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The Inscription at Ikhe Khushotu

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I. Introduction

Our decision to produce a new edition of this inscription was reached during the visit of one of us (G.L.M.C.) to Warsaw in October 1968, as the guest of the Zakład Orientalistyki of the Polish Academy of Sciences. During this visit we examined together a number of squeezes of the earliest Turkish monuments which had been made by the other (E.T.) on behalf of the Polish Academy during a visit to the Mongolian People's Republic in 1962.

Our attention was particularly drawn to this inscription because we found that with the help of the new squeezes a much fuller and more accurate transcription and translation could be produced than any which had hitherto appeared.

Squeezes are, for three reasons, a much more satisfactory basis for a transcription than photographs or hand copies:

(1) they are of an uniform creamy white colour and the eye is not distracted by variations in the colour of the surface due to long exposure to the weather;

(2) they show very slight variations in the surface of the stone, and in particular traces of letters which have been partially obliterated and so are invisible in photographs and almost equally invisible to the naked eye;

(3) the letters, which are incised in the stone, appear in low relief on the squeeze, and so catch the light better. Moreover, unlike the monument itself which is firmly attached to the soil, the squeezes can be moved about so that a low lateral light falls on the protuberances representing the letters from every possible direction including

those from which a lateral light never falls on the monument itself (immediately below and immediately above). In this way every letter of which some distinctive part has survived can be read, even if most of it has disappeared.

II. Physical description of the monument

The monument is situated at a point some 200 km. south west of Ulan Bator and some 30 km. north of Delgerkhan, the centre of the *somon*, see the attached topographical sketch. It is a good deal south of a straight line joining the two Orkhon inscriptions (*KT* and *BX*) and *Toñ.*, and about half way along a straight line joining *Ongin* and *Toñ.* It is therefore fairly remote from all the other major runic monuments.

The height of the stele is 194 cm. from the base to the highest point and 179 cm. to the lowest point of the top; the width, measured in the middle of the stele is 60 cm. and the thickness 16 cm.

The stele is most probably of local stone and rather friable, and it has deteriorated owing to exposure to the weather since K o t w i c z took squeezes of it nearly sixty years ago. Fortunately his squeezes still survive in the collection of Ленинградское отделение Института языкознания А.Н. СССР, and we are greatly indebted to S.G. K l y a s h t o r n y for his kindness in checking some doubtful passages with these old squeezes.

It is on the whole improbable that the north side was ever inscribed. K o t w i c z thought that it had been but could not read more than one or two isolated letters, E.T., when examining the stone came to the conclusion that it had never borne part of the inscription, and that if in fact there were any letters on it they were probably sample letters cut by the mason before he started to carve the inscription itself.

III. State of text; method of transcription; previous editions

As can be gathered from the preceding description, the accompanying photographs, and the attached hand copy, which is a reasonably accurate smaller-scale drawing of what can be seen on the new squeezes, with a few additions from the old squeezes, the text is in a deplorable state, much of it having disappeared beyond recall. It is written, like a Chinese inscription, in vertical columns, separated by vertical lines. The first line is at the southern end of the broad western face of the stone, and the lines follow one another from right to left, like most other monuments in runic script, with the feet of the letters in each line standing on the heads of those in the previous line. This is the opposite order of lines to that in *Toñ.* and in the paper documents in runic script. (These latter are written in horizontal not vertical lines.) Individual letters vary in height from 2 to 4 cm. and are clearly cut, the profile of the cut being semi-circular and not angular; when not damaged they can be read very easily. In this edition the lines are numbered consecutively, the first twelve on the west side, the next thirteen on the eastern side and the remainder in the narrow southern side. If the north side, which comes between the west and east sides is in

fact uninscribed, it is likely that the original intention was to inscribe only the broad west and east sides, but that it proved impossible to accomodate the whole inscription in this way, so that the end of it ran over to the narrow south side.

Except for line 28, which certainly, and lines 26 and 27 which probably, started near the bottom of the stone, all the lines must originally have started level at the top of the stone, unless, as in the case of *Toñ.*, there was a central *tamya:* at the top of the west side. They end, however, unevenly, since the mason always started a new line if there was not room for the next word at the end of the previous one. Ten of the lines end with a finite verb, so it is likely that the mason was also reluctant to start a new sentence near the bottom of a line. On the east and south sides the ends of all the lines are intact. On the west side there is a short horizontal line at the bottom of the stone, which seems to be a personal postscript by the mason and not part of the original text. Its existence proves that the ends of at any rate lines 9 to 12 are intact. Those of lines 3 to 8 are damaged and as many as, say, 15 letters may be missing, in some. The ends of lines 1 to 2 may be intact, or at any rate not severely damaged, and there are probably only two letters missing at the end of line 3.

