ESKİ TÜRKÇE ÜZERİNE FİLOLOJİK ARAŞTIRMALAR

Editörler

İbrahim Taş - Zemire Gulcalı - Tümer Karaayak

Paradigma Akademi



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ZEMİRE GULCALI
TÜMER KARAAYAK

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DİDEM AKYILDIZ AY
ÖZLEM AYAZLI
ENGİN ÇETİN
ZEMİRE GULCALI
TÜMER KARAAYAK
ARZU KAYGUSUZ
BERKER KESKİN
YONG-SŎNG LI
ZÜHAL ÖLMEZ
GÜLDEN SAĞOL YÜKSEKKAYA
MESUT ŞEN
HATİCE ŞİRİN
İBRAHİM TAŞ
HACER TOKYÜREK
BURAK CAN DEVECİ
UĞUR UZUNKAYA

Çanakkale 2021

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On *IsyI lIkŋ* in the Kül Tegin Inscription

Yong-Sŏng LI*

I. Introduction

Orkhon Turkic is the oldest Turkic dialect whose written records have come down to us (Tekin 1968: 7). It is known to us through the inscriptions found in present-day Outer Mongolia, mainly in the basin of the Orkhon River, thus being conveniently called 'the Orkhon inscriptions'. These are the Kül Tegin, Bilgä Kagan, Tuñukuk, Išbara Tarkan (Ongi), and Küli Čor (Ikhe-Khüshötü) inscriptions (Tekin 1968: 9).

After Vilhelm Thomsen succeeded in deciphering the "runic" script used in the Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions in 1893, over the past 120 years scholars around the world have been studying these inscriptions. In the meantime, the contents of these inscriptions became mostly known well through many researches, but there are still parts that are not well understood. One of them is the letter groups *IsyI lIkŋ* in line 12 on the north side of the Kül Tegin Inscription.

II. Researches up to present

The sentence with these letter groups is as follows:

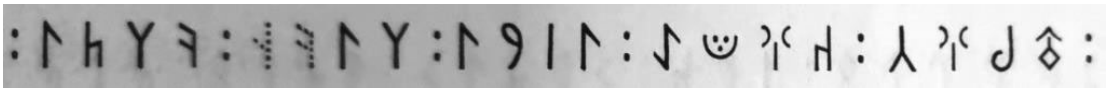
− the picture in the Finnish edition (1892: Tab. 11)[1]



− typeset in the Finnish edition (1892: 9)

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1 The images of this paper were all scanned by the author at the Seoul National University Library.



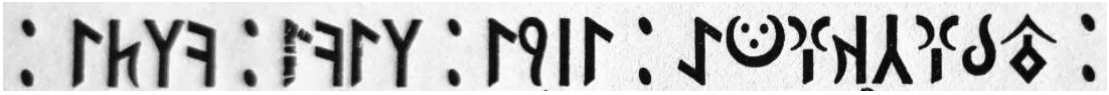
− the untouched rubbing in the Radloff's edition (1893: Tafel XIX)



− the touched rubbing in the Radloff's edition (1893: Tafel XX)



− typeset in the Radloff's edition (1896: Tafel XCIX)



As seen above, the typeset text of this sentence is identical both in the Finnish edition (1892: 9) and in the Radloff's edition (1896: Tafel XCIX) except the following two points:

(1) There is a mark resembling a colon (:) between TBGč (i.e. *tabgač*) and KGntA (i.e. *kaganta*) in the Finnish edition;

(2) The last letter of the penultimate letter group is ŋ (𐰋) in the Finnish edition and I (𐰃) in the Radloff's edition.

However, it has been confirmed that this letter is *ŋ* through previous studies. With this in mind, the sentence in question is transliterated and transcribed in Latin script according to the Finnish edition (1892) as follows:

: TBGč : KGntA : IsyI : lIkŋ : kltI :

: tabgač : kaganta : IsyI : likäŋ : kälti :

This sentence has been read as follows:

(1) Radloff (1894)

Табҕач каҕанда Icji Lікі кältі "Vom chinesischen Kaiser ist Isji-Liki gekommen" (p. 29)

(2) Radloff (1895)

“vom chinesischen Kaiser ist Isji-Liki gekommen” (p. 446)

Isji-Liki 𐰇𐰃𐰴:𐰇𐰋𐰃 Icji lıkı. Gesandter des Kaisers von China, der ihn bei der Leichenfeier des Kül-Tägin vertritt. (p. 434)

(3) Thomsen (1896)

$t^{a}b\gamma^{a}č$ $q^{a}\gamma^{a}$nda is^{i}ji $lik^{ä}ṅ$ $k^{ä}$lti “De la part du kagan chinois vint Isiyi Likeng[63])” (p. 114)

