sançdı. sü tegişinte yétiñç erig kılıçladı. ékinti kuşlağakda ediz<sup>154</sup> birle sünjüşdümüz. kül tégin az yağızın binip oplayu tegip bir erig sançdı.

(6) t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wz : r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>id<sup>1</sup> : ... : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : n<sup>1</sup>tA : w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>I : w<sup>1</sup>çnç : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>... d<sup>1</sup>A : wg<sup>1</sup>zb<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>ñşd<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : zmn<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>p : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>I : s<sup>1</sup>nçd<sup>1</sup>I : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>nçd<sup>1</sup>mz : il<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>mz : t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>nç : çwş : b<sup>1</sup>şinta : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>ñşd<sup>2</sup>mz : t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : (7) b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>mş<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>...ir<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>I : wza : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : g<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>p : t<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>A : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>ş : l<sup>1</sup>pg<sup>1</sup>w : wn<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>ñat<sup>2</sup>... : y<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>inta : ag<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>pwl<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : b<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>nç : zg<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>I : k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>zd<sup>2</sup>A : wg<sup>1</sup>zb<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A : sw<sup>1</sup>ñşs<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : (8) zy<sup>1</sup>gz<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>p : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>I : k<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>nçd<sup>1</sup>I : b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : b<sup>1</sup>... d<sup>1</sup>I : wl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>w : n<sup>1</sup>taw..... wr<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ışl<sup>1</sup>p : y<sup>1</sup>zıñA : wg<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : w<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>şk<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>mz : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>şl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : k<sup>1</sup>ıt<sup>1</sup>mz : wg<sup>1</sup>zy<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>I : wr<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : (9) ... z : ... : b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>p : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wzr<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>nçd<sup>1</sup>I : wr<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>md<sup>2</sup>I : w<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>mk<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : w<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ñwn<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>w</sup>wnçy<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>m : b<sup>1</sup>wnçay<sup>2</sup>ma : t<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>I : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>ñb<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>tçir<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>I : w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>I : y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>lçir<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>z : (10) k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wp : w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çir<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>z : m<sup>2</sup>mk<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>zm : s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ntm : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>zm : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mz<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>mz<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>zms<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ntm : w<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup>I : y<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>rwg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wp : w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>I : t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> :

6. tokuz erig egire tokıdı. *ediz* bodun anta ölti. üçünç ...<sup>155</sup> oğuz birle sünjüşdümüz. kül tégin azman akıg binip tegdi, sançdı. süsin sançdıımız, élin altımız. törtünç çuş başınta sünjüşdümüz. Türk 7. bodun adak kamşatdı, yablak boltaçı erti. oza kelmiş süsin kül tégin ağıtıp toñra bir uğuş alpağı on erig toña *tégin* yoğınta egirip ölürtümüz. béşinç ezgenti kadazda oğuz birle sünjüşdümüz. kül tégin 8. az yağızın binip tegdi, éki erig sançdı. balık[k]a basıkdı.<sup>156</sup> ol sü anta *ölti. amğa*<sup>157</sup> kurğan kışlap yazıña oğuzğaru sü şaşıkdımız. kül tégin ebıg<sup>158</sup> başlayu akıt[d]ımız.<sup>159</sup> oğuz yağı orduğ basdı. kül tégin

153 Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *ilik*.

154 Radloff 1897 read this as *oğuz*. Thomsen 1896 for the first time correctly transcribed it as *ediz*, which has been accepted by other editors. According to the Chinese sources, the Ediz were a member of the Oğuz confederation.

155 Thomsen 1896, Radloff 1897, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as...; Tekin 1968 suggested *bolçuda*. The reading suggested by Tekin is however problematic, because Bolçu is a place in the land of the Türğiş, not the Tokuz Oğuz (K. E. 37, T. 35).

156 Radloff 1897, Thomsen 1896 and Malov 1951 read this as *barmadı*; Orkun 1936 read it as *b...dı*. Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968, *basıkdı* < *basık*- “to be attacked, crushed”.

157 Radloff 1897 and Malov 1951 read this as *mağı*; Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Tekin 1968 read it as *amğa*. Here I follow the reading of Thomsen.

158 Thomsen 1896, Radloff 1897 and Orkun 1936 read this as *beg* “official”. It was Malov 1951 who for the first time correctly transcribed it as *ebıg*, the accusative case of *eb* “home, house”.

159 Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *kutumız* < *kit*- “to let off”. Here I follow the reading of Radloff 1897, *akıtımız* < *akit*- “to send out a party of raid” (Clauson 1972: 81), which was also accepted by Tekin 1968.

9. *ögsüz akın* binip tokuz erin sançdı. orduğ bérmedi. ögüm katun ulayu öglerim ekelerim kelinünüm kunçuyarım bunça yeme tirigi küñ boltaçı erti, ölügi yurtda yolta yatı kaltaçı ertigiz. 10. kül tégin yok erser kop ölteçi ertigiz. inim kül tégin kergek boltı. özüm sakıntım. kórür közüm körmez teg, bilir biligim bilmez teg boltı. özüm sakıntım. öd tenri yasar.<sup>160</sup> kişi oğlı kop ölgeli<sup>161</sup> törümiş.

(11) *nça* : s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>tm : k<sup>2</sup>wzd<sup>2</sup>A : y<sup>1</sup>šk<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>wñl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>tm : k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı : s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>tm : k<sup>2</sup>ısd<sup>1</sup> : w.y<sup>1</sup>w : m<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup>m : wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>wzık<sup>1</sup>şı : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wltçıt<sup>2</sup>ıp : s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>tm : y<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>çı : s<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>çı : k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ñ : t<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ı : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>şly<sup>1</sup>w : (12) wd<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ñwñ<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>tA : ıs<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ı : l<sup>2</sup>ık<sup>2</sup>ñ : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>wmñ<sup>2</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ı : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>wmş : k<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>z : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>wpwt<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>tA : b<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ı : s<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>çk<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>... : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>tA : n<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ñwñ<sup>2</sup> : wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : (13) wn<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>m : k<sup>1</sup>(t<sup>2</sup>)wr<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>tA : mk<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ç : t<sup>1</sup>mg<sup>1</sup>çı : wg<sup>1</sup>z : b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>mg<sup>1</sup>çı : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>z : ..... : t<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>wş : m<sup>1</sup>nçwçwr<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : ıt<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>wçı : b<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>z : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>mA : b<sup>2</sup>ıt<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : ıt<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>wçı : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : çık<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ı : çñs<sup>2</sup>ñwñ<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı :

11. ança sakıntım. közde yaş kelser tıda,<sup>162</sup> köñülte sıgıt kelser yanturu sakıntım. katıgdı sakıntım. éki şad *ulayu* ini[y]igünüm<sup>163</sup> oğlanım beglerim bodunum közi kaşı yablak boltaçı tép sakıntım. yoğçı sıgıtçı kıtñ tatabı bodun başlayı 12. udar señün kelti. tabğaç kağanta işiyi<sup>164</sup> likenj kelti. bir tümen ağı altun kümüş kergeksiz kelürti. tüpüt kağanta bölün<sup>165</sup> kelti. kunya kün batsıkdaki soğd, berçeker,<sup>166</sup> bukarak *uluş* bodunta

160 Clauson 1972 insisted that the earlier reading *yasar* was wrong, and that it should be *ayasar-*, the conditional case of *ay-* “to say”. Thus he translated this sentence as “(All) sons of men have been born to die when heaven prescribes the time.” (Clauson 1972: 974).

161 Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 *ölügli*; Malov 1951 suggested it be read as *ölgeli* or *ölügli*. Here I follow the reading of Radloff 1897, *ölgeli*, which was also accepted by Tekin 1968.

162 Radloff 1897 read this as *ette*; Thomsen 1896 read it as *etida*; Orkun 1936 read it as *etide*; Malov 1951 read it as *eti da*. Tekin 1968 suggested it should be read as *tida* < *tid-* “to hold back”. The first letter *t<sup>2</sup>* must be a writing error by the scribe. According to Clauson, the correct form is *tud-* “to restrain” (Clauson 1972: 450).

163 Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *iniyigünim*; Radloff 1897 read it as *arka-günim*; Tekin 1968 read it as *ini-yegünim*; Clauson read it as *iniginim*. This word also appears in the first line of the south side, as *In<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup>m*. In this place, the *y<sup>2</sup>* is missing. Interestingly, in this paragraph, there are many writing mistakes. Here I transcribe this word as *iniyigünüm*, though Clauson argued that the *y<sup>2</sup>* on the south side can be taken as one of several masons’ errors (Clauson 1972: 170).

164 Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read this as *isyi*, Radloff 1897 and Malov 1951 read it as *ısyi*. This is a Turkic transcription of the Chinese title *sheren* (EMC: *cia<sup>h</sup>-nin*), the last nasal /n/ was lost.

165 Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read this as *bölen*; Malov 1951 read it as *bölön*. It is a Tibetan title *blon* “minister”. I follow the transcription of Tekin 1968.

166 Radloff 1897 read this as *berçilep*. Thomsen 1896 transcribed it as *berçeker* and suggested it be identified with the Persians. Thomsen’s suggestion was accepted by the later editors

enik<sup>167</sup> señün, oğul tarkan kelti. 13. on ok oğlum türgiş kağanta makaraç tamğaçı, oğuz bilge tamğaçı kelti. kırkız *kağanta* tarduş inançu çor kelti. bark étgüçi, bediz yaratıgma, bitig taş étgüçi, tabğaç kağan çikanı çañ señün kelti.

### Northeast Edge

k<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wñy<sup>2</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>iy<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mk<sup>2</sup>A : wçd<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>znçy<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıwt<sup>1</sup>zk<sup>1</sup>A .....  
b<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>ş ...ıçm<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>nçy<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>ı : wt<sup>1</sup>zk<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>w</sup>wp ..... k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : .....it<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>1</sup>şıñ :  
b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ıt<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>..... b<sup>1</sup>wñçA : b<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>zçıg<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : lt<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı :

kül tégin koñ yılda yéti yéğirmike uçdı. tokuzunç ay yéti otuzka *yoğ értürtümüz. barkun, bedizin*, bitig taşın béçin yılda yétiñç ay yéti otuzka kop *alkdımız*.<sup>168</sup> *kül tégin öz*<sup>169</sup> kırk *artukı* yéti yaşın<sup>170</sup> boltı.<sup>171</sup> *taş*<sup>172</sup>.....<sup>173</sup> bunça bedizçig toyğut<sup>174</sup> élteber kelü[r]ti.

### Southeast Edge

b<sup>1</sup>wñçA : b<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>mA : k<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>2</sup>m :  
y<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mı : k<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>p : b<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>şk<sup>1</sup>A : b<sup>1</sup>w : t<sup>1</sup>Amk<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>w</sup>wp : y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>2</sup>m :  
ıg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ñzd<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>ñzd<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı : ıg<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>z : wçAb<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>z : t<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup>ı :  
t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ıçA

bunça bitig bitigme kül tégin atısı yol[l]uğ tégin biti[t]dim. yéğirmi kün olurup bu taşka, bu tamka kop yol[l]uğ tégin biti[t]dim. ığar oğlanıñızda tayğunuñızda yéğdi igidür ertigiz. uça bardığız. tenride tirigdekiçe .....

like Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Tekin 1968. But Tekin transcribed it differently as *berçik er* “people of Persia”. Here I follow the transcription of Thomsen.

167 Thomsen 1896, Radloff 1897, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *ney*. Here I follow the transcription of this word by Tekin 1968 as *enik*. It is a proper name.

168 Thomsen 1896, Radloff 1897, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *alkadımız* < *alka*- “to dedicate”. Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968 *alkdımız* < *alk*- “to finish, complete”.

169 Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *ölip*. Here I follow the reading of Radloff 1897 and Tekin 1968, *özi*, meaning “his age”.

170 Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Tekin 1968 read this as *yaşık*; Geng 2005 read it as *yaşuñ[a]*. Here I follow the transcription of Radloff 1897 and Malov 1951, *yaşuñ*.

171 Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Tekin 1968 read this as *bulut*; Malov suggested that it can also be read as *boltu*, which fits the context better. Although *boltu* is usually written as *b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>*, the possibility that the *b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>* here is an error by the scribe for *b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>* can not be excluded.

172 Tekin 1968 suggested the reading *bustadı* < *busta*- “to bellow, roar”.

173 Radloff 1897 suggested the reading *bark etküçi* “the maker of the memorial”. Similarly, Geng 2005 transcribed this as *bark itgüçig*.

174 Radloff 1897, Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936, and Malov 1951 read it as *toyğun*; Tekin 1968 read it as *tuyğut*. The ending sign is clearly written as *t<sup>1</sup>*. Therefore, I transcribe it as *toyğut*.

**Southwest Edge**

..... : k<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>η : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>wm<sup>2</sup>sm<sup>2</sup> : g<sup>1</sup>ısm<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>mm<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>.....m<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ma : t<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>..... b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄ : t<sup>2</sup>η ..... t<sup>1</sup>ş : b<sup>2</sup>ıt<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>...

... kül téginiñ altunun kümüşin ağısın<sup>175</sup> barımın tört buñ *yulkısın*,<sup>176</sup> ayıgma<sup>177</sup> toyğut bu ... begim tégin yügerü teñri ..... taş bitit[t]dim. yolluğ tégin ...

**West Side**

k<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> : wr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>i..... g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wçg<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wçn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ık<sup>1</sup>A : m<sup>2</sup>mk<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wzd<sup>2</sup>w̄ : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : m<sup>2</sup>nçwpa : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : At<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : n<sup>1</sup>...

kurıdın soğd örti. *inim kül tégin* .....<sup>178</sup> éşig küçüğ bértük üçün türk bilge kağan ayukıka<sup>179</sup> *inim kül téginin közedü olurtum. inançu apa yarğan tarkan atığ bértim. anu ögtürtüm.*<sup>180</sup>

**South Side**

(1) t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>2</sup>A : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>mş : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wwd<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>mn<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wk<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>i : s<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : m<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w̄n<sup>2</sup>m : wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>i : wg<sup>1</sup>şm : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>A : şd<sup>1</sup>pit<sup>1</sup>b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : wt<sup>1</sup>z..... (2) t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wzwg<sup>1</sup>z : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ıb<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>ws<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>mn<sup>2</sup> : d<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w̄t<sup>2</sup>i : s<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ıñl<sup>1</sup>A : ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄ : k<sup>2</sup>w̄n<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄ : k<sup>2</sup>w̄n<sup>2</sup> : wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ws<sup>2</sup>ıñr<sup>1</sup>w : k<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>ıg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : k<sup>2</sup>w̄n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ıñA : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : t<sup>2</sup>w̄n<sup>2</sup> : wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ws<sup>2</sup>ıñr<sup>1</sup>w : n<sup>1</sup>A : ıçr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>i : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>..... (3) k<sup>w</sup>wp : ıt<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : wl<sup>1</sup>mt<sup>1</sup> : ñg<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w̄t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ış : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : ıl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>A : b<sup>1</sup>wñy<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄ : şntwñ : y<sup>1</sup>zık<sup>1</sup>At<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>i : s<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : t<sup>1</sup>lw<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>ıçg<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>md<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄ : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>wz : r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>i : s<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>w̄pw̄t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>ıçg<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>md<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>ıg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : y<sup>2</sup>nçw̄wg<sup>2</sup>... (4) k<sup>2</sup>çA : t<sup>2</sup>mr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>pg<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>i : s<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>ıñA : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>i : s<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>1</sup>wñçA : y<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>i : y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>m : w̄t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ışd<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup> : ıd<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : ıl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup> : w̄.k<sup>w</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ısr<sup>2</sup>mş : b<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>A :

175 Radloff 1897 suspected that here the ş is a mistake for s<sup>1</sup> and therefore the word should be transcribed as *ağısın* (*ağı+sın* “treasure”). Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Tekin 1968 transcribed it as *ağışın*. Tekin defined *ağış* as “treasure”, the same as *ağı*. Here I follow the interpretation of Radloff.

176 Radloff 1897 read this as *karasın*; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as *k* ... Here I follow the transcription of Tekin 1968, *yulkısın* (*yulku+sın* “horse”). According to Clauson, *yulku* means “livestock” (Clauson 1972: 925).

177 Radloff 1897 read this as *yığma* < *yığ-* “to knock over”; Thomsen 1896 read it as *ığma* “to supervise”; Orkun 1936 read it as *yağma*. Here I follow the transcription of Tekin 1968: *ayığma* < *ay-* “to rule, direct”.

178 Tekin 1968 read this as *üçün ölü yitu?*

179 Radloff 1897 read this as *yerte*; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as *ayuk*. Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968, *ayukıka* (*ayuk+ka* “realm, dominion”), though the 3rd person possessive suffix in the dative case is +(s)*ıñA*.

180 Thomsen 1896, Radloff 1897 and Orkun 1936 read this as ... Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968.

wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>p : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç : b<sup>1</sup>... : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>.. (5) t<sup>2</sup>wz<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>wmş : is<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>r : k<sup>w</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wşz : nçAb<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>wçig<sup>2</sup> : g<sup>1</sup>is<sup>2</sup>r : y<sup>2</sup>mşk<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>wçig<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>mşk<sup>1</sup> : g<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : r<sup>1</sup>p : ir<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : nçAy<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>ir<sup>2</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : k<sup>w</sup>wntk<sup>w</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>A : ñg<sup>1</sup>b<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : ntAw<sup>y</sup>2wr<sup>2</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>m..

1. tenri teg tenride bolmuş türk bilge kağan bu ödke olurtum. sabımın tüketi eşidgil ulayu iniyigünüm, oğlanım, biriki uğuşum,<sup>181</sup> bodunum, bérye şadapıt begler, yırya tarkat buyruk begler, otuz...,<sup>182</sup> 2. tokuz oğuz begleri bodunı bu sabımın edgüti eşid, katıgdi tıñla.<sup>183</sup> ilgerü kün toğsık[k]a, bérgerü kün ortusıjaru, kurıǵaru kün batsıkuña, yırǵaru tün ortusıjaru anta içreki bodun *kop maña körür. bunça bodun* 3. kop étdim. ol amtı<sup>184</sup> ańıǵ yok. türk kağan ötüken yış olursar élte buñ yok. ilgerü şantuñ yazıka tegi süledim, taluyka kiçig tegmedim. bérgerü tokuz ersinke<sup>185</sup> tegi süledim, tüpütke kiçig *tegmedim*. kurıǵaru yinçü öǵüz 4. keçe temir kapıǵka tegi süledim. yırǵaru yér bayırku yériñe tegi süledim. bunça yérke tegi yorıtdım. ötüken yışda yég idi yok ermiş. él tutsuk yér ötüken yış ermiş. bu yérde olurup tabǵaç *bodun* birle 5. tüzültüm. altun kümüş isgiti kutay buñsuz ança bérür. tabǵaç bodun sabı süçig, aǵısı yımşak ermiş. süçig sabın

181 Thomsen 1896 read this as *uğuşum*; Radloff 1897 read it as *uğuşum*; Orkun 1936 read it as *uğuşım*; Malov 1951 read it as *oğuşım*; Tekin 1968 read it as *oğuşum*. The initial /u/ is fixed by spellings in *Türkische Turfantexte* VIII (Clauson 1972: 96).

182 Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 suggested *tatar*....

183 This is a loanword from Chinese *ting* 聽 (EMC: *t<sup>h</sup>ejŋ*) “to hear, listen”. According to the Chinese pronunciation, the vowel of the verb stem is a front one, namely *i*. However, here the first consonant is a “front” *t<sup>2</sup>* but the third consonant is a “back” *l<sup>1</sup>*. There are three variant transcriptions by previous editors: *tiñla* (Thomsen 1896 and Tekin 1968), *tiñle* (Radloff 1897 and Orkun 1936) and *tıñla* (Malov 1951 and Clauson 1972). In Osmanli and modern Turkish the first consonant has developed into a voiced *d* and the two vowels have also been harmonized as *dıñle-* and *dinlemek*.

184 Radloff 1897 transcribed this as *matı* “splendid, excellent” and interpreted *ol matı ańıǵ yok* as an attribute phrase for *kağan*, “the kağan who has no splendid cunning”. Thomsen 1896 transcribed this as *amati*, but Thomsen 1916: 54 amended it to *amtu* “now, present”, translating *ol amtu ańıǵ yok türk kağan* as “as long as there was no degeneration of the present Türk kağan”. Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Clauson 1972: 157 followed Thomsen’s interpretation with minor changes in translating. Tekin 1968 interpreted *ol amtu ańıǵ yok* as an independent sentence and translated it as “These peoples are not rebellious now”. Tekin’s interpretation is more acceptable.

185 Radloff 1897 read this as *ersenke*, Tekin 1968 read it as *erskinke*. Here I follow the transcription of Thomsen 1896, which was also accepted by Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951. E. Sieg attempted to identify this *tokuz ersin* with the name of the Tocharian place name *ársi*, in today’s Karashar in Xinjiang. The Japanese scholars Onogawa Hidemi and Suzuki Ryuichi have convincingly identified *tokuz ersin* with *jiuqu* 九曲 (lit. “nine bends”), on the upper Yellow River, neighboring Tibet (Onogawa 1943, Suzuki Ryuichi 1983).

yımşak ağım arıp irak bodunuğ ança yağutır ermiş, yağru kontukda késre aňğ bilig anta öyür ermiş.<sup>186</sup>

(6) d<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w̄ : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup> : d<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w̄ : l<sup>1</sup>pk<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>mz : r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>η<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : wg<sup>1</sup>şı : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ı : b<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup>ηA : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>1</sup>id<sup>1</sup>mz : r<sup>2</sup>mş : s<sup>2</sup>w̄çig<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ηA : y<sup>2</sup>mşk<sup>1</sup> : g<sup>1</sup>is<sup>2</sup>ηA : r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>p : k<sup>w̄</sup>ws<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup> : ..wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w̄l<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>η : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>A : çwg<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>iş : t<sup>2</sup>w̄g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : (7) y<sup>1</sup>zi : k<sup>w</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>in<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w̄l<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>nta : ñg<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>ı : nça : b<sup>1</sup>wşg<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : ir<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : g<sup>1</sup>ib<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : d<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w̄ : g<sup>1</sup>ib<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ipnça : b<sup>1</sup>wşg<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>ı : wl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>p : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>p : w̄k<sup>2</sup>şk<sup>2</sup>işı : w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : (8) wl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄ : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çis<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : w̄t<sup>2</sup>w̄k<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>p : r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ş : t<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ş : is<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>ηb<sup>1</sup>wηg<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : w̄t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>iş : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ηg<sup>2</sup>w̄ : il<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>A : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>çis<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : Açs<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>ws<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>w̄mzs<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : Açs<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : w̄mzs<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : ntg<sup>1</sup>ηn<sup>1</sup> : (9) w̄çwn<sup>2</sup> : ig<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mş : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ηn<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>mt<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wpnta : l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ntg<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : ntak<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>mşı : y<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>w</sup>p : t<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>w : w̄l<sup>2</sup>w̄ : y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>in<sup>2</sup> : w̄ç ... : ..zm : k<sup>w</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>m : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w̄çwn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>p : (10) y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : çig<sup>1</sup>ñ : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wp : k<sup>w</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>m : çig<sup>1</sup>ñ : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>iltm : zb<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w̄</sup>wş : k<sup>1</sup>iltm : zwb<sup>1</sup>ws<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup>A : ig<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>w : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>id<sup>2</sup>η : t<sup>2</sup>..... r<sup>2</sup>p : il<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ηn<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wnta : wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : y<sup>1</sup>ηl<sup>1</sup>p : w̄l<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ηn<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ma :

186 Radloff 1894 transcribed this as *üyür* but Radloff 1897 amended it to *öyür* < ö- “to know, understand”. He interpreted the subject of this sentence as the people who had moved from the distance to the vicinity of China, and translated it as “After those people had settled down nearby, they became acquainted with bad ideas.” Thomsen 1896 transcribed it as *üyür* and translated it as “But after they had settled down nearby, they felt their malice.” (Thomsen 1924: 141). It’s unclear whether Thomsen’s “their” means the Chinese people or the people who had moved nearby. Orkun 1936 and Molov 1951 followed the interpretation of Radloff. Tekin 1968 indicated the subject of the sentence as the Chinese people and translated it as “After such a people settled close to them, [the Chinese] are said to have planned their evil schemes there.” Here I follow the interpretation of Tekin.

6. edgü bilge kişig, edgü alp kişig yontmaz ermiş. bir kişi yañılsar uğuşı bodunı béşükiñe<sup>187</sup> tegi kıdmaz<sup>188</sup> ermiş.<sup>189</sup> süçig sabıña yımşak ağısıña arturup üküş türk

- 187 *béşükiñe*. Radloff transcribed it as *bişükiñe* and translated the noun *bişük* as “the experienced” (Radloff 1897: 180). Thomsen 1896 transcribed it as *bisükiñe* and translated *bisükiñe tegi* as “to lead sb. astray, to mislead” (Thomsen 1924: 141). W. Bang translated *bisük* as “cradle, birthplace” (Bang 1896a: 19). Orkun 1936 was not sure of the meaning of *bisük*. Malov defined *bisük* as “descendants, relatives” (Malov 1951: 372). Similar to Malov, Tekin also transcribed it as *bisükiñe* and defined the noun *bisük* as “relative, kin” (Tekin 1968: 316). According to Clauson, the word should be spelled *béşük*, meaning “cradle, infants” (Clauson 1972: 380). According to the law of the Tang dynasty, the most severe punishment was used for people who tried to rebel against the government. The criminal himself would be immediately beheaded. His family members and relatives would be punished as well; this was called “associated punishment” 緣坐 *yuanzuo* or 株連 *zhulian*. The criminal’s father and sons of sixteen years or older would be hanged. Those under fifteen years old as well as the criminal’s mother, daughters, wives, grandchildren, brothers and sisters, along with their servants, properties, land and houses were confiscated. Men over eighty, women over sixty, as well as any disabled people would be exempted from punishment. His uncles and nephews would be sent into exile three thousand *li* away (§ 248 “The punishment for rebels”, chapter 17 of *Tanglü Shuyi* 唐律疏議 *Interpretation of the Code of Tang*, Shanghai, 2013, p. 270). Besides the above serious punishment for rebels, there was still an extremely brutal punishment for national traitors. In such a situation, nine generations 九族 of the criminal’s family (his own generation plus four previous and four succeeding generations) would be executed. The famous Tang ambassador Yan Zhiwei, who had cooperated with the Türk kağan to plunder the Tang Shandong prefectures, suffered this punishment when he returned home. Ambassador Yan was dismembered in the market. Nine generations of his family, including distant and unknown relatives, were all executed. Children about seven or eight years old were also carried to the place of execution. The viewers had sympathy for the children and threw bread and fruit to them. The children fought and pursued each other for the food, amusing themselves. Seeing this, the official responsible for the execution could not bear to execute them and reported it to the empress so they would be exempted (C<sub>YQZ</sub> 1: 11). Therefore, *béşük* probably refers to males younger than sixteen years, who usually had the right to avoid being hanged even if their father committed the most serious crime.
- 188 *kıdmaz*. Radloff 1894 defined the verb *kıd-* as “to stretch”, but later amended this as “to trim; to have a bad influence” (Radloff 1897: 169). Thomsen translated it as “to reach” (Thomsen 1924: 141). Orkun 1936 followed Thomsen’s translation. Malov defined *kıd-* as “to let go” and translated *kıdmaz* as “not to deviate” (Malov 1951: 34, 416). Tekin transcribed it as *ıkıdmaz* < *ıkıd-* “to give shelter” (Tekin 1968: 332). Clauson admitted that *kıd-* (the original form *kty-*) has a wide range of meanings and suggested that it should be translated here as “to spare” (Clauson 1972: 595). Probably independently of Clauson, Geng related *kıd-* to the modern Kazakh *kty-*, one of the meanings of which is “to show compassion” (Geng 2005: 142).
- 189 Considering the above discussion, Clauson’s interpretation is the most acceptable one: “If one man offended, they did not spare his clan and people right down to [infants in] the cradle.” (Clauson 1972: 595). With some minor changes, I translate *uğuş* here as “clan”, *bodun* as “relatives” and *béşük* as “children”: If one man committed a crime, [the Chinese] would not spare his clan, his relatives or even his children.

*bodun öltüg. türk bodun ölsükün.*<sup>190</sup> bérye çuğay yış tügültün<sup>191</sup> 7. yazı konayın téser türk bodun ölsüküg anta. añıñ kişi ança boşğurur ermiş: irak erser yablak ağı bérür, yağuk erser edgü ağı bérür tép ança boşğurur ermiş. bilig bilmez kişi ol sabığ alıp, yağru barıp üküş kişi öltüg. 8. ol yérgerü barsar türk bodun ölteçi sen. ötüken yér olurup arkış tirkış isar neñ buñuğ yok. ötüken yış olursar beñgü él tuta olurtaçı sen. türk bodun tokurkak<sup>192</sup> sen. açsar tosuk ömez sen. bir todsar açsık ömez sen. antağın 9. üçün igidmiş kağanının sabın almatın. yér sayu bardığ. kop anta alkıntığ, arılığ. anta kalmışı yér sayu kop turu ölü yorıyur ertig. teñri yarlıkadukın üçün, özüm kutum bar üçün kağan olurtum. kağan olurup 10. yok çığañ bodunuğ kop kubratdım.<sup>193</sup> çığañ bodunuğ bay kılıtm; az bodunuğ üküş kılıtm. azu bu sabımda igid barğu? türk begler bodun bunı éşidiñ. *türk bodunuğ térip* él tutsukunun bunta urtum, yañılıp ölsükünün yeme

- 190 Radloff 1897 transcribed this as *ölsükün* < *öl-* “to die”, and translated *türk bodun ölsükün* as “the Türk people suffered death”. Thomsen 1896 transcribed it as *ülesikün, üle-sik* “part” with the second personal possessive suffix *+in*, meaning “a part of your Türk people”. Orkun 1936, Tekin 1968 and Clauson followed Radloff’s interpretation (Clauson 1972: 151). Malov 1951 and Geng 2005 followed Thomsen’s interpretation. Here I also follow Radloff’s interpretation, but transcribe it as *ölsükün*, because I understand the suffix as *-sık* rather than *-sik* (see Erdal 2004: 244).
- 191 Radloff 1897 transcribed this as *tögültün* < *tögül-* “to pour forth”. Thomsen 1896 transcribed it as *tügültün*, and translated it as “not ... but ...”. Orkun 1936 followed Thomsen’s interpretation. Malov 1951 transcribed it as *tügül tün* and translated it as “not only, but also”, but at the same time he suggested that it could be a place-name (Malov 1951: 28, 435). Tekin 1968 and Clauson 1972 treated *tügültün* as a geographical name, but they failed to locate this so-called Tügültün Plain. The Old Turkic verb *tügül-* “to be knotted” is the passive form of *tüg-* “to tie, knot” (Clauson 1972: 477, 481). The shape of the Yellow River in this area looks like a knotted bag, so the plain along the bank of the Yellow River is also called “Hetao Plain” 河套平原 (in imperial China, it included Ordos), which means “the plain in the knotted bag of the Yellow River”. It is possible that the Turkic verb *tügül* was used to refer to this area; thus Tügül was also a nominal place-name. The suffix *+tXn* is a local and distributive suffix, mostly attributive (Gabain 1974: § 183, Erdal 2004: 181).
- 192 Radloff 1897 transcribed this as *tok ark ok* and translated it as “now full and now hungry”, with *ark* “hungry” as an antonym of *tok* “full”. Thomsen 1896 transcribed it as *tokrakuka*, and uncertain of the grammatical structure, translated it simply as a future tense: “You Türk people will be full.” Orkun 1936 followed Thomsen’s interpretation. Malov 1951 followed Radloff’s reading but interpreted it in a different way. He put a stop between *tok* and *ark ok*, and understood the sentence(s) differently. Tekin 1968 transcribed it as *tokurkak* and translated it as “one who regards himself full”. Clauson transcribed it as *tok arkuk*, with *arkuk* meaning “obstinate, refractory”; he translated *tok arkuk sen* as “you are full and obstinate” (Clauson 1972: 464). Here I follow Tekin’s interpretation.
- 193 Radloff 1897 transcribed this as *kobartdım* < *kobart-* “to raise, put up”, and translated it as “I raised the poor and miserable people belligerent (lit. altogether)”. Thomsen 1896 followed Radloff’s transcription but translated it more clearly as “I collected all the miserable people” (also see Thomsen 1924). Orkun 1936 followed Thomsen’s interpretation. Malov 1951 offered two possible readings: *kobart-* “to raise” and *kobrat-* “to collect, gather”. Tekin 1968 and Clauson both transcribed *kubrat-* “to collect” (Clauson 1972: 586, also see

(11)  $b^1wnt_A : wr^1t^1m : n^2\eta n^2\eta : s^1b^1m : r^2s^2r^2 : b^2\eta g^2\ddot{w} : t^1\dot{s}k^1_A : wr^1t^1m : \eta r^1k^2\ddot{w}r^2\ddot{w} : b^2il^2\eta : t^2\ddot{w}r^2k^{\ddot{w}} : mt^1 : b^1wd^1n^1 : b^2g^2l^2r^2 : b^2\ddot{w}d^2k^2_A : k^2\ddot{w}r^2g^2ma : b^2g^2l^2r^2g^2\ddot{w} : y^1\eta l^2\dot{c}is^2iz : mn^2 : b^2..... \dot{c} : k^1g^1nt_A : b^2d^2z\dot{c}i : k^2l^2\ddot{w}r^2t^2m : b^2d^2zt^2m : mn^2\eta : s^1b^1mn^1 : s^2imd^1 : (12) t^1b^1g^1\dot{c} : k^1g^1n^1\eta : i\dot{c}r^2k^2i : b^2d^2z\dot{c}ig^2 : it^1 : \eta r^1d^1..... : b^1r^1k^1 : y^1... t^1wr^1t^1m : i\dot{c}im^2 : t^1\dot{s}in^2 : d^1\eta\dot{c}ig^1 : b^2d^2z : wr^1t^1wr^1t^1m : t^1\dot{s}t^1wk^1it^1d^1m : k^2\ddot{w}\eta l^2t^2k^2i : s^1b^1mn^1..... : t^1t^1\eta_A : t^2g^2i : b^1wn^1 : k^2\ddot{w}r^2\ddot{w} : b^2il^2\eta : b^2\eta g^2\ddot{w}..... (13) t^1k^wrt^1d^1m ..... r^2s^2r^2 : mt^1k^1_A : r^2ig^2y^2r^2t^2_A : Ar^2s^2r^2n\dot{c}a : r^2g^2y^2r^2t^2_A : b^2\eta g^2\ddot{w}t^1\dot{s} : t^1k^wrt^1d^1m : b^2it^2d^2m : n^1k^2\ddot{w}r^2p : n\dot{c}Ab^2il^2\eta : wl^1t^1..... m : b^1wb^2it^2g^2 : b^2it^2g^2ma : t^1is^2i : y^1wl^1g^1.....$

11. bunta urtum. neḡ neḡ sabım erser beḡgü taşka urtum. aḡar körü biliḡ. türk amtı bodun begler bödke körügme begler gü yaḡıltaçı siz? men beḡgü taş tokıtduk üçün<sup>194</sup> tabğaç kağanta bedizçi kelürtüm, bedizet[d]im. meniḡ sabımın sımadı. 12. tabğaç kağanıḡ içreki bedizçiḡ it[d]ı. aḡar adınçıḡ bark yaraturtum. için taşın adınçıḡ bediz urturtum. taş tokıtdım, köñülteki sabımın urturtum. on ok oḡluḡa, tatiḡa tegi bunı körü biliḡ. beḡgü taş 13. tokıtdım. yaḡuk él<sup>195</sup> erser amtıka<sup>196</sup> ériḡ yérte erser ança ériḡ yérte<sup>197</sup> beḡgü taş tokıtdım, bitı[t]dim. anı körüp ança biliḡ. ol taş ..... dim. bu bitig bitigme atısı yol[l]uḡ tégin.

Erdal 1991: 779). Probably influenced by the verb *kopur-* “to raise”, earlier editors transcribed the first vowel as a rounded one. Here I also follow the transcription of Tekin and Clauson.

- 194 *tokıtduk üçün*. Thomsen 1896, Radloff 1897, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Tekin 1968 did not try to offer any transcriptions of this blurred section. Thomsen 1924 suggested to translate the blurred part as “let [the stone] be erected”. Aġdarov 1971 suggested that the blurred part be read as *tokıtdım*. Geng 2005 suggested *tokıtku üçün*, with the former word being an error for *tokıtduk*. Following Thomsen, Aġdarov and Geng, I offer a transcription *tokıtduk < tokıt- “to have sth. struck”*.
- 195 *yaḡuk él*. Radloff 1897 read this as *yok*; Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read it as *bu erig*; Tekin 1968 read it as *t^2u ... él*. Geng 2005 suggested it be read as *yaḡuk él* “neighboring realms”. I follow Geng’s interpretation.
- 196 *amtıka*. Radloff 1897 read this as *matıka* “splendid, excellent”; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as ... *tka*; Malov 1951 read it as *amtıka*; Tekin 1968 read it as *ança takı* “more”. Geng 2005 followed Malov 1951. Possibly, here *amtıka* is a short form of *amtıka tegi* “up till now”, which has been attested in many places (see Clauson 1972: 157).
- 197 *ériḡ yér*, Radloff 1897 translated this as “superior place”. Thomsen 1897 translated it as “infertile place” (also see Thomsen 1924). Orkun 1936 followed Thomsen’s interpretation. Malov 1951 translated it as “place to exist or to live”. Clauson interpreted *erig* as a deverbal noun from *er-* “to be”, meaning “in the place where it is” (Clauson 1972: 221). Tekin 1968 transcribed it as *ériḡ* “reachable” < *ér-* “to reach”, and translated *ériḡ yér* as “a frequented place”. According to Erdal, *ériḡ*, a subjective noun from *ér-* “to reach”, is attested in Old Turkic and Middle Turkic documents (Erdal 1991: 187). From the examples he cited, *ériḡ yulku* “lively pack-animal” and *ériḡ er* “a man who is steadfast and resourceful”, we can conjecture that *ériḡ yér* here can mean “a place that is bustling”, which is also in accord with Tekin’s interpretation.