The beginnings of all the lines except line 28 are missing, but perhaps only a few letters are lost at the beginning of lines 26 and 27. On the other two sides the longest line surviving is line 21; the exact number of letters from beginning to end is uncertain, since there is a gap in the middle, but taking the letters so lost as 6, a figure which can be deduced from the following line which is intact, and adding 1 for the lost beginning of the first surviving word, the potential number of surviving letters in this line is 77, punctuation marks being left out of account. This line stops two letters short of the preceding one, so its potential length can be raised to 79. It is, however, certain that there is something missing at the beginning of it, since there is no obvious connexion with the end of the previous line. In the transcription below, therefore, it is assumed that x letters are missing at the beginning of line 21 and x plus an appropriate figure at the beginning of other lines on the east side, the appropriate figure being calculated by reference to the position of the first surviving letter in each line relative to the position of the first surviving letter in line 21. The west side is more damaged than the east, and x , which is a higher figure than the x on the east side, is taken as the number of letters missing at the beginnings of lines 5 to 6, which are parallel. Where letters are missing in the middle of a line, the lost letters are replaced by an equivalent number of dots. It must be emphasized that all these calculations are approximate, since (1) letters vary in breadth from s^2 , a simple vertical line, to letters like n^2 and z , which include three verticals, and (2) the letters are not spaced evenly, but bunched more closely in some places than in others.

The letters used in the inscription are, with one exception, identical with those used in *Toñ.* and with two exceptions those used in *KT* and *BX*, but less like those used in *Ongin* and *Šu.* Although the special letter for $\check{s}^1$ is occasionally used in this inscription, as in *yaši:ŋa:* in line 18 and *išvara:* in line 2, usually both s^1 and $\check{s}^1$ are represented by the same letter which is in a form not known elsewhere, a half length vertical line with a quarter circle turned left attached to the top of it, and another

quarter circle parallel to the first attached lower down, see for example *sančdī*: in lines 10 and 14 and *išvara*: in line 8. The letter used for n^2 , a vertical line with a down-turned curved or, occasionally, angular line attached to each side of it, is identical with the form in *Toñ*.. In *KT* and *BX* both lines are angular, not curved, and the one on the right turns upwards.

The alphabet used in the transcription is the international one habitually used in the "Rocznik Orientalistyczny" and not the revised one, based on the official alphabet of the Turkish Republic, used in G.L.M.C.'s *Studies* and his *Etymological Dictionary of pre-13th Century Turkish*, which is now with the printers. The differences, which are small, are as follows:

"Rocznik"	<i>Studies</i>	"Rocznik"	<i>Studies</i>
ä	e	q	k
e	é	χ	x
č	ç	š	ş
γ	ğ	ž	j
δ	d		
ī	i		
ĵ	c		

One convention adopted in the revised alphabet is, however, retained here; long vowels are indicated by an attached colon not a superscribed line, thus long *a* is *a:*, not *ā*.

When necessary, letters used only with back vowels are written as b^1 , d^1 , etc. and those used only with front vowels as b^2 , d^2 etc. but the figures are not attached when the letters are used in association with vowels.

It has been customary in the past to transliterate the runic alphabet as if each letter in it (apart from certain vowels) represented only one sound. As pointed out in *Studies*, this is misleading; certain runic letters, like the Iranian (probably Sogdian) and Greek letters from which they were derived, represented more than one sound, in particular the letters which represented plosives *b*, *d*, *q* and perhaps *p* also represented fricatives, *v*, *δ*, *χ* and perhaps *f*. In the transcription below the letters are transcribed in such a way as to represent their actual phonetic values. As regards the letters representing vowels, the following rules are followed for the reasons stated in *Studies*: (1) The first vowel letter is always transcribed *a:* or *e:* (2) the second vowel letter is transcribed *e*, *ī*, or *i*, as the situation demands, in the first syllable and *ī:* or *i:* in later syllables; (3) the third vowel letter is transcribed *o* or *u*, as the situation demands, in the first syllable and *u:* in later syllables. There is good evidence that in *Türkü* and other early languages *o* and *o:* also existed in latter syllables, but it is too fragmentary to justify abandoning the usual convention of using only *u* and *u:* in this position (4) the fourth vowel letter is transcribed *ö* or *ü* in the first syllable and, for the same reasons, only *ü:* in later syllables. The transcription of short vowels in later syllables, which were not written in the runic alphabet, presents some difficulties. When a word also occurs in *Uyyur* or *Xāqānī*, where the texts are