“63) [I N 12]. *Likäṅ*, Likeng est l’ambassadeur *Liu-hiang* dont parlent aussi les sources chinoises, voir p. 78. Nous voyons que, dans ce mot chinois, le son *h*, que n’a pas le turc, est rendu par *k*. — *Is(i)ji* se rattache-t-il à *Likäṅ*, ou est-ce un autre personnage et, en ce cas, lequel? C’est ce dont je ne saurais rien dire. Dans une letter, M. G. Schlegel a attiré mon attention sur le mot chinois *yü-chi*, historien impérial; mais je n’ose rien décider sur la possibilité de l’identité de ces mots.” (p. 165)

(4) Radloff (1897)

Табҕач каҕанда Icji-Лікі кälті (p. 149)

“vom Chinesen-Chane kam Isji-Liki” (pp. 148-149)

(5) Radlov & Melioranskij (1897)

Табҕач каҕанда Icji-Лікі кälті “отъ китайскаго хана пришелъ Исьи Лики” (p. 36)

(6) Vámbéry (1898)

tabgač kaganda Isji likit kälü “vom chinesischen Chan der Isjilikit kommend [a])” (p. 67)

“[a]) R. und Th. lesen *kälti;* ich befolge den Text, wo deutlich 𐰴 𐰍 𐰽 *kälü* ‘kommend’ steht, welche Gerundialform zu dem darauffolgenden Satze besser passt.” (p. 67)

(7) Melioranskij (1899)

табҕач‿каҕанда icji lікäң кälті “отъ китайскаго кагана пришелъ Исьи Ликенгъ” (p. 77)

(8) Thomsen (1924)

"Vom chinesischen Kaiser kamen Išiyi und (?) Likäŋ" (p. 156)

Likäŋ, I N 12 = chin. Liü-hiang, Gesandter bei Kül tegins Leichenfeier, vgl. S. 138. (p. 173)

(9) Orkun (1936)

t^{a}bg^{a}ç *k*^{a}g^{a}nda is^{i}yi lik^{e}*n* k^{e}lti "Çin Hakanından Liken (26) ve Işiyi (?) geldi [From the Chinese emperor, Likän (26) and Išiyi (?) came]" (p. 52)

"(26) [IŞ 12] Liken Çin tarihlerinin de kaydettiği Liü - hiang adlı sefirdir [(26) [I N 12] Likän was the envoy named Liü-hiang, who is also recorded in Chinese histories]." (p. 77)

Isiyi Likän Çin sefiri *Liü-hiang*'ın ismi. I Ş 12 (I, 52) [**Isiyi Likän** the name of the Chinese envoy *Liü-hiang*. I N 12 (I, 52)] (Orkun 1941: 157)

(10) Gabain (1941)[2]

Tabγač qaγanda Isyi-lik(a)ŋ kälti (p. 256)

isyi (*išiyi* ? Runenschrift) chin. Name oder Titel ‖ çince isim veya unvan [Chinese name or title] (p. 312a)

lik(a)ŋ Name des chin. Gesandten *Liu Hiang*, der 731 zur Beisetzung von Prinz Kül zum türkischen Hof kam ‖ 731 de Kül Tegin'in cenazesine iştirak için türk sarayına gelen çin elçisi Liu-Hiang'ın adı [the name of the Chinese envoy Liu-Hiang, who came to the Turkic palace to attend the funeral of Kül Tegin in 731] (p. 318a)

(11) Çagatay (1950)

Tabġaç ḳaġanda İsyi-lik(a)ng kälti (p. 10)

İsyi-likang (N 12) (p. 55b)

isyi isim veya bir unvan olsa gerek [It could be a name or a title]

likang=Liu-Hang[3] isim [name]. Kül-Tigin'in cenazesine gelen Çin

[2] The text is taken from the second edition in 1950.

elçisinin adı [the name of the Chinese envoy who came to the funeral of Kül-Tigin]. (p. 55b)

(12) Malov (1951)

табҕач каҕа̲нта Iсjі Lікäң кälті (p. 33)

“от кагана табгачей пришли Исьи и (?) Ликенг” (p. 43)

Isji likän *имя китайца*, КТ, 52. (p. 381b)

Likäң, КТ, 52. См. Isji. (p. 398b)

(13) Tekin (1968)

tabγač qaγanta isiyi likäŋ kälti (p. 237)

“From the Chinese emperor, İsiyi Likäŋ came” (pp. 271-272)

isiyi (< Chin.) pers. n.

i. likäŋ KT N2[4] (p. 336b)

likäŋ pers. n. (= Chin. *Liü-hiang*)

isiyi l. KT N12 (p. 355a)

(14) Nadeljajev *et al.* (1969)

ISJI: isji likäŋ *и. собств.* (КТб 52). (p. 214a)

LIKÄŊ: isji likäŋ *см.* **isji**. (p. 333a)

(15) Ergin (1970)

Tabġaç ḳaġanda Isiyi Likeng̑ kelti (p. 59)

“Çin kağanından İsiyi Likeng geldi [From the Chinese emperor, Isiyi Likäŋ came]” (p. 15)

İsiyi (ş.a.) İsiyi Likeng [(personal name) Isiyi Likäng] (p. 99)

Likeng̑ (ş. a.) İsiyi Likeng [(personal name) Isiyi Likäng] (p. 107)

[3] Correctly, *Liu-Hiang*.
[4] Correctly, N12.

