The Kül Tigin Inscription

South

(S1) I, the Heaven-like and Heaven-born Turkish Bilgä Kagan, succeeded to the throne at this time. Hear my words from the beginning to the end, first of all you, my younger brothers and my sons, and my folks and relatives, you, šad-pït lords to the south, tarkans and buyruq lords to the north, you, Otuz (Tatar? .....), (S2) and you, Tokuz-Oguz lords and people! Hear these words of mine well, and listen hard! Eastwards to the sunrise, southwards to the midday, westwards as far as the sunset, and northwards to the midnight — all the peoples within these boundaries (are subject to me). This many peoples (S3) I have organized thoroughly. These peoples are not rebellious now. If the Turkish kagan rules from the Ötükän mountains there will be no trouble in the realm. I went on campaigns eastwards up to the Shantung plain; I almost reached the ocean. I went on campaigns southwards up to Tokuz-Ärsin; I almost reached Tibet. Westwards (S4) I went on campaigns up to the Iron Gate beyond the Pearl River, and northwards I went on campaigns up to the soil of Yir Bayïrqu. I have led (the armies) up to all these places. A land better than the Ötükän mountains does not exist at all! The place from which the tribes can be (best) controlled is the Ötükän mountains. Having stayed in this place, I came to an amicable agreement with the Chinese people. (S5) They (i. e., the Chinese people) give (us) gold, silver and silk in abundance. The words of the Chinese people have always been sweet and the materials of the Chinese people have always been soft.

Deceiving by means of (their) sweet words and soft materials, the Chinese are said to cause the remote peoples to come close in this manner. After such a people have settled close to them, (the Chinese) are said to plan their ill will there. (S6) (The Chinese) do not let the real wise men and real brave men make progress. If a man commits an error, (the Chinese) do not give shelter to anybody (from his immediate family) to the families of his clan and tribe. Having been taken in by their sweet words and soft materials, you Turkish people, were killed in great numbers. O Turkish people, you will die! If you intend to settle at the Čoγay mountains and on the Tögültün (S7) plain in the south, O Turkish people, you will die! There the ill-willed persons made harmful suggestions as follows: 'If a people live afar (from them), they (i. e., the Chinese) give cheap materials (to them); but, if a people live close to them, then (the Chinese) give them valuable materials'. Apparently such harmful suggestions made the ill-willed persons. Having heard these words, you unwise people went close to (the Chinese) and were (consequently) killed in great numbers. (S8) If you go toward those places, O Turkish people, you will die! If you stay in the land of Ötükän, and send caravans from there, you will have no trouble. If you stay at the Ötükän mountains, you will live forever dominating the tribes! O Turkish people, you always regard yourselves as satiated! You do not think of being hungry or satiated; if you once become satiated, you do not think of being hungry (again). On account of your being so, (S9) you went in (almost) all directions without a asking the advice of your kagan who had nourished (you). You were completely ruined and destroyed in those places. (Of you), those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in (almost) all directions. Since Heaven was gracious, and since I was granted with fortune, I succeeded to the throne. Having succeeded to the throne, (S10) I gathered all the poor and destitute people together. I made the poor people wealthy and the few people numerous; or, is there any falsehood in these words of mind? O Turkish lords and people, hear this! How you should live and dominate (other) tribes, I have recorded here;

and how you would (otherwise) perish by being unfaithful (to your kagan), this, too, I have recorded here. (S11) All words which I had to tell (you) I have recorded on this memorial stone (lit.: eternal stone). See these writings and get a lesson (from them)! You, faithful Turkish peoples and lords, you lords, you who have always been obedient to the throne, are you going to betray? I (had) the memorial (stone inscribed?) I sent for painters from (the Chinese) emperor, and ordered them to decorate (the mausoleum). (The Chinese emperor) did not reject my request (S12) and (they) sent the court painters of the Chinese emperor. I got them to build an extraordinary mausoleum. I had the inside and outside (of the mausoleum) decorated with wonderful paintings and sculptures. I had the (memorial) stone inscribed. I had (all) the words in my mind (recorded.....). See these writings and get a lesson (from them), all of you up to (the descendants) and subjects of (the On-Ok). I had the memorial stone (S13) inscribed. Since this is a (central?) place, and since it is in a much frequented place, I had the memorial stone inscribed and written in such a frequented place. See this memorial and learn its contents, as it is. I (inscribed?) that stone ..... The one who inscribed these inscriptions is his (that is, Prince Kül's) nephew (Prince) Yolluγ.

East

(E1) When the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created, between the two human beings were created. Over the human beings, my ancestors Bumïn Kagan and İstämi Kagan became rulers. After they had become rulers, they organized and ruled the state and institutions of the Turkish people. (E2) (All the peoples living in) the four quarters of the world were hostile (to them). Having marched with the armies, they conquered all the peoples in the four quarters of the world and subjugated them. They made the proud enemies bow and the powerful ones kneel. They settled the Turkish people eastwards up to the Khingan mountains and westwards as far as the Iron Gate. They ruled (E3) (organizing) the

Kök ('Blue') Turks between the two (boundaries). Wise kagans were they, brave kagans were they. Their buyruqs (that is, high officials), too, were wise and brave, indeed. Both the lords and peoples were peacable. For this reason, they were able to keep the state under control. Having kept the state under control, they arranged the state rules and regulations. They (E4) thus passed away (lit.: 'became lacking'). As mourners and lamenters there came from the east, from where the sun rises, the representatives of the people of the Bükli plain, the Chinese, the Tibetan, the Avar, the Byzantium, the Kirghiz, the Üč-Qurïqan, the Otuz-Tatar, the Qïtań and the Tatabï..... This many peoples came and mourned and lamented. So famous kagans were they. Then the younger brothers succeeded (E5) to the throne and the sons succeeded to the throne. But, apparently the younger brothers did not resemble their elder brothers, and the sons did not resemble their fathers. (Consequently) unwise kagans succeeded to the throne, bad kagans succeeded to the throne. Their buyruqs, too, were unwise and bad. (E6) Since the lords and peoples were not in accord, and the Chinese people were wily and deceitful, since they were tricky and created a rift between younger and elder brothers, and caused the lords and peoples to slander one another, the Turkish people caused their state which they had established to go to ruin, (E7) and their kagan whom they had crowned collapse. Their sons worthy of becoming lords became slaves, and their daughters worthy of becoming ladies became servants to the Chinese people. The Turkish lords abandoned their Turkish titles. Those lords who were in China held the Chinese titles and obeyed the Chinese emperor (E8) and gave their services to him for fifty years. For the benefit of the Chinese, they went on campaigns up to (the land of) the Bükli kagan in the east, where the sun rises, and as far as the Iron Gate in the west. For the benefit of the Chinese emperor they conquered countires. Then, the Turkish common people (E9) apparently said as follows: 'We used to be a people who had an (independent) state. Where is our own state now? For whose benefit are we conquering these lands?'