fully vocalized, no difficulties arise, for example *č r g* can safely be transcribed *čärig*, but when a word is unknown elsewhere, for example the place name *K č n*, there is no means of ascertaining what the second vowel was. In such cases (PU), that is “pronunciation uncertain”, is placed before the word.

The runic text is punctuated in a rudimentary fashion by placing a colon (:) after single words or groups of words except at the end of a line. There does not seem to be any obvious reason why in some cases more than one word was enclosed between a pair of colons, indeed this may have been quite arbitrary. In the transcription a colon is represented by a full stop (.) after finite verbs, on the assumption that these ended a sentence, and by a comma (,) elsewhere; but at any rate in *Toñ*. one or two words are occasionally placed between the finite verb and the end of the sentence, and this may also occur in this text 1.22;

There have been up to now four editions of the Ikhe Khushotu inscription: the *editio princeps* by A. S a m o i l o v i c h¹ and three others by H. N. O r k u n,² S. E. M a l o v³ and lately by T. T e k i n.⁴ S a m o i l o v i c h modestly called his work “an attempt at deciphering”; the other editors did their best to check his work, to improve some details in the translation and to interpret the text in the light of the knowledge which they had gained from the study of the later edited texts. The possibility of doing so was, however, rather limited and the results which have been obtained during the last decades certainly cannot be considered as satisfactory. The bad state of preservation of the stele bearing the inscription and numerous lacunae on one hand and, on the other, not always clear photographs of the casts of the squeezes and of the inscription itself and, last but not least, the squeezes themselves, not all of which were good, were the reasons for which all editions of the text differ very little one from another. In fact, the later editors had no alternative but to base themselves on K o t w i c z’ s documentation.

It is worth noting that the inscription was published fifteen years after its discovery i.e. at the time when the original squeezes were already in a rather bad state of preservation. We do not know when the casts of them were produced.⁵ There was another point which made some Turkologists think the monument should be re-examined *in situ*: according to K o t w i c z’ s own words, his documentation for the

¹ W. K o t w i c z et A. S a m o i l o v i c h, *Le monument turc d’Ikhe-khuchotu en Mongolie centrale*, RO IV (1926), 1928, pp. 60—107. Preliminary reports on the discovery of the monument (W. K o t w i c z) and on the contents of the inscription (A. S a m o i l o v i c h) were printed in „Записки Восточного Отделения Императорского Русского Археологического Общества”, XXII, 1914, pp. VI—VII.

² H. N. O r k u n, *Eski Türk yazıtları I*, İstanbul 1936, pp. 135—151.

³ С. Е. М а л о в, *Памятники древнетюрской письменности Монголии и Киргизии*, Moscow—Leningrad 1959, pp. 25—30.

⁴ T. T e k i n, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*. Indiana University, Bloomington 1968, pp. 257—8, 293—5.

⁵ *Le monument...*, pp. 92 and 93.

monument was made in a hurry⁶ which increased the possibility of some inaccuracies. Thus it was clear that real progress in the study of the inscription could be obtained only with help from a new documentation made on the spot.

All these points made E.T. include Ikhe Khushotu to the itinerary of his quasi-expedition to Mongolia in 1962. The topography of the relic and the actual state of its preservation with a special regard to the inscription itself are contained in the report on his journey and in the enlarged English translation.⁷

IV. Epigraphical and etymological commentary

Line 1 (a) The words missing before *üčü:n* were probably *alpi:n ärdämi:n*, cf. 1.12.

(b) The word to be expected after *apa:* is *tarḡan*, which would exactly fill the gap before *čiqan*. The Chinese records (*Liu*, note 833) say that *apa: tarḡan* meant “commander-in-chief”, and this is borne out by the use of the phrase in *Toñ..* In 1.31 of that inscription it is stated that the *ḡayan* appointed Inäl *ḡayan* as *sü: baši:* “head of the army”, and put *Toñuquq* in executive command of it; in 1.34 it is stated that, in reply to a report, the *ḡayan* sent one message to *Toñuquq* and another secretly to the *apa: tarḡan*. The office therefore seems to have been more titular and honorary than actually executive. The executive commander was probably called *čavuš*, see note 17(e).