## Kül Tégin Inscription – Translation

### *East Side*

1 When the blue sky was created above and the brown earth was created below, human-kind was created between them. Over the humans, my forefathers Bumın Kağan and İştemi Kağan ascended the throne. Having become kağan, they established the Türk people's realm and laws, and organized them. 2 [The people] in the four directions were all enemies. They campaigned and seized all the people in the four directions. They pacified all [those people]. They caused those who had heads to bow down and those who had knees to kneel down. They settled people in the east as far as the Kadırkan mountain forest and in the west as far as the Iron Gate. 3 Thus, the completely unified Kök Türk people took up residence between the above two places. The kağans were wise and brave. Their ministers were wise and brave too. Their officials and people were impartial. Because of this, they founded such an empire. They established a realm and made laws. 4 Then they passed away. People came from the sunrise-place in the east, including Bükli, the land of Çöllüg, Tang China, Tibet, Apar, Purum (Rum, i.e. Byzantium), Kırkız, Üç Kurikan, Otuz Tatar, Kitañ and Tatabí, to attend his funeral feast and lamented. These people came to attend the funeral feast and lamented. They (Bumın Kağan and İştemi Kağan) were such famous kağans. Afterwards, their younger brothers 5 became kağans and their sons became kağans. [However,] the younger brothers had not been born like their elders and the sons had not been born like their fathers. Stupid kağans ascended the throne. Evil kağans ascended the throne. Their ministers were stupid and evil too. 6 Because their officials and people were partisan, and because the Chinese people were tricky and deceitful, because of the deceptiveness [of the Chinese], because of the hostility between the [Türk] younger and elder brothers, and because of the conflicts between the [Türk] officials and the common people, the Türk people lost their unified realm 7 and abandoned their enthroned kağan. Their noble boys became the Chinese people's slaves and their pure daughters became the Chinese people's maids. The Türk officials gave up their Türk titles. These pro-China officials accepted Chinese titles and looked up to the Chinese emperor. 8 They fulfilled their duties for fifty years. They campaigned [on behalf of China] eastwards as far as [the land of] Bükli kağan at the sunrise and westwards as far as the Iron Gate. They offered their realm and laws to the Chinese emperor. [However,] all the Türk common 9 people said: "I used to be a person who had a realm. Now, where is my realm? For whom am I striving for a realm?" they said, "I used to be a person who had a kağan. Where is my kağan? To which kağan am I fulfilling my duty?" Having said that, they turned hostile against the Chinese emperor. 10 [Although] they had become hostile, they did not manage to organize and arrange themselves. They submitted [to the Chinese emperor] again. Without thinking of how [the Türk people] had fulfilled their duties, [the Chinese emperor] said: "I shall kill the Türk people! I shall leave them no

descendants!" [The Türk people] were perishing. [However,] the Türk Teñri above, along with the holy Türk soil and 11 water, held my father Éłteriş Kağan and my mother Élbilge Katun at the top of sky and raised them up [as kağan and katun respectively], so that the Türk people would not perish and would become people [with a realm]. My father, the kağan, left [China] with seventeen men. 12 Having heard that they were marching out, the people living in the towns left [the towns] and the people living in the mountains came down [from the mountains]. When they assembled, there were seventy people. Thanks to the power bestowed by Teñri, the soldiers of my father, the kağan, were like wolves, while his enemies were like sheep. Having campaigned eastwards and westwards, they assembled [again]. The total [number of soldiers] 13 was seven hundred. As there were seven hundred people, [my father,] according to the law of my ancestors, organized and instructed the people who had had neither a realm nor a kağan, people who had become slaves and maids, people who had abandoned their Türk laws. He organized the Tülüş and Tarduş people. 14 He appointed a yabğu and a şad there. In the south, the Chinese were the enemy; in the north, Baz Kağan and the Tokuz Oğuz people were the enemy. The Kırkız, Kurıkan, Otuz Tatar, Kitañ and Tatabi were all enemies. My father, the kağan ... like this. 15 He campaigned forty-seven times and fought twenty battles. Because of Teñri's mandate, he caused the people who had a realm to lose their realm, and the people who had a kağan to lose their kağan. He pacified the enemies. He caused the people who had knees to kneel down and the people who had heads to bow down. Having striven for [the Türk] realm and laws, 16 he passed away. A *balbal* beginning with Baz Kağan was erected for my father, the kağan. According to the law, my uncle, the kağan, ascended the throne. Having ascended the throne, my uncle, the kağan, continuously organized and nourished the Türk people. He made the poor people rich. He enlarged the small population. 17 Since my uncle, the kağan, had ascended the throne, I was the şad over the Tarduş people. Together with my uncle, the kağan, we campaigned eastwards as far as the Yellow River and the Shandong Plain, westwards as far as the Iron Gate, and [northwards] across the Kögmen mountain forest, as far as the land of the Kırkız. 18 We campaigned twenty-five [times] in total and fought thirteen [battles]. We caused the people who had a realm to lose their realm, the people who had a kağan to lose their kağan, the people who had knees to kneel down, and the people who had heads to bow down. The Türgiş kağan had been our Türk people (subject), [but] because of their stupidity and 19 because they did wrong to us, their kağan died, and their ministers and officials died too. The On Ok people suffered. So that the place (lit. the earth and water) where our ancestors had ruled would not be without a ruler, we organized the Az people ... 20 ... was the Bars Beg ("tiger official"). We appointed a kağan there. We married him to my younger sister, the princess. As they themselves had done wrong, their kağan died and their people became slaves and maids. So that the place of Kögmen would not remain without a ruler, we came to organize the Az and the Kırkız people. We fought. 21 We

gave their realm [back to them] again. Crossing the Kadirkan mountain forest (i.e. the Khingan Mountains) to the east, we settled people there. We organized this. To the west, we settled Türk people as far as Kenjü Tarman. We organized this. At that moment, slaves became people who owned slaves, and maids became people who owned maids. 22 We had thus striven and organized. We had our realm and laws. Türk and Oğuz officials, listen! As long as the sky above did not fall down, nor the earth below be perforated, Türk people, who could damage your realm and laws? Türk people, you should 23 regret [that]! Because of your unruliness, you yourselves did wrong and brought evil on the wise kağan who had fed you, on the independent and superior realm. [Otherwise] how could the armor-clad [enemies] have come and carried you off? How could [the enemies] equipped with lances have come, driven you out and carried you off? The people living in the sacred Ötüken mountain forest left. The people who [were to] go eastwards 24 went [east]. The people who [were to] go westwards went [west]. The “good things” you found in the place you had fled to were: that your blood ran out like water, your bones were piled up like a hill, your noble sons became slaves, and your pure daughters became maids. Because [you] were stupid and evil, my uncle, the kağan, passed away. 25 I erected a *balbal* beginning with the Kırkız kağan [for him]. In order that the name and fame of the Türk people would not disappear, the Teḡri who had raised my father as kağan and my mother as katun, the Teḡri who had bestowed on us a realm, in order that the name and fame of the Türk people would not disappear, made me 26 kağan. I did not ascend the throne over a prosperous people. The people over whom I ascended the throne were without food in their bellies (lit. inside) and without clothes on their bodies (lit. outside), bad and evil. I discussed this with my younger brother Kül Tégin. So that the name and fame of the people, for whom my father and uncle had striven, should not disappear, 27 I neither slept at night nor sat down in the daytime by reason of the Türk people. I, together with my younger brother Kül Tégin and the two şads, toiled to exhaustion. Having thus toiled, I prevented the united people from being [opposed to each other] like water and fire. The people who had gone elsewhere when I was ascending the throne 28 came back again, exhausted, on foot and naked. In order to feed these people, I campaigned twelve times with a sizable army northwards against the Oğuz people, eastwards against the Kitañ and Tatabı people, and southwards against the Chinese people. I battled against them there. 29 Then, as Teḡri blessed [me], because of my good fortune and fate, I revived and fed the dying people. I clothed the naked people, and made the poor people rich. I enlarged the small population and made my people superior to those who had a strong realm and a powerful kağan. I made the people in all four directions 30 peaceful and friendly. They all looked up to me. They were fulfilling their duties [to me]. Having thus striven for laws, my younger brother Kül Tégin passed away. When my father, the kağan, died, my younger brother Kül Tégin was only seven years old. 31 Thanks to the kindness of my goddess-like mother katun, my younger brother Kül Tégin became a

grown-up man. When [Kül Tégin] was sixteen years old, my uncle, the kağan, was working hard for his realm and laws. [When Kül Tégin was seventeen years old,] we campaigned against the Sogdians in the Six Prefectures and destroyed them. The Chinese prince commander came with fifty thousand [soldiers]. We fought. **32** Kül Tégin charged like a fury, on foot. He caught the prince commander's brother-in-law with his own armored hands. Still armored, he presented [the captive] to the kağan. We wiped out that army there. When he was twenty-one years old, we fought against General Çaça. Firstly, Kül Tégin charged at Tadık Çor's grey horse; the horse died there. **33** Secondly, he charged at an Işbara Yamtar grey horse; that horse died there [too]. Thirdly he charged at Yegin Silig Beg's dappled bay; that horse died there [too]. [Although] more than one hundred arrows struck his armor and robe, none of them hit his head or face. **34** Türk officials, you all know how he charged [the enemy]. We wiped out that army there. Later, the great irkin of the Bayırku became hostile. We routed and destroyed them at Türgi Yarğun Lake. The great irkin fled away with very few people. When Kül Tégin was twenty-six years old, **35** we campaigned against the Kırkız. Having broken through the deep-as-a-lance snow and crossed directly over the Kögmen mountain forest, we attacked the Kırkız people while they were asleep. We fought against their kağan in the Soņa mountain forest. **36** Kül Tégin charged like a fury at a Bayırku white stallion. He shot one person with an arrow and speared two people one after the other. During that charge, he broke the leg of the Bayırku white stallion. We killed the kağan of the Kırkız and seized his realm. In that year, we climbed directly over the Altay Mountains **37** and crossed the Irtysh River; then we marched towards the Türgiş people. We attacked the Türgiş people while they were asleep. The army of the Türgiş kağan came like fire and storm from Bolçu. We fought against them. Kül Tégin charged at a Başğu grey horse. The Başğu grey horse ... **38** caught ... He himself seized two people of the enemy. After that, he joined [the battle] again and caught the Türgiş Kağan, his minister and a few commanders with his own hands. We killed [the Türgiş] kağan there and seized his realm. The Black Türgiş people all surrendered. We settled them in Tabar. **39** In order to organize the Sogdian people, we crossed the Yincü River and campaigned as far as the Iron Gate. Later, the Black Türgiş people there turned hostile and went to Keşeres. The horses of our army were emaciated and provisions had run out. Bad people ... **40** The people who attacked us were tough. We regretted that we had sent [only] a few people to follow Kül Tégin. They battled fiercely. He charged at a brave Şalçı white horse. He seized the Black Türgiş people and killed them there.

### *North Side*

**1** [Kül Tégin] fought against the commander Koşu and ... He killed all of his (Koşu's) people and took all of his households and goods. When Kül Tégin was twenty-seven years old, the Karluk people became enemies because of their independence. We fought against them at Tamağ Iduk Baş. **2** Kül Tégin was thirty years old during this battle. He charged like a fury at a brave Şalçı white [horse] and speared two people one

after the other. We killed the Karluks and seized [their realm]. The Az people became enemies. We fought against them at Kara Köl (lit. "Black Lake"). Kül Tégin was thirty-one years old. He charged like a fury at a brave Şalçı white [horse]. 3 He captured the élteber of the Az. The Az people were destroyed. When the realm of my uncle, the kağan, became unstable and people started leaving the realm, we fought against the Izgil people. Kül Tégin charged like a fury at a brave Şalçı white [horse]. 4 That horse fell down. The Izgil people were destroyed. The Tokuz Oğuz people had been my own subjects. [But] they became enemies because of the disorder in heaven and on earth. We fought five times [against the Oğuz] in one year. The first time, we battled at the citadel of Toğu. 5 Kül Tégin charged like a fury at a white Azman [horse] and speared six people. When the two armies were engaged in battle, he stabbed a seventh person. The second time, we battled against the Ediz at Kuşlağak. Kül Tégin charged like a fury at a brown Az [horse] and speared one person. 6 He surrounded nine people and knocked them out. The Ediz people were destroyed. The third time, we battled against the Oğuz at.... He charged at an Azman white [horse] and speared [the enemy]. We defeated their army and seized their realm. The fourth time, we fought at the top of Çuş. The Türk 7 people's feet were vacillating. They were about to become evil. Kül Tégin rallied the army that had escaped; we surrounded and killed one clan-warrior and ten Toñra people at the funeral of Toñra Tégin. The fifth time, we battled against the Oğuz at Ezgenti Kadaz. 8 Kül Tégin charged at a brown Az horse and speared two people. [The Oğuz people] were pressed against the citadel. That army was wiped out there. Having spent the winter in the fortress of Amğa, we sent troops against the Oğuz in the spring. Kül Tégin was in charge of [the people at] home; we had sent out [troops] to raid. The enemy Oğuz laid siege to [our] royal camp. 9 At a white Ögsüz [horse], Kül Tégin speared nine people. He did not lose the royal camp. [Otherwise] my mother katun, together with my [step-] mothers, aunts, sisters-in-law, princesses, and the [other] surviving [women] would have become maids, or their corpses would have remained lying in the abandoned campsites and on the road. 10 If it had not been for Kül Tégin, you would all have died. My younger brother Kül Tégin passed away. I thought [of him]. My bright eyes seemed unable to see and my sharp knowledge seemed unable to know. I thought [of him]. Teñri arranges the lifespan. Humans are born to die. 11 I thought [of him] thus: when tears were running out of my eyes, I restrained them; when lamentation was coming out of my heart, I held it back. I thought [of him] deeply. The eyes and eyebrows of the two şads, of my brothers, my sons, my officials and my people were to be ruined [because of tears]. I thought [of him]. 12 General Udar, representing the people of Kitañ and Tatabı, came to attend the funeral feast and mourned. From the Chinese kağan (i.e. emperor) came the secretary Likeñ. He brought countless (lit. ten thousand) pieces of silk, gold, silver and various things. From the Tibetan kağan came Bölün. From Sogdiana, Berçeker (i.e. Persia) and Bukhara in the sunset west, ... came General Enik and Oğul Tarkan. 13 From the On Ok, from my son [-in-law] the Türgiş kağan, came Makaraç and Oğuz Bilge, who were officials holding seals. From the Kırkız

kağan came Tarduş Inançu Çor. The shrine-builders, fresco-painters, memorial-builders and the maternal cousin of the Chinese emperor, General Zhang, came.

### *Northeast Edge*

Kül Tégin passed away on the 17th day [of the 1st month] in the year of the sheep. We held the funeral feast on the 27th day of the 9th month. We finished [the construction of] the shrine, frescoes and memorial on the 27th day of the 7th month in the year of the monkey. Kül Tégin was 47 years old. It was Toyğut Élteber who brought these memorial- and shrine-builders and fresco-painters.

### *Southeast Edge*

I let Kül Tégin's nephew Yolluğ Tégin, the scribe of the inscription, write. I let Yolluğ Tégin write all of this onto the stone and [paint the] walls in twenty days. You fed [the people] better than your strong descendants and high officials. You passed away. In heaven, like where you had lived .....

### *Southwest Edge*

To keep safe the gold, silver, silk, [other] goods and the four-thousand livestock of Kül Tégin, Toyğut, this official of mine, heaven above ... I let ... write this stone. Yolluğ Tégin ...

### *West Side*

The Sogdians in the west rebelled. My younger brother Kül Tégin.... As he had fulfilled his duty for the realm of Bilge Kağan, I sat on the throne and protected my younger brother Kül Tégin. I bestowed on him the title Inançu Apa Yarğan Tarkan. I let the people praise him.

### *South Side*

1 I, Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmış Türk Bilge Kağan (lit. like heaven, created in heaven, the wise Türk kağan), have ascended the throne at this moment. My words shall be clearly heard by all my brothers and sons, by my united tribes and people, by the Şadapıt officials in the south and the Tarkat [and] Buyruk officials in the north, and by the chiefs and people of the Otuz ... and 2 the Tokuz Oğuz. You should listen carefully to my words and keep them in mind. The people who live in the east towards the sunrise, in the south towards midday, in the west towards the sunset and in the north towards midnight, all look up to me. I put all these people 3 in order. Now they are not evil. If the Türk kağan lives in Ötüken, there will be no sorrow in the land. I campaigned eastwards as far as the Shandong Plain and almost reached the sea. I campaigned southwards as far as Tokuz Ersin and almost reached Tibet. I campaigned westwards, crossing the Yinçü River and 4 reaching as far as the Iron Gate. I campaigned northwards as far as the land of the Bayırku. I marched to all these many places. [But] there

is (lit. was) no better place than the Ötüken mountain forest. It is (lit. was) the place to take hold of the country. Settling down in this place, I was on equal terms with the Chinese people. 5 They gave [us] immeasurable quantities of gold, silver and silk. The words of the Chinese people were sweet and their treasures were fine (lit. soft). With sweet words and fine treasures they brought the distant people near. After [they] had settled nearby, [the Chinese people] conceived evil thoughts [in their hearts]. 6 They did not let the truly wise men and truly brave men succeed (lit. to walk, march). If one man committed a crime, [the Chinese] would not spare his clan, his relatives or even his children. Having been deceived by their sweet words and fine treasures, many Türk people died. You Türk people were dying. If you said “I shall settle down in the southern Çuğay mountain forest and the Tügültün Plain [under the control of the Tang]”, you would die. 7 The evil men (i.e. the Chinese) tempted you by saying: “If [you are] faraway, I will give you inferior things; if [you are] nearby, I will give superior things.” This is how they tempted you. The unwise men believed (lit. took) these words [at face value] and drew near [to the Chinese]; and many people died. 8 By going to that place, you Türk people came close to death! [But] if you settle in Ötüken and dispatch envoys and caravans, there will be no kind of sorrow. If you live in the Ötüken mountain forest, you will take hold of the everlasting country. Türk people, you are people who think that you are [always] well-fed. You don’t think that there will be [both] hunger and fullness. Once you are full, you don’t think about being hungry. Because you are like this, 9 you did not accept the orders of your kağan who had fed you, and you fled in every direction. All of you were all tired and exhausted there. The people who remained had [scattered] everywhere; they all became weak and died. Because of the mandate of Teñri and because I myself had the good fortune, I became kağan. Having become kağan, 10 I collected all the poor people together. I made the poor people rich. I enlarged the small population. Is there anything wrong with my words? Türk officials and people, listen to this! I have inscribed on this [stone] how you Türk people came together and occupied the country. I have also inscribed 11 on this [stone] how you erred and died. Whatever words I had, I have inscribed them on this everlasting stone. You, the present Türk officials and people, should read this inscription and comprehend it! Will you officials, who look up to the royal throne, misbehave [again]? In order to establish an everlasting inscription, I have sent for painters from the Chinese emperor. I let them ornament [the stone]. [The emperor] did not refuse my request. 12 He dispatched his imperial painters. I let them build a gorgeous shrine. I let them paint gorgeous frescoes both on the inside and on the outside of the shrine. I let them make an inscription and engrave my heartfelt words. [People,] including the linear descendants and collateral branches of the On Ok, you should read and comprehend this inscription! I let them make the everlasting inscription. 13 I let them make and inscribe the everlasting stele in such a bustling place for the people either of neighboring realms or who are now [living] in this bustling place. You should read and comprehend it well! I ..... this stone. The scribe of this text is his (Bilge Kağan’s) nephew Yolluğ Tégin.

## Bilge Kağan Inscription – Text

*East Side*

(1) t<sup>2</sup>ŋr<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ŋr<sup>2</sup>iy<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m<sup>š</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ŵr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>... t<sup>2</sup>ŵr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>i..... t<sup>1</sup>is<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>zwg<sup>1</sup>z : k<sup>2</sup>id<sup>2</sup>zk<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ŵl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>i : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> ..... r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>... r<sup>2</sup>i..... (2) ŵZA : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>MA : ŵl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çIÇA : s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>MA : t<sup>2</sup>ŵr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>... g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>p : s<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>p : t<sup>1</sup>wŋt<sup>1</sup>m<sup>š</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>ŵzi : y<sup>2</sup>ŵg<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ŵ : k<sup>2</sup>ŵr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>i : b<sup>2</sup>ŵd<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A : ŵzwmwl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>p : b<sup>1</sup>wnçA : g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ŵr<sup>2</sup>ŵg<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ŵr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ŋd<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : ..... d<sup>2</sup>m : ŵZA : k<sup>2</sup>ŵk<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ŋr<sup>2</sup>i : ..... (3) k<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>i : wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>intA : ŵZA : çŵmpam : b<sup>1</sup>wmn<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mik<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>m<sup>š</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>pn<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ŵr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ŋ : l<sup>2</sup>in<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ŵr<sup>2</sup>ŵs<sup>2</sup>in<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>Ab<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : it<sup>2</sup>ib<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ŵr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ŋ : k<sup>1</sup>wp : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>ŵs<sup>2</sup>ŵl<sup>2</sup>pn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ŵr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ŋd<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> ..... b<sup>1</sup>šl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ntr<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>izl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>.....

(4) t<sup>2</sup>mr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>pg<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>i : k<sup>w</sup>wntr<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>in<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup>A : id<sup>2</sup>rwk<sup>1</sup>sz : k<sup>w</sup>ŵk<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ŵr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : it<sup>2</sup>inçA : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>pk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>i : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>A : r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>nç : l<sup>1</sup>pr<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>nç : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>iy<sup>2</sup>MA : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> ..... ŵn<sup>2</sup> : ... : nçAt<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>m<sup>š</sup>r<sup>2</sup>nç : il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>p : t<sup>2</sup>ŵr<sup>2</sup>ŵ.....

(5) y<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>çi : s<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>çi : ŵŋr<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>ŵn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : b<sup>2</sup>ŵk<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>i : çŵl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç : t<sup>2</sup>ŵpwt<sup>2</sup> : pr<sup>1</sup>pwr<sup>1</sup>m : k<sup>1</sup>ir<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>z : çŵk<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wt<sup>1</sup>zt<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup>ñ : t<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wnçA : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>pn<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>Am<sup>š</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>Am<sup>š</sup> : nt<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ŵl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup> ..... wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>m<sup>š</sup>r<sup>2</sup>nç : nt.....

1. teŋri teg teŋri yaratmış türk bilge kağan sabım. kaŋım türk bilge kağan ..... tı sir tokuz oğuz éki ediz kerekülüğ<sup>198</sup> begleri bodunı ..... türk teŋri ..... 2. üze kağan olurtum. olurtukuma ölteçiçe sakınğma türk begler bodun ögürüp<sup>199</sup> sebinip toŋtamış<sup>200</sup> közi yügerü körti. bödke özüm olurup bunça ağır törüg tört bulunıdaki bodun üçün ... étdim. üze kök teŋri asra yağız yer kıluntukda ékin ara kişi oğlı kılınmış. 3. kişi oğlınıta üze eçüm apam bumın kağan iştemi kağan olurmuş. olurupan türk bodunuŋ élin törüsün tuta bérmiş, éti bérmiş. tört bulun kop yağı ermiş. sü sülepen tört bulunıdaki bodunuŋ kop almış, kop baz kulmuş. başlığğ yüküntürmiş; tizligig sökürmüş. ilgerü kadrkan yuşka

198 Radloff 1897 read this as *yedinik er küliüg* “attached people and famous [officials]”; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as \**edizker küliüg* “... famous”. Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968: *éki ediz kerekülüüg*. According to him, *kerekülüüg* “nomadic” < *kerekül* “tent”, *éki ediz* “Two Ediz” is an ethnic name.

199 Radloff 1897 read this as *yügürüp* < *yügür* “to run”; Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Tekin 1968 read it as *egirip* < *egir* “to be pleased”. According to Clauson, the initial vowel should be *ö*; this has been confirmed by Turfan manuscripts and modern spellings of *ögürüç* (Clauson 1972: 113). The fixed phrase *ögir- sebin-* appears very often in Buddhist texts (Erdal 1991: 612). Here I follow the transcription of Clauson.

200 There are three different readings of the third sign: *t<sup>1</sup>*, *s<sup>2</sup>*, and *k<sup>1</sup>*. Radloff 1897 transcribed it as *tostamış* < *tosta-* “to protrude (eyes)”. Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Tekin 1968 transcribed *toŋtamış* and translated it as “the relaxed” (Thomsen 1924: 144) or “down-looking” (Tekin 1968: 275). But Thomsen suggested another possible reading as *toktamış* in Thomsen 1916 and Thomsen 1924. Malov 1959 and Ajdarov 1971 followed Thomsen’s later suggestion and transcribed *toktamış*. Clauson suggested it be read *toŋitmiş* < *töŋit-* “to invert” (Clauson 1972: 517–518). Here I follow the reading of Thomsen.

*tegi, kériü 4.* temir kapıgka tegi konturmuş. ékin ara idi oksuz kök türk éti ança olurur ermiş. bilge kağan ermiş; alp kağan ermiş. buyrukı [yeme] bilge ermiş erinç, alp ermiş erinç. begleri yeme bodunu *yeme tüz ermiş. anu üçün élig* ança tutmuş erinç. élig tutup törüg *étmiş. özi ança kergek bolmuş.* 5. yoğçı sıgıtçı öñre kün toğsukda бүкли, çöl[1]üg él, tabğaç, tüpüt, apar, purum, kırkız, üç kurıkan, otuz tatar, kıtañ, tatabı bunça bodun kelipen sıgtamış, yoğlamış. antağ külüg kağan ermiş. *anta késre inisi kağan bolmuş erinç, oğlıtı kağan bolmuş erinç. anta késre inisi eçisin teg*

(6) k<sup>1</sup>il<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>r<sup>2</sup>nç : wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ñm<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>il<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>r<sup>2</sup>nç : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>z : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : ... r<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>nç : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>mş<sup>r</sup>2nç : b<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ı : y<sup>2</sup>ma : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>zr<sup>2</sup>mış<sup>r</sup>2nç : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>mş<sup>r</sup>2nç : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>wzs<sup>2</sup>z : wçn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>... : k<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : ..... s<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : wçn<sup>2</sup> : m<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ı..... (7) y<sup>1</sup>wñşwr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : wçn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : il<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : il<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : ıçğ<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>w : id<sup>1</sup>mş : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ıt<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>wıd<sup>1</sup>mş : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup> : wr<sup>2</sup>ıwg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ızwg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>wñk<sup>1</sup>ıltı : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : ... : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>... b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç : ..... (8) is<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>wçğ<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>mş : il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w : k<sup>2</sup>wñn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : b<sup>2</sup>wk<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>w : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>mş : k<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : t<sup>2</sup>mr<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>pg<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>w : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>mş : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : il<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>wş<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>mş : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>mg<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : nçat<sup>2</sup>mş : il<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>..... (9) k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m : k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ı : n<sup>2</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : is<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>wçğ<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>mş : nçat<sup>2</sup>ıp : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ı : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>mş : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ı : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>p : ıt<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>w : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>w : wmd<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>A : ıçk<sup>2</sup>mş : b<sup>1</sup>wñça : is<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>wçğ<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w : s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>mt<sup>1</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>..... (10) t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>ı : ıd<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>ı : s<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>ı : nçat<sup>2</sup>mşr<sup>2</sup>nç : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>mzwn<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>çwn<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ñm : il<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : wçğ<sup>2</sup>m : il<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>wps<sup>2</sup>ınta : t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>p : y<sup>2</sup>wçğ<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>nç : k<sup>1</sup>ñmk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mı : r<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : .....

6. kılınmaduk erinç, oğlı kañın teg kılınmaduk erinç. biligsiz kağan *olurmuş* erinç; yablak kağan olurmuş erinç. buyrukı yeme biligsiz ermiş erinç, yablak ermiş erinç. begleri bodunu tüzüz üçün, tabğaç bodun *tebligin* kürlüğün *üçün, armakçısın* üçün, inili *eçili kikişürtikin üçün, begli bodunluğ* 7. yoñşurtukın üçün türk bodun élledük élin ıçğınu ıdmış, kağanladuk kağanın yitürü ıdmış. tabğaç bodunka beglik urı oğlın kul kılı, silik kız oğlın küñ kılı. türk begler türk atın *ıt[d]ı*, tabğaçğı begler tabğaç *atın tutupan tabğaç kağanka körmüş. élig yıl* 8. éşig küçüg bérmüş. ilgerü kün toğsuk[d]a бүкли kağanka tegi süleyü bérmüş; kunğaru temir kapıgka süleyü bérmüş. tabğaç kağanka élin törüsün alı bérmüş. türk kara kamağ bodun ança témiş: éllig bodun *ertim, élim amtı kanı? kemke élig kazğanur men? tér ermiş.* 9. kağanlığ bodun ertim, kağanım kanı? ne kağanka éşig küçüg bérür men? tér ermiş. ança tép tabğaç kağanka yağı bolmış. yağı bolup étinü yaratunu umaduk, yana ıçikmiş. bunça éşig küçüg bértük[g]erü sakinmatı, türk bodunuğ ölüreyin, *uruğsratayın tér ermiş. yokadu barır ermiş. üze* 10. türk teñrisi, ıduk yéri subı ança témiş erinç; türk bodun yok bolmazun téyin, bodun bolçun téyin, kañım élteriş kağanığ, öğüm élbilge katunuğ teñri töpüsinte tutup yögerü kötürti erinç. kañım kağan yéti yéğirmi erin *taşıkmuş. taşra yortıyur téyin kü éşidip balıkdaki taşıkmuş, tağdaki*

(11)  $m^2m\dot{s} : t^2ir^2lp : y^2t^2m\dot{s}r^2 : b^1wl^1m\dot{s} : t^2nr^2i : k^2w\dot{c}b^2ir^2t^2k^w : w\dot{c}n^2 : k^1\eta mk^1g^1n^1 : s^2w\dot{s}^2i : b^2w\dot{r}^2it^2g^2 : r^2m\dot{s} : y^1g^1s^2i : k^w\dot{w}nt^2g^2r^2m\dot{s} : il^2g^2r^2w : k^w\dot{w}r^1ig^1r^1w : s^2w\dot{l}^2p : t^2ir^2m\dot{s} : k^1wb^1r^1t^1m\dot{s} : k^1mg^1i : y^2t^2iy^2w\dot{z}r^2 : b^1wl^1m\dot{s} : y^2t^2iy^2w\dot{z}r^2 : \dots n^1g^1 : t^2 \dots$  (12)  $b^1wd^1n^1g^1 : \dot{c}wmpam : t^2w\dot{r}^2w\dot{s}^2m\dot{c}a : y^1r^1t^1m\dot{s} : b^1w\dot{s}g^1wr^1m\dot{s} : t^2w\dot{l}^2s^2 : t^1r^1d^1w\dot{s} : b^1wd^1n^1g^1 : ntait^2m\dot{s} : y^1b^1g^1wg^1 : \dot{s}d^1g^1 : ntAb^2ir^2ms^2 : b^2ir^2y^2A : t^1b^1g^1\dot{c} : b^1wd^1n^1 : y^1g^1ir^2m\dot{s} : y^2ir^1y^1A : b^1zk^1g^1n^1 : t^1k^w\dot{w}z : wg^1z : b^1wd^1n^1 : y^1g^1ir^2m\dot{s} : k^i \dots$  (13)  $y^2it^2i : y^1wl^1i : s^2w\dot{l}^2m\dot{s} : y^2g^2r^2mi : s^2w\dot{\eta}j\dot{s} : s^2w \dots m\dot{s} : t^2nr^2i : y^1r^1k^1d^1k^w : w\dot{c}n^2 : il^2l^2g^2g^2 : l^2s^2r^2t^2m\dot{s} : k^1g^1n^1l^1g^1g^1 : k^1g^1n^1s^1r^1t^1m\dot{s} : y^1g^1ig^1 : b^1zk^1il^1m\dot{s} : t^2il^2g^2g^2 : s^2w\dot{k}^2r^2m\dot{s} : b^1\dot{s}l^1g^1g^1 : y^2w\dot{k}^2ntr^2m\dot{s} : k^1\eta m : \dots k^1\eta m \dots b^1\dot{s}ly^1w : b^1zk^1g^1n^1g^1 : b^1l^1b^1l : \dots$  (14)  $k^1g^1n^1 : w\dot{c}d^1k^wk^1A : w\dot{z}m : s^2k^2zy^1\dot{s}d^1A : k^1l^1t^1m : wl^1 \dots w\dot{r}^2w\dot{d}^2A : w\dot{z}A : \dot{c}mk^1g^1n^1wl^1r^1t^1i : wl^1r^1pn^1 : t^2w\dot{r}^2k^w : b^1wd^1n^1g^1 : y^2i\dot{c}A : it^2d^2i : y^2i\dot{c}A : ig^2t^2i : \dot{c}ig^1\dot{n}g^1 : b^1y^1k^1ilr^1 : zg^1w\dot{k}^2\dot{s}k^iilr^1 : \dot{c}mkl^1g^1n^1 : wl^1r^1t^1k^wA : w\dot{z}m : t^2ig^2n^2r^2k^2 \dots iy^2 \dots \eta r^2i \dots$  (15)  $t^2w\dot{r}^2t^2 : y^2g^2r^2mi : y^1\dot{s}mk^1A : t^1r^1d^1w\dot{s} : b^1wd^1n^1 : w\dot{z}A : \dots d^1 : wl^1r^1t^1m : \dot{c}mk^1g^1n^1 : b^2ir^2l^2A : il^2g^2r^2w : y^1\dot{s}l^1w\dot{g}^2z : \dot{s}ntw\eta : y^1zik^1A : t^2g^2i : s^2w\dot{l}^2d^2mz : k^w\dot{w}r^1ig^1r^1w : t^2mr^2k^1pg^1k^1A : t^2g^2i : s^2w\dot{l}^2d^2mz : k^2w\dot{g}^2mn^2\dot{s}A : k^iir^1k^1z : y^2ir^2\eta A : t^2g^2i : s^2 \dots wt^1z \dots$

11. enmiş. térilip yétmiş er bolmış. teñri küç bértük üçün kañım kağan süsi böri teg ermiş, yağısı koñ teg ermiş. ilgerü, kuñgaru sülep térmış, kubratmış. kamağı yéti yüz er bolmış, yéti yüz er *bolup élsiremiş kağansıramış bodunuğ, küñjedmiş kuladmış bodunuğ, türk törüsün uçğunmuş* 12. bodunuğ eçüm apam törüsünce yaratmış, boşğurmuş, tüliš tarduş bodunuğ anta étmiş, yabğuş şadığ anta bérmiş. bérye tabğaç bodun yağı ermiş. yırta baz kağan, tokuz oğuz bodun yağı ermiş. *kırkız, kurıkan, otuz tatar, kutañ, tatabı kop yağı ermiş. kañım kağan bunça \dots kirk artukı* 13. yéti yolu sülemiş; yégirmi süñüş süñüşmiş. teñri yarlıkaduk üçün éllig élsiretmış, kağanlığığ kağansıratmış, yağış baz kılımış, tizligiğ sökürmiş, başlığığ yüküntürmiş. kañım kağan inçe élig töriüğ *kazğanıp uça barmış*. kañım kağanka başlayu baz kağanığ balbal tikmiş. *kañım* 14. kağan uçdukda özüm sekiz yaşda kaltım. ol törüde üze eçim kağan olurtı. olurupan türk bodunuğ yiçe étدی yiçe igit[d]i. çığañığ bay kılıtı; azığ üküş kılıtı. eçim kağan olurtuk[k]a özüm tégin erk ... iy \dots teñri yarlıkaduk üçün 15. tört yégirmi yaşımka tarduş bodun üze şad olur-tum. eçim kağan birle ilgerü yaşıl öğüz şantun yazıka tegi süledimiz, kuñgaru temir kapığka tegi süledimiz, kögmen aşa kırkız yériñe tegi süledimiz. *kamağı bés otuz süledimiz, üç yégirmi süñüşdümüz. éllig élsiretdimiz, kağanlığığ kağansıratdımız, tizligiğ*

(16)  $s^2w\dot{k}^2r^2t^2mz : b^1\dot{s}l^1g^1g^1 : y^2w\dot{k}^2ntr^2t^2mz : t^2w\dot{r}^2g^2s^2 : \dots : t^2 \dots : b^1wd^1n^1m : r^2t^2i : b^2il^2md^2k^wim^2 : w\dot{c}n^2 : b^2iz\eta A : y^1\eta ltk^wim^2 : y^1zntk^wim^2 : w\dot{c}n^2 : k^1g^1n^1 : w\dot{l}^2t^2i : b^1wy^1r^1k^w_i : b^2g^2l^2r^2i : y^2mA : w\dot{l}^2t^2i : wn^1k^w : b^1wd^1n^1 : mg^2k^2k^2w\dot{r}^2t^2i : \dots$  (17)  $r^2t^2i : k^1g^1n^1t^1g^1 : b^1wnta : b^2izb^2ir^2t^2mz : s^2inl^2m : \dots y^1g^1 : b^2ir^2t^2mz : w\dot{z}iy^1znti : k^1g^1n^1 : w\dot{l}^2t^2i : b^1wd^1n^1 : k^2w\dot{\eta}k^1wl^1 : b^1wlti : k^2w\dot{g}^2mn^2 \dots k^1lmzwn^1t^2iy^2n^2 : zk^1r^1k^1z : b^1wd^1n^1g^1 \dots y^1r^1t^1p : k^2l^2t^2mz \dots \eta\dot{s}d^2mz \dots k^1d^1r^1k^1n^1 : y^2i \dots$  (18)  $k^2\eta w\dot{t}^1r^1b^1n^1k^1A : t^2g^2i : t^2w\dot{r}^2k^w : b^1wd^1n^1g^1 : n\dot{c}ak^w\dot{w}ntr^1 \dots z : n\dot{c}ait^2d^2mz : wl^1w\dot{d}^2k^2A : k^w\dot{w}l : k^w\dot{w}l^1l^1g^1 : k^2w\dot{\eta} : k^2w\dot{\eta}l^2g^2 : b^1wl^1m\dot{s} : r^2t^2i : m^2s^2i : \dot{c}is^2m^2 : b^2il^2mz : r^2t^2i : wg^1l^1 k^1\eta im^2 : b^2il^2mz : r^2t^2i : n\dot{c}ak^1z\dot{g}^1n^1m\dot{s} : n\dot{c}A : it^2m\dot{s} : il^2mz : \dots d^1n^1 : s^2d^2 : w\dot{z}A : t^2nr^2i : b^1s^1ms^1r^1 : \dots y^2r^2 : t^2l^2n^2ms^2r^2 : (19) t^2w\dot{r}^2k^w : b^1wd^1n^1 : il^2\eta n^2 : t^2w\dot{r}^2g^2n^2 : k^2mr^1t^1t^1 : wd^1\dot{c}i : \dots : t^2w\dot{r}^2k^w : b^1wd^1n^1 :$

r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : w̄k<sup>2</sup>w̄n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w̄ñn<sup>2</sup> : w̄çw̄n<sup>2</sup> : igr<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m̄ş : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ñn<sup>1</sup>A : ..... k<sup>2</sup>ntw̄y<sup>1</sup>ñltg<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>igr<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ntn<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>p : y<sup>1</sup>ñAl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : s̄w̄ñg<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>nt ..... b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄ : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ma : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : (20) b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ma : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>A : d<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w̄g<sup>2</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>nç : ... : w̄g<sup>2</sup>zçA : y<sup>2</sup>w̄g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñk<sup>w</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çA : y<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup> : wr<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ñn<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>iltg<sup>1</sup> : ..... k<sup>1</sup>iltg<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>md<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>g<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : w̄çn<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ñn<sup>1</sup> : w̄çn<sup>2</sup> : çmk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wçA : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>şl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>z : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : ..... t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>mzwn<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ry<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ñmk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> :

16. sökürtümüz, başlığış yüküntürtümüz. türğış kağan türküm bodunum erti. bilmedükün üçün, biziñe yañıltukın yazıntukın üçün kağanı ölti, buyruki begleri yeme ölti. on ok bodun emgek körti. eçümüz apamız tutmuş yér sub idisiz bolmazun téyin, az bodunuğ étip yaratıp ..... bars beg 17. erti. kağan atış bunta biz bértimiz. sıñlım kunçuyuş bértimiz. özi yazıntı.<sup>201</sup> kağanı ölti, bodunu küñ kul boltı. kögmen yér sub idisiz kalmazun téyin, az kırkız bodunuğ ança yaratıp keltimiz, süñüşdümüz. élin yana bértimiz. ilgerü kadirkan yışış aşa, bodunuğ ança konturtumuz, ança étdimiz. kuruğaru 18. keñü tarbanka<sup>202</sup> tegi türk bodunuğ ança konturtumuz, ança étdimiz. ol ödke kul kulluş küñ küñlüg bolmuş erti, inisi eçisin bilmez erti, oğlı kañın bilmez erti. ança kazğanmış, ança étmiş. elimiz törümüz erti. türk oğuz begleri bodun eşid, üze teñri basmasar, asra yér telinmeser, 19. türk bodun, élinin törügün kem artat[d]ı udaçı erti? türk bodun ertın ökün. küregünün üçün igidmiş kağanıñına, érmış barmış edgü éliñe kentü yañıltı, yablak kigürtüg, yarıklıg kantın kelip yaña élti? süñüglüg kantın kelipen süre élti? iduk ötüken yış bodun bardı, ilgerü barıgma bardı, kuruğaru 20. barıgma bardı. barduk yérde edgüg ol erinç: kanıñ oğuzçe yügürti, süñüküg tağça yatdı, beglik urı oğluñun kul kılığ, silik kız oğluñun küñ kılığ, bilmedükügün üçün, yablakıñın üçün eçim kağan uça bardı. başlayu kırkız kağanıñ balbal tikdim. türk bodun atı küsi yok bolmazun téyin, kañım kağanı