they said. 'We used to be a people who had its own kagan. Where is our own kagan now? To which kagan are we giving our services?' they said. By talking in this way (among themselves), they again became hostile to the Chinese emperor. (E10) But, after they had become hostile to him, they could not form and organize themselves (i.e., the state) well, and therefore they again submitted (to the Chinese). (The Chinese), without taking into consideration the fact that (the Turkish people) have given their services so much (to the Chinese), said: 'We shall kill and exterminate the Turkish people'. (The Turkish people) were about to be annihilated. But, the Turkish god above and the Turkish holy earth (E11) and water (spirits below) acted in the following way: in order that the Turkish people would not go to ruin and in order that it would be an (independent) nation again, they (i.e., the Turkish god and the holy spirits) held my father, İlteriš Kagan, and my mother, İlbilgä Katun, at the top of heaven and raised them upwards. My father, the kagan, went off with seventeen men. (E12) Having heard the news that (İlteriš) was marching off, those who were in towns went up mountains and those who were on mountains came down (from there); thus they gathered and numbered to seventy men. Due to the fact that Heaven granted strength, the soldiers of my father, the kagan, were like wolves, and his enemies were like sheep. Having gone on campaigns forward and backward, he gathered together and collected men; they all numbered seven hundred men. (E13) After they had numbered seven hundred men, (my father, the kagan,) organized and ordered the people who had lost their state and their kagan, the people who had turned slaves and servants, the people who had lost the Turkish institutions, in accordance with the rules of my ancestors. He (also organized there) the Tölis and Tarduš (peoples), (E14) and gave them a yabgu and a šad. To the south the Chinese people was (our) enemy, to the north Baz Kagan and the Tokuz-Oguz people were (our) enemies; the Ḳirghiz, Qurïqan, Otuz-Tatar, Qïtań and Tatabï ..... they all were hostile (to us). My father, the kagan, (fought against?) all these (peoples?). (E15) He went

on campaigns forty-seven times and engaged in twenty battles. By the grace of Heaven, he took the realm of those who had had a realm, and captured the kagan of those who had had a kagan; he subjugated the enemies. He made the powerful enemies kneel and the proud ones bow. (My father, the kagan,) (E16) after he had founded (such a great) empire and gained power, passed away (lit.: 'went flying'). (My uncle, the kagan,) first erected Baz Kagan as a balbal for my father, the kagan. In accordance with the state rules, my uncle succeeded to the throne. After my uncle, the kagan, succeeded to the throne, he organized and nourished the Turkish people anew. He made the poor rich and the few numerous. (E17) When my uncle, the kagan, succeeded to the throne, I was šad over the Tarduš people. Together with my uncle, the kagan, we went on campaigns eastwards up to the Green River (= Yellow River) and the Shantung plain, and we went on campaigns westwards as far as the Iron Gate. (We went on campaigns up to the land of the Kirgiz) beyond the Kögmän (mountains). (E18) In all we went on campaigns twenty-five times and we fought thirteen times. We took the realm of those who had had a realm, and we captured the kagan of those who had had a kagan; we made the powerful enemies kneel and the proud ones bow. The Türgis kagan (and his people) were our Turks and (our people. On account of their foolishness) (E19) and their being traitorous to us, their kagan was killed; his buyruqs and lords, too, were killed. The On-Ok people suffered (a great deal). In order that the land (lit.: 'earth and water'), which was ruled by our ancestors, would not be without ruler, we organized the Az people and put them in order .... (E20) was Bars Beg. It was we who had given him the title of kagan. We had also given him my younger sister, the princess, in marriage. But, he betrayed (us). (As a result) the kagan was killed and the people became slaves and servants. In order that the Kögmän land would not remain without ruler, we organized the Az and Kirgiz peoples, and then we came (back) and fought. (E21) We gave (them) back.... Eastwards as far as beyond the Khingan mountains we thus settled and organized the people;

westwards as far as Käŋü Tarman we thus settled and organized the Turkish people. At that time slaves themselves had slaves (and servants themselves had servants. Younger brothers did not acknowledge their elder brothers, and sons did not acknowledge their fathers). (E22) We had such a well-acquired and well-organized state and institutions. You, Turkish and Oguz lords and peoples, hear this! If the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give way, O Turkish people, who would be able to destroy your state and institutions? O Turkish people, regret and repent! (E23) Because of your unruliness, you yourselves betrayed your wise kagan who had (always) nourished you, and you yourselves betrayed your good realm which was free and independent, and you (yourselves) caused discord. From where did the armed come and put you to flight? From where did the lancer come and drive you away? You, people of the sacred Ötükän mountains, it was you who went away. (Of you) those who meant to go to the east went away, and those who meant to go to the west went away. In the places you went, your (only) profit was the following: your blood ran like a river, and your bones were heaped up like a mountain; your sons worthy of becoming lords became slaves, and your daughters worthy of becoming ladies became servants. Because of your unawareness (E25) and because of your mischievousness, my uncle, the kagan, met his death. First I erected the Kirgiz kagan as a balbal (for him). In order that the name and fame of the Turkish people would not perish, Heaven, which had raised my father, the kagan, and my mother, the katun, and which had granted them the state, in order that the name and fame of the Turkish people would not perish, (that Heaven) (E26) enthroned (me). I did not become ruler over a wealthy and prosperous people at all; (on the contrary,) I became ruler over a poor and miserable people who were foodless in the inside and clothless on the outside. I and Prince Kül, my younger brother, consulted together. In order that the name and fame of the people, which our father and uncle had won, would not perish, and (E27) for the sake of the Turkish people, I did not sleep

by night and I did not relax by day. Together with my younger brother, Prince Kül, and together with the two šads, I worked to death and I won. Having won and gathered in that way, I did not let the people split into two (opposite) parts like fire and water. (When) I (succeeded to the throne) the people who had gone (in almost all directions,) (E28) came back utterly exhausted, without horses and without clothes. In order to nourish the people, I, with great armies, went on campaigns twelve times, northwards against the Oguz people, eastwards against the Qïtań and Tatabï peoples, southwards against the Chinese, (and I fought ... times). (E29) After (that), since I had fortune and since I had good luck — may Heaven be gracious! — I brought the people to life who were going to perish, and nourished them. I furnished the naked people with clothes and I made the poor people rich and the few people numerous. I made them superior to the peoples who have great states and (esteemed rulers). (E30) I subjugated all the peoples who live (in the four quarters of the world), and I made them harmless. They all submitted to me. They have been giving their services to me. After he had succeeded so much in making the state powerful, my younger brother, Prince Kül, passed away. When my father, the kagan, passed away, my younger brother Prince Kül (was at the age of seven). (At the age of ...) (E31) my younger brother Prince Kül got (his) adult name (= he was lifted up among grown-ups), by the good luck of my Umay-like mother, the katun. At the age of sixteen, for the sake of the realm of my uncle, the kagan, he accomplished the following: We went on a campaign in the direction of the territory of the Six-Sogdian colonies. The Chinese governor Oŋ (came with an army) of fifty (thousand men and we fought). (E32) Prince Kül rushed and attacked on foot. He took the governor's brother-in-law prisoner while he (i.e., the prisoner) had weapons in his hands, and presented him (i.e., the prisoner) to the kagan in this armed manner. There we destroyed that army. When he was twenty-one years old, we fought against (the army of) General Čača. First he (mounted) Tadïq Čor's gray horse (and attacked. There that horse)

(E33) was killed. Secondly, he mounted İšbara Yamtar's gray horse and attacked. That horse, (too), was killed there. Thirdly, he mounted Yigän Silig Beg's dressed bay horse and attacked. That horse, (too), was killed there. They hit (him) with more than one hundred arrows on his armor and caftan; (but, he did not let the enemy hit him) even once on his face or head. (E34) Turkish lords, you all know that they hit him on the ... There we destroyed that army. Then, Great İrkin of Yir Bayïrqu started hostilities. We dispersed them and put them to rout at the Lake Türgi-Yarγun. The Great İrkin ran away together with a few men. When Prince Kül was (twenty-six) (E35) year old, we went on a campaign against the Kirgiz. Having opened our way through the lance-deep snow, we marched up over the Kögmän mountains and fell upon the Kirgiz people while they were asleep. We fought with their kagan at the Soŋa mountains. Prince Kül mounted Bayïrqu's (white stallion) (E36) and attacked; he hit one man with an arrow and stabbed two men through the thighs. In that attack, (the enemy) hit and broke the thigh of Bayïrqu's white stallion. We killed the kagan of the Kirgiz and conquered their realm. In that year we marched (against the Türgis) climbing over (the Altai mountains) (E37) and crossing over the Irtish river. We fell upon the Türgis people, while they were asleep. The army of the Türgis kagan came (upon us) like fire and storm at Bolču. We fought. Prince Kül mounted the white-headed horse and attacked. The white-headed gray (horse).. (E38) ... and he (i.e., Prince Kül) himself captured two of them. There (Prince Kül) again broke into (the enemy's lines) and captured by (his own) hands the Governor of the Az (people) who was the buyruq of the Türgis kagan. There we killed their kagan and took their realm. The common Türgis people all submitted to us. We (settled) those people in Tabar. (E39) In order to organize the Sogdian people, we marched with the army as far as the Iron Gate, crossing over the Pearl river. After that the common Türgis people rose in revolt, and went toward Käŋäris. Our army horses were lean (and exhausted), and our army had no provisions. (Our men were) in bad

condition ..... (E40) (Furthermore), those who had attacked us were brave men. Having been discouraged under such circumstances, we sent Prince Kül forward together with a few men. He fought a great battle, we were told. He mounted the white horse of Alp Šalči and attacked. There he killed and subjugated the common Türgis people. Having marched again .....

North

(N1) He fought with ..... and with Qošu Tutuq; he killed all of their men. He brought their properties and belongings without leaving anything behind. When Prince Kül was twenty-seven years old, the Karluk people became an enemy who began to behave freely and fearlessly. We fought at the Tamaγ Ïduq-Baš. (N2) Prince Kül was thirty years old when this battle took place. He mounted the (white horse) of Alp Šalči and attacked suddenly. He stabbed two men through the thighs. We killed the Karluk and subjugated them. (Meanwhile) the Az people started hostilities (against us). We fought at the Black Lake. Prince Kül was thirty-one years old then. He mounted the white (horse) of Alp Šalči (N3) and attacked suddenly. He took the governor of the Az (people) prisoner. The Az people were annihilated there. When the empire of my uncle, the kagan, became shaky and when the people and ruler were split into two parts, we fought against the İzgil people. Prince Kül mounted the white (horse) of Alp Šalči (N4) and (attacked suddenly). That horse fell down there. The İzgil (people) were killed (that is, defeated). The Tokuz-Oguz people were my own people. Since Heaven and earth were in disorder, they revolted (against us). We fought five times in a year. First we fought at Toγu-Balïq. (N5) Prince Kül mounted the yellowish white (horse) and attacked suddenly. He stabbed six men with a lance. In hand-to-hand fighting he cut down a seventh man with a sword. Secondly, we fought against the Ädiz at Quš-Alγaq. Prince Kül mounted his yellow(ish) black (horse) and attacked suddenly. He stabbed one man with a lance (N6) and stroke nine men