(c) *Čiqan* meant “cousin” in the restricted sense of “the son of one’s mother’s sister” (*ibnu’l-ḡāla*, *Kaš.* I 402).

(d) *Bärmiš* and the two finite verbs in 1.2 are all in the Reported Perfect, “is said to have given”, not “gave”, indicating that the facts were not within the personal knowledge of the author of the inscription, cf. 1.28.

Line 2 (a) The first letter of the second word is damaged, but the old squeeze shows clearly that it was *b*² not *y*². The word has hitherto been transcribed *yügtürmiš*, but neither that verb, nor a basic verb *yüg-*, occur in any other text. It must, however, have been *bögtürmiš* (or *bügtürmiš*). This verb too is unknown elsewhere, but the basic verb *bög-* (or *büg-* ?) is listed in *Kaš.* II 19 and translated “to collect, or assemble (*ḡama’a*) an army”. A translation like “he is said to have given orders that (the army) should assemble” seems to be indicated.

(b) *išvara:* is no doubt a title and probably a loan word from Sanskrit *iśvara* “lord”. It occurs as a title in *KT* E 33, and, spelt *š v r a:*, in *Ongin* and the *balba*₁

⁶ Op. cit., p. 64.

⁷ E. Tryjarski, *O stanie zachowania zabytków starotureckich w Mongolii i potrzebie ich ochrony (Sprawozdanie z podróży do Mongolii)*, in: “Sprawozdania z prac naukowych Wydziału Nauk Społecznych”, V, 1962, 5(27), pp. 128, 135—6 and Fig. 22. The same, *The Present State of Preservation of Old Turkic Relics in Mongolia and the Need for their Conservation*, UAJb, Vol. 38, 1966, pp. 160, 165—6. Some parts of the photograph of the W side of the stele are reproduced in: E. Tryjarski, *Turks in Distant Asia*, “The Illustrated London News”, July 6, 1968, p. 36, photograph 5; reprinted in “Sciences et avenir”, 262, Dec. 1968, p. 1025.

associated with it. The unusual plural form *išvaras* (cf. Sanskrit plural *išvarās*) occurs as a noun, in association with *tarχat*, an equally unusual plural form of *tarχan*, in *Šu.* S. 2.

(c) Between *bolmiš* “is said to have become” (*sic*, not “been” in this period) and *Tonyuquq*, which is quite clear and probably the end of the line about 14 letters, say 4 or 5 words, are missing; the first is probably *inča*: “thus”; S a m o i l o v i c h read *Küli: Čor* immediately before *Tonyuquq*, but this is no longer clearly visible.

Line 3 (a) Before *χayan* S a m o i l o v i c h read *Eltäriš*; this is certainly wrong; it does not agree with the traces on the stone and is chronologically unacceptable. Of the four letters before *χayan* the old squeeze shows that the first was already lost. The second is the top half of *p* and the third and fourth *γn*¹. The word was therefore *Qapyan* the name to be expected (see Section VI)

(b) *Bäñi*: “happiness” is quite clear on the new squeeze; earlier readings of this passage were incorrect.

(c) *Körti*: “saw”, i.e. “enjoyed” is in the categorical perfect indicating that this fact was within the personal knowledge of the author, cf. note I(d). This suggests that the last visible word, which was probably the last word in the line, was *bol[tī:]*.

(d) *Yoq bol-* “to cease to exist” was a more dignified phrase for “to die” than *öl-*, but less dignified than *uč-* or *uča:* *bar-* literally “to fly away”, the word used for royal personages, see *KT* E 16 etc. It seems to have been used for normal death, as opposed to “to die in battle”, *kärgäk bul-*, literally “to meet one’s fate”, see 1.23.

Line 4 (a) *Özlük* translated in *Kaš.* III, 148 “a blood mare” (*al-muqraba*), also “anything which a man reserves for himself”, is the standard word in *KT*, *BX* and this inscription for “a charger ridden in battle”. The sentence, of which the beginning is lost, must refer to a battle, and as the previous line records the death of the “elder (*uluγ*) *Küli: Čor*”, the owner of the charger (*özlüki*: “his charger”) must be a second *Küli: Čor*, here called “*Küli: Čor (II)*”, see Section VI.