(21) w̄g<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>w̄t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ma : t<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup> : il<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ma : .....w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>mzwn<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ry<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : w̄zmn<sup>2</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : ..... b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>nta : w̄za : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup>m : ır<sup>2</sup>A : şs<sup>1</sup>z : t<sup>1</sup>şr<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>z : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>zy<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>nta : ..... g<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>işd<sup>1</sup> : m<sup>2</sup>m ... t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w̄zl<sup>2</sup>şd<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>1</sup>ñmz : (22) çmz : k<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>mş : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>w ..... : t<sup>2</sup>ry<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w̄çn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>w̄n<sup>2</sup> : wd<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>w̄ntz : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup>m : m<sup>2</sup>m : ..... b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A : w̄l<sup>2</sup>w̄y<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>w̄ : k<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>ntm : nçAk<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>p : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : wt<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup>m : mn<sup>2</sup> ..... y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>mş : ..... (23) k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : igr<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ry<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : ..... d<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>pa : il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄ : k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ñ : t<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>pa : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w̄ : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çt<sup>1</sup>pa : k<sup>2</sup>ry<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>m ..... : s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñşd<sup>2</sup>m : ntAk<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : w̄çn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>m : w̄l<sup>2</sup>w̄g<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w̄çw̄n<sup>2</sup> : w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çr<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup> ..... igr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : y<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ñb<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>iltm : çrğñb<sup>1</sup>w ... : b<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>iltm : (24) zb<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : w̄k<sup>2</sup>şk<sup>1</sup>iltm : igr<sup>1</sup> : l<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>A : ... : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>iltm : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ñd<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> :

201 The corresponding place in the Kül Tégin Inscription (K. E. 20) is *yañıltı* < *yañıl*- “to make a mistake”. Here *yazın-* is a synonym of *yañıl-*, meaning “to sin against” (Clouston 1972: 988).  
 202 *keñü tarban*. It is written as *keñü tarman* in the K. E. 21.

b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wp : b<sup>1</sup>zk<sup>1</sup>ıltm : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>z : k<sup>1</sup>ıltm : ... : m<sup>1</sup>ηA : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mı : y<sup>1</sup>şma : t<sup>1</sup>ηwt<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>pa : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : t<sup>1</sup>ηwt<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wzd<sup>1</sup>m : wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>... n<sup>2</sup> y<sup>2</sup>ıll<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>mm<sup>2</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>Al<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>zy<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mı : y<sup>1</sup>şma : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ı..... (25) t<sup>1</sup>pa : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>A : b<sup>1</sup>wzd<sup>1</sup>m : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>... ηt<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : ıd<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>şd<sup>1</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ηşd<sup>2</sup>m : wl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>Ay<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ışd<sup>1</sup>m : y<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mı : y<sup>1</sup>şma : b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup> : ıd<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : wg<sup>1</sup>şm : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>şıd<sup>1</sup>mz : t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>1</sup>... t<sup>2</sup> : ıcg<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>η ... b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>ıwt<sup>1</sup>z : y<sup>1</sup>şma : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç :

21. ögüm katunuğ kötürügme teñri, él bérigme *teñri*, türk bodun atı küsi yok bolmazun téyin, özümün ol teñri kağan *olurtdu erinç*. *neñ yılsıñ* bodunta üze olurmadım. içre aşız, taşra tonsuz, yabız yablak bodunta *üze olurtum*. *inim kül tégin* éki şad inim ... tr birle sözleşdimiz. kañımız 22. eçimiz kazğanmış bodun atı küsi yok *bolmazun* téyin, türk bodun üçün tün udımadım, küntüz olurmadım. *inim kül tégin birle, éki şad* birle ölü yitü kazğantım. ança kazğanıp biriki bodunuğ ot sub kılmadım. *men özüm kağan olurtukuma* yér sayu barmış *bodun ölü yitü yadağın yalıñın yana* 23. kelti. bodunuğ igideyin téyin, yırgaru *oğuz* bodun tapa, ilgerü kitan tatabı bodun tapa, bérgerü tabğaç tapa éki yégirmi *süledim*. sünüşdüm. anta késre teñri yarlıkduk üçün, kutum, ülügüm bar üçün ölteçi *bodunuğ tırgürü* ıgıt[d]im. yalıñ bodunuğ tonluğ kılıtım, çığañ *bodunuğ* bay kılıtım. 24. az bodunuğ üküş kılıtım, ıgar élligde *ıgar* kağanlığda yég kılıtım. tört bulundaki bodunuğ kop baz kılıtım, yağısız kılıtım. *kop* maña körti. yéti yégirmi yaşma tañut tapa *süledim*. tañut bodunuğ buzdum. oğlın *yutuzın* yilkısın barımın anta altım. sekiz yégirmi yaşma altı *çub soğdak* 25. tapa *süledim*. bodunuğ anta buzdum. *tabğaç* oñ tutuk béş tümen sü kelti. ıduk başda sünüşdüm. ol süg anta yok kışdım. yégirmi<sup>203</sup> yaşma basmıl idukut uğuşum bodun erti, arkış idmaz téyin *süledim*. k...t içğertim. kalıñ ..... ebirü kelürtüm. éki otuz yaşma tabğaç

(26) t<sup>1</sup>pa : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : ççAs<sup>2</sup>ηw<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>z : t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup> : ... l<sup>2</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ηşd<sup>2</sup>m : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>Aw<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ıwt<sup>1</sup>z : y<sup>1</sup>şma : çık<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>z : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ıb<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>ltı : k<sup>2</sup>mk<sup>2</sup>çA : çık<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>pa : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>pn<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ηşd<sup>2</sup>m : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>nçd<sup>1</sup>m : z ... g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : y<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıw ... A : k<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>z : t<sup>1</sup>pa : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ηşd<sup>2</sup> ... (27) k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>pn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ışg<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>... k<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>z : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : wd<sup>1</sup>A : b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>m : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A : s<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>ηA : y<sup>2</sup>ışd<sup>1</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ηşd<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : ıl<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>Al<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : wl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ıll<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>pa : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ışg<sup>1</sup> ..... zg<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>çA : y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup> ..... d<sup>1</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ı : wt<sup>1</sup>çA : b<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>çA : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : (28) b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>çwd<sup>1</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ηşd<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>... şd<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>Aw<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : ıl<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>Al<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : wt<sup>1</sup>z : y<sup>1</sup>şma : b<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>pa : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ıy<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ηşd<sup>2</sup>mz ... s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wp : w..... çr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>ışıt<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>.....A : wk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : n<sup>1</sup>r<sup>w</sup>çn<sup>2</sup> : wzd<sup>1</sup> : wt<sup>1</sup>z ..... (29) b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>şma : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wşs<sup>1</sup>z : ...w<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ıb<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>ltı : t<sup>1</sup>mg<sup>1</sup>ıd<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>şd<sup>1</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ηşd<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : n<sup>2</sup>Al<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m ..... k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>..... m : w..... t<sup>1</sup>w.....mn<sup>2</sup>η : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>mr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : wçn<sup>2</sup> : wd<sup>2</sup>... : 30. k<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : wçn<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ıb<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>ltı : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ıll<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ηşd<sup>2</sup>m : ηıl<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>w : b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>ηşd<sup>2</sup>m :

203 There are some blurred signs before *yégirmi*, Radloff 1897 and Thomsen suggested that it could be *tokuz*.

t<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>A : w̄g<sup>2</sup>zg<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>w̄zt<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>ç ..... k<sup>2</sup>int... n<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñsd<sup>2</sup>m : s<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>in<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>..... şd<sup>2</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>m̄şt<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> :

26. tapa süledim. çaça serjün sekiz tümen *sü birle* sünüşdüm. süsin anta ölürtüm. altı otuz yaşıma çık bodun kırkız birle yağı boltı. kem keçe çık tapa süledim. örpente sünüşdüm. süsin sançdım. *az bodunuğ altım ... içgertim. yéti otuz yaşıma* kırkız tapa süledim. sünüg *batımı* 27. karığ söküpén kögmen yışığ toğa *yorıp* kırkız bodunuğ uda basdım. kağanın birle soña yışda sünüşdüm. kağanın ölürtüm. élin anta altım. ol yılla türgiş tapa altun yışığ *aşa, ertiş ögüzüg* keçe yorıdım. *türgiş bodunuğ uda* basdım. türgiş kağan süsi otça borça kelti. 28. bolçuda sünüşdümüz. kağanın *yabğusun* şadın anta ölürtüm. élin anta altım. otuz yaşıma bés balık tapa süledim. altı yolu sünüşdüm.... süsin kop *ölürtüm. anta* içreki ne kişi tin ... *iyok boltaçı erti....* a okğalı<sup>204</sup> kelti. bés balık anı üçün ozdı. otuz *artukı* 29. bir yaşıma karluk bodun buşuz erür barur erkli yağı boltı. tamağ ıduk başda sünüşdüm. karluk bodunuğ ölürtüm. anta altım. ....<sup>205</sup>..karluk bodun térilip kelti.... m *ölürtüm. tokuz oğuz* meniñ bodunum erti. teñri yér bulğakın üçün *ödiye* 30. küni tegtük üçün yağı boltı. bir yılla tört yolu sünüşdüm. eñ ilki toğ balıkda sünüşdüm. tuğla ögüzüg yüzüti<sup>206</sup> keçip süsi ... ékinti antarğuda sünüşdüm. süsin *sançdım ... üçünç çuş başınta sünüşdüm.* türk bodun adak kamaşat[t]ı,<sup>207</sup> yablak

(31) b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ç<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : wza : y<sup>1</sup>n̄A : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ma : s<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>in<sup>2</sup> : g<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : w̄k<sup>2</sup>şw̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ç<sup>1</sup> : ntat<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : n̄ta : t<sup>1</sup>w̄ñr<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>2</sup>il<sup>1</sup>pg<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : wg<sup>1</sup>sg<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>w̄ñA : t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>w̄ ... g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>id<sup>1</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>nç<sup>2</sup> : zg<sup>2</sup>n̄t<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>zd<sup>1</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñsd<sup>2</sup>m : s<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>in<sup>2</sup>n̄ta : s<sup>1</sup>nçd<sup>1</sup>m : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>m ..... ma : mg<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>iş<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>zñA : (32) wg<sup>1</sup>z : t<sup>1</sup>pa : s<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : il<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>w̄ : t<sup>1</sup>şk<sup>1</sup>mş : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>in<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>w̄ : b<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>A : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : w̄çwg<sup>1</sup>z : s<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>z : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ip : l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : ..... g<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>in<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñsg<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ız : zr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>z : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mz : wg<sup>1</sup> ..... k<sup>2</sup>w̄ç : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup> : w̄çn<sup>2</sup>... s<sup>1</sup>nçd<sup>1</sup>m : (33) y<sup>1</sup>n̄d<sup>1</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup>çn<sup>2</sup> :

204 Radloff 1897 and Malov 1959 read this as *ukğali* < uk- “to hear, surrender”. Here I follow the transcription of Thomsen 1896, *ukığalı* < uki- “to call”, which was accepted by Orkun 1936 and Tekin 1968.

205 Geng 2005 suggested this blurred part be read *otuz artuk éki yaşıma* “when he was thirty-two years old”. It is also possible that Bilge Kağan was thirty-three years old in this battle, because the following sentences are about the Türk-Oğuz War, which happened when he was thirty-three years old.

206 Radloff 1897 read this as *yüzti* < *yüz-* “to swim” (*yüziti?* < *yüzit-* “to cause to swim”); Clauson read it as *yüzdı* < *yüz-* “to swim” (Clauson 1972: 984). Here I follow the transcription of Tekin 1968 as *yüzüti* < *yüzüt-* “to cause to swim”. According to Erdal, since the second vowel is implicit, it must be /ü/ and not /i/ (Erdal 1991: 796).

207 Radloff 1897 read this as *kamaştı* < *kamaş-* “to become exhausted”; Thomsen 1896 also read it as *kamaştı*, but translated *adak kamaş-* as “to become seditious”; Orkun 1936 read it as *kamaştı* < *kamaş-* “to twist”, and translated *adak kamaş-* as “to shake the fortitude”; Malov 1959 followed the interpretation of Radloff 1897. Tekin 1968 for the first time transcribed it as *kamşat[t]ı* < *kamşat-* “to shake”, so did Clauson (Clauson 1972: 629). Here I follow the transcription of Tekin. This word also appears in K. N. 7.

mn<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>zɡ<sup>1</sup>ntk<sup>w</sup> : w̄çn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> ..... m<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w̄ : b<sup>2</sup>n̄çA : b<sup>1</sup>ş<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : k<sup>1</sup>zɡ<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> ...  
d<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ç<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>... ç<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı... b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>... s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>η : n̄çAb<sup>2</sup>ı<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>η ..... d<sup>1</sup> : ıd<sup>1</sup>my<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> :  
t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>... (34) b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wzd<sup>1</sup>m ... wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>wz</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>ı<sup>2</sup>p :  
k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : g<sup>1</sup>wda : k<sup>2</sup>ıw<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñş : s<sup>2</sup>w̄ñşd<sup>2</sup>m : s<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>... l<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : n̄tAl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : n̄çAk<sup>1</sup>zɡ<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>.....  
t<sup>1</sup>zr<sup>1</sup>...ı..... w̄d<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : w̄t<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>ş ... (35) ıg<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mş .....A : t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>ı : ıd<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup> ...  
k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>pl<sup>1</sup>ımd<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>n̄ç : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>wz</sup> : wg<sup>1</sup>z : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : ıd<sup>1</sup>p : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w :  
b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ı : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç ..... r<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : ıg<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>..... b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>...

31. boltaçı erti. oza yaña keligme süsin ağıt[t]ım. üküş ölteçi anta tériti. anta toņra yıpağutu bir uğuşuğ toņa tégin yoğunta egire tokıdım. törtünc ezgenti kadazda süñüşdüm. süsin anta sançdım, yabırdım.... *yaşım*a amğa kurğan kışladukda yut boltı. yazıña 32. oğuz tapa süledim. ilki sü taşıkımış erti. ékin sü ebde erti. üç oğuz süsi basa kelti. yadağ yabız<sup>208</sup> boltı tép alğalı kelti. *sınar süsi ebig* barkığ yul[ı]ğalı bardı. sınar süsi süñüşgeli kelti. biz az ertimiz, yabız ertimiz. oğuz ... *yağı* ... *teñri* küç bértük üçün *anta* sançdım, 33. yañdım. teñri yarlıkaduk üçün, men kazğanduk üçün, türk bodun *ança kazğanmış erinç. men* iniligü<sup>209</sup> bunça başlayı kazğanmasar, *türk* bodun ölteçi erti, yok *boltaçı* erti. *türk* begler *bodun ança* sakınıñ. ança bilij. *oğuz bodun* ..d ıdmayın téyin süledim. 34. ebin barkın buzdım. *oğuz* bodun tokuz tatar birle térilip kelti. ağıda éki uluğ süñüş süñüşdüm. süsin *buzdım*. élin anta altım. ança *kazğanıp* ... *teñri yarlıkaduk üçün özüm* otuz artukı üç *yaşım*a ... *ok* erti. ödsig ötülüğ kişi 35. ıgitmiş *alp kağanıña yanılı*. üze teñri ıduk yer sub *eçüm* kağan kutı taplamadı erinç, tokuz oğuz bodun yérin subın ıdıp tabğaçğaru bardı. tabğaç ... *bu* yérde kelti. ıgideyin téyin *sakıntım* ... bodun ...

(36) y<sup>1</sup>zk<sup>w</sup>l<sup>1</sup>A .....A : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çd<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>ık<sup>2</sup>w̄s<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ı : b<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>A : m̄ηA : k<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ı :  
mn<sup>2</sup> : w̄zm : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>m : w̄çn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w̄</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> ..... k<sup>1</sup>zɡ<sup>1</sup>n̄tm : ..... t<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>ı<sup>2</sup>p :  
y<sup>2</sup>..... (37) ..... s<sup>1</sup>n̄çd<sup>1</sup>m : ıçk<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>mA : ıçk<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ı : w̄l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>mAw̄l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ηA :  
k<sup>w</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>pn<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>A : b<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : n̄tAb<sup>1</sup>wzd<sup>1</sup>m ..... g<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ı : ..... r<sup>2</sup> :  
y<sup>2</sup>w̄zçA..... (38) ..... k<sup>w̄</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : Açr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : wl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ıg<sup>1</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>pıg<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : wt<sup>1</sup>zr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> :  
y<sup>1</sup>şmA : wg<sup>1</sup>z : t<sup>2</sup>zp : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çk<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : w̄k<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>p : s<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : s<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> ..... l<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>zm<sup>2</sup> :  
n̄tAl<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>w ..... (39) ..... : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>çk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>w̄r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>çı :  
d<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w̄ : s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ı : w̄t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>mzt<sup>2</sup>ıy<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : n̄tAb<sup>1</sup>wzd<sup>1</sup>m : y<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>..... :  
k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ış ..... (40) ..... g<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ηA : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>w̄ : s<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>ıñr<sup>1</sup>w : k<sup>w</sup>wntı : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>A :  
k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>pa : s<sup>2</sup>w̄l<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>ıp : t<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>mt<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>ımb<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>..... y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>mş : m<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ı :

208 Radloff 1897 read this as *yadağı baz boltı* “without horses they were incapable of fighting”; Thomsen 1896 read it as *yadağ yabız boltı* “they were without horses and in a bad situation”. Thomsen’s interpretation has been accepted by the later editors, including Orkun 1936, Malov 1959 and Tekin 1968. Here I also follow the transcription of Thomsen.

209 Clauson thought this word does not exist. He read this sentence as *ini ölgü bunça başlayı kazganmatin türkü bodun ölteçi*, and translated it as “If my younger brother when he died had not gained so much by his leadership, the Türk people would have died” (Clauson 1972: 186).

b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>..... (41) ..... k<sup>1</sup>şı : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>md<sup>2</sup>ı : n<sup>1</sup>... t<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ıp : s<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>w</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>w : k<sup>2</sup>r<sup>w</sup>ç : k<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w : t<sup>2</sup>zpb<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>Ab<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıt<sup>2</sup>ıp : w<sup>g</sup>..... At<sup>1</sup>b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>2</sup>ıçg<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>... g<sup>1</sup>.....

36. yazukla ... *bérye* tabğaçda atı küsi yok boltı. bu yérde maña kul boltı. men özüm kağan olurtukum üçün, türk bodunuğ ... *kılmadım. élig törüg yéğdi* kazğantım. iduk ... térilip yi ... 37. ...*anta süñüşdüm. süsin* sançdım. içikigme içikdi. bodun boltı. ölügme ölti. seleñe kodı yorpan karağın kısıta ebin barkın anta buzdum.... *yışka* ağdı. *uyğur élteber* yüzçe *erin ilgerü tezıp bardı* ... 38. ... *türk* bodun aç erti. ol yılkuğ alıp igitim. otuz artuki tört yaşıma oğuz tezıp tabğaçka kirti. ökünüp süledim. sukun ... oğlın yutuzın anta altım. éki élteberlig *bodun* ... 39. ... *tatabı* bodun tabğaç kağanka körti. yalabaçı edgü sabı ötügi kelmez téyin, yayın süledim. bodunuğ anta buzdum. yılkısn *barımın anta altım* ... *süsi térilip* kelti. kadirkan yış *kon* ... 40. ...ğakuña yérıñerü subıñaru kontı. bérye karluk bodun tapa süle tép tudun yamtarıñ it[t]ım. bardı ... *karluk élteber* yok bolmuş. inisi bir *kurğanka* ..... 41. ... *arkışı* kelmedi.<sup>210</sup> anı *añtayın* tép süledim. korıgu éki üç kişiligü tezıp bardı. kara bodun kağanım kelti tép *ögirip sebinti* ... *ka* at bértim. kiçig *atlığ*ğ ...

**Southeast Edge**

..... ñg<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : s<sup>2</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>p : t<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>2</sup>ıt<sup>2</sup>ı : wd<sup>2</sup>şk<sup>2</sup>A : s<sup>1</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>z : k<sup>2</sup>çd<sup>2</sup>m : çwr<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>p : y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç ..... : k<sup>2</sup>çn<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ı.....

*kök* öñüg yoğuru sü yorıp, tünli künli yéti ödüşke subsuz keçdim. çorakka<sup>211</sup> tegip yulıgçı *erig* ... keçenke tegi ...

**South Side**

(1) ... t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç : t<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>mn<sup>2</sup> : r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ı : y<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıb<sup>2</sup>ıñ : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>g</sup> : ıl<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup> : w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : y<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wp : ... şp : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>... (2) ... y<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : wt<sup>1</sup>zr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ı : ... ma : k<sup>1</sup>ışn<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>.ñ. pa : s<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m ... .. y<sup>1</sup>zn<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ı : t<sup>1</sup>pa : s<sup>2</sup>... (3) ...w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : wg<sup>1</sup>...y<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>... .. r<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>w</sup>... (4).... (5).... (6).... (7) ...w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>p ... b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup>w : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : l<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>y<sup>1</sup>ş ma : t<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ı ..... d<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ñd<sup>1</sup>A : d<sup>1</sup>... (8) ... şd<sup>1</sup>w : t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>... mn<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>wk<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>wñk<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>p : t<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>m : w<sup>g</sup>t<sup>2</sup>wmn<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>w... r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>...s<sup>2</sup>wk<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : t<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ı... (9) ... g<sup>1</sup> : wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>m : g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>p : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>çA : k<sup>w</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ñwñ<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ık<sup>2</sup>A : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : mn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>z : y<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>mı : y<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup> : şd<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>.....mı : y<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup>..... ıl<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>m : wt<sup>1</sup>zr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ı : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>... (10) ... ma : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ma : y<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>çak<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>w : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>1</sup>wñçA : k<sup>1</sup>zg<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>p : ... y<sup>1</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup> : wn<sup>1</sup>ıncy<sup>1</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ıwt<sup>1</sup>zk<sup>1</sup>A : w<sup>1</sup>çA : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ı : l<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>zm<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>ıncy<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>ıt<sup>2</sup>ı : wt<sup>1</sup>zk<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>w<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>...

1. ...tabğaç atlığ süsi bir tümen artuki yéti bıñ süg ilki kün ölürtüm. yadağ süsin ékinti kün kop *ölürtüm*. ... aşıp bardı ... 2. ...yolu süledim. otuz artuki *sekiz* yaşıma

210 Tekin 1968 read this as *yelmedi* < *yelme*- “not to ride fast”. The first sign looks more like *k<sup>2</sup>* than *y<sup>2</sup>*.

211 Radloff 1897, Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936, and Malov 1959 treated *çorak* as a place name; Tekin 1968 interpreted *çorak* as “dry land”, which can not be found in Clauson 1972. Here I follow the interpretation of Radloff and Thomsen.

kışın kitan tapa süledim.... otuz artukı tokuz yaşuma yazın tatabı tapa süledim.... 3. men ... ölürtüm. oğlın yutuzın yulkusun barımın altım ... re ku ... 4. bodun ... yutuzın yok kultım ... 5. yorıp ... 6. süñüşdüm... ... 7. ..bértim. alp erin ölürip balbal kılı bértim. elig yaşıma tatabı bodun kitanıda adrıltı ... tönker tağka ... 8. kuğ señün başadu tört tümen sü kelti. tönker tağda tegip tokıdım. üç tümen süğ ölürtüm. bir tümen ..rser ... söktüm. tatabı ... 9. ölürti. uluğ oğlum ağrıp yok bolça, kuğ señünüğ balbal tike bértim. men tokuz yégirmi yıl şad olurtum. tokuz yégirmi yıl kağan olurtum. él tutdum. otuz artukı bir ... .. 10. türküme bodunuma yégin ança kazğanı bértim. bunça kazğanıp kañım kağan it yıl onunç ay altı otuzka uça bardı. lağzın yıl béşinç ay yéti otuzka yoğ értürtüm. bukuğ tutuk ...

(11) ... ηA : l<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>wñn<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ηwñn<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>şd<sup>1</sup>... b<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>wzr<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wk<sup>l</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : w... l<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>wms<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>z : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>pr<sup>1</sup>ıg<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>p : t<sup>2</sup>ık<sup>2</sup>A : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : çıntn<sup>1</sup> : ıg<sup>1</sup>ç : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>p : wzy<sup>1</sup>... (12) b<sup>1</sup>wñçA : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>çın<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>çd<sup>1</sup> : d<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w : wzl<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>wk<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>ηın<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>z : k<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>p : k<sup>w</sup>wp : k<sup>w</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>..... (13) t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>... mş : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>A... b<sup>1</sup>m : k<sup>1</sup>ηm : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ıntA : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : mt<sup>1</sup>..... k<sup>2</sup>is<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>wş : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>çwr<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>şl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : wl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : şd<sup>1</sup>pıt<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : ..... b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : pat<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>... (14) b<sup>1</sup>şl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : wl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : şd<sup>1</sup>..... t<sup>1</sup>mn<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>Ab<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>At<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : b<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>... içb<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>..... b<sup>1</sup>şl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : wl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : b<sup>1</sup>wy<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wñçA : m ... k<sup>1</sup>ηm : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : ..ηw... (15) r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ηw : t<sup>2</sup>ım ..... t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ηw : t<sup>2</sup>ımg<sup>1</sup> : it<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : ..... t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : l... wr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup> : .....

11. maña<sup>212</sup> lisün tay señün başadu béş yüz eren kelti. kokılık ö ... altın kümüş kergeksiz kelürti. yoğ yıparıñ kelürüp tike bérti. çıntan ıgaç kelürüp öz yar ... 12. bunça bodun saçın kulkakın bıçdı. edgü özlük atın kara kişin kök teyiñin sansız kelürüp kop kot[t]. 13. tenrı teg tenrı yaratmış türk bilge kağan sabım kañım türk bilge kağan olurtukınta türk amtı begler ... késre tarduş begler, kül çor başlayı ulayı şadapıt begler, öñre tüliš begler apa tarkan 14. başlayı ulayı şadapıt begler bu ... taman tarkan tonyukuk boyla bağa tarkan ulayı buyruk ... iç buyruk sebeg kül irkin başlayı ulayı buyruk bunça amtı begler kañım kağanka ertinü 15. ertinü ti<sup>213</sup> mağ étđi ... türk beglerin bodunun ertinü ti mağ étđi ödđi ... kañım kağan üçün ağır taşığ yoğun iç türk begler bodun étip yaratıp kelürti. özüme bunça ...

212 Radloff 1897 read this as *akañi* < *akaj* “father”; Tekin 1968 read it as *kajı* < *kaj* “father”. Here I follow the reading of Thomsen 1896, *maña* “to me”, which was accepted by Orkun 1936 and Malov 1959.

213 Radloff 1897 read this as *eti* “meaningful, many”. Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968, *ti* “firm, strong, hard”, although it does not exist in other dictionaries.

**Southwest Edge**

..... t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>1</sup>wñçA : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>zg<sup>2</sup> : wzg<sup>1</sup>..... t<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : mn<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup> : ... r<sup>1</sup>p : b<sup>2</sup>it<sup>2</sup>id<sup>2</sup>m : b<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>...

*bilge kağan bitigin yolluğ* tegin biti[t]dim. bunça barkığ bedizig uzuğ ... *kağan atası yolluğ* tegin men ay artukı tört kün olurup biti[t]dim. bedizttim ... *yag*

**West Side**

(1) ..... (2) b<sup>2</sup>... (3) y<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : wZA : t<sup>2</sup>... (4) k<sup>2</sup>wb<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ı : t<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>çA... (5) t<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>A : s<sup>2</sup>ig<sup>1</sup>wñ<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>... (6) s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>mn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>ηm ... (7) t<sup>1</sup>şm<sup>2</sup> : wzm : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>...

1. türk üze olurmuş *kañım*<sup>214</sup> 2. *bilge kağan uçdı* 3. yay bolsar üze *teñri* 4. köbrügesi<sup>215</sup> eterçe *ança takı* 5. tağda sığun etser *ança* 6. sakınur men *kañım kağan* 7. taşın özüm *kağan* ...

**North Side**

(1) t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ηr<sup>2</sup>id<sup>2</sup>A : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>mş : ..... : b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>..d<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>mn<sup>1</sup> : ..wk<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>id<sup>2</sup> : ..... : wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>m : b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ı : wg<sup>1</sup>şm : ..... (2) t<sup>1</sup>wg<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ıηA : b<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w : k<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup> : wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ws<sup>2</sup>ıηr<sup>1</sup>w : k<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>ıg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : k<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ıηA : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : t<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup> : wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>ws<sup>2</sup>ıηr<sup>1</sup>w : nTA : çr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ı : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wp : mηA : k<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup> : ..... wl<sup>1</sup>mt<sup>1</sup>ı : ñg<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>n<sup>2</sup> ..... il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>w : şntw ..... (3) r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>wpwt<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>ıçg<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>md<sup>2</sup>m : k<sup>w</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>ıg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : y<sup>2</sup>nçw<sup>w</sup>g<sup>2</sup>zg<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>çA : t<sup>2</sup>mr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>pg<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>wl<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>m : y<sup>2</sup>ırg<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>ıηA : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>w..... k<sup>w</sup>n<sup>2</sup> ... d<sup>1</sup>A : y<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup> : ı..... : r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : il<sup>2</sup>..... : t<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>n<sup>2</sup>.. : y<sup>2</sup>ısr<sup>2</sup>mş : ..... b<sup>2</sup>ir<sup>2</sup>ıA : t<sup>2</sup>wz ..... t<sup>1</sup>wñ<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>wmş : ıs<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>... : (4) k<sup>w</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wñs<sup>1</sup>z : nçAb<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ç : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>wçg<sup>2</sup> : g<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>2</sup>mşk<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>mş : s<sup>2</sup>wçg<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : y<sup>2</sup>mşk<sup>1</sup> : g<sup>1</sup>ım<sup>2</sup> : r<sup>1</sup>p : ır<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>..... y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>ır<sup>2</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>mş : ..... : k<sup>w</sup>wnt... : k<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>A : ñg<sup>1</sup>b<sup>2</sup>il<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : nTA..... d<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w : ... g<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup> : d<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w : l<sup>1</sup>pk<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>ıg<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>w ..... : r<sup>2</sup>mş : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>ıηl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : ..... k<sup>w</sup>ıηA : t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ı : k<sup>ı</sup> ..... (5) r<sup>2</sup>mş : s<sup>2</sup>wçg<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>ıηA : y<sup>2</sup>mşk<sup>1</sup> : g<sup>1</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>ıηA : r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>p : w<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ş : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : ..... : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ıη : b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>y<sup>2</sup>A : ..... : y<sup>2</sup>ış : t<sup>2</sup>wg<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>wñ<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>zı : k<sup>w</sup>wñy<sup>1</sup>ım<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : w<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ıη : ñg<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>ı : nçAb<sup>1</sup>wş ..... : r<sup>2</sup>mş : ır<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : g<sup>1</sup>ıb<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup> : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : d<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>w : g<sup>1</sup>ıb<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ıpnçA : b<sup>1</sup>wşg<sup>1</sup>... : r<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ı... :

1. teñri teg teñride bolmuş *türk* bilge kağan bödke olurtum. sabımın tüketi eşid *ulayu iniyigünüm*, oğlanım, biriki uğuşum, *bodunum*, *bérye şadapıt begler*, *yurya tarkat buyruk*

214 Here the stone is severely deteriorated. Thomsen 1896 in his note suggested the blurred part be read as *türk üze olurmuş kañım*. Here I follow his advice.  
 215 Radloff 1897 transcribed this as *bergüsi*, the meaning of which is unclear. Thomsen transcribed it as *köbrügesi* < *köbrüğe* “drum”, which was accepted by Orkun 1936. Malov 1959 also transcribed it as *köbrügesi* but doubted that it could mean “bridge” (*köprüg*). Inspired by Malov, Tekin 1968 transcribed it as *köbürgesi* < *köbüрге* “bridge” and translated it as “the bridge of heaven speaks (that is, it thunders)”. Clauson spelled it *kübrüg* (Clauson 1972: 690). Here I follow the transcription of Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936.

*begler, otuz..., tokuz oğuz begleri bodunu bu sabımın edgüti eşid, katığdı tıñla. ilgerü kün*  
 2. toğsıkuña, bérgerü kün ortusuñaru, kunğaru kün batsıkuña, yırğaru tün ortusuñaru  
 anta içreki bodun kop maña körür. *bunça bodun kop étdim.* ol amtı añıñ yok. türk  
 kağan ötüken *yış olursar élte buñ yok.* ilgerü şantun yazıka tegi süledim, *taluyka kişig*  
*tegmedim. bérgerü tokuz* 3. ersinke tegi süledim, tüpütke kişig tegmedim. kunğaru  
 yinçü ögüz keçe temir kapıgka tegi süledim. yırğaru yér bayırku yériñe tegi süledim.  
*bunça yérke tegi yoritdim.* ötüken *yışda yég idi yok* ermiş. *él tutsuk yér* ötüken *yış*  
*ermiş. bu yérde olurup tabğaç bodun* birle *tüzültüm.* altun kümüş *ışgiti* 4. kutay bunşuz ança  
 bérür. tabğaç bodun sabı süçig, ağısı yımşak ermiş. süçig sabın yımşak ağıñ arıp irak  
*bodunuğ ança* yağutr ermiş. *yağru kontukda késre añıñ biligin anta öyür ermiş.* edgü  
*bilge* kişig, edgü alp kişig *yoritmaz* ermiş. bir kişi yañılsar *uğuşı bodunu* bésükiñe tegi  
 kıdmaz 5. ermiş. süçig sabıña yımşak ağısıña arturup üküş türk bodun öltüg. *türk*  
 bodun ölsükünj. bérye *çuğay* yış tügültün yazı konayın téser türk bodun ölsüküg anta.  
 añıñ kişi ança boşğurur ermiş; irak erser yablak ağı bérür, yağuk erser edgü ağı bérür  
 tép ança boşğurur ermiş. *bilig*

(6) b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>mz : k<sup>2</sup>ıs<sup>2</sup>ı : wl<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>p : y<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>w : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>p : wk<sup>2</sup>şk<sup>2</sup>ışı : wl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>.....  
 r<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : ..... : wl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>çis<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : wt<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : ..... t<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ş : is<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : n<sup>2</sup>ñb<sup>1</sup>w ..... y<sup>2</sup>ış :  
 wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ñg<sup>2</sup>w : .....is<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>s<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : Açs<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>ws<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : wmsz<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> :  
 b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup> : Açs<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup> : wmsz<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : ntg<sup>1</sup>ñn<sup>1</sup> : wçn<sup>2</sup> : ıg<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>mş : k<sup>1</sup>..... (7) s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>n<sup>2</sup> : l<sup>1</sup>mt<sup>1</sup>m<sup>2</sup> :  
 y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>w : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wpnta : l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ntg<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>1</sup>... : nta..l<sup>1</sup>m ... : y<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : ..y<sup>1</sup>wk<sup>w</sup>p : t<sup>1</sup>wr<sup>1</sup>w :  
 w..... wr<sup>1</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : t<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup>ı : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>..... k<sup>w</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>m : b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>wçn<sup>2</sup> : k<sup>1</sup>..... m : k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>p : y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>çıg<sup>1</sup>ñ :  
 b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>w</sup>wp : k<sup>w</sup>wb<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : çıg<sup>1</sup>ñ : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ıltm : zb<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : k<sup>2</sup>wşk<sup>1</sup>ıltm :  
 ..... (8) s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>md<sup>1</sup>A : ıg<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>b<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>w : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wn<sup>1</sup>ı : s<sup>2</sup>ıd<sup>2</sup>ñ : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> :  
 b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>..... : ıl<sup>2</sup>t<sup>1</sup>wt<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ñn<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wnta : wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : y<sup>1</sup>ñl<sup>1</sup>p : wl<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ñn<sup>2</sup> : ... : b<sup>1</sup>w ..... m : n<sup>2</sup>ñn<sup>2</sup>.. :  
 s<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>... r<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>ñg<sup>2</sup>w : t<sup>1</sup>şk<sup>1</sup>A : wr<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>m : ñr<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>w : b<sup>2</sup>ıl<sup>2</sup>ñ : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : mt<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : b<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup> :  
 b<sup>2</sup>wd<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>A : k<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ma ..... (9) k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : çmk<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup> : wl<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup>nta : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup> : b<sup>1</sup>wl<sup>1</sup>ñd<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ı :  
 b<sup>1</sup>wd<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> : ..... r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>... k<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>A : k<sup>1</sup>ız ..... b<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>... (10) k<sup>1</sup>ızm<sup>1</sup> : r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ñw : wl<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup> :  
 t<sup>2</sup>wr<sup>2</sup>wñn<sup>2</sup> : wg<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ma : l<sup>1</sup>ıb<sup>2</sup>ır<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m ..... r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m ... r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : t<sup>2</sup>ızl<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup>g<sup>2</sup> : s<sup>2</sup>wk<sup>2</sup>r<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>m : wza :  
 t<sup>2</sup>ñr<sup>2</sup>ı : s<sup>1</sup>... : y<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>k<sup>w</sup> : wç ...