(16) Ajdarov (1971)

табғач қағанта ісйі Лікең келті (p. 302a)

“От табгачского кагана Исьи и Ликенг пришли” (pp. 302b-303b)

Ісйі, лікең — имя, табгачский [КТб, 52] (p. 358b)

(17) Tekin (1988)

: t(a)bg(a)ç : k(a)g(a)nta : iş(i)yi : lik(e)ñ : k(e)lti : (p. 22)

“Çin imparatorundan (onun temsilcisi olarak) İşiyi Likeng geldi [From the Chinese emperor, Išiyi Likäng came (as his representative)]” (p. 23)

“121) KT K 12: *iş(i)yi lik(e)ñ*. Çin imparatorunun Kül Tigin’in yoğ törenine katılmak ve imparatorun taziyetlerini Bilge Kağan’a bildirmek üzere gönderdiği temsilcilerden *Lü*[5] *Hiang*. Birinci kelime bu şahsın görevini belirten ve “vak’anüvis” anlamına gelen *şê-yen* ile bir ve aynı olabilir.[6] (bkz. Lui[7] I: 179[8]) [121) KT N 12: *iš(i)yi lik(ä)ŋ*. *Lü Hiang*, one of the representatives sent by the Chinese emperor to attend the funeral ceremony of Kül Tigin and to convey his condolences to Bilgä Kagan. The first word can be one and the same with *šê-yen* [correctly, *shê-jen* in the word *k’i-kü-shê-jen* — Y.-S. Li], which denotes the duty of this person and means “annalist”. (see Liu I: 177)]” (p. 88)

işiyi kişi adı (< Çin.) [*išiyi* personal name (< Chin.)]

i. likeñ (KT K [N] 12) (p. 140)

likeñ kişi adı (= Çin. *Liü-hiang*) [*likäŋ* personal name (= Chin. *Liü-hiang*)]

işiyi l. (KT K [N] 12) (p. 153)

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5 Correctly, *Liü*.

6 Correctly, “vak’anüvis” anlamına gelen *k’i-kü-şê-jen* kelimesindeki *şê-jen* ile bir ve aynı olabilir [it can be one and the same with *shê-jen* in the word *k’i-kü-shê-jen*, which means “annalist”]. The romanization system for Mandarin Chinese used in Liu (1958) is Wade-Giles. In this system, *j* denotes [ɻ~ʐ], i.e. the voiced retroflex approximant ~ the voiced retroflex sibilant fricative, not [j], i.e. the voiced palatal approximant. Therefore, it is correct to write *şê-jen*, not *şê-yen* in Turkish.

7 Correctly, Liu.

8 Correctly, 177.

(18) Tekin (1995)

Tabgaç kağanta İşiyi Likeng̑ kelti (p. 52)

"Çin İmparatorundan (onun temsilcisi olarak) İşiyi Likeng geldi [From the Chinese emperor, Išiyi Likäng came (as his representative)]" (p. 53)

İşiyi kişi adı (< Çin.) [**Išiyi** personal name (< Chin.)] (p. 103b)

Likeng̑ kişi adı (< Çin.) [**Likäŋ** personal name (= Chin.)] (p. 107a)

(19) Amanžolov (2003)[9]

tᵃbγᵃč qᵃγᵃnta isji likᵃ̈ŋ kᵃ̈lti (p. 163)

"От табгачского кагана пришел Исьи Ликенг" (p. 174)

(20) Berta (2004)

taβγač qaγanda IsyI lIkI kälɒi (p. 185)

"A *tabgacs* kagántól *IsiI Ilki*[10] jött [IšiI Ilki came from the Tabgach kagan]"[11] (p. 204)

(21) User (2009)

t(a)bg(a)ç : k(a)g(a)nta : iş(i)yi : lik(ä)ŋ : k(ä)lti : (p. 140, 451)

işiyi likäŋ 𐰃𐰼𐰇𐰴 𐰋𐰼𐰍𐰣: Kül Tigin'in cenaze törenine katılan Çin imparatoru temsilcisi [representative of the Chinese emperor attending the funeral of Kül Tigin] (p. 140, 524b[12])

(22) Aydın (2012)

tavgaç kaganta işiyi likeŋ kelti (p. 63)

"Çin kağanından İşiyi Likeng geldi [From the Chinese emperor, Išiyi Likäŋ came]" (p. 64)

işiyi likeŋ kişi adı ve unvanı? [*išiyi likäŋ* personal name and title?]