(b) *Kädim* “clothing” is the subject of a short sentence of which the rest is lost. The next one begins with *alpī:*; the verb in it was read by S a m o i l o v i c h *kükdi:* (?) and left untranslated by him and M a l o v; it is, however, clearly *tükädi:*. *Tükä-* is described in *Kaš.* III 270 as a verb with two opposite meanings, *iš түkädi:* meaning “the work was completed” (*tamma*), and *bu: a:š qamuyqa: түkädi:* “this food was distributed to everyone (and was not finished)”. In the *İrq Bitig*, para. 3, *tükä:-* means, of a young bird, “to be fully fledged”. The sentence here must mean “his toughness and manly qualities reached perfection”.

Line 5 (a) *Yayī(t)tuqda:* is a crasis of *yayīδtuqda:*. *Yayī:δ-* “to become hostile” is a denominal verb in *-δ-* from *yayī:* “enemy”. Previous editions have erroneously given the verb as *yayī:-*; the gerunds *yayī:δip* and *yayī:δ[u:]* occur in *Šu.* E 10 and S 2.

(b) The missing word before *Čor* was *Küli:* and those between it and *sančip* no doubt [(PU) *u p l y u tegi*]p, see note 10 (c).

(c) *Kaš.* III 420 translates *sanč-* (1) “to stab” (*waǰa’a*), e.g. with a knife, and (2) “to rout” (an enemy). The latter is the usual meaning in this inscription, but the former occurs in l. 15.

(d) There is a clear semantic difference between the common word *kiši*: “a person, individual; a number of individuals” and the much rarer word *kisi*: “wife; women-folk”, but the two words are indistinguishable in the *Türkü* and *Uyğur* scripts. They are, however, distinguishable in *Xāqānī*; *Kaš.* I 329 *kis* “wife” (*al-zawǰa*); hence one says *anīñ kissi*: (*sic*) “his wife”; and some of them use the word with the *idāfa* (i.e. spelt *kisi*:) and say *ol kisi: aldī*: “he took a wife”. It is safe to assume that in association with *oyli:n* “his children” the word, which alternates with (PU) *yotuzi:n* “his wife”, is *kisi:si:n*, not *kiši:si:n*.

(e) The last surviving word should be restored as *bulna[δip]* “taking into captivity”, cf. l. 22.

Line 6 (a) The first word can safely be restored as *bolup*.

(b) There is always a possibility of confusion between the tribal name *Az* and the adjective *a:z* “few”, but the word here must be *Az*.

(c) *Kärü*: (properly *kerü*:), an adverb meaning literally “backwards”, normally in the inscriptions means “westwards”, in antithesis to *öñrä*:, literally “forwards”, normally “eastwards”, the cardinal points being fixed by facing the rising sun. In *Uyğur*, perhaps under Chinese influence, the cardinal points are usually fixed by facing the mid-day sun.

Line 7 (a) The first word should probably be restored as *xa]yan*; *aña*: is clear; after that probably *älin*, then a long gap.

(b) *Bilgä:si:n* is quite clear but is unexpected instead of *biligi:n*; *alp* means both “tough, brave” and “toughness, bravery”, but *bilgä* properly means only “wise; Counsellor”, not “wisdom”.

(c) The two words after *ärdämi:n* are certainly *üčü:n qazıantı*, the next word might be *qatıylantı*: “strove”, but this is a mere guess.

(d) *Qazıyan-* (also in ll. 16 and 25) is properly a transitive verb meaning “to gain (something)” (*Kaš.* II 249 *kasaba*), but it is also used, as here, intransitively, meaning “to succeed, prosper”.

Line 8 (a) *išvara*: no doubt begins a new sentence, the preceding word should therefore be a finite verb. The only clear letter is *l*², which suggests that it might have been *kälti*:. *Käl-* “to come”, has two specialized meanings in the inscriptions: (1) “to come (in and submit to a victor)”; (2) “to come (on and attack an enemy)”. If correctly read here it probably had the first meaning.

(b) There are traces of two letters before *ävmädüki*:, possible *d]üki*:; *ävmädüki* (properly *evmädüki*:) *yoq* “without hurrying” is unlikely to be the end of a sentence.

Line 9 (a) The status of this line, which seems to be a part of a panegyric of *Küli:Čor* (II) inserted in the middle of his biography, is obscure.