6. bilmez kişi ol sabıg alıp, yağru barıp üküş kişi öltüg. ol *yérgerü barsar türk bodun*  
 ölteçi sen. ötüken *yér olurup arkiş* türkış isar neñ *buñuğ yok. ötüken* yış olursar beñgü  
*él tuta olurtaçı* sen. türk bodun tokurkak sen. açsar tosuk ömez sen. bir todsar açsık  
 ömez sen. antağın üçün igidmiş *kağanuñun* 7. sabın almatın. yér sayu bardıg. kop anta  
 alkntıg, *arultıg.* anta *kalmışı yér sayu* kop turu *ölü yoryur* ertig. teñri *yarlıkadukun üçün,*  
*özüm* kutum bar üçün *kağan olurum.* kağan olurup yok çığañ bodunuğ kop kubrat[d]  
 m. çığañ bodunuğ bay kılıtm; az bodunuğ üküş kılıtm. *azu bu* 8. sabımda igid barğu?  
 türk begler bodun bunı eşidiñ. türk bodunuğ *térip* él tutsukuñun bunta urtum, yañılıp  
 ölsükünjün *yeme bunta urtum.* neñ neñ *sabım erser* beñgü taşka urtum. anjar körü  
 biliñ. türk amtı bodun begler bödke körügme *begler gü yañultaçı siz? kañun* 9. kağan



## Bilge Kağan Inscription – Translation

### *East Side*

1 The words are my [own words], [the words of] Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan. My father, the Türk Bilge Kağan ... The nomadic officials and people of ... Sir, the Tokuz Oğuz and Éki Ediz. Türk Teñri ... 2 I became kağan over ... When I ascended the throne, the desperately unhappy (lit. worried to death) Türk officials and people became delighted and joyful, their drooping eyes looked up. Having ascended the throne, I made very important laws for the people in the four directions. When the blue sky was created above and the brown earth was created below, humankind was created between them. 3 Over the humans, my forefathers Bumın Kağan and İstemi Kağan ascended the throne. Having become kağan, they established the Türk people's realm and laws, and organized them. [The people] in the four directions were all enemies. They campaigned and seized all the people in the four directions. They pacified all [those people]. They caused those who had heads to bow down and those who had knees to kneel down. They settled people eastwards as far as the Kadırkan mountain forest and westwards as far as the 4 Iron Gate. Thus, the completely unified Kök Türk people took up residence between the above two places. The kağans were wise and brave. Their ministers were wise and brave too. Their officials and people were impartial. Because of this, they founded such an empire. They established a realm and made laws. Then they passed away. 5 People came from the sunrise-place in the east, including Bükli, the land of Çöllüg, Tang China, Tibet, Apar, Purum (Rum, i.e. Byzantium), Kırkız, Üç Kurıkan, Otuz Tatar, Kitañ and Tatabı, to attend the funeral feast and lament. Those people came to attend the funeral feast and lament. They were such famous kağans. Afterwards, their younger brothers became kağans and their sons became kağans. [However,] the younger brothers had not been born like their elders and the sons had not been born like their fathers. 6 Stupid kağans ascended the throne. Evil kağans ascended the throne. Their ministers were stupid and evil too. Because their officials and people were partisan, because the Chinese people were tricky and deceitful, because of the deceptiveness [of the Chinese], because of the hostility between the [Türk] younger and elder brothers, because of the conflicts between the [Türk] officials and common people, 7 the Türk people lost their unified realm and abandoned their enthroned kağan. Their noble boys were made the Chinese people's slaves and their pure daughters were made the Chinese people's maids. The Türk officials gave up their Türk titles. These pro-China officials accepted Chinese titles and looked up to the Chinese emperor. They fulfilled their duties for fifty years. 8 They campaigned [for China] eastwards as far as [the land of] Bükli kağan at the sunrise and westwards to the Iron Gate. They offered their realm and laws to the Chinese emperor. [However,] all the Türk common people said: "I used to be a person who had a realm. Now, where is my realm? For whom am I striving for a realm?" they said, 9 "I used to be a person

who had a kağan. Where is my kağan? To which kağan am I fulfilling my duty?" Having said that, they turned hostile against the Chinese emperor. [Although] they had become hostile, they did not manage to organize and arrange themselves. They submitted [to the emperor] again. Without thinking of how [the Türk people] had fulfilled their duties, [the Chinese emperor] said: "I shall kill the Türk people! I shall leave them no descendants!" [The Türk people] were perishing. [However,] 10 the Türk Teḡri, along with the holy soil and water, held my father Élteriş Kağan and my mother Élbilge Katun at the top of sky and raised them up [as kağan and katun respectively], so that the Türk people would not perish and would become people [with a realm]. My father, the kağan, left [China] with seventeen men. Having heard that they were marching out, the people living in the towns left [the towns] and people living in the mountains came down [from the mountains]. 11 When they assembled, there were seventy people. Thanks to the power bestowed by Teḡri, the soldiers of my father, the kağan, were like wolves, while his enemies were like sheep. Having campaigned eastwards and westwards, they assembled [again]. The total [number of soldiers] was seven hundred. As there were seven hundred people, [my father,] according to the law of my ancestors, organized and instructed the people who had had neither a realm nor a kağan, people who had become slaves and maids, people who had abandoned their Türk laws. 12 He organized the Tülüş and Tarduş people. He appointed a yabġu and a şad there. In the south, the Chinese people were the enemy; in the north, Baz Kağan and the Tokuz Oġuz people were the enemy. The Kırkız, Kurkan, Otuz Tatar, Kitañ and Tatabı were all enemies. My father, the kağan ... like this. 13 He campaigned forty-seven times and fought twenty battles. Because of Teḡri's mandate, he caused the people who had a realm to lose their realm, and the people who had a kağan to lose their kağan. He pacified the enemies. He caused the people who had knees to kneel down and the people who had heads to bow down. Having striven for [the Türk] realm and laws, he passed away. A *balbal* beginning with Baz Kağan was erected for my father, the kağan. 14 When my father, the kağan, passed away, I was eight years old. According to the law, my uncle, the kağan, ascended the throne. Having ascended the throne, he continuously organized and nourished the Türk people. He made the poor people rich. He enlarged the small population. When my uncle, the kağan, ascended the throne, I was tégin ... Because of Teḡri's mandate, 15 I became şad over the Tarduş people when I was fourteen years old. Together with my uncle, the kağan, we campaigned eastwards as far as the Yellow River and the Shandong Plain, westwards as far as the Iron Gate, [northwards] across the Kögmen mountain forest as far as the land of the Kırkız. We campaigned twenty-five [times] in total and fought thirteen [battles]. We caused the people who had a realm to lose their realm, the people who had a kağan to lose their kağan, the people who had knees to kneel down, 16 and the people who had heads to bow down. The Türgiş kağan had been our Türk people (subject), [but] because of their stupidity and because they misbehaved and did wrong to us, their kağan died,

and their ministers and officials died too. The On Ok people suffered. So that the place (lit. the earth and water) where our ancestors had governed would not be without a ruler, we organized the Az people ... was the Bars Beg (“tiger official”). 17 We appointed a kağan there. We married him to my younger sister, the princess. As they themselves had misbehaved, their kağan died and their people became slaves and maids. So that the place of Kögmen would not remain to be without a ruler, we came to organize the Az and the Kırkız people. We fought. We gave their realm [back to them] again. Crossing the Kadırkan mountain forest to the east, we settled people there. We organized this. To the west, 18 we settled Türk people as far as Keñü Tarban. We organized this. At that moment, slaves and maids became people who owned slaves and people who owned maids [respectively]. Younger brothers did not know who their elders were, and sons did not know who their fathers were [because of the vast territory]. We had thus striven and organized. We had our realm and laws. Türk and Oğuz officials, listen! As long as the sky above did not fall down, nor the earth below be perforated, 19 Türk people, who could damage your realm and laws? Türk people, you should regret [that]! Because of your unruliness, you yourselves did wrong and brought evil on the kağan who had fed you, and on the independent and superior realm. [Otherwise] how could the armor-clad [enemies] have come and carried you off? How could [the enemies] equipped with lances have come, driven you out and carried you off? The people living in the sacred Ötüken mountain forest left. The people who were to go eastwards 20 went [east]. The people who were to go westwards went [west]. The “good things” you found in the place you had fled to were: that your blood ran out like river, your bones were piled up like a hill, that your noble sons were made slaves, and your pure daughters were made maids. Because you were stupid and evil, my uncle, the kağan, passed away. I erected a *babal* beginning with the Kırkız kağan [for him]. In order that the name and fame of the Türk people would not disappear, the Teñri who had raised my father as kağan and 21 my mother as katun, the Teñri who had bestowed on us a realm, in order that the name and fame of the Türk people would not disappear, made me kağan. I did not ascend the throne over a prosperous people. The people over whom I ascended the throne were without food in their bellies (lit. inside) and without clothes on their bodies (lit. outside), bad and evil. I discussed this with my younger brother Kül Tégin; the two şads and my younger brother ... 22 So that the name and fame of the people, for whom my father and uncle had striven, would not disappear, I neither slept at night nor sat down in the daytime by reason of the Türk people. I, together with my younger brother Kül Tégin and the two şads, toiled to exhaustion. Having thus toiled, I prevented the united people from being [opposed to each other] like water and fire. The people who had gone elsewhere when I was ascending the throne came back again, exhausted, on foot and naked. 23 In order to feed these people, I campaigned twelve times with a sizable army northwards against the Oğuz people, eastwards against the Kitañ and Tatabı people, and southwards against the Chinese

people. I battled against them there. Then, as Teṅri blessed [me], because of my good fortune and fate, I revived and fed the dying people. I clothed the naked people. I made the poor people rich. **24** I enlarged the small population and made my people superior to those who had a strong realm and a powerful kağan. I made the people in all four directions peaceful and friendly. They all looked up to me. They were fulfilling their duties [to me]. I campaigned against the Taṅut when I was seventeen years old. I routed the Taṅut people. I obtained their sons, wives, livestock and properties there. I campaigned against the Sogdians in the Six Prefectures when I was eighteen years old. **25** I routed the enemy (lit. people) there. The Chinese prince commander came with an army of fifty thousand [soldiers]. We fought at Iduk Baş. I destroyed that army there. When I was twenty years old, I campaigned against the Basml Idukut, who had been my subjects, as they failed to pay tribute. I brought ... I brought back booty ... I campaigned against China when I was twenty-two years old. **26** I fought against General Çaça and eighty thousand soldiers. I crushed his army there. When I was twenty-six years old, the Çik people along with the Kırkız people became enemies. I campaigned against the Çik, crossing the [river] Kem. I fought [against them] at Örlen. I destroyed their army. I seized the Az people.... I subdued them. When I was twenty-seven years old, I campaigned against the Kırkız. Having broken through the deep-as-a-lance **27** snow and crossed directly over the Kögmen mountain forest, I attacked the Kırkız people while they were asleep. I fought against their kağan in the Soṅa mountain forest. I killed their kağan. I obtained their realm. In that year, I campaigned against the Türgiş, crossing the Altay Mountains and the Irtysh River. I attacked the Türgiş people while they were asleep. The Türgiş kağan's army came like fire and storm. **28** We fought at Bolçu. I killed their kağan, the yabġu and the şad. I obtained their realm. When I was thirty years old, I campaigned against Béş Balık. I fought six battles. I destroyed their army completely. The people living inside [Béş Balık] would have been slaughtered. [But] they came and invited us [in]. Béş Balık escaped [from being slaughtered] because of that. When I was ... years old, **29** the Karluk people turned hostile because of their being carefree and independent. I fought [against them] at Tamaġ Iduk Baş. I defeated the Karluk people. I obtained [their realm]. When I was thirty-two years old ... the Karluk people assembled and came. I defeated them ... The Tokuz Oġuz had been my subjects. Because of the disorder in heaven and on earth, **30** because of the jealousy entering their gall, they turned hostile. I battled [them] four times in one year. The first time, I fought [against them] at the citadel of Toġu. Swimming across the Tuġla River, I destroyed their army. The second time, I fought [against them] at Antaġu. I defeated their army ... The third time, I fought [against them] at the top of Çuş. The Türk people's feet were vacillating. They were about to become evil. **31** I rallied the army that were escaping and retreating. Many [Türk] people which were going to die [because of their escaping and retreating] were collected there. I surrounded and dealt a blow to a Toṅra clan at the funeral of Toṅa Tégin. The fourth time, I fought [against

them] at Ezgenti Kadaz. I defeated their army there and weakened it. When I was ... years old, there was severe weather while I was spending the winter in the fortress of Amğa. In the spring, 32 I campaigned against the Oğuz. The first army had set off; the second was at home. The army of Üç Oğuz arrived, threatening [us]. Thinking that we were without horses (lit. on foot) and in a bad situation, they came to loot. Part of their army went pillaging the houses and shrines. Part of their army engaged in battle. We were few in number. We were frail. The Oğuz ... Because of the power endowed by Teñri, I defeated them there. 33 I routed them. As Teñri willed and I toiled, the Türk people [also] toiled. If I, together with my younger brother, had not toiled in this way in order to set as an example, the Türk people would have died and would have perished. Türk officials and Türk people, think in this way! Comprehend this! I campaigned against the Oğuz people, as they did not pay tribute. 34 I destroyed their houses and shrines. The Oğuz people, who had allied with the Tokuz Tatar, came. I fought two large-scale battles [against them] at Ağu. I destroyed their army. I obtained their realm. Having toiled like this ... as Teñri willed, when I was thirty-three years old ... perished. 35 ... committed a mistake against their brave kağan who had fed them and the respected and esteemed people. As Teñri, the sacred soil and water, and my forefathers, the kağans, were unsatisfied, the Oğuz people left their land and went to China. They arrived ... from China. I thought I should feed them.... people ... 36 Their name and fame had vanished while they were in China in the south. In this land, they became my slaves. Because I had ascended the throne, I did not make the Türk people ... I strove well for the realm and laws. Sacred ... assembling ... 37 I fought there. I defeated their army. The [enemies] who were about to surrender [eventually] surrendered [to me]. They became subjects. The [enemies] who were about to die [eventually] died. Marching along the Selenga River, I destroyed their houses and shrines at Karağın gorge.... They climbed mountains. The Uyğur élteber fled eastwards with around one hundred people.... 38 The Türk people were hungry. I took livestock and fed them. When I was thirty-four years old, the Oğuz people ran away and entered China. I regretted [that I had fed them] and [so I] campaigned [against them]. With anger ... I captured their sons and wives. The people who had two éltebers ... 39 the Tatabı people looked up to the Chinese emperor. As they did not send envoys, messages or diplomats properly, I campaigned [against them] in the spring. I routed the people there. I obtained their livestock and properties. ... assembled their soldiers and came. The Kadirkan mountain forest ...; 40 they settled down by the water and soil.... I sent Tudun Yamtar to campaign against the Karluk people in the south. He went ... The Karluk élteber got killed. His younger brother fled into a citadel. 41 Their envoys did not come. I campaigned against them in order to intimidate them. The protector [of the Karluks] fled with two or three people. The ordinary people rejoiced and said: "My kağan has arrived." ... I bestowed titles upon ... those of low (lit. small) rank ...

### *Southeast Edge*

I led the army across the Kök Öñ and passed through a waterless area for a period of seven days and nights. I reached Çorak and ... the plunderers. I reached Keçen and ...

### *South Side*

1 On the first day, I destroyed Chinese cavalry of more than seventeen thousand soldiers. On the second day, I destroyed their infantry completely.... ran away, crossing ... 2 I campaigned ... times. When I was thirty-eight years old, I campaigned against the Kitañs in winter.... When I was thirty-nine years old, I campaigned against the Tatabı in summer.... 3 I killed ... I obtained their sons, wives, livestock and properties.... 4 I exterminated their wives ... people.... 5 marching ... 6 I fought ... 7 I gave ... I killed their warriors and made them into *balbals*. When I was fifty years old, the Tatabı people separated from the Kitañs.... to Tönker Mountain ... 8 General Kuğ led an army of forty thousand soldiers against us. I hit and attacked [them] in Tönker Mountain. I killed thirty thousand soldiers. I routed ten thousand ... 9 ... killed ... As my eldest son became ill and died, I erected a *balbal* statue with General Kuğ [for my son]. I held the position of *şad* for nineteen years. I held the position of *kağan* for nineteen years. I ruled the country. Thirty-one ..... 10 I strove for so many of the finest things for my Türk people and my subjects. Having toiled like this, my father, the *kağan*, passed away on the 26th day of the 10th month in the year of the dog. The funeral was arranged for the 27th day of the 5th month in the year of the pig. Bukuğ Tutuk ... 11 Five hundred people led by the Grand General Lisün came to me. They brought immeasurable quantities of gold and silver ... scent. They brought funeral incense and arranged it. They brought sandalwood ... 12 So many people cut their hair and [scratched their] ears. The high-bred horses, black sables, grey (or blue) squirrels and countless [funeral objects] brought [by the mourners] were all sacrificed. 13 I, Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan, state: "When my father Türk Bilge Kağan ascended the throne, the present officials ... In the west, the Tarduş officials and Şadapıt officials were led by Kül Çor; in the east, the Tülüş officials and 14 Şadapıt officials were led by Apa Tarkan ... Taman Tarkan, Tonyukuk, Boyla Bağa Tarkan and minister ... inner minister, led by Sebeg Kül Irkin, and many [other] ministers. These present officials 15 honored my father, the *kağan*, greatly ... The Türk officials and people greatly extolled and honored him. The Türk officials and people brought heavy stones and thick logs for my father[’s burial]. To myself so ..."

### *Southwest Edge*

I let Yolluğ Tégin write the inscription of Bilge Kağan. Such a shrine, frescoes and skilled work ... I let ... the *kağan*’s nephew Yolluğ Tégin write for one month and four days. I let them paint ...

### *West Side*

My father Bilge Kağan, who was over the Türk people, passed away. I grieve like the rumbling of spring thunder (lit. drum) and the crying of stags in the mountains. I ... the stone personally.

### *North Side*

1 I, Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan, have ascended the throne at this moment. My words shall be clearly heard by all my brothers and sons, by my united tribes and people, by the Şadapıt officials in the south and the Tarkat [and] Buyruk officials in the north, and by the chiefs and people of the Otuz Tatar and the Tokuz Oğuz. You should listen carefully to my words and keep them in mind. All the people who live in the east towards the sunrise, 2 in the south towards midday, in the west towards the sunset and in the north towards midnight, look up to me. I put all these people in order. Now they are not evil. If the Türk kağan lives in Ötüken, there will be no sorrow in the country. I campaigned eastwards as far as the Shandong Plain and almost reached the sea. I campaigned southwards as far as Tokuz 3 Ersin and almost reached Tibet. I campaigned westwards, crossing the Yinçü River, as far as the Iron Gate. I campaigned northwards as far as the land of the Bayırku. I marched to all these places. [But] there is (lit. was) no better place than the Ötüken mountain forest. It is (lit. was) the place to take hold of the country. Settling down in this place, I was on equal terms with the Chinese people. They gave [us] immeasurable quantities of gold, silver and silk. 4 The words of the Chinese people were sweet and their treasures were fine (lit. soft). With sweet words and fine treasures they brought the distant people near. After [such people] had settled nearby, [the Chinese] conceived evil thoughts [in their hearts]. They did not let the truly wise men and truly brave men succeed (lit. to walk, march). If one man committed a crime, [the Chinese] would not spare his clan, his relatives or even his children. 5 Having been deceived by their sweet words and fine treasures, many Türk people died. You Türk people were dying. If you said "I shall settle down in the southern Çuğay mountain forest and the Tügültün Plain", you would die. The evil men (i.e. the Chinese) tempted you [by saying]: "If [you are] faraway, I will give you inferior things; if [you are] nearby, I will give you superior things." This is how they tempted you. 6 The unwise believed (lit. took) these words [at face value] and drew near; many people died. By going to that place, you Türk people came close to death! If you had settled in Ötüken and dispatched envoys and caravans, there would be no kind of sorrow. If you live in the Ötüken mountain forest, you will take hold of the everlasting country. Türk people, you are people thinking you are [always] well-fed. You don't think that there will be [both] hunger and fullness. Once you are full, you don't think about being hungry. Because you are like this, 7 you did not accept the orders of your kağan who had fed you, and you fled in every direction. All of you were tired and exhausted there. The people who remained there [scattered] everywhere; they all

became weak and died. Because of the mandate of Teŋri and because I myself had the good fortune, I became kağan. Having become kağan, I collected all the poor people together. I made the poor people rich. I enlarged the population. **8** Is there anything wrong with my words? Türk officials and people, listen to this! I have inscribed on this [stone] how you Türk people came together and held the country. I have also inscribed on this [stone] how you erred and died. Whatever words I had, I have inscribed them on this everlasting stone. You, the present Türk officials and people, should read this inscription and comprehend it! Will you officials, who looked up to the royal throne, misbehave [again]? **9** When my father, the kağan, and my uncle, the kağan, ascended the throne, they ruled the people in the four directions well. As mandated by Teŋri, I myself ascended the throne; I organized and ruled the people in the four directions [too]. I made ... I married off my daughter to the Türgiŝ kağan with an extremely grand ceremony. I married the Türgiŝ kağan's **10** daughter to my son with an extremely grand ceremony. I ... pacified the people in the four directions. I caused the people who had heads to bow down and the people who had knees to kneel down. As mandated by heaven above and earth below, **11** I settled people, who had never been heard of nor seen before, eastwards as far as the sunrise, southwards as far as the sun-zenith, westwards as far as the sunset, and northwards as far as the night-zenith. I strove for yellow gold, white silver, damask with selvages, silk with hems, high-bred horses and stallions, black sables, **12** and grey (or blue) squirrels, for my Türk subjects. I organized. I removed sorrow from them. Mighty Teŋri above ... ten thousand ... "You should **13** feed both the officials and the people! Don't make them suffer or be in pain!" ... I bestowed titles on the Türk officials and people ... stones ... striving for ... the Türk people, as long as you don't leave this kağan, these officials and this country, **14** you will look after yourselves well, you will return home, you will become [people who have] no sorrow.... Then I sent for all the painters from the Chinese emperor. He did not refuse my request. He dispatched his imperial painters. I let them build a gorgeous shrine. I let them paint gorgeous frescoes both on the inside and on the outside of the shrine. I let them make an inscription. I let them engrave my heartfelt words [onto the stone].... **15** [You people,] including the linear descendants and collateral branches of the On Ok, you should read and comprehend this inscription! I let them establish this everlasting inscription.... I let someone write it down. You should read and comprehend it well! This stone and shrine ...

### The Chinese Text on Kül Tégin's Memorial

The reading and interpretation of the Chinese texts of the Kül Tégin and Bilge Kağan inscriptions was carried out mainly by Chinese literati. As copies of the three inscriptions (the third being the Karabalgasun Inscription) were brought by a Russian envoy to Peking in 1893, Shen Zengzhi, a specialist in Mongolian history, began to work on them. He made a number of valuable comments. As more copies of the rubbings spread among the community of literati in Peking, more learned scholars devoted themselves to reading these texts (e.g. Li Wentian 1894, Shengyu 1896, Luo Zhenyu 1929). The first translation of the Chinese text on Kül Tégin's memorial into a western language was made by G. von Gabelentz and published in the Finnish Mongolian expedition report (Gabelentz 1892). However, the Chinese text in the report (SFOu 1892) does not have any page numbers. It is located between pages xx and XXI. It is noteworthy that the lines of this edition do not match the original inscription.

As there were so many misreadings and misinterpretations in Gabelentz's German translation, the Sinologist G. Schlegel made the effort to offer a new French translation with much more detailed and exhaustive comments (Schlegel 1892). There were indeed fewer mistakes in Schlegel's edition, but a more serious problem occurred. He had not checked the original rubbing himself and made many pure assumptions about the deteriorated places of the inscription. At the request of W. Radloff, W. P. Wassiljew published a German translation based on a new reading of the original rubbing, with the help of the Chinese ambassador in Russia, Shu-king-cheng (Wassiljew 1894). This translation was much better than the earlier two, especially in the accuracy of understanding the Chinese characters. There were still a few errors in Wassiljew and Shu's edition, for example concerning the dates, where it was easy to make mistakes.

Sooner thereafter came the English translation by E. H. Parker (Parker 1896). What was quite uncommon was that he had not referred to Wassiljew 1894 in his work. As far as the understanding of the Chinese text is concerned, Parker managed to correct almost all of the mistakes by Gabelentz 1892 and Schlegel 1892, many of which, though, had already been corrected by Wassiljew and Shu. The shortcoming of Parker's edition is also obvious: rather than reading the original rubbing, he relied completely on Schlegel's second-hand source. Considering the shortcomings of earlier translations, we decided to offer a new translation of the Chinese text on the west side of the Kül Tégin Inscription. But the text on the Bilge Kağan Inscription is way too deteriorated to read.

*The Text*

故闕特勤之碑

故闕特勤碑 御製御書<sup>218</sup>

彼蒼者天. 网<sup>219</sup>不覆濤.<sup>220</sup>天人相合. 寰寓<sup>221</sup>大同. 以其氣隔陰陽. 是用別<sup>222</sup>為君長. 彼<sup>223</sup>君長者. 本<sup>224</sup>□□<sup>225</sup>四<sup>226</sup>』裔也. 首自中國. 雄飛北荒. 來朝甘泉. 願<sup>227</sup>保光<sup>228</sup>祿. 則恩好之深舊矣. 洎□□我高祖之<sup>229</sup>肇興皇業.』太宗之遂荒帝載. 文教施於八方. 武功成於七<sup>230</sup>德. 彼或<sup>231</sup>變故<sup>232</sup>相革.<sup>233</sup>榮號迭稱. 終能代<sup>234</sup>□<sup>235</sup>□□□<sup>236</sup>』修邊貢. 爰逮朕躬. 結為父子. 使<sup>237</sup>寇虐<sup>238</sup>不作. 弓矢載棄.<sup>239</sup>爾無我虞. 我無爾詐. 邊鄙□<sup>240</sup>不□<sup>241</sup>□□<sup>242</sup>之』賴歟. 君諱闕特勤. 骨咄<sup>243</sup>祿可汗之次子. 今苾伽可汗之令弟

- 218 Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892, Parker 1896 missed these four characters.
- 219 网, Gabelentz 1892, Shen 1893 and Shu 1894 read this as 罔.
- 220 濤, Schlegel 1892 read it as 壽, but he noted that it could be 壽; Parker 1896 read it as 壽.
- 221 寓, Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892, Shen 1893 and Parker 1896 read this as 宇.
- 222 別, Gabelentz 1892 read it as 各; Schlegel 1892 and Parker 1896 read it as 列.
- 223 彼, Gabelentz 1892 gave another possible reading 得.
- 224 本, Parker 1896 missed this character.
- 225 Schlegel 1892 suggested the two unclear characters be read as 陰陽. Parker 1896 followed the reading of Schlegel 1892.
- 226 四, Gabelentz 1892 and Shu 1894 put a blank space; Schlegel 1892 suggested it be read as 之. Parker 1896 missed the character.
- 227 願, Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892 and Parker 1896 read this as 籛.
- 228 光, Shengyu 1896 read this as 先.
- 229 之, Gabelentz 1892 and Shen 1893 missed the character.
- 230 七, Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892, Shu 1894 and Parker 1896 read this as 一.
- 231 或, Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892 and Parker 1896 read this as 蒼; Shu 1894 put a blank space.
- 232 故, Shu 1894 put a blank space.
- 233 革, Shu 1894 read this as 半.
- 234 代, Gabelentz 1892 gave another possible reading 伏; Schlegel 1892 suggested it be read as 伏; Parker 1896 followed the reading of Schlegel 1892.
- 235 Schlegel 1892 suggested it be read as 捧; Parker 1896 followed the reading of Schlegel 1892.
- 236 Gabelentz 1892 suggested the four unclear characters be read as 臣一體率; Parker 1896 read the last three characters as 表章謹.
- 237 使, Shengyu 1896 missed this character.
- 238 虐, Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892, Shen 1893 and Parker 1896 read this as 患.
- 239 Gabelentz 1892 gave another possible reading 纂.
- 240 Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892 and Parker 1896 suggested this be read as 之.
- 241 Parker 1896 suggested this be read as 擾.
- 242 Schlegel 1892 suggested the three unclear characters be read as 再侵擾; Shengyu 1896 missed one blank space; Parker 1896 suggested the last two characters be read as 盍此.
- 243 咄, Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892 and Parker 1896 read this as 吐.

也。孝友聞於遠方。威靈<sup>244</sup>懾<sup>245</sup>□<sup>246</sup>殊<sup>247</sup>俗。』斯豈由曾祖伊地米施<sup>248</sup>匍積厚德於上而身克終之。祖骨咄<sup>249</sup>祿頡斤行深仁於下而子□□□<sup>250</sup>。』不然何以生此賢也。故能承順友愛。輔成規略。北變<sup>251</sup>眩雷之境。西隣處月之郊。尊撐<sup>252</sup>梨之□□<sup>253</sup>。受屠耆之寵任。以親我<sup>254</sup>有唐也。我<sup>255</sup>是用<sup>256</sup>嘉爾誠績。大開恩信。而遙圖不騫。促景俄盡。永言悼惜。』疚<sup>257</sup>於朕心。且特勤可汗之弟也。可汗猶朕之子也。父子之義既在敦<sup>258</sup>崇。兄弟之親得無連類。俱』為子愛。<sup>259</sup>再<sup>260</sup>感深情。是用故製<sup>261</sup>作豐碑。發揮遐壤。<sup>262</sup>使千古之下休光日新。詞曰。』

沙塞之國。丁零之鄉。雄武鬱起。于爾先王。<sup>263</sup>爾君克長。載赫殊方。爾道克順。謀親我唐。孰謂若<sup>264</sup>人。<sup>265</sup>』网<sup>266</sup>保延長。高碑山立。垂裕無疆。』

大唐開元廿年歲次壬申七<sup>267</sup>月辛丑朔七日丁未建。<sup>268</sup>

- 244 靈, it is unclear on the rubbing, I follow Shengyu 1896; Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892 and Parker 1896 read it as 德; Shen 1893 suggested it be read as 略; Shu 1894 gave a blank space.
- 245 懾, it is unclear on the rubbing, I follow Shengyu 1896; Shen 1893 read it as 攝.
- 246 Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892 and Parker 1896 read this as 於.
- 247 殊, it is unclear on the rubbing, I follow Shengyu 1896; Gabelentz 1892 gave another possible reading 象; Schlegel 1892 and Parker 1896 read it as 簇; Shen 1893 and Shu 1894 gave a blank space.
- 248 施, Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892, Shen 1893 and Parker 1896 read this as 駝.
- 249 咄, Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892 and Parker 1896 read this as 吐.
- 250 Gabelentz 1892 suggested the three unclear characters to be read as 順迹之; Schlegel 1892 suggested them to be read as 孫效之; Shu 1894 suggested the last character to be read as 之; Parker 1896 followed Schlegel 1892's reading.
- 251 變, SFOu 1892, Schlegel 1892 and Parker 1896 read it as 處.
- 252 撐, Gabelentz 1892 read it as 棠; Schlegel 1892, Shu 1894 and Parker 1896 read it as 木棠.
- 253 Gabelentz 1892 suggested the two unclear characters be read as 遺澤; Schlegel 1892 suggested they be read as 皇命.
- 254 我, Shu 1894 read this as 淺.
- 255 我, Shu 1894 read this as 淺. There is a note in Shengyu 1896: "Liansheng 廉生 thinks it should be read as 哉". Liansheng was the court name of Wang Yirong 王懿榮, who was the first literatus to discover the oracle bone inscriptions.
- 256 Schlegel 1892 put the two characters in the wrong order, as 用是. Parker 1896 followed his mistake.
- 257 疚, Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892 and Parker 1896 read this as 疼.
- 258 敦, Shu 1894 read this as 攸.
- 259 愛, Gabelentz 1892 read this as 焉; Schlegel 1892 and Parker 1896 read it as 而.
- 260 Gabelentz 1892 put an extra character 而 before 再.
- 261 製, Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892 and Parker 1896 read it as 摹.
- 262 壤, Gabelentz 1892 gave two possible readings, 域 and 誠; Schlegel 1892 read the character as 邇; Shen 1893 read it as 檄; Shu 1894 gave a blank space.
- 263 王, Shen 1893 gave a blank space.
- 264 若, Shu 1894 gave a blank space.
- 265 人, Shu 1894 and Shengyu 1896 gave a blank space.
- 266 网, Gabelentz 1892 and Shen 1893 read this as 罔.
- 267 七, Gabelentz 1892, Schlegel 1892, Shen 1893 and Parker 1896 read this as 十二; Shu 1894 read it as 十.
- 268 建, Gabelentz 1892 gave another possible reading 書; Shen 1893 read it as 書, noting that "it looks like 建".

### *A New Translation*

#### The Late Kül Tégin's Monument

The [text of the] Late Kül Tégin's Monument was composed and written by His Majesty the Emperor.

There is nothing that the blue sky does not cover. Heaven and human beings exist in harmony, so there is great unity in the universe. [However,] just as the *qi* ("life force") separates *yin* ("the negative force") and *yang* ("the positive force"), there are different chiefs [ruling over different regions]. The chiefs, who were ... four frontier regions, originally came from China and boldly departed to the northern wilds. As [a chief] came to Ganquan Palace to pay court [to the Emperor] and vowed to defend Guanglu Citadel [on behalf of China], the friendly relationship between us became deep and mature.<sup>269</sup> Since Emperor Gaozu laid the foundation of our empire and Emperor Taizong extensively promoted the imperial enterprise, literary education was implemented in the eight directions and martial merit was achieved through the seven virtues.<sup>270</sup> Sometimes there were changes in that [wild] land, or their titles changed from one to the other, [but they] always ... paid tribute. When it came to me, I pledged in a sworn fatherhood [with the kağan] that I would cause the plundering to cease. Arrows and bows were put into quivers. There was neither deceit nor deception between us. On the borders there was no ... does it not rely on this? The deceased was called Kül Tégin; he was the second son of Kutluğ Kağan and the younger brother of

269 Here the emperor refers to a story about the Xiongnu chanyu who had surrendered to China (the Han Dynasty). In 51 BC, the Xiongnu Huhanye Chanyu settled in Wuyuan-sai and wanted to meet the Chinese emperor in the 1st month. The Han court sent General Han Chang to welcome him. Each of the seven prefectures that the parade passed by, dispatched two thousand cavalry on the road to welcome the Xiongnu chanyu. In the 1st month, the Xiongnu chanyu managed to meet the emperor in Ganquan Palace. The Han court received him with high honors. The Xiongnu chanyu settled south of the Gobi and defended the Guanglu Citadel for China (see *Hanshu* 94b, "Biography of the Xiongnu"). Regarding Guanglu Citadel, there is another story. When the Xiongnu Goulihu Chanyu ascended the throne (102 BC), the Han court sent Xu Ziwei, whose title was Guangluxun ("Chamberlain for Attendants"), to establish fortifications and citadels in the area hundreds of *li*, or even more than a thousand *li*, beyond Wuyuan-sai, which was the borderline between the Han and the Xiongnu. This construction was later named the Guanglu Citadel, after Xu's title. It gradually became a symbol of the Chinese achievement in extending their control into Xiongnu land (see *Shiji* 110, "Biography of the Xiongnu").

270 Emperor Gaozu, born Li Yuan (r. 618–626), was the first emperor of the Tang dynasty. Emperor Taizong, born Li Shimin (r. 626–649), was the second and most important emperor of the Tang dynasty. The eight directions refer to the east, south, west, north, southeast, southwest, northeast and northwest. According to the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, the seven martial virtues are: 1. to prohibit violence; 2. to hide weapons; 3. to hold a high position safely and steadily; 4. to make achievements; 5. to put the people at peace; 6. to harmonize the masses; 7. and to accumulate wealth.

the present Bilge Kağan.<sup>271</sup> [Kül Tégin's reputation] of being filial and friendly spread far and wide. [His] majesty and virtue overawed [people of] different customs. Isn't this because of his great-grandfather Itemiş Beg,<sup>272</sup> who had accumulated great virtues and maintained them until the end of his life? Isn't this because of his grandfather Kutluğ Irkin, who had practiced perfect deeds, as his son [did likewise]? Otherwise, how could there be such an admirable man [as Kül Tégin]? That's why he could receive and obey [Bilge Kağan's orders], be kind and friendly [to Bilge Kağan], assist and advise [Bilge Kağan]. In the north, [Kül Tégin] managed to pacify the land of Xuanlei; in the west, [Kül Tégin] managed to expand to Chuyue on the frontier.<sup>273</sup> [Kül Tégin] venerated the ... of Teṅri and accepted an honorable appointment as Tuqi,<sup>274</sup> in order to keep a close relationship with the Tang. In order to praise your (Kül Tégin's) sincere deeds, I showed my grace and favor generously. However, [Kül Tégin is like] an illusion in the far distance which can not be reached, or the quickly moving shadow which suddenly disappears.<sup>275</sup> I, being sorrowful in my heart, will be eternally mournful [for Kül Tégin]. Furthermore, [Kül] Tégin was the younger brother of [Bilge] Kağan. [Bilge] Kağan is like my son. Since we are cementing a father-son relationship, how can I treat [Kül Tégin] in a different way? Therefore, this graceful memorial has been established, spreading [his fame] to distant lands. Let his bright light shine forever!

The [formal] text is as follows:

It was a sandy country; it was a Dingling land.<sup>276</sup> [But] starting with your ancestors, it began to rise [in importance]. Your rulers, being capable of acting as senior [statesmen], made great achievements in different lands. You (Kül Tégin), being capable of obedience, sought to keep close to the Tang. Who would say that such a person like him can not be eternal? This tall monument stands up like a mountain, boundlessly spreading [Kül Tégin's] fame.

This memorial was erected on the 7th day of the 7th month of the 20th year of Kaiyuan, during the great Tang [dynasty].

- 271 The Tang emperor did not take into account Élateriş Kağan's other two sons who had passed away many years before.
- 272 The Chinese transcription of this Old Turkic title is 伊地勿失. A variant transcription 伊特勿失 also appears in *xTS* (*xTS* 217b: 6138).
- 273 Xuanlei is a place name in Wusun. Chuyue is also a place name; its exact location is unclear.
- 274 Tuqi is a Xiongnu title. Usually the title was bestowed upon a prince. It is probably a transcription of *tégin*. The emperor used this (anachronistic) historical title to refer to Kül Tégin.
- 275 The first sentence is a metaphor to describe the helplessness of human beings vis-à-vis death. The second sentence is a metaphor to describe the brevity of life.
- 276 Dingling 丁零 refers to the nomadic people on the steppe in medieval China, earlier than the Türks.

## Glossary of the Old Turkic Inscriptions

<i>aç</i>	hunger, hungry <small>Clauson 1972: 17</small>
<i>aç-</i>	to open <small>Clauson 1972: 18</small>
<i>aç-</i>	to be hungry <small>Clauson 1972: 19</small>
<i>adak</i>	foot, leg <small>Clauson 1972: 45</small>
<i>adğır</i>	stallion <small>Clauson 1972: 47</small>
<i>adinçığ</i>	different, special <small>Clauson 1972: 63</small>
<i>adrıl-</i>	passive form of <i>adır-</i> “to separate”, to be separated from; to break away from <small>Clauson 1972: 68</small>
<i>ağ-</i>	to rise, climb <small>Clauson 1972: 77</small>
<i>ağı</i>	treasure; silk <small>Clauson 1972: 78</small>
<i>ağır</i>	heavy; important <small>Clauson 1972: 88; ağar/iğar, Tekin 1968: 332</small>
<i>ağıt-</i>	causative form of <i>ağ-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 80</small>
<i>ağrı-</i>	to become heavy; to be painful <small>Clauson 1972: 91</small>
<i>ağtur-</i>	causative form of <i>ağ-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 82</small>
<i>ağu</i>	place name
<i>ak termel</i>	place name
<i>akit-</i>	to flow; to send out a party to raid <small>Clauson 1972: 81</small>
<i>al-</i>	to take; to seize, collect, receive, accept <small>Clauson 1972: 124</small>
<i>alk-</i>	to use up, finish, come to the end of something <small>Clauson 1972: 135</small>
<i>alkın-</i>	to exhaust oneself, to be used up, exhausted <small>Clauson 1972: 138–9</small>
<i>alp</i>	tough, resistant, hard to overcome; brave <small>TMEN II: § 526, Clauson 1972: 127</small>

<i>alpaǵu</i>	warrior <i>alpaǵut</i> Clauson 1972: 128; the Chinese transcription is Yingfuhe 英弗賀 (EMC: <i>ʔiajŋ-put-ɣaʰ</i> )
<i>alti</i>	six Clauson 1972: 130
<i>alti çub soǵdak</i>	place name, in Ordos, China; lit. “six prefectures of the Sogdians”; recorded in the Chinese sources as Liuhuzhou 六胡州 “six Sogdian prefectures” or Liuzhouhu 六州胡 “Sogdians of the six prefectures”
<i>altız-</i>	causative form of <i>al-</i> Erdal 1991: 706–7; <i>altuz-</i> Tekin 1968: 301, Clauson 1972: 134
<i>altun</i>	gold; a component in proper names TMEN II: § 529, Clauson 1972: 131
<i>altun yış</i>	the Altay Mountains
<i>amǵa</i>	place name; “goat”, Erdal 2004: 164
<i>amti</i>	now Clauson 1972: 156
<i>ança</i>	equative form of <i>ol</i> ; probably means “as much as”, but normally in the early period, hardly more than “thus” TMEN II: § 560, Clauson 1972: 172
<i>ançula-</i>	to present, offer Clauson 1972: 175
<i>aŋ</i>	wild animal; see Mongolian <i>aŋ</i> “wild game” <i>eŋ</i> Clauson 1972: 166
<i>aŋaru</i>	directive form of <i>an (ol)</i> Clauson 1972: 190
<i>anı</i>	accusative form of <i>ol</i>
<i>anı</i>	place name
<i>añǵ</i>	extreme(ly), excessive(ly); evil(ly) Clauson 1972: 182
<i>añıt-</i>	to frighten, threaten Tekin 1968: 306
<i>anta</i>	locative form of <i>ol</i> , “there, then” Clauson 1972: 176
<i>antaǵ</i>	like that, thus, so (a crasis of <i>an/ol</i> and <i>teg</i> ) Clauson 1972: 177, Erdal 2004: 201
<i>antarǵu</i>	place name

<i>apa</i>	ancestor; grandfather; grandmother; father; mother; paternal uncle, etc. <small>Clauson 1972: 5</small> ; elder people, seniors <small>TMEN II: § 412</small>
<i>apa tarkan</i>	title; the Chinese transcription is Abo dagan 阿波達干 (EMC: <i>ʔa-pa-dat-kan</i> )
<i>apar</i>	ethnic name, Avar <small>Tekin 1968: 303</small>
<i>ar-</i>	to deceive, trick <small>Clauson 1972: 193</small>
<i>ara</i>	between (two places), among (a number of people) <small>Clauson 1972: 196</small>
<i>arıǵ</i>	pure, clean <small>Clauson 1972: 213</small>
<i>arıl-</i>	to be tied or to be tricked <small>Clauson 1972: 229</small>
<i>arkıš</i>	travelling merchants, caravan; official envoys <small>TMEN II: § 460, Clauson 1972: 216</small>
<i>arkuy</i>	fort, fortification <small>Tekin 1968: 303</small>
<i>armakçı</i>	deceit, trick; from <i>ar-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 232</small>
<i>artat-</i>	to damage, spoil; causative form of <i>arta-</i> “to putrefy, ferment, go bad” <small>Clauson 1972: 208</small>
<i>artuk</i>	additionally, an extra amount; a large additional amount; excess, excessive <small>Clauson 1972: 204</small>
<i>artur-</i>	causative form of <i>ar-</i> “to trick” <small>Clauson 1972: 210</small>
<i>asra</i>	below, under <small>Clauson 1972: 250</small>
<i>aş</i>	food <small>Clauson 1972: 253</small> ; the Chinese transcription Azhen 阿真 (EMC: <i>ʔa-tɕin</i> ) in the Northern Wei dynasty is from <i>aşçı/aşçın</i> <small>TMEN II: § 481</small>
<i>aş-</i>	to cross, pass <small>Clauson 1972: 255</small>
<i>aşın-</i>	to CROSS <small>Radloff 1899: 88; aşın- “to excel, surpass”, Clauson 1972: 264, Erdal 1991: 590; aşın-, Zieme 1985: 118</small>
<i>at</i>	name <small>Clauson 1972: 32</small>
<i>at</i>	horse <small>TMEN II: § 413, Clauson 1972: 33</small>
<i>atı</i>	the son of one’s younger brother or of one’s own son; nephew or grandson <small>Clauson 1972: 40</small>
<i>athǵ</i>	horseman <small>Clauson 1972: 55</small>

<i>atlıǵ</i>	owning a rank or title <small>Tekin 1968: 305</small>
<i>atlan-</i>	also <i>atla-</i> , to set out, march against; to stride <small>Clauson 1972: 58</small>
<i>ay-</i>	to speak, say; to declare <small>Clauson 1972: 266</small> ; to rule, direct <small>Tekin 1968: 306</small>
<i>ayǵuçı</i>	lit. one who speaks, or issues commands, but in practice the title of an office, consultant <small>Clauson 1972: 271</small> ; the Chinese transcription in the Yuan dynasty is Aihuchi 愛護赤 (Yuan pronunciation: <i>aj'-xu'-tʂʰi</i> ) <small>Geng 2005: 109</small>
<i>ayǵma</i>	from <i>ay-</i> “to rule, direct” <small>Tekin 1968: 306</small>
<i>ayıt-</i>	to make (someone) speak, to ask <small>Clauson 1972: 268</small>
<i>ayuk</i>	dominion, realm <small>Tekin 1968: 306</small>
<i>az</i>	few, scanty, a little <small>Clauson 1972: 277</small>
<i>az</i>	ethnic name <small>Tekin 1968: 306</small> ; a possible Chinese transcription is A-re 阿熱 (EMC: <i>ʔa-niat</i> )
<i>azkiña</i>	very few, very little <small>Clauson 1972: 284; Gabain 1974: § 351</small>
<i>azman</i>	proper name “yellowish”, <small>Tekin 1968: 307</small>
<i>azu</i>	<b>or</b> <small>Clauson 1972: 280</small>
<i>azuk</i>	food for a journey <small>TMEN II: § 475, Clauson 1972: 283</small>
<i>ba-</i>	to fasten, bind <small>Clauson 1972: 292</small>
<i>baǵa</i>	title; the Chinese transcriptions are Mohe 莫賀 (EMC: <i>mak-yaʰ</i> ), and perhaps also Bahu 拔護 (EMC: <i>bait-ɣɔʰ</i> )
<i>balbal</i>	stone erected for a deceased person <small>Clauson 1972: 333</small> ; <i>balbal</i> < * <i>balibal</i> < * <i>barimal</i> , see Mongolian <i>barimal</i> “sculpture” <small>Tekin 1968: 73, 99</small> ; on the function of <i>balbal</i> <small>Jisl 1970 and Jisl 1997: 61–71</small>
<i>balh</i>	town; fish <small>Clauson 1972: 335</small>
<i>bar</i>	connoting existence or presence, and the opposite of <i>yok</i> <small>TMEN IV: § 1758, Clauson 1972: 353</small>
<i>bar-</i>	to go, often more specifically, to go away. <i>ér-</i> <i>bar-</i> “to behave in an independent fashion” <small>TMEN IV: § 1759, Clauson 1972: 354</small>

<i>barım</i>	property, wealth <small>Clauson 1972: 366</small>
<i>bark</i>	temple, shrine; moveable property, household goods <small>Clauson 1972: 359</small>
<i>barlık</i>	place name
<i>bars</i>	a very early Iranian loanword; properly “leopard” but in Turkic also used for other large felines; tiger <small>Clauson 1972: 368; proper name Tekin 1968: 309</small>
<i>bars beg</i>	proper name <small>Tekin 1968: 309</small> ; meaning “tiger official”
<i>bas-</i>	to press, crush, oppress, make a surprise attack <small>TMEN II: § 696, Clauson 1972: 370</small>
<i>basık-</i>	to be attacked by night, crushed; passive form of <i>bas-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 373</small>
<i>basın-</i>	reflective form of <i>bas-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 374</small>
<i>basıt-</i>	causative form of <i>bas-</i> ; to allow oneself to be attacked <small>Clauson 1972: 372, Tekin 1968: 309</small>
<i>basml</i>	ethnic name; the Chinese transcription is Baximi 拔悉密 (EMC: <i>bɛ:t-sit-mit</i> )
<i>baş</i>	head; beginning <small>TMEN II: § 704, Clauson 1972: 375</small>
<i>başad-</i>	to be a leader, at the head of <small>Clauson 1972: 378</small>
<i>başǰu</i>	proper name <small>Gabain 1974: 327</small> ; white headed <small>Tekin 1968: 309</small>
<i>başlayu</i>	to begin with <small>Gabain 1974: 327</small>
<i>başlıǰ</i>	having a head <small>Clauson 1972: 381</small>
<i>bat-</i>	to descend and disappear <small>Clauson 1972: 298</small>
<i>batım</i>	depth; from <i>bat-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 305</small>
<i>batsık</i>	sunset; from <i>bat-</i> “to descend and disappear” <small>Clauson 1972: 309</small>
<i>bay</i>	rich <small>Clauson 1972: 384</small>
<i>bayırku</i>	ethnic name; the Chinese transcription is Bayegu 拔曳固/拔野古 (EMC: <i>bəit-jia'-kɔʰ</i> )
<i>baz</i>	peace, peaceable <small>Clauson 1972: 388</small>

<i>baz</i>	title, see <i>baz kağan</i>
<i>baz kağan</i>	title; a (Uyğur) leader of the Tokuz Oğuz, whose name or title recorded in the Chinese sources is Dujiezhi 獨解支
<i>bediz</i>	painted ornamentation <small>Clauson 1972: 310</small>
<i>bediz-</i>	to paint, decorate <small>bedze- Clauson 1972: 310</small>
<i>bedizçi</i>	painter, decorator <small>Clauson 1972: 310</small>
<i>bedizt-</i>	causative form of <i>bediz-</i> <small>bedzet- Clauson 1972: 310</small>
<i>beg</i>	the head of a clan, or tribe, a subordinate chief, probably from Chinese Bo 伯 (EMC: <i>pɛ:jk</i> ) <small>TMEN II: § 828, Clauson 1972: 322</small>
<i>beglik</i>	having the rank, or status of <i>beg</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 326</small>
<i>ben</i>	I <small>Clauson 1972: 346</small>
<i>beṅgü</i>	eternal, everlasting <small>Clauson 1972: 350, TMEN IV: § 1744</small>
<i>beṅilig</i>	joyful, happy <small>meṅilig Clauson 1972: 770</small> sacred, holy, blessed <small>Tekin 1968: 312</small>
<i>beṅilig ek</i>	place name
<i>berçeker</i>	place name, Persia <small>berçik er "Persian" Tekin 1968: 312</small>
<i>berüki</i>	(situated) towards this side <small>Clauson 1972: 364</small>
<i>béçin</i>	ape, monkey <small>Clauson 1972: 295; biçin Tekin 1968: 313</small>
<i>bér-</i>	to give <small>Clauson 1972: 354</small>
<i>bérdin</i>	lit. (situated) on this side; in the south, from the south <small>Clauson 1972: 359</small>
<i>bérgerü</i>	southwards <small>Clauson 1972: 364</small>
<i>bérye</i>	in the south <small>Clauson 1972: 370</small>
<i>béryeki</i>	to the south <small>Clauson 1972: 370</small>
<i>béş</i>	five <small>Clauson 1972: 376</small>

<i>béş balık</i>	place name
<i>béşük</i>	children “cradle; infants, offspring” Clauson 1972: 380
<i>biç-</i>	to cut Clauson 1972: 292
<i>bıñ</i>	a thousand Clauson 1972: 346, TMEN IV: § 1749
<i>bil-</i>	to know Clauson 1972: 330
<i>bilge</i>	wise, a wise man; title, “counselor” TMEN II: § 836, Clauson 1972: 340
<i>bilge kağan</i>	title; the Chinese transcription is Pijia Kehan 毗伽可汗 (EMC: <i>bji-ke: kʰaʹ-yan</i> )
<i>bilge toñukuk</i>	title, see <i>toñukuk</i>
<i>bilig</i>	knowledge; from <i>bil-</i> TMEN II: § 835, Clauson 1972: 339
<i>bin-</i>	to mount, or ride Clauson 1972: 348
<i>biñ</i>	a thousand Clauson 1972: 346 see <i>bıñ</i>
<i>bintegi</i>	someone like me Alyılmaz 2000: 111
<i>bintür-</i>	to make someone mount a horse, causative form of <i>bin-</i> Clauson 1972: 350
<i>bir</i>	one TMEN II: § 822, Clauson 1972: 353
<i>biriki</i>	united; from <i>birik-</i> “to come together” Clauson 1972: 364
<i>birle</i>	with Clauson 1972: 364
<i>biti-</i>	to write Clauson 1972: 299
<i>bitig</i>	from <i>biti-</i> ; a general word for anything written Clauson 1972: 303
<i>bitit-</i>	to have (something) written, causative form of <i>bit-</i> Clauson 1972: 301
<i>biz</i>	we Clauson 1972: 388
<i>bod</i>	clan, singular form of <i>bodun</i> Clauson 1972: 296; body TMEN II: § 812

<i>bodun</i>	clans, an organized tribal community, people <small>Clauson 1972: 306</small>
<i>boğuz</i>	throat; the second vowel was very short and habitually elided before suffixes beginning with a vowel <small>Clauson 1972: 322</small>
<i>boğuzla-</i>	to cut the throat <small>Clauson 1972: 322</small>
<i>boğuzlan-</i>	reflective form of <i>boğuzla-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 322</small>
<i>bol-</i>	to become; <i>yok bol-</i> “cease to exist” <small>TMEN II: § 811, Clauson 1972: 331</small>
<i>bolçu</i>	place name
<i>bor</i>	wine; storm <small>Thomsen 1916: 94; Clauson 1972: 357</small>
<i>boşğur-</i>	to teach, instruct <small>Clauson 1972: 380</small>
<i>boyla</i>	title <small>Clauson 1972: 385</small> ; the Chinese transcription is Peiluo 裴羅 (EMC: <i>bəj-la</i> )
<i>boyla bağa tarkan</i>	title
<i>boz</i>	ash-grey, grey <small>TMEN II: § 785, Clauson 1972: 388</small>
<i>böd</i>	a royal throne <small>Clauson 1972: 298</small>
<i>bögü</i>	sage, wizard; it seems to connote both wisdom and mysterious spiritual power <small>Clauson 1972: 324</small> ; title; the Chinese transcriptions are Moju 默矩 (EMC: <i>mək-kuə<sup>h</sup></i> ), and perhaps also Fujū 匍俱 (EMC: <i>buwk-kuə<sup>h</sup></i> )
<i>böl-</i>	to divide, separate, distinguish <small>Clauson 1972: 332</small>
<i>bölün</i>	Tibetan official title
<i>böri</i>	wolf <small>TMEN II: § 784, Clauson 1972: 356</small>
<i>bu</i>	this <small>Clauson 1972: 291</small>
<i>buka</i>	bull <small>TMEN II: § 752, Clauson 1972: 312</small>
<i>bukarak</i>	Bukhara
<i>bukuğ</i>	proper name

<i>bul-</i>	to find; to obtain <small>Clauson 1972: 332</small>
<i>bulğa-</i>	to stir a liquid, to produce a state of disorder <small>TMEN II: § 768, Clauson 1972: 337</small>
<i>bulğak</i>	from <i>bulğa-</i> , “confusion, disorder” <small>TMEN II: § 768, Clauson 1972: 336</small>
<i>bulğanç</i>	a possible deverbal form of <i>bulğan-</i> , the correct reading is probably <i>bulğak</i> , “confusion, disorder” <small>Clauson 1972: 336</small>
<i>buluŋ</i>	corner, angle <small>Clauson 1972: 343</small>
<i>bumın</i>	the founder-kağan (r. ?–552) of the First Türk Empire; his name/title recorded in the Chinese sources is Tumen 土門 (EMC: <i>thɔ'-mən</i> )
<i>bunça</i>	as many, or as much, as this <small>Clauson 1972: 349</small>
<i>buŋ</i>	grief, sorrow, melancholy <small>Clauson 1972: 347</small>
<i>buŋsuz</i>	without care, anxiety, grief <small>buŋsuz Clauson 1972: 351</small> ; excessively, in abundance <small>Tekin 1968: 322</small>
<i>buŋad-</i>	to be distressed <small>Clauson 1972: 350</small>
<i>bunta</i>	from <i>bu</i> ; here <small>Tekin 1968: 322</small>
<i>buyruk</i>	title, minister; from <i>buyur-</i> “to order”, for more examples see <small>TMEN II: § 815, Clauson 1972: 387</small> ; the Chinese transcription is Meilu 梅錄/祿 (EMC: <i>məj-ləwk</i> )
<i>buz-</i>	to destroy, damage, rout <small>Clauson 1972: 389</small>
<i>bükli</i>	Korea <small>Clauson 1972: 420</small>
<i>çabiş</i>	army commander <small>çabiş Clauson 1972: 399</small> ; the Chinese transcription is Chebishi 車鼻施 (EMC: <i>tɕʰia-bjiʰ-ɕiə</i> ); for more discussions on the etymology of <i>çabiş</i> , see <small>TMEN III: § 1055, Rybatzki 1997: 46</small>
<i>çaça</i>	a general of non-Chinese origin serving in the Tang army; his name in the Chinese sources is Shazha Zhongyi 沙吒忠義 (EMC: <i>ʂaɪ-traiʰ</i> ), the last two characters of which mean “loyalty and righteousness”
<i>çaŋ</i>	Chinese surname Zhang 張 (EMC: <i>trɪaŋ</i> ); see <i>çaŋ seŋjün</i>
<i>çaŋ seŋjün</i>	General Zhang; his name in Chinese is Zhang Quyi 張去逸

<i>çiğañ</i>	poor, destitute; <i>yok çiğañ</i> as a phrase <small>Clauson 1972: 408</small>
<i>çıkan</i>	the son of one's maternal aunt <small>Clauson 1972: 409</small>
<i>çintan</i>	sandal-wood, from Sanskrit <i>candana</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 425</small> ; the Chinese transcription is <i>zhantan</i> 旃檀 (EMC: <i>ʈɕian-dan</i> )
<i>çik</i>	ethnic name
<i>çor</i>	title; the Chinese transcription is Chuo 啜 (EMC: <i>ʈɕʰwiat</i> ) <small>Clauson 1972: 427</small>
<i>çorak</i>	place name
<i>çölgü</i>	probably a place name <small>çülgü Clauson 1972: 420</small>
<i>çöllüg</i>	foreign <small>çöllüg Gabain 1974: 335</small> ; from <i>çöl</i> “steppe, plain, desert” <small>Tekin 1968: 323</small> ; an unidentified realm between China and Korea <small>çöllüg Clauson 1972: 420</small>
<i>çuğay</i>	place name; the Chinese transcription is Zongcai 總材 (EMC: <i>ʈsəwŋʰ-dzəʃ</i> ) <small>çuğay Clauson 1972: 412–3, Tekin 1968: 323</small>
<i>çuğay yış</i>	the Çuğay mountain forest
<i>çuş</i>	place name
<i>eb/ev</i>	dwelling place, house <small>Clauson 1972: 3–4</small>
<i>ebir-</i>	to turn; to overturn; to turn away from <small>Clauson 1972: 14</small>
<i>eçi</i>	paternal uncle and elder brother <small>TMEN II: § 432, Clauson 1972: 20</small>
<i>eçü</i>	ancestor <small>Clauson 1972: 20</small>
<i>edgü</i>	good <small>Clauson 1972: 51</small>
<i>edgüti</i>	adverb from <i>edgü</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 53</small>
<i>ediz</i>	ethnic name; the Chinese transcriptions are Adie 阿跌 (EMC: <i>ʔa-dɛt</i> ), Xiedie 跌跌 (EMC: <i>ɣɛt-dɛt</i> ) and Hedio 訶跌 (EMC: <i>xa-dɛt</i> )
<i>egir-</i>	to surround, encircle <small>TMEN II: § 652, Clauson 1972: 113</small>
<i>egri</i>	crooked, hunchbacked <small>Tekin 1968: 325</small>

<i>egri tebe</i>	“humped camels” <small>Clauson 1972: 115</small>
<i>ek</i>	see <i>benilig ek</i>
<i>eke</i>	a close female relative older than oneself and younger than one’s father; both “aunt” and elder “sister” <small>TMEN II: § 512, Clauson 1972:100</small>
<i>ekin</i>	hem <small>Tekin 1968: 325</small> a standing crop, a crop grown from seed and not yet reaped <small>Clauson 1972: 109</small>
<i>elig</i>	hand, forearm <small>elig Clauson 1972: 140</small>
<i>elığ</i>	fifty <small>ellığ Clauson 1972: 141</small>
<i>emgek</i>	pain, agony; from <i>emge-</i> “to suffer pain” <small>TMEN II: § 556, Clauson 1972: 159</small>
<i>ej</i>	an adjective prefix forming a quasi-superlative <small>TMEN II: § 566, Clauson 1972: 166</small>
<i>enik seŋün</i>	proper name; General Enik <small>Tekin 1968: 325</small>
<i>er</i>	man <small>Clauson 1972: 192</small>
<i>er-</i>	to be; analytical verb <small>Clauson 1972: 193, Erdal 2004: 244–6</small> ; auxiliary verb <small>Gabain 1974: § 238</small>
<i>erinç</i>	surely, probably, no doubt <small>Erdal 2004: 276</small> presumably, supposedly <small>Clauson 1972: 234</small>
<i>erkli</i>	being; while, when <small>Tekin 1968: 329, Erdal 2004: 287–8</small>
<i>erklig</i>	possessing power or authority; possessing free-will or independence, free to do as one likes <small>Clauson 1972: 224</small>
<i>ersin</i>	see <i>tokuz ersin</i>
<i>ert-</i>	to pass <small>Clauson 1972: 202</small>
<i>*ertin-</i>	to regret <small>Tekin 1968: 329</small>
<i>ertinü</i>	extremely, very much <small>Clauson 1972: 212</small>
<i>ertiş</i>	Irtysk river, according to folk etymology, <i>ertiş</i> < <i>er tüş</i> “man getting off (a horse)” <small>TMEN II: § 447</small>
<i>esgiti</i>	silver <small>Tekin 1968: 329</small>

<i>et-</i>	to bellow, blow, thunder <small>Tekin 1968: 330</small>
<i>ezgenti kadaz</i>	place name <small>Tekin 1968: 330</small>
<i>ékegü</i>	two together, both <small>ékegü Clauson 1972: 105</small>
<i>éki</i>	two <small>ékki Clauson 1972: 100; eki Erdal 2004: 52</small>
<i>éki ediz</i>	ethnic name, see <i>ediz</i>
<i>ékinti</i>	second <small>ékinti Clauson 1972: 111</small>
<i>él</i>	realm, country <small>TMEN II: § 653, Clauson 1972: 121</small>
<i>élbilge</i>	title <small>Tekin 1968: 335</small>
<i>élbilge katun</i>	title; wife of Élteriş Kağan
<i>élle-</i>	to incorporate in one's realm <small>Clauson 1972: 126</small>
<i>éllig</i>	having a realm <small>Clauson 1972: 141</small>
<i>élsire-</i>	denominal verb from <i>él</i> ; to become stateless <small>Clauson 1972: 152</small>
<i>élsiret-</i>	causative form of <i>élsire-</i> ; to make someone stateless <small>Tekin 1968: 335</small>
<i>élt-</i>	to carry; to bring <small>Clauson 1972: 132</small>
<i>élteber</i>	title; the Chinese transcriptions are Xielifa 頡利發 (EMC: <i>ɣɛt-lih-puat</i> ) and Silifa 俟利發 (EMC: <i>ʒi'-lih-puat</i> ) <small>Clauson 1972: 134; élitberErdal 2016</small>
<i>élteriş</i>	title; the Chinese transcriptions are Xiedie lishi 頡跌利施 (EMC: <i>ɣɛt-dɛt-li<sup>h</sup>-ɕi</i> ) and Xiedie yishi 頡跌伊施 (EMC: <i>ɣɛt-dɛt-ʒji-ɕi</i> )
<i>élteriş kağan</i>	title; his name/title recorded in the Chinese sources are Guduolu 骨咄祿 (EMC: <i>kwət-tət-ləwk</i> < OT: <i>kutluğ</i> ) and Gudulu 骨篤祿 (EMC: <i>kwət-təwk-ləwk</i> < OT: <i>kutluğ</i> )
<i>én-</i>	to descend, come down <small>Clauson 1972: 168</small>
<i>ér-</i>	to reach, arrive; to meet; <i>ér- bar-</i> “to behave in an independent fashion” <small>Clauson 1972: 194</small>
<i>érig</i>	reachable, frequent <small>Tekin 1968: 328</small> ; bustling

<i>értür-</i>	to cause to arrive, bring to a successful conclusion; causative form of <i>ér-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 210</small>
<i>éş</i>	duty; <i>éşig küçüg ber-</i> “to fulfill a duty” <small>Doerfer 1993: 72</small> ; work, labor; something done, a deed <small>iş Clauson 1972: 254</small>
<i>éşid-</i>	to hear, listen <small>Clauson 1972: 257</small>
<i>éşidil-</i>	to be heard, passive form of <i>éşid-</i>
<i>ét-</i>	to organize, put in order; to make, do <small>Clauson 1972: 36</small>
<i>étgüçi</i>	one who makes, maker, doer <small>itgüçi Tekin 1968: 337</small>
<i>étin-</i>	to organize; reflexive form of <i>ét-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 61</small>
<i>ı</i>	vegetation, probably bushes <small>Clauson 1972: 1</small>
<i>ı-</i>	to send, dispatch <small>Tekin 1968: 332</small>
<i>ıçğın-</i>	to allow something to disappear; to let something slip <small>Clauson 1972: 23</small>
<i>ıd-</i>	to send; to allow to go, to release; to abandon <small>Clauson 1972: 37</small>
<i>ıduk</i>	deverbal passive adjective from <i>ıd-</i> ; sent, dedicated to heaven, sacred <small>TMEN IV: § 1936, Clauson 1972: 46</small>
<i>ıduk baş</i>	place name
<i>ığaç</i>	tree, wood <small>Clauson 1972: 79</small>
<i>ığar</i>	strong <small>Gabain 1974: 336; Clauson 1972: 89</small>
<i>ımançu</i>	title; the Chinese transcription is Yinanru 伊難如 (EMC: <i>ʒji-nan-niə̃</i> ); <i>ımanç</i> “trust” <small>TMEN II: § 669</small>
<i>ımançu apa</i> <i>ıyarğan tarkan</i>	title
<i>ırak</i>	distant, far away; from <i>ıra-</i> “to be distant, to keep away” <small>Clauson 1972: 214, 198</small>
<i>ışbara</i>	title; one of the Chinese transcriptions is Shabolue 沙鉢略 (EMC: <i>ʃai-pat-liak</i> ) <small>ışbara Clauson 1972: 257</small>
<i>ışbara yamtar</i>	title

<i>it</i>	dog <small>TMEN II: § 633, Clauson 1972: 34</small>
<i>it-</i>	to send; to allow to go, to release <small>id- Clauson 1972: 37</small>
<i>iç</i>	the interior or inside of something <small>Clauson 1972: 17</small>
<i>içger-</i>	to bring something into something; to subdue (an enemy) <small>Clauson 1972: 25</small>
<i>içik-</i>	to submit to an enemy or foreign ruler <small>Clauson 1972: 25</small>
<i>içre</i>	within, inside <small>Clauson 1972: 30</small>
<i>içreki</i>	situated within <small>Clauson 1972: 31</small> “courtier” <small>TMEN II: § 635</small>
<i>idi</i>	master, owner <small>Clauson 1972: 41</small>
<i>idi</i>	intensifying adverb; originally used only to qualify negative verbs and expressions, meaning “(not) at all”; later more generally to qualify any adjective, meaning “very, extremely” <small>Clauson 1972: 41</small>
<i>idisiz</i>	without a master <small>Clauson 1972: 72</small>
<i>igid</i>	false, lying; a lie <small>Clauson 1972: 102</small>
<i>igid-</i>	to feed <small>Clauson 1972: 103</small>
<i>igit-</i>	see <i>igid-</i>
<i>ilgerü</i>	eastwards <small>Clauson 1972: 144</small>
<i>ilk</i>	first in order or time <small>Clauson 1972: 140</small>
<i>ilki</i>	see <i>ilk</i>
<i>inel</i>	title <small>TMEN IV: § 1900</small> ; the Chinese transcription is Yinie 移涅 (EMC: <i>ji-nɛt</i> )
<i>inçe</i>	see <i>ança</i>
<i>ingek</i>	<b>COW</b> <small>Clauson 1972: 184</small>
<i>ini</i>	younger brother <small>TMEN II: § 674, Clauson 1972: 170</small>
<i>iniligü</i>	see <i>ini</i> <small><i>ini+ligü</i>, see Gabain 1974: § 425</small>

<i>iniyigün</i>	younger brothers, a collective plural <small><i>iniyigün</i> Clauson 1972: 170</small>
<i>irkin</i>	title <small>Clauson 1972: 225</small> ; the Chinese transcriptions are Sijin 俟斤 (EMC: <i>zi'-kin</i> ) and Xiejin 頡斤 (EMC: <i>ɣɛt-kin</i> )
<i>isgiti</i>	a kind of Chinese embroidered silk brocade <small><i>isgiti</i> Clauson 1972: 261</small>
<i>işiyi</i>	originally a Chinese title Sheren 舍人 (EMC: <i>ɕia<sup>h</sup>-ŋin</i> ): secretary, officials of low rank or unranked sub officials attached to the establishments of heirs apparent, princes, princesses, and some other dignitaries, generally acting as receptionists and document handlers <small>Hucker 1985: 417</small>
<i>iştemi</i>	the founder-kağan of the Western Türk Empire; his name/title recorded in the Chinese sources is Shidianmi 室點密 (EMC: <i>ɕit-tem'-mit</i> ) <small>JTS 194b: 5188, XTS 215b: 6055</small> ; there are at least two other variant Chinese transcriptions, namely Sedimi 瑟帝米 (EMC: <i>ʃit-tej<sup>h</sup>-mej'</i> ) <small>XTS 215b: 6055</small> and Shidianmi 施店密 (EMC: <i>ɕi-tem<sup>h</sup>-mit</i> ) <small>QTW 289: 2932</small>
<i>izgil</i>	ethnic name; the Chinese transcription is Sijie 思結 (EMC: <i>si-kɛt</i> )
<i>kabiş-</i>	to come together, assemble <small>Clauson 1972: 588</small>
<i>kaç</i>	how many <small>Clauson 1972: 589</small>
<i>kaçan</i>	when, whenever <small>Clauson 1972: 592</small>
<i>kadır</i>	grim, brutal, oppressive, dangerous <small>TMEN III: § 1381, Clauson 1972: 603</small>
<i>kadırkan</i>	place name, see <i>kadırkan yış</i>
<i>kadırkan yış</i>	the Kadırkan mountain forest, the Khingan Mountains <small>Clauson 1972: 603</small>
<i>kağan</i>	title, an independent ruler of a tribe or people <small>Clauson 1972: 611</small> the Chinese transcription is Kehan 可汗 (EMC: <i>k<sup>h</sup>a'-ɣan</i> ); for detailed research on this title, see <small>TMEN III: § 1161</small>
<i>kağanla-</i>	denominal verb from <i>kağan</i> ; to make someone kağan <small>Clauson 1972: 612, Tekin 1968: 340</small>
<i>kağanlıǵ</i>	having a kağan <small>Clauson 1972: 611</small>
<i>kağansıra-</i>	denominal verb from <i>kağan</i> ; to be without a kağan <small>Clauson 1972: 612, Tekin 1968: 340</small>
<i>kağansırat-</i>	causative form of <i>kağansıra-</i> ; to make someone without a kağan <small>Tekin 1968: 340</small>
<i>kal-</i>	to remain; to come to a halt <small>Clauson 1972: 615</small>

<i>kalın</i>	(of a solid object) massive, dense <small>Clauson 1972: 622</small>
<i>kalın</i>	property, possessions <small>Tekin 1968: 340</small> ; bride price <small>TMEN III: § 1407, Clauson 1972: 622</small>
<i>kalıt-</i>	causative form of <i>kal-</i> <small>Tekin 1995: 217</small> ; Clauson interpreted it in a different way: a causative form of <i>kal-</i> “to rise in the air”, “to jump” <small>Clauson 1972: 619</small>
<i>kamağ</i>	all <small>Clauson 1972: 627</small>
<i>kamşağ</i>	insecure; from <i>kamşa-</i> “to move or sway” <small>Clauson 1972: 629</small>
<i>kamşat-</i>	to shake; to allow (one’s feet) to waver, or (one’s thoughts) to stray <small>Clauson 1972: 629; Tekin 1968: 341</small>
<i>kan</i>	blood <small>TMEN III: § 1357, Clauson 1972: 629</small>
<i>kan</i>	title <small>TMEN III: § 1161, Clauson 1972: 630</small> see <i>kağan</i>
<i>kaŋ</i>	father <small>Clauson 1972: 630</small>
<i>kanı</i>	see <i>kañu</i>
<i>kanlan-</i>	reflexive denominal verb from <i>kan</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 639</small>
<i>kantın</i>	whence <small>kandın Clauson 1972: 633</small>
<i>kañu</i>	interrogative, what, which, where <small>Clauson 1972: 632, TMEN IV: § N 156</small>
<i>kapğan kağan</i>	title <small>Tekin 1968: 341</small>
<i>kapiğ</i>	door, gate <small>TMEN III: § 1368, Clauson 1972: 583</small>
<i>kar</i>	SNOW <small>Clauson 1972: 641, TMEN IV: § N 116</small>
<i>kara</i>	black <small>Clauson 1972: 643, TMEN III: § 1440</small> ; the Chinese transcription is Keluo 珂羅 (EMC: <i>kʰa-la</i> )
<i>kara bodun</i>	the ordinary people; a similar Chinese expression is <i>qianshou</i> 黔首 “black head”, meaning “the ordinary people”
<i>kara köl</i>	place name, lit. “Black Lake”
<i>kara türgiş</i>	ethnic name; it is recorded in the Chinese sources as Tuqishi Heixing 突騎施黑姓, lit. the black surnames/clans of the Türgiş people

<i>karağın</i>	place name
<i>karağu</i>	see <i>karğu</i>
<i>karğu</i>	a watch-tower, with a beacon on the top to give raid warnings <small>Clauson 1972: 653</small>
<i>kari</i>	old <small>Clauson 1972: 644</small> ; the Chinese transcription is Geli 哥利 (EMC: <i>ka-li<sup>h</sup></i> )
<i>kari-</i>	to be or become old <small>Clauson 1972: 645</small>
<i>karluk</i>	ethnic name, the Chinese transcription is Geluolu 葛邏祿 (EMC: <i>kat-la<sup>h</sup>-lawk</i> ); explained as “snow-people”, probably < * <i>karaluk</i> <small>TMEN III: § 1388</small>
<i>kaş</i>	eyebrow; the edge or side of <small>TMEN III: § 1391, Clauson 1972: 669</small>
<i>katıđı</i>	tightly, firmly; adverb from <i>katıđ</i> “hard, firm, tough”; from <i>kat-</i> “to be hard, firm, tough” <small>Clauson 1972: 595, 597, 599</small>
<i>katun</i>	lady; the wife of the lord <small>Clauson 1972: 602</small> ; for detailed research on this title, see <small>TMEN III: § 1159</small>
<i>kazğan-</i>	to earn (wages by labor), to gain (profits by trade); to strive for success; to acquire <small>Clauson 1972: 683</small>
<i>keç-</i>	to pass away, elapse; to pass through <small>Clauson 1972: 693</small>
<i>keçen</i>	place name
<i>keçiğ</i>	deverbal noun from <i>keç-</i> , crossing place, ford; access, way round <small>Clauson 1972: 696</small>
<i>kedim</i>	a single act of putting on; a garment <small>Clauson 1972: 704, TMEN IV: § 1726</small>
<i>kel-</i>	to come <small>Clauson 1972: 715</small>
<i>kelinün</i>	collective form of <i>kelin</i> “the wife of one’s younger brother or son” <small>Clauson 1972: 719</small>
<i>kelür-</i>	causative form of <i>kel-</i> , to bring <small>Clauson 1972: 719–20</small>
<i>kem</i>	who <small>kim Clauson 1972: 720, TMEN III: 1702</small>
<i>kem</i>	place name, Yenisei river; the Chinese transcription is Jian 劍 (EMC: <i>kiam<sup>h</sup></i> )
<i>kejü tarban</i>	place name

<i>keñü tarman</i>	see <i>keñü tarban</i>
<i>kentü</i>	own, self <small>Clauson 1972: 728</small>
<i>keñeres</i>	place name
<i>kerekülüg</i>	nomadic, from <i>kerekül</i> “tent” <small>Tekin 1968: 350</small>
<i>kergek</i>	necessity, necessary, <i>kergek bol-</i> “to meet one’s fate, die” <small>kergek bul- Clauson 1972: 742</small>
<i>kergeksiz</i>	superfluous and unnecessary things; immeasurable, immense <small>Gabain 1974: 341</small> ; abundantly, in abundance <small>Tekin 1968: 350</small>
<i>kérü</i>	backwards, behind; westwards <small>Clauson 1972: 736</small>
<i>késre</i>	behind; after, afterwards; in the west <small>Clauson 1972: 751</small>
<i>kéyik</i>	wild, four-legged game animal, e.g. deer, wild goat <small>Clauson 1972: 755</small>
<i>kıd-</i>	to spare <small>Clauson 1972: 595</small>
<i>kıl-</i>	to do, to make <small>Clauson 1972: 616</small>
<i>kılıç</i>	sword <small>Clauson 1972: 618, TMEN III: § 1510</small>
<i>kılıçla-</i>	to kill with a sword <small>Clauson 1972: 618</small>
<i>kın</i>	punishment, torture <small>Clauson 1972: 631</small>
<i>kılın-</i>	reflexive form of <i>kıl-</i> , to come into existence, be formed <small>Erdal 1991: 605; Clauson 1972: 623</small>
<i>krğaghğ</i>	having a selvage or border <small>Clauson 1972: 657</small>
<i>kırk</i>	forty <small>Clauson 1972: 651</small>
<i>kırkız</i>	ethnic name; the Chinese transcription is Xiajiasi 黠戛斯 (EMC: <i>ɣəit/ɣɛ:-kəit/kɛ:t-siə</i> / <i>si</i> )
<i>kıs-/kış-</i>	to compress, squeeze, pinch, squash <small>TMEN III: § 1604, Clauson 1972: 665–6</small>
<i>kısl</i>	a narrow gorge <small>Clauson 1972: 667</small>
<i>kış</i>	winter <small>Clauson 1972: 670</small>

<i>kışla-</i>	to spend the winter, to go into winter quarters <small>TMEN III: § 1497, Clauson 1972: 673</small>
<i>kitañ</i>	ethnic name; the Chinese transcription is Qidan 契丹 (EMC: <i>kʰejʰ-tan</i> )
<i>kıyn</i>	see <i>kn</i> <small>TMEN III: § 1609</small>
<i>kız</i>	girl, unmarried woman; daughter, slave girl <small>TMEN III: § 1601, Clauson 1972: 679</small>
<i>kız-</i>	to be red, blush <small>Clauson 1972: 618</small>
<i>kızıl</i>	red <small>TMEN III: § 1481, Clauson 1972: 683</small>
<i>kiçig</i>	small <small>TMEN III: § 1664, Clauson 1972: 696</small>
<i>kiğür-</i>	to bring in, introduce; causative form of <i>kir-</i> “to enter” <small>Clauson 1972: 712</small>
<i>kikşür-</i>	incite one another; causative and reflexive form of <i>kik-</i> “to whet” <small>Clauson 1972: 714, Erdal 1991: 716–7</small>
<i>kir-</i>	to enter <small>Clauson 1972: 735</small>
<i>kiş</i>	sable <small>TMEN III: § 1698, Clauson 1972: 752</small>
<i>kişi</i>	man, person, human being <small>Clauson 1972: 752</small>
<i>kod-</i>	to put down, abandon, give up <small>Clauson 1972: 595</small>
<i>kodı</i>	from <i>kod-</i> , downwards <small>Clauson 1972: 596</small>
<i>koduz</i>	single woman <small>Clauson 1972: 608</small>
<i>kokılık</i>	perfume, scent <small>Clauson 1972: 610, Tekin 1968: 346</small>
<i>kon-</i>	to settle, settle down <small>Clauson 1972: 632</small>
<i>kontur-</i>	to settle people; causative form of <i>kon-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 636</small>
<i>koñ</i>	sheep <small>TMEN III: § 1590, Clauson 1972: 631</small>
<i>kop</i>	thoroughly, completely; all <small>Clauson 1972: 579</small>
<i>koriğu</i>	protector <small>TMEN III: § 1462, Tekin 1968: 278</small>