---

9 The text is taken from the second edition in 2010.

10 Correctly, *Liki*.

11 This sentence was translated into Turkish as "*Tabgaç* kağanından *İşil İlki* geldi [*Išil Ilki* came from the *Tabgach* kagan]" in Berta 2010: 201.

12 Without "runic" letters.

i. **KT K** [N] 12 (p. 166a)

(23) Ölmez (2012)

: tavgaç : kaganta : işiyi : likeŋ : kelti : (p. 87)

"Çin hakanlığından İşiyi Liken[13] geldi [From the Chinese empire, Išiyi Likäŋ came]" (p. 100)

işiyi ö.a., İşiyi [**išiyi** proper name, Išiyi] (p. 314a)

likeŋ (< Çin.) ö.a., Likeŋ [**likäŋ** (< Chin.) proper name, Likäŋ] (p. 318a)

III. Who is *lIkŋ*?

As seen above, we can first divide the readings of *IsyI lIkŋ* into two groups: 1. *IsyI* and *lIkŋ* as two persons; 2. *IsyI* and *lIkŋ* as one person.

1. *IsyI* and *lIkŋ* as two people

(1) Išiyi and (?) Likäŋ: Thomsen (1924), Orkun (1936)

(2) Isyi and (?) Likäŋ: Malov (1951)

(3) Isyi and Likäŋ: Ajdarov (1971)

2. *IsyI* and *lIkŋ* as one person

(1) Isyi-Liki: Radloff (1894, 1895, 1897), Radlov & Melioranskij (1897)

(2) Isiyi Likäŋ: Thomsen (1896), Tekin (1968), Ergin (1970)

(3) Išiyi Likäŋ: Tekin (1988, 1995), User (2009), Aydın (2012), Ölmez (2012)

(4) Isyi Likäŋ: Melioranskij (1899), Nadeljajev *et al.* (1969), Amanžolov (2003)

(5) Isyi-likaŋ: Gabain (1941), Çagatay (1950)

(6) Išii-Ilki[14]: Berta (2004)

[13] Correctly, Likeŋ.
[14] Correctly, Išyi-Liki.

(7) Isyi likit: Vámbéry (1898)

In the 舊唐書 *Jiù Tángshū* [Old Book of Tang] and the 新唐書 *Xīn Tángshū* [New Book of Tang], it is mentioned that the imperial court of Tang sent a condolence delegation to the funeral of Kül Tegin as follows:

(1) 突厥傳 *Tūjué zhuàn* [Biography of the Turks] of vol. 194 of *Jiù Tángshū*:[15]

二十年,闕特勒死,詔金吾將軍張去逸,都官郎中呂向齎璽書入蕃弔祭,并爲立碑,上自爲碑文,

Èrshí nián, Què Tè-lè[16] sǐ, zhào jīnwú jiāngjūn Zhāng Qù-yì, dōuguān lángzhōng Lǚ Xiàng jī xǐshū rù fān diào jì, bìng wèi lì bēi, shàng zì wèi bēiwén,

"Im 20. Jahre (732)[994)] starb K'üe T'ê-lê (= Tegin). Der Kaiser befahl durch einen Erlaß dem Kin-wu Tsiang-kün (General der Vogel-Garde) Tschang K'ü-i[995)] und dem Tu-kuan-lang-tschung (Chef der Abteilung für Verurteilte des Ministeriums der Justiz)[996)] Lü Hiang, mit einem kaiserlichen Schreiben zur Kondolenz zu den Barbaren zu gehen. Gleichzeitig ließ der Kaiser für den Verstorbenen einen Grabstein errichten und verfaßte selbst die Grabschrift.[997)]" (Liu 1958: 179)

"994) Diese Angabe ist zu berichtigen. Nach der Inschrift von Kül Tegin (THOMSEN/SCHAEDER 157) starb Kül Tegin im Schafjahr am 17. Tage, und das 19. Jahr K'ai-yüan (731) war ein Schafjahr (辛未 [*xīnwèi* — Y.-S. Li]). Auch TS 215B, 2a, sowie TFYK 964 und 975 (nach TS'EN 232) und TK XII, 145 berichten den Tod unter dem 19. Jahr (731); übrigens berichtet TFYK ihn unter dem 4. Monat, und TK unter dem 3. Monat.

[15] For the Chinese text, see http://www.guoxue.com/shibu/24shi/oldtangsu/jts_204.htm (retrieved on September 19, 2021).

[16] 闕特勒 *Què Tè-lè* is certainly an error for 闕特勤 *Què Tè-qín*. The pronunciation of 闕特勤 is *kʰuat-dək-gɨn* in Early Middle Chinese and *kʰyat-tʰəək-kʰin* in Late Middle Chinese. "… Early Middle Chinese is the language of the *Qieyun* [切韻 — Y.-S. Li] rhyme dictionary of A.D. 601, which codified the standard literary language of both North and South China, the preceding period of division. … Late Middle Chinese is the standard language of the High Tang Dynasty [盛唐 *Shèngtáng* 713-766 — Y.-S. Li], based on the dialect of the capital, Chang'an [長安 — Y.-S. Li]." (Pulleyblank 1991: i). *y* represents *ü* in the system of Pulleyblank (1991).

Nach der Inschrift (THOMSEN/SCHAEDER 158) starb er in seinem 47. Lebensjahre." (Liu 1958: 620)

"995) Tschang K'ü-i 張去逸[17] ist offenbar mit dem in der alttürk. Inschrift des Kül Tegin erwähnten Tscheng-Sengün identisch (RADLOFF I, 174)" (Liu 1958: 620)

"996) Tu-kuan-lang-tschung 都官郎中 (Chef der Abteilung für Verurteilte des Ministeriums der Justiz). Tu-kuan übersetzt DES ROTOURS 117 mit "le bureau des condamnés". Sie stellte eine der vier Abteilungen im Ministeriums der Justiz der Schang-schu-scheng ([尚書省 *Shàngshūshěng* — Y.-S. Li] Regierungskanzlei) dar. Der Tu-kuan-lang-tschung war für Kriegsgefangene und Staatssklaven zu ständig." (Liu 1958: 620)

"997) Über die Grabschrift s. II.Anm. 953." (Liu 1958: 620)

(2) 突厥傳 *Tūjué zhuàn* [Biography of the Turks] of vol. 215 of *Xīn Tángshū*:[18]

十九年,闕特勒死,使金吾將軍張去逸,都官郎中呂向奉璽詔弔祭,帝爲刻辭於碑,

[17] See the following footnote 29 in Li 2020: 234a:
There is a passage of 以昭成皇后親外甥 *Yi Xuanzong mu Zhaocheng Huanghou qin waisheng* "Because he [= 張去逸 *Zhang Quyi*] is the sister's own son of Empress Zhaocheng" in the epitaph of 張去逸 *Zhang Quyi* which was unearthed in 1952. See https://tieba.baidu.com/p/6450743713 (retrieved on 21 February 2020), Zhang 1998: 69 and http://kohkosai.com/chinaphoto/hirin/Hirin/page/rou/5/513.htm (retrieved on 21 February 2020). Empress Zhaocheng (昭成) is the mother of Emperor Xuanzong (玄宗). From this passage, it is clear that the meaning of *čïqan* is 'a cousin by a maternal aunt, a son of one's mother's sister'. Therefore, the following information in Clauson (1972: 409a) is groundless and the example of this entry must be given to the immediately preceding entry of '**1 çıkan**':
"?F **2 çıkan** the passage below relates to the person sent to arrange Kül Tégin's mausoleum, to ornamentit, and to erect a memorial stone; it is unlikely that the Emperor's cousin would have been sent for such a menial task and this is prob. a Chinese l.-w. **Türkü** VIII **Tavğaç xağan çıkanı: Çaŋ Seŋün kelti:** 'Chang *chiang-chün* the Chinese Emperor's *çıkan* came' *I N* 13."
For the distribution of the word *čïqan* in Turkic languages, see Li 1999: 183–184 and Li 2019: 240–241.

[18] For the Chinese text, see https://www.guowenyun.com/gxzsb/xintangshu/1116060.html (retrieved on September 18, 2021) http://www.guoxue.com/shibu/24shi/newtangsu/xts_229.htm and http://www.guoxue123.com/shibu/0101/00xtsf/214.htm (retrieved on September 19, 2021).

Shíjiǔ nián, Què Tè-lè[19] sǐ, shǐ jīnwú jiāngjūn Zhāng Qù-yì, dōuguān lángzhōng Lǚ Xiàng fèng xǐzhào diào jì, dì wèi kè cí yú bēi,

"Im 19. Jahre (731) starb K'üe T'ê-lê (= Tegin). Der Kaiser sandte den Kin-wu Tsiang-kün (General der Vogel-Garde) Tschang K'ü-i und den Tu-kuan-lang-tschung (Chef der Abteilung für Verurteilte des Ministeriums der Justiz) Lü Hiang mit einem kaiserlichen Schreiben zur Kondolenz (zu den T'u-küe). Der Kaiser ließ eine Grabschrift für ihn in den Grabstein einhauen ..." (Liu 1958: 228)

Therefore, as Thomsen (1896) had already mentioned, *Likäŋ* is envoy 呂向 Liu-hiang (Lǚ Xiàng in pinyin)[20] which is referred to in Chinese sources and in this Chinese word, the sound *h*[21], which Turkic does not have, is rendered by *k*. If that is the case, the reading of Radloff (1894, 1895, 1897), Radlov & Melioranskij (1897), Vámbéry (1898) and Berta (2004) is unacceptable. All subsequent researchers followed Thomsen (1896). *Likäŋ* has been identified as 呂向 *Lǚ Xiàng*. Nevertheless, incomprehensibly, only Berta (2004) read it differently.