(b) In early Turkish *ét-* had a much more precise meaning, “to arrange, put in order” (*Kaš.* I 171, *aşlaḥa*), than it has in modern languages.

(c) (PU) *ärmäli*: has not been noted anywhere except here and in 1.21, where it is qualified by *yägrän*, an adjective used specifically for the colour of a horse's coat, "chestnut"; it probably means "a swift horse" or the like. It looks like a loan word and may be cognate to Tokharian B *rāmer/rmer* "swift".

Line 10 (a) (PU) *Käčän* (or *Käčīn* ?) is presumably a place name not noted elsewhere.

(b) *Tümän sü* "an army of 10.000" is fairly clear on the squeeze and makes good sense, cf. *bäš түмән сү*: BX E 35; *tümät* which has been read hitherto does not seem to exist.

(c) (PU) *u p l y u täg-* is a stock phrase which occurs several times in this inscription and *KT*, and clearly means "to attack" in some kind of way. The only other trace of such a word is in Osmanli, where there are two verbs derived from exclamations, *ofla-* "to exclaim *of* in pain" and *ufla-* "to exclaim *uf* in impatience"; *f* is not a Turkish sound except in exclamations like this. The runic letter *p* represents *f* in two foreign names in *KT* E 4, BX E 5 *Afar Forom* "Avars and Rome (Byzantium)", the latter an Iranian corruption of *Roma*. A transcription *uflayu*: "impatiently" is therefore possible, if not very probable.

Line 11 (a) The *b*² of *Bäšbalīq* is clear in the old squeeze, and this reading is no doubt correct.

(b) *Bulya:-* is translated "to stir", water, soup etc. in *Kaš*. III 289 (*kaddara*, *harraka*). In Buddhist Uygur texts it is used metaphorically for "to disturb or confuse" men's minds. It seems here to mean "to disrupt" (the enemy's ranks).

Line 12 (a) [*Tav*]*yačqa*: S a m o i l o v i c h's restoration of the first word is obviously correct.

(b) *Kü:*, translated in *Kaš*. III 212 "fame (*al-šit*) among the people" is common in the early period, but not noted later than the 11th century.

Line 13 (a) This seem to be part of an account of a tribal migration; there are sufficient traces of *kisi:si:n* (see note 5 (d)) after *oyli:n* to make that restoration certain; the next two words can probably be restored as *uđīxt[uqī: qo]ntuqī:*; the whole would then read "leading the women and children, settling down and organizing (them) and occupying territory".

(b) *Uđīz-* "to lead" is an unusual causative form of *uđ-* "to follow", which also occurs in *Toñ*. 5 and 15 and in several Uygur texts, but not later.

(c) The last word must be *alduqī:* but the letter representing *l* is unusual with an extra stroke, either a mistake by the mason or a flaw in the stone, which makes it look like *r*; *arduqī:* would however make no sense here.

Line 14 (a) The first two letters *gä:* are clear and this justifies the restoration [*išvara: bil*]*gä:*

(b) The last three words should be read *etä: ayu: olurti:*. *Ay-* meant originally "to speak" (not "to say" which was *te:-*), but was also used transitively, followed by an accusative, for "to order, prescribe", cf. *Toñ*. 32 *qīynīy köñlüñcä: ay, ben saña: nā: ayayī:n* "prescribe punishments as you think fit, what orders should I give you?"

There does not seem to be any other example of *ay-* following a gerund, but the words seem to mean “giving orders for the organization (of the Tarduš people)”.

(c) *Olur-* is the stock word for “to take the throne” of a *χayan*; of a subject, as here, it must mean “to take office” (as *küli: čor* of the Tarduš).

Line 15 (a) The two words preceding *özlüki:* are not intelligible, they may be a description of the charger.

(b) After *binip* the missing words are probably *u [p l y u tägi]p*.

(c) After *sančdi:* t^2 is certain, *ü* probable and r^2 possible; a possible resoration is *Tü[rgäš bodun e]tdükdä:* but this makes the perhaps unjustified assumption that the sentence relates to the war with the Türgäš (Western Türkü), see Section VI.

Line 16 (a) The first letter *-i:* or *-i:*, is no doubt the end of a finite verb and a sentence.

(b) The words *yincü: ögüzüg kăčip* are very much damaged but the context makes the reading certain, cf. *KT* S 3 and E 39.

(c) It is not certain what should be restored after *tägi:* