APPENDIX

Old Turkic Inscriptions

Notes on Transliteration, Transcription and Translation

Alphabet

Vowels	𐰀A	a e	𐰃I	ı i	𐰆w	o u	𐰇ẅ	ö ü

Front	𐰉 b²	b	𐰋 d²	d	𐰍 g²	g	𐰏 k²	k	𐰔 l²	l	𐰠 n²	n	𐰢 r²	r	𐰴 s²	s	𐰽 t²	t	𐰾 y²	y
Back	𐰊 b¹		𐰓 d¹		𐰖 g¹	ğ	𐰞 k¹		𐰚 l¹		𐰣 n¹		𐰺 r¹		𐰼 s¹		𐰾 t¹		𐰽 y¹	

𐰇 ç	𐰴 iç	𐰘 k^{ẅ} k/ük/kü/ök/ kö	𐰯 lt	𐰸 m	𐰽 nç	𐰲 ŋ	𐰾 nt	𐰽 ñ	𐰃 p	𐰉/ 𐰑k^{ï} k/ık/kı	𐰴 k^{w} k/uk/ku/ ok/ko	𐰴 ş	𐰋/𐰍 z

Transliteration

Considering the complicated consonant system of the old Turkic alphabet,[1] cardinal numbers ¹ and ² in superscript are introduced into the transliteration in order to differentiate between a "back" consonant and a "front" one. For example, 𐰠𐰴 is transliterated as b²n², while 𐰆𐰓𐰺𐰇 is transliterated as b¹wd¹n¹. 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 𐰽 will be transliterated as nç and 𐰯 will be transliterated as lt. It is noteworthy that there are some minor writing differences between the signs on the Toñukuk and Kül Tégin inscriptions, especially nt, k^{ï} 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.

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Inscription: T. 8 ŋ¹ and T. 26 l̲ık. 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 Ẅ (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 (Doerfer 1994, Erdal 2004: § 2.22). Different opinions concerning the phoneme /é/ will not be regarded as variant readings of the text.

Orthography

Sometimes n², y² and s² are used in words with back vowels representing n¹, y¹ and s¹. 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 *balık*[*k*]*a* (written as *balıka*), 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 +*lIg* (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 I

West Side

(1) b²ıl²g²ᴀt¹wñk^{w}k^{w} : b²n²ẅzm : t¹b¹g¹çılηᴀ : k^{ï}ıl¹n̲tm : t²ẅr²k²b¹wd¹n¹ : t¹b¹g¹çk¹ᴀ : k^{ẅ}ẅr²r²r²t²ı **(2)** t²ẅr²k²b¹wd¹n¹: k¹n¹ın²b¹wl¹my²n² : t¹b¹g¹çd¹ᴀ : d¹r¹l̲tı : k¹n¹l¹n̲tı : k¹n¹ın²k^{w}wd¹p : t¹b¹g¹çk¹ᴀ : y¹n¹ᴀıçk²d²ı : t²ŋr²ı : n̲çᴀt²ms²r²n̲ç : k¹n¹b²r²t²m : **(3)** k¹n¹ŋn² : k^{w}wd¹p : ıçk²d²ŋ : ıçk²d²k^{ẅ}ẅçn² : t²ŋr²ı : ẅlt²ms²r²n̲ç : t²ẅr²k²b¹wd¹n¹ : ẅl²t²ıl¹k¹ntı : y¹k^{w}b¹wl̲tı : t²ẅr²k² : s²ır²b¹wd¹n¹ : y²r²ın²t²ᴀ : **(4)** b¹wd¹k¹l¹md¹ı : ıd¹ᴀt¹şd¹ᴀ : k¹l¹ms²ı : k^{w}wbr¹n¹p : y²t²ıy²ẅzb¹wl̲tı : k²ıẅl²g²ı : t¹l¹g¹r²t²ı : b²ır²ẅl²g²ı : y¹d¹g¹r²t²ı : y²t²ıy²ẅz : k²ıs²ıg²:**(5)** wd¹zg¹mᴀ:wl¹g¹ı:şd¹r²t²ı:y¹g¹l¹t²ıd²ı:y¹g¹ms²ıb²n²r²t²m:b²ıl²g²ᴀ:t¹wñk^{w}k^{w}: k¹g¹n¹mwk^{ï}ıs¹y¹ın²t²d²m:s¹k¹n̲tm:t¹wr¹k^{w}b¹wk^{w}lı:s²mzb¹wk¹l¹ı:ᴀr¹k¹d¹ᴀ:**(6)** b²ẅl²s²r²: s²mzb¹wk^{w}ᴀ : t¹wr¹k^{w}b¹k^{w}ᴀt²y²n² : b²ıl²mzr²ms²t²y²n² : n̲çᴀsk¹n̲tm : n̲tᴀk²ıs²r²ᴀ : t²ŋr²ı : b²ıl²g²b²r²t²k^{ẅ}ẅçn² : ẅzmk^{ẅ} : k¹g¹n¹k¹ıs¹d¹m : b²ıl²g²ᴀt¹wñk^{w}k^{w} : b¹wylᴀb¹g¹ᴀt¹r¹k¹n¹ : **(7)** b²ır²l²ᴀ : ıl²t²r²s²k¹g¹n¹ : b¹wl¹y¹n¹ : b²r²y²ᴀ : t¹b¹g¹çg¹ : ẅŋr²ᴀ : k¹ıt¹ñg¹ : y¹ır¹y¹ᴀwg¹zg¹ : ẅk²s²k^{ẅ}: ẅl²r²t²ı : b²l²g²s²ı : çb¹s²ı : b²n²k^{ẅ}r²t²m : çwg¹y¹k¹wzın² : k¹r¹ᴀk¹wmg¹ : wl¹r¹wr¹ : r²t²mz :

1. bilge toñukuk ben özüm[2] tabğaç éliŋe kılıntım.[3] türk bodun tabğaçka körür erti.[4]
2. türk bodun kanın bulmayın[5] tabğaçda adrıltı, kanlantı. kanın kodup tabğaçka yana

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 éliŋe kılıntım*. There is a similar expression in the Ongin Inscription: *kapğan élteriş kağan éliŋe kılıntım*. Clauson translated it as "I grew up for (i.e. as a subject of) the realm of Kapğan and Élteriş" (Clauson 1957: 188), while Ōsawa translated as "I was born in the country of Qapğan and Élteriş Kağan" (Ōsawa 2011: 173). The verb *kılın-* "to be made, created" is the passive form of *kıl-* "to make". Radloff 1899 translated *tabğaç éliŋe kılıntım* as "I joined/followed the Chinese government", probably because he considered the case of *tabğaç éliŋe* 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 éliŋe* 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 yaşıŋa eçim kağan élin törüsin 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 maŋa 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. teŋri ança témiş erinç: kan bértim. **3.** kanıŋın kodup içikdiŋ. içikdük üçün teŋri öl témiş[6] erinç. türk bodun ölti, alkıntı, yok boltı. türk sir bodun yérinte **4.** bod kalmadı. ıda taşda kalmışı kubranıp yéti yüz boltı. éki ülügi atlığ erti, bir ülügi yadağ erti. yéti yüz kişig **5.** uduzuğma uluğı şad erti. ayğıl[7] tédi. ayığması ben ertim. bilge toñukuk, kağan mu kısayın? tédim. sakıntım: turuk bukalı semiz bukalı ırakda[8] **6.** bölser,[9] semiz buka turuk buka téyin bilmez ermiş téyin. ança sakıntım. anta késre teŋri bilig bértük üçün özüm ök kağan kısdım. [ben] bilge toñukuk boyla bağa tarkan[10] **7.** birle élteriş kağan

6 Radloff 1899 *ötmüş* < *öt-* "to be angry with"; Thomsen 1916, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, and Tekin 1968 *ölütmiş* < *ölüt-* "to cause to be killed"; Aalto 1958 *ületmiş* < *ület-* "to divide"; Giraud 1961, Rybatzki 1997 *öl temiş* "said: die!" Clauson treated the sign *l*[2] as a small crack and read the word as *ötmiş* "abandoned" (Clauson 1972: 133 *ölüt-*). Here I follow the reading of Giraud and Rybatzki.

7 *ayğıl* and the following *ayığması*, Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Aalto 1958 read as *yağıl* and *yağmışı*, Tekin 1968 *yağ(ğ)ıl* and *yağmisi* < *yağ-* "to join"; Giraud 1961, Tezcan 1976 *ayğıl* and *ayığması* < *ay-* "to say"; Clauson 1972: 897, Rybatzki 1997 *yığ[ğ]ıl* < *yığ-* "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 *yığ[ğ]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 *büŋser* < *büŋ-* "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 *ẅ* than an *I*. Therefore, Clauson read the word as *bölser* < *böl-* "to distinguish" (Clauson 1972: 332). Rybatzki found more evidence from Uyğur 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 bağa tarkan* as two persons, *bilge toñukuk* and *boyla bağa tarkan* respectively. More discussions, see Rybatzki 1997: 84–85.

bolayın. bérye tabğaçığ, öŋre kıtañığ, yırya oğuzuğ üküş ök ölürti. bilgesi[11] çabışı ben ök ertim. çuğay[12] kuzın, kara kumuğ olurur ertimiz.

South Side

(8) k²y²k²y²ıy²ẅ : tᶫb¹şg¹n¹y²y²ẅ : wl¹r¹wr¹r²t²mz : b¹wd¹n¹ : b¹wg¹zı : tᶫkʷr²t²ı : y¹g¹mz : t²g²r²ᴀ : wçkʷt²g²r²t²ı : b²ız : aŋt²g² : r²t²mz : nç̲ᴀwl¹r¹r¹r²k²l²ı : wg¹zd¹nt̲n¹ : k²ẅr²k²l²t²ı:**(9)**k²ẅr²g²s¹b¹ınt̲g¹:t¹wk¹zwg¹z:b¹wd¹n¹ẅzᴀ:k¹g¹n¹:wl¹r¹t¹ıt²ır²:t¹b¹g¹çg¹r¹w: kʷwn¹ıs²ŋẅn²g²:ıd¹ms²:k¹ıt¹ñg¹r¹w:t¹wŋr¹ᴀs²mg²:ıd¹ms²:s¹b¹nç̲ᴀıd¹ms²:zk¹ñᴀ:t²ẅr²k²: **(10)** y¹wr¹ıy¹wr¹r²ms² : k¹g¹n¹ı : l¹pr²ms² : y¹g¹wçıs²ı : b²ıl²g²ᴀr²ms² : wl¹k²ık²ıs²ı : b¹r¹r²s²r¹ : s²ın²ıt¹b¹g¹çg¹ : ẅl²ẅr²t²çı : t²ır²mn² : ẅŋr²ᴀkʲıt¹ñg¹ : ẅl²r²t²çı : t²ır²mn² : b²ın²ıwg¹zg¹ : **(11)** ẅl²r²t²çık²:t²ır²mn²:t¹b¹g¹ç:b²r²d²n²y²n²t²g²:kʲıt¹ñ:ẅŋd²n²y²n²t²g²:b²n²y²ır¹d¹nt̲y¹n¹:t²g²y²ın²: t²ẅr²k²s²ır²b¹wd¹n¹ : y²r²ın²t²ᴀ : ıd²ıy¹wr¹mzwn¹ : ws¹r¹ıd²ıy¹kʷkʲıs¹l¹m : **(12)** t²ır²mn² : wl¹s²b¹g¹ : s²d²p: t²ẅn²wd¹s²ık¹m : k²l²md²ı : k²ẅn²t²z : wl¹r¹s¹k¹mk²l²md²ı : nt̲ᴀẅt²r²ẅ : k¹g¹n¹mᴀẅt²n²t²m:nç̲ᴀẅt²n²t²m:t¹b¹g¹ç:wg¹z:kʲıt¹ñ:bwçg²ẅ:k¹b¹s¹r¹:**(13)**k¹l̲tçıb²z:ẅzçı: t¹s¹n¹ : t¹wt¹ms²t²g²b²ız : y¹wy¹k¹ᴀr²k²l²ı: t²wpl¹g¹l¹ıwçzr²ms² : y²nç̲g²ᴀr²k²l²g² : ẅzg²l²ı : wçz : y¹wy¹k¹ᴀ : k¹l¹n¹b¹wl¹s²r¹ : t¹wpl¹g¹wl¹kʷ : l¹pr²ms² : y²nç̲g²ᴀ : **(14)** y²wg¹n¹b¹wl¹s¹r¹ : ẅzg²l²kʷl¹pr²ms² : ẅŋr²ᴀ : kʲıt¹ñd¹ᴀ : b²r²y²ᴀ : t¹b¹g¹çd¹ᴀ : k¹wr¹y¹ᴀ : k¹wr¹d¹nt̲ᴀ : y¹ır¹y¹ᴀ : wg¹zd¹ᴀ:k²ıẅçb²ıŋ:s²ẅmz:k²l²t²çmz:b¹r¹mwn²ᴀ:nç̲ᴀẅt²n²t²m:**(15)**k¹g¹n¹m:b²n²ẅzm: b²ıl²g²ᴀt¹wñkʷkʷ:ẅt²n²t²kʷẅt²nç̲mn²:s²d²ẅb²r²t²ı:k²ẅŋl²ŋçᴀ:wd¹zt²d²ı:k²ẅk²ẅŋg²: y¹wg¹r¹w : ẅt²k²n²y²ıs²g¹r¹w : wd¹zt²m : ın²g²k²kʷl²k²n² : t¹wgᶫl¹d¹ᴀ : wg¹zk²l²t²ı : **(16)** *s²ẅs²ŋẅçb¹ıŋ*r²ms² : b²ız : k²ıb¹ıŋ : r²t²mz : s²ẅŋs²d²mz : t²ŋr²ıy¹r¹l¹k¹d¹ı : y¹ñd¹mz : ẅg²zk²ᴀ : t²ẅs²d²ı : y¹ñd¹kʷy¹wl̲tᴀ : y²mᴀ : ẅl²t²ık²kʷ : nt̲ᴀẅt²r²ẅ : wg¹zkʷpn² : k²l²t²ı : **(17)** … t²ẅr²k²b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : ẅt²k²n²y²r²k²ᴀ : b²n²ẅzm : b²ıl²g²ᴀ : t¹wñkʷkʷ : ẅt²k²n²y²r²g² : kʷwn¹ms²t²y²n² : s²d²p : b²r²y²k²ı : b¹wd¹n¹ : kʷwr¹y¹k¹ı : y²ır¹y¹k¹ı : ẅŋr²k²ı : b¹wd¹n¹k²l²t²ı :

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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 總村 (EMC: *tsəwŋ'-dzəj*); the pronunciation of the first character in the Yuan dynasty was *tsuŋ*, 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: *ʂɛ:n-təwŋ*) is transcribed into Old Turkic as *şantuŋ*, the second vowel of which is also high.

8. kéyik yéyü, tabışğan yéyü olurur ertimiz. bodun boğzı tok erti. yağımız tegre[13] uçuk teg erti; biz aŋ teg[14] ertimiz. ança olurur erkli oğuzdundan[15] küreg[16] kelti. **9.** küreg sabı antağ: tokuz oğuz bodun üze kağan olurtı tér. tabğaçğaru kunı seŋünüg ıdmış; kıtañğaru toŋra simeg[17] ıdmış. sab ança ıdmış: azkıña türk **10.** yorıyur ermiş. kağanı alp ermiş; ayğuçısı bilge ermiş. ol éki kişi bar erser sini tabğaçığ ölürteçi térmen, öŋre kıtañığ ölürteçi térmen, bini[18] oğuzuğ **11.** ölürteçi-k[19] térmen. tabğaç, bérdin

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13 Radloff 1899 and Malov 1951 read this as *tegire* < *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 *tegüre* < *teg-*. However, Aalto understood *yağımız* as *yağ+ımız* "fat" instead of *yağı+mız* "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*[1] (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 *oğuzdntın*; 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-mɛ:'*) "adjutant", which was a lower military rank than *seŋün* "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^2 than *z*, if we compare it with the n^2 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[20] teg! kıtañ, öŋdün yen teg! ben yırdınta yan tegeyin. türk sir bodun yérinte idi yorımazun! usar idi yok kısalım **12.** térmen. ol sabığ éşidip tün udısıkım kelmedi, küntüz olursukum kelmedi. anta ötrü kağanıma ötüntüm. ançа ötüntüm: tabğaç, oğuz, kıtañ, bu üçegü[21] kabış[s]ar[22] **13.** kaltaçı biz, öz içi[23] taşın tutmış teg biz. yuyka erkli[24] topolğalı[25] uçuz ermiş; yinçge erklig üzgeli uçuz [ermiş]. yuyka kalın bolsar topolğuluk alp ermiş; yinçge **14.** yoğun bolsar üzgülük alp ermiş. öŋre kıtañda, bérye tabğaçda, kurıya kurdanda,[26] yırya oğuzda éki üç biŋ sümüz kelteçimiz. bar mu ne?

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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 *+iyin* 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 *öŋdün yen* and *yırdınta 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 *kabışır*; 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-*, *kabıs-* or *kab-*, is clear: "to come together, unite".

23 Radloff 1899 read this as *üzeçi*; 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 tutmış teg biz* as a comparative clause of *kaltaçı biz* rather than an independent sentence. About *-mIş teg* forming comparative clauses, see Erdal 2004: 469.

24 Radloff 1899 read this as *erklig*. He mistook the sign *I* for a *g¹*. 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)glI*, but in runiform inscriptions the /g/ may be spelled with *k²* 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 *kurıdınta*; 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*(*ı*)

ança ötüntüm. **15.** kağanım ben özüm bilge toñukuk ötüntük ötünçümün éşidü bérti. könlünçe uduz tédi. kök önüg yoğuru ötüken yışğaru uduztum. ingek[27] kölökin[28] tuğlada[29] oğuz kelti. **16.** *süsi üç*[30] *bın* ermiş; biz éki bın ertimiz. sünüşdümüz. teŋri yarlıkadı.[31] yañdımız. ögüzke tüşdi. yañduk yolta yeme ölti kök. anta ötrü oğuz kopın[32]

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dın as *kur*(*ı*) "west"+ *dın*, referring to "the western people/Türks" (Thomsen 1924: 164, Tekin 1968: 348). Following the reading of Tekin, G. Hazai pointed out that the expression *kurıya 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-sŏng 2003 read it as *kurıdın*, and interpreted it as the same people of Kurıkan (Li Yong-sŏng 2003: 235–6).

27 Aalto 1958, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read this as *inigek*. According to Clauson, *ingek* is a denominal noun from **in* (Caluson 1972: 184). On the denominal suffix +*gek*, see Gabain 1974: § 59.

28 Radloff 1899 read this as *ingek-kölge*, but he mistook the second to last letter g^2 as a k^2 in his transliteration; Orkun 1936 and Giraud 1961 read it as *kölke*; Malov 1951 and Aalto 1958 read it as *kölükin*; Tekin 1968 read it as *kölikin*. 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 *ingek kölökin* as a possessive composite phrase (with the +*i* after *kölök*) with the instrumental suffix +*n* (Erdal 1991: 238–9). Tekin understood the +*in* after *kölik* (*kölök*) as an instrumental suffix, while regarding *ingek kölik* (*kölök*) as a composite phrase meaning "carts drawn by oxen" (Tekin 1968: 352). Clauson also understood the ending +*in* as an instrumental suffix, but he treated *ingek* 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 *yarılkadı*; 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 +*ın* as an instrumental suffix of *kop* (Tekin 1968: 137). However, according to Erdal, *oğuz kopın* is a possessive composite phrase (+*ı* after *kop* "all" with an instrumental suffix +*n*) (Erdal 2004: 183).

kelti. **17.** *türk kağanığ*[33] türk bodunuğ ötüken yérke ben özüm bilge toñukuk ötüken yérig konmış téyin éşidip béryeki bodun, kurıyakı, yıryakı, öŋreki bodun kelti.

East Side

(18) k²ıb¹ıŋr²t²mz : ... b¹l̲tı : t²ẅr²k²b¹wd¹n¹ : ... g¹l¹ı : t²ẅr²k²k¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹g¹l¹ı : s¹n̲twŋb¹l¹k¨A : t¹l¹wy¹ẅg²zk²A : t²g²ms²y²wk¹r²ms² : k¹g¹n¹mA : ẅt²n²p : s²ẅl²t²d²m : **(19)** s¹n̲twŋb¹l¹k¨A : t¹l¹wy¹ẅg²zk²A : t²g²ẅr²t²m : ẅçwt¹zb¹l¹k¨ : s²ıd¹ı : ws²ın¹b¹wn̲ttw : y²wr¹t¹d¹A : y¹t¹wk¹l¹wr¹r²t²ı : ..... wn¹k¹ẅk¹g¹n¹ı : y²g¹mzr²t²ı : **(20)** ..... b¹wl̲tı : wl¹ẅçk¹g¹n¹ : ẅg²l²s²p : l¹t¹wn¹y¹ıs¹ẅzA : k¹b¹s²l¹mt²ms² : n̲çAẅg²l²s²ms² : ẅŋr²At²ẅr²k² : k¹g¹n¹g¹r¹w : s²ẅl²l²mt²ms² : ŋr¹ws²ẅl²ms²r² : k¹çn²ŋr²s²r² : wl¹b²zn²ı : **(21)** *k¹g¹n¹l¹pr²ms²* : y¹g¹wçıs²ıb²ıl²g²Ar²ms² : k¹çn¹ŋr²s²r² : ẅl²r²t²çık¨k¨ : ẅçg²ẅn² : k¹b¹s¹p : s²ẅl²l²m : d²ıy²k¨k¨ıs¹l¹m : t²ms² : t²ẅr²g²s² : k¹g¹n¹ : n̲çAt²ms² : b²n²ŋb¹wd¹n¹mn̲tAr²ẅr² : t²ms² : **(22)** *t²ẅr²k²b¹wd¹n¹y²mA* : b¹wl¹g¹n̲çwl¹t²ms² : wg¹zıy²mA : t¹r¹k¹n̲çwl¹t²ms² : wl¹s¹b¹ın¹ : s²d²p : t²ẅn²y²mA : wd¹s²k¨mk²l²mzr²t²ı : wl¹r¹s²k¹m : k²l²mzr²t²ı : n̲tAs¹k¹n̲tm : **(23)** ..... t²d²m : k¨ẅg²mn² : y¹wl¹ı : b²ır²r²ms² : t¹wms²t²y²n²s²d²p : b¹wy¹wl¹n¹ : y¹wr¹ıs¹r¹ : y¹r¹mçıt²d²m : y²r²çıt²l²d²m : çẅl²g²ızr²ı : b¹wl¹t¹m : **(24)** ... t²m : zy²r²y¹*Ak¹*n¹ıb²*ır* ... r²ms² : b²ır²t¹wr¹wk¨ı : r²ms² : n¹ın¹b¹r¹ms² : ŋr¹y¹t¹p : b²ır²t¹l¹g¹ : b¹r¹ms²t²y²n² : wl¹y¹wl¹n¹ : y¹wr¹ıs¹r¹ : wn̲çt²d²m : s¹k¹n̲tm : k¹g¹n¹mA :

18. éki bıŋ ertimiz. *éki sümüz*[34] boltı. türk bodun *kılın*ğalı,[35] türk kağan olurğalı şantuŋ balık[k]a, taluy ögüzke tegmiş yok ermiş. kağanıma ötünüp sületdim.[36] **19.** şantuŋ 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 küçlüg kağan yağımız*[37] boltı. ol üç kağan ögleşip altun yış üze kabışalım témiş. ança ögleşmiş: öŋre türk kağanğaru sülelim témiş. aŋaru sülemeser kaçan neŋ erser,[38] ol

33 Radloff 1899 and Malov 1951 read this as *kelürtim ök*; Orkun 1936 read it as ...; Giraud 1961 read it as *kelürtim özim*; 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 éltdim* "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 éltdim*.

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 neŋ erser*; Orkun 1936 read it as *kaçının erser*; Giraud 1961 read it as *kaçan eŋirser*. 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*]*eŋ* (Tekin 1995: 216). Erdal is inclined to read it as *kaçaneŋ*, a contraction of *kaçan neŋ*. He explained the

bizni, **21.** *kağanı alp ermiş*,[39] ayğuçısı bilge ermiş, kaçan naŋ erser ölürteçi kök. üçegün kabışıp sülelim, idi[40] yok kısalım témiş. türgiş kağan ança témiş: beniŋ bodunum anta erür témiş. **22.** *türk bodun yeme* bulğanç[41] *ol témiş*; oğuzı yeme tarkınç[42] ol témiş. ol sabın éşidip tün yeme udısıkım kelmez erti, [kün yeme] olursukum kelmez erti. anta sakıntım:[43] **23.** *ilk kırkızka süleser yég ermiş*[44] tédim. kögmen yolı bir ermiş. tumış téyin éşidip bu yolun yorısar yaramaçı tédim. yérçi tiledim. çölgi[45] az eri bultum.