Considering the double consonant-characters system of the Turkic "runic" alphabet and the vocalic harmony, the reading of Gabain (1941) and Çagatay (1950) is problematic.

IV. Meaning of *IsyI*

No attempt has so far been made to explain the letter group *IsyI*. Only Tekin (1988) mentioned that *IsyI* can be one and the same with *şê-yen* [correctly, *şê-jen* (舍人 *shèrén*) — Y.-S. Li]. The author noted that the last vowel *i* of *iš(i)yi* seems to be the possessive suffix of the 3rd person.[22] The author agrees with Tekin's view for the following two reasons:

(1) Many parts of the Kül Tegin and Bilgä Kagan inscriptions are the same with each other.[23] The sentences of KT N 12 can be compared with

[19] 闕特勒 *Què Tè-lè* is certainly an error for 闕特勤 *Què Tè-qín*.

[20] The pronunciation of 呂向 is *liə̆'-xiaŋʰ* in Early Middle Chinese and *liə̆'/lyə̆'-xiaŋʰ* in Late Middle Chinese.

[21] Correctly, *x*, i.e. *kh*.

[22] See Li (2020: 233), footnote 20.

[23] The lines on the north side of the Bilgä Kagan inscription are identical to the lines on the southern side of the Kül Tegin inscription except for the last seven lines. The second to

those of BK S 10-11:

(KT N 12) **udar säŋün : kälti : tabgač : kaganta : IsyI : likäŋ : kälti :** "[As mourners and lamenters, representing the Qïtań and Tatabï peoples,] General Udar came. From the Chinese emperor, IsyI Likäŋ came"[24]

(BK S 10-11)[25] **bok(u)g : totok [: kälti : tabgač : kaganta :] kaŋi : lisün : tay säŋün : bašad[u] : beš yüz ärän : kälti :** "The military governor (of 金微州 *Jinweizhou*) of the Bokug (僕固 ~ 僕骨 *Pugu*) tribe [came. From the Chinese emperor], under the presidency of Great General Lisün (= 李佺 *Li Quan*) who is his minister/high official (i.e. one of his ministers/high officials), five hundred men came"

It can be clearly seen from this comparison that *IsyI* corresponds to *kaŋi*. As the author found, 𐰴𐰍 *Kŋ* of 𐰴𐰍𐰃 *KŋI* is the Turkic rendering *kaŋ* of the Chinese 卿 *qing* 'senior official', not Turkic *qaŋ* 'father'.[26] Therefore, *Isy* of *IsyI* also, in all probability, is the Turkic rendering of a Chinese official title. Then, the readings of Thomsen (1924), Orkun (1936), Malov (1951) and Ajdarov (1971) are unacceptable, because *IsyI* and *lIkŋ* are not two persons.

(2) This Chinese official title associated with 呂向 Lǚ Xiàng is very likely 舍人 *shèrén*.

In the 突厥傳 *Tūjué zhuàn* [Biography of the Turks] of vol. 194 of *Jiù Tángshū*, 呂向 Lǚ Xiàng, i.e. Likäŋ, appears with an official title in connection with the events in the year 725 (or 726):[27]

自是常令突厥入仗馳射,起居舍人呂向上疏曰...

Zì shì cháng lìng Tūjué rù zhàng chí shè, qǐjū shèrén Lǚ Xiàng shàngshū yuē ...

twenty-fourth lines on the east side of the Bilgä Kagan inscription are somewhat different, but are identical to lines 1 to 30 on the east side of the Kül Tegin inscription.

24 The English translation is according to Tekin 1968: 271–272.

25 See Li 2020: 225, 233-236.

26 See Li 2020: 233-236.

27 For the Chinese text, see http://www.guoxue.com/shibu/24shi/oldtangsu/jts_204.htm (retrieved on September 19, 2021).

"Von da an befahl der Kaiser immer wieder den T'u-küe, in den Kreis der Ehrengarde zu kommen und zu Pferde Bogen zu schießen. Der K'i-kü-schê-jen (Wort-Chronist)[986] Lü Hiang[987] richtete eine Eingabe an den Kaiser: ..." (Liu 1958: 177)