<i>kork-</i>	to fear, be afraid of <small>Clauson 1972: 651</small>
<i>koşu</i>	proper name <small>Tekin 1968: 347</small>
<i>kot-</i>	see <i>kod-</i>
<i>köbrüğe</i>	drum <small>kübrüg Clauson 1972: 690</small>
<i>kögmen</i>	place name; the Chinese transcription is Quman 曲漫 (EMC: <i>kʰuawk-manʰ</i> )
<i>kögmen yış</i>	the Kögmen mountain forest, the Sayan Mountains <small>Gabain 1974: 343</small>
<i>kök</i>	the sky; skycolorred, blue, blue-grey <small>TMEN III: § 1677, Clauson 1972: 708</small> ; root <small>TMEN III: § 1638</small>
<i>kök türk</i>	ethnic name, see <i>türk</i>
<i>kök</i>	particle of definiteness <small>Tekin 1968: 352; kök Vermutungs-Partikel, see Gabain 1974: § 359</small>
<i>kök öñ</i>	place name
<i>kölök</i>	something harnessed, a baggage animal; from <i>köl-</i> “to harness” <small>Clauson 1972: 717</small>
<i>könül</i>	the mind, thoughts; heart <small>Clauson 1972: 731</small>
<i>kör-</i>	to see; to obey, bow to <small>Clauson 1972: 736</small>
<i>kötür-</i>	to lift up, raise <small>Clauson 1972: 706</small>
<i>köz</i>	eye <small>TMEN II: § 1015, Clauson 1972: 756</small>
<i>közed-</i>	to guard, protect, watch <small>Clauson 1972: 758; közed- Tekin 1968:355</small>
<i>kubra-</i>	to come together, assemble <small>Clauson 1972: 586</small>
<i>kubran-</i>	to come together, assemble; reflexive form of <i>kubra-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 586</small>
<i>kubrat-</i>	to cause to assemble; causative form of <i>kubra-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 586</small>
<i>kuğ</i>	the surname of a Chinese general, whose full name was Guo (EMC: <i>kwak</i> ) Yingjie 郭英傑 <small>ku+ğ, the accusative form, Tekin 1968: 347</small>
<i>kul</i>	a male slave <small>TMEN III: § 1519, Clauson 1972: 615</small>

<i>kulad-</i>	to become a male slave <small>Clauson 1972: 619</small>
<i>kulkak</i>	ear <small>Clauson 1972: 621</small>
<i>kulluğ</i>	having a slave, slave-owner <small>Clauson 1972: 620</small>
<i>kum</i>	sand <small>TMEN III: § 1525, Clauson 1972: 625</small>
<i>kunçuy</i>	from Chinese <i>gongzhu</i> 公主 (EMC: <i>kəwŋ-tɕuǎʔ</i> ); princess <small>Clauson 1972: 635</small>
<i>kunı</i>	proper name <small>ku+m, the accusative form, Tekin 1968</small>
<i>kurğan</i>	fortress, citadel <small>Gabain 1974: 360, Tekin 1968: 346</small>
* <i>kurı</i>	west <small>Clauson 1972: 645</small>
<i>kurıǵaru</i>	westwards, see <i>kurı</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 645</small>
<i>kuriya</i>	in the west <small>Clauson 1972: 665</small>
<i>kurıkan</i>	ethnic name; the Chinese transcription is Guligan 骨利干 (EMC: <i>kwət-li<sup>h</sup>-kan</i> )
<i>kuriyaki</i>	see <i>kuriya</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 665</small>
<i>kuşlağak</i>	place name <small>kuş-alğak Tekin 1968: 348</small>
<i>kut</i>	the favor of heaven; good fortune <small>TMEN III: § 1568, Clauson 1972: 594</small>
<i>kutay</i>	some kind of silk, corresponding to Chinese <i>dai</i> 帶 (EMC: <i>taj<sup>h</sup></i> ) <small>Clauson 1972: 607</small>
<i>kuz</i>	the northern side of a mountain seldom reached by the sun <small>Clauson 1972: 680</small>
<i>kü</i>	rumor; fame, reputation <small>Clauson 1972: 686</small>
<i>küç</i>	strength, power <small>TMEN III: § 1662, Clauson 1972: 693</small>
<i>küçlüg</i>	strong, powerful; violent, oppressive <small>TMEN III: § 1676, Clauson 1972: 697</small>
<i>kül</i>	title, see <i>kül tégin</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 715</small>
<i>kül çor</i>	title

<i>kül tégin</i>	title; the Chinese transcription is Que Teqin 闕特勤 (EMC: <i>kʰuat dək-gin</i> )
<i>külüğ</i>	famous; from <i>kü</i> “fame” <small>TMEN III: § 1686, Clauson 1972: 717</small>
<i>kümüş</i>	silver <small>Clauson 1972: 723-4</small>
<i>kün</i>	originally “the sun”; hence, by extension, “day” <small>Clauson 1972: 725</small>
<i>küni</i>	jealousy; jealous; co-wife <small>Clauson 1972: 727</small>
<i>künj</i>	a female slave <small>Tekin 1968: 354, Clauson 1972: 727</small>
<i>künjed-</i>	to become a maid or slave <small>Clauson 1972: 730</small>
<i>künlüg</i>	having a maid <small>künlig, Clauson 1972: 732</small>
<i>küntüz</i>	daytime, opposite to <i>tün</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 729</small>
<i>küreg</i>	fugitive, runaway (slave, etc.) <small>Clauson 1972: 741, Erdal 1991: 196</small>
<i>küregü</i>	unruliness <small>Tekin 1968: 355</small>
<i>kürlüg</i>	deceitful; from <i>kür</i> “trick, device” <small>kürüg Clauson 1972: 745</small>
<i>lağzın</i>	pig, swine <small>Clauson 1972: 764</small>
<i>likeŋ</i>	Chinese name Lü Xiang 吕向 (EMC: <i>liəʰ-xiaŋʰ</i> )
<i>lisün</i>	Chinese name Li Quan 李佺 (EMC: <i>liʰ-tswian</i> )
<i>mağ</i>	glory, honor <small>Tekin 1968: 355</small>
<i>makaraç</i>	proper name <small>Tekin 1968: 355</small>
<i>men</i>	see <i>ben</i>
<i>mu</i>	interrogative particle <small>Tekin 1968: 356</small>
<i>naŋ</i>	see <i>neŋ</i>
<i>ne</i>	originally an interrogative pronoun: what <small>Clauson 1972: 774</small>

<i>neke</i>	dative of <i>ne</i> ; of what, why <small>Tekin 1968: 356</small>
<i>nence</i>	so much <small>Tekin 1968: 356</small>
<i>neŋ</i>	any, at all; thing, property <small>Clauson 1972: 778</small>
<i>ođlan</i>	plural form of <i>ođul</i> <small>TMEN II: § 498</small>
<i>ođlt</i>	children, sons <small>Tekin 1968: 356</small>
<i>ođul</i>	offspring, child; son <small>TMEN II: § 502, Clauson 1972: 83</small>
<i>ođul tarkan</i>	title <small>Tekin 1968: 357</small>
<i>ođuz</i>	ethnic name; see <i>tokuz ođuz</i>
<i>ođuz bilge</i>	title <small>Tekin 1968: 358</small>
<i>ok</i>	arrow; sub-tribe <small>TMEN II: § 605, Clauson 1972: 76</small> ; see <i>on ok</i>
<i>okı-</i>	to call, invite <small>Tekin 1968: 358</small> ; to summon <small>Clauson 1972: 79</small>
<i>oksuz</i>	without sub-tribes, unified <small>oksz, Tekin 1968: 358</small>
<i>ol</i>	that <small>Clauson 1972: 123</small>
<i>ol-</i>	to be, or become ripe, soft, fully or over-cooked; to become, see <i>bol-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 125</small>
<i>olđurt-</i>	to seat; to place; to establish <small>Clauson 1972: 139</small>
<i>olur-</i>	to sit; to sit down (for a rest); to take (one's) seat on the throne; to settle down, take up residence <small>Clauson 1972: 150</small>
<i>olurt-</i>	causative form of <i>olur-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 151</small>
<i>on</i>	ten <small>Clauson 1972: 166</small>
<i>on ok</i>	ethnic name; in Chinese Shixing 十姓 “ten surnames”
<i>oŋ</i>	Chinese <i>wang</i> 王, prince
<i>oplayu</i>	from <i>op</i> “a sigh”; <i>oplayu teg-</i> “to attack with fury” <small>Clauson 1972: 11</small>

<i>ordu</i>	royal residence <small>Clauson 1972: 203</small> ; for detailed research on this term, see <small>TMEN II: § 452</small>
<i>ortu</i>	the middle or center of anything <small>TMEN II: § 587, Clauson 1972: 203</small>
<i>oruk</i>	path <small>Clauson 1972: 215</small>
<i>ot</i>	fire <small>Clauson 1972: 34</small>
<i>otuz</i>	thirty <small>Clauson 1972: 74</small>
<i>otuz tatar</i>	a confederation consisting of about thirty Tatar tribes, see <i>tatar</i>
<i>oz-</i>	to outstrip; to escape <small>Clauson 1972: 279</small>
<i>ö-</i>	to think; to think of something <small>Clauson 1972: 2</small>
<i>öd</i>	time, moment <small>Clauson 1972: 35</small>
<i>öd</i>	bile, gall; the spleen, the gallbladder <small>Clauson 1972: 35</small> ; this organ was connected with fear, while <i>öpke</i> “lung” was related to anger <small>Clauson 1972: 9</small> ; there is a similar expression in Chinese <i>danliang</i> 膽量 “courage”, lit. “the amount of gallbladder”.
<i>ödsig</i>	dear, beloved <small>Tekin 1968: 362</small>
<i>ödüş</i>	a period of twenty-four hours <small>Clauson 1972: 72</small>
<i>ög</i>	mother <small>Clauson 1972: 99</small>
<i>ög-</i>	to praise <small>Clauson 1972: 100</small>
<i>ögir-</i>	to be joyful, to rejoice <small>Clauson 1972: 113</small>
<i>ögleş</i>	to take counsel together <small>Clauson 1972: 107</small>
<i>ögsüz</i>	proper name <small>ögsüz Tekin 1968: 362</small>
<i>ögtür-</i>	to praise <small>Tekin 1968: 362; causative of ögü- Clauson 1972: 104</small>
<i>ögüz</i>	river <small>TMEN II: § 613, Clauson 1972: 119</small>
<i>ök</i>	enclitic particle adds emphasis <small>Clauson 1972: 76</small> ; intensifying function <small>Gabain 1974: § 345</small>
<i>ökün-</i>	to repent, regret <small>Clauson 1972: 111</small>

<i>öl-</i>	to die <small>Clauson 1972: 125–6</small>
<i>ölüg</i>	dead; a dead person, corpse <small>TMEN II: § 621, Clauson 1972: 142</small>
<i>ölür-</i>	causative of <i>öl-</i> ; to kill <small>Clauson 1972: 151</small>
<i>öŋ</i>	in the front <small>Clauson 1972: 167</small>
<i>öŋdün</i>	(situated) in front; eastwards <small>Clauson 1972: 178</small>
<i>öŋre</i>	in the east; in the front, forwards, formerly <small>Clauson 1972: 189</small>
<i>öŋreki</i>	see <i>öŋre</i>
<i>ör-</i>	to rise; to rebel <small>Tekin 1968: 364, Clauson 1972: 195</small>
<i>örpen</i>	place name
<i>ört</i>	flame, conflagration <small>Clauson 1972: 201</small>
<i>ötrü</i>	then, thereupon <small>Clauson 1972: 64</small> ; postposition <small>Gabain 1974: § 281</small>
<i>ötüg</i>	request, memorial to a superior <small>TMEN II: § 574, Clauson 1972: 51</small>
<i>ötüken</i>	place name; one of the Chinese transcriptions is Yudujin 于都斤 (EMC: <i>wuǎ-tɔ-kin</i> )
<i>ötüken yış</i>	the Ötüken mountain forest
<i>ötülüg</i>	esteemed, respected <small>Tekin 1968: 365</small>
<i>ötün-</i>	to submit a statement or request to a superior; to request, pray, represent <small>Clauson 1972: 62</small>
<i>ötünç</i>	representations <small>Tekin 1968: 365</small>
<i>öz</i>	spirit; self <small>Clauson 1972: 278</small>
<i>özlük</i>	spirited, personal; <i>özlük at</i> “a high bred blood horse” <small>Clauson 1972: 286</small>
<i>özüm</i>	myself <small>Tekin 1968: 365</small>
<i>purum</i>	East Rome <small>Tekin 1968: 365</small>

<i>sab</i>	a (full length) speech, a narrative or story, message <small>Clauson 1972: 782</small>
<i>saç</i>	hair <small>Clauson 1972: 794</small>
<i>sakin-</i>	to think; to desire; to think anxiously about something, to be worried <small>Clauson 1972: 812-3</small> ; in the <i>Biography of Xuanzang</i> , <i>sakin-</i> is used to translate the Chinese term <i>nian</i> 念, <i>xunsi</i> 尋思/ <i>silian</i> 思戀 “to miss, think of”
<i>sakiniğma</i>	worried; from <i>sakin-</i>
<i>san</i>	number <small>TMEN III: § 1219, Clauson 1972: 830-1</small>
<i>sañç-</i>	to pierce (with a lance), transfix <small>TMEN III: § 1268, Clauson 1972: 835</small>
<i>sariğ</i>	yellow <small>TMEN III: § 1207, Clauson 1972: 848</small>
<i>sayu</i>	every, lit. counting, from <i>sa-</i> “to count” <small>Clauson 1972: 858</small>
<i>sebeg kül irkin</i>	title
<i>sebin-</i>	to rejoice, be joyful; reflexive of <i>seb-</i> <small>TMEN III: § 1319, Clauson 1972: 790</small>
<i>sekiz</i>	eight <small>sekkiz Clauson 1972: 823</small>
<i>selenje</i>	the name of a river, Selenga river; the Chinese transcription is Xian-e 仙俄 (EMC: <i>sian-ŋa</i> )
<i>semiz</i>	fat <small>Clauson 1972: 830</small>
<i>sen</i>	you <small>Clauson 1972: 831</small>
<i>señün</i>	originally a Chinese title <i>jiangjun</i> 將軍 (EMC: <i>tsiaŋ-kun</i> ) “general” <small>TMEN III: § 1274, Clauson 1972: 840</small>
<i>sı-</i>	to break <small>Clauson 1972: 782</small>
<i>sığıt</i>	weeping, lamentation <small>Clauson 1972: 806</small>
<i>sığıtçı</i>	one who laments; mourner <small>Clauson 1972: 807</small>
<i>sığta-</i>	from <i>sığıt</i> , “to lament, mourn” <small>Clauson 1972: 807</small>
<i>sığun</i>	male deer, stag <small>Clauson 1972: 811</small>

<i>sıjar</i>	side <small>Clauson 1972: 840</small>
<i>silik</i>	clean, pure, smooth <small>TMEN III: § 1262, Clauson 1972: 826</small>
<i>sime</i>	originally a Chinese title Sima 司馬 (EMC: <i>si-mɛ:</i> ) “adjutant” <small>Geng 2005: 96, 109</small>
<i>sini</i>	accusative form of <i>sen</i> <small>Tekin 1968: 368</small>
<i>siñil</i>	a sister younger than oneself <small>Clauson 1972: 839</small>
<i>sir</i>	ethnic name; beautiful, good <small>Clauson 1972: 843</small> ; the Chinese transcription is Xue 薛 (EMC: <i>siat</i> )
<i>soğd</i>	the Sogdians <small>Tekin 1968: 369</small>
<i>soğdak</i>	land of the Sogdians; Sogdiana, see <i>soğd</i>
<i>soņa yış</i>	place name, the Soņa mountain forest
<i>sög-</i>	to kneel, see Middle Mongolian <i>sögöt-</i> “to kneel” <small>Rybatzki 1997: 71</small> ; to curse <small>Clauson 1972: 818</small>
<i>sök-</i>	to tear apart, pull down, break through <small>Clauson 1972: 819</small>
<i>sökür-</i>	to make someone kneel <small>Clauson 1972: 822</small>
<i>söz</i>	word, speech, statement <small>Clauson 1972: 860</small>
<i>sözleş-</i>	to converse <small>Clauson 1972: 864</small>
<i>sub</i>	water; stream, river <small>TMEN III: § 1278, Clauson 1972: 783</small>
<i>suk</i>	greed, greedy; envy, envious, covetous <small>Clauson 1972: 804</small> ; anger, rage <small>Tekin 1968: 370</small>
<i>sü</i>	army <small>Clauson 1972: 781</small>
<i>süçig</i>	sweet <small>TMEN III: § 1281, Clauson 1972: 796</small>
<i>süle-</i>	to campaign <small>Clauson 1972: 825</small>
<i>sület-</i>	causative form of <i>süle-</i> ; to launch troops on a campaign <small>Clauson 1972: 825</small>
<i>sünjüg</i>	a lance, spear <small>Clauson 1972: 834</small>

<i>sünük</i>	bone <small>Clauson 1972: 838</small>
<i>sünüş</i>	a battle <small>Clauson 1972: 842</small> ; a related Chinese transcription is Suni 蘇尼 (EMC: <i>so-nri</i> ) <small>TD 197: 5403</small>
<i>sünüş-</i>	to fight (one another) <small>Clauson 1972: 842</small>
<i>sür-</i>	to drive away <small>TMEN III: § 1283, Clauson 1972: 844</small>
<i>şad</i>	title, Iranian loanword <small>TMEN III: § 1327, Clauson 1972: 866</small> ; the Chinese transcription is 設 (EMC: <i>ciat</i> )
<i>şalçı</i>	proper name <small>Tekin 1968: 373</small>
<i>şadapıt</i>	title; Iranian loanword, the Chinese transcription might be Siduo fudie 寺多浮跌 (EMC: <i>zi<sup>h</sup>-ta-buw-det</i> ) <small>Bombaci 1976</small>
<i>şantuŋ</i>	Chinese place name Shandong 山東 (EMC: <i>ʒɛ:n-təwŋ</i> ), overlapping the territory of today's Hebei Province
<i>şuk</i>	proper name
<i>tabar</i>	place name
<i>tabğaç</i>	China <small>Clauson 1972: 438</small>
<i>tabışğan</i>	hare <small>TMEN I: § 144, Clauson 1972: 447</small>
<i>tadık</i>	proper name, see <i>tadık çor</i>
<i>tadık çor</i>	title
<i>tağ</i>	mountain <small>TMEN II: § 859, Clauson 1972: 463</small>
<i>takı</i>	and; further; also <small>Clauson 1972: 466</small>
<i>taluy</i>	sea; <i>taloy köl</i> is used to translate <i>hai</i> 海 “sea” in the <i>Biography of Xuanzang</i> <small>Semet 2005: 93</small>
<i>tam</i>	wall <small>Clauson 1972: 502</small>
<i>tamağ ıduk baş</i>	place name
<i>taman</i>	title <small>Tekin 1968: 375</small>
<i>tamğa</i>	originally “brand”; seal <small>TMEN III: § 933, Clauson 1972: 504</small>

<i>tamğaçı</i>	the official title of an officer whose duties related to the <i>tamğa</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 505</small>
<i>tañ</i>	dawn <small>Clauson 1972: 510</small>
<i>tañut</i>	ethnic name; the Chinese transcription is Dangxiang 党項 (EMC: <i>tañ-γaiwŋ<sup>h</sup></i> )
<i>tapa</i>	to, towards <small>Clauson 1972: 435</small>
<i>tapla-</i>	denominal verb from <i>tap</i> “satisfaction, sufficiency”, to be pleased, satisfied <small>Clauson 1972: 440</small>
<i>tarduş</i>	proper name; the Chinese transcription for Tarduş Şad is Dadushe 大度設 (EMC: <i>dajh-dɔh-ɕiat</i> ) <small>XTS 217b: 6135</small>
<i>tarduş mançu çor</i>	title
<i>tarkan</i>	title <small>Clauson 1972: 539</small> ; the Chinese transcription is Dagan 達干 (EMC: <i>dat-kan</i> )
<i>tarkat</i>	title; plural form of <i>tarkan</i>
<i>tarkinç</i>	prone to dissolution <i>tark-</i> < <i>tar-</i> “to disperse”, with suffix <i>-(X)ŋç</i> , see Erdal 1991: 278; uneasy, unsettled, difficult < <i>tarkan-</i> , the root of which is <i>tar</i> “narrow”, see Clauson 1972: 540; offended, displeased <small>Tekin 1968: 376</small>
<i>tarman</i>	place name
<i>taş</i>	exterior, outside <small>TMEN III: § 1173, Clauson 1972: 556</small>
<i>taş</i>	stone <small>TMEN II: § 855, Clauson 1972: 557</small>
<i>taş-</i>	to overflow <small>Clauson 1972: 559</small>
<i>taşık-</i>	to go out <small>Clauson 1972: 562, TMEN IV: § N 75</small>
<i>taşra</i>	outside, outwards <small>Clauson 1972: 566</small>
<i>tat</i>	an alien <small>Clauson 1972: 449</small>
<i>tatabı</i>	ethnic name; in the Chinese sources recorded as Xi 奚 (EMC: <i>ɣɕj</i> )
<i>tatar</i>	ethnic name, also <i>otuz tatar</i> ; it was a confederation consisting of about thirty tribes; the name of this confederation recorded in the Chinese sources as Hsi 霫 (EMC: <i>zip</i> ) and some times as Shiwei 室韋 (EMC: <i>ɕit-wuj</i> )
<i>tay</i>	originally a Chinese word <i>da</i> 大 (EMC: <i>daj<sup>h</sup></i> ) “great, big”

<i>tayğun</i>	some kind of high official; probably from the Chinese term <i>daguan</i> 大官 (EMC: <i>daj<sup>h</sup>-kwan</i> ) “high officials” <small>Clauson 1972: 568; plural of <i>tay</i>, “colts, young horses; (fig.) sons”, see Tekin 1968: 377</small>
<i>tebe</i>	camel <small>tebi Tekin 1968: 377</small> ; the original form is <i>tebey</i> <small>TMEN II: § 1015, Clauson 1972: 447</small>
<i>teblig</i>	deceitful, tricky; from <i>teb</i> “trick, device” <small>Clauson 1972: 439</small>
<i>teg</i>	like <small>Clauson 1972: 475</small>
<i>teg-</i>	to reach; to attack, touch, concern <small>Clauson 1972: 476</small>
<i>tegi</i>	up to, as far as, until <small>Clauson 1972: 477</small>
<i>tegiş-</i>	to meet; to exchange <small>TMEN II: § 921, Clauson 1972: 487</small>
<i>tegre</i>	all around; surroundings <small>Clauson 1972: 485</small>
<i>teğür-</i>	causative form of <i>teg-</i> , lit. to cause to reach; to deliver or convey <small>Clauson 1972: 485</small>
<i>telin-</i>	to be perforated, worn through <small>Clauson 1972: 501</small>
<i>temir</i>	iron <small>TMEN II: § 1012, Clauson 1972: 508</small>
<i>temir kapıǵ</i>	place name; Iron Gate <small>Clauson 1972: 508</small>
<i>teñri</i>	sky, heaven, god <small>TMEN II: § 944, Clauson 1972: 523</small> ; one of the Chinese transcriptions is Dengli 登利 (EMC: <i>təŋ-li<sup>h</sup></i> )
<i>teñri teg teñri yaratmış türk bilge kağan</i>	title; recorded in the Chinese sources both as Yiran Kehan 伊然可汗 (EMC: <i>ʔji-nian k<sup>h</sup>a'-yan</i> < OT: <i>yaratmış kağan</i> ) and Dengli Kehan 登利可汗 (EMC: <i>təŋ-li<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a'-yan</i> < OT: <i>teñri kağan</i> )
<i>teñri teg teñride bolmuş türk bilge kağan</i>	title; recorded in the Chinese sources as Dengli Kehan (EMC: <i>təŋ-li<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a'-yan</i> < OT: <i>teñri kağan</i> )
<i>ter</i>	sweat <small>Clauson 1972: 528</small>
<i>teyiŋ</i>	squirrel <small>Clauson 1972: 569</small>
<i>tez-</i>	to run away, fly <small>Clauson 1972: 572</small>
<i>tezik</i>	ethnic name; Arabian <small>Tekin 1968: 380</small> ; Persian <small>Clauson 1972: 364</small>

<i>té-</i>	to say <small>Clauson 1972: 433–4</small>
<i>tégin</i>	title; “prince”; the Chinese transcription is Teqin 特勤 (EMC: <i>dək-gin</i> ) <small>TMEN II: § 922, Clauson 1972: 483</small>
<i>ténsi</i>	proper name; from Chinese Tianzi 天子 (EMC: <i>tʰɛn-tsi</i> ), meaning “the son of heaven”, usually referring to the emperor
<i>tér-</i>	to bring together, collect, assemble <small>Clauson 1972: 529</small>
<i>téril-</i>	to be collected, assembled; passive form of <i>tér-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 547</small>
<i>téyin</i>	postposition “intending, so that, because” <small>Gabain 1974: § 300</small> because, in order to, for the purpose of <small>Tekin 1968: 380</small> one unusual form of <i>té-</i> is used as a kind of written inverted comma; because <small>Clauson 1972: 433</small> converb form of <i>té-</i> with suffix <i>-(X)yXn</i> “saying, in order to” <small>Erdal 2004: 316</small>
<i>tıd-</i>	to obstruct, restrain <small>Clauson 1972: 450</small>
<i>tl</i>	lit. “the tongue”; hence metaphor “an informer, information, particularly secret information, language” <small>Clauson 1972: 489</small>
<i>ti</i>	firm, hard, strong <small>Tekin 1968: 380</small>
<i>tik-</i>	to insert; to erect; to plant etc. <small>Clauson 1972: 476</small>
<i>tile-</i>	to seek; to desire; to ask for <small>Clauson 1972: 492</small>
<i>tiŋla-</i>	to hear, listen; <i>tiŋ-</i> from Chinese <i>ting</i> 聽 (EMC: <i>tʰɛŋ</i> ) “to listen” <small>Clauson 1972: 522</small>
<i>tirgür-</i>	to revive, bring to life; causative form of <i>tir-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 545</small>
<i>tiriġ</i>	living, alive; life <small>Clauson 1972: 543</small>
<i>tirkiş</i>	caravan <small>Tekin 1968: 382</small>
<i>tiz</i>	knee <small>Clauson 1972: 570</small>
<i>tizliġ</i>	having knees <small>Clauson 1972: 575</small>
<i>tod-</i>	to be full, satiated <small>Clauson 1972: 451</small>
<i>toğ</i>	obstructed; obstruction, barrier <small>Clauson 1972: 463</small>

<i>toğ-</i>	to go straight for something <small>Clauson 1972: 465</small>
<i>toğsuk</i>	sunrise, east; from <i>toğ-</i> “to be born” <small>tuğsik Clauson 1972: 473</small>
<i>toğu</i>	place name, see <i>toğu balık</i>
<i>toğu balık</i>	the citadel of Toğu
<i>tok</i>	full, satiated <small>Clauson 1972: 464</small>
<i>tokar</i>	ethnic name, the Tokharians <small>Clauson 1972: 364, Tekin 1968: 383</small>
<i>tokı-</i>	to hit, knock something <small>TMEN II: § 977, Clauson 1972: 467</small>
<i>tokıt-</i>	causative of <i>tokı-</i> , to have something woven <small>Clauson 1972: 467</small>
<i>tokurkak</i>	one who regards himself as full <small>Tekin 1968: 383</small>
<i>tokuz</i>	nine <small>Clauson 1972: 474</small>
<i>tokuz ersin</i>	place name; in Chinese Jiuqu 九曲 “nine bends”
<i>tokuz oğuz</i>	ethnic name; in Chinese Jiuxing 九姓 “nine surnames”
<i>tokuz tatar</i>	ethnic name; in Chinese 白鬻 “white Tatar”
<i>tolğa-</i>	to twist, wrap around <small>Clauson 1972: 497</small>
<i>tolğat-</i>	causative form of <i>tolğa-</i> , “to cause pain or suffering” <small>Clauson 1972: 497</small>
<i>ton</i>	garment, clothing <small>Clauson 1972: 512</small>
<i>toŋa tégin</i>	a son of Kapğan Kağan; the Chinese transcription is 同俄 (EMC: <i>dəwŋ-ŋa</i> )
<i>toŋra</i>	ethnic name; the Chinese transcription is Tongluo 同羅 (EMC: <i>dəwŋ-la</i> ) <small>Tekin 1968: 384</small>
<i>toŋta-</i>	to move downwards <small>toŋit- &lt; töŋit-, Clauson 1972: 518</small>
<i>toñukuk</i>	title; probably <i>tuñukuk</i> ; the Chinese transcription is Tunyugu 墩欲谷 (EMC: <i>tʰwəŋ-juawk-kəwk</i> )
<i>topol-</i>	to pierce <small>topul- Clauson 1972: 440</small>

<i>toruǰ</i>	bay, brown horse <small>TMEN II: § 881, Clauson 1972: 538</small>
<i>tosuk</i>	probably from <i>tod-</i> “to be full, satiated”, with <i>-d-</i> elided <small>tosik Clauson 1972: 555</small>
<i>toyǰun</i>	proper name; see <i>tayǰun</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 568</small>
<i>toyǰut</i>	title; plural of <i>toyǰun</i>
<i>toyǰut élteber</i>	title
<i>tögün</i>	a brand <small>Clauson 1972: 484</small>
<i>tök-</i>	to pour out a liquid <small>Clauson 1972: 477</small>
<i>töküt-</i>	causative form of <i>tök-</i> ; to cause to shed <small>Tekin 1968: 385</small>
<i>töŋker</i>	the name of a mountain in the territory of Kitañ; the Chinese transcription is Du 都 (EMC: <i>tɔ</i> ), which could be a shorter form of the original transcription
<i>töpü</i>	the top <small>TMEN II: § 872, Clauson 1972: 436</small>
<i>tört</i>	four <small>Clauson 1972: 534</small>
<i>törü</i>	traditional customary, unwritten law <small>TMEN I: § 134, Clauson 1972: 531</small>
<i>törü-</i>	to come into existence; to be created <small>Clauson 1972: 533</small>
<i>tu-</i>	to close, block <small>Clauson 1972: 434</small>
<i>tudun</i>	title; the Chinese transcription is Tutun 吐屯 (EMC: <i>tʰɔ'-dʷən</i> ) <small>Clauson 1972: 457</small>
<i>tudun yamtar</i>	title
<i>tuǰla</i>	place (river) name; the Chinese transcription is Duluo 獨洛 (EMC: <i>dəwk lak</i> ) <small>toǰla Tekin 1968: 383</small>
<i>tur-</i>	to be/become weak/emaciated <small>Clauson 1972: 530; cf. <i>tor-</i> Tekin 1968: 384</small>
<i>turuk</i>	noun/adjective describing a single action, from <i>tur-</i> “to be or become weak and emaciated”; lean and emaciated <small>Clauson 1972: 539; <i>toruk</i> Tekin 1968: 384</small>
<i>tut-</i>	to hold, grasp, seize <small>Clauson 1972: 451</small>

<i>tutuk</i>	general; originally a Chinese title Dudu 都督 (EMC: <i>tɔ-tawk</i> ) “commander” <small>TMEN II: § 874; totok Clauson 1972: 453</small>
<i>tutun-</i>	reflexive form of <i>tut-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 458</small>
<i>tuy-</i>	to perceive, notice, feel <small>Clauson 1972: 567</small>
<i>tügültün</i>	place name, probably refers to Ordos
<i>tüketi</i>	completely; <i>tüket-</i> “to bring to an end, complete” <small>Clauson 1972: 479</small>
<i>tülüš</i>	ethnic name; the Chinese transcription is Tulishi 突利失 (EMC: <i>dwət-lih-ɛit</i> ) <small>XTS 217b: 6135; tölis Tekin 1968: 385; tölis Gabain 1974: 373</small>
<i>tümen</i>	ten thousand; Chinese <i>wan</i> 萬 (EMC: <i>muan<sup>h</sup></i> ) <small>Clauson 1972: 507, TMEN II: § 983</small>
<i>tün</i>	night <small>Clauson 1972: 513</small>
<i>tüpüt</i>	Tibet <small>Tekin 1968: 387</small>
<i>türgi yarğun</i>	place name <small>Tekin 1968: 387</small>
<i>türgiŕ</i>	ethnic name; the Chinese transcription is Tuqishi 突騎施 (EMC: <i>dwət-gi-ɛiə</i> )
<i>türk</i>	ethnic name; the Chinese transcription is Tujue 突厥 (EMC: <i>dwət-kuat</i> )
<i>tüş-</i>	to settle (somewhere); to dismount; to retire, withdraw, and involuntarily to fall (off something) <small>TMEN I: § 139, Clauson 1972: 560</small>
<i>tüşür-</i>	causative form of <i>tüş-</i> , to let fall, to order, to dismount <small>Clauson 1972: 566</small>
<i>tüz</i>	level, flat, even; equal (used to translate Chinese <i>ping</i> 平, <i>tüz köjül</i> “an impartial mind” <i>pingxin</i> 平心) <small>Clauson 1972: 571</small> ; it is used to translate <i>tong</i> 同 “same” and <i>deng</i> 等 “equal” in the <i>Biography of Xuanzang</i> <small>Semet 2005: 76, 158</small>
<i>tüzül-</i>	passive form of <i>tüz-</i> “to level, straighten, put in order”, <small>Clauson 1972: 571</small>
<i>u</i>	sleep <small>Clauson 1972: 2</small>
<i>u-</i>	to be able, capable <small>Clauson 1972: 2</small>
<i>ubut</i>	shame <small>obut Radloff 1899: 89</small> ; modesty, shyness <small>Clauson 1972: 6–7</small>

<i>uç</i>	extremity, end, tip <small>TMEN II: § 576, Clauson 1972: 17</small>
<i>uç-</i>	to fly; to die <small>Clauson 1972: 19</small>
<i>uçuk</i>	deverbal noun from <i>uç-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 22</small>
<i>uçuz</i>	not requiring any effort, easy <small>Clauson 1972: 32</small>
<i>ud-</i>	to follow, pursue <small>Tekin 1968: 389, Clauson 1972: 38</small>
<i>udar seŋün</i>	proper name; General Udar
<i>udı-</i>	to sleep; to clot, curdle, coagulate <small>Clauson 1972: 42</small>
<i>udluk</i>	a joint of beef; thigh <small>Clauson 1972: 55</small>
<i>udu</i>	and (lit. “following”) <small>TMEN I: § 42, Tekin 1968: 390</small>
<i>uduşur-</i>	causative form of <i>uduş-</i> ; “to crowd together and follow one another” <small>Clauson 1972: 73</small>
<i>uduz-</i>	causative form of <i>ud-</i> “to follow”; to lead, to conduct <small>Clauson 1972: 74</small>
<i>uğur</i>	time <small>Clauson 1972: 89</small> ; luck, opportunity <small>TMEN II: § 604</small>
<i>uğuş</i>	a population unit smaller than a tribe or clan but larger than a single unitary extended family <small>Clauson 1972: 96</small>
<i>ulayu</i>	all together; <i>ula-</i> “to join something together” <small>Clauson 1972: 154</small>
<i>ulğad-</i>	to become big or bigger; to grow up <small>Clauson 1972: 138</small>
<i>uluğ</i>	big, great, chief of a tribe <small>TMEN II: § 536, Clauson 1972: 136</small>
<i>uluş</i>	country <small>Clauson 1972: 152</small>
<i>umay</i>	placenta, afterbirth; goddess <small>Clauson 1972: 164–5</small>
<i>una-</i>	to be pleased, satisfied; to agree to; to be pleased with, to approve <small>Clauson 1972: 171</small>
<i>unç</i>	possible <small>Tekin 1968: 391</small> ; <i>onç</i> “promising” <small>Clauson 1972: 172</small>
<i>ur-</i>	to put; to strike <small>Clauson 1972: 194</small>

<i>urı</i>	male, child, son <small>Clauson 1972: 197</small>
<i>uruğ</i>	seed, pip, kernel <small>Clauson 1972: 214</small> descendant <small>TMEN II: § 468</small>
<i>uruğsırat-</i>	denominal verb from <i>uruğ</i> ; to exterminate <small>Clauson 1972: 220, Tekin 1968: 391</small>
<i>uyğur</i>	ethnic name; the Chinese transcriptions are Huihu 回鶻 (EMC: <i>ɣwəi-kwət</i> ) and Huihe 回紇 (EMC: <i>ɣwəi-ɣət</i> )
<i>uz</i>	a skilled craftsman <small>TMEN II: § 593, Clauson 1972: 277</small>
<i>uzun</i>	long <small>Clauson 1972: 288</small>
<i>üç</i>	three <small>Clauson 1972: 18</small>
<i>üç kurıkan</i>	a confederation consisting of three Kurıkan tribes, see <i>kurıkan</i>
<i>üçegü</i>	collective form of <i>üç</i> ; all three, three together <small>Clauson 1972: 25</small>
<i>üçün</i>	because <small>Clauson 1972: 28</small>
<i>üküş</i>	many; from <i>ük-</i> “to heap up, accumulate” <small>Clauson 1972: 118, 100</small>
<i>ülüğ</i>	share, part; destiny and fate <small>Clauson 1972: 142</small>
<i>üntür-</i>	causative form of <i>ün-</i> “to rise”; to cause something to rise from <small>TMEN I: § 57, Clauson 1972: 181</small>
<i>ürünj</i>	white <small>Clauson 1972: 233</small>
<i>üz</i>	evil-minded <small>Tekin 1968: 394</small> ; possibly an error for <i>uz</i> “cunning” <small>Clauson 1972: 182</small>
<i>üz-</i>	to tear; to pull apart or to pieces <small>Clauson 1972: 279</small>
<i>üze</i>	above, upon, on <small>Clauson 1972: 280</small>
<i>yabğu</i>	title <small>Clauson 1972: 873, TMEN IV: § 1825</small> ; the Chinese transcription is Yehu 葉護 (EMC: <i>jiap-ɣoʰ</i> )
<i>yabız</i>	bad, morally bad, unfavorable, inauspicious <small>Clauson 1972: 881</small>
<i>yablak</i>	bad, evil <small>Clauson 1972: 876</small>
<i>yabrit-</i>	to weaken <small>Clauson 1972: 879</small>