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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 *kağanı 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 *anı*. 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 *anı*, 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 *tarkın-*, which is the reflective form of *tarık-*, 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 $s^1k^1\underline{n}dm(a)$, but transcribed it as *sakıntım*; Aalto 1958, Giraud 1961, Tekin 1968 and Rybatzki 1997 read it as *sakıntıma*. 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* (*yorıtayın*); 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 *çülüg* 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 *I* after the g^2 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. *éşid*tim:[46] az yér y*akı*nı b*ir* …[47] ermiş. bir at orukı[48] ermiş. anın barmış. aŋar aytıp[49] bir atlığ barmış téyin ol yolun yorısar unç tédim. sakıntım. kağanıma

North Side

(25) ẅt²n²t²m : s²ẅy¹wr¹ıt¹d¹m : t¹l¹t¹t²d²m : *k¹*t²r²ml²k²çA : wg¹r¹k¹l¹t¹d¹m : t¹ẅzA : *b²ım²t²*r²Ak¹r¹g¹: s²k^{ẅ}d²m : y¹k^{w}r¹w : t¹y²t²Ay¹d¹g¹n¹ : ıg¹çt¹wt¹n¹w : g¹t¹wr¹t¹m : ẅŋr²k²ır² : **(26)** y¹wg¹r¹çA : … ıb¹r¹lk : s¹d¹mz : y¹wb¹l¹w : ım²t²mz : wn¹t²ẅn²k²A: y¹ntk¹ı : t¹wg¹b²ır²ẅ : b¹r¹d¹mz : y²r²çı : y²r²y¹ŋl¹p : b¹wg¹zl¹ntı : b¹wŋd¹p : k¹g¹n¹ : y²l²ẅk^{ẅ}r²t²ms² : **(27)** n¹ıs¹… wl¹s¹wb¹k^{w}wd¹ı : b¹r¹d¹mz : s¹n¹g¹l¹ı : t²ẅs²ẅr²t²mz : t¹g¹ : ık¹A : b¹y¹wr¹r²t²mz : k^{ẅ}ẅn²y²mA : t²ẅn²y²mA : y²l²ẅ : b¹r¹d¹mz : k^{ï}ır¹k¹zg¹ : wk¹Ab¹s¹d¹mz : **(28)** … s²ẅŋg²n² : çd¹mz : k¹n¹ı : s²ẅs²ı : t²r²l²ms² : s²ẅŋs²d²mz : s¹nçd¹mz : k¹n¹ın² : ẅl²r²t²mz : k¹g¹n¹k¹A : k^{ï}ır¹k¹z : b¹wd¹n¹ı : içk²d²ı : y²k^{ẅ}n²t²ı : y¹ntmz : k^{ẅ}ẅg²mn²y¹ıs¹g¹ : b²r²ẅ : k²l²t²mz : **(29)** k^{ï}ır¹k¹zd¹A : y¹ntmz : t²ẅr²g²s²k¹g¹ntA : k^{ẅ}ẅr²g²k²l²t²ı : s¹b¹ıntg² : ẅŋd²n²k¹g¹n¹g¹r¹w : sẅy²wr¹ıl¹mt²ms² : y¹wr¹ms²r¹ : b²ızn²ı : k¹g¹n¹ıl¹pr²ms² : y¹g¹wçısı : b²ıl²g²Ar²ms²:k¹çn²ŋr²s²r²:**(30)**b²ızn²ı:ẅl²r²t²çık²k^{ẅ}:t²ms²:t²ẅr²g²ıs²k¹g¹n¹ı:t¹s¹k^{ï}ms²t²ıd²ı: wn¹k^{w}b¹wd¹n¹ı : k¹l¹ıs²zt¹s¹k^{ï}ms² : t²ır² : t¹b¹g¹çs²ẅs²ı : b¹r¹r²ms² : wl¹s¹b¹g¹sd²p : k¹g¹n¹m : b²n²b²g²r²ẅ : t²ẅs²y²ın²t²ıd² : **(31)** k¹t¹wn¹ : y¹k^{w}b¹wl¹ms²r²t²ı : n¹ıy¹wg¹l¹t¹y¹ın²t²d²ı : s²ẅb¹r¹ŋ : t²d²ı : l¹t¹n¹y¹ıs¹d¹A : wl¹r¹ŋt²dı : s²ẅb¹s¹ı : ım²l²k¹g¹n¹ : t¹r¹d¹ws²s¹d¹ : b¹r¹zwn² : t²d²ı : b²ıl²g²At¹wñk^{w}k^{w}A : b¹ŋAy¹d¹ı : **(32)** b¹ws²ẅg²l²t² : t²ıd²ı : k^{ï}ıy¹n²g¹ : k^{ẅ}ẅŋl²ŋçAy¹ : b²n²sŋAn²Ay¹y¹ın²:t²ıd²ı:k²l²ır²r²s²r²:k^{ẅ}r²ẅk²l²ẅr²:k²l²mzr²s²r²:**t²**ıl¹g¹s¹b¹g¹:l¹ıwl¹wr¹: t²ıd²ı:l¹t¹wn¹y¹ıs¹d¹A:wl¹r¹t¹mz:**(33)**ẅçk^{ẅ}ẅr²g²:k²s²k²l²t²ı:s¹b¹ı:b²ır²:k¹g¹n¹ıs²ẅt¹s¹k^{ï}d¹ı: wn¹k^{w}s²ẅs²ı:k¹l¹ıs²z:t¹s¹k^{ï}d¹ıt²ır²:y¹r¹s¹y¹zıd¹A:t²ır²l²l²mt²ms²:wl¹s¹b¹g¹s²d²p:k¹g¹n¹g¹r¹w: wl¹s¹b¹g¹ıt¹m : k¹nty¹n² : s¹b¹g¹ : y¹n¹A: **(34)** k²l²t²ı : wl¹r¹ŋt²ıy²n² : t²ms² : y²l²mA : k¹r¹g¹w : d²g²ẅt²ı : wr¹g¹l¹ : b¹s¹t¹mAt²ms² : b²ẅg²k¹g¹n¹ : b¹ŋr¹w : nçAy¹ıd¹ms² : pAt¹r¹k¹n¹g¹r¹w : içr²As¹b¹: ıd¹ms² : b²ıl²g²At¹wñk^{w}k^{w} : ñıg¹wl¹ : ẅzwl¹… **(35)** s²ẅy¹wr¹ıl¹mt²d²çı : wn¹Amŋ :

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place name (*çōl*) in that area. The etymology of *çöl* "desert" was denied by Rybaztki, 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 Rybatzi 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*(*irle*?…). Here I follow the reading of Aalto 1958.

48 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *turukı* "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.

wl¹s¹b¹g¹s²d²p : s²ÿy²wr¹ıt¹d¹m : l¹t¹wn¹y¹ıs¹g¹ : y¹wl¹s²zn²s¹d¹m : r²t²s²ÿg²zg² : k²çg²s²zn² : k²çd²mz : t²ün²k¹t¹d¹mz : b¹wl¹çwk¹ᴀ : t¹ŋün²t²r²ü: t²g²d²mz

25. ötüntüm. sü yorıtdım. atlat tédim.[50] *ak* termel[51] keçe uğur kalıtdım.[52] at üze bintüre[53] karığ sökdüm. yokaru at yéte yadağın ığaç tutunu ağturtum. öŋreki er **26.** yoğurça *tegürüp*[54] ı barlık[55] aşdımız. yubulu[56] éntimiz. on tünke yantakı

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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* < *tegür-* "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 *öŋreki 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 *ıbarkı*; 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*¹ 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[57] ebirü[58] bardımız. yérçi yér yaŋılıp boğuzlantı. buŋadıp kağan yelü kör témiş. **27.** anı subka[59] *bardımız*.[60] ol sub kodı bardımız. aşınğalı[61] tüşürtümüz. atığ ıka bayur ertimiz. kün yeme tün yeme yelü bardımız. kırkızığ uka basdımız. **28.** *usın*[62] sünjügün açdımız. kanı süsi térilmiş. sünjüşdümüz. sançdımız. kanın ölürtümüz. kağanka kırkız bodunı içikdi, yükünti. yantımız. kögmen yışığ ebirü keltimiz. **29.** kırkızda yantımız. türgiş kağanta küreg kelti. sabı antağ:[63] öŋdün kağanğaru sü yorılım témiş. yorımasar bizni, kağanı alp ermiş, ayğuçısı bilge ermiş, kaçan neŋ erser, **30.** bizni ölürteçi kök témiş. türgiş kağanı taşıkmış tédi. on ok bodunı kalısız taşıkmış tér. tabğaç süsi bar ermiş. ol sabığ éşidip kağanım ben ebgerü[64] tüşeyin tédi. **31.** katun yok bolmış erti, anı yoğlatayın tédi. sü barıŋ tédi. altun yışda oluruŋ tédi. sü başı inel kağan, tarduş şad barzun tédi. bilge toñukuk[k]a baŋa aydı: **32.** bu süg élt tédi. kıyınığ könjlüŋçe ay. ben saŋa ne ayayın tédi: kelir erser körü kelür,[65] kelmez erser tılığ sabığ alı olur tédi. altun

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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 *baralım*; Aalto 1958 read it as *bar* ...; Giraud 1961 read it as *ba*(*sa*)*lım*; 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 *aşınğalı* < *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 *asınğalı* < *asın-* "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^2 is a writing error, it should be g^1.

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 ükülür*; Tekin 1968 read it as *kör ökülür*. Aalto transcribed it as *körü kelür* and

yışda olurtumuz. **33.** üç küreg kişi[66] kelti. sabı bir: kağanı sü taşıkdı. on ok süsi kalısız taşıkdı tér. yarış yazıda térilelim témiş. ol sabığ éşidip kağanğaru ol sabığ ıt[d]ım. kanta yan[67] sabığ yana **34.** kelti: oluruŋ téyin témiş. yelme[68] karğu[69] edgüti urğıl basıtma témiş. bögü[70] kağan baŋaru ança yıdmış,[71] apa tarkanğaru içre sab ıdmış: bilge toñukuk añığ ol, üz[72] ol …[73] **35.** sü yorılım tédeçi, unamaŋ. ol sabığ éşidip sü yorıtdım. altun yışığ yolsuzun aşdım;[74] ertiş ögüzüg keçigsizin keçdimiz. tün akıtdımız.[75] bolçuka taŋ üntürü tegdimiz.

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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 *tılığ sabığ 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 sabığ 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 **yiyi* "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 *karağu* < *karağ-* "to fight" (Radloff 1899: 93). It is Orkun who for the first time read this word correctly as *karğu* and translated it as *ateş kuleleri* "beacon towers" (Orkun 1936: 112).

70 Orkun 1936 and Giraud 1961 read this as *bög*; Malov 1951 read it as *bög*(*ü*?); Rybatzki 1997 read it as *bügü*. The Chinese transcription of this title in EMC is: *mək-giə'*, indicating that the two vowels should be different.

71 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 read this as *ayıdmış* < *ayıd-* "to let somebody speak" (Radloff 1899: 86). Aalto 1958 for the first time read this word correctly as *yıdmış* < *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^2 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 *aŋlar* < *aŋla-* "to understand". Radloff interpreted *öz ol aŋlar* 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 *aşdımız*; Rybatzki 1997 transliterated it as *şdmz*, but transcribed it as *aşdım*.

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 *akıtdımız* but astonishingly translated it as "we dried". Tekin read it as *akıtdımız* and translated it as "we made [the army] march"

Stone 11

West Side

(36) t¹ıl¹g¹k²l²ẅr²t²ı : s¹b¹ıntg¹ : y¹r¹s¹y¹zıd¹ᴀ : wn¹t²ẅmn² : s²ẅt²r²l²t²ı : t²ır² : wl¹s¹b¹g¹s²d²p : b²g²l²r² : kʷwp : **(37)** y¹n¹l¹m : r¹ıg¹wb¹t¹ıy²g² : t²d²ı : b²n²nçᴀt²r²mn² : b²n² : b²ıl²g²ᴀt¹wñkʷkʷ : l¹t¹n¹y¹ıs¹g¹ : s¹ᴀk²l²t²mz : r²t²s²ẅg²zg² : **(38)** k²çᴀk²l²t²mz : k²l²msı : l¹pt²ıd²ı : t¹wy¹md¹ı : t²ŋr²ıwmy¹ : ıd¹kʷy²r²s²wb¹ : b¹s¹ᴀb²r²t²ır²nç : n²k²ᴀt²zr²b²ız : **(39)** kʷ̈ẅs²t²y²n² : n²k²ᴀkʷwr¹kʷwr¹ : b²ız : zt²y²n² : n²ᴀb¹s¹n¹l¹m : t²g²l²mt²ıd²m : t²g²d²mz : y¹wl¹ıd¹mz : k²ın²t²ık¨ẅn² : **(40)** ẅr²t²çᴀk¨ızpk²l²t²ı : s²ẅŋs²d²mz : b²ızn²t²ᴀ : k²ıwçı : s²ıŋr¹çᴀ : r¹t¹kʷr²t²ı : t²ŋr²ıy¹r¹l¹k¹d¹kʷẅçn² : kʷ̈ẅs²t²y²n² : **(41)** kʷwr¹k¹md¹mz : s²ẅŋs²d²mz : t¹r¹d¹ws² : s¹d¹r¹ᴀ : wd¹ı : y¹ñd¹mz : k¹g¹n¹ın²t¹wt¹d¹mz : y¹b¹g¹ws²ın²s¹d¹ın² : **(42)** ntᴀẅl²r²t²ı : l²g²çᴀr² : t¹wt¹d¹mz : wl¹kʷt²ẅn² : b¹wd¹n¹ın²s¹y¹w : ıt¹mz : wl¹s¹b¹g¹s²d²p : wn¹kʷb²g²l²r²ı : b¹wd¹n¹ı : kʷwp : **(43)** k²l²t²ı : y²ẅkʷ̈n²t²ı : k²l²g²mᴀ : b²g²l²r²ın² : b¹wd¹n¹ın²: ıt²p : y¹ıg¹p : zçᴀ : b¹wd¹n¹ : t²zms²r²t²ı : wn¹kʷs²ẅs²ın² : s²ẅl²t²d²m : **(44)** b²ızy²mᴀ : s²ẅl²d²mz : n¹ır²t²mz : y²nçẅg²zg² : k²çᴀ : t²ın²s²ıwg¹l¹ı : y¹t¹g¹mᴀ : b²ŋl²g²k²t¹g¹g¹ : r²t²ẅ :

36. tılığ kelürti. sabı antağ: yarış yazıda on tümen sü térilti tér. ol sabığ éşidip begler kop[76] **37.** yanalım, arığ ubutı[77] yég tédi. ben ança térmen: ben bilge toñukuk. altun yışığ aşa keltimiz; ertiş ögüzüg **38.** keçe keltimiz. kelmişi alp[78] tédi, tuymadı. teŋri

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(Tekin 1968: 288). Clauson also read it as *akıtdımız* but translated it as "we sent out a raiding party" (Clauson 1972: 81). Rybatzki also transcribed it as *akıtdımız* 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 *kʷwpn¹*, but transcribed it as *ukup*. Orkun 1936, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read it as *kopın*; Malov 1951 read it as *kopan*. First, it is really difficult to recognize the sign *n¹* after *p*. Second, the word *kopın* appears once in line 16, but the *n* there is an *n²* rather than an *n¹*. Even if there is an *n¹* after the *p*, there are still two different readings among editors: *kopın* 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 *kopın*, please see Erdal 2004: 183. However, as suggested by Erdal, if it is an *n¹*, 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 *obutı* (*obut+ı* "shame"). Giraud 1961 read it as *ubatı*. Tekin 1968 understood it wrongly, reading *arığu batı* and translating it as "to become tired". In Tekin 1995 he corrected his earlier reading to *arığ ubutı*, 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, yulıdımız. ékinti kün[79] **40.** örtçe kızıp kelti. sünǰüşdümüz. bizinte éki uçı sınǰarça artuk erti. teŋri yarlıkaduk üçün üküş téyin[80] **41.** korkmadımız. sünǰüşdümüz. tarduş şad ara udı[81] yañdımız. kağanın tutdumuz. yabğusın şadın **42.** anta ölürti. eligçe er tutdumuz. ol ok tün bodunın sayu ıt[d]ımız. ol sabığ éşidip on ok begleri bodunı kop **43.** kelti, yükünti. keligme beglerin bodunın étip yığıp[82] azça[83] bodun tezmiş erti. on ok süsin sületdim. **44.** biz yeme süledimiz. anı ert[t]imiz. yinçü ögüzüg keçe ténsi[84] oğlı aytığma[85] beŋilig ek[86] tağığ ertü

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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 $k^{\ddot{w}}\ddot{w}n^2$ 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. udı*, while Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Giraud 1961 transcribed it as *badı*. They mistook the first sign as a b^1. 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^2A 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^hɛn-tsi'*), 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* < *ayıt-* "to speak", meaning "called". Here I follow the reading of Tekin.

86 Radloff 1899 and Malov 1951 read this as *beŋligek*; Orkun 1936 read it as *beŋ elig k?* (Orkun also misread the following word *tağığ* as *tuğığ*); Rybatzki 1997 read it as *beŋülüg ek*. Radloff

South Side

(45) t²mr²k¹pg¹k¹ᴀ : t²g²ı : ır²t²mz : ntᴀy¹ntwr¹t²mz : ın²l²k¹g¹... k¹ ...ıt¹... : t²zık² : t¹kʷr¹s¹ᴀ... **(46)** ntᴀb²r²kʷ̈ı : s¹kʷb¹s¹l¹g¹s¹wg¹d¹k¹ : b¹wd¹n¹ : kʷwpk²l²t²ı : y²kʷ̈n²t²ı : ... t²ı : t²ẅr²kʷ̈b¹wd¹n¹ : t²mr²k¹pg¹k¹ᴀ : t²ın²s²ıwg¹l¹ı : **(47)** t²ın²s²ıwg¹l¹ı : y¹t¹g¹mᴀt¹g¹k¹ᴀ : t²g²ms²ıd²ıy¹kʷr²ms² : wl¹y²r²k²ᴀ : b²n²b²ıl²g²ᴀ : t¹wñkʷkʷ : t²g²ẅr²t²kʷ̈ẅçn² : **(48)** s¹r¹g¹l¹t¹wn¹ : ẅr²ŋkʷ̈ẅms² : kⁱzk¹wd¹z : g²r²ıt²b²ᴀ : g¹ıb¹wŋs²z : k²l²ẅr²t²ı : ıl²t²r²s²k¹g¹n¹ : b²ıl²g²s²ın²ẅçn² : **(49)** l¹pın² : ẅçn² : t¹b¹g¹çk¹ᴀ : y²t²ıy²g²r²mı : s²ẅŋs²d²ı : kⁱıt¹ñk¹ᴀ : y²t²ıs²ẅŋs²d²ı : wg¹zk¹ᴀ : b²şs²ẅŋs²d²ı : ntᴀy¹g¹wç ... **(50)** y²mᴀ : b²n²kʷ̈r²t²m : y¹g¹çı : y²mᴀb²n²ᴀr²t²m : ıl²t²r²s²k¹g¹n¹k¹ᴀ : t²ẅr²kʷ̈b²g²ẅk¹g¹n¹k¹ᴀ : t²ẅr²kʷ̈b²ıl²g²ᴀk¹g¹n¹k¹ᴀ

45. temir kapığka tegi értimiz. anta yanturtumuz. inel kağanka ...[87] ...[88] tezik tokar[89] ...[90] **46.** anta berüki[91] şuk[92] başlığ soğdak[93] bodun kop kelti, yükünti,[94] *sög*ti.[95] türk bodun temir kapığka, ténsi oğlı **47.** ténsi oğlı aytığma tağka tegmiş idi yok ermiş. ol

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and subsequent editors interpreted *beŋligek* as the name of a mountain. Aalto 1958 transcribed it as *beŋilik* and translated it as "joyful". Giraud 1961 transcribed it as *beŋlig* and translated it as "spotted" (Giraud 1961: 141). Tekin 1968 also transcribed it as *beŋilik or beŋlik* but translated it as "sacred, holy" (Tekin 1968: 252, 312). Rybatzki transcribed it as *beŋülüg*, meaning "eternal" (Rybatzki 1997: 115–6 note 308). This reading is however not likely. First, the word meaning "eternal" in Old Turkic is *beŋgü*, not *beŋü*. Second, *beŋgü* itself is already an adjective, as in *beŋgü 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 *tığka*; 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 *tokrısın*; Tekin 1968 read it as *takar*(*sın*). 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 *b²* for a *y²*. 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 *soğdık*. 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 künte* "on that day". They mistook the sign *y²* for *wl¹*. 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 *t²g²t²I* 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" (Rybtazki 1997: note 198). K. Suzuki read *otuz* (Suzuki 2006: 8). Here I follow the interpretation of Rybatzki.

yérke[96] ben bilge toñukuk tegürtük üçün **48.** sarığ[97] altun, ürüŋ kümüş, kız koduz,[98] egri tebe,[99] ağı buŋsuz kelürti. élteriş kağan bilgesin üçün,[100] **49.** alpın üçün tabğaçka yéti yégirmi sünüşdi, kıtañka yéti sünüşdi, oğuzka béş sünüşdi. anta ayğuçs*ı* 5**0.** yeme ben ök ertim, yağıçı[sı][101] yeme ben ertim. élteriş kağanka, türk bögü kağanka, türk bilge kağanka

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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^2, not t^2, that is written here.

97 Radloff 1899 read this as *kızıl* "red". Thomsen 1924 read it as *sarığ* "yellow", which has been accepted by the later editors. The phrase *sarığ altun ürüŋ 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^1wd^1z, different editors have different opinions. Orkun 1936 and Giraud 1961 read *kudız*; 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 *sarığ altun* "yellow gold", *ürüŋ 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* (Rybaztki 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 eşin 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 *yağıda* "in the war". Thomsen 1924 corrected Radloff's reading and transcribed it as *yağıçısı* "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 *ayğuçısı* "consultant". Here I follow the reading of Thomsen. The possessive suffix *+sı* is not written in the inscription.

East Side

(51) k¹pg¹n¹k¹g¹n¹ : *y²t²ɾwt¹z* ..... nтA ... r²t²ı : k¹pg¹n¹k¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹d¹m : t²ẅn²wd¹mt¹ı : **(52)** kʷ̈ẅn²t²zwl¹r¹mt¹ı : kï ızl¹k¹n¹m : t²kʷ̈t²ı : k¹r¹ʌt²r²my²ẅg²r²*t²ı* : s²g²k²ẅçg² : b²r²t²mkʷ̈ : wzn¹y²l²mg² : y²mʌıt¹mkʷ : **(53)** r¹k¹wy¹k¹r¹g¹wg¹ : wl¹g¹r¹t¹d¹mkʷ:y¹n¹g¹mʌ:y¹g¹ıg¹:k²l²ẅ*r²ır²*r²t²m:k¹g¹n¹mn²s²ẅl²t²d²mz:t²ŋr²ıy¹r¹l¹k¹zw:**(54)** b¹wt²ẅr²kʷ̈b¹d¹n¹r¹ʌ : y¹r¹k¹l¹g¹y¹g¹ıg¹ : y²l²t²ẅr²md²m : t²ẅg²n²l²g²t¹g¹ : y²ẅg²r²t²md²m : ıl²t²r²s²k¹g¹n¹ : k¹zg¹n¹ms¹r² : **(55)** wd¹wb²n²ẅzm : k¹zg¹n¹ms¹r¹ : ıl²y²mʌ : b¹wd¹n¹y²mʌ : y¹kʷr²t²çır²t²ı : k¹zg¹n̲tkʷın²ẅçn² : wd¹wẅzm : k¹zg¹n̲tkʷmẅçn² : **(56)** ıl²y²mʌ : ıl²b¹wl̲tı : b¹wd¹n¹y²mʌ:b¹wd¹n¹b¹l̲tı:ẅzmk¹r¹ıb¹wl̲tm:wl¹g¹b¹wl̲tm:n²ŋy²r²d²k²ı:k¹g¹n¹l¹g¹b¹wd¹n¹k¹ʌ: **(57)** b²ın²t²g²ı : b¹r¹r²s²r² : n²ʌb¹wŋı : b¹r¹r²t²çır²ms² : **(58)** t²ẅr²kʷ̈b²ıl²g²ʌk¹g¹n¹ : ıl²ıŋʌ : b²ıt²ıt²d²m : b²n²b²ıl²g²ʌt¹wñkʷkʷ :

51. kapğan kağan *yéti otuz yaşka* ..... anta ... erti.[102] kapğan kağan olur[t]dum.[103] tün udımatı, **52.** küntüz olurmatı, kızıl kanım töküti,[104] kara terim yügür*ti*,[105] éşig[106]

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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 *iliŋe* after *kağan*. Sertkaya suggested it should be read as *kapğan kağan yéti otuz yaşka tegi çor erti anta késre kağan bolmış 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 *olurdı*; Malov 1951, Aalto 1958, Tekin 1968 and Rybatzki 1997 read it as *olurtdum*. Alyılmaz's field research confirmed the latter reading (Alyılmaz 2000: 109–110).

104 Radloff 1899 transcribed this as *tökti* < *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* < *tökü̈t-* "to cause to shed". Sertkaya 1988 and Rybatzki 1997 followed Tekin's reading. According to Tekin, here *tökü̈t-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 *-mAtI*, 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 *tökti*; 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 kŭč bēr-* "to fullfill 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.[107] uzun yelmeg yeme ıt[d]ım ok. **53.** arkuy karğuğ olğurtdum[108] ok. yanığma[109] yağığ kelü*rir* ertim. kağanımın sületdimiz. teŋri yarlıkazu, **54.** bu türk bodun ara[110] yarıklığ yağığ yeltürmedim, tögünlüg atığ yügürtmedim. élteriş 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. neŋ yérdeki kağanlığ bodunka **57.** bintegi[111] bar erser ne buŋı bar erteçi ermiş? **58.** türk bilge kağan éliŋe bititdim. ben bilge toñukuk.

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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 *ıtdım ok* are in perfect parallel.

108 Radloff 1899, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951, Giraud 1961 and Tekin 1968 read this as *ulğartdım* < *ulğart-* "to make something big" (Radloff 1899: 91). Aalto 1958 read it as *uluğartdım* < **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 *ulğartdım* was morphologically impossible and suggested the word be read as *olğurtdım* < *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^1 for b^1s^1. 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^1 for k^1. The word *bodun* is written here as $b^1d^1n^1$ rather than the common form $b^1wd^1n^1$. However, most editors transliterated it as $b^1wd^1n^1$.

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 *bunı+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 *bintegi*, meaning "someone like me" (Alyılmaz 2000: 111; Erdal 2004: 193).

North Side

(59) ıl²t²r²ıs²k¹g¹n¹ : k¹zg¹n¹ms¹r¹ : y¹kʷr²t²ır²s²r² : b²n²ẅzmb²ıl²g²at¹wñkʷkʷ : k¹zg¹n¹ms¹r² : b²n²y¹kʷr²t²mr²s²r² **(60)** k¹pg¹n¹k¹g¹n¹ : t²ẅr²kẅs²ır²b¹wd¹n¹ : y²ır²n²t²a : b¹wd¹y²ma : b¹wd¹n¹y²ma : k²ıs²ıy²ma : ıd²ıy¹kʷr²t²çır²t²ı **(61)** ıl²t²r²s²k¹g¹n¹ : b²ıl²g²at¹wñkʷkʷ : k¹zg¹n̲tkʷẅçn² : k¹pg¹n¹k¹g¹n¹ : t²ẅr²kẅs²ır²b¹wd¹n¹ : y¹wr¹ıd¹kʷıb¹w **(62)** t²ẅr²kẅb²ıl²g²ak¹g¹n¹ : t²ẅr²kẅs²ır²b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : wg¹zb¹wd¹n¹g¹ : ıg²d²ẅ : wl¹r¹wr¹

59. élteriş 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.** élteriş kağan bilge toñukuk kazğantuk üçün kapğan kağan türk sir bodun yorıdukı bu.[112] **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 *yorıdukı bu*, and translated as "have flourished (this much)". Here I also read it as *yorıdukı bu*, but I understand *yorı-* ("to walk; to go on") as "to continue, survive", which fits in the context better than "to flourish".