"986) Die T'ang ernannten zwei K'i-kü-schê-jen 起居舍人 in der Tschung-schu-scheng ([中書省 *Zhōngshūshěng* — Y.-S. Li] Zentralkanzlei), die zuständig waren, die Worte des Himmelssohnes aufzuschreiben, und zwei K'i-kü-lang 起居郎 (*Qǐjūláng* — Y.-S. Li) in der Men-hia-scheng ([門下省 *Ménxiàshěng* — Y.-S. Li] Portalkanzlei), die die Tätigkeiten des Kaisers aufzuzeichnen hatten." (Liu 1958: 618)

"987) In Lü Hiang's 呂向 Biogr. (TS 202, 5af) wird die Eingabe erwähnt, aber nicht seine Endsendung zu den T'u-küe. (s. S. 179)." (Liu 1958: 618)

Several other titles with 舍人 *shèrén* appear in the *Jiu Tangshu* and the *Xin Tangshu* as follows:

(1) 中書舍人 *zhōngshū shèrén*: Jiu Tangshu, Xin Tangshu

(2) 紫微舍人 *zǐwēi shèrén*: Jiu Tangshu, Xin Tangshu

(3) 通事舍人 *tōngshì shèrén*: Jiu Tangshu, Xin Tangshu

(4) 內史舍人 *nèishǐ shèrén*: Jiu Tangshu

Thus, it can be seen that 舍人 *shèrén* is an official title. The meaning of this official title is given as 'a retainer; a eunuch; a secretary' in Giles 1912: 1189a.

When 呂向 Lǔ Xiàng attended the funeral of Kül Tegin in 731, his official title was 都官郎中 *dōuguān lángzhōng*, but he was a 起居舍人 *qǐjū shèrén* in 725 (or 726). Therefore, for quite some time, he might have been known to the Turks as a 舍人 *shèrén*. Perhaps he was still a 起居舍人 *qǐjū shèrén* just before attending the funeral, and when he attended the funeral, his new official title was not known to the Turks. If that is the case, the Turks might have tried to write 舍人 *shèrén* in Turkic "runic" script.

The pronunciation of 舍人 is *ɕia^{h}-ɲin* in Early Middle Chinese and

ʂia`-rin in Late Middle Chinese.[28] This word would be written as *šIyn* (i.e. *šiy(i)n*), *sIyn* (i.e. *šiy(i)n*), *šIyIn* (i.e. *šiyin*), *sIyIn* (i.e. *šiyin*), *šyn* (i.e. *šäy(i)n*), or *šyIn* (i.e. *šäyin*) in Turkic "runic" script. Therefore, *Isy* of *IsyI* is certainly a spelling error. First of all, it is noticeable that *n* is not written. Second, it can be seen that the positions of *i* and *s* are reversed. Then, the right Turkic rendering would be 𐰴𐰺𐰃 *sIyn*, i.e. *šiy(i)n*.

In the old Turkic "runic" inscriptions, there are at least four examples of spelling error related to the position of the letter *I* (𐰃), three of them in the vicinity of *L* (𐰋) / *l* (𐰽):[29]

(1) On the northeast side of the Kül Tegin inscription, the last word of the 4th sentence is written as 𐰚𐰃𐰋𐰉𐰇 *BWLIT* instead of 𐰃𐰚𐰋𐰉𐰇 *BWLTI*, i.e. *boltï* 'he/she/it became'.

(2) In line 5 of the west side of the Tariat inscription, the penultimate word is written as 𐰆𐰉𐰍𐰃𐰉 *lIgrẄ* instead of 𐰆𐰉𐰍𐰉𐰃 *IlgrẄ*, i.e. *ilgärü* 'forwards, east-wards'.

(3) In line 6 of the north side of the Tariat inscription, the 5th word from the end is written as 𐰇𐰍𐰃𐰉𐰀 *blIgA* instead of 𐰇𐰍𐰉𐰃𐰀 *bIlgA*, i.e. *bilgä* 'wise'.

(4) In line 3 of the Šine-Usu inscription, the first two words of the 4th sentence are written as 𐰉𐰃𐰋𐰆𐰍𐰓𐰃𐰀 *bIdgẄčIr* instead of 𐰉𐰃𐰋𐰆𐰍𐰃𐰓𐰀 *bdIgẄčIr*, i.e. *äbdigüči är* 'soldier who recruits/drafts soldiers'.