<i>yadağ</i>	foot <small>Clauson 1972: 887</small>
<i>yağn</i>	enemy, hostile <small>Clauson 1972: 898</small>
<i>yağıcı</i>	leader in the war <small>Tekin 1968: 395, Clauson 1972: 899</small>
<i>yağız</i>	brown <small>Clauson 1972: 909</small>
<i>yağru</i>	near <small>Clauson 1972: 905</small>
<i>yağuk</i>	near, neighbor; neighborhood, relative <small>Clauson 1972: 901</small>
<i>yağut-</i>	to bring someone near; causative form of <i>yağru</i> - “to approach, be near to” <small>Clauson 1972: 899</small>
<i>yakın</i>	near (in place, time or kinship) <small>Clauson 1972: 904, TMEN IV: § 1805</small>
<i>yalabaç</i>	diplomatic envoy <small>Clauson 1972: 921, TMEN IV: § 1807</small>
<i>yahıj</i>	naked, also <i>yalaŋ</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 929</small>
<i>yalma</i>	a thick quilted coat; linen armor <small>Clauson 1972: 929, TMEN IV: § 1892</small>
<i>yamtar</i>	proper name, see <i>ıřbara yamtar</i> , <i>tudun yamtar</i>
<i>yan</i>	the side, flank <small>Clauson 1972: 940, TMEN IV: § 1816</small>
<i>yan-</i>	to turn back <small>Clauson 1972: 941, TMEN IV: § 1816</small>
<i>yana</i>	again <small>Clauson 1972: 943</small>
<i>yaŋıl-</i>	to err, make a mistake <small>Clauson 1972: 951</small>
<i>yantur-</i>	causative form of <i>yan-</i> ; to bring back, turn back, give back <small>Clauson 1972: 947</small>
<i>yañ-</i>	to rout <small>Clauson 1972: 942</small>
<i>yara-</i>	to be successful, advantageous, beneficial, useful, serviceable; to be suitable for <small>Clauson 1972: 956</small>
<i>yarat-</i>	to make, or find; suitable, convenient; to create; to adapt; to organize <small>Clauson 1972: 959, Tekin 1968: 397</small>
<i>yaratun-</i>	reflexive form of <i>yarat-</i> <small>yaratın- Clauson 1972: 962</small>

<i>yaratur-</i>	causative form of <i>yarat-</i>
<i>yarık</i>	body, armor <small>Clauson 1972: 962</small>
<i>yarıklıĝ</i>	armored, wearing armor <small>Clauson 1972: 964; <i>yarıklıĝ</i> Tekin 1968: 397</small>
<i>yarıklıĝdı</i>	armor-clad <small>Clauson 1972: 964</small>
<i>yariş</i>	place name
<i>yarlıka-</i>	crasis of * <i>yarlıĝka-</i> ; to issue orders to an inferior <small>Clauson 1972: 968, Erdal 1991: 462–3</small> ; to be merciful <small><i>yarlık(k)a-</i> Tekin 1968: 397</small>
<i>yasa-</i>	to construct, arrange, set in order <small>Clauson 1972: 974, TMEN IV: § 1794</small>
<i>yaş</i>	basically “fresh, moist”; tears; a year of one’s life <small>Clauson 1972: 975, TMEN IV: § 1797</small>
<i>yaşıl</i>	green, the color of fresh vegetation <small>Clauson 1972: 978</small>
<i>yat-</i>	to lie down <small>Clauson 1972: 884</small>
<i>yay</i>	spring <small>Clauson 1972: 980</small>
<i>yaz</i>	summer <small>Clauson 1972: 982</small> ; spring <small>TMEN IV: § 1787</small> ; it is used to translate <i>chun</i> “spring” in the <i>Biography of Xuanzang</i> <small>Semet 2005: 70</small>
<i>yazı</i>	a broad open plain <small>Clauson 1972: 984</small>
<i>yazın-</i>	reflexive form of <i>yazı-</i> “to make an error or omission” <small>Clauson 1972: 988, 983</small>
<i>yazukla-</i>	denominal verb from <i>yazuk</i> , “sin; failing, defect” <small>Clauson 1972: 985, TMEN IV: § 1857</small>
<i>yegin silig beg</i>	proper name <small><i>yégen silig beg</i> Tekin 1968: 401</small>
<i>yel-</i>	(of a horse) to trot, amble, with some implication of haste <small>Clauson 1972: 918</small>
<i>yelme</i>	a technical military term, reconnoitering patrol <small>Clauson 1972: 929</small>
<i>yeltür-</i>	causative form of <i>yel-</i> ; to make (someone) hurry <small>Clauson 1972: 923</small>
<i>yeme</i>	and; also, too <small>Clauson 1972: 934</small>
<i>yen</i>	side, flank; see <i>yan</i>

<i>yé-</i>	to eat <small>Clauson 1972: 869</small>
<i>yég</i>	better, the best <small>Clauson 1972: 909</small>
<i>yégdi</i>	see <i>yég</i>
<i>yégirmi</i>	twenty <small>Clauson 1972: 915</small>
<i>yér</i>	ground, land, soil, place <small>Clauson 1972: 954, TMEN IV: § N 181</small>
<i>yérçi</i>	guide <small>Clauson 1972: 958</small>
<i>yét-</i>	to lead a horse <small>Clauson 1972: 884</small>
<i>yét-</i>	to overtake, catch up with <small>Clauson 1972: 884</small>
<i>yéti</i>	seven <small>yétti Clauson 1972: 886</small>
<i>yétmiş</i>	seventy <small>Clauson 1972: 891</small>
<i>yıd-</i>	to send, see <i>ıd-</i> <small>Tekin 1968: 402</small>
<i>yıǵ-</i>	to assemble, collect <small>Clauson 1972: 897</small>
<i>yıl</i>	year <small>Clauson 1972: 917</small>
<i>yılkı</i>	livestock, quadrupeds <small>Clauson 1972: 925</small>
<i>yılpaǵut</i>	see <i>alpaǵu</i>
<i>yılsıǵ</i>	comfortable, prosperous <small>yılsıǵ Clauson 1972: 933</small>
<i>yımşak</i>	soft <small>yımşak Clauson 1972: 938</small>
<i>yıpar</i>	scent, fragrance <small>TMEN II: § 411, Clauson 1972: 878</small>
<i>yır</i>	the north <small>Clauson 1972: 954</small>
<i>yırdın</i>	in the north <small>Clauson 1972: 959</small>
<i>yırǵaru</i>	northwards <small>Clauson 1972: 954</small>

<i>yırya</i>	in the north <small>Clauson 1972: 973</small>
<i>yıryakı</i>	see <i>yırya</i>
<i>yış</i>	mountain forest, the upper parts of a mountain covered with forest <small>Clauson 1972: 976</small>
<i>yıçe</i>	as before, as previously <small>Clauson 1972: 882</small> ; again, anew <small>Tekin 1968: 403</small>
<i>yınçge</i>	thin, slim, delicate <small>Clauson 1972: 945</small>
<i>yinçü</i>	a loanword from the Chinese Zhenzhu 真珠 (EMC: <i>tɕin-tɕuǎ</i> ) <small>Clauson 1972: 944</small>
<i>yinçü ögüz</i>	Syr Darya
<i>yit-</i>	to stray, get lost <small>Clauson 1972: 885</small>
<i>yitür-</i>	to lose; to cause to stray; causative form of <i>yit-</i> <small>Clauson 1972: 893</small>
<i>yoğ</i>	funeral feast <small>Clauson 1972: 895</small>
<i>yoğçı</i>	the one who attends a funeral feast, mourner <small>Clauson 1972: 899</small>
<i>yoğla-</i>	to celebrate a funeral feast <small>Clauson 1972: 902</small>
<i>yoğun</i>	thick <small>Clauson 1972: 904</small>
<i>yoğur-</i>	to cross over, to pass <small>TMEN I: § 409, Gabain 1974: § 292, Tekin 1995: 215, Erdal 1991: 755; <i>yokur-</i>, Clauson 1972: 906</small>
<i>yok</i>	no, not <small>Clauson 1972: 895</small>
<i>yok</i>	high ground <small>Clauson 1972: 896</small>
<i>yokad-</i>	to perish <small>Clauson 1972: 900</small>
<i>yokaru</i>	upwards; crasis of <i>*yokğaru</i> , directive form of <i>yok</i> “high ground” <small>Clauson 1972: 906, TMEN IV: § N 186</small>
<i>yol</i>	road, way <small>Clauson 1972: 917, TMEN IV: § 1930</small>
<i>yolh</i>	time, occurrence <small>Tekin 1968: 406</small>
<i>yolluğ</i>	fortunate, happy, lucky <small>Tekin 1968: 406, Gabain 1974: 387</small>

<i>yolluğ tégin</i>	title
<i>yonşur-</i>	to cause to slander one another <small>Tekin 1968: 406</small>
<i>yori-</i>	to walk, march; to go on <small>Clauson 1972: 957, TMEN IV: § 1916</small>
<i>yorit-</i>	causative form of <i>yori-</i>
<i>yögerü</i>	upwards <small>yügerü Clauson 1972: 915</small>
<i>yubul-</i>	passive form of <i>yub-</i> “to roll, rotate” <small>Clauson 1972: 877</small>
<i>yul-</i>	see <i>yul-</i> <small>TMEN IV: § 1929</small>
<i>yul-</i>	to pillage <small>Clauson 1972: 919</small>
<i>yulğçı</i>	plunderer <small>Tekin 1968: 407</small>
<i>yurç</i>	one’s wife’s younger brother; junior brother-in-law <small>Clauson 1972: 958</small>
<i>yurt</i>	an abandoned camping-site; dwelling place, abode <small>Clauson 1972: 958, TMEN IV: § 1914</small>
<i>yut</i>	weather so severe that it kills livestock; famine <small>Clauson 1972: 883, TMEN IV: § 1911</small>
<i>yutuz</i>	wife <small>Clauson 1972: 894; yotuz Tekin 1968: 407</small>
<i>yuyka</i>	slender, insubstantial <small>yuvka Clauson 1972: 874; “thin” Tekin 1968: 408</small>
<i>yügerü</i>	upwards <small>Clauson 1972: 915</small>
<i>yügür-</i>	to run fast <small>Clauson 1972: 914</small>
<i>yükün-</i>	to bow, do obeisance to someone; to worship <small>Clauson 1972: 913</small>
<i>yüküntür-</i>	causative form of <i>yükün-</i>
<i>yüz</i>	hundred <small>Clauson 1972: 983</small>
<i>yüz</i>	face <small>Clauson 1972: 983</small>
<i>yüzüt-</i>	to cause to swim <small>Tekin 1968: 408</small>

## Glossary of the Chinese Characters

Abo 阿波

Abo Dagan 阿波達干

Abusi 阿布思

Adie 阿跌

An Murong 安慕容

Anbei Route 安北道

Anfu Gate 安福門

Anxi Protectorate 安西都護府

A-re 阿熱

Ashide Fengzhi 阿史德奉職

Ashide Tunnishu 阿史德暉泥孰/熟

Ashide Wenfu 阿史德溫傅

Ashide Xielifa 阿史德頡利發

Ashide Yuanzhen 阿史德元珍

Ashina Funian 阿史那伏念

Ashina Huseluo 阿史那斛瑟羅

Ashina Ju 阿史那鞠

Ashina Nishufu 阿史那泥熟匐

Ashina Sebo Dagan 阿史那瑟鉢達干

Ashina Xian 阿史那獻

Axiji 阿悉吉

Axijie 阿悉結

Axilan 阿悉爛

Bai Hsi 白霽

Ban Gu 班固

Baximi 拔悉密

Bayegu 拔野古/拔曳固

Beiting Protectorate 北庭都護府

Bing Prefecture 并州

Bisudu 比粟毒

Biyan 比言

Biyun shrine 拂雲祠  
Bodezhi 勃德支  
Bohuan 撥換  
Cang Prefecture 滄州  
Cao Huaishun 曹懷舜  
Cao Renshi 曹仁師  
Chang'an 長安  
Changping 昌平  
Changquan County 長泉縣  
Changshou 長壽  
Chanyu Protectorate 單于都護府  
Chebishi Chuo 車鼻施啜  
Chen Lingying 陳令英  
Chen Zi'ang 陳子昂  
Cheng Wuting 程務挺  
Chisi 熾俟  
Chiting 赤亭  
Chuigong 垂拱  
Chuluo Kağan 處羅可汗  
Chumi 處密  
Chunyu Chuping 淳于處平  
Cuan Baobi 爨寶璧  
Cui Zhibian 崔智辯  
Dai Prefecture 代州  
Dangxiang 党項  
Daxiang 大象  
Dazu 大足  
Dengli 登利  
Ding Prefecture 定州  
Dong Gao 董誥  
Dong Xiashigu 東破石谷  
Dongyue 冬月  
Dou Huaizhe 竇懷愁

Du Shan 都山  
Du You 杜佑  
Duan Chengshi 段成式  
Dujiezhi 獨解支  
Dumozhi 都摩支  
Dunhuang 敦煌  
Duoxifu 咄悉匐  
Emperor Gaozu 高祖  
Emperor Ruizong 睿宗  
Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗  
Emperor Zhongzong 中宗  
Empress Wu 武后/武則天/武曌  
Feihu County 飛狐縣  
Feng Jiabin 馮嘉賓  
Feng Prefecture 豐州  
Fudifu 伏帝匐  
Fuju 匐俱  
Gan Prefecture 甘州  
Gaogouli 高句麗  
Gao Rui 高叡  
Gaoque 高闕  
Ge-a-mo Chazhi 葛阿默察之  
Gejie Xielifa 哥解頡利發  
Gejie Guzhi Chebi Xiejin 哥解骨支車鼻頡斤  
Gelachi 葛臘哆  
Geluolu Yinanru Pei[luo] 葛邏祿伊難如裴（羅）  
Geluolu 葛邏祿  
Goulihu Chanyu 嚕犁湖單于  
Gua Prefecture 瓜州  
Guanglu Citadel 光祿城  
Guangyun 廣韻  
Guangzhai 光宅  
Guannei 關內

Gudulu 骨篤祿  
Gudulu Pijia Kehan 骨篤祿毗伽可汗  
Guduo Yehu 骨咄葉護  
Guduolu 骨咄祿  
Guduolu Pijia Que Kehan 骨咄祿毗伽闕可汗  
Guduolu Pofu Kedun 骨咄祿婆匐可敦  
Gui Prefecture 媯州  
Guicheng Prefecture 歸誠州  
Guiguogong 歸國公  
Guihua Kehan 歸化可汗  
Guli Peiluo 骨力裴羅  
Guo Qianguan 郭虔瓘  
Guo Yingjie 郭英傑  
Guo Yuanzhen 郭元振  
Gutulu 骨吐祿  
Han Chang 韓昌  
Han Prefecture 含州  
Hanhai Furen 瀚海夫人  
Hanshu 漢書  
He Fengyao 和逢堯  
He Heinu 何黑奴  
Hebei 河北  
Hedie 訶跌  
Hedong 河東  
Hehe Pass 合河關  
Heisha 黑沙  
Heishan 黑山  
Heng Prefecture 恒州  
Heng River 橫水  
Hengye Army 橫野軍  
Hengyue Route 恒岳道  
Hexi 河西  
Hongdao 弘道

Hsi 霽  
Hua Dazhi 花大智  
Hua-e Hall 花萼樓  
Huai River 淮河  
Huairan Kehan 懷仁可汗  
Huaiyin 淮陰  
Huangzhang Valley 黃麋谷  
Huhanye Chanyu 呼韓邪單于  
Hui Prefecture 會州  
Huihe 回紇  
Huihu 回鶻  
Hulongfu Baimei Teqin 鶻隴匭白眉特勤  
Huluwu 胡祿屋  
Huoba Xielifa Shi Ashibi 火拔頡利發石阿失畢  
Huoshao 火燒  
Ji Prefecture 冀州  
Jiangjun 將軍  
Jigulu 稽古錄  
Jimusaer 吉木薩爾  
Jing Prefecture 涇州  
Jinglong 景龍  
Jingnan Army 靜難軍  
Jinya Shan 金牙山  
Jingyun 景雲  
Jinhejun Wang 金河郡王  
Jiushi 久視  
Jiwangjue Kağan 繼往絕可汗  
Jushi 車師  
Kaihuang 開皇  
Kaiyao 開耀  
Kaiyuan 開元  
Kang Daibin 康待賓  
Kang Tietou 康鐵頭

Kang Yuanzi 康願子

Kedun 可敦

Keduzhe 可度者

Kehan 可汗

Keluo Bahu Taman Dagan 可邏拔護他滿達干

Keke Yiligeng 可可以力更

Kelan 崑嵐

Ketugan 可突干

Kexiesubi 可解粟必

Kumoxi 庫莫奚

Layue 臘月

Lan Prefecture 嵐州

Lanchi Prefecture 蘭池州

Lei River 灑水

Lengxing 冷陁

Li Dan 李旦

Li Dapu 李大酺

Li Duozuo 李多祚

Li Family 李氏

Li Guozhe 李過折

Li Jifu 李吉甫

Li Jing 李靖

Li Jingjia 李景嘉

Li Jinzhong 李盡忠

Li Kailuo 李楷洛

Li Ling 李陵

Li Longji 李隆基

Li Prefecture 麗州

Li Qiao 李嶠

Li Quan 李佺

Li Rong 李融

Li Shihuo 李失活

Li Shimin 李世民

Li Sijian 李思儉  
Li Simo 李思摩  
Li Xian 李顯  
Li Yu 李榆  
Li Yuan 李淵  
Li Zhi 李質  
Li Zhishi 李知十  
Liangjing 兩井  
Liang Prefecture 涼州  
Lian-gu 連谷  
Ligong Baoguo Kehan 立功報國可汗  
Lin Prefecture 麟州  
Linde 麟德  
Ling Prefecture 靈州  
Linghu Defen 令狐德棻  
Lingwu Army 靈武軍  
Lingwu Route 靈武道  
Linhe Dagan Kang Sicong 臨河達干康思琮  
Linhu 林胡  
Lishi Suogao 李詩瑣高  
Liu Jingtong 劉敬同  
Liu Xu 劉昫  
Liucheng 柳城  
Liuhuzhou 六胡州  
Longyou 隴右  
Loufan 樓煩  
Lu Baoji 陸寶積  
Lu Fu 盧侑  
Lu Prefecture 魯州  
Lu River 潞水  
Lü Shousu 呂守素  
Lü Xiang 呂向  
Lun Gongren 論弓仁

Luo River 洛水  
Luotuo Yan 駱駝堰  
Luoyang 洛陽  
Lusu 魯蘇  
Ma Renjie 麻仁節  
Meilu Chuo 梅錄啜  
Milü Peiluo 米旅裴羅  
Mingsha 鳴沙  
Mochuo 默啜  
Mohe Dagan 莫賀達干  
Moju 默矩  
Molizhi 莫離支  
Mo Tegin 墨特勤  
Mouluo 謀落  
Mupan Mountain 木盤山  
Murong Xuanze 慕容玄奭  
Nakuan Furen 納款夫人  
Nianhao 年號  
Niu Shijiang 牛師獎  
Niutou Zhaona Mountain 牛頭朝那山  
Nuozhen River 諾真水  
Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修  
Panque Teqin 判闕特勤  
Pei Xingjian 裴行儉  
Peiluo Chuo 裴羅啜  
Pijia Mochuo 毗伽默啜  
Pingdi Army 平狄軍  
Porun 婆閏  
Prince Ping-en 平恩王  
Prince Shu 蜀王  
Prince Xiang 相王  
Prince Xin-an 信安王  
Prince Yin 殷王

Prince Yixing 義興王

Princess Anyi 安義公主

Princess Daluo 大洛公主

Princess Dayi 大義公主

Princess Dongguang 東光公主

Princess Gu-an 固安公主

Princess Jinshan 金山公主

Princess of Nanhe County 南和縣主

Princess of Jinshan 金山公主

Princess Qianjin 千金公主

Princess Taiping 太平公主

Princess Xianli Pijia 賢力毗伽公主

Princess Yicheng 義成公主

Princess Yongle 永樂公主

Princess Yuzhuo 余燭公主

Pugu 僕骨

Qi Prefecture 契州

Qidan 契丹

Qieyun 切韻

Qianhe Yongqing Dafuma Tianshang Deguobao Tiannan Tujue Shengtian Guduolu Kehan 乾和永清大駙馬天上得果報天男突厥聖天骨咄祿可汗

Qianshan Kehan 遷善可汗

Qibi 契苾

Qing Prefecture 慶州

Qingbian Route 清邊道

Qingyi Army 清夷軍

Qiuci 龜茲

Qu Dagan 屈達干

Quechuo Zhongjie 闕啜忠節

Qülü Chuo 屈律啜

Quman 曲漫

Ren Ji 任季

Rouran 柔然

Ruyi 如意  
Sahenei Mountain 薩河內山  
Sahezhu 薩合朱  
Sai Prefecture 塞州  
Sanlan Sijin 散爛俟斤  
Shabolue Kehan 沙鉢略可汗  
Shahu Mountain 殺胡山  
Shandan 刪丹  
Shang Calendar 商曆  
Shazha Zhongyi 沙吒忠義  
She 設  
Sheli Yuanying 舍利元英  
Shen Quanqi 沈佺期  
Shen Zengzhi 沈增植  
Sheng Prefecture 勝州  
Shengli 聖曆  
Shengong 神功  
Shenlong 神龍  
Sheren 舍人  
Shi Shennu 石神奴  
Shiji 史記  
Shijing 詩經  
Shiling Pass 石嶺關  
Shiwei 室韋  
Shiyi 拾遺  
Shouxiang cheng 受降城  
Shule 疏勒  
Shuo Prefecture 朔州  
Shuofang 朔方  
Sibi Yusixian Que 斯壁紆思鮮闕  
Sijie 思結  
Sijin 俟斤  
Silifa 俟利發

Sima 司馬

Sima Guang 司馬光

Sima Qian 司馬遷

Sisheng 嗣聖

Song Jing 宋璟

Song Qi 宋祁

Songmo 松漠

Sui 隋

Suishu 隋書

Suiye 碎葉

Sulu 蘇祿

Sun Quan 孫佺

Sun Wanrong 孫萬榮

Sun Yan-gao 孫彥高

Sunong Hele 蘇農賀勒

Suoge 娑葛

Tabo Kehan 他鉢可汗

Tai Mountain 泰山

Taihang Mountains 太行山

Taiji 太極

Taiyuan 太原

Taman Dagan 他滿達干

Tan Prefecture 檀州

Tang Bore 唐般若

Tang Huiyao 唐會要

Tang Xiujing 唐休璟

Tang 唐

Tanglong 唐隆

Tangshu 唐書

Tanman Mountain 貪漫山

Tashili 踏實力

Tejianyao 特健藥

Teqin 特勤

Teqin Moheduo Xiejin 特勤莫賀咄頡斤

Teqin Yugu 特勤欲谷

Tian Guidao 田歸道

Tian Hai 田海

Tianbao 天寶

Tianbing Army 天兵軍

Tianbing East Route 天兵東道

Tianbing Middle Route 天兵中道

Tianbing West Route 天兵西道

Tiance Wansui 天冊萬歲

Tianjin Bridge 天津橋

Tianshang Deguobao Tiannan Tujue Shengtian Guduolu Mochuo Dakehan 天上得果報天男突厥  
聖天骨咄祿默啜大可汗

Tianshou 天授

Tian Yangming 田楊名

Tiaolu 調露

Tiejian Mountain 鐵建山

Tiele 鐵勒

Ting Prefecture 庭州

Tong-e Teqin 同俄特勤

Tongjian Kaoyi 通鑑考異

Tongluo 同羅

Tuli Kağan 突利可汗

Tumidu 吐迷度

Tuoxi Kağan 拓西可汗

Tutun 吐屯

Walu Prefecture 嗚鹿州

Wang Demao 王德茂

Wang Jun 王峻

Wang Pu 王溥

Wang Qinruo 王欽若

Wang Xiaojie 王孝傑

Wang Zhongsi 王忠嗣

Wansui Dengfeng 萬歲登封  
Wansui Tongtian 萬歲通天  
Wei Tai 魏泰  
Wei Yuanzhong 魏元忠  
Wei Zheng 魏徵  
Wenming 文明  
Wu Chonggui 武重規  
Wu Family 武氏  
Wu Sansi 武三思  
Wu Yanxiu 武延秀  
Wuchuan County 武川縣  
Wude 武德  
Wuhe 烏紇  
Wuhu Dagan 烏鶻達干  
Wuhui Route 五回道  
Wukeli 烏可利  
Wushang Kehan 無上可汗  
Wusumishi Kehan 烏蘇米施可汗  
Wuyuan-sai 五原塞  
Wuzhile 烏質勒  
Xi 奚  
Xi Prefecture 西州  
Xia Calendar 夏曆  
Xia Prefecture 夏州  
Xiajiasi 黠戛斯  
Xiantian 先天  
Xianyang 咸陽  
Xiao Siye 蕭嗣業  
Xiaoguan Route 蕭關道  
Xie Wan 謝琬  
Xiedie Lishi Dachanyu 頡跌利施大單于  
Xiedie Pei[luo] Chuo 趺跌裴(羅)啜  
Xiedie Sitai 趺跌思泰/太

Xiedie Yishi Kehan 頡跌伊施可汗  
Xieli Kehan 頡利可汗  
Xielifa 頡利發  
Xiezhilue 頡質略  
Xihejun Wang 西河郡王  
Xin Prefecture 忻州  
Xinjiang 新疆  
Xinping Army 新平軍  
Xisha 細沙  
Xu Guang 徐廣  
Xu Qinming 許欽明  
Xu Ziwei 徐自為  
Xuanzang 玄奘  
Xue Huaiyi 薛懷義  
Xue Jichang 薛季昶  
Xue Ne 薛訥  
Xue Rengui 薛仁貴  
Yan Jingke 閻敬客  
Yan Prefecture 鹽州  
Yan Zhiwei 閻知微  
Yanbeijun Wang 燕北郡王  
Yang Jingshu 楊敬述  
Yang Xuanji 陽玄基  
Yang Zaisi 楊再思  
Yangqu Route 陽曲道  
Yangwozhi 楊我支  
Yanhe 延和  
Yanmai 咽麪  
Yanqi 焉耆  
Yanshanjun Wang 燕山郡王  
Yantuo Jumo Chuola Dagan 延陀俱末啜刺達干  
Yanzai 延載  
Yao Shu 姚璿

Yehu 葉護  
Yelege 曳勒歌  
Yellow River 黃河  
Yi Prefecture 依州  
Yi Prefecture 伊州  
Yi Prefecture 易州  
Yifeng 儀鳳  
Yijian Dagan 移健達干  
Yijian Xielifa 夷健頡利發  
Yili Tanhan 移力貪汗  
Yincheng 銀城  
Ying Prefecture 營州  
Yíng Prefecture 瀛州  
Yinie Kehan 移涅可汗  
Yinshan 陰山  
Yiran 伊然  
Yishi 儀使  
Yiyuanyu 乙窋羽  
Yong Prefecture 雍州  
Yongchang 永昌  
Yongchun 永淳  
Yonglong 永隆  
You Buque 右補闕  
You Prefecture 幽州  
Yu Prefecture 蔚州  
Yuan Cheng 元澄  
Yuan Prefecture 原州  
Yuan Zhen 袁振  
Yuanhe junxian tuzhi 元和郡縣圖志  
Yúguan 渝關  
Yuguan Route 榆關道  
Yun Prefecture 雲州  
Yunzhong Protectorate 雲中都護府

Yusaifu 余塞匄  
Yuwen Zhao 宇文招  
Yuyang 漁陽  
Zaichu 載初  
Zang Siyan 臧思言  
Zhanchuo 斬啜  
Zhang Jiazhen 張嘉貞  
Zhang Jiuling 張九齡  
Zhang Jiuling ji jiaozhu 張九齡集校注  
Zhang Quyi 張去逸  
Zhang Rendan 張仁亶  
Zhang Renyuan 張仁愿  
Zhang Xingshi 張行師  
Zhang Xuanyu 張玄遇  
Zhang Yue 張說  
Zhang Zhiyun 張知運  
Zhang Zhuo 張鷟  
Zhao Hanzhang 趙含章  
Zhao Huicong 趙惠琮  
Zhao Prefecture 趙州  
Zhao Wenhui 趙文翽  
Zhao Wulingwang 趙武靈王  
Zhao-na Mountain 朝那山  
Zhengsheng 證聖  
Zhen-guan 貞觀  
Zhengyue 正月  
Zhe-nu 遮弩  
Zhenzhu 真珠  
Zhishi Xielifa 執失頡利發  
Zhou 周  
Zhou Calendar 周曆  
Zhou Yiti 周以悌  
Zi River 紫河

Zong Chuke 宗楚客

Zongcai Mountain 總材山

# Chronology

Rabbit ( <i>ji-mao</i> )	<b>Emperor Gaozong</b> Yifeng IV (16.02–26.07.679) <sup>a</sup> Tiaolu I (27.07.679–05.02.680)	In the 10th month (09 Nov.–08 Dec. 679), the Türks Ashide Wenfu and Ashide Fengzhi rebelled against Tang rule in the Chanyu Protectorate and acclaimed Ashina Nishufu as the Türk kağan.
Dragon ( <i>geng-chen</i> )	Tiaolu II (06.02–20.09.680) <sup>b</sup> Yonglong I (21.09.680–24.01.681)	In the 3rd month (5 Apr.–3 May 680), the Tang General Pei defeated the Türk army at Black Mountain and captured their leader, Ashide Fengzhi. The Türk kağan, Ashina Nishufu, was killed by his subordinate and his head was brought to the Tang emperor for a reward.  After General Pei's withdrawal, Ashina Funian, the son of Éllig Kağan's paternal cousin, proclaimed himself as the Türk kağan in Xia Prefecture and united the forces of Ashide Wenfu.  In the 7th month (31 Jul.–29 Aug. 680), Türk troops besieged Yun Prefecture.
Snake ( <i>xin-si</i> )	Yonglong II (25.01–20.11.681) <sup>c</sup> Kaiyao I (21.11.681–12.02.682)	At the beginning of the 1st month (25 Jan.–28 Jan. 681), Türk troops attacked Yuan Prefecture and Qing Prefecture.  On the 18th day of the 5th month (9 Jun. 681), the Tang General Cao Huaishun fought against Ashina Funian at Heng River. The Tang troops were defeated. Cao made a peace treaty with Ashina Funian by bribing him with gold and silk.

a On the 15th day of the 6th month, the new reign title *tiaolu* was put into use (*THY* 1: 3).

b On the 23rd day of the 8th month, the new reign title *yonglong* was put into use (*THY* 1: 3).

c On the 6th day of the 10th month, the new reign title *kaiyao* was put into use (*THY* 1: 3).

(cont.)

		The Tang Grand General Pei Xingjian ordered General Cheng Wuting to pursue and attack Ashina Funian. At the same time, Uyğur and other Oğuz tribes approached Ashina Funian from the north. Ashina Funian had no choice but to capture Ashide Wenfu and go to surrender to Pei.
		On the 1st day of the 10th month (16 Nov. 681), Ashina Funian and Ashide Wenfu were beheaded in Chang'an.
Horse ( <i>ren-wu</i> )	Kaiyao II (13.02–26.03.682) <sup>d</sup> Yongchun I (27.03.682–01.02.683)	After Tang troops retreated, Kutluğ collected the scattered Türks in the Çuğay mountain forest and rebelled again.
		On the 3rd day of the 6th month (12 Jul. 682), the prefect of Lan, Wang Demao, was killed by the Türk soldiers.
		In the 12th month (3 Jan.–1 Feb. 683), the Türks took Black Sand citadel and plundered Bing Prefecture. They fought against the Tang General Xue Rengui in Yun Prefecture and suffered a loss of tens of thousands of subjects and many animals.
Sheep ( <i>gui-wei</i> )	Yongchun II (02.02–26.12.683) <sup>e</sup> Hongdao I (27.12.683–22.01.684)	On the 12th day of the 2nd month (15 Mar. 683), the Türks plundered Ding Prefecture.
		On the 17th day of the 2nd month (20 Mar. 683), the Türks plundered Gui Prefecture.
		On the 2nd day of the 3rd month (4 Apr. 683), the Türk troops besieged Chanyu Protectorate and killed the adjutant Zhang Xingshi.
		On the 18th day of the 5th month (18 Jun. 683), the Türks attacked Yu Prefecture and killed the prefect Li Sijian.

<sup>d</sup> On the 13th day of the 2nd month, the new reign title *yongchun* was put into use (*THY* 1: 3).

<sup>e</sup> On the 4th day of the 12th month, the new reign title *hongdao* was put into use (*THY* 1: 3).

(cont.)

		In the 6th month (30 Jun.–28 Jul. 683), a branch of the Türk troops attacked Lan Prefecture. Tang general Yang Xuanji routed them.
		On the 15th day of the 11th month (8 Dec. 683), the Tang court appointed Cheng Wuting as the Chief Commander of Chanyu Route, leading a punitive expedition against Kutluğ in the Çuğay mountain forest.
Monkey ( <i>jia-shen</i> )	Sisheng 1 (23.01–26.02.684) <sup>g</sup>	On the 16th day of the 7th month (31 Aug. 684), Kutluğ and Ashide Yuanzhen attacked Shuo Prefecture. General Cheng Wuting was sent to resist them.
B. K. 1 <sup>f</sup>	<b>Emperor Zhongzong</b> Wenming 1 (27.02–18.10.684) <sup>h</sup>	Türk troops campaigned against the Tokuz Oğuz. Élteriş Kağan killed Baz Kağan, whose name or title in the Chinese sources is Dujiezhi.
	<b>Emperor Ruizong</b> <sup>i</sup> Guangzhai 1 (19.10.684–08.02.685)	The Türks finished their conquest of the Tokuz Oğuz in this year and began to move their people to the Ötüken mountain forest. Mojilian, the later Bilge Kağan, was born.
Rooster ( <i>yi-you</i> )	Chuigong 1 (09.02.685–29.01.686)	In the 2nd month (11 Mar.–8 Apr. 685), the Türks attacked Shuo Prefecture and Dai Prefecture.
K. T. 1 <sup>j</sup>		On the 8th day of the 4th month (16 May 685), the Türks attacked Dai Prefecture.
B. K. 2		

f Here, B. K. 1 means that Bilge Kağan was one year old.

g On the 7th day (*yi-wei*) of the 2nd month (*JTS* 6: 116, *XTS* 4: 82). *ZZTJ* says it was on *ren-zi* (*ZZTJ* 203: 6418).

h On the 6th day (*jia-yin*) of the 9th month (*XTS* 4: 83, *ZZTJ* 203: 6421). According to *THY*, it was on the 5th day of the 9th month (*THY* 3: 24).

i Some historians regard this period as the reign of Empress Wu, e.g. *THY*.

j Here K. T. 1 means that Kül Tégin was one year old in this year.

(cont.)

		The Türks instigated the Tokuz Oğuz to rebel against the Tang rule. Thirty thousand On Ok troops, under the supervision of the Tang general Tian Yangming, campaigned against the Tokuz Oğuz and routed the Uyğurs completely.
		In the 6th month (7 Jul.–5 Aug. 685), the Tang moved the administrative center of Anbei Protectorate to the citadel of Tongcheng, welcoming the Tokuz Oğuz who surrendered.
		Kül Tégin was born.
Dog ( <i>bing-xu</i> ) K. T. 2 B. K. 3	Chuigong II (30.01.686–18.01.687)	The Tokuz Oğuz tribes such as Toŋra and Pugu also rebelled against the Tang. In the 5th month (28 May–25 Jun. 686), General Liu Jingtong was dispatched to lead the Hexi cavalry in suppressing the rebelling of the Tokuz Oğuz. More than ten thousand Tokuz Oğuz people came to Tongcheng to surrender. They suffered not only from war but also from severe drought. In the 10th month (23 Oct.–20 Nov. 686), the Türks fought against the Tang troops in Liangjing. The Tang court degraded the Chanyu Protectorate into a Defense Commandery. The Türks had finished moving to the Ötüken mountain forest.
Pig ( <i>ding-hai</i> ) K. T. 3 B. K. 4	Chuigong III (19.01.687–06.02.688)	On the 22nd day of the 2nd month (9 Apr. 687), the Türks attacked Changping. In the 8th month (12 Sept.–11 Oct. 687), the Türks plundered Shuo Prefecture. On the 9th day of the 10th month (19 Nov. 687), the Tang general Cuan Baobi returned to the Tang court, bringing the frustrating news that his whole army had been annihilated by the Türks.

(cont.)

Rat ( <i>wu-zi</i> ) K. T. 4 B. K. 5	Chuigong IV (07.02.688–26.01.689)	In the 9th month (30 Sept.–29 Oct. 688), Empress Wu intended to send General Cao Renshi to lead troops to campaign against the Türks. However, she was dissuaded from her plan by Chen Zi'ang.
Ox ( <i>ji-chou</i> ) K. T. 5 B. K. 6	Yongchang I (27.01–17.12.689) <sup>k</sup>	On the 18th day of the 5th month (10 Jun. 689), Empress Wu sent Xue Huaiyi to lead a punitive expedition against the Türks, but they found that there were no Türks near the Çuğay mountain forest.
Tiger ( <i>geng-yin</i> ) K. T. 6 B. K. 7	Zaichu I (18.12.689–15.10.690) Tianshou I (16.10.–05.12.690) <sup>l</sup> <b>Empress Wu</b>	The Türks campaigned against the Kırkız. The Türk katun died. The Türks campaigned against the Türgiş and Transoxiana. In the 10th month (7 Nov.–5 Dec. 690), the On Ok kağan collected sixty to seventy thousand On Ok people and surrendered to the Tang. It was a reaction to the Türks' campaign against the On Ok.
Rabbit ( <i>xin-mao</i> ) K. T. 7 B. K. 8	Tianshou II (06.12.690–25.11.691)	Élteriş Kağan died. Kapğan Kağan ascended the throne at the age of twenty-seven.
Dragon ( <i>ren-chen</i> ) K. T. 8 B. K. 9	Tianshou III (26.11.691–24.04.692) <sup>m</sup> Ruyi I (25.04–22.10.692) <sup>n</sup> Changshou I (23.10.–13.12.692)	Both Türk and Chinese leaders were engaged in dealing with internal affairs.

k On the 1st day of the 11th month, the new calendar was introduced.

l On the 9th day (*ren-wu*) of the 9th month, Empress Wu finished her coronation ceremony (*JTS* 6: 121).

m On the 4th day of the 4th month, the new reign title *ru-yi* was put into use (*THY* 3: 25).

n On the 9th day of the 9th month, the new reign title *changshou* was put into use (*THY* 3: 25).

(cont.)

Snake ( <i>gui-si</i> ) K. T. 9 B. K. 10	Changshou II (14.12.692–02.12.693)	Both Türk and Chinese leaders were engaged in dealing with internal affairs.
Horse ( <i>jia-wu</i> ) K. T. 10 B. K. 11	Changshou III (03.12.693–07.06.694) <sup>o</sup> Yanzai I (08.06–22.11.694)	On the 19th day of the <i>la</i> month (20 Jan. 694), Kapġan Kaġan attacked Ling Prefecture, killing many Chinese officials and common people. On the 16th day of the 2nd month (17 Mar. 694), the monk Xue Huaiyi, who was a secret lover of Empress Wu, was appointed as the Grand Commander of Daibei Route to fight against the Türks. On the 1st day of the 3rd month (31 Mar. 694), Empress Wu appointed Xue Huaiyi once more as the Grand Commander of Shuofang Route, along with eighteen other generals, including Shazha Zhongyi (i.e. Çaça), to campaign against Kapġan Kaġan. However, the Chinese troops returned without finding the enemy.
Sheep ( <i>yi-wei</i> ) K. T. 11 B. K. 12	Yanzai II (23.11.694–18.04.695) <sup>p</sup> Zhengsheng I (19.04–10.11.695) <sup>q</sup> Tiancè Wansui I (11.11–11.12.695)	In the 10th month (12 Nov.–11 Dec. 695), Kapġan Kaġan sent envoys to make peace with the Zhou court. Empress Wu was delighted by this friendly gesture and bestowed on Kapġan Kaġan the titles of Grand Left Guard General and “Guiguogong”, which means “the Duke who has returned”.

o On the 10th day of the 5th month, the new reign title *yanzai* was put into use (*THY* 3: 25).

p On the 1st day of the 3rd month, the new reign title *zhengsheng* was put into use (*THY* 3: 25).

q On the 29th day of the 9th month, the new reign title *tiancèwansui* was put into use (*THY* 3: 25).

(cont.)

<p>Monkey (<i>bing-shen</i>)</p>	<p>Tiance Wansui II (12.12.695–19.01.696)<sup>r</sup></p>	<p>On the 12th day of the 5th month (16 Jun. 696), the Kitañ-China war broke out.</p>
<p>K. T. 12</p>	<p>Wansui Dengfeng I</p>	<p>On the 28th day of the 8th month (29 Sept. 696), China suffered a crushing defeat in the fight against the Kitañs.</p>
<p>B. K. 13</p>	<p>(20.01–06.05.696)<sup>s</sup> Wansui Tongtian I (07.05–29.11.696)</p>	<p>On the 18th day of the 9th month (19 Oct. 696), the Türk troops attacked Liang Prefecture and captured the Commander-in-Chief Xu Qinming. The Türks and China allied to attack the Kitañs. The Türks set three conditions, including that of marrying a Chinese prince.</p>
		<p>After the 22nd day of the 10th month (22 Nov. 696), the Türks attacked the Kitañs' dwellings and captured the wives and sons of the Kitañ leaders.</p>
<p>Rooster (<i>ding-you</i>)</p>	<p>Wansui Tongtian II (30.11.696–28.09.697)<sup>t</sup></p>	<p>On the 1st day of the <i>zheng</i> month (30 Nov. 696), Kapğan Kağan besieged Ling Prefecture.</p>
<p>K. T. 13</p>	<p>Shengong I</p>	<p>On the 25th day of the <i>zheng</i> month (24 Dec. 696), the Türk troops plundered Sheng Prefecture.</p>
<p>B. K. 14</p>	<p>(29.09–19.12.697)</p>	<p>On the 12th day of the 3rd month (8 Apr. 697), China suffered another crushing defeat at the hands of the Kitañs. The Türks increased their requests (of land, silk, seeds and metal) from China, in exchange for their cooperation in attacking the Kitañs. China agreed to all the oppressive clauses and transported all the requested goods to the Türks.</p>

r On the 11th day (*jia-shen*) day of the *la* month, the new reign title *wansuidengfeng* was put into use (*JTS* 6: 124).

s On the 1st day of the 4th month, the new reign title *wansuitongtian* was put into use (*JTS* 6: 124, *THY* 3: 25).

t On the 9th day of the 9th month, the new reign title *shengong* was put into use (*THY* 3: 25, *XTS* 4: 98).

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		Kapğan Kağan attacked the Kitañ's backyard in Liucheng.
		On the 30th day of the 6th month (23 Jul. 697), the Kitañ-China war came to an end.
		The Türks absorbed the Kitañ, Tatabı and Otuz Tatar into their domain.
		The later Bilge Kağan was appointed as şad over the Tarduş people.
Dog	Shengli 1	On the 6th day of the 6th month (18 Jul. 698), Empress Wu chose one of her grandnephews to marry Kapğan Kağan's daughter.
( <i>wu-xu</i> )	(20.12.697–07.12.698)	
K. T. 14		On the 1st day of the 8th month (10 Sept. 698), a Chinese delegation arrived at the Türk base in Black Sand.
B. K. 15		Unsatisfied with the inferiority of the goods sent by China, the non-imperial identity of the Chinese groom-to-be, and Empress Wu's breach of etiquette, Kapğan Kağan declared an all-out war on China, threatening to conquer Hebei.
		On the 26th day of the 8th month (5 Oct. 698), the Türks attacked Feihu County in Yu Prefecture.
		On the 28th day of the 8th month (7 Oct. 698), the Türks seized Ding Prefecture, killing the prefect.
		On the 11th day of the 9th month (20 Oct. 698), the Türks besieged Zhao Prefecture and finally broke in, killing the prefect and his wife.
		On the 15th day of the 9th month (24 Oct. 698), the prince of Li Family, Li Xian, was recognized as the crown prince and two days later appointed as the Marshal of Hebei Route to defend it against the Türks.
		On the 26th day of the 9th month (4 Nov. 698), the Türk troops withdrew from Zhao Prefecture and returned to Ötüken.

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Pig ( <i>ji-hai</i> ) K. T. 15 B. K. 16	Shengli II (08.12.698–26.11.699)	In the 10th month (29 Oct.–26 Nov. 699) or very possibly two months earlier, Kapġan Kaġan appointed his younger brother Duoxifu as the Left Şad and Moju, who was Élteriş Kaġan's son, as the Right Şad. Each was in charge of twenty thousand soldiers. Kapġan Kaġan's son, Fujū, was appointed as the Junior Kaġan, in charge of the two şads and in charge of the On Ok people, plus forty thousand soldiers. The Junior Kaġan was also called Tuoxi Kaġan.
Rat ( <i>geng-zi</i> ) K. T. 16 B. K. 17	Shengli III (27.11.699–26.05.700) <sup>u</sup> Jiushi I (27.05.700–12.02.701) <sup>v</sup>	On the 10th day of the 12th month (23 Jan. 701), the Türks plundered more than ten thousand Chinese military horses in Longyou and retreated. The Türk troops attacked the Tañut people, capturing their sons, women, horses and treasures.
Ox ( <i>xin-chou</i> ) K. T. 17 B. K. 18	Jiushi II (13.02–16.02.701) <sup>w</sup> Dazu I (17.02–26.11.701) <sup>x</sup> Chang'an I (27.11.701–01.02.702)	In the 8th month (7 Sept.–5 Oct. 701), the Türks plundered the Chinese border districts (Altı Çub Soġdak). Prince Xiang was appointed as Marshal to fight against the Türks. The Türks attacked tens of citadels in Longyou and besieged Liang Prefecture, in coalition with the Tibetans.
Tiger ( <i>ren-yin</i> ) K. T. 18 B. K. 19	Chang'an II (02.02.702–21.01.703)	In the 1st month (2 Feb.–2 Mar. 702), the Türks attacked Yan Prefecture and Xia Prefecture. They captured a hundred thousand sheep and horses.  On the 23rd day of the 3rd month (24 Apr. 702), the Türks broke through Shiling Pass and plundered Bing Prefecture.

u On the 5th day of the 5th month, the new reign title *jiushi* was put into use (*JTS* 6: 129, *THY* 3: 25).

v In the 10th month, the new calendar was abandoned.

w On the 5th day of the *zheng* month, the new reign title *dazu* was put into use (*XTS* 4: 101, *THY* 3: 25).

x On the 23rd day of the 10th month, the new reign title *chang'an* was put into use (*THY* 3: 25).

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		On the 29th day of the 7th month (26 Aug. 702), the Türks attacked Dai Prefecture.
		On the 8th day of the 9th month (3 Oct. 702), the Türks attacked Xin Prefecture.
Rabbit ( <i>gui-mao</i> ) K. T. 19 B. K. 20	Chang'an III (22.01.703–09.02.704)	On the 1st day of the 6th month (19 Jul. 703), Kapğan Kağan's envoy arrived in China, requesting that a prince be married to his daughter. Empress Wu agreed to give one of her grandsons in marriage.
		On the 2nd day of the 11th month (14 Dec. 703), a Türk envoy arrived to express Kapğan Kağan's appreciation for China's positive answer to his proposal.
		The Türks campaigned against the Basml.
Dragon ( <i>jia-chen</i> ) K. T. 20 B. K. 21	Chang'an IV (10.02.704–29.01.705)	On the 25th day of the 8th month (28 Sept. 704), the Türks released the non-imperial groom-to-be, Wu Yanxiu, as China had agreed to give a son of the crown prince of the Li Family in marriage.
Snake ( <i>yi-si</i> ) K. T. 21 B. K. 22	Shenlong I (30.01.705–18.01.706) <b>Emperor Zhongzong</b>	On the 26th day of the 11th month (16 Dec. 705), Empress Wu passed away at the age of eighty-three, resulting in the suspension of the Türk-China marriage negotiations.
Horse ( <i>bing-wu</i> ) K. T. 22 B. K. 23	Shenlong II (19.01.706–06.02.707)	On the 9th day of the 12th month (17 Jan. 707), the Türks attacked Mingsha County in Ling Prefecture, killing the Chinese general Shazha (i.e. Çaçā) and 80,000 soldiers.
		On the 11th day of the 12th month (19 Jan. 707), the Türks went further to attack Yuan Prefecture and Hui Prefecture, plundering tens of thousands of horses in Longyou.
		Emperor Zhongzong froze the Türk-China marriage negotiations.

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Sheep ( <i>ding-wei</i> ) K. T. 23 B. K. 24	Shenlong III (07.02–04.10.707) <sup>y</sup> Jinglong I (05.10.707–27.01.708)	<p>On the 11th day of the 1st month (17 Feb. 707), there arose in the Tang court a heated argument about the causes of their defeat in the previous year and about effective ways to defend themselves against the Türk troops.</p> <p>On the 13th day of the 10th month (11 Nov. 707), Zhang Rendan led troops to attack the Türks in Shuofang. When the Chinese troops arrived, the Türk troops had already retreated. General Zhang pursued them and attacked their camps at night.</p>
Monkey ( <i>wu-shen</i> ) K. T. 24 B. K. 25	Jinglong II (28.01.708–14.02.709)	<p>Kapğan Kağan campaigned against the Türgiṣ. Bilge Kağan and Kül Tegin probably did not take part in this campaign.</p> <p>On the 1st day of the 3rd month (27 Mar. 708), taking advantage of the Türk campaign against the Türgiṣ, Zhang Rendan started on the construction of three strategic citadels on the north bank of the Yellow River. The construction was finished in two months.</p> <p>On the 2nd day of the 11th month (18 Dec. 708), Suoge repudiated his Chinese official titles and declared himself to be the Türgiṣ kağan.</p> <p>On the 25th day of the 11th month (10 Jan. 709), the Türgiṣ kağan killed the Tang general Niu Shijiang in the citadel of Koço.</p> <p>The Türgiṣ-Tang conflict escalated. The Türgiṣ kağan killed two Tang generals. Through negotiations, the Tang and Türgiṣ reached a reconciliation.</p> <p>On the 8th day of the 12th month (23 Jan. 709), the Kırkız envoys were warmly welcomed by the Tang emperor.</p>

<sup>y</sup> On the 5th day (*geng-zi*) of the 9th month, the new reign title *jinglong* was put into use (*JTS* 7: 145, *ZZTJ* 208: 6615).

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Rooster ( <i>ji-you</i> ) K. T. 25 B. K. 26	<b>Jinglong III</b> (15.02.709–03.02.710)	<p>In the 6th month (12 Jul.–09 Aug. 709), Kapğan Kağan led troops to attack the Türgiṣ a second time. Neither Kül Tégin nor Bilge Kağan participated in this campaign. In cooperation with the Türgiṣ, the Kırkız attacked the Türk troops from the other side. Tang soldiers were also partly involved in this battle.</p> <p>On the 2nd day of the 7th month (11 Aug. 709), the Türgiṣ kağan sent envoys to the Tang for military help against the Türks.</p>
Dog ( <i>geng-xu</i> ) K. T. 26 B. K. 27	<b>Jinglong IV</b> (04.02–04.07.710) <sup>z</sup> <b>Tanglong I</b> (05.07–18.08.710) <sup>aa</sup> <b>Jingyun I</b> (19.08.710–23.01.711) <b>Emperor Ruizong</b>	<p>On the 2nd day of the 6th month (3 Jul. 710), Emperor Zhongzong was poisoned by his wife and daughter.</p> <p>On the 24th day of the 6th month (25 Jul. 710), Emperor Zhongzong's younger brother Li Dan (the former Prince Xiang), whose posthumous title was Ruizong, was acclaimed as the new emperor.</p> <p>During his reign, Emperor Ruizong made a few adjustments to his elder brother's Türk policy, including dismissing general Zhang Rendan from his post, reducing the troops in the three citadels and restarting the marriage negotiations with the Türks.</p> <p>In the winter, Kapğan Kağan campaigned against the Kırkız and Türgiṣ. Both Bilge Kağan and Kül Tégin took part in.</p>
Pig ( <i>xin-hai</i> ) K. T. 27 B. K. 28	<b>Jingyun II</b> (24.01.711–11.02.712)	<p>The news of the Türk victory arrived at the Tang court.</p> <p>On the 7th day of the 1st month (30 Jan. 711), Kapğan Kağan sent envoys to build a marriage alliance with the Tang court. Emperor Ruizong consented to his request.</p>

z On the 4th day of the 6th month, the new reign title *tanglong* was put into use (*THY* 1: 5, *JTS* 7: 150).

aa On the 20th day (*ji-si*) of the 7th month, the new reign title *jingyun* was put into use (*JTS* 7: 155).

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		In the 3rd month (24 Mar.–22 Apr. 711), the Tang emperor conferred on his granddaughter the title of “Princess Jinshan” and intended to marry her to Kapğan Kağan.
		On the 27th day of the 8th month (13 Oct. 711), Emperor Ruizong made a large scale reduction in the troops stationed in the three citadels along the Yellow River, reducing the number of soldiers by a hundred thousand.
		At the beginning of the 9th month (ca. 17 Oct.–27 Oct. 711), the Tang envoy, He Fengyao, was received by the Türk kağan. Kapğan kağan also dispatched his son Yangwozhi to the Tang court.
		On the 8th day of the 11th month (21 Dec. 711), the Türk prince Yangwozhi arrived at the Tang court. Ten days later, he was entertained by the Tang emperor at a banquet.
		Kül Tégin fought against Koşu.
Rat	Jingyun III	On the 1st day of the 1st month (12 Feb. 712), the Tang emperor entertained the Türk prince at a banquet and showed him Princess Jinshan.
( <i>ren-zi</i> )	(12.02–29.02.712) <sup>ab</sup>	
K. T. 28	Taiji I	Sudden military tension broke out between the Türks and the Tang, for unclear reasons.
B. K. 29	(01.03–20.06.712) <sup>ac</sup>	On the 22nd day of the 6th month (30 Jul. 712), the Tang suffered a crushing defeat against the Tatabı and Kitañ, who were backed up by the Türks.
	Yanhe I	
	(21.06–11.09.712) <sup>ad</sup>	
	Xiantian I	
	(12.09.712–30.01.713)	
	<b>Emperor Xuanzong</b>	

ab On the 19th day of the *zheng* month, the new reign title *taiji* was put into use (*THY* 1: 6, *JTS* 7: 158, *XTS* 5: 119).

ac On the 13th day (*xin-si*) of the 5th month, the new reign title *yanhe* was put into use (*XTS* 5: 119, *ZZTJ* 210: 6672).

ad On the 7th day (*jia-chen*) of the 8th month, the new reign title *xiantian* was put into use (*JTS* 160: 160, *XTS* 5: 119, *ZZTJ* 210: 6675).

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		On the 3rd day of the 8th month (8 Sept. 712), the Türk-Tang marriage negotiations were suspended again, as Emperor Ruizong abdicated and handed over the crown to his son, Li Longji, whose posthumous title was Xuanzong.
Ox ( <i>gui-chou</i> ) K. T. 29 B. K. 30	Xiantian II (31.01–21.12.713) <sup>ae</sup> Kaiyuan I (22.12.713–20.01.714)	On the 25th day of the 8th month (19 Sept. 713), the Türk prince Yangwozhi arrived at the Tang court again. The Tang emperor married off one of his distant nieces to the Türk prince. The condition was that the Türk prince should stay in the Tang court forever.
		At the end of the year, the Türk troops set off for Béş Balık.
Tiger ( <i>jia-yin</i> ) K. T. 30 B. K. 31	Kaiyuan II (21.01.714–08.02.715)	On the 7th day of the 2nd month (25 Feb. 714), the Türk troops besieged Béş Balık and launched six assaults. The Türk Toŋa Tégin lost his life during this siege.
		On the 25th day of the 2nd month (15 Mar. 714), Kapğan Kağan dispatched envoys to the Tang court, asking for a Chinese princess for him to marry. His proposal was not seriously considered by the Tang emperor.
		On the 28th day of the 2nd month (18 Mar. 714), the Tang emperor published an edict, in which he revealed the Türk kağan's cruelty and dishonesty and claimed to launch a large-scale assault on the Türks. This military operation against the Türks was somehow delayed by two years.

ae On the 1st day of the 12th month, the new reign title *kaiyuan* was put into use (*JTS* 8: 172, *XTS* 5: 122, *ZZTJ* 210: 6692). According to *THY*, it was on the 1st day of the 11th month (*THY* 1: 6).

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		In the leap 2nd month (21 Mar.–18 Apr. 714), the Tang government imposed economic sanctions on the Türks.
		The Türks campaigned against the Karluks.
		On the 28th day of the 9th month (9 Nov. 714), the Karluks surrendered to the Tang.
		In the 10th month (12 Nov.–11 Dec. 714), the On Ok chief Huluwu led twenty thousand people to surrender to the Tang government.
Rabbit	Kaiyuan III	The Türks campaigned against the Az people.
( <i>yi-mao</i> )	(09.02.715–28.01.716)	In the 2nd month (10 Mar.–8 Apr. 715), the Ediz people surrendered to the Tang.
K. T. 31		On the 4th day of the 4th month (11 May 715), the Üç Karluk surrendered to the Tang.
B. K. 32		The Türks campaigned against the Izgil people.
		On the 11th day of the 10th month (11 Nov. 715), the Izgil people surrendered to the Tang court and received Chinese titles.
		The Türks fought against the Tokuz Oğuz, esp. the Ediz tribe. They battled at least five times. The Türk troops withdrew and spent the freezing winter in a citadel.
Dragon	Kaiyuan IV	In spring, the Türk army campaigned against the Tokuz Oğuz again. Kül Tégin stayed at home to protect the women and children.
( <i>bing-chen</i> )	(29.01.716–15.02.717)	Kapğan Kağan was killed by a soldier from the Bayırku tribe. He died at the age of fifty-two.
K. T. 32		On the 29th day of the 6th month (22 Jul. 716), Kapğan Kağan's head was brought to the Tang emperor.
B. K. 33		Kapğan Kağan's son ascended the throne. The new kağan and his family were slaughtered by Kül Tégin.

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		Bilge Kağan was acclaimed as the new kağan. The Bayırku, Uyğur, Toņra, Tokuz Tatar and Pugu surrendered to the Tang.
		On the 28th day of the 8th month (18 Sept. 716), the Kitañ and Tatabı surrendered to the Tang.
		The Türgiř chief, Sulu, proclaimed himself kağan.
		Until the 2nd day of the 10th month (21 Oct. 716), as a result of the political turmoil, Toñukuk was in exile. While in exile, he established his own memorial, persuading Bilge Kağan to call him back. Later, Toñukuk was called back by Bilge Kağan.
		In the 11th month (19 Nov.–18 Dec. 716), the Türks who had surrendered to the Tang returned to the Türk homeland.
		The Türks campaigned against the Uyğurs, causing a new wave of Oğuz refugees to surrender to the Tang.
Snake	Kaiyuan v	On the 5th day of the 4th month (19 May 717), the leader of the Tatabı married the Chinese Princess Gu'an, a distant niece of the Tang emperor.
<i>(ding-si)</i>	(16.02.717–04.02.718)	In the summer, Bilge Kağan led troops against the Tatabı, killing their people and capturing their horses.
K. T. 33		In the 7th month (11 Aug.–9 Sept. 717), the Tang government arranged to settle the newly arriving Türks in the north of Taiyuan.
B. K. 34		The Türks campaigned against the Oğuz, killing their sons, daughters and wives.
		On the 2nd day of the 7th month (12 Aug. 717), the Türk envoy Taman Tarkan paid tribute in horses and received honorable titles in return. The Tang emperor asked him to deliver a letter to Bilge Kağan. The

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		Tang emperor appreciated the intelligence offered by Bilge Kağan and presented the envoy with some silver glasses, plates and seventy bolts of silk as a reward.
		On the 3rd day of the 11th month (10 Dec. 717), the leader of the Kitan, Li Shihuo, also married a Chinese princess, Princess Yongle, who was a distant grand-niece of the Tang emperor.
Horse	Kaiyuan VI	On the 6th day of the 1st month (10 Feb. 718), the Türk envoys came to request a Türk-Tang marriage. The Tang emperor composed a letter to Bilge Kağan.
( <i>wù-wǔ</i> )	(05.02.718–25.01.719)	On the 23rd day of the 2nd month (29 Mar. 718), the Tang government attempted to attack the Türks with allied forces, which included the five Oğuz tribes that had surrendered, as well as the Basml, Kırkız, Kitan and Tatabi.
K. T. 34		
B. K. 35		
Sheep	Kaiyuan VII	Bilge Tégin, the great-grandson of Éllig Kağan, moved to the Tang capital city and spent the rest of his life there.
( <i>ji-wei</i> )	(26.01.719–12.02.720)	
K. T. 35		
B. K. 36		
Monkey	Kaiyuan VIII	In the 6th month (10 Jul.–8 Aug. 720), the Oğuz tribes such as Pugu and Ediz were suspected of having secret contacts with the Türks. They were ambushed by the Tang soldiers at a banquet.
( <i>geng-shen</i> )	(13.02.720–31.01.721)	
K. T. 36		
B. K. 37		
		In Autumn (9 Aug.–5 Oct. 720), the Tang general Wang Jun attempted to unite the Basml, Tatabi, Kitan, Kırkız and the Türks who had surrendered to China, to campaign against the Türk army. However, only the Basml arrived at the Türk camp. The Türk troops followed the Basml army and attacked them near Béş Balık. After their victory over the Basml, the Türk troops returned by way of Liang Prefecture.

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		In the 9th month (6 Oct.–21 Oct. 720), the Türk troops plundered sheep and horses in Liang Prefecture.
Rooster ( <i>xin-you</i> ) K. T. 37 B. K. 38	Kaiyuan IX (01.02.721–21.01.722)	On the 9th day of the 2nd month (11 Mar. 721), Bilge Kağan sent envoys to the Tang in order to effect a reconciliation and build a marriage relationship. Bilge Kağan requested to become a nominal son of the Tang emperor. The Tang emperor composed a letter to Bilge Kağan. On the 14th day of the 4th month (14 May 721), the Sogdians in Altı Çub Soğdak (Ordos) rebelled against the Tang under the leadership of Kang Daibin. Their troops increased to seventy thousand in a short time. On the 4th day of the 7th month (1 Aug. 721), the Tang general Wang Jun defeated the Sogdian troops. On the 16th day of the same month (13 Aug. 721) the Tang government executed the Sogdian leader, Kang Daibin. On the 13th day of the 9th month (8 Oct. 721), the Tang emperor entertained the Türk envoys to dinner. In the winter, Bilge Kağan campaigned against the Kitañs.
Dog ( <i>ren-xu</i> ) K. T. 38 B. K. 39	Kaiyuan X (22.01.722–09.02.723)	On the 18th day of the 5th month (6 Jun. 722), the Türk grand chief Ashide Tunnishu came to the Tang court to reconcile. In the summer, the Türks campaigned against the Tatabí. In the 9th month (15 Oct.–13 Nov. 722), Kang Daibin's son, Kang Yuanzi, rebelled against the Tang government and titled himself "kağan". The Tang General Zhang Yue led troops to attack him and moved all the Sogdian immigrants out of the Six Prefectures (Altı Çub Soğdak) into the heartland of China.

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		On the 1st day of the 9th month (15 Oct. 722), the Türk grand chief Kara Bağa Taman Tarkan arrived at the Tang court.
		In the 12th month (12 Jan.–9 Feb. 723), Türk envoys came to the Tang court desiring reconciliation.
Pig ( <i>gui-hai</i> ) K. T. 39 B. K. 40	Kaiyuan XI (10.02.723–30.01.724)	On the 5th day of the 7th month (10 Aug. 723), the Türk grand chief İşbara Tarkan led a delegation of thirty-two people to the Tang court.
		On the 12th day of the 11th month (14 Dec. 723), the Türk envoy Kara Bağa Taman Tarkan arrived at the Tang court.
Rat ( <i>jia-zi</i> ) K. T. 40 B. K. 41	Kaiyuan XII (31.01.724–17.02.725)	On the 5th day of the 7th month (29 Jul. 724), the Türk envoy Gexie Xielifa arrived, bringing with him local products, and made an offer for a Türk-Tang marriage. He was entertained at a banquet and rewarded with fifty bolts of silk.
		On the 9th day of the 8th month (1 Sept. 724), the Türk envoys left for home. The Tang court did not agree to the Türks' proposal because of the inadequacy of the betrothal gifts.
		On the 5th day of the 12th month (25 Dec. 724), the Türk envoy Boyla Çor arrived at the Tang court.
		On the 3rd day of the leap 12th month (21 Jan. 725), the Türk envoy Ashide Tunnishu arrived at the Tang court.
Ox ( <i>yi-chou</i> ) K. T. 41 B. K. 42	Kaiyuan XIII (18.02.725–06.02.726)	In the 4th month (17 May–14 Jun. 725), the Tang envoy Yuan Zhen came to the Türks, inviting a Türk representative to join the Tang emperor's mountain-worship ceremony. At dinner, Bilge Kağan repeated his request for a marriage relationship between the two regimes. Yuan agreed to convey his request to the Tang emperor. Bilge Kağan agreed to send his minister Zhishi Xielifa and his deputy Ashide Tunnishu to China.

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		On the 11th day of the 10th month (20 Nov. 725), the Tang emperor, leading officials and international representatives, set off for the mountain-worship ceremony. On the way, the Tang emperor was amused by the Türk representative's flattering words. However, the Tang emperor took the advice of his secretary to keep his distance from the Türk representative, in order to prevent any possible assassination.
		On the 20th day of the 12th month (27 Jan. 726), the Tang emperor returned from the ceremony and the Türk representatives also took their leave. The Tang emperor rewarded them generously but did not agree to the marriage proposal.
Tiger ( <i>bing-yin</i> ) K. T. 42 B. K. 43	Kaiyuan XIV (07.02.726–26.01.727)	On the 3rd day of the 1st month (9 Feb. 726), the Türk envoy Linhe Dagan Kang Sicong arrived at the Tang court.
		On the 20th day of the 1st month (26 Feb. 726), the Türk envoy Ediz Boyla Çor arrived at the Tang court with seventy delegates.
		On the 2nd day of the 2nd month (10 Mar. 726), the Türk envoy Zhishi Xielifa arrived at the Tang court with three hundred delegates, congratulating the Tang emperor on the success of the mountain-worship ceremony.
		In the 5th month (5 Jun–3 Jul. 726), the Türk envoy Linhe Dagan Kang Sicong arrived at the Tang court again.
		On the 1st day of the 11th month (28 Nov. 726), Türk envoys arrived at the Tang court.
		On the 26th day of the 11th month (23 Dec. 726), a Türk delegation led by Buyruk Çor arrived at the Tang court.

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- Rabbit Kaiyuan XV  
(*ding-mao*) (27.01.727–14.02.728)  
K. T. 43  
B. K. 44
- In the 7th month (23 Jul.–21 Aug. 727), the Türk envoy Kutluğ arrived at the Tang court, offering horses and Persian silk.
- On the 17th day of the 9th month (6 Oct. 727), the Türk envoy Buyruk Çor arrived at the Tang court, with a letter written by the Tibetan leader to Bilge Kağan. In the letter, he proposed to unite with the Türks to attack the Tang. The Tang emperor was delighted by Bilge Kağan's loyalty and allowed the horse-silk trade in the West Shouxiang Citadel to resume.
- Dragon Kaiyuan XVI  
(*wu-chen*) (15.02.728–02.02.729)  
K. T. 44  
B. K. 45
- On the 16th day of the 8th month (23 Sept. 728), the Türk envoy Kül Tarkan arrived at the Tang court.
- On the 9th day of the 9th month (16 Oct. 728), the Türk envoy Karluk Inançu Boyla and other envoys arrived at the Tang court. They were honored with the title of "General" and rewarded with purple robes and silver belts decorated with mother-of-pearl.
- Snake Kaiyuan XVII  
(*ji-si*) (03.02.729–22.01.730)  
K. T. 45  
B. K. 46
- Horse Kaiyuan XVIII  
(*geng-wu*) (23.01.730–10.02.731)  
K. T. 46  
B. K. 47
- On the 23rd day of the 2nd month (16 Mar. 730), the Türk envoy Gejie Guzhi Chebi Xiejin arrived at the Tang court with local products.
- On the 14th day of the 3rd month (5 Apr. 730), Türk envoys arrived at the Tang court.
- In the 5th month (21 May–19 Jun. 730), the Kitāns and Tatabı betrayed the Tang government and surrendered to the Türks again.
- On the 17th day of the 11th month (30 Dec. 730), the Türk chief Milü Peiluo arrived at the Tang court. He was honored with the title of "General".

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<p>Sheep (<i>xin-wei</i>) K. T. 47 B. K. 48</p>	<p>Kaiyuan XIX (11.02.731–31.01.732)</p>	<p>The Türgiř envoy was entertained to dinner by the Tang emperor. The Türk envoy was also invited. The Türgiř and Türk envoys had a disagreement about the seating order.</p> <p>On the 17th day of the 1st month (27 Feb. 731), Kül Tégin died at the age of 47.</p> <p>On the 3rd day of the 4th month (13 May 731), the Tang emperor sent a message of condolence.</p> <p>On the 17th day of the 6th month (25 Jul. 731), the Türk grand chief Sunong Qu Dagan arrived at the Tang court.</p> <p>On the 27th day of the 9th month (1 Nov. 731), Kül Tégin's funeral was held. The Chinese representative Lü Xiang attended.</p> <p>On the 18th day of the 10th month (21 Nov. 731), the Türk grand chief Sunong Qu Dagan led another delegation consisting of twenty-four officials to the Tang court. Probably they were dispatched by Bilge Kağan to invite the Chinese craftsmen to build a memorial for Kül Tégin.</p> <p>In the 11th month (4 Dec. 731–2 Jan. 732), at the request of Bilge Kağan, the Tang emperor sent General Zhang Quyi and Lü Xiang along with six skilled craftsmen to the Türks, to help them to establish a memorial for Kül Tégin.</p>
<p>Monkey (<i>ren-shen</i>) B. K. 49</p>	<p>Kaiyuan XX (01.02.732–20.01.733)</p>	<p>On the 7th day of the 7th month (1 Aug. 732), the inscribing of the Chinese text onto the stone was completed.</p> <p>On the 27th day of the 7th month (22 Aug. 732), the inscribing of the Turkic text onto the stone and the whole construction (the memorial, shrine and frescoes) of Kül Tégin's mausoleum was finished.</p>

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		In the 11th month (22 Nov.–21 Dec. 732), the Chinese envoys and craftsmen, accompanied by the Türk diplomats, returned to the Tang court.
		On the 26th day of the 3rd month (25 Apr. 732), the chief of the Tatabı led five thousand families to surrender to the Tang.
Rooster ( <i>gui-you</i> ) B. K. 50	Kaiyuan XXI (21.01.733–08.02.734)	On the 6th day of the leap 3rd month (24 Apr. 733), the Tang general Guo (OT: Kuğ) led ten thousand well equipped cavalry, along with Tatabı troops, to fight against the Kitañ and Türk troops at Du Mountain (OT: Töñker). The Tang army was defeated and General Guo was killed. Bilge Kağan made a <i>balbal</i> of General Kuğ for his deceased elder son.
Dog ( <i>jia-xu</i> ) B. K. 51	Kaiyuan XXII (09.02.734–28.01.735)	On the 24th day of the 3rd month (1 May 734), the Türk envoy Sibi Yusixian Que arrived at the Tang court. He brought a letter from Bilge Kağan, who called the Tang emperor as “father” and asked to marry a Chinese princess.
		Between the 7th month and the 9th month (4 Aug.–30 Oct. 734), the Tang emperor composed a letter to Bilge Kağan, without mentioning anything about a Tang-Türk marriage.
		Bilge Kağan was poisoned by Buyruk Çor, but he did not die immediately.
		Bilge Kağan killed Buyruk Çor and exterminated his clan. Bilge Kağan composed a eulogy for himself.
		On the 26th day of the 10th month (25 Nov. 734), Bilge Kağan died.
		On the 23rd day of the 12th month (21 Jan. 735), the news of Bilge Kağan's death reached the Tang court. The Tang court held a funeral ceremony for the late Bilge Kağan at the south gate of Luoyang. Li Quan was sent to express condolences.

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Pig ( <i>yi-hai</i> )	Kaiyuan XXIII (29.01.735–15.02.736)	<p>In the 1st month (29 Jan.–26 Feb. 735), the Türk envoy Gexieguzhi Chebishi arrived at the Tang court. He was dispatched by Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan to invite Chinese officials to attend Bilge Kağan's funeral.</p> <p>The Tang emperor composed a letter to Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan. In the letter he declared a father-son relationship (rather than a grandfather-grandson relationship) to the new Türk kağan and consented all the requirements on sacrificial offerings. He promised that the Chinese representative would not be late for Bilge Kağan's funeral.</p> <p>The Tang emperor composed another letter to Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan. He sent Li Quan and some craftsmen to the Türks, bringing sacrificial offerings and a Chinese eulogy for Bilge Kağan.</p> <p>On the 27th day of the 5th month (22 Jun. 735), Bilge Kağan's funeral was held.</p> <p>At the end of the 7th month (ca. 24 Jul. 735), Li Quan returned from the Türks, bringing the intelligence that the Türks would campaign against the Kitañs.</p> <p>On the 25th day of the 8th month (16 Sept. 735), four thousand Türk cavalry arrived in the Kitañ land. However, the Türks suffered a humiliating defeat.</p>
Rat ( <i>bing-zi</i> )	Kaiyuan XXIV (16.02.736–03.02.737)	<p>On the 11th day of the 3rd month (26 Apr. 736), the Türk envoy Sahezhu arrived at the Tang court.</p> <p>In spring (16 Feb.–14 May 736, possibly after 20 Apr.), the Tang emperor composed a letter to the Türk kağan, mentioning the Türk campaign against the Kitañs in the previous year. In the letter, the Tang emperor proposed to unite with the Türks to attack the Türgiş.</p>

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		In spring, the Tang emperor composed another letter to the Türk kağan, complaining of the large number of horses that the Türks had brought for sale.
		In autumn, the Tang emperor composed a third letter to the Türk kağan, explaining why he returned the surplus horses and why he kept the Türk envoy at the Tang court.
		In winter, the Tang emperor composed a fourth letter to the Türk kağan, promising to send the Türk envoy back as soon as possible.
Ox	Kaiyuan XXV	In the 2nd month (6 Mar.–4 Apr. 737), the Türk diplomat Gejie Guzhi Chebishi Xiejin came to the Tang to join the court gathering.
<i>(ding-chou)</i>	<i>(04.02.737–24.01.738)</i>	On the 14th day of the 6th month (5 Jul. 738), the Türk grand chief Wuhu Dagan arrived at the Tang court.
Tiger	Kaiyuan XXVI	On the 23rd day of the 7th month (13 Aug. 738), the Türk chief Tégin Bağatur Irkin arrived at the Tang court.
<i>(wu-yin)</i>	<i>(25.01.738–12.02.739)</i>	In the 8th month (19 Sept.–17 Oct. 738), the Tang emperor dispatched an envoy to the Türks, bringing a letter for the Türk kağan, encouraging him not to be deceived by his followers and to behave properly in the future.
Rabbit	Kaiyuan XXVII	On the 14th day of the 2nd month (27 Mar. 739), the Türk envoy Yantuo Jumo Chuola Dagan arrived at Tang court.
<i>(ji-mao)</i>	<i>(13.02.739–01.02.740)</i>	Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan died. His younger brother, Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan, ascended the throne. The new kağan sent envoys to the Tang.
Dragon	Kaiyuan XXVIII	
<i>(geng-chen)</i>	<i>(02.02.740–21.01.741)</i>	

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		On the 26th day of the 3rd month (26 Apr. 740), at the request of Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan, the Tang emperor dispatched General Li Zhi to the Türks, to recognize the newly enthroned kağan.
		Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan took the opportunity of the visit of the Chinese officials and craftsmen, and asked them to inscribe his own words on the north side of Bilge Kağan's memorial and the same text (but shorter) on the south side of Kül Tégin's memorial.
Snake ( <i>xin-si</i> )	Kaiyuan XXIX (22.01.741–09.02.742)	Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan was killed by his uncle, the Left Şad, Panque Teqin.
		On the 18th day of the 7th month (2 Sept. 741), the news of Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmuş Türk Bilge Kağan arrived at the Tang court.
		Panque Teqin put one of Bilge Kağan's sons on the throne as the new kağan. The new kağan was killed by Kut Yabġu, who enthroned instead Bilge Kağan's brother. Then Kut Yabġu killed the newly enthroned kağan and proclaimed himself as the Türk kağan.
Horse ( <i>ren-wu</i> )	Tianbao I (10.02.742–29.01.743)	The Uyġurs put the Türk realm into disorder. Before the 5th month (8 Jun.–6 Jul. 742), the Basml, Uyġur and Karluk troops attacked and killed Kut Yabġu. The chief of the Basml was acclaimed as Élteriş Kağan. The Uyġur and Karluk chiefs were appointed as the Left Yabġu and Right Yabġu. Ozmuş was acclaimed by the rest of the Türk people as the new Türk kağan.

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		In the 7th month (5 Aug.–3 Sept. 742), the allied armies of the Tang, Basmıl, Uyğur and Karluk attacked the Türks. Ozmiş Kağan ran away.
		On the 15th day of the 8th month (18 Sept. 742), the Türk Western Yabğu (Abusi), Western Şad (Gelachi), Kapğan Kağan's grandson (Bodezhi), the young wife (Yusaifu) of Yiran Kağan (Teñri Teg Teñri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan), the daughter (Princess Yuzhu) of Dengli Kağan (Teñri Teg Teñride Bolmış Türk Bilge Kağan), and Bilge Kağan's daughter (Princess Daluo), came to the Tang to surrender.
Sheep ( <i>gui-wei</i> )	Tianbao II (30.01.743–19.01.744)	On the 6th day of the 2nd month (6 Mar. 743), the Uyğurs fought against the Türks.
		On the 6th day of the 6th month (2 Jul. 743), the Uyğurs fought against the Türks for a second time.
Monkey ( <i>jia-shen</i> )	Tianbao III (20.01.744–05.02.745)	On the 16th day of the 8th month (26 Sept. 744) The head of Ozmiş Kağan was brought to the Tang capital city. Ozmiş Kağan had been killed by the Basmıl and Uyğur soldiers. Ozmiş Kağan's younger brother, Baimei Tégin, was acclaimed as the new Türk kağan.
		The Uyğur leader Kül Bilge Kağan proclaimed himself as the new master of the Mongolian steppe. The Tang government acknowledged the legitimacy of the new Uyğur kağan.
Rooster ( <i>yi-you</i> )	Tianbao IV (06.02.745–25.01.746)	The last Türk kağan, Baimei Kağan, was killed by the new Uyğur kağan. Most of the Türk imperial family members, under the leadership of the wife of Bilge Kağan, Guduolu Pofu Kedun, went into exile in China.

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