Bilge Toñukuk Inscription – Translation

Stone I

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. Teŋri must have said: "I gave [you a] kan. **3** You abandoned [him] and submitted [to China]." Because they had abandoned him, Teŋri 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 Teŋri, 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, Kıtañ 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 Toŋra to the Kıtañ. He has sent the following message [to China and Kıtañ]: '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] Kıtañ in the east, and kill me Oğuz. **11** [You] China, attack [the Türks] from the south side! [You] Kıtañs, 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 Kıtañ, 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 Kıtañs 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 Öŋ, 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 Teŋri 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 Şantuŋ 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 Şantuŋ 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 Türgiş kağan. His message was as follows: "[The Türgiş 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 Türgiş 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 Tarduş Şad 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 Türgiş) kağan has set off with the army; all the troops of the On Ok have set off. They said: 'Let's assemble at Yarış 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 watchtowers 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 Yarış 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]. Teŋri 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 Teŋri 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 yabğu 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 Beŋilig 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 Élteriş Kağan's wisdom and **49** bravery, he fought seventeen times against China, seven times against the Kıtañ and five times against the Oğuz. **50** It was I that was his consultant. I was also the commander. For Élteriş Kağan, Türk Bögü Kağan and Türk Bilge Kağan …

East Side

51 When Kapğan 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] Teŋri'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 Élteriş 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 Élteriş 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 Élteriş 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) ẅzaᴋ²ẅᴋ² : t²ŋr²ı : s¹r¹ᴀ : y¹g¹z : y²r² : kˡılˡntkʷdˡᴀ : k²ın²r¹ᴀ : k²ıs²ı : wgˡlˡı : kˡılˡnˡms² : k²ıs²ı : wgˡlˡıntᴀ : ẅzᴀ : çẅmpᴀm : bˡwmnˡkˡgˡnˡ : ıs²t²mıkˡgˡnˡ : wlˡrˡmş : wlˡrˡpnˡ : t²ẅr²kʷ : bˡwdˡnˡŋ : ılˡın² : t²ẅr²... n² : tˡwtˡᴀ : b²ır²ms² : ıt²ı : b²ır²ms² : **(2)** t²ẅr²t² : bˡwlˡŋ : kˡwp : y¹g¹ır²ms² : s²ẅs²ẅl²pn² : t²ẅr²t² : bˡwlˡŋdˡkˡı : bˡwdˡnˡgˡ : kˡwplˡms² : kˡwpbˡz : kˡılˡms² : bˡşlˡgˡgˡ : y²kʷntr²ms² : t²ızl²g²g² : s²ẅk²ẅr²ms² : ıl²g²r²ẅ : kˡdˡrˡkˡnˡ : y²ışkˡᴀt²g²ı : k²ır²ẅ : t²mr²kˡpgˡkˡᴀt²g²ı : kʷwntrˡms² : k²ın²rˡ.. **(3)** ıd²ırwkˡsˡz : kʷẅk² : t²ẅr²kʷ : nçᴀ : wlˡrˡwrˡr²ms² : b²ıl²ᴀ : kˡgˡnˡr²ms² : lˡpkˡgˡ.....: bˡwyˡrˡkʷıy²mᴀ : b²ıl²g²ᴀ : r²ms²r²nç : lˡpr²ms²r²nç : b²g²l²r²ıy²mᴀ : bˡwdˡnˡıy²mᴀ : t²ẅzr²ms² : nˡırẅçẅn² : ıl²g² : nçᴀtˡwtˡms² : r²nç : ıl²g²tˡwtˡp : t²ẅr²ẅg² : ıt²ms² : ẅzınçᴀ : **(4)** k²r²g²k² : bˡwlˡms² : yˡwgˡçı : s²ıgˡtˡçı : ẅŋr²ᴀ : kʷẅn² : tˡwgˡsˡkˡdˡᴀ : b²ẅk²l²ı : çẅl²g²l² : tˡb¹gˡç : t²ẅpẅt² : prˡpwrˡm : kïrˡkˡz : ẅçkʷwrˡıkˡnˡ : wtˡztˡtˡrˡ : kïıtˡñ : tˡtˡbˡı : bˡwnçᴀ : bˡwdˡnˡ : k²l²pn² : sˡıgˡtˡᴀms² : yˡwgˡlˡᴀms² : ntgˡ : k²ẅl²g² : kˡgˡnˡr²ms² : ntᴀk²ıs²r²ᴀ : ın²s²ıkˡgˡ.. **(5)** bˡwlˡms²r²nç : wgˡlˡıtˡı : kˡgˡnˡbˡwlˡms²r²nç : ntᴀk²ıs²r²ᴀ : ın²ıs²ı : çıs²ın²t²g² : kˡılˡnˡmdˡkʷr²nç : wgˡlˡı : kˡŋın²t²g² : kˡılˡnˡmdˡkʷr²nç : b²ıl²g²s²ız : kˡgˡnˡ : wlˡrˡms²r²nç : yˡbˡlˡkˡ : kˡgˡnˡ : wlˡrˡms²r²nç : bˡwyˡrˡkʷı : y²mᴀ : b²ıl²g²s²zr²nç : yˡbˡlˡkˡr²ms²r²..

1. üze kök teŋri asra yağız yér kılıntukda ékin ara kişi oğlı kılınmış. kişi oğlınta üze eçüm apam bumın kağan iştemi kağan olurmış. olurupan türk bodunuŋ élin tör*üsi*n tuta bérmiş, éti bérmiş. **2.** tört buluŋ kop yağı ermiş. sü sülepen tört buluŋdakı bodunuğ kop almış, kop baz kılmış. başlığığ yüküntürmiş; tizligig sökürmiş. ilgerü kadırkan yışka tegi, kérü temir kapığka tegi konturmış. ékin ar*a* **3.** idi oksuz kök türk[113] ança olurur ermiş. bil[g]e kağan ermiş; alp kağ*an ermiş*. buyrukı yeme bilge ermiş erinç, alp ermiş erinç. begleri yeme bodunı yeme tüz ermiş. anı üçün élig ança tutmış erinç. élig tutup törüg étmiş. özi ança **4.** kergek bolmış.[114] yoğçı sığıtçı öŋre kün toğsukda bükli,[115]

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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 *özinçe*; Malov suggested it be read as *öz ınça* 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-kəw-lɛj^{h}*). According to his theory, *bökli* is made up of *bö*(*k*) and *kli*. *Kli* corresponds to the last syllables of Gaogouli (i.e. *gouli*). The first part, *bök*, corresponds to Mo 貊 (EMC: *maijk*), 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 kurıkan, otuz tatar, kıtañ, tatabı bunça bodun kelipen sığtamış, yoğlamış. antağ külüg kağan ermiş. anta késre inisi kağa*n* **5.** bolmış erinç, oğlıtı kağan bolmış erinç. anta késre inisi eçisin teg kılınmaduk erinç, oğlı kaŋın teg kılınmaduk erinç. biligsiz kağan olurmış erinç; yablak kağan olurmış erinç. buyrukı yeme biligsiz erinç, yablak ermiş eri*nç*.

(6) b²g²l²r²ı : b¹wd¹n¹ı : t²ẅzs²z : ẅçn² : t¹b¹g¹çb¹wd¹n¹ : t²b²l²g²ın² : k²ẅr²l²g² : ẅçẅn² : r¹mk¹çıs²ın² : ẅçẅn² : ın²l²ı : çıl²ı : k²ık²s²ẅr²t²k^{ẅ}ın² : ẅçẅn² : b²g²l²ı : b¹wd¹n¹l¹ıg¹ : y¹wŋşwr¹t¹k^{w}ın² : ẅçẅn² : ..... : b¹wd¹n¹ : ıl²l²d²k^{ẅ} : ıl²ın² : ı... w : ıd¹ms² : **(7)** k¹g¹n¹l¹d¹k^{w} : k¹g¹n¹ın¹ : y²ıt²r²ẅ : ıd¹ms² : t¹b¹g¹ç : b¹wd¹n¹k¹ᴀ : b²g²l²k² : wr²ıwg¹l¹ın² : k¹wl¹b¹wltı : s²ıl²k² : k^{ï}ızwg¹l¹n² : k²ẅŋb¹wltı : t²ẅr²k^{ẅ} : b²g²l²r² : t²ẅr²k^{ẅ} : ᴀt¹ın² : ıt¹ı : t¹b¹g¹çg¹ı : b²g²l²r² : t¹b¹g¹ç : ᴀt¹ın² : t¹wt¹pn¹ : t¹b¹g¹ç : k¹g¹n¹k¹ᴀ : **(8)** k²ẅr²ms² : l²g²y²ıl¹ : ıs²g²k²ẅçg² : b²ır²ms² : ıl²g²r²ẅ : k^{ẅ}ẅn² : t¹wg¹s¹k¹d¹ᴀ : b²ẅk²l²ı : k¹g¹n¹k¹ᴀ : t²g²ı : s²ẅl²y²ẅ : b²ır²m²s² : k^{w}wr¹g¹r¹w : t²mr²k¹pg¹k¹ᴀ : t²g²ı : s²ẅl²y²ẅ : b²ır²ms² : t¹b¹g¹ç : k¹g¹n¹k¹ᴀ : ıl²ın² : t²ẅr²ẅs²ın² : l¹ıb²ır²ms² : t²ẅr²k^{ẅ} : k¹r¹ : k¹mg¹ : **(9)** b¹wd¹n¹ : nç̲ᴀt²ıms² : ıl²l²g² : b¹wd¹n¹r²t²m : ıl²m : mt¹ık¹n¹ı : k²mk²ᴀ : ıl²g² : k¹zg¹n¹wr¹mn² : t²ır²r²ms² : k¹g¹n¹l¹g¹ : b¹wd¹n¹:r²t²m:k¹g¹n¹mk¹n¹ı:n²ᴀk¹g¹n¹k¹ᴀ:ıs²g²k²ẅçg²:b²ır²ẅr²mn²:t²ır²r²ms²:nç̲ᴀt²ıp: t¹b¹g¹ç : k¹g¹n¹k¹ᴀ : y¹g¹ıb¹wl¹m.. **(10)** y¹g¹ıb¹wl¹p : ıt²n²ẅ : y¹r¹t¹wn¹w : wmd¹k^{w} : y¹n¹ᴀ : ıçk²ms²:b¹wnç̲ᴀ:ıs²g²k²ẅçg²:b²ır²t²k^{ẅ}g²r²ẅ:s¹k¹n¹mt¹ı:t²ẅr²k^{ẅ}:b¹wd¹n¹:ẅl²ẅr²y²ın²: wr¹g¹s¹r¹t¹y¹ın² : t²ır²r²ms² : y¹wk¹d¹w : b¹r¹ır¹ : r²ms² : ẅzᴀ : t²ẅr²k^{ẅ} : t²ŋr²ıs²ı : t²ẅr²k^{ẅ} : ıd¹k^{w} : y²ı...

Moli 莫離 (EMC: *mak-liă*), 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 bodunı tüzsüz üçün, tabğaç bodun tebligin kürlüg[116] üçün, armakçısın üçün, inili eçili kikşürtükin[117] üçün, *begli* bodunlığ yoŋşurtukın üçün türk bodun élledük élin ıç*ğın*u ıdmış, **7.** kağanladuk kağanın yitürü ıdmış. tabğaç bodunka beglik urı oğlın kul boltı, silik kız oğlın küŋ boltı. türk begler türk atın ıt[d]ı, tabğaçğı begler tabğaç atın tutupan tabğaç kağanka **8.** körmiş. elig yıl éşig küçüg bérmiş. ilgerü kün toğsukda bükli kağanka tegi süleyü bérmiş; kurığaru temir kapığka 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. kağanlığ bodun ertim, kağanım kanı? ne kağanka éşig küçüg bérür men? tér ermiş. ança tép tabğaç kağanka yağı bolmış. **10.** yağı bolup étinü yaratunu umaduk,[118] yana içikmiş. bunça éşig küçüg bértükgerü sakınmatı, türk bodun ölüreyin, uruğsıratayın tér ermiş. yokadu barır ermiş. üze türk teŋrisi, türk ıduk y*éri*

(11) s¹wb¹ı : nç̲ᴀt²ms² : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b¹wd¹n¹ : y¹wkʷ : b¹wl¹mzwn¹ : t²ıy²n² : ..wd¹n¹ : b¹wl¹çwn¹t²ıy²n² : k¹ŋm : ıl²t²r²s²k¹g¹n¹g¹ : ẅg²m : ıl²b²ıl²g²ᴀk¹t¹wn¹g¹ : t²ŋr²ı : t²ẅps²ın̲tᴀ : t¹wt¹p : y²ẅg²r²ẅ : k²ẅt²ẅr²ms²r²nç̲ : k¹ŋmk¹g¹n¹ : y²ıt²ıy²g²r²mır²n² : t¹şk¹ms² : t¹ş ... **(12)** y¹wr¹y¹wr¹ : t²ıy²n² : k²ẅs²d²p : b¹l¹kʲ̈d¹k¹ı : t¹şkʲ̈ms² : t¹g¹d¹k¹ı : ın²ms² : t²ır²l²p : y²t²ms²r²b¹wl¹ms² : t²ŋr²ı : kʷ̈ẅç : b²ır²t²kʷ̈ : ẅçn² : k¹ŋmk¹g¹n¹ : s²ẅs²ı : b²ẅr²ıt²g² : r²ms² : y¹g¹ıs²ı : kʷwñt²g²r²ms² : ıl²g²r²ẅ : kʷwr¹g¹r¹w : s²ẅl²p : t²..... : k¹wb¹r¹t¹ms² : ..... **(13)** y²t²ıy²ẅzr² : b¹wl¹ms² : y²t²ıy²ẅzr² : b¹wl¹p : l²s²r²ms² : k¹g¹n¹s¹r¹ms² : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : k²ẅŋd²ms² : kʷwl¹d¹ms² : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : t²ẅr²ẅs²ın² : ıçg¹n¹ms² : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : çẅmpᴀm : t²ẅr²ẅs²ın̲çᴀ : y¹r¹t¹ms² : b¹wşg¹wr¹ms² : t²ẅl²ıs² : t¹..... **(14)** y¹b¹g¹wg¹ : şd¹g¹ : n̲tᴀ : b²r²ms² : b²r²y²ᴀ : t¹b¹g¹ç : b¹wd¹n¹ : y¹g¹ır²ms² : y²ır¹y¹ᴀ : b¹zk¹g¹n¹ : t¹kʷwzwg¹z : b¹wd¹wn¹ : y¹g¹ır²ms² : kʲ̈ır¹k¹z : kʷwr¹ık¹n¹ : wt¹zt¹t¹r¹ : kʲ̈ıt¹ñ : t¹t¹b¹ı : kʷwp : y¹g¹ır²ms² : k¹ŋmk¹g¹n¹ : b¹wnç̲..... **(15)** kʲ̈ır¹k¹ : r¹t¹kʷı : ...ı : y¹wl¹ı : s²ẅl²ms² : y²g²r²mı : s²ẅŋs² : s²ẅŋs²ms² : t²ŋr²ı : y¹r¹l¹k¹d¹kʷ :

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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 *körlig*, 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*: *kürlig*/*kürlüg*.

117 Radloff 1897 read this as *kekşürtükin* < *kekşür*- "to treat with hostility". Thomsen 1896 read the third sign as *ŋ* rather than *k²* and transcribed the word as *kiŋesürtükin* < *kiŋesür*- "to conspire against each other". Thomsen was not sure whether it should be *kiŋesür* or *kiŋsür*. Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Tekin 1968 all followed Thomsen's reading and transcribed it as *kiŋsürtükin*. Tekin on the other hand translated *kiŋsür*- as "to create a rift between". It seems that between *k²* and *ŋ* 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 *kek sürtükin üçün* (Erdal 1991: 567 note 196). Here I read the second consonant as *k²*.

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".

ẅçẅn^{2} : ıl^{2}l^{2}g^{2}g^{2} : l^{2}s^{2}r^{2}t^{2}ms^{2} : k^{1}g^{1}n^{1}l^{1}g^{1}g^{1} : k^{1}g^{1}n^{1}s^{1}r^{1}t^{1}ms^{2} : y^{1}g^{1}ıg^{1} : b^{1}zk^{1}ıl^{1}ms^{2} : t^{2}ızl^{2}g^{2}g^{2} : s^{2}ẅk^{2}ẅr^{2}ms^{2} : b^{1}şl^{1}g^{1}g^{1} : y^{2}ẅk^{2}n̲tẅ……

11. subı ança témiş:[119] türk bodun yok bolmazun téyin, *b*odun bolçun téyin, kaŋım élteriş kağanığ, ögüm élbilge katunuğ teŋri töpüsinte[120] tutup yögerü kötürmiş erinç. kaŋım kağan yéti yégirmi erin taşıkmış. taşra **12.** yorıyur téyin kü éşidip balıkdakı taşıkmış,[121] tağdakı énmiş. térilip yétmiş er bolmış. teŋri küç bértük üçün kaŋım kağan süsi böri teg ermiş, yağısı koñ teg ermiş. ilgerü, kurığaru sülep t*érmiş*, kubratmış. *kamağı* **13.** yéti yüz er bolmış. yéti yüz er bolup élsiremiş kağansıramış bodunuğ, küŋedmiş kuladmış bodunuğ, türk törüsin ıçğınmış bodunuğ eçüm apam törüsinçe yaratmış, boşğurmış. tüliş[122] t*arduş bodunuğ anta étmiş*, **14.** yabğuğ şadığ anta bérmiş. bérye tabğaç bodun yağı ermiş. yırya baz kağan, tokuz oğuz bodun yağı ermiş. kırkız, kurıkan, otuz tatar, kıtañ, tatabı kop yağı ermiş. kaŋım kağan bunça *sülemiş* **15.** kırk artukı *yéti* yolı sülemiş; yégirmi süŋüş süŋüşmiş. teŋri yarlıkaduk üçün élligig élsiretmiş, kağanlığığ kağansıratmış, yağığ baz kılmış, tizligig sökürmiş, başlığığ yüküntü*rmiş. kaŋım kağan ınçe élig*

(16) t^{2}ẅr^{2}ẅg^{2} : k^{1}zg^{1}n^{1}p : wçᴀ : b^{1}r^{1}ms^{2} : k^{1}ŋm : k^{1}g^{1}n^{1}k^{1}ᴀ : b^{1}şl^{1}y^{1}w : b^{1}zk^{1}g^{1}n^{1}g^{1} : b^{1}l^{1}b^{1}l^{1} : t^{2}ık^{2}ms^{2} : wl^{1}t^{2}ẅr^{2}ẅd^{2}ᴀ : ẅzᴀ : çımk^{1}g^{1}n^{1} : wl^{1}r^{1}t^{1}ı : çımk^{1}g^{1}n^{1} : wl^{1}r^{1}pn^{1} : t^{2}ẅr^{2}k^{ẅ} : b^{1}wd^{1}n^{1}g^{1} : y^{2}ıçᴀ : ıt^{2}d^{2}ı : ıg^{2}t^{2}ı : çıg^{1}ñg^{1} …… **(17)** çımk^{1}g^{1}n^{1} : wl^{1}r^{1}t^{1}k^{w}d^{1}ᴀ: ẅzm : t^{1}r^{1}d^{1}wş : b^{1}wd^{1}n^{1} : wzᴀ : şd^{1}r^{2}t^{2}m : çmk^{1}g^{1}n^{1} : b^{2}ır^{2}l^{2}ᴀ : ıl^{2}g^{2}r^{2}ẅ : y^{1}şl^{1}ẅg^{2}z : şn̲twŋ : y^{1}zık^{1}ᴀt^{2}g^{2}ı : s^{2}ẅl^{2}d^{2}mz : k^{w}wr^{1}g^{1}r^{1}w : t^{2}mr^{2}k^{1}pg^{1}k^{1}ᴀ : t^{2}g^{2}ı : s^{2}ẅl^{2}d^{2}mz : k^{2}ẅg^{2}mn^{2} : şᴀ : k^{ï}ı…… **(18)** k^{1}mg^{1}ı:b^{2}ışwt^{1}z:s^{2}ẅl^{2}d^{2}mz:ẅçy^{2}g^{2}r^{2}mı:s^{2}ẅŋşd^{2}mz:ıl^{2}l^{2}g^{2}g^{2}:ıl^{2}s^{2}r^{2}t^{2}d^{2}mz:k^{1}g^{1}n^{1}l^{1}g^{1}g^{1}:

119 Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Tekin 1968 read this as *itmiş*/*etmis* < *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 g^{1} instead of *ş* and transcribed the word as *tağıkmış* < *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 g^{1}. 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 *töliş* (Gabain 1974: 373). In the revised edition, she cited the Khotanese form *ttūḍīśa* (Gabain 1974: 373). The Chinese transcription is *tulishi* 突利失 (EMC: *dwət-lih-ɕit*) (XTS 217b: 6135). The LMC of the character *tu* is *thu*. Both the Khotanese and Chinese transcriptions indicate that the first vowel should be *ü* rather than *ö*. Therefore, I transcribe it as *tüliş* in this book.

k¹g¹n¹s¹r¹t¹d¹mz : t²ɪzl²g²g² : s²ẅk²r²t²mz : b¹şl¹g¹g¹ : y²kʷ̈ẅn̲tẅr²t²mz : t²ẅr²g²s² : k¹g¹n¹ : t²ẅr²kʷ̈mz ..... **(19)** ẅçẅn² : b²ɪzŋᴀ : y¹ŋl¹kʷɪn² : ẅçẅn² : k¹g¹n¹ɪ : ẅl²t²ɪ : b¹wy¹r¹kʷɪ : b²g²l²r²ɪ : y²mᴀ : ẅl²t²ɪ : wn¹kʷ : b¹wd¹n¹ : mg²k² : k²ẅr²t²ɪ : çẅmz : pᴀmz : t¹wt¹ms² : y²ɪr²s¹wb¹ : ɪd²s²z : b¹wl¹mzwn¹ : t²ɪy²n² : zb¹wd¹n¹g¹ : ɪt²p : y¹r¹..... **(20)** b¹r¹s¹b²g² : r²t²ɪ : k¹g¹n¹t¹ : b¹wn̲tᴀ : b²ɪz : b²ɪr²t²mz : s²ɪŋl²m : kʷwn̲çy¹wg¹ : b²ɪr²t²mz : ẅzɪy¹ŋl̲tɪ : k¹g¹n¹ɪ : ẅl²t²ɪ : b¹wd¹n¹ɪ : k²ẅŋkʷwl¹ : b¹wl̲tɪ : k²ẅg² mn² : y²ɪr²s¹wb¹ : ɪd²s²z : k¹l¹mzwn¹t²ɪy²n² : zk¹ɪr¹k¹z : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : y¹r¹t¹.....

16. törüg kazğanıp uça barmış. kaŋım kağanka başlayu baz kağanığ balbal tikmiş. ol törüde üze eçim kağan olurtı. eçim kağan olurupan türk bodunuğ yiçe étdi igit[d]i. çığañığ *bay kıltı*; *azıtğ üküş kıltı*. **17.** eçim kağan olurtukda özüm tarduş bodun üze şad ertim.[123] eçim kağan birle ilgerü yaşıl ögüz şantuŋ yazıka tegi süledimiz, kurığaru temir kapığka tegi süledimiz, kögmen aşa k*ırkız yériŋe tegi süledimiz*. **18.** kamağı béş otuz süledimiz, üç yégirmi sünüşdümüz. élligig élsiretdimiz, kağanlığığ kağansıratdımız, tizligig sökürtümüz, başlığığ yüküntürtümüz. türgiş kağan türkümüz *bodunumuz erti. bilmedükin* **19.** üçün, biziŋe yaŋıl[t]ukın[124] üçün kağanı ölti, buyrukı begleri yeme ölti. on ok bodun emgek körti. eçümüz apamız tutmış yér sub idisiz bolmazun téyin, az bodunuğ étip yara*tıp* ..... **20.** bars beg erti. kağan at bunta biz bértimiz. siŋlim kunçuyuğ bértimiz. özi yaŋıltı. kağanı ölti, bodunı küŋ kul boltı. kögmen yér sub idisiz kalmazun téyin, az kırkız bodunuğ yarat*ıp keltimiz, sünüşdümüz. élin*[125]

(21) y¹n¹ᴀ : b²ɪr²t²mz : l²g²r²ẅ : k¹d¹r¹k¹n¹ : y²ɪşg¹ : şᴀ : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : n̲çᴀkʷwn̲twr¹t¹mz : n̲çᴀɪt²d²mz : kʷwr¹g¹r¹w : k²ŋẅt¹r¹mn¹k¹ᴀ : t²g²ɪ : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : n̲çᴀkʷwn̲tr¹t¹mz :

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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 ... teŋri yarlıkaduk üçün tört yégirmi 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 *y¹ŋl¹t¹kʷ¹n²*. 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 *yaŋılukın*.