turning them around and around. The Ädiz people were killed (= defeated) there. Thirdly, we fought against the Oguz at ..... Prince Kül mounted his yellowish white (horse), attacked and stabbed (the enemy) with a lance. We killed (that is, defeated) their army and conquered their realm. Fourthly, we fought at the headwaters of Čuš. The Turkish (N7) people tottered and were about to be put to rout. Prince Kül put their army, which had come assaulting, to flight. We surrounded and killed a Toŋra squad consisting of ten champion warriors at the funeral of Prince Toŋa. Fifthly, we fought against the Oguz at Äzginti-Qadïz. Prince Kül (N8) mounted his yellow(ish) black (horse) and attacked. He stabbed two men and thrust them into mud (?). That army was killed (= defeated) there. After we spent the winter at Amγa-Qorγan, in spring we marched off with an army against the Oguz. We ordered (the army) to make a raid, while we left Prince Kül at home to command the camp. (N9) The hostile Oguz suddenly attacked the camp. Having mounted his white orphan (horse), Prince Kül stabbed nine men and did not surrender the camp. My mother, the katun, and my (step-) mothers, my elder sisters, my daughters-in-law, my princesses this many people who were going to survive would have become slaves, and those of you who were going to be killed would have been left lying at the camp and on roads. (N10) If Prince Kül had never existed, you all would have been killed. My younger brother Prince Kül passed away. I mourned. My eyes which have always seen became as if they were blind, and my mind which has always been conscious became as if it were unconscious. I mourned. Human beings have all been created in order to die. (N11) I mourned in the following way: When tears came (down) from the eyes, I mourned holding them back, and when wails came (out) from the heart, I mourned turning them back; I mourned deeply. I worried that the eyes and eyebrows of the two šads and of my younger brothers, my sons, my lords and of my people could have been ruined (by weeping). As mourners and lamenters, representing the Qïtań and Tatabï peoples, (N12) General Udar came. From the

Chinese emperor, İsiyi Likäŋ came. He brought an immeasurable quantity of treasures, gold and silver in abundance. From the Tibet kagan a minister came. General Änik and Oγul Tarkan came from the Sogdians, Persians, and the people of the city of Bukhara who are at the sunset in the west. (N13) From my On-Ok descendants, from the Türgis kagan, seal-keepers Maqarač and Oγuz Bilgä came. From the Kirgiz kagan, Tarduš İnanču Čor came. General Čan, the nephew of the Chinese Emperor, came in order to build the mausoleum, to make sculptures, to paint and to prepare the inscription stones.

North-East

Prince Kül passed away (lit.: 'flew') on the seventeenth day of the Sheep Year. We held (his) funeral on the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month. We finished his mausoleum, the statues and paintings, and his inscription stone on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month, in the Monkey Year. Prince Kül's age (?) (was?) forty-seven. The sun (?) and clouds (?) ..... The Governor Tuyγut brought all of these sculptors and painters

South-East

The one who has inscribed all inscriptions — I, Prince Yolluγ, the nephew of Prince Kül, have inscribed (all these inscriptions). Having sat down twenty days, I, Prince Yolluγ, inscribed (all these inscriptions) on this stone and this wall. You used to nourish (the people) better than your beloved children and descendants. You passed away (lit.: 'went flying'). In Heaven (may you be?) just as you were in this life.

South-West

In order to take care of Prince Kül's gold and silver, his treasures and possessions, his four (thousand?) horses, Tuyγut .... My lord, the prince, ... upwards (to Heaven?) ..... I inscribed the stone. Prince Yolluγ.

West

From the west the Sogdians rose in revolt. Since my younger brother, Prince Kül, ..., and since he (willingly?) gave his services (to me), I, looking after my brother Prince Kül, mounted the throne over the dominions (?) of the Turkish Bilgä kagan. I gave him the title İnanču Apa Yarγan Tarqan and I made (my lords and my subjects) praise and esteem him.

The Kül Tigin Inscription

South

(S1) täŋri täg, täŋridä bolmiš türük bilgä qaγan bu ödkä[1] olurtum. sabïmin tükäti äsidgil,[2] ulayu ini-yägünüm oγlanïm biriki oγušum bodunum, biriyä šadpit bäglär, yirïya tarqat buyruq bäglär, otuz [.....] (S2) toquz oγuz bäglärï bodunï, bu sabïmin ädgüti äsid, qatïγdï tiŋla! ilgärü kün toγsïq(q)a[3] birigärü kün ortusïŋaru, qurïγaru kün batsïqïŋa yirïγaru tün ortusïŋaru, anta ičräki bodun [qop] m[aŋa] k[örür]. [bunč]a bodun (S3) qop itdim. ol amtï ańïγ yoq. türük qaγan ötükän yiš olursar, iltä buŋ yoq. ilgärü šantuŋ yazïqa tägi sülädim, taluyqa kičig tägmädim. birigärü toquz ärskinkä tägi sülädim, tüpütkä kičig [täg]mädim. qurïγaru yinčü ögüz (S4) käčä tämir qapïγqa tägi sülädim, yirïγaru yir bayïrqu yirïŋä tägi sülädim. bunča yirkä tägi yorïtdïm. ötükän yišda yig idi yoq ärmis;[4] il tutsïq yir ötükän yiš ärmiš. bu yirdä olurup tabγač bodun birlä (S5) tüzültüm. altun kümüš[5] isgiti[6] qutay buŋsïz anča birür. tabγač bodun sabï süčig,[7] aγïsï yimšaq ärmis.[8] süčig[9] sabïn, yimšaq aγïn arïp ïraq bodunuγ anča yaγutïr ärmis.[10] yaγuru qontuqda kisrä ańïγ bilig[11] anta öyür ärmis.[12] (S6) ädgü bilgä kisig, ädgü alp kisig yorïtmaz ärmis.[13] bir kisï yaŋïlsar, oγušï bodunï bisükïŋä tägi ïqïdmaz ärmiš. süčig[14] sabïŋa, yimšaq aγïsïŋa arturup üküs[15] türük bodun öltüg. türük bodun, ölsikiŋ! biriyä čoγay yiš, tögültün (S7) yazï qonayïn tisär, türük bodun, ölsikig! anta ańïγ kisï anča bošγurur ärmis: ïraq ärsär yablaq aγï birür, yaγaq ärsär ädgü aγï birür tip anča bošγurur ärmis.[16] bilig bilmäz kisï ol sabïγ alïp yaγuru barïp üküš kišï[17] öltüg. (S8) ol yergärü barsar, türük bodun, öltäči sän! ötükän yir olurup