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[28] According to Giles (1912), the pronunciations of 舍 and 人 in various Chinese dialects, Korean, Japanese and Annamese are as follows:
舍 9789 C. *she*, H. *sha*, F. *sia*, W. *si*, N. *shö*, *she*, v. *so*, P. *shê*, M. *sê*, Y. *hsiei*, Sz. *she*, K. *sa*, J. *sha*, A. *hsa* (p. 1189)
人 5624 C. *yên*, H. *nyin*, F. *ing*, *nöng*, W. *zang*, *nang*, *ngiang*, N. *jïng*, *nying*, P. *jên*, M. *jên*, Y. *jên*, Sz. *jên*, K. *in*, J. *nin*, *djin*, A. *ñyön*, *ñyên* (p. 702)
Therefore, 舍人 would be C. *she-yên*, H. *sha-nyin*, F. *sia-ing*, *sia-nöng*, W. *si-zang*, *si-nang*, *si-ngiang*, N. *shö-jïng*, *she-jïng*, v. *so-jïng*, *shö-nying*, *she-nying*, *so-nying*, P. *shê-jên*, M. *sê-jên*, Y. *hsiei-jên*, Sz. *she-jên*, K. *sa-in*, J. *sha-nin*, *sha-djin*, A. *hsa-ñyön*, *hsa-ñyên*.
"**The Dialects.**—Beneath the number attached to each character will be found its rhyme—(R.)— as given in the 佩文韻府 *P'ei-wên-yün-fu.* This is followed by the romanization of the character by Mr. PARKER, in the Cantonese, Hakka, Foochow, Wênchow, Ningpo, Peking, Mid-China, Yangchow and Ssŭch'uan dialects, as well as in Korean, Japanese, and Annamese, each being distinguished by its initial letter. These sounds are followed by the theoretical tone, which governs the entire list in practice, except in cases where necessary changes are noted by tone-marks." (Giles 1912: xii)

[29] See Li 2018b: 186-187.

Tekin (1994: X) listed 9 spelling errors or insufficient spellings in the Tuñukuk inscription. The author found another example in line 52 of this inscription: 𐰉𐰆𐰃𐰆 *tẅ̲ktI* instead of 𐰉𐰆𐰲𐰃𐰆 *tẅ̲kltI*, i.e. *tök(ü)lti* 'it was shed (*or* poured out)'.[30]

The expected Turkic rendering 𐰋𐰺𐰍 *sIyn*, i.e. *šiy(i)n*, can be compared with *toyïn* '(Buddhist) monk' (< Chin. 道人 *dào-rén*)[31] in Old Uyghur.[32]

V. Conclusion

As mentioned above, the letter group 𐰍𐰺𐰏 *IsyI* is certainly a spelling error instead of 𐰉𐰋𐰺𐰍 *sIynI*, 𐰋𐰺𐰍 *sIyn* being the Turkic rendering of Chinese 舍人 *shèrén* 'a retainer; a eunuch; a secretary'. The correct sentence with this letter group would have been as follows:

𐰢𐰉𐰲𐰓:𐰴𐰓𐰍𐰲:𐰉𐰋𐰺𐰍:𐰚𐰃𐰓𐰃:𐰇𐰃𐰴𐰣:

: tabgač : kaganta : šiy(i)ni : likäŋ : kälti : "From the Chinese emperor, his secretary (i.e. one of his secretaries) Likäŋ (= 呂向 *Lü Xiang*) came."

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30 See Li 2018a: 135, 147.

31 The pronunciation of 道人 is *daw^{h}-ɲin* in Early Middle Chinese and *tʰaw`-rin* in Late Middle Chinese. The pronunciation of 道人 is 도인 in Korean, which is written as *doin* in the Revised Romanization, and *toin* in the McCune-Reischauer system and in the Yale system.

32 "F **toyın** '(Buddhist) monk'; l.-w. fr. Chinese *tao jên* same meaning (*Giles* 10,780 5,624). N.o.a.b.; became a l.-w. in Pe., Mong., and other languages, where it sometimes acquired other meanings, see *Doerfer* II 993." (Clauson 1972: 569).
According to Giles (1912), the pronunciations of 道 and 人 in various Chinese dialects, Korean, Japanese and Annamese are as follows:
道 10,780 C. *tou*, H. *t'au*, F. *toa*, v. *tio*, W. *döe*, N. *doa*, P. *tau*, M. *tau*, Y. *tau*, Sz. *tau*, K. *to*, J. *tō*, *dō*, A. *dau* (p. 1332)
人 5624 C. *yên*, H. *nyin*, F. *ing*, *nöng*, W. *zang*, *nang*, *ngiang*, N. *jïng*, *nying*, P. *jên*, M. *jên*, Y. *jên*, Sz. *jên*, K. *in*, J. *nin*, *djin*, A. *ñyön*, *ñyên* (p. 702)
Therefore, 道人 would be C. *tou-yên*, H. *t'au-nyin*, F. *toa-ing*, *toa-nöng*, *tio-ing*, *tio-nöng*, W. *döe-zang*, *döe-nang*, *döe-ngiang*, N. *doa-jïng*, *doa-nying*, P. *tau-jên*, M. *tau-jên*, Y. *tau-jên*, Sz. *tau-jên*, K. *to-in*, J. *tō-nin*, *dō-nin*, *tō-djin*, *dō-djin*, A. *dau-ñyön*, *dau-ñyên*.

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