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).

nç̲ᴀt²d²mz : wl¹ẅd²k²ᴀ : kʷwl : kʷwl¹l¹g¹ : b¹wl¹m …… **(22)** nç̲ᴀk¹zg¹n¹ms² : ɪt²ms² : l²mz : t²ẅr²ẅmz : r²t²ɪ : t²ẅr²kẅ : wg¹z : b²g²l²r²ɪ : b¹wd¹n¹ : s²d²ŋ : ẅzᴀ : t²ŋr²ɪ : b¹s¹ms¹r¹ : s¹r¹ᴀy²ɪr² : t²l²n²ms²r² : t²ẅr²kẅ : b¹wd¹n¹ : l²ŋn² : t²ẅr²ẅŋn² : k²mr¹t¹t¹ɪ …… **(23)** ẅk²ẅn² : k²ẅr²g²ẅŋn² : ẅçẅn² : ɪg²d²ms² : b²ɪl²g²ᴀ : k¹g¹n¹ŋn¹ : r²ms²b¹r¹ms² : d²g²ẅl²ŋ.. : k²nt̲ẅ : y¹ŋlt̲g¹ : y¹b¹l¹k¹ : k²ɪg²ẅr²t²g² : y¹r¹k¹l¹g¹ : k¹nt̲n¹ : k²l²p : y¹ñᴀl²t²d²ɪ : sẅŋg²l²g² : k¹nt̲n¹ : k²l²pn² : s²ẅr²ᴀl²t²d²ɪ : ɪd¹kʷ : ẅt²kẅn² : y²ɪ…… **(24)** b¹r¹d¹g¹ : ..wr¹ɪg¹r¹w : b¹r¹g¹mᴀ : b¹r¹d¹g¹ : b¹r¹d¹kʷ : y²ɪr²d²ᴀ : d²g²ẅg² : wl¹r²nç : k¹n¹ŋ : s¹wb¹çᴀ : y²ẅg²r²t²ɪ : s²ẅŋkẅẅŋ : t¹g¹çᴀ : y¹t¹d¹ɪ : b²g²l²k² : wr¹ɪwg¹l¹ŋ : kʷwl¹b¹wl̲tɪ : s²l²k²kɨɪzwg¹l¹ŋ : k²ẅŋb¹wl̲tɪ : b²ɪl²md²kẅẅç …… **(25)** b¹şl¹y¹w : kɨɪr¹k¹zk¹g¹n¹g¹ : b¹l¹b¹l¹ : t²ɪk²d²m : t²ẅr²kẅ : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : t¹ɪk²ẅs²ɪ : y¹kʷb¹wl¹mzwn¹ : t²ɪy²n² : k¹ŋmk¹g¹n¹g¹ : ẅg²mk¹t¹wn¹g¹ : k²ẅt²r²mş : t²ŋr²ɪ : ɪl²b²ɪr²g²mᴀ : t²ŋr²ɪ : t²ẅr²kẅ : b¹wd¹n¹ : t¹ɪk²ẅs²ɪ : y¹kʷb¹w ……

21. yana bértimiz. ilgerü kadırkan yışığ aşa, bodunuğ ança konturtumuz, ança étdimiz. kurığaru kẹnjü tarmanka tegi türk bodunuğ ança konturtumuz, ança étdimiz. ol ödke kul kulluğ bolmış *erti, küŋ küŋlüg bolmış erti*. **22.** ança kazğanmış, étmiş. élimiz törümüz erti. türk oğuz begleri bodun eşidiŋ: üze teŋri basmasar, asra yér telinmeser,[126] türk bodun, éliŋin törüŋün kem artat[d]ı *udaçı erti*? *türk bodun er* …[127] **23.** ökün. küregüŋün[128] üçün igidmiş bilge kağanıŋın, érmiş barmış edgü éliŋe kentü yaŋıltığ, yablak kigürtüg. yarıklığ kantın kelip yaña éltdi? süŋüglüg kantın kelipen süre éltdi?

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 *körügüŋin* < *körüg* "look, loyalty"; Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read it as *körgüŋin* < *körgü* "subordination, obedience"; Tekin 1968 read it as *köregüŋin* < *küregü* "unruliness"; Clauson read it as *körgüŋin 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 *körügüŋin/körgüŋin üçün* as a causal clause of *igidmiş bilge kağanıŋ*, and thus translated it as "You yourselves betrayed your kağan, who had nourished you because of your obedience". However Tekin interpreted *küregüŋin üçün* as the causal clause of the whole sentence and translated it as "Because of your unruliness, you yourselves betrayed your kağan

ıduk ötüken yış *bodun bardığ, ilgerü barığma* **24.** bardığ, *ku*rığaru barığma bardığ. barduk yérde edgüg ol erinç: kanıŋ subça yügürti, sünükünŋ tağça yatdı, beglik urı oğluŋ kul boltı, silik[129] kız oğluŋ küŋ boltı. bilmedük üç*ün, yablakıŋın üçün eçim kağan uça bardı.* **25.** başlayu kırkız kağanığ balbal tikdim. türk bodunuğ atı küsi yok bolmazun téyin, kaŋım kağanığ ögüm katunuğ kötürmiş teŋri, él bérigme teŋri, türk bodun atı küsi yok bo*lmazun téyin, özümün ol teŋri*

(26) k¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹t¹d¹ır²nç : n²ŋy²ıl¹s²g¹ : b¹wd¹n¹k¹ᴀ : wl¹r¹md¹m : ıçr²ᴀ : şs¹z : t¹şr¹ᴀ : t¹wn¹s¹z : y¹b¹zy¹b¹l¹k¹ : b¹wd¹ntᴀ : ẅzᴀ : wl¹r¹t¹m : ın²m : kʷẅl²t²ıg²n² : b²ır²l²ᴀ : s²ẅzl²şd²mz : k¹ŋmz : çımz : k¹z ..... **(27)** t²ıy²n² : t²ẅr²kʷ : b¹wd¹n¹ : ẅçẅn² : t²ẅn²wd¹md¹m : k²ẅn²t²z : wl¹r¹md¹ : ın²m : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : b²ır²l²ᴀ : k²ışd¹ : b²ır²l²ᴀ : ẅl²ẅy²ıt²ẅ : k¹zg¹ntm : nçᴀk¹zg¹n¹p : b²ır²k²ı : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : wt¹s¹wb¹ : k¹ıl¹md¹m : mn²..... **(28)** b¹r¹mş : b¹wd¹n¹ : ẅl²ẅy²ıt²ẅ : y¹d¹g¹n¹ : y¹l¹ŋn¹ : y¹n¹ᴀk²l²t²ı : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : ıg²d²y²ın² : t²..y²n² : y²ır¹g¹r¹w : wg¹zb¹wd¹n¹ : t¹pᴀ : ıl²g²... : kïıt¹ñ : t¹t¹b¹ı : b¹wd¹n¹ : t¹pᴀ : b²ır²g²r²ẅ : t¹b¹g¹çt¹pᴀ : wl¹g¹s²ẅ : k²ıy²g²r²..... **(29)** k²ıs²r²ᴀ : t²ŋr²ı : y¹r¹l¹k¹zw : kʷwt¹m : b¹r¹ẅçn² : ẅl²ẅg²m : b¹r¹ẅçẅn² : ẅl²t²çı : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : t²ır²g²rẅ : ıg²t²m : y¹l¹ŋb¹wd¹n¹g¹ : t¹wn¹l¹g¹ : çıg¹ñb¹wd¹n¹g¹ : b¹y¹k¹ıltm : zb¹wd¹n¹g¹ : ẅk²şk¹ıl¹t¹m : ıg¹r¹l²l²g²d²ᴀ ..... **(30)** b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : kʷwp : b¹zk¹ıltm : y¹g¹s²ız : k¹ıl¹t¹ltm : kʷwp : mŋᴀ : k²ẅr²t²ı : ıs²g²k²ẅçg² : b²ır²ẅr² : b¹wnçᴀ : t²ẅr²ẅg² : k¹zg¹n¹p : ın²m : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : ẅ..ınç.. : k²r²g²..b¹wltı : k¹ŋmk¹g¹n¹ : wçd¹kʷd¹ᴀ : ın²m : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : y²ı.....

26. kağan olurtdı erinç. neŋ yılsığ[130] bodunka olurmadım. içre aşsız, taşra tonsuz, yabız yablak bodunta üze olurtum. inim kül[131] tégin birle sözleşdimiz. kaŋımız eçimiz kaz*ğanmış bodun atı küsi yok bolmazun* **27.** téyin, türk bodun üçün tün udımadım, küntüz olurmad[ım]. inim kül tégin birle, éki şad birle ölü yitü kazğantım. ança kazğanıp biriki bodunuğ ot sub kılmadım. men *özüm kağan olurtukuma yér sayu* **28.** barmış bodun ölü yitü yadağın yalıŋın[132] yana kelti. bodunuğ igideyin t*é*yin, yırğaru

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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 *yılsağ* "rich in animals". Since Thomsen, all editors have transcribed it as *yılsığ*. Clauson thought that there was no obvious etymology for *yılsığ*, and suggested reading it as *yılışığ* < *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: kʰuat), 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 *yalaŋın* (*yalaŋ* "naked" + *ın*); Tekin 1968 read it as *yalıŋın* (*yalıŋ* "naked" + *ın*). According to Clauson,

oğuz bodun tapa, ilger*ü* kıtañ tatabı bodun tapa, bérgerü tabğaç tapa uluğ sü éki yégir*mi süledim … süŋüşdüm anta.* **29.** késre teŋri yarlıkazu, kutum bar üçün, ülügüm bar üçün ölteçi bodunuğ tirgürü[133] igit[d]im. yalıŋ bodunuğ tonluğ, çığañ bodunuğ bay kıltım. az bodunuğ üküş kıltım, ığar élligde *ığar kağanlığda yég kıltım. tört buluŋdakı* **30.** bodunuğ kop baz kıltım, yağısız kıltım. kop maŋa körti. éşig küçüg bérür. bunça törüg kazğanıp inim kül tégin öz*i* anç*a* kerge*k* boltı. kaŋım kağan uçdukda inim kül tégin y*éti yaşda kaltı*.[134]

(31) wmy^{1}t^{2}g^{2} : ẅg^{2}m : k^{1}t^{1}wn^{1} : k^{w}wt^{1}ŋ$_{A}$: ın^{2}m : k^{2}ẅl^{2}t^{2}ıg^{2}n^{2} : r^{2}t^{1}b^{1}wl̲tı : l^{1}t^{1}ıy^{2}g^{2}r^{2}mı : y^{1}şıŋ$_{A}$: çımk^{1}g^{1}n^{1} : ıl^{2}ın^{2} : t^{2}ẅr^{2}ẅs^{2}ın^{2} : nç̲ak^{1}zg^{1}nt̲ı : l^{1}t^{1}ıçwb^{1} : s^{1}wg^{1}d^{1}k^{1}t^{1}p$_{A}$: s^{2}ẅl^{2}d^{2}mz : b^{1}wzd^{1}mz : t^{1}b^{1}g^{1}ç : wŋt^{1}wt^{1}k^{w} : b^{2}ıs^{2}t^{2}…… **(32)** k^{2}ẅl^{2}t^{2}ıg^{2}n^{2} : y^{1}d^{1}g^{1}n^{1} : wpl^{1}y^{1}wt^{2}g^{2}d^{2}ı : wŋt^{1}wt^{1}k^{w} : y^{1}wr^{1}çın^{2} : y^{1}r^{1}k^{1}l^{1}g^{1} : l^{2}g^{2}n^{2}t^{1}wt^{1}d^{1}ı : y^{1}r^{1}k^{1}l^{1}g^{1}d^{1}ı : k^{1}g^{1}n^{1}k$_{A}$:nç̲wl^{1}d^{1}ı:wl^{1}s^{2}ẅg^{2}:nt̲ay^{1}k^{w}k^{1}ışd^{1}mz:b^{2}ır^{2}wt^{1}z:y^{1}şıŋ$_{A}$:çç$_{A}$s^{2}ŋẅn^{2}k^{2}$_{A}$:s^{2}ẅŋşd^{2}mz: ŋl^{2}k^{2}ı : t^{1}d^{1}k^{1}..çwr^{1}ŋ : b^{1}wz …… **(33)** ẅl^{2}t^{2}ı : k^{2}ım^{2}t^{2}ı : ışb^{1}r^{1}ay^{1}mt^{1}r^{1} : b^{1}wzt^{1}g^{1} : b^{2}ım^{2}p : t^{2}g^{2}d^{2}ı : wl^{1}t^{1}nt̲$_{A}$: ẅl^{2}t^{2}ı : ẅçnç̲ : y^{2}g^{2}n^{2}s^{2}ıl^{2}g^{2} : b^{2}g^{2}ŋ : k^{2}d^{2}ml^{2}g^{2} : t^{1}wr^{1}g^{1}t^{1} : b^{2}ım^{2}p : t^{2}g^{2}… : wl^{1}t^{1}nt̲$_{A}$: ẅl^{2}t^{2}ı : y^{1}r^{1}k^{1}ınt̲$_{A}$: y^{1}l^{1}ms^{1}ınt̲$_{A}$: y^{2}ẅzr^{1}t^{1}k^{w} : k^{w}wn^{1}wr^{1}t^{1}ı : y^{2}ẅ… : b^{1}şıŋ$_{A}$: b^{2}ır^{2}t^{2}…… **(34)** t^{2}..d^{2}k^{ẅ}ın^{2} : t^{2}ẅr^{2}k^{ẅ} : b^{2}g^{2}l^{2}r^{2} : k^{w}wpb^{2}ıl^{2}ır^{2}ıs^{2}z : wl^{1}s^{2}ẅg^{2} : nt̲ay^{1}k^{w}k^{1}ışd^{1}mz : nt̲ak^{2}… r^{2}$_{A}$: y^{2}r^{2}b^{1}y^{1}r^{1}k^{w}w : wl^{1}g^{1}ır^{2}k^{2}n^{2} : y^{1}g^{1}ıb^{1}wl̲tı : n^{1}ıy^{1}ñp : t^{2}ẅr^{2}g^{2}ıy^{1}r^{1}g^{1}wn^{1} : k^{2}ẅl^{2}t^{2}$_{A}$: b^{1}wzd^{1}mz:wl^{1}g^{1}ır^{2}k^{2}n^{2}:zk^{ï}ñ$_{A}$:r^{2}n^{2}:t^{2}zp:b^{1}r^{1}d^{1}ı:k^{2}ẅl^{2}t^{2}ıg^{2}n^{2}……**(35)**y^{2}şıŋ$_{A}$:k^{ï}ır^{1}k^{1}zt^{1}p$_{A}$: s^{2}ẅl^{2}d^{2}mz:sẅŋẅg^{2}:b^{1}t^{1}mı:k^{1}r^{1}g^{1}:s^{2}ẅk^{2}pn^{2}:k^{2}ẅg^{2}mn^{2}:y^{2}ışg^{1}:t^{1}wg^{1}$_{A}$:y^{1}wr^{1}ıp:k^{ï}ır^{1}k^{1}z: b^{1}wd^{1}n^{1}g^{1}:wd^{1}$_{A}$:b^{1}s^{1}d^{1}mz:k^{1}g^{1}n^{1}ın^{2}:b^{2}ır^{2}l^{2}$_{A}$:s^{1}wŋay^{2}ışd^{1}$_{A}$:s^{2}ẅŋşd^{2}mz:k^{2}ẅl^{2}t^{2}ı^{2}g^{2}n^{2}: b^{1}y^{1}r^{1}k^{w}wn^{1}……

31. umay teg ögüm katun kutıŋa inim kül tégin er at boltı. altı yégirmi yaşıŋa eçim kağan élin törüsin ança kazğantı. altı çub soğdak tapa süledimiz, buzdumuz. tabğaç oŋ tutuk béş t*ümen sü kelti. süŋüşdümüz*. **32.** kül tégin yadağın oplayu tegdi.

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yalıŋ < **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 *tirgerü*; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as *tirigerü*; Malov 1951 read it as *tirigrü*. Tekin 1968 and Clauson 1972 read it as *tirgürü* < *tirgür-* "to revive, to bring to life". Here I follow the transcription of Tekin and Clauson.

134 Malov 1951 added *on yaşda*.

oŋ tutuk yurçın[135] yarıklığ[136] eligin tutdı, yarıklığdı kağanka ançuladı.[137] ol süg anta yok kışdımız. bir otuz yaşıŋa çaça seŋünke sünüşdümüz. eŋ ilki tadıkıŋ[138] çorıŋ boz *atığ binip tegdi*, *ol at anta* **33.** ölti. ékinti ışbara yamtar boz atığ binip tegdi, ol at anta ölti. üçünç yegin silig[139] begiŋ kedimlig toruğ at binip teg*di*, ol at anta ölti. yarıkınta yalmasınta[140] yüz artuk okun urtı, yüz*iŋe*[141] başıŋa bir *tegürmedi*.[142] **34.** teg*d*ükin türk begler kop bilir siz. ol süg anta yok kışdımız. anta k*és*re yér bayırku uluğ irkin yağı boltı. anı yañıp türgi yarğun költe buzdumuz. uluğ irkin azkıña erin tezip bardı. kül tégin *altı otuz* **35.** yaşıŋa kırkız tapa süledimiz. sünüg batımı karığ söküpen kögmen yışığ toğa yorıp kırkız bodunuğ uda basdımız. kağanın birle soŋa yışda sünüşdümüz. kül tégin bayırkunu*ŋ ak adğırığ*

(36) b²ın²p : wpl¹y¹w : t²g²d²ı : b²ır² : r²g² : kʷn¹ : wr¹t¹ı : k²ır²g² : wd¹şr¹w : s¹n̲çd¹ı : wl¹t²g²d²k̈d²ᴀ : b¹y¹r¹kʷwn²ŋ : k¹d¹g¹r¹g¹ : wd¹l¹k¹ın² : s²ıy¹w : wr¹t¹ı : kⁱır¹k¹z : k¹g¹n¹ın² : ẅl²r²t²mz : ıl²ın² : l¹t¹mz : wl¹y²ıl¹k¹ᴀ : t²ẅr²g²ış ..... **(37)** t¹wg¹ᴀ : r²t²s²ẅg²zg² : k²çᴀ : y¹wr¹ıd¹mz : t²ẅr²g²s² : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : wd¹ᴀb¹s¹d¹mz : t²ẅr²g²s² : k¹g¹n¹ :

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135 Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read this as *yorıçın*; 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 *yaraklığ*. Clauson transcribed it as *yarıklığ* (Clauson 1972: 964). Here I follow the transcription of Clauson.

137 Radloff 1897 read this as *enç ulıdı*, *enç* "peace", *ulı-* "to give in"; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as *enç 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 saçuraŋ*; 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+iŋe* "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 *yüziŋe*.

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* < *tegür-* "to cause to reach", which was accepted by Tekin 1968. Here I follow the reading of Malov.

s²ẅs²ı : b¹wl¹çwdᴀ : wt¹çᴀ : b¹wr¹çᴀ : k²l²t²ı : s²ẅŋşd²mz : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : b¹şg¹wb¹wzt¹ : b²ın²pt²g²d²ı:b¹şg¹wb¹wz…… **(38)** t¹wt¹zt¹ı:k²ıs²ın²:ẅzılt̲zd¹ı:nt̲ᴀy¹n¹ᴀ:k²ır²p:t²ẅr²g²s²: k¹g¹n¹ : b¹wy¹r¹kʷı : zt¹wt¹kʷwg¹ : l²g²n²t¹wt¹d¹ı : k¹g¹n¹ın²nt̲ᴀ : ẅl²r²t²mz : ıl²ın²l¹t¹mz : k¹r¹ᴀt²ẅr²g²s² : b¹wd¹n¹ : kʷwpıçk²d²ı : wl¹b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : t¹b¹r¹d¹ᴀ : k¹w …… **(39)** s¹wg¹d¹k¹ : b¹wd¹n¹:ıt²y²ın²t²ıy²n²:y²ın̲çẅ:ẅg²zg²:k²çᴀ:t²mr²k¹pg¹k¹ᴀ:t²g²ı:s²ẅl²d²mz:nt̲ᴀk²ıs²r²ᴀ: k¹r¹ᴀt²ẅr²g²s² : b¹wd¹n¹ : y¹g¹ıb¹wl¹mş : k²ŋr²s²t¹pᴀ : b¹r¹d¹ı : b²ızŋs²ẅ : t¹ı : t¹wr¹kʷ : zwk¹ı : y¹wkʷr²t²ı : y¹b¹l¹k¹k²ıs²ı : r²…… **(40)** l¹pr² : b²ızŋᴀ : t²g²mşr²t²ı : nt̲g¹ẅd²k²ᴀ : ẅk²n²p : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n²g² : zr²n² : ır²t²ẅr²ẅ : ıt¹mz : wl¹g¹s²ẅŋş : s²ẅŋşmş : l¹pşl¹çı : k¹t¹ın² : b²ın²p : t²g²mş : k¹r¹ᴀt²ẅr²g²s² : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : nt̲ᴀẅl²r²mş : l¹mş : y¹n¹ᴀ : y¹wr¹p ……

36. binip oplayu tegdi. bir erig okun urtı, éki erig uduşuru[143] sançdı. ol tegdükde bayırkunuŋ ak adğırığ udlukın sıyu urtı. kırkız kağanın ölürtümüz, élin altımız. ol yılka türgiş *tapa altun yışığ* **37.** toğa ertiş ögüzüg keçe yorıdımız. türgiş bodunuğ uda basdımız. türgiş kağan süsi bolçuda otça borça[144] kelti. sünüşdümüz. kül tégin başğu boz at binip tegdi, başğu boz …… **38.** tutuztı. ékisin özi altızdı.[145] anta yana kirip türgiş kağan, buyrukı, az tutukuğ eligin tutdı. kağanın anta ölürtümüz, élin altımız. kara türgiş bodun kop içikdi. ol bodunuğ tabarda ko*nturtumuz*.[146] **39.** soğdak bodun éteyin téyin, yinçü ögüzüg keçe temir kapığka tegi süledimiz. anta késre kara türgiş bodun yağı bolmış. keŋeres tapa bardı. biziŋ sü atı turuk azukı yok erti. yablak kişi er …… **40.** alp er biziŋe tegmiş erti. antağ ödke ökünüp kül téginig az erin értürü ıt[d]ımız. uluğ sünüş sünüşmiş. alp şalçı ak atın binip tegmiş. kara türgiş bodunuğ anta ölürmiş, almış. yana yorıp ……

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143 Radloff 1897 read this as *udışru* "back again"; Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read it as *udışru* "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 *ldzdı*(?). 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*(*rığaru*); Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as …; Malov 1951 suggested *konturtumuz*, *yana yorıp*; Tekin 1951 partly followed Malov's reading, *konturtumız* … Here I also follow Malov's suggestion of *konturtumuz*.

North Side

(1) ..... l²ᴀ : kʷwşwt¹wt¹kʷ : b²ır²l²ᴀ : s²ẅŋẅm ... : r²ın² : kʷwp : ẅl²ẅr²ms² : b²ın²b¹r¹..... l¹ıs²z : kʷwp : k²l²ẅr²t²ı : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : y²ıt²ıwt¹z : y¹şıŋᴀ : k¹r¹l¹kʷ : b¹wd¹n¹ : r²ẅr²b¹r¹wr¹:r²k²l²ı:y¹g¹ıb¹wltı:t¹mg¹ıd¹kʷ:b¹şd¹ᴀ:s²ẅŋs²d²mz**(2)**.....g²n²:wl¹s²ẅŋşd²ᴀ: wt¹zy¹şy¹wr¹r²t²ı : l¹pşl¹... n² : b²ın²p : wpl¹y¹w : t²g²d²ı : k²... : wd¹şr¹w : s¹nçd¹ı : k¹r¹... wg¹ : ẅl²r²t²mz : l¹t¹mz : zb¹wd¹n¹ : y¹g¹ıb¹wltı : k¹r¹ᴀ : ..ẅl²t²ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²mz : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : b²ır²k¹ır¹k¹ : y¹şy¹wr¹r²t²ı : l¹pşl¹çı : k¹ın² : **(3)** ..... l¹y¹w : t²g²d² ı : zl²t²b²r²g² : t¹wt¹d¹ı : zb¹wd¹n¹ : ntᴀy¹kʷb¹wltı : çımk¹g¹n¹ : ıl²ı : k¹mşg¹ : b¹wl¹t¹kʷıntᴀ : b¹wd¹n¹ : ıl²g²ık²g²ẅ : b¹wl¹t¹kʷıntᴀ : ızg²l² : b¹wd¹n¹ : b²ır²l²ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²mz : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : l¹pşl¹çı : k¹ın² : b²ın²p : **(4)** .....ı : wl¹t¹ntᴀ : t²ẅs²d²ı ..... ẅl²t²ı : t¹kʷwzwg¹z : b¹wd¹n¹ : k²n²t²ẅ : b¹wd¹n¹m : r²t²ı : t²ŋr²ı : y²ır² : ... g¹k¹ın² : ..... g¹ıb¹wltı : b²ır²y²ıl¹k¹ᴀ : b²ışy¹wl¹ı : s²ẅŋşd²mz : ŋıl²k² : t¹wg¹wb¹l¹kʲd¹ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²... **(5)** ... l²t²ıg²n² : zmn¹k¹g¹ : b²ın².. : wpl¹y¹w : t²g²d²ı : l¹t¹ır²g² : s¹nçd¹ı : s²ẅt²g²ıs²ıntᴀ : y²ıt²nçr²g² : kʲıl¹çl¹d¹ı : k²n²t²ı : k¹wşl¹g¹k¹d¹ᴀ : d²z : b²ır²l²ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²mz : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : zy¹g¹zın² : b²ın²p : wpl¹y¹w : t²g²p : b²ır²r²g² : s¹nçd¹ı :

1. .....*bir*le, koşu tutuk birle sünŋüşmiş. erin kop ölürmiş. ebin bar*ımın kalısız*[147] kop kelürti. kül tégin yéti otuz yaşıŋa karluk bodun érür barur erkli yağı boltı. tamağ ıduk başda sünŋüşdümüz. **2.** *kül té*gin ol sünŋüşde otuz yaşayur erti. alp şalç*ı akı*n[148] binip oplayu tegdi. ék*i erig* uduşuru sançdı. karlukuğ ölürtümüz, altımız. az bodun yağı boltı.[149] kara *k*ölte sünŋüşdümüz. kül tégin bir kırk yaşayur erti. alp şalçı akın **3.** *binip op*layu tegdi. az elteberig tutdı.[150] az bodun anta yok boltı. eçim kağan éli kamşağ[151] boltukınta, bodun élig ékegü[152] boltukınta izgil bodun birle sünŋüşdümüz. kül tégin alp şalçı akın binip **4.** *oplayu tegd*i. ol at anta tüşdi. *izgil bodun* ölti. tokuz oğuz bodun kentü bodunum erti, teŋri yér *bul*ğakın *üçün ya*ğı boltı. bir yılka béş yolı sünŋüşdümüz.

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147 Radloff 1897 read this as *tegipen*; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as ... *in*. Malov 1951 suggested it should be read as *kalısız*, 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 *kamaşığ*, Malov also suggested it should be read as *kamşağ*. Tekin 1968 and Clauson transcribed it as *kamşağ* "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 *ilgikgi*; Malov 1951 read it as *iligi kegi*. Thomsen in the note suggested *ilig*/*ülüg ikegü*. Tekin 1968 transcribed it as *ilig ikegü* and translated *ikegü* as "two parts". According to Clauson, it should be **ékkegü* (Clauson 1972: 105).

eŋ ilk[153] toğu balıkda sünüşdü*müz*. **5.** *kül* tégin azman akığ bini*p* oplayu tegdi. altı erig sançdı. sü tegişinte yétinç erig kılıçladı. ékinti kuşlağakda ediz[154] birle sünüşdümüz. kül tégin az yağızın binip oplayu tegip bir erig sançdı.

(6) t¹kʷwz : r²g² : g²r²ᴀ : t¹kʷıd¹ı : … : b¹wd¹n¹ : nt̲ᴀ : ẅl²t²ı : ẅçn̲ç : b¹wl¹… d¹ᴀ : wg¹zb²ır²l²ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²mz : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : zmn¹k¹g¹ : b²ın²p : t²g²d²ı : s¹n̲çd¹ı : s²ẅs²ın² : s¹n̲çd¹mz : ıl²ın² : l¹t¹mz : t²ẅr²t²n̲ç : çwş: b¹şıntᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²mz : t²ẅr²kẅ : **(7)** b¹wd¹n¹ : d¹k¹k¹mşt¹d¹ı : y¹b¹l¹k¹b¹wl̲t..ır²t²ı : wzᴀ : k²l²ms² : s²ẅs²ın² : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : g¹t¹p : t¹wŋr¹ᴀ : b²ır²wg¹ş : l¹pg¹w : wn¹r²g² : t¹wŋᴀt²… : y¹wg¹ıntᴀ : ᴀg²r²pẅl²r²t²mz : b²ıs²n̲ç: zg²n²t²ı : k¹d¹z**d²**ᴀ : wg¹zb²ır²l²ᴀ : sẅŋs²d²mz : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : **(8)** zy¹gzın² : b²ın²p : t²g²d²ı : k²ır²ıg² : s¹n̲çd¹ı : b¹l¹ıkïᴀ : b¹… d¹ı : wl¹s²ẅ : nt̲ᴀẅ…… wr¹g¹n¹ : k¹ışl¹p : y¹zıŋᴀ : wg¹zg¹r¹w : ..ẅt¹şk¹d¹mz : k²ẅl²t²g²n² : b²g²b¹şl¹y¹w : k¹ıt¹mz : wg¹zy¹g¹ı : wr¹d¹wg¹ : b¹s¹dı : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : **(9)** … z : ..ı.. : b²ın²p : t¹kʷwzr²n² : s¹n̲çd¹ı : wr¹d¹wg¹ : b²ır²md²ı : ẅg²mk¹t¹wn¹ : wl¹y¹w : ẅg²l²r²m : k²l²r²m : k²l²ŋẅn²m : kʷwn̲çy¹l¹r¹m : b¹wn̲çᴀy²mᴀ : t²ır²g²ı : k²ẅŋb¹wl̲tçır²t²ı : ẅl²g²ı : y¹wr¹t¹d¹ᴀ : y¹wl¹t¹ᴀ : y¹t¹wk¹l̲tçı : r²t²g²z : **(10)** k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : y¹kʷr²s²r² : kʷwp : ẅl²t²çı : r²t²g²z:ın²mk²ẅl²t²ıg²n²:k²r²g²k²:b¹wl̲tı:ẅzm:s¹k¹n̲tm:k²ẅr²ẅr²k²ẅzm:k²ẅr²mzt²g²: b²ıl²r² : b²ıl²g²m : b²ıl²mzt²g² :b¹wl̲tı : ẅzms¹k¹n̲tm : ẅd²t²ŋr²ı : y¹s¹r¹ : k²ıs²ıwg¹l¹ı : kʷwp : ẅl²g²l²ı : t²ẅr²ẅms² :

6. tokuz erig egire tokıdı. *ediz* bodun anta ölti. üçünç …[155] oğuz birle sünüşdümüz. kül tégin azman akığ binip tegdi, sançdı. süsin sançdımız, élin altımız. törtünç çuş başınta sünüşdümüz. Türk **7.** bodun adak kamşatdı, yablak boltaç*ı* erti. oza kelmiş süsin kül tégin ağıtıp toŋra bir uğuş alpağu on erig toŋa t*égin* yoğınta egirip ölürtümüz. béşinç ezgenti kadazda oğuz birle sünüşdümüz. kül tégin **8.** az yağızın binip tegdi, éki erig sançdı. balık[k]a bas*ı*kdı.[156] ol sü anta *ölti. amğa*[157] *k*urğan kışlap yazıŋa oğuzğaru *s*ü taşıkdımız. kül tégin ebig[158] başlayu akıt[d]ımız.[159] 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 Türgiş, 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 *ebig*, the accusative case of *eb* "home, house".

159 Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read this as *kıtmız* < *kıt-* "to let off". Here I follow the reading of Radloff 1897, *akıttmız* < *akıt-* "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 keliŋünüm kunçuylarım bunça yeme tirigi küŋ boltaçı erti, ölügi yurtda yolta yatu kaltaçı ertigiz. **10.** kül tégin yok erser kop ölteçi ertigiz. inim kül tégin kergek boltı. özüm sakıntım. körür közüm körmez teg, bilir biligim bilmez teg boltı. özüm sakıntım. öd teŋri yasar.[160] kişi oğlı kop ölgeli[161] törümiş.

(11) nçA : s¹k¹ntm : k²wzd²A : y¹şk²l²s²r² : **t²**ıd¹A : k²wŋl²t²A : s²ıg¹t¹ : k²l²s²r² : y¹ntr¹w : s¹k¹ntm : k¹t¹g¹**d²**ı : s¹k¹ntm : k²ışd¹ : w..y¹w : ın²ıg²wn²m : wg¹l¹n¹m : b²g²l²r²m : b¹d¹n¹m : k²wzık¹şı : y¹b¹l¹k¹ : b¹wltçıt²ıp : s¹k¹ntm : y¹wg¹çı : s²ıg¹t¹çı : k¨ıt¹t¹ñ : t¹t¹b¹ı : b¹wd¹n¹ : b¹şl¹y¹w : **(12)** wd¹r¹s²ŋwn² : k²l²t²ı : t¹b¹g¹çk¹g¹ntA : ıs²y²ı : l²ık²ŋ : k²l²t²ı : b²ır²t²wmn²g¹ı : l¹t¹wn¹k²wmş : k²r²g²k²s²z : k²l²wr²t²ı : t²wpwt² : k¹g¹ntA : b²wl²n² : k²l²t²ı : k¹wr¹y¹A : k²wn² : b¹t¹s¹k¹d¹k¹ı : s¹wg¹d¹ : b²r²çk²r² : b¹wk¹r¹k¹... : b¹wd¹ntA : n²k²s²ŋwn² : wg¹l¹t¹r¹k¹n¹ : k²l²t²ı : **(13)** wn¹k^{w} : wg¹l¹m : **k¹(t²)**wr²g²s² : k¹g¹ntA : mk¹r¹ç : t¹mg¹çı : wg¹z : b²ıl²g²A : t¹mg¹çı : k²l²t²ı : k¨ır¹k¹z : ..... : t¹r¹d¹wş : ın¹nçwçwr¹ : k²l²t²ı : b¹r¹k¹ : ıt²g²wçı : b²d²z : y¹r¹t¹g¹mA : b²ıt²g²t¹ş : ıt²g²wçı : t¹b¹g¹ç : k¹g¹n¹ : çık¹n¹ı : çŋs²ŋwn² : k²l²t²ı :

11. ança sakıntım. közde yaş kelser tıda,[162] köŋülte sığıt kelser yanturu sakıntım. katığdı sakıntım. éki şad u*la*yu ini[y]igünüm[163] oğlanım beglerim bodunum közi kaşı yablak boltaçı tép sakıntım. yoğçı sığıtçı kıtañ tatabı bodun başlayu **12.** udar seŋün kelti. tabğaç kağanta işiyi[164] likeŋ kelti. bir tümen ağı altun kümüş kergeksiz kelürti. tüpüt kağanta bölün[165] kelti. kurıya kün batsıkdakı soğd, berçeker,[166] 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^2 must be a writing error by the scribe. According to Clauson, the correct form is *tıd-* "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-yegünüm*; Clauson read it as *inigünim*. This word also appears in the first line of the south side, as $In^2y^2g^2wn^2m$. In this place, the y^2 is missing. Interestingly, in this paragraph, there are many writing mistakes. Here I transcribe this word as *iniyigünüm*, though Clauson argued that the y^2 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 *isiyi*, Radloff 1897 and Malov 1951 read it as *isyi.* This is a Turkic transcription of the Chinese title *sheren* (EMC: *ɕia^{h}-ɲin*), 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 *bereçilep*. Thomsen 1896 transcribed it as *berçeker* and suggested it be identified with the Persians. Thomsen's suggestion was accepted by the later editors

enik[167] seŋün, oğul tarkan kelti. **13.** on ok oğlum türgiş kağanta makaraç tamğaçı, oğuz bilge tamğaçı kelti. kırkız *kağanta* tarduş ınançu çor kelti. bark étgüçi, bediz yaratığma, bitig taş étgüçi, tabğaç kağan çıkanı çaŋ seŋün kelti.

Northeast Edge

k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : kʷwñy²l¹k¹ᴀ: y²ıt²ıy²g²r²mk²ᴀ : wçd¹ı : t¹wk¹z̲nç̲y¹ : y²t²ıwt¹zk¹ᴀ ..... b²ıt²g² : t¹ş ...ıçın² : y²ıl¹k¹ᴀ : y²ıt²n̲ç̲y¹ : y²ıt²ı : wt¹zk¹ᴀ : kʷwp ..... k¹ır¹k¹ : .....ıt²ıy¹şıŋ : b¹wl¹ıt¹ : t¹..... b¹wn̲ç̲ᴀ : b²d²zçıg² : t¹wy¹g¹t¹ : lt²b²r² : k²l²ẅt²ı :

kül tégin koñ yılka yéti yégirmike uçdı. tokuzunç ay yéti otuzka *yoğ értürtümüz. barkın, bedizin*, bitig taşın béçin yılka yétinç ay yéti otuzka kop *alkdımız.*[168] *kül tégin özi*[169] kırk *artukı y*éti yaşıŋ[170] boltı.[171] t*aş*[172].....[173] bunça bedizçig toyğut[174] élteber kelü[r]ti.

Southeast Edge

b¹wn̲ç̲ᴀ : b²ıt²g² : b²ıt²g²mᴀ : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n² : t¹ıs²ı : y¹wl¹g¹t²ıg²n² : b²ıt²ıd²m : y²ıg²r²mı : k²ẅn² : wl¹r¹p : b¹wt¹şk¹ᴀ : b¹w : t¹ᴀmk¹ᴀ : kʷwp : y¹wl¹g¹t²ıg²n² : b²ıt²Id²m : ıg¹r¹ : wg¹l¹n¹ŋzd¹ᴀ : t¹y¹g¹wn¹ŋzd¹ᴀ : y²g²d²ı : ıg²d²ẅr² : r²t²g²z : wçᴀb¹r¹d¹g¹z : t²ŋr²ı : t²ır²g²d²k²içᴀ

bunça bitig bitigme kül tégin atısı yol[l]uğ tégin biti[t]dim. yégirmi kün olurup bu taşka, bu tamka kop yol[l]uğ tégin biti[t]dim. ığar oğlanıŋızda tayğunuŋuzda yégdi igidür ertigiz. uça bardığız. teŋri*de* tirigdekiçe .....

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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 *neŋ*. 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 *yaşıŋ*[*a*]. Here I follow the transcription of Radloff 1897 and Malov 1951, *yaşıŋ*.

171 Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936, Malov 1951 and Tekin 1968 read this as *bulıt*; Malov suggested that it can also be read as *boltı*, which fits the context better. Although *boltı* is usually written as *b¹wltI*, the possibility that the *b¹wl¹It¹* here is an error by the scribe for *b¹wl¹t¹I* 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 *t¹*. Therefore, I transcribe it as *toyğut*.

Southwest Edge

..... : k²ẅl²t²ıg²n²ŋ : l¹t¹n¹ın¹ : k²ẅmşın² : g¹ışın¹ : b¹r¹mın¹ : t²ẅr².....ın¹ : y¹g¹mA : t¹wy¹g¹..... b²g²m : t²ıg²n² : y²ẅg²r²ẅ : t²ŋ ..... t¹ş : b²ıt²d²m : y¹wl¹l¹g¹ : t²ıg²n²...

... kül téginiŋ altunın kümüşin ağısın[175] barımın tört bıŋ *yılkısın*,[176] ayığma[177] toyğut bu ... begim tégin yügerü teŋri ..... taş biti[t]dim. yolluğ tégin ...

West Side

kʷwr¹d¹n¹ : s¹wg¹d¹ : ẅr²t²ı..... g²kʷ̈ẅçg²b²ır²t²kʷ̈ẅçn² : t²ẅr²kʷ̈b²ıl²g²Ak¹g¹n¹ : y¹kʷık¹A : ım²mk²ẅl²t²ıg²n²g² : kʷ̈ẅzd²ẅ : wl¹r¹t¹*m* : ın²nçwpA : y¹r¹g¹n¹t¹r¹k¹n¹ : At¹g¹ b²r²t²m : n¹ı...

kurıdın soğd örti. *inim kül tégin* .....[178] éşig küçüg bértük üçün türk bilge kağan ayukıka[179] inim kül téginig közedü olurtum. ınançu apa yarğan tarkan atığ *bértim. anı ögtürtüm.*[180]

South Side

(1) t²ŋr²ıt²g² : t²ŋr²ıd²A : b¹wl¹mş : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b²ıl²g²A : k¹g¹n¹ : b¹wẅd²k²A : wl¹r¹t¹m : s¹b¹mn¹ : t²ẅk²t²ı : s²ıd²g²l² : wl¹y¹w : ın²y²g²ẅn²m : wg¹l¹n¹m : b²ır²k²ı : wg¹şm : b¹wd¹n¹m : b²ır²y²A : şd¹pıt¹b²g²l²r² : y²ır¹y¹A : t¹r¹k¹t¹ : b¹wy¹r¹kʷ : b²g²l²r² : wt¹z..... **(2)** t¹kʷwzwg¹z : b²g²l²r²ıb¹d¹n¹ı : b¹ws¹b¹mn² : d²g²ẅt²ı : s²ıd² : k¹t¹g¹d¹ı : t²ıŋl¹A : ıl²g²r²ẅ : k²ẅn² : t¹wg¹s¹k¹A : b²ır²g²r²ẅ : k²ẅn² : wr¹t¹ws²ıŋr¹w : kʷwr¹ıg¹r¹w : k²ẅn² : b¹t¹s²kʲıŋA : y²ır¹g¹r¹w : t²ẅn² : wr¹t¹ws²ıŋr¹w : ntA : ıçr²k²ı : b¹wd¹n¹..... **(3)** kʷwp : ıt²d²m : wl¹mt¹ı : ñg¹y¹kʷ : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : k¹g¹n¹ : ẅt²kʷ̈n² : y²ış : wl¹r¹s¹r¹ : ıl²t²A : b¹wŋy¹kʷ : ıl²g²r²ẅ : şntwŋ : y¹zık¹At²g²ı : s²ẅl²d²m : t¹l¹wy¹k¹A : k²ıçg² : t²g²md²m : b²ır²g²r²ẅ : t¹kʷwz : r²s²n²k²A : t²g²ı : s²ẅl²d²m : t²ẅpẅt²k²A : k²ıçg² : t²g²md²m : kʷwr¹ıg¹r¹w : y²nçẅẅg²... **(4)** k²çA : t²mr²k¹pg¹k¹A : t²g²ı : s²ẅl²d²m : y²ır¹g¹r¹w : y²r²b¹y¹r¹kʷw : y²ır²ıŋA : t²g²ı : s²ẅl²d²m : b¹wnçA : y²ır²k²A : t²g²ı : y¹wr¹t¹d¹m : ẅt²kʷ̈n² : y²ışd¹A : y²ıg² : ıd²ıy¹kʷ : r²ms² : ıl²t¹wt¹s¹k¹ : y²ır² : ẅ..kʷ̈n² : y²ışr²mş : b¹wy²ır²d²A :

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175 Radloff 1897 suspected that here the *ş* is a mistake for *s¹* 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 *karasin*; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as *k* ... Here I follow the transcription of Tekin 1968, *yılkısın* (*yılkı+sın* "horse"). According to Clauson, *yılkı* 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 *aŋuk*. 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*)*Iŋa*.

180 Thomsen 1896, Radloff 1897 and Orkun 1936 read this as ... Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968.

wl¹r¹p : t¹b¹g¹ç : b¹... : b²ır²l².. **(5)** t²ẅzl²t²m : l¹t¹wn¹ : k²ẅmş : ıs²g²t²ı : kʷwt¹y¹ : b¹wŋs¹z : nç̲ab²ır²ẅr² : t¹b¹g¹ç : b¹wd¹n¹ : s¹b¹ı : s²ẅçıg² : g¹ıs²ı : y²ımşk¹ : r²ms² : s²ẅçıg² : s¹b¹n¹ : y²mşk¹ : g¹ın² : r¹p : ır¹k¹b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : nç̲ay¹g¹wt¹ır² : r²ms² : y¹g¹r¹w : kʷwn̲tkʷd¹a : k²ıs²r²a : ñg¹b²ıl²g² : nt̲aẅy²ẅr² : r²m..

1. teŋri teg teŋride bolmış türk bilge kağan bu ödke olurtum. sabımın tüketi éşidgil ulayu iniyigünüm, oğlanım, biriki uğuşum,[181] bodunum, bérye şadapıt begler, yırya tarkat buyruk begler, otuz...,[182] **2.** tokuz oğuz begleri bodunı bu sabımın edgüti éşid, katığdı tiŋla.[183] ilgerü kün toğsık[k]a, bérgerü kün ortusıŋaru, kurığaru kün batsıkıŋa, yırğaru tün ortusıŋaru anta içreki bodun *kop maŋa körür*. *bunça bodun* **3.** kop étdim. ol amtı[184] añığ yok. türk kağan ötüken yış olursar élte buŋ yok. ilgerü şantuŋ yazıka tegi süledim, taluyka kiçig tegmedim. bérgerü tokuz ersinke[185] tegi süledim, tüpütke kiçig *teg*medim. kurığaru yinçü ög*üz* **4.** keçe temir kapığka tegi süledim. yırğaru yér bayırku yériŋe tegi süledim. bunça yérke tegi yorıtdım. ö*t*üken yışda yég idi yok ermiş. él tutsuk yér ötüken yış ermiş. bu yérde olurup tabğaç b*odun* birl*e* **5.** tüzültüm. altun kümüş isgiti kutay buŋsuz ança bérür. tabğaç bodun sabı süçig, ağısı yımşak ermiş. süçig sabın

181 Thomsen 1896 read this as *uğışım*; 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: *tʰɛjŋ*) "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" *t²* but the third consonant is a "back" *l¹*. There are three variant transcriptions by previous editors: *tiŋla* (Thomsen 1896 and Tekin 1968), *tiŋle* (Radloff 1897 and Orkun 1936) and *tıŋla* (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 *diŋle-* and *dinlemek*.

184 Radloff 1897 transcribed this as *matı* "splendid, excellent" and interpreted *ol matı añığ yok* as an attribute phrase for *kağan*, "the kağan who has no splendid cunning". Thomsen 1896 transcribed this as *amatı*, but Thomsen 1916: 54 amended it to *amtı* "now, present", translating *ol amtı añığ 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 amtı añığ 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 *ārsi*, 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 ağın arıp ırak bodunuğ ançа yağutır ermiş. yağru kontukda késre añığ bilig anta öyür erm*iş*.[186]

(6) d²g²ẅ : b²ıl²g²ᴀ : k²ıs²ıg² : d²g²ẅ : l¹pk²ıs²ıg² : y¹wr¹t¹mz : r²ms² : b²ır²k²ıs²ı : y¹ŋl¹s¹r¹ : wg¹şı : b¹wd¹n¹ı : b²ıs²kʷ̈ıŋᴀ : t²g²ı : kᵡıd¹mz : r²mş : s²ẅçıg² : s¹b¹ıŋᴀ : y²mşk¹ : g¹ıs²ıŋᴀ : r¹t¹wr¹p : kʷ̈ẅs² : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : ..wd¹n¹ : ẅl²t²g² : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b¹wd¹n¹ : ẅl²s²k²ŋ : b²ır²y²ᴀ : çwg¹y¹ : y²ış : t²ẅg²l²t²n² : **(7)** y¹zı : kʷwn¹y¹ın²t²ıs²r² : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b¹wd¹n¹ : ẅl²s²k²g²nt̲ᴀ : ñg¹k²ıs²ı : nç̲ᴀ : b¹wşg¹wr¹wr¹ : r²ms² : ır¹k¹r²s²r² : y¹b¹l¹k¹ : g¹ıb²ır²ẅr² : y¹g¹kʷ : r²s²r² : d²g²ẅ : g¹ıb²ır²ẅr² : t²ıpnç̲ᴀ : b¹wşg¹wr¹wr¹ : r²ms² : b²ıl²g² : b²ıl²mz : k²ıs²ı : wl¹s¹b¹g¹ : l¹p : y¹g¹r¹w : b¹r¹p : ẅk²şk²ışı : ẅl²t²g² : **(8)** wl¹y²r²g²r²ẅ : b¹r¹s¹r¹ : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b¹wd¹n¹ : ẅl²t²çıs²n² : ẅt²ẅk²n² : y²ır²wl¹r¹p : r¹k¹ş : t²ır²k²ş : ıs¹r¹ : n²ŋb¹wŋg¹y¹kʷ : ẅt²kʷ̈n² : y²ış : wl¹r¹s¹r¹ : b²ŋg²ẅ : ıl²t¹wt¹ᴀ : wl¹r¹t¹çıs²n² : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b¹wd¹n¹ : t¹kʷr¹k¹k¹s²n² : ᴀçs²r¹ : t¹ws¹k¹ẅmzs²n² : b²ır² : t¹wd¹s¹r¹ : ᴀçs²k¹ : ẅmzs²n² : nt̲g¹ŋn¹ : **(9)** ẅçẅn² : ıg²d²mş : k¹g¹n¹ŋn¹ : s¹b¹ın² : l¹mt¹ın² : y²ır²s¹y¹w : b¹r¹d¹g¹ : kʷwpnt̲ᴀ : l¹k¹nt̲g¹ : r¹l¹t¹g¹ : nt̲ᴀk¹l¹mşı : y²ır² : s¹y¹wkʷp : t¹wr¹w : ẅl²ẅ : y¹wr¹y¹wr¹r²t²g² : t²ŋr²ı : y¹r¹l¹k¹d¹kʷın² : ẅç ... : ..zm : kʷwt¹m : b¹r¹ẅçẅn² : k¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹t¹m : k¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹p : **(10)** y¹kʷ : çıg¹ñ : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : kʷwp : kʷwb¹r¹t¹d¹m : çıg¹ñ : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : b¹y¹k¹ıl̲tm : zb¹wd¹n¹g¹ : kʷ̈ẅş : k¹ıl̲tm : zwb¹ws¹b¹md¹ᴀ : ıg²d²b¹r¹g¹w : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b²g²l²r² : b¹wd¹n¹ : b¹wn¹ı : s²ıd²ŋ : t²..... r²p : ıl²t¹wt¹s¹k¹ŋn¹ : b¹wnt̲ᴀ : wr¹t¹m : y¹ŋl¹p : ẅl²s²k²ŋn² : y²mᴀ :

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 yorıtmaz ermiş. bir kişi yanılsar uğuşı bodunı béşükiŋe[187] tegi kıdmaz[188] ermiş.[189] süçig sabıŋa yımşak ağısıŋa arturup üküş türk

187 *béşükiŋe*. Radloff transcribed it as *bişükiŋe* and translated the noun *bişük* as "the experienced" (Radloff 1897: 180). Thomsen 1896 transcribed it as *bisükiŋe* and translated *bisükiŋe 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 *bisükiŋe* 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 memebers 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 (CYQZ 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 *kıy-*) 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 *kıy-*, 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.

*b*odun öltüg. türk bodun ölsüküŋ.[190] bérye çuğay yış tügültün[191] **7.** yazı konayın téser türk bodun ölsüküg anta. añığ kişi ança boşğurur ermiş: ırak 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 tirkiş ısar neŋ buŋuğ yok. ötüken yış olursar beŋgü él tuta olurtaçı sen. türk bodun tokurkak[192] sen. açsar tosuk ömez sen. bir todsar açsık ömez sen. antağıŋın **9.** üç*ün* igidmiş kağanıŋın sabın almatın. yér sayu bardığ. kop anta alkıntığ, arıltığ. anta kalmışı yér sayu kop turu ölü yorıyur ertig. teŋri yarlıkadukın üç*ün*, *ö*züm kutum bar üçün kağan olurtum. kağan olurup **10.** yok çığañ bodunuğ kop kubratdım.[193] çığañ bodunuğ bay kıltım; az bodunuğ üküş kıltım. azu bu sabımda igid barğu? türk begler bodun bunı éşidiŋ. *türk bodunuğ téri*p él tutsukuŋun bunta urtum, yaŋılıp ölsüküŋün yeme

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190 Radloff 1897 transcribed this as *ölsükiŋ* < *öl-* "to die", and translated *türk bodun ölsükiŋ* as "the Türk people suffered death". Thomsen 1896 transcribed it as *ülesikiŋ*, *üle-sik* "part" with the second personal possessive suffix *+iŋ*, 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 *ölsüküŋ*, because I understand the suffix as *-sXk* 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 arık ok* and translated it as "now full and now hungry", with *arık* "hungry" as an antonym of *tok* "full". Thomsen 1896 transcribed it as *tokrakıka*, 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 *arık 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) b¹wn̲tᴀ : wr¹t¹m : n²ŋn²ŋ : s¹b¹m : r²s²r² : b²ŋg²ẅ : t¹şk¹ᴀ : wr¹t¹m : ŋr¹k²ẅr²ẅ : b²ıl²ŋ : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : mt¹ı : b¹wd¹n¹ : b²g²l²r² : b²ẅd²k²ᴀ : k²ẅr²g²mᴀ : b²g²l²r²g²ẅ : y¹ŋl̲tçıs²ız : mn² : b²..... ç : k¹g¹n̲tᴀ : b²d²zçı : k²l²ẅr²t²m : b²d²zt²m : mn²ŋ : s¹b¹mn¹ : s²ımd¹ı : **(12)** t¹b¹g¹ç : k¹g¹n¹ŋ : ıçr²k²ı : b²d²zçıg² : ıt¹ı : ŋr¹d¹..... : b¹r¹k¹ : y¹... t¹wr¹t¹m : ıçın² : t¹şın² : d¹n̲çıg¹ : b²d²z : wr¹t¹wr¹t¹m : t¹şt¹wk¹ıt¹d¹m : k²ẅŋl²t²k²ı : s¹b¹mn¹..... : t¹t¹ıŋᴀ : t²g²ı : b¹wn¹ı : k²ẅr²ẅ : b²ıl²ŋ : b²ŋg²ẅ..... **(13)** t¹kʷıt¹d¹m ..... r²s²r² : mt¹k¹ᴀ : r²ıg²y²r²t²ᴀ : ᴀr²s²r²n̲çᴀ : ır²g²y²r²t²ᴀ : b²ŋg²ẅt¹ş : t¹kʷıt¹d¹m : b²ıt²ıd²m : n¹ık²ẅr²p : n̲çᴀb²ıl²ŋ : wl¹t¹..... m: b¹wb²ıt²g² : b²ıt²g²mᴀ : t¹ıs²ı : y¹wl¹g¹.....

11. bunta urtum. neŋ neŋ sabım erser beŋgü taşka urtum. aŋar körü biliŋ. türk amtı bodun begler bödke körügme begler gü yaŋıltaçı siz? men b*eŋgü taş tokıtduk üçün*[194] *tabğa*ç kağanta bedizçi kelürtüm, bedizet[d]im. meniŋ sabımın sımadı. **12.** tabğaç kağanıŋ içreki bedizçig ıt[d]ı. aŋar ad*ınçığ* bark y*ara*turtum. için taşın adınçığ bediz urturtum. taş tokıtdım, köŋülteki sabımın u*rturtum. on ok oğlıŋa*, tatıŋa tegi bunı körü biliŋ. beŋgü *taş* **13.** tokıtdım. *yağuk él*[195] erser amtıka[196] érig yérte erser ança érig yérte[197] beŋgü taş tokıtdım, biti[t]dim. anı körüp ança biliŋ. ol taş ..... dım. bu bitig bitigme atısı yol[l]uğ *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 *tokıtuk 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". Ajdarov 1971 suggested that the blurred part be read as *tokıtdım*. Geng 2005 suggested *tokutku üçün*, with the former word being an error for *tokıtuk*. Following Thomsen, Ajdarov and Geng, I offer a transcription *tokıtduk* < *tokıt-* "to have sth. struck".

195 *yağuk él*. Radloff 1897 read this as *yok*; Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1951 read it as *bu erig*; Tekin 1968 read it as *t²u ... el*. Geng 2005 suggested it be read as *yağuk 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 *érig 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 *érig* "reachable" < *ér-* "to reach", and translated *érig yér* as "a frequented place". According to Erdal, *érig*, a subjective noun from *ér-* "to reach", is attested in Old Turkic and Middle Turkic documents (Erdal 1991: 187). From the examples he cited, *érig yılkı* "lively pack-animal" and *érig er* "a man who is steadfast and resourceful", we can conjecture that *érig 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, humankind was created between them. Over the humans, my forefathers Bumın Kağan and Işţemi 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 Kurıkan, Otuz Tatar, Kıtañ and Tatabı, to attend his funeral feast and lamented. These people came to attend the funeral feast and lamented. They (Bumın Kağan and Işţemi 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 Teŋri above, along with the holy Türk soil and **11** 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. **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 Teŋri, 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 Tüliş 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, Kıtañ and Tatabı were all enemies. My father, the kağan … like this. **15** He campaigned forty-seven times and fought twenty battles. Because of Teŋri'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 Kadırkan 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 Keŋü 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 Teŋri who had raised my father as kağan and my mother as katun, the Teŋri 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 Kıtañ and Tatabı people, and southwards against the Chinese people. I battled against them there. **29** Then, as Teŋri 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 Soŋa 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 Yinçü River and campaigned as far as the Iron Gate. Later, the Black Türgiş people there turned hostile and went to Keŋeres. 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 Toŋra people at the funeral of Toŋa 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]. Teŋri 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 Kıtañ and Tatabı, came to attend the funeral feast and mourned. From the Chinese kağan (i.e. emperor) came the secretary Likeŋ. 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, Teŋri Teg Teŋride 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 Teŋri 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) t²ŋr²ıt²g² : t²ŋr²ıy¹r¹t¹mş : t²ür²k^{ü} : b²ıl²g² k¹g¹n¹... t²ür²k^{ü} : b²ı..... t¹ıs²ır² : t¹wk¹zwg¹z : k²ıd²zk²r²k²ül²g² : b²g²l²r²ı : b¹wd¹n¹ı ..... r²k^{ü}... r²ı..... **(2)** üzᴀ : k¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹t¹m : wl¹r¹t¹k^{w}mᴀ : ül²t²çıçᴀ : s¹k¹n¹g¹mᴀ : t²ür²k^{ü} : b²g²l²r² : b¹wd¹n¹... g²r²p : s²b²n²p : t¹wŋt¹mş : k²üzı : y²üg²r²ü : k²ür²t²ı : b²üd²k²ᴀ : üzmwl¹r¹p : b¹wnçᴀ : g¹r¹t²ür²üg² : t²ür²k^{ü} : b¹wl¹ŋd¹k¹ı : ..... d²m : üzᴀ : k²ük² : t²ŋr²ı : ..... **(3)** k²ıs²ı : wg¹l¹ıntᴀ : üzᴀ : çümpᴀm : b¹wmn¹k¹g¹n¹ : s²t²mık¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹mş : wl¹r¹pn¹ : t²ür²k^{ü} : b¹wd¹n¹ŋ : ıl²ın² : t²ür²üs²ın² : t¹wt¹ᴀb²ır²ms² : ıt²ıb²ır²ms² : t²ür²t² : b¹l¹ŋ : k¹wp : y¹g¹ır²ms² : s²üs²ül²pn² : t²ür²t² : b¹wl¹ŋd¹k¹ı : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ ..... b¹şl¹g¹g¹ : y²k^{ü}ntr¹ms² : t²ızl²g²..... **(4)** t²mr²k¹pg¹k¹ᴀ : t²g²ı : k^{w}wntr¹ms² : k²ın²r¹ᴀ : ıd²ıwk¹s¹z : k^{ü}ük²t²ür²k^{ü} : ıt²ınçᴀ : wl¹r¹wr¹r²ms² : b²ıl²g²ᴀ : k¹g¹n¹r²ms² : l¹pk¹g¹n¹ : r²ms²: b¹y¹r¹k^{w}ı : b²ıl²g²ᴀ : r²ms²r²nç : l¹pr²ms²r²nç : b²g²l²r²ıy²mᴀ : b¹wd¹n¹.....ün²:... : nçᴀt¹wt¹mşr²nç : ıl²g²t¹wt¹p : t²ür²ü..... **(5)** y¹wg¹çı : s²ıg¹t¹çı : üŋr²ᴀ : k²ün² : t¹wg¹s¹k¹d¹ᴀ : b²ük²l²ı : çül²g²ıl² : t¹b¹g¹ç : t²üpüt² : pr¹pwr¹m : k^{ü}ır¹k¹z : üçk^{w}wr¹ık¹n¹ : wt¹zt¹t¹r¹ : k^{ü}ıt¹ñ : t¹t¹b¹ı : b¹wnçᴀ : b¹wd¹n¹ : k²l²pn² : s²ıg¹t¹ᴀmş : y¹wg¹l¹ᴀmş : ntg¹k²ül²g² : k¹g¹n¹r² ..... wg¹l¹ıt¹ı : k¹g¹n¹ : b¹wl¹mşr²nç : nt.....

1. teŋri teg teŋri yaratmış türk bilge *kağan sabım. kaŋım* türk bi*lge kağan* ..... tı sir tokuz oğuz éki ediz kerekülüg[198] begleri bodunı ..... *tü*rk *teŋ*ri ..... **2.** üze kağan olurtum. olurtukuma ölteçiçe sakınığma türk begler bodun ögirip[199] sebinip toŋtamış[200] közi yügerü körti. bödke özüm olurup bunça ağır törüg tört buluŋdakı *bodun üçün ... ét*dim. üze kök teŋri *asra yağız yér kılıntukda ékin ara kişi oğlı kılınmış.* **3.** kişi oğlınta üze eçüm apam bumın kağan iştemi kağan olurmış. olurupan türk bodunuŋ élin törüsin tuta bérmiş, éti bérmiş. tört buluŋ kop yağı ermiş. sü sülepen tört buluŋdakı bodunuğ *kop almış, kop baz kılmış*. başlığığ yüküntürmiş; tizligi*g sökürmiş. ilgerü kadırkan yışka*

198 Radloff 1897 read this as *yedinik er külüg* "attached people and famous [officials]"; Thomsen 1896 and Orkun 1936 read it as **edizker külüg* "... famous". Here I follow the reading of Tekin 1968: *éki ediz kerekülüg*. According to him, *kereklüg* "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^{1}, s^{2}, and k^{1}. 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 *toŋıtmış* < *töŋıt-* "to invert" (Clauson 1972: 517–518). Here I follow the reading of Thomsen.

tegi, kérü **4.** temir kapığka tegi konturmış. 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 bodun*ı yeme tüz ermiş. anı ü*çün *élig* ança tutmış erinç. élig tutup törü*g étmiş. özi ança kergek bolmış*. **5.** yoğçı sığıtçı öŋre kün toğsukda bükli, çöl[l]üg él, tabğaç, tüpüt, apar, purum, kırkız, üç kurıkan, otuz tatar, kıtañ, tatabı bunça bodun kelipen sığtamış, yoğlamış. antağ külüg kağan er*miş. anta késre inisi kağan bolmış erinç*, oğlıtı kağan bolmış erinç. ant*a késre inisi eçisin teg*

(6) kɪ¹ɪl¹n¹md¹kʷr²nç : wg¹l¹ɪ : k¹ŋɪn²t²g² : kɪ¹ɪl¹n¹md¹kʷr²nç : b²ɪl²g²s²z : k¹g¹n¹ : … r¹ms²r²nç : y¹b¹l¹k¹ : k¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹mşr²nç : b¹wy¹r¹kʷɪ : y²mᴀ : b²ɪl²g²s²zr²mışr²nç : y¹b¹l¹k¹ : r²mşr²nç : b²g²l²r²ɪ : b¹wd¹n¹ɪ : t²ẅzs²z : ẅçn² : t¹b¹g¹ç : b¹wd¹n¹ : t²b²l²… : k²ẅr²l²g²ın² : …… s²ın² : ẅçn² : ın²l²ɪ …… **(7)** y¹wŋşwr¹t¹kʷın² : ẅçn² : t²ẅr²kẅ : b¹wd¹n¹ : ɪl²l²d²kẅ : ɪl²ın² : ɪçg¹n¹w : ɪd¹mş : k¹g¹n¹l¹l¹d¹kʷ : k¹g¹n¹ın² : y²ɪt²r²ẅɪd¹mş : t¹b¹g¹ç : b¹wd¹n¹k¹ᴀ : b²g²l²k² : wr²ɪwg¹l¹ın² : kʷwl¹k¹ɪl¹t¹ɪ : s²l²k²kɨızwg¹l¹n² : k²ẅŋk¹ılt ɪ : t²ẅr²kẅ : b²g²l²r² : t²ẅr²kẅ : t¹ın² : … : t¹b¹… b²g²l²r² : t¹b¹g¹ç : …… **(8)** ɪs²g²k²ẅçg² : b²ɪr²mş : ɪl²g²r²ẅ : k²ẅn² : t¹wg¹s¹k¹ᴀ : b²ẅk²l²ɪ : k¹g¹n¹k¹ᴀ : t²g²ɪ : s²ẅl²y²ẅ : b²ɪr²mş : kʷwr¹g¹r¹w : t²mr² : k¹pg¹k¹ᴀ : s²ẅl²y²ẅ : b²ɪr²mş : t¹b¹g¹çk¹g¹n¹k¹ᴀ : ɪl²ın² : t²ẅr²ẅs²ın² : l¹ıb²ɪr²mş : t²ẅr²kẅ : k¹r¹ᴀ : k¹mg¹ : b¹wd¹n¹ : nçᴀt²ımş : ɪl²l²g² : b¹wd¹n¹…… **(9)** k¹g¹n¹l¹g¹ : b¹wd¹n¹ : r²t²m : k¹g¹n¹m : k¹n¹ɪ : n²ᴀk¹g¹n¹k¹ᴀ : ɪs²g²k²ẅçg² : b²ɪr²ẅr²mn² : t²ɪr²r²mş : nçᴀt²ıp : t¹b¹g¹çk¹g¹n¹k¹ᴀ : y¹g¹ɪ : b¹wl¹mş : y¹g¹ɪ : b¹wl¹p : ɪt²n²ẅ : y¹r¹t¹n¹w : wmd¹kʷ : y¹n¹ᴀ : içk²mş : b¹wnçᴀ : ɪs²g²k²ẅçg² : b²ɪr²t²kẅr²ẅ : s¹k¹n¹mt¹ɪ : t²ẅr²kẅ : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : ẅl²r²…… **(10)** t²ẅr²kẅ : t²ŋr²ɪs²ɪ : ɪd¹kʷ : y²ɪr²ɪ : s¹wb¹ɪ : nçᴀt²mşr²nç : t²ẅr²kẅ : b¹wd¹n¹ : y¹kʷb¹wl¹mzwn¹ : t²ɪy²n² : b¹wd¹n¹ : b¹wl¹çwn¹ : t²ɪy²n² : k¹ŋm : ıl²t²r²s² : k¹g¹n¹g¹ : ẅg²m : ɪl²b²l²g²ᴀ : k¹t¹wn¹g¹ : t²ŋr²ɪ : t²ẅps²ıntᴀ : t¹wt¹p : y²ẅg²r²ẅ : k²ẅt²r²t²ır²nç : k¹ŋmk¹g¹n¹ : y²t²ıy²g²r²mı : r²n² : ……

6. kılınmaduk erinç, oğlı kaŋın teg kılınmaduk erinç. biligsiz kağan *olu*rmış erinç; yablak kağan olurmış erinç. buyrukı yeme biligsiz ermiş erinç, yablak ermiş erinç. begleri bodunı tüzsüz üçün, tabğaç bodun tebl*igin* kürlügin *üçün, armakçı*sın üçün, inili *eçili kikşürtükin üçün, begli bodunlığ* **7.** yoŋşurtukın üçün türk bodun élledük élin ıçğınu ıdmış, kağanladuk kağanın yitürü ıdmış. tabğaç bodunka beglik urı oğlın kul kıltı, silik kız oğlın küŋ kıltı. türk begler türk atın *ıt*[*d*]*ı*, tab*ğaçğı* begler tabğaç *atın tutupan tabğaç kağanka körmiş. elig yıl* **8.** éşig küçüg bérmiş. ilgerü kün toğsuk[d]a bükli kağanka tegi süleyü bérmiş; kurığaru temir kapığka süleyü bérmiş. tabğaç kağanka élin törüsin alı bérmiş. 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 içikmiş. bunça éşig küçüg bértük[g]erü sakınmatı, türk bodunuğ ölür*eyin, uruğsıratayın tér ermiş. yokadu barır ermiş. üze* **10.** türk teŋrisi, ıduk yéri subı ança témiş erinç: türk bodun yok bolmazun téyin, bodun bolçun téyin, kaŋım élteriş kağanığ, ögüm élbilge katunuğ teŋri töpüsinte tutup yögerü kötürti erinç. kaŋım kağan yéti yégirmi erin *taşıkmış. taşra yorıyur téyin kü éşidip balıkdakı taşıkmış, tağdakı*

(11) ın²mş : t²ır²l²p : y²t²mşr² : b¹wl¹mş : t²ŋr²ı : k²ẅçb²ır²t²k^{w} : ẅçn²: k¹ŋmk¹g¹n¹ : s²ẅs²ı : b²ẅr²ıt²g² : r²mş : y¹g¹s²ı : k^{w}wñt²g²r²mş : ıl²g²r²ẅ : k^{w}wr¹ıg¹r¹w : s²ẅl²p : t²ır²mş : k¹wb¹r¹t¹mş : k¹mg¹ı : y²t²ıy²ẅzr² : b¹wl¹mş : y²t²ıy²ẅzr² : ..... n¹g¹ : t²..... **(12)** b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : çẅmpam : t²ẅr²ẅs²ınça : y¹r¹t¹mş : b¹wşg¹wr¹mş : t²ẅl²s² : t¹r¹d¹wş : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : ntaıt²mş : y¹b¹g¹wg¹ : şd¹g¹ : ntab²ır²ms² : b²ır²y²a : t¹b¹g¹ç : b¹wd¹n¹ : y¹g¹ır²mş : y²ır¹y¹a : b¹zk¹g¹n¹ : t¹k^{w}wz : wg¹z : b¹wd¹n¹ : y¹g¹ır²mş : k^{ï} ..... **(13)** y²ıt²ı : y¹wl¹ı : s²ẅl²mş : y²g²r²mı : s²ẅŋş : s²ẅ... mş : t²ŋr²ı : y¹r¹l¹k¹d¹k^{w} : ẅçn² : ıl²l²g²g² : l²s²r²t²mş : k¹g¹n¹l¹g¹g¹ : k¹g¹n¹s¹r¹t¹mş : y¹g¹ıg¹ : b¹zk¹ıl¹mş : t²ızl²g²g² : s²ẅk²r²mş : b¹şl¹g¹g¹ : y²ẅk²ntr²mş : k¹ŋm : ..... k¹ŋm ..... b¹şl¹y¹w : b¹zk¹g¹n¹g¹ : b¹l¹b¹l¹ : ..... **(14)** k¹g¹n¹ : wçd¹k^{w}k¹a : ẅzm : s²k²zy¹şd¹a : k¹l¹t¹m : wl¹..ẅr²ẅd²a : ẅza : çmk¹g¹n¹wl¹r¹t¹ı : wl¹r¹pn¹ : t²ẅr²k^{ẅ} : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : y²ıça : ıt²d²ı : y²ıça : ıg²t²ı : çıg¹ñg¹ : b¹y¹k¹ıltı : zg¹ẅk²şk^{ï}ıltı : çımk¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹t¹k^{w}a : ẅzm : t²ıg²n²r²k²...ıy² ..... ŋr²ı ..... **(15)** t²ẅr²t² : y²g²r²mı : y¹şmk¹a : t¹r¹d¹wş : b¹wd¹n¹ : ẅza : ..d¹ : wl¹r¹t¹m : çmk¹g¹n¹ : b²ır²l²a : ıl²g²r²ẅ : y¹şl¹ẅg²z : şntwŋ : y¹zık¹a : t²g²ı : s²ẅl²d²mz : k^{w}wr¹ıg¹r¹w : t²mr²k¹pg¹k¹a : t²g²ı : s²ẅl²d²mz : k²ẅg²mn²şa : k^{ï}ır¹k¹z : y²ır²ŋa : t²g²ı : s²..... wt¹z .....

11. énmiş. térilip yétmiş er bolmış. teŋri küç bértük üçün kaŋım kağan süsi böri teg ermiş, yağısı koñ teg ermiş. ilgerü, kurığaru sülep térmiş, kubratmış. kamağı yéti yüz er bolmış. yéti yüz er *bolup élsiremiş kağansıramış bodunuğ, küŋedmiş kuladmış bodu*nuğ, t*ürk törüsin ıçğınmış* **12.** bodunuğ eçüm apam törüsinçe yaratmış, boşğurmış. tüliş tarduş bodunuğ anta étmiş, yabğuğ şadığ anta bérmiş. bérye tabğaç bodun yağı ermiş. yırya baz kağan, tokuz oğuz bodun yağı ermiş. k*ırkız, kurıkan, otuz tatar, kıtañ, tatabı kop yağı ermiş. kaŋım kağan bunça ..... kırk artukı* **13.** yéti yolı sülemiş; yégirmi süŋüş sü*ŋüş*miş. teŋri yarlıkaduk üçün élligig élsiretmiş, kağanlığığ kağansıratmış, yağığ baz kılmış, tizligig sökürmiş, başlığığ yüküntürmiş. kaŋım *kağan ince élig törüg kazğanıp uça barmış*. kaŋım *kağanka* başlayu baz kağanığ balbal *tikmiş. kaŋım* **14.** kağan uçdukda özüm sekiz yaşda kaltım. ol törüde üze eçim kağan olurtı. olurupan türk bodunuğ yiçe étdi yiçe igit[d]i. çığañığ bay kıltı; azığ üküş kıltı. eçim kağan olurtuk[k]a özüm tégin erk ... iy ..... *t*eŋri *yarlıkaduk üçün* **15.** tört yégirmi yaşımka tarduş bodun üze şad olurtum. eçim kağan birle ilgerü yaşıl ögüz şantuŋ yazıka tegi süledimiz, kurığaru temir kapığka tegi süledimiz, kögmen aşa kırkız yériŋe tegi s*üledimiz. kamağı béş* otuz *süledimiz, üç yégirmi süŋüşdümüz. élligig élsiretdimiz, kağanlığığ kağansıratdımız, tizligig*

(16) s²ẅk²r²t²mz : b¹şl¹g¹g¹ : y²ẅk²ntr²t²mz : t²ẅr²g²s² : ... : t²..... : b¹wd¹n¹m : r²t²ı : b²ıl²md²k^{ẅ}ın² : ẅçn² : b²ızŋa : y¹ŋltk^{w}ın² : y¹zntk^{w}ın² : ẅçn² : k¹g¹n¹ı : ẅl²t²ı : b¹wy¹r¹k^{w}ı : b²g²l²r²ı : y²ma : ẅl²t²ı : wn¹k^{w} : b¹wd¹n¹ : mg²k²k²ẅr²t²ı : ..... **(17)** r²t²ı : k¹g¹n¹t¹g¹ : b¹wnta : b²ızb²ır²t²mz : s²ıŋl²m : ... y¹g¹ : b²ır²t²mz : ẅzıy¹zntı : k¹g¹n¹ı : ẅl²t²ı : b¹wd¹n¹ı : k²ẅŋk¹wl¹ : b¹wltı : k²ẅg²mn² ..... k¹l¹mzwn¹t²ıy²n² : zk^{ï}ır¹k¹z : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ ... y¹r¹t¹p : k²l²t²mz ... ŋşd²mz ..... k¹d¹r¹k¹n¹ : y²ı..... **(18)** k²ŋẅt¹r¹b¹n¹k¹a : t²g²ı : t²ẅr²k^{ẅ} : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : nçak^{w}wntr¹... z : nçaıt²d²mz : wl¹ẅd²k²a : k^{w}wl : k^{w}wl¹l¹g¹ : k²ẅŋ : k²ẅŋl²g² : b¹wl¹mş : r²t²ı : ın²s²ı : çıs²ın² : b²ıl²mz : r²t²ı : wg¹l¹ı k¹ŋın² : b²ıl²mz : r²t²ı : nçak¹zg¹n¹mş : nça : ıt²mş : ıl²mz : ..... d¹n¹ : s²d² : ẅza : t²ŋr²ı : b¹s¹ms¹r¹ : ... y²r² : t²l²n²ms²r²:**(19)**t²ẅr²k^{ẅ}:b¹wd¹n¹:ıl²ŋn²:t²ẅr²g²n²:k²mr¹t¹t¹ı:wd¹çı:...:t²ẅr²k^{ẅ}:b¹wd¹n¹:

r²t²n² : ẅk²ẅn² : k²ẅr²g²ẅŋn² : ẅçẅn² : ıg²d²mş : k¹g¹n¹ŋn¹ᴀ : ..... k²ntẅ y¹ŋltg¹ : y¹b¹l¹k¹ : k²ıg²ẅr²t²g² : y¹r¹k¹l¹g¹ : k¹ntn¹ : k²l²p : y¹ñᴀl²t²d²ı : sẅŋg²l²g² : k¹nt ..... b¹wd¹n¹ : b¹r¹d¹g¹ : ıl²g²r²ẅ : b¹r¹g¹mᴀ : b¹r¹d¹g¹ : kʷwr¹g¹r¹w : **(20)** b¹r¹g¹mᴀ : b¹r¹d¹g¹ : b¹r¹d¹kʷ : y²r²d²ᴀ : d²g²ẅg² : wl¹r²nç : ... : ẅg²zçᴀ : y²ẅg²r²t²ı : s²ẅŋkʷ̈g² : t¹g¹çᴀ : y¹t¹d¹ı : b²g²l²k² : wr¹ıwgl¹l¹ŋn¹ : kʷwl¹k¹ıltg¹ : ..... k¹ıltg¹ : b²ıl²md²kʷ̈g²n² : ẅçn² : y¹b¹l¹k¹ŋn¹ : ẅçn² : çmk¹g¹n¹ : wçᴀ : b¹r¹d¹ı : b¹şl¹y¹w : kⁱır¹k¹z : k¹g¹n¹g¹ : ..... t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b¹wd¹n¹ : t¹ık²ẅs²ı : y¹kʷb¹wl¹mzwn¹ : t²ıy²n² : k¹ŋmk¹g¹n¹g¹ :