arqïš tirkiš ïsar, näŋ buŋuγ yoq. ötükän yiš olursar, bäŋgü il tuta olurtači sän. türük bodun, toqurqaq sän. āčsïq[1] tosïq ömäz sän, bir todsar āčsïq ömäz sän. antaγ-
ïŋïn (S9) üčün[2] igidmiš qaγanïŋïn sabïn almatïn yir sayu bardïγ; qop anta alqïntïγ arïltïγ. anta qalmišī yir sayu qop toru ölü yorïyūr ärtig. täŋri yarlïq(q)aduqïn üčün, [ö]züm qutum bar üčün qaγan olurtum. qaγan olurup (S10) yoq čïγań bodunuγ qop qubratdïm[3]. čïγań bodunuγ bay qïltïm, az bodunuγ üküš qïltïm. azu bu sabïmda igid bar γu? türük bäglär bodun, bunï äsidiŋ! türük [bodun, ti]rip il tutsïqïŋïn bunta urtum, yaŋïlïp ölsikiŋin yämä (S11) bunta urtum. näŋ näŋ sabïm ärsär bäŋgü tašqa urtum. aŋar körü biliŋ. türük matï bodun bäglär, bödkä körügmä bäglär gü yaŋïltači siz? män b[äŋgü taš . . . . . tabγ]ač qaγanta bädizči kälürtüm, bädizät(t)im. mäniŋ sabïmïn simadï. (S12) tabγač qaγanïŋ ičräki bädizčig ït(t)ï. aŋar adïnč(č)īγ barq yaraturtum; ičīn tašīn adïnč(č)īγ bädiz urturtum. taš toqītdïm, köŋültäki sabïmïn u[rturtum. . . . . on oq oγlïŋ]a tatīŋa tägi bunï körü biliŋ. bäŋgü taš (S13) toqītdïm. [t[2] u . .] el ärsär, anča taqï ärig yertä irsär, anča ärig yertä bäŋgü taš toqītdïm, bitīd(d)im. anï körüp anča biliŋ. ol taš [. . . . .]dïm. bu bitig bitigmä atïsï yol(l)uγ t[igin].

East

(E1) üzä kök täŋri asra yaγïz yer qïlïntuqda ekīn ara kisī oγlī qïlïnmis. kisī oγlïnta üzä äčüm apām bumïn qaγan, istämi qaγan olurmiš. olurupan türük bodunïŋ ilīn törüsīn tuta birmis, iti birmis. (E2) tört buluŋ qop yaγī ärmis. sü süläpän tört buluŋdaqï bodunuγ qop almis, qop baz qïlmis. bašlïγïγ yüküntürmis, tizligig sökürmis. ilgärü qadïrqan yišqa tägi, kirü tämir qapïγqa tägi qonturmis. ekīn ara (E3) idi oqsïz kök türük anča[4] olurūr ärmis. bilgä qaγan ärmis. buyruqī yämä bilgä ärmis ärinč, alp ärmis ärinč. bäglärī yämä bodunī yämä tüz ärmis. anï üčün ilig anča tutmis[5] ärinč. ilig tutup törüg itmis. özī anča (E4) kärgäk bolmis. yoγči siγïtči öŋrä kün toγsïqda bükli čöl(l)üg el, tabγač, tüpüt, apar, purum, qïrqïz, üč qurïqan, otuz tatar, qïtań, tatabï, bunča bodun kälipän sïγtāmis,[6] yoγlāmis.[7] antaγ külüg qaγan ärmis. anta kisrä inisī qaγan (E5) bolmis

ärinč, oγlïtī qaγan bolmis[1] ärinč. anta kisrä inisī äcisīn täg qïlïnmaduq ärinč, oγlī qaŋīn täg qïlïnmaduq ärinč. biligsiz qaγan olurmis ärinč, yablaq qaγan olurmis.[2] buyruqī yämä biligsiz ärinč,[3] yablaq ärmis[4] ärinč. (E6) bäglärī boduni tüzsiz üčün, tabγač bodun täbligin kürlüg[5] üčün, armaqčisīn üčün,[6] inilī äčilī kiŋsürtükīn üčün, bäglī bodunlïγ yoŋšurtuqīn üčün,[7] türük bodun illädük[8] ilïn ïčγïnu ïdmis,[9] (E7) qaγanladuq qaγanīn yitürü ïdmis.[10] tabγač bodunqa bäglik uri oγlin[11] qul boltï,[12] esīlik[13] qïz oγlin[14] küŋ bolti.[15] türük bäglär türük ātīn[16] ït(t)ï. tabγačγï bäglär tabγač ātīn[17] tutupan tabγac qaγanqa (E8) körmis, älig yïl isig küčüg birmis.[18] ilgärü kün toγsïqda[19] bükli qaγanqa tägi süläyü birmis,[20] qurïγaru tämir qapïγqa tägi süläyü birmis;[21] tabγac qaγanqa ilin törüsin[22] ali birmis.[23] türük qara qamaγ (E9) bodun anča timis:[27] illig bodun ärtim; ilim amtï qanï? kämkä ilig qazγanūr män? tir ärmis. qaγanlïγ bodun ärtim; qaγanïm qanï? nä qaγanqa isig küčüg birūr män? tir ärmis.[25] anča tip tabγač qaγanqa yaγī bolmis.[26] (E10) yaγī bolup itinü yaratunu umaduq, yana ičikmis.[27] bunča isig küčüg birtükgärü[28] saqïnmatī, türük bodun[29] ölüräyīn, uruγsïratayīn tir ärmis. yoqadu barīr ärmis. üzä türük täŋrisī, türük ïduq yirī (E11) subi anča etmis:[30] türük bodun yoq bolmazun tiyin, bodun bolčun tiyin, qaŋïm il-teris qaγanïγ, ögüm il-bilgä qatunuγ täŋri töpüsīntä tutup yüg(g)ärü kötürmis[31] ärinč. qaŋïm qaγan yiti yegirmi ärin tašïqmis. tašra (E12) yorïyūr tiyin kü äsidip balïqdaqï taγïqmis, taγdaqï inmis,[32] tirilip yetmis[33] är bolmis.[34] täŋri küč birtük üčün qaŋïm qaγan süsī böri täg ärmis,[35] yaγīsī[36] qoń täg ärmis.[37] ilgärü qurïγaru süläp ti[r]m[iš] qubrat[miš], [q]amaγī (E 13) yeti yüz är bolmis.[38] yeti yüz är bolup elsirämis qaγansïramis bodunuγ, küŋädmis quladmis bodunuγ, türük törūsīn[39] ïčγïnmis bodunuγ äčüm apām törūsīncä yaratmis[40] bošγurmis.[41] tölīs tarduš [bodunuγ anta itmiš], (E14) yabγuγ šadïγ anta birmis.[42] biriyä tabγač bodun yaγī ärmis,[43] yirïya baz qaγan, toquz oγuz bodun yaγī ärmis;[44] qïrqïz, qurïqan, otuz tatar, qïtań, tatabï qop yaγī ärmis. qaŋïm qaγan bunča . . . . . (E15) qïrq artuqī yeti[45] yolï sülämis,[46] yegirmi süŋüs[47] süŋüsmis.[48] täŋri yarlïq(q)aduq üčün[49] illigig elsirätmis,[50] qaγanlïγïγ qaγansïratmis; yaγïγ baz

qïlmis;[1] tizligig sökürmis,[2] bašlïγïγ yüküntü[rmis[3] .... ilig] (E16) törüg qazγanïp uča barmis. qaŋïm qaγanqa bašlayu baz qaγanïγ balbal tikmis.[4] ol törüdä üzä äčïm qaγan olurtï. äčim qaγan[5] olurupan türük bodunuγ yičä itdi, igit(t)i.[6] čïγańïγ bay qïltï, azïγ üküš qïltï. (E17) äčim qaγan olurtuqda[7] özüm[8] tarduš bodun üzä šad ärtim.[9] äčim birlä ilgärü yašïl ögüz šantuŋ yazïqa tägi sülädimiz; qurïγaru tämir qapïγqa tägi sülädimiz. kögmän aša qï[rqïz yirïŋä tägi sülädimiz]. (E18) qamaγï biš otuz sülädimiz, üč yegirmi süŋüšdümiz. illigig ilsirätdimiz, qaγanlïγïγ qaγansïratdïmïz; tizligig sökürtümiz, bašlïγïγ yüküntürtümiz. türgis qaγan türükümiz[10] [bodunumïz[11] ärti. bilmädükïn] (E19) üčün,[12] biziŋä yaŋïluqïn üčün[13] qaγanï ölti, buyruqï bäglärï yämä ölti, on oq bodun ämgäk körti. äčümiz apämïz tutmis yir sub idisiz bolmazun[14] tiyin az bodunuγ itip yar[atïp. . . . .] (E20) bars bäg ärti. qaγan at[15] bunta biz birtimiz. siŋlim qunčuyuγ birtimiz. özï yaŋïltï,[16] qaγanï ölti, bodunï küŋ qul boltï. kögmän yir sub idisiz qalmazun tiyin az qïrqïz bodunuγ yarat[ïp[17] kältimiz. süŋüšdümiz . . . . .] (E21) yana birtimiz. ilgärü[18] qadïrqan yišïγ aša bodunuγ anča qonturtumïz, anča itdimiz. qurïγaru käŋü tarmanqa[19] tägi türük bodunuγ anča qonturtumïz, anča etdimiz.[20] ol ödkä qul qulluγ bolmiš ärti,[21] [küŋ küŋlüg bolmiš ärti? inisï äčisïn bilmäz arti, oγlï qaŋïn bilmäz ärti] (E22) anča qazγanmis itmis[22] elimiz[23] törümiz ärti. türük oγuz bäglärï, bodun, äsidiŋ![24] üzä täŋri basmasar, asra yir[25] tälinmäsär, türük bodun, eliŋin[26] törüŋin[27] käm artatï [udači ärti]? türük bodun, ärtin[28] (E23) ökün! kürägüŋin üčün[29] igidmis[30] bilgä[31] qaγanïŋin[32] ärmis[33] barmis ädgü eliŋä käntü yaŋïltïγ, yablaq kigürtüg. yaraqlïγ qantïn kälip yaña eltdi?[34] süŋüglüg qantïn kälipän sürä eltdi? ïduq ötükän y[iš bodun, bardïγ! ilgärü barïγma] (E24) bardïγ, qurïγaru barïγma bardïγ. barduq yirdä[35] ädgüg ol ärinč: qanïŋ subča[36] yögürti, süŋükün[37] taγča yatdï; bäglik urï oγluŋ[38] qul boltï,[39] esilik qïz oγluŋ kuŋ boltï.[40] bilmädük[41] üčün, [yablaqiŋin üčün äčim qaγan uča bardï]. (E25) bašlayu qïrqïz qaγanïγ balbal tikdim. türük bodun[iγ][42] atï küsï yoq bolmazun tiyin, qaŋïm qaγanïγ ögüm qatunuγ kötürmiš[43] täŋri, il birigmä[44] täŋri, türük bodun atï küsï yoq bolmazun [tiyin, özümin ol

täŋri] (E26) qaγan olurtdï ärinč. näŋ yïlsïγ bodunqa[1] olurmadïm; ičrä ašsïz, tašra tonsïz, yabïz yablaq bodunta üzä olurtum. inim kül tigin birlä sözläšdimiz. qaŋïmïz äčimiz qaz[γanmiš bodun atï küsï yoq bolmazun] (E27) tiyin, türük bodun üčün[2] tün udïmadïm,[3] küntüz olurmadïm.[4] inim kül tigin birlä, ekï šad birlä ölü yitü qazγantïm. anča qazγanïp biriki bodunuγ ot sub qïlmadïm. män [özüm qaγan olurtuquma yir sayu] (E28) barmiš bodun ölü yitü, yadaγïn yalïŋïn yana kälti. bodunuγ igidäyin[5] tiyin, yirïγaru oγuz bodun tapa, ilgärü qïtań tatabï bodun tapa, birigärü tabγač tapa uluγ sü[6] ekï yegir[mi sülädim, ... süŋüšdüm. anta] (E29) kisrä, täŋri yarlïq(q)azu,[7] qutum bar üčün, ülügüm bar üčün[8] öltäči bodunuγ tirgürü igit-(t)im. yalïŋ bodunuγ tonluγ,[9] čïγań bodunuγ bay qïltïm. ïγar elligdä [ïγar qaγanlïγda yeg qïltïm. tört buluŋdaqï] (E30) bodunuγ qop baz qïltïm, yaγïsiz qïltïm; qop maŋa körti. isig küčüg birür. bunča törüg qazγanïp inim kül tigin özï anča kärgäk boltï. qaŋïm qaγan učduqda inim kül tigin yi[ti yašda qaltï? . . . . .] (E31) umay täg ögüm qatun qutïŋa inim kül tigin är at bultï. altï yegirmi yašïŋa äčim qaγan ilïn törüsin anča qazγantï. altï čub soγdaq tapa sülädimiz. tabγač oŋ tutuq bis t[ümän sü kälti, süŋüšdümiz?] (E32) kül tigin yadaγïn oplayu tägdi; oŋ tutuq yurčïn yaraqlïγ äligin tutdï, yaraqlïγdï qaγanqa ančuladï. ol süg anta yoq qïšdïmïz. bir otuz yašïŋa čača säŋünkä süŋüšdümiz. aŋ ilkï tadïqïŋ čorïŋ boz [atïγ binip tägdi. ol at anta] (E33) ölti. ekïnti išbara yamtar boz atïγ binip tägdi. ol at anta ölti. üčünč yegän silig bägiŋ kädimlig toruγ at binip tägdi. ol at anta ölti. yarïqïnta yalmasïnta yüz artuq oqun urtï; yüziŋä bašïŋa bir t[ägürmädi. . . . .] (E34) tägdükïn, türük bäglär, qop bilir siz. ol süg anta yoq qïšdïmïz. anta kisrä y(i)r bayïrqu uluγ irkin yaγï boltï. anï yańïp türgi yarγun költä buzdumïz. uluγ irkin azqïńa ärin täzip bardï. kül tigin [altï otuz] (E35) yašïŋa qïrqïz tapa sülädimiz. süŋüg batïmï qarïγ sökürpän kögmän yišïγ toγa yorïp qïrqïz bodunuγ uda basdïmïz. qaγanïn birlä soŋa yišda süŋüsdümiz. kül tigin bayïrqun[iŋ aq adγï]r[iγ] (E36) binip oplayu tägdi. bir ärig oqun urtï; ekï ärig ud ašru sančdï. ol tägdükdä bayïrquniŋ aq adγïrïγ udlïqïn siyu urtï. qïrqïz qaγanïn ölürtümiz, ilin altïmïz. ol yïlqa tü[rgis tapa altun yišïγ]

(E37) toγa ärtis ögüzüg käčä yorīdīmïz. türgis bodunuγ uda basdïmïz. türgis qaγan süsī bolčuda otča borča kälti. süŋüšdümiz. kül tigin bašγu boz at binip tägdi. bašγu boz k[.....] (E38) tutuzt[ī] ekısın özı altuzdï. anta yana kirip türgis qaγan buyruqī az tutuquγ äligin tutdï. qaγanīn anta ölürtümiz, ilīn altïmïz. qara türgis bodun qop ičikdi. ol bodunuγ tabarda qo[nturtumïz?.....] (E39) soγdaq bodun itäyīn tiyin yinčü ögüzüg käčä tämir qapïγqa tägi süläbimiz. anta kisrä qara türgis bodun yaγī bolmiš, käŋäris tapa bardï. biziŋ sü atī toruq, azuqī yōq ärti. yablaq kisī är[.....] (E40) alp är biziŋä tägmiš ärti. antaγ ödkä ökünüp kül tiginig az ärin irtürü ït(t)ïmïz. uluγ süŋüš süŋüšmiš. alp šalči aq atīn binip tägmiš. qara türgis bodunuγ anta ölürmiš almiš. yana yorïp [.....]

North

(N1) [.....] birlä qošu tutuq birlä süŋüšmiš, ärīn qop ölürmiš. äbīn barïmīn qalīsiz qop kälürti. kül tigin yiti otuz yašīŋa qarluq bodun ärūr barūr ärkli yaγī boltï. tamaγ ïduq bašda süŋüsdümiz. (N2) [kül] tigin ol süŋüšdä otuz yašayūr ärti. alp šalči [aq]īn binip oplayu tägdi. ekī ärig ud ašru sančdï. qarluquγ ölürtümiz altïmïz. az bodun yaγī boltï. qara költä süŋüšdümiz. kül tigin bir qïrq yašayūr ärti. alp šalči aqīn (N3) binip oplayu tägdi. az el-täbärig tutdï. az bodun anta yoq boltï. äčim qaγan ilī qamšaγ boltuqīnta, bodun ilig ikägü boltuqīnta izgil bodun birlä süŋüšdümiz. kül tigin alp šalči aqīn binip (N4) o[playu tägd]i. ol at anta tüs[di]. izgil [bodun] ölti. toquz oγuz bodun käntü bodunum ärti. täŋri yir bulγaqīn üčün yaγī boltï. bir yïlqa biš yolī süŋüšdümiz. aŋ ilk toγu balïqda süŋüšdümiz. (N5) kül tigin azman aqïγ binip oplayu tägdi. altï ärig sančdï. sü [t]ägisıntä yitinč ärig qïlïčladï. ekinti quš-alγaqda ädiz birlä süŋüšdümiz. kül tigin az yaγïzīn binip oplayu tägip bir ärig sančdï, (N6) toquz ärig ägirä toqïdï. ädiz bodun anta ölti. üčünč bo[lču]da oγuz birlä süŋüšdümiz. kül tigin azman aqïγ binip tägdï, sančdï; süsīn sančdïmïz, ilın altïmïz. törtünč čuš bašīnta süŋüšdümiz. türük (N7) bodun adaq qamšatdï.

yablaq bo[ltač]i ärti. oza [k]älmis süsīn kül tigin aγïtïp toŋra bir oγuš alpaγu on ärig toŋa tigin yoγïnta ägirip ölürtumiz. bisinč äzginti qadizdä oγuz birlä süŋüšdümiz. kül tigin (N8) az yaγïzīn binip tägdi. ekī ärig sančdï, b[alïq(q)]a b[as]ïqdï. ol sü anta ö[lti]. amγa qorγan qïšlap yazıŋa oγuzγaru sü taškïqdïmïz. kül tigin äbig bašlayu aqït(t)ïmïz. oγuz yaγī ordūγ basdï. kül tigin (N9) ögsiz aqın binip toquz ärän sančdï, ordūγ birmädi. ögüm qatun ulayu öglärim äkälärim käliŋünüm qunčuylarïm bunča yämä tirigī küŋ boltači ärti, ölügī yurtda yolta yatu qaltači ärtigiz. (N10) kül tigin yoq ärsär, qop öltäči ärtigiz. inim kül tigin kärgäk boltï. özüm saqïntïm. körūr közüm körmäz täg, bilir biligim bilmäz täg boltï. özüm saqïntïm. öd täŋri yasar. kisī oγlī qop ölgäli törūmis. (N11) anča saqïntïm. közdä yaš kälsär tīda, köŋültä siγït kälsär yanturu saqïntïm; qatïγdi saqïntïm. ekī šad ulayu ini-yägünüm oγlanïm bäglärim bodunum közī qašī yablaq boltači tip saqintim. yoγči siγïtči qïtań tatabï bodun bašlayu (N12) udar säŋün kälti. tabγač qaγanta isiyi likäŋ kälti; bir tümän aγī altun kümüš kärgäksiz kälürti. tüpūt qaγanta bölün kälti. qurïya kün batsïqdaqï soγud, bärčik är, buqaraq ulus bodunta änik säŋün, oγul tarqan kälti. (N13) on oq oγlum türgis qaγanta maqarač tamγači, oγuz bilgä tamγači kälti. qïrqïz qaγanta tarduš inanču čor kälti. barq itgüči bädiz yaratïγma bitig taš itgüči tabγač qaγan čïqanī čaŋ säŋün kälti.

North-East

kül tigin qoń yïlqa yiti yegirmikä učdï. toquzunč ay yeti otuzqa yoγ ärtürtümiz. barqīn bädizīn bitig taš[īn] bičīn yïlqa yitinč ay yiti otuzqa qop alqd[ïmï]z. kül tigin ö[zī?] qïrq artuq[ī y]iti yašīk bulīt bust[adï?] [.....] bunča bädizčig tuyγut el-täbär kälürti[1].

South-East

bunča bitig bitigmä kül tigin atïsī yol(l)uγ tigin bitīdim. yigirmi kün olurup bu tašqa bu tämqa qop yol(l)uγ tigin bitıdim. ïγar oγlanïŋïzda tayγunuŋïzda yegdi igidūr ärtigiz. uča bardïγïz. täŋr[idä?] tirigdäkičä [.....?].

South-West

[—] kül tiginiŋ altunīn kümüsīn aγīšīn barīmīn tör[t biŋ?] yïlq[ïs]ïn ayïγma tuyγut bu[.....] bägim tigin yüg(g)ärü täŋ[ri.....] taš bitidim. yolluγ tigin.

West

qur'idïn [s]oγud örti. inim kül tigin [....] üčün öl[ü yitu?] isig küčüg birtük üčün türük bilgä qaγan ayuqīqa inim kül tiginig küzädü olurt[um]. inänču apā yarγan tarqan ätïγ [b]ertim. [an]ï ögtürt[üm].

Notes

Page	Note	
231	1.	/bu ödkä/ BK N1: bödka
"	2.	/äsidgil/ BK N1: äsid
"	3.	/toγsïq(q)a/ BK N2: toγsïqīŋa
"	4.	/ärmis/ BK N3: ärmiš
"	5.	/kümüš/ BK N3: kümüs
"	6.	/isgiti/ BK N3: äsg...
"	7.	/süčīg/ BK N4: süčig
"	8.	/ärmis/ BK N4: ärmiš
"	9.	/süčīg/ BK N4: süčig
"	10.	/ärmis/ BK N4: ärmiš
"	11.	/bilig/ BK N4: biligin
"	12.	/ärmis/ BK N4: [ärmi]š
"	13.	/ärmis/ BK N4: ärmiš
"	14.	/süčīg/ BK N5: süčig
"	15.	/üküs/ BK N5: üküš
"	16.	/ärmis/ BK N5: ärmiš
"	17.	/kišī/ BK N6: kisī
232	1.	/āčsïq/ BK N6: āčsār
"	2.	/üčūn/ BK N6: üčün
"	3.	/qubratdïm/ BK N7: qubrat(t)ïm
"	4.	/kök türük anča/ BK E4: kök türük iti anča
"	5.	/tutmis/ BK E4: tutmiš
"	6.	/sïγtāmis/ BK E5: siγtāmiš
"	7.	/yoγlāmis/ BK E5: yoγlāmiš
233	1.	/bolmis/ BK E5: bolmiš
"	2.	/olurmis/ BK E6: olurmiš
"	3.	/biligsiz ärinč/ BK E6: biligsiz ärmis ärinč
"	4.	/ärmis/ BK E6: ärmiš
"	5.	/kürlüg/ BK E6: kürlügin
"	6.	/üčūn/ BK E7: üčün