16. sökürtümüz, başlığığ yüküntürtümüz. türgiş *kağan türküm* bodunum erti. bilmedükin üçün, biziŋe yaŋıltukın yazıntukın üçün kağanı ölti, buyrukı begleri yeme ölti. on ok bodun emgek körti. *eçümüz apamız tutmış yér sub idisiz bolmazun téyin, az bodunuğ étip yaratıp ..... bars beg* **17.** erti. kağan atığ bunta biz bértimiz. siŋlim *kunçu*yuğ bértimiz. özi yazıntı.[201] kağanı ölti, bodunı küŋ kul boltı. kögmen *yér sub idisiz* kalmazun téyin, az kırkız bodunuğ *ança* yaratıp keltimiz, *sü*ŋüşdümüz. *élin yana bértimiz. ilgerü* kadırkan yışı*ğ aşa, bodunuğ ança konturtumuz, ança étdimiz. kurığaru* **18.** keŋü tarbanka[202] tegi türk bodunuğ ança kontur*tumuz*, ança étdimiz. ol ödke kul kulluğ küŋ küŋlüg bolmış erti, inisi eçisin bilmez erti, oğlı kaŋın bilmez erti. ança kazğanmış, ança étmiş. élimiz *törümüz erti. türk oğuz begleri bo*dun eşid, üze teŋri basmasar, *asra* yér telinmeser, **19.** türk bodun, éliŋin törügün kem artat[d]ı udaçı *erti*? türk bodun ertin ökün. küregüŋün üçün igidmiş kağanıŋına, *érmiş barmış edgü éliŋe* kentü yaŋıltığ, yablak kigürtüg. yarıklığ kantın kelip yaña éltdi? süŋüglüg kant*ın kelipen süre éltdi? ıduk ötüken yış* bodun bardığ, ilgerü barığma bardığ, kurığaru **20.** barığma bardığ. barduk yérde edgüg ol erinç: *kanıŋ* ögüzçe yügürti, süŋüküg tağça yatdı, beglik urı oğluŋun kul kıltığ, *silik kız oğluŋun küŋ* kıltığ. bilmedükügün üçün, yablakıŋın üçün eçim kağan uça bardı. başlayu kırkız kağanığ *balbal tikdim*. türk bodun atı küsi yok bolmazun téyin, kaŋım kağanığ

(21) ẅg²m : k¹t¹wn¹g¹ : k²ẅt²r²g²mᴀ : t²ŋr²ı : ıl²b²ır²g²mᴀ : .....ẅr²kʷ̈ : b¹wd¹n¹ : t¹ık²ẅs²ı : y¹kʷb¹wl¹mzwn¹ : t²ıy²n² : ẅzmn² : wl¹t²ŋr²ı : k¹g¹n¹ : ..... b¹wd¹ntᴀ : ẅzᴀ : wl¹r¹md¹m : ıçr²ᴀ : şs¹z : t¹şr¹ᴀ : t¹wn¹s¹z : y¹b¹zy¹b¹l¹k¹ : b¹wd¹ntᴀ : ..... g²n² : k²ışd¹ : ın²m ... t²r² : b²ır²l²ᴀ : s²ẅzl²şd²mz : k¹ŋmz : **(22)** çmz : k¹zg¹n¹mş : b¹wd¹n¹ : t¹ık²ẅs²ı : y¹kʷb¹w ..... : t²ıy²n² : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b¹wd¹n¹ : ẅçn² : t²ẅn² : wd¹ımd¹m : k²ẅntz : wl¹r¹md¹m : ın²m : ..... b²ır²l²ᴀ : ẅl²ẅy²ıt²ẅ : k¹zg¹ntm : nçᴀk¹zg¹n¹p : b²ır²k²ı : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : wt¹s¹wb¹ : k¹ıl¹md¹m : mn²..... y²ır²s¹y¹w : b¹r¹mş : ..... **(23)** k²l²t²ı : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : ıg²d²y²n² : t²ıy²n² : y²ır¹g¹r¹w : ..... d¹n¹t¹pᴀ : ıl²g²r²ẅ : kⁱıt¹ñ : t¹t¹b¹ı : b¹wd¹n¹t¹pᴀ : b²ır²g²r²ẅ : t¹b¹g¹çt¹pᴀ : k²ıy²g²r²m ..... : s²ẅŋşd²m : ntᴀk²ıs²r²ᴀ : t²ŋr²ı : y¹r¹l¹k¹d¹kʷ : ẅçn² : kʷwt¹m : ẅl²ẅg²m : b¹r¹ẅçẅn² : ẅl²t²çı : b¹wd¹..... ıg²t²m : y¹l¹ŋb¹wd¹n¹g¹ : t¹wn¹l¹g¹ : k¹ıltm : çıg¹ñb¹w ... : b¹y¹k¹ıltm : **(24)** zb¹wd¹n¹g¹ : ẅk²şk¹ıltm : ıg¹r¹ : l²l²g²d²ᴀ : ... : k¹g¹n¹l¹g¹d¹ᴀ : y²g²k¹ıltm : t²ẅr²t² : b¹wl¹ŋd¹k¹ı :

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201 The corresponding place in the Kül Tégin Inscription (K. E. 20) is *yaŋıltı* < *yaŋıl-* "to make a mistake". Here *yazın-* is a synonym of *yaŋıl-*, meaning "to sin against" (Clauson 1972: 988).

202 *keŋü tarban*. It is written as *keŋü tarman* in the K. E. 21.

b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : kʷwp : b¹zk¹ıltm : y¹g¹s²z : k¹ıltm : … : mŋᴀ : k²ẅr²t²ı : y²t²ıy²g²r²mı : y¹şmᴀ : t¹ŋwt¹ : t¹pᴀ : s²ẅl²d²m : t¹ŋwt¹ : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : b¹wzd¹m : wgˡl¹ın² : y¹… n² y²ıl¹k¹ıs²ın² : b¹r¹mın² : ntᴀl¹t¹m : s²k²zy²g²r²mı : y¹şmᴀ : l¹t¹ı…… **(25)** t¹pᴀ : s²ẅl²d²m : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : ntᴀ : b¹wzd¹m : t¹b¹… ŋt¹wt¹kʷ : b²s²t²ẅmn² : s²ẅk²l²t²ı : ıd¹kʷb¹şd¹ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²m : wl¹s²ẅg² : ntᴀy¹kʷ : k¹ışd¹m : y²g²r²mı : y¹şmᴀ : b¹s¹ml¹ : ıd¹kʷt¹ : wg¹şm : b¹wd¹n¹ : r²t²ı : r¹k¹şıd¹mz : t²ıy²n² : s²ẅl²d²m : k¹… t² : içg²r²t²m : k¹l¹ŋ … b²r²ẅ : k²l²ẅr²t²m : k²ıwt¹z : y¹şmᴀ : t¹b¹g¹ç :

21. ögüm katunuğ kötürügme teŋri, él bérigme *teŋri, t*ürk bodun atı küsi yok bolmazun téyin, özümün ol teŋri kağan *olurtdı erinç. neŋ yılsığ* bodunta üze olurmadım. içre aşsız, taşra tonsuz, yabız yablak bodunta *üze olurtum. inim kül té*gin éki şad inim … tr birle sözleşdimiz. kaŋımız **22.** eçimiz kazğanmış bodun atı küsi yok bo*lmazun* 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 yalıŋın yana* **23.** kelti. bodunuğ igideyin téyin, yırğaru *oğuz bo*dun tapa, ilgerü kıtañ tatabı bodun tapa, bérgerü tabğaç tapa éki yégirm*i süledim*. sünüşdüm. anta késre teŋri yarlıkduk üçün, kutum, ülügüm bar üçün ölteçi bodu*nuğ tirgürü* igit[d]im. yalıŋ bodunuğ tonluğ kıltım, çığañ bo*dunuğ* bay kıltım. **24.** az bodunuğ üküş kıltım, ığar élligde *ığar* kağanlığda yég kıltım. tört buluŋdakı bodunuğ kop baz kıltım, yağısız kıltım. *kop* maŋa körti. yéti yégirmi yaşıma taŋut tapa süledim. taŋut bodunuğ buzdum. oğlın y*utuzı*n yılkısın barımın anta altım. sekiz yégirmi yaşıma altı *çub soğdak* **25.** tapa süledim. bodunuğ anta buzdum. tab*ğaç o*ŋ tutuk béş tümen sü kelti. ıduk başda sünüşdüm. ol süg anta yok kışdım. yégirmi[203] yaşıma basmıl ıdukut uğuşum bodun erti, arkış ıdmaz téyin süledim. k…t içgertim. kalıŋ …… ebirü kelürtüm. éki otuz yaşıma tabğaç

(26) t¹pᴀ : s²ẅl²d²m : ççᴀs²ŋẅn² : s²k²z : t²ẅmn² : … l²ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²m : s²ẅs²ın² : ntᴀẅl²r²t²m : l¹t¹ıwt¹z : y¹şmᴀ : çık²b¹wd¹n¹ : kïır¹k¹z : b²ır²l²ᴀ : y¹g¹ıb¹wltı : k²mk²çᴀ : çık²t¹pᴀ : s²ẅl²d²m : ẅr²pn²t²ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²m : s²ẅs²ın² : s¹nçd¹m : z … g²r²t²m : y²t²ıw … ᴀ : kïır¹k¹z : t¹pᴀ : s²ẅl²d²m : s²ẅŋg² … **(27)** k¹r¹g¹ : s²ẅk²pn² : k²ẅg²mn² : y²ışg¹ : t¹wg¹… kïır¹k¹z : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : wd¹ᴀ : b¹s¹d¹m : k¹g¹n¹ın² : b²ır²l²ᴀ : s¹wŋᴀ : y²ışd¹ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²m : k¹g¹n¹ın² : ẅl²r²t²m : ıl²n² : ntᴀl¹t¹m : wl¹y²ıl¹k¹ᴀ : t²ẅr²g²s² : t¹pᴀ : l¹t¹wn¹y²ışg¹ …… zg² : k²çᴀ : y¹wr¹ …… d¹m : t²ẅr²g²s² : k¹g¹n¹ : s²ẅs²ı : wt¹çᴀ : b¹wr¹çᴀ : k²l²t²ı : **(28)** b¹wl¹çwd¹ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²mz : k¹g¹n¹ın² : y¹b¹ … şd¹ın² : ntᴀẅl²r²t²m : ıl²n² : ntᴀl¹t¹m : wt¹z : y¹şmᴀ : b²s²b¹l¹kï : t¹pᴀ : s²ẅl²d²m : l¹t¹ıy¹wl¹ı : s²ẅŋşd²mz … s²ẅs²n² : kʷwp : ẅ…… çr²k²ın²ᴀ : k²ışıt²ın²……ᴀ : wk¹g¹l¹ı : k²l²t²ı : b²s²b¹l¹kï : n¹ıẅçn² : wzd¹ı : wt¹z …… **(29)** b²ır² : y¹şmᴀ : k¹r¹l¹kʷ : b¹wd¹n¹ : b¹wŋs¹z : …ẅr² : b¹r¹wr¹ : r²k²l²ı : y¹g¹ıb¹wltı : t¹mg¹ıd¹kʷ : b¹şd¹ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²m : k¹r¹l¹kʷ : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : ẅl²r²t²m : ntᴀl¹t¹m …… k¹r¹l¹kʷ : b¹wd¹n¹ : t²ır²…… m : ẅ…… t¹w……mn²ŋ : b¹wd¹n¹mr²t²ı : t²ŋr²ı : y²r² : b¹wl¹g¹k¹ın² : ẅçn² : ẅd²…: **30.** k²ẅn²ı : t²g²t²kẅ : ẅçn² : y¹g¹ıb¹wltı : b²ır²y²ıl¹k¹ᴀ : t²ẅr²t² : y¹wl¹ı : s²ẅŋşd²m : ŋıl²k²ı : t¹wg¹w : b¹l¹kïd¹ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²m :

203 There are some blurred signs before *yégirmi*, Radloff 1897 and Thomsen suggested that it could be *tokuz*.

t¹wg¹l¹ᴀ : ẅg²zg² : y²ẅzt²ɪ : k²ç ..... k²ınt... ntr¹g¹wd¹ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²m : s²ẅs²ın² : s¹..... şd²m : t²ẅr²kᵂ : b¹wd¹n¹ : d¹k¹k¹mşt¹ɪ : y¹b¹l¹k¹ :

26. tapa süledim. çaça seŋün sekiz tümen *sü bir*le sünjüşdüm. süsin anta ölürtüm. altı otuz yaşıma çik bodun kırkız birle yağı boltı. kem keçe çik tapa süledim. örpente sünjüşdüm. süsin sançdım. az *bodunuğ altım ... içg*ertim. yéti o*tuz yaşıma* kırkız tapa süledim. sünjüg *batımı* **27.** karığ söküpen kögmen yışığ toğ*a yorıp* kırkız bodunuğ uda basdım. kağanın birle soŋa yışda sünjüşdüm. kağanın ölürtüm. élin anta altım. ol yılka türgiş tapa altun yışığ *aşa, ertiş ögü*züg keçe yor*ıdım. türgiş bodunuğ uda bas*dım. türgiş kağan süsi otça borça kelti. **28.** bolçuda sünjüşdümüz. kağanın yab*ğusın* şadın anta ölürtüm. élin anta altım. otuz yaşıma béş balık tapa süledim. altı yolı sünjüşdüm.... süsin kop *ölürtüm. anta* içreki ne kişi tin ... *i yok boltaçı erti*.... a okığalı[204] kelti. béş balık anı üçün ozdı. otuz *artukı* **29.** bir yaşıma karluk bodun buŋsuz erür barur erkli yağı boltı. tamağ ıduk başda sünjüşdüm. karluk bodunuğ ölürtüm. anta altım. .....[205]..karluk bodun térilip kelti.... m ö*lürtüm*. to*kuz oğuz* meniŋ bodunum erti. teŋri yér bulğakın üçün öd*iŋe* **30.** küni tegtük üçün yağı boltı. bir yılka tört yolı sünjüşdüm. eŋ ilki toğu balıkda sünjüşdüm. tuğla ögüzüg yüzüti[206] keçip süsi ... ékinti antarğuda sünjüşdüm. süsin s*ançdım ... üçünç çuş başınta sünjü*şdüm. türk bodun adak kamşat[t]ı,[207] yablak

(31) b¹wl¹t¹çı : r²t²ɪ : wzᴀ : y¹ñᴀ : k²l²g²mᴀ : s²ẅs²ın² : g¹t¹m : ẅk²şẅl²t²çı : ntᴀt²ıl²r²t²ɪ : ntᴀ : t¹wŋr¹ᴀ : y²ıl¹pg¹wt¹ɪ : b²ır² : wg¹şg¹ : t¹wŋᴀ : t²ıg²n² : y¹w ... g²r²ᴀ : t¹wk¹ıd¹m : t²ẅr²t²nç : zg²ntı : k¹d¹zd¹ᴀ : s²ẅŋşd²m : s²ẅs²ın²ntᴀ : s¹nçd¹m : y¹b¹r¹ıt¹d¹m ..... mᴀ : mg¹ᴀ : k¹wr¹g¹n¹ : kⁱışl¹d¹kʷd¹ᴀ : y¹wt¹ : b¹wltı : y¹zŋᴀ : **(32)** wg¹z : t¹pᴀ : s²ẅl²d²m : ıl²k²ıs²ẅ : t¹şkⁱmş : r²t²ɪ : k²ın²s²ẅ : b²d²ᴀ : r²t²ɪ : ẅçwg¹z : s²ẅs²ɪ : b¹s¹ᴀ : k²l²t²ɪ : y¹d¹g¹ : y¹b¹z : b¹wltı : t²ıp : l¹g¹l¹ɪ : k²l²t²ɪ ..... g²b¹r¹k¹g¹ : y¹wl¹g¹l¹ɪ : b¹r¹d¹ɪ : s²ıŋr¹ : s²ẅs²ɪ : s²ẅŋşg²l²ɪ : k²l²t²ɪ : b²ız : zr²t²mz : y¹b¹z : r²t²mz : wg¹ ..... k²ẅç : b²ır²t²kʷ : ẅçn²... s¹nçd¹m : **(33)** y¹ñd¹m : t²ŋr²ɪ : y¹r¹l¹k¹d¹kʷẅçn² :

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204 Radloff 1897 and Malov 1959 read this as *ukğalï* < *uk-* "to hear, surrender". Here I follow the transcription of Thomsen 1896, *ukığalı* < *ukı-* "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 *yüzdi* < *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.

mn²k¹zg¹ntkʷ : ẅçn² : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b¹wd¹n¹ ..... ın²l²g²ẅ : b²nçA : b¹şl¹y¹w : k¹zg¹n¹ms¹r¹ ... d¹n¹ : ẅl²t²çı : r²t²ı : y¹kʷ... çı : r²t²ı... b²g²l²r²... s¹k¹n¹ŋ : nçAb²ıl²ŋ ..... d¹ : ıd¹my¹ın² : t²ıy²n² : s²ẅl²... **(34)** b²ın² : b¹r¹k¹ın² : b¹wzd¹m ... wd¹n¹ : t¹kʷz : t¹t¹r¹ : b²ır²l²A : t²ır²ıl²p : k²l²t²ı : g¹wdA : k²ıwl¹g¹ : s²ẅŋş : s²ẅŋşd²m : s²ẅs²ın² : b¹... l²ın² : ntAl¹t¹m : nçAk¹zg¹n¹..... t¹zr¹...ı..... ẅd²s²g² : ẅt²ẅl²g² : k²ş ... **(35)** ıg²d²mş .....A : t²ŋr²ı : ıd¹kʷ : y²r²s¹wb¹ ... k¹g¹n¹ : kʷt¹ı : t¹pl¹md¹ır²nç : t¹kʷwz : wg¹z : b¹wd¹n¹ : y²r²n² : s¹wb¹ın² : ıd¹p : t¹b¹g¹çg¹r¹w : b¹r¹d¹ı : t¹b¹g¹ç ..... r²d²A : k²l²t²ı : ıg²d²y²n² : t²ıy²n²..... b¹wd¹n¹...

31. boltaçı erti. oza yaña keligme süsin ağıt[t]ım. üküş ölteçi anta térilti. anta toŋra yılpağutı bir uğuşuğ toŋa tégin yo*ğınta* egire tokıdım. törtünç ezgenti kadazda sünüşdüm. süsin anta sançdım, yabrıtdım.... *yaşı*ma amğa kurğan kışladukda yut boltı. yazıŋa **32.** oğuz tapa süledim. ilki sü taşıkmış erti. ékin sü ebde erti. üç oğuz süsi basa kelti. yadağ yabız[208] boltı tép alğalı kelti. *sıŋar süsi eb*ig barkığ yul[ı]ğalı bardı. sınar süsi sünüşgeli kelti. biz az ertimiz, yabız ertimi*z*. oğu*z* ... *yağı* ... *teŋri* küç bértük üçün *anta* sançdım, **33.** yañdım. teŋri yarlıkaduk üçün, men kazğanduk üçün, türk bodun *ança kazğanmış erinç*. *men* iniligü[209] bunça başlayu kazğanmasar, *türk bo*dun ölteçi erti, yok *bolta*çı erti. *türk* begler *bodun ança* sakınıŋ. ança biliŋ. *oğuz bodun* ..d ıdmayın téyin süle*dim*. **34.** ebin barkın buzdum. *oğuz b*odun tokuz tatar birle térilip kelti. ağuda éki uluğ sünüş sünüşdüm. süsin b*uzdum*. élin anta altım. ança kazğan*ıp* ... *teŋri yarlıkaduk üçün özüm* otuz ar*tukı üç yaşıma* ... *ok erti*. ödsig ötülüg ki*şi* **35.** igitmiş *alp kağanıŋa yaŋıltı. üz*e teŋri ıduk yér sub *eçüm* kağan kutı taplamadı erinç, tokuz oğuz bodun yérin subın ıdıp tabğaçğaru bardı. tabğaç ... *bu yé*rde kelti. igideyin téyin *sakıntım* ... bodun ...

(36) y¹zkʷl¹A .....A : t¹b¹g¹çd¹A : t¹ık²ẅs²ı : y¹kʷb¹wltı : b¹wy²r²d²A : mŋA : k¹wl¹ : b¹wltı : mn² : ẅzm : k¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹t¹kʷm : ẅçn² : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ ..... k¹zg¹ntm : ..... t²ır²l²p : y²..... **(37)** ..... s¹nçd¹m : ıçk²g²mA : içk²d²ı : b¹wd¹n¹ : b¹wltı : ẅl²g²mAẅl²t²ı : s²l²ŋA : kʷwd¹ı : y¹wr¹pn¹ : k¹r¹g¹n¹ : kʲ̈ıs¹l¹t¹A : b²ın² : b¹r¹k¹ın² : ntAb¹wzd¹m ..... g¹d¹ı : ..... r² : y²ẅzçA..... **(38)** ..... kʷ̈ : b¹wd¹n¹ : Açr²t²ı : wl¹y²ıl¹k¹ıg¹ : l¹pıg²t²m : wt¹zr¹t¹kʷı : t²ẅr²t² : y¹şmA : wg¹z : t²zp : t¹b¹g¹çk¹A : k²ır²t²ı : ẅk²n²p : s²ẅl²d²m : s¹wk¹n¹ ..... l¹ın² : y¹wt¹zın² : ntAl¹t¹m : k²ıl²t²b²r²l²g² : b¹w ..... **(39)** ..... : b¹wd¹n¹ : t¹b¹g¹çk¹g¹n¹k¹A : k²ẅr²t²ı : y¹l¹b¹çı : d²g²ẅ : s¹b¹ı : ẅt²g²ı : k²l²mzt²ıy²n² : y¹y¹n¹s²ẅl²d²m : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : ntAb¹wzd¹m : y²ıl¹k¹..... : k²l²t²ı : k¹d¹r¹k¹n¹y²ış ..... **(40)** ..... g¹k¹ŋA : y²r²ŋr²ẅ : s¹wb¹ıŋr¹w : kʷwntı : b²ır²y²A : k¹r¹l¹kʷ : b¹wd¹n¹t¹pA : s²ẅl²A : t²ıp : t¹wd¹n¹ : y¹mt¹r¹g¹ : ıt¹mb¹r¹d¹..... y¹kʷb¹wl¹mş : ın²s²ı :

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 başlayu kazganmatïn 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).

b²ır²..... **(41)** ..... k¹şı : k²l²md²ı : n¹ı... t¹y¹n² : t²ıp : s²ẅl²d²m : kʷr¹g¹w : k²ıẅç : k²ıs²l²g²ẅ : t²zpb¹r¹d¹ı : k¹r¹ʌb¹wd¹n¹ : k¹g¹n¹m : k²l²t²ıt²ıp : ẅg².....: ʌt¹b²ır²t²m : k²ıçg² : t¹... g¹.....

36. yazukla ... *bérye* tabğaçda atı küsi yok boltı. bu yérde maŋa kul boltı. men özüm kağan olurtukum üçün, türk bodunuğ ... *kılmadım. élig törüg yégdi* kazğantım. ıduk ... térilip yi ... **37.** ...*anta sünüşdüm. süsin* sançdım. içikigme içikdi. bodun boltı. ölügme ölti. seleŋe kodı yorıpan karağın kısılta ebin barkın anta buzdum.... *yışka* ağdı. *uyğur élteb*er yüzçe *erin ilgerü tezip bardı* ... **38.** ... *tür*k bodun aç erti. ol yılkığ alıp igitim. otuz artukı tört yaşıma oğuz tezip tabğaçka kirti. ökünüp süledim. sukun ... oğlın yutuzın anta altım. éki élteberlig bo*dun* ... **39.** ... *tatab*ı bodun tabğaç kağanka körti. yalabaçı edgü sabı ötügi kelmez téyin, yayın süledim. bodunuğ anta buzdum. yılkısın *barımın anta altım* ... *süsi térilip* kelti. kadırkan yış *kon* ... **40.** ...ğakıŋa yériŋerü subıŋaru kontı. bérye karluk bodun tapa süle tép tudun yamtarığ ıt[t]ım. bardı ... *karluk élteber* yok bolmış. inisi bir *kurğanka* ..... **41.** ... *ar*kışı kelmedi.[210] anı *añı*tayın tép süledim. korığu éki üç kişiligü tezip bardı. kara bodun kağanım kelti tép ög*irip sebinti* ... *ka* at bértim. kiçig at*lığ*ığ ...

Southeast Edge

..... ŋg² : y¹wg¹r¹w : s²ẅy¹wr¹p : t²ẅn²l²ı : k²ẅn²l²ı : y²ıt²ı : ẅd²şk²ʌ : s¹wb¹s¹z : k²çd²m : çwr¹k¹k¹ʌ : t²g²p : y¹wl¹g¹ç ..... : k²çn²k²ʌ : t²g²ı.....

*kök ö*ŋüg yoğuru sü yorıp, tünli künli yéti ödüşke subsuz keçdim. çorakka[211] tegip yulığçı *erig* ... keçenke tegi ...

South Side

(1) ... t¹b¹g¹ç : t¹l¹g¹ : s²ẅs²ı : b²ır²t²mn² : r¹t¹kʷı : y²t²ıb²ıŋ : s²ẅg² : ıl²k²ı : k²ẅn² : ẅl²r²t²m : y¹d¹g¹ : s²ẅs²ın² : k²nt̲ık²ẅn² : kʷwp : ... şp : b¹r¹d¹... **(2)** ... y¹wl¹ı : s²ẅl²d²m : wt¹zr¹t¹kʷı : ... mʌ : kʲışn¹ : kʲ..ñ.. pʌ : s²ẅl²d²m ... ... y¹zn¹ : t¹t¹b¹ı : t¹pʌ : s²... **(3)** ...ẅl²r²t²m : wg¹... y¹wt¹... ... r²ʌ : kʷ... **(4)**... ... **(5)**... ... **(6)**... ... **(7)** ...ẅl²r²p ... b¹l¹ : k¹ıl¹w : b²ır²t²m : l²g²y¹ş mʌ : t¹t¹b¹ı ..... d¹n¹ : kʲıt¹ñd¹ʌ : d¹... **(8)** ... şd¹w : t²ẅr²... mn² : s²ẅk²l²t²ı : t²ẅŋk²r² : t¹g¹d¹ʌ : t²g²p : t¹wk¹ıd¹m : ẅçt²ẅmn² : s²ẅ... r²s²r²...s²ẅk²t²m : t¹t¹b¹ı... **(9)** ... g¹ : wg¹l¹m : g¹r¹p : y¹kʷb¹wlçʌ : kʷwg¹s²ŋẅn²g² : b¹l¹b¹l¹ : t²ık²ʌ : b²ır²t²m : mn² : t¹wk¹z : y²g²r²mı : y²ıl¹ : şd¹wl¹r¹t¹m : t¹kʷ.....mı : y²ıl¹..... ıl² : t¹wt¹d¹m : wt¹zr¹t¹kʷı : b²ır²... **(10)** ... mʌ : b¹wd¹n¹mʌ : y²g²n² : nç̲ʌk¹zg¹n¹w : b²ır²t²m : b¹wnç̲ʌ : k¹zg¹n¹p : ... y¹ıl¹ : wn¹nç̲y¹ : l¹t¹ıwt¹zk¹ʌ : wçʌ : b¹r¹d¹ı : l¹g¹zın² : y²ıl¹ : b²ıs²nç̲y¹ : y²ıt²ı : wt¹zk¹ʌ : y¹wg¹ : r²t²ẅr²t²m : b¹wk¹g¹ : t¹wt¹kʷ...

1. ...tabğaç atlığ süsi bir tümen artukı yéti biŋ süg ilki kün ölürtüm. yadağ süsin ékinti kün kop *ölürtüm.* ... *a*şıp bardı ... **2.** ...yolı süledim. otuz artukı *sekiz yaşı*ma

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210 Tekin 1968 read this as *yelmedi* < *yelme-* "not to ride fast". The first sign looks more like k^2 than y^2.

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 kı*ta*ñ tapa süledim.... *otuz artukı tokuz yaşıma* yazın tatabı tapa s*üledim*.... **3.** *men* ... ölürtüm. oğ*lın* yut*uzın yılkısın barımın altım* ... re ku ... **4.** *bodun ... yutuzın yok kıltım* ... **5.** *yorıp* ... **6.** *sünüşdüm*... ... **7.** *..bértim. alp erin* ölürüp *bal*bal kılu bértim. elig yaşıma tatabı *bo*dun kıtañda ad*rıltı* ... *töŋker tağka* ... **8.** *kuğ seŋün* başadu tört tümen sü kelti. töŋker tağda tegip tokıdım. üç tümen sü*g ölürtüm. bir tümen* ..rser ... söktüm. tatabı ... **9.** *ölürti. ulu*ğ oğlum ağrıp yok bolça, kuğ seŋünüg balbal tike bértim. men tokuz yégirmi yıl şad olurtum. toku*z yégir*mi yıl *kağan olurtum*. él tutdum. otuz artukı bir ... ... **10.** *türkü*me bodunuma yégin ança kazğanu bértim. bunça kazğanıp *kaŋım kağan ıt* yıl onunç ay altı otuzka uça bardı. lağzın yıl béşinç ay yéti otuzka yoğ értürtüm. bukuğ tutuk ...

(11) ... ŋA : l²ıs²ẅn² : t¹y¹s²ŋẅn² : b¹şd¹... b²ıs²y²ẅzr²n² : k²l²t²ı : kʷwk¹l¹k¹ : ẅ... l¹t¹wn¹ : k²ẅms² : k²r²g²k²s²z : k²l²ẅr²t²ı : y¹wg¹ : y²pr¹ıg¹ : k²l²ẅr²p : t²ık²A : b²ır²t²ı : çıntn¹ : ıg¹ç : k²l²ẅr²p : ẅzy¹... **(12)** b¹wnçA : b¹wd¹n¹ : s¹çın² : kʷwl¹k¹k¹ın² : b¹çd¹ı : d²g²ẅ : ẅzl²k²t¹ın² : k¹r¹A : k²ıs²ın² : k²ẅk² : t²y²ŋın² : s¹n¹s¹z : k²l²ẅr²p : kʷwp : kʷwt¹ı..... **(13)** t²ŋr²ıt²g² : t²ŋr²ı : y¹r¹... mş : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b²ıl²g²A... b¹m : k¹ŋm : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b²ıl²g²A : k¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹t¹kʷıntA : t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : mt¹ı..... k²ıs²r²A : t¹r¹d¹wş : b²g²l²r² : k²ẅl²çwr¹ : b¹şl¹y¹w : wl¹y¹w : şd¹pıt¹ : b²g²l²r² : ..... b²g²l²r² : pAt¹r¹... **(14)** b¹şl¹y¹w : wl¹y¹w : şd¹..... t¹mn¹ : t¹r¹k¹n¹ : t¹wn¹y¹kʷkʷ : b¹wy¹l¹Ab¹g¹At¹r¹k¹n¹ : wl¹y¹w : b¹wy¹... ıçb¹wy¹r¹kʷ : s²b²g²..... b¹şl¹y¹w : wl¹y¹w : b¹wy¹r¹kʷ : b¹wnçA : m ... k¹ŋm : k¹g¹n¹k¹A : ..ŋẅ... **(15)** r²t²ŋẅ : t²ım ..... t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b²g²l²r²ım² : b¹wd¹n¹ın² : r²t²ŋẅ : t²ımg¹ : ıt²d²ı : ..... t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b²g²l²r² : b¹wd¹n¹ : ı... ẅr²t²ı : .....

11. *ma*ŋa[212] lisün tay seŋün başad*u* béş yüz eren kelti. kokılık ö ... altun kümüş kergeksiz kelürti. yoğ yıparığ kelürüp tike bérti. çıntan ığaç kelürüp öz *yar* ... **12.** bunça bodun saçın kulkakın bıçdı. edgü özlük atın kara kişin kök teyiŋin sansız kelürüp kop kot[t]ı. **13.** teŋri teg teŋri yara*t*mış türk bilge *kağan sa*bım kaŋım türk bilge kağan olurtukınta türk amtı *begler* ... késre tarduş begler, kül çor başlayu ulayu şadapıt begler, *öŋre tüliş* begler apa tar*kan* **14.** başlayu ulayu şada*pıt begler bu* ... taman tarkan tonyukuk boyla bağa tarkan ulayu buy*ruk* ... iç buyruk sebeg *kül irkin* başlayu ulayu buyruk bunça am*tı begler* kaŋım kağanka *erti*ŋü **15.** ertiŋü ti[213] m*ağ étdi* ... türk beglerin bodunın ertiŋü ti mağ étdi *ögdi* ... *kaŋım kağan üçün ağır taşığ yoğun ığ* türk begler bodun *étip yaratıp kel*ürti. *özüme bunça* ...

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212 Radloff 1897 read this as *akaŋï* < *akaŋ* "father"; Tekin 1968 read it as *kaŋï* < *kaŋ* "father". Here I follow the reading of Thomsen 1896, *maŋa* "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

…… t²ıg²n² : b²ıt²d²m : b¹wnçA : b¹r¹k¹g¹ : b²d²zg² : wzg¹…… t²ıg²n² : mn² : y¹r¹t¹kʷı : t²ür²t²k²ün² : … r¹p : b²ıt²ıd²m : b²d²…

bilge kağan bitigin yolluğ tégin biti[t]dim. bunça barkığ bedizig uzuğ … *kağan atısı yolluğ* tégin men ay artukı tört kün *olu*rup biti[t]dim. bedi*zttim … yağ*

West Side

(1) …… **(2)** b²… **(3)** y¹y¹b¹wl¹s¹r¹ : üzA : t²… **(4)** k²üb²r²g²s²ı : t²r²çA… **(5)** t¹g¹d¹A : s²ıg¹un¹ : t²s²r²… **(6)** s¹k¹n¹ur¹mn² : k¹ŋm … **(7)** t¹şın² : üzm : k¹g¹n¹…

1. *türk* üze *olurmış kaŋım*[214] **2.** b*ilge kağan uçdı* **3.** yay bolsar üze te*ŋri* **4.** köbrügesi[215] eterçe *ança takı* **5.** tağda sığun etser *ança* **6.** sakınur men kaŋım *kağan* **7.** taşın özüm kağan …

North Side

(1) t²ŋr²ıt²g² : t²ŋr²ıd²A : b¹wl¹mş : …… : b²ıl²g²A : k¹g¹n¹ : b²..d²k²A : wl¹r¹t¹m : s¹b¹mn¹ : ..ük²t²ı : s²ıd²: …… : wg¹l¹n¹m : b²ır²k²ı : wg¹şm : …… **(2)** t¹wg¹s¹k¹ıŋA : b²ır²g²r²ü : k²ün² : wr¹t¹ws²ıŋr¹w : kʷwr¹ıg¹r¹w : k²ün² : b¹t¹s²kïıŋA : y²ır¹g¹r¹w : t²ün² : wr¹t¹ws²ıŋr¹w : ntA : çr²k²ı : b¹wd¹n¹ : kʷwp : mŋA : k²ür²ür² : …… wl¹mt¹ı : ñg¹y¹kʷ : t²ür²k²ü : k¹g¹n¹ : üt²kʷün² …… ıl²g²r²ü : şntw …… **(3)** r²s²n²k²A : t²g²ı : s²ül²d²m : t²üpüt²k²A : k²ıçg² : t²g²md²m : kʷwr¹ıg¹r¹w:y²nçüüg²zg²:k²çA:t²mr²k¹pg¹k¹A:t²g²ı:s²ül²d²m:y²ır¹g¹r¹w:y²r²b¹y¹r¹kʷw: y²r²ıŋA : t²g²ı : s²ü…… kʷn² … d¹A : y²ıg² : ı…… : r²ms² : ıl²…… t²kʷn².. : y²ışr²mş : …… b²ır²l²A : t²üz ……. t¹wn¹ : k²ümş : ıs²g²…: **(4)** kʷwt¹y¹ : b¹wŋs¹z : nçAb²ır²ür² : t¹b¹g¹ç : b¹wd¹n¹ : s¹b¹ı : s²üçg² : g¹ıs²ı : y²mşk¹ : r²mş : s²üçg² : s¹b¹n¹ : y²mşk¹ : g¹ın² : r¹p : ır¹k¹…… y¹g¹wt¹ır² : r²mş : …… : kʷwnt… : k²ıs²r²A : ñg¹b²ıl²g²n² : ntA…… d²g²ü : … g²A : k²ıs²ıg² : d²g²ü : l¹pk²ıs²ıg² : y¹w …… : r²mş : b²ır²k²ıs²ı : y¹ŋl¹s¹r¹ : …… kʷıŋA : t²g²ı : kï …… **(5)** r²mş : s²üçg² : s¹b¹ıŋA : y²mşk¹ : g¹ıs²ıŋA : r¹t¹wr¹p : ük²ş : t²ür²kʷ : b¹wd¹n¹ : ül²t²g² : …… : b¹wd¹n¹ : ül²s²k²ŋ : b²ır²y²A : …… : y²ış : t²üg²l²t²ün² : y¹zı : kʷwn¹y¹ın²t²ıs²r² : t²ür²kʷ : b¹wd¹n¹ : ül²s²k²g²ntA : ñg¹k²ıs²ı : nçAb¹wş …… : r²mş : ır¹k¹r²s²r² : y¹b¹l¹k¹ : g¹ıb²ır²ür² : y¹g¹kʷ : r²s²r² : d²g²ü : g¹ıb²ır²ür² : t²ıpnçA : b¹wşg¹… : r²ms² : b²ı… :

1. teŋri teg teŋride bolmış *türk* bilge kağan bödke olurtum. sabımın *t*üketi éşid *ulayu iniyigünüm*, oğlanım, biriki uğuşum, *bodunum, bérye şadapıt begler, yırya tarkat buyruk*

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214 Here the stone is severely deteriorated. Thomsen 1896 in his note suggested the blurred part be read as *türk* üze *olurmış kaŋım*. Here I follow his advice.

215 Radloff 1897 transcribed this as *bergüsi*, the meaning of which is unclear. Thomsen transcribed it as *köbrügesi* < *köbrüge* "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* < *köbürge* "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 bodunı bu sabımın edgüti éşid, katığdı tiŋla. ilgerü kün **2.** toğsıkıŋa, bérgerü kün ortusıŋaru, kurığaru kün batsıkıŋa, yırğaru tün ortusıŋaru anta içreki bodun kop maŋa körür. *bunça bodun kop étdim*. ol amtı añığ yok. türk kağan ötüken *yış olursar élte buŋ yok*. ilgerü şantuŋ *yazıka tegi süledim, talıyka kiçig tegmedim. bérgerü tokuz* **3.** ersinke tegi süledim, tüpütke kiçig tegmedim. kurığaru yinçü ögüz keçe temir kapığka tegi süledim. yırğaru yér bayırku yériŋe tegi sü*ledim. bunça yérke tegi yorıtdım. ö*tüken *yış*da yég i*di yok* ermiş. él *tutsuk yér ö*tüken yış ermiş. *bu yérde olurup tabğaç bodun* birle tüz*ültüm*. *al*tun kümüş isg*iti* **4.** kutay buŋsuz ança bérür. tabğaç bodun sabı süçig, ağısı yımşak ermiş. süçig sabın yımşak ağın arıp ırak *bodunuğ ança* yağutır ermiş. *yağru* kont*ukda* késre añığ biligin anta *öyür ermiş*. edgü *bil*ge kişig, edgü alp kişig yo*rıtmaz* ermiş. bir kişi yaŋılsar *uğuşı bodunı bé*şükiŋe tegi kı*dmaz* **5.** ermiş. süçig sabıŋa yımşak ağısıŋa arturup üküş türk bodun öltüg. *türk* bodun ölsüküŋ. bérye *çuğay* yış tügültün yazı konayın téser türk bodun ölsüküg anta. añığ kişi ança bo*şğurur* ermiş: ırak erser yablak ağı bérür, yağuk erser edgü ağı bérür tép ança boşğ*urur* ermiş. bi*lig*

(6) b²ıl²mz : k²ıs²ı : wl¹s¹b¹g¹ : l¹p : y¹g¹r¹w : b¹r¹p : ẅk²şk²ışı : ẅl²t²g² : wl¹y²r²..... r¹s¹r¹ : t²ẅr²kẅ : ..... : ẅl²t²çıs²n² : ẅt²kẅn² : ..... t²ır²k²ş : ıs¹r¹ : n²ŋb¹w ..... y²ış : wl¹r¹s¹r¹ : b²ŋg²ẅ :.....ıs²n² : t²ẅr²kẅ : b¹wd¹n¹ : t¹wk¹r¹k¹k¹s²n² : ᴀçs¹r¹ : t¹ws¹k¹ : ẅmzs²n² : b²ır² : t¹wd¹s¹r¹ : ᴀçs²k¹ : ẅmzs²n² : ntg¹ŋn¹ : ẅçn² : ıg²d²mş : k¹..... **(7)** s¹b¹ın² : l¹mt¹ın² : y²ır² : s¹y¹w : b¹r¹d¹g¹ : kᵂwpntᴀ : l¹k¹ntg¹ : r¹... : ntᴀ..l¹m ... : y²ır² : ..y¹wkᵂp : t¹wr¹w : ẅ..... wr¹r²t²g² : t²ŋr²ı : y¹r¹..... kᵂwt¹m : b¹r¹ẅçn² : k¹..... m : k¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹p : y¹kᵂçıg¹ñ : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : kᵂwp : kᵂwb¹r¹t¹m : çıg¹ñ : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : b¹y¹k¹ıltm : zb¹wd¹n¹g¹ : k²ẅşk¹ıltm : ..... **(8)** s¹b¹md¹ᴀ : ıg²d²b¹r¹g¹w : t²ẅr²kẅ : b²g²l²r² : b¹wd¹n¹ : b¹wn¹ı : s²ıd²ŋ : t²ẅr²kẅ : b¹wd¹n¹..... : ıl²t¹wt¹s¹k¹ŋn¹ : b¹wntᴀ : wr¹t¹m : y¹ŋl¹p : ẅl²s²k²ŋn² : ... : b¹w ..... m : n²ŋn².. : s¹b¹... r² : b²ŋg²ẅ : t¹şk¹ᴀ : wr¹t¹m : ŋr¹k²ẅr²ẅ : b²ıl²ŋ : t²ẅr²kẅ : mt¹ı : b¹wd¹n¹ : b²g²l²r² : b²ẅd²k²ᴀ : k²ẅr²g²mᴀ ..... **(9)** k¹g¹n¹ : çmk¹g¹n¹ : wl¹r¹t¹kᵂıntᴀ : t²ẅr²t² : b¹wl¹ŋd¹k¹ı : b¹wd¹n¹g¹ : ..... r²t²... k¹g¹n¹k¹ᴀ : kïız ..... b²ır²t²m : t²ẅr²... **(10)** kïızın¹ : r²t²ŋẅ : wl¹g¹ : t²ẅr²ẅn² : wg¹l¹mᴀ : l¹ıb²ır²t²m ..... r²t²m ... r²t²... r²t²m : t²ızl²g²g² : s²ẅk²r²t²m : ẅzᴀ : t²ŋr²ı : s¹... : y¹r¹l¹k¹d¹kᵂ : ẅç ...

6. bilmez kişi ol sabığ alıp, yağru barıp üküş kişi öltüg. ol yér*gerü bar*sar türk *bodun* ölteçi sen. ötüken *yér olurup arkış* tirkiş ısar neŋ bu*ŋuğ yok. ötüken* yış olursar beŋgü *él tuta olurtaç*ı sen. türk bodun tokurkak sen. açsar tosuk ömez sen. bir todsar açsık ömez sen. antağıŋın üçün igidmiş ka*ğanıŋın* **7.** sabın almatın. yér sayu bardığ. kop anta alkıntığ, ar*ıltığ*. anta *k*almı*şı* yér *sa*yu kop turu ö*lü yorıy*ur ertig. teŋri yar*lıkadukın üçün, özüm* kutum bar üçün ka*ğan olurtu*m. kağan olurup yok çığañ bodunuğ kop kubrat[d] ım. çığañ bodunuğ bay kıltım; az bodunuğ üküş kıltım. *azu bu* **8.** sabımda igid barğu? türk begler bodun bunı éşidiŋ. türk bodun*uğ térip* él tutsukuŋun bunta urtum, yaŋılıp ölsüküŋün *yeme* bu*nta urtu*m. neŋ ne*ŋ* sab*ım er*ser beŋgü taşka urtum. aŋar körü biliŋ. türk amtı bodun begler bödke körügme *begler gü yaŋıltaçı siz? kaŋım* **9.** kağan

eçim kağan olurtukınta tört buluŋdakı bodunuğ *nençe*[216] *étmiş…. teŋri yarlıkaduk üçün özüm olurtukuma tört buluŋdakı bodunuğ étdim yaratdım. i … kıltım. men türgiş* kağanka kızım*ın … ertiŋü uluğ* törün *alı* bértim. tür*giş kağan* **10.** kızın ertiŋü uluğ törün oğluma alı bértim…. ertürtüm *tört buluŋdakı bodunuğ baz kıltım başlığığ yüküntü*rtüm tizligig sökürtüm. üze teŋri as*ra yér* yarlıkaduk üç*ün*

(11) k²ẅzn² : k²ẅr²md²kʷ̈ : kʷwl¹k¹k¹n¹ : s²d²md²kʷ̈ : b¹wd¹n¹… : …… ın² : kⁱ̈ır¹g¹g¹l¹g¹ : kʷwt¹y¹ın² : k²ın²l²g²… ẅzl²… ın² : d¹g¹r¹ın² : k¹r¹ᴀ : … **(12)** k²ẅk² : t²y²ŋın² : t²ẅr²kʷ̈mᴀ : b¹wd¹n¹mᴀ : k¹zg¹n¹w : b²r²…… r²…… r²k²l²…… g² : b¹wd¹… **(13)** … g²d²ŋ : mg²t²mŋ : t¹wl¹g¹t¹mŋ…..t²ẅr²kʷ̈ : b²g²l²r² : ……. k¹zg¹n¹p … … b¹wk¹g¹n¹ŋd¹ᴀ : b¹wb²g²l²r²g² …… b¹ŋd¹…… t²… **(14)** … : d²g²ẅ : k²ẅr²t²çıs²n² : b²ŋᴀ : … çıs²n² : b¹wŋs¹z : b¹wl̲tçıs²n² : … k²ıs²r²ᴀ : …… b²d²zçı…… s²ımd¹ı : … b²d²z…. y¹r¹..m … t¹şın² : d¹n̲çg¹ : …… **(15)** … wg¹l¹ıŋᴀ : t¹t¹… : t²g²ı : b¹wn¹ı : ..ẅr²ẅ : b²ıl²ŋ : ……

11. közün körmedük kulkakın eşidmedük bodunum *ilgerü*[217] *kün toğsıkıŋa bérgerü kün ortusıŋa kurığar kün batsıkıŋa yırğaru tün ortusıŋa tegi konturtum. sarığ altunın ürüŋ kümüş*in kırğağlığ kutayın ekinlig *esgitisin* özl*ük at*ın adğırın kara *kişin* **12.** kök téyeŋin türküme bodunuma kazğanu bér*tim. éti bértim…. in buŋsuz kıltım. üze teŋri* erklig *… tümen … beglerig* bod*unuğ* **13.** *yeme* igidiŋ emgetmeŋ tolğatmaŋ … türk begler *türk bodunum … at bértim…. ka taşığ …* kazğanıp yaŋ … bu kağanıŋda bu beglerig*de bu yériŋde su*buŋ*da adrılmasar türk bodun* **14.** *..özüŋ* edgü körteçi sen, ebiŋe *ki*rteçi sen, buŋsuz boltaçı s*en … anta* késre *tabğaç kağanta* bedizçi *kop kelürtüm. meniŋ sabımın* sımadı…. *içreki* bedizç*ig ıt*[*t*]*ı. aŋar adınçığ bark* yara*turdı*m. *için* taşın adınçığ *bediz urturtum. taş tokıtdım. köŋülteki sabımın urturtum …* **15.** *on ok* oğlıŋa tat*ıŋa* tegi bunı *k*örü biliŋ. *beŋgü taş tokıtdım …… tokıtdım. bititdim. bunı körüp ança biliŋ ol taş barkın …*

216 Radloff 1897 read this as *ança* "like this, thus"; Malov 1959 read it as *bunça*. Here I follow the reading of Thomsen 1896 as *nence* "so many", which was accepted by Orkun 1936 and Tekin 1968.

217 Tekin 1968 transcribed this as *işgerü* "forwards, eastwards". Here I follow the traditional transcription *ilgerü* "eastwards" by Radloff 1897, Thomsen 1896, Orkun 1936 and Malov 1959.

Bilge Kağan Inscription – Translation

East Side

1 The words are my [own words], [the words of] Teŋri Teg Teŋri Yaratmış Türk Bilge Kağan. My father, the Türk Bilge Kağan … The nomadic officials and people of … Sir, the Tokuz Oğuz and Éki Ediz. Türk Teŋri … **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 Işтemi 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, Kıtañ 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 Teŋri, 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 Teŋri, 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 Tüliş and Tarduş people. He appointed a yabğu and a şad there. In the south, the Chinese people were the enemy; in the north, Baz Kağan and the Tokuz Oğuz people were the enemy. The Kırkız, Kurıkan, Otuz Tatar, Kıtañ and Tatabı were all enemies. My father, the kağan … like this. **13** He campaigned forty-seven times and fought twenty battles. Because of Teŋri'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 Teŋri'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 Keŋü 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 Teŋri who had raised my father as kağan and **21** my mother as katun, the Teŋri 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 Kıtañ and Tatabı people, and southwards against the Chinese

people. I battled against them there. Then, as Teŋri 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 Taŋut when I was seventeen years old. I routed the Taŋut 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 Basmıl 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 Örpen. 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 Soŋa 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 yabğu 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 Tamağ 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 Oğuz 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 Toğu. Swimming across the Tuğla River, I destroyed their army. The second time, I fought [against them] at Antarğu. 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 Toŋra clan at the funeral of Toŋa 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 Teŋri, I defeated them there. **33** I routed them. As Teŋri 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 Teŋri 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 Teŋri, 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 Kadırkan 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 Öŋ 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 Kıtañs 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 Kıtañs.… to Töŋker Mountain … **8** General Kuğ led an army of forty thousand soldiers against us. I hit and attacked [them] in Töŋker 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, Teŋri Teg Teŋri 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 Tüliş 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, Teŋri Teg Teŋride Bolmış 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 Türgiş kağan with an extremely grand ceremony. I married the Türgiş 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[218]

彼蒼者天. 网[219]不覆濤.[220]天人相合. 寰寓[221]大同. 以其氣隔陰陽. 是用別[222]為君長. 彼[223]君長者. 本[224]□□[225]四[226]』裔也. 首自中國. 雄飛北荒. 來朝甘泉. 願[227]保光[228]祿. 則恩好之深舊矣. 洎□□我高祖之[229]肇興皇業.』太宗之遂荒帝載. 文教施於八方. 武功成於七[230]德. 彼或[231]變故[232]相革.[233]榮號迭稱. 終能代[234]□[235]□□□[236]』修邊貢. 爰逮朕躬. 結为父子. 使[237]寇虐[238]不作. 弓矢載櫜.[239]爾無我虞. 我無爾詐. 邊鄙□[240]不□[241]□□[242]之』賴歟. 君諱闕特勤. 骨咄[243]祿可汗之次子. 今苾伽可汗之令弟

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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 幬; Parker 1896 read it as 幬.

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 籲.

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 橐.

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[244]懾[245]□[246]殊[247]俗.』斯豈由曾祖伊地米施[248]匍积厚德於上而身克終之. 祖骨咄[249]祿頡斤行深仁於下而子□□□.[250]』不然何以生此賢也. 故能承順友愛. 輔成規略. 北燮[251]眩靄之境. 西隣處月之郊. 尊撐[252]梨之□□.[253]』受屠耆之寵任. 以親我[254]有唐也. 我[255]是用[256]嘉爾誠績. 大開恩信. 而遙圖不騫. 促景俄盡. 永言悼惜.』疚[257]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[258]崇. 兄弟之親得無連類. 俱』為子愛.[259]再[260]感深情. 是用故製[261]作豐碑. 發揮遐壤.[262]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.[263]爾君克長. 載赫殊方. 爾道克順. 謀親我唐. 孰謂若[264]人.[265]』网[266]保延長. 高碑山立. 垂裕無疆.』

大唐開元廿年歲次壬申七[267]月辛丑朔七日丁未建.[268]

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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 順述之; 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 燮, 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.[269] 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.[270] 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.[271] [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,[272] 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.[273] [Kül Tégin] venerated the … of Teŋri and accepted an honorable appointment as Tuqi,[274] 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.[275] 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.[276] [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].

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271 The Tang emperor did not take into account Élteriş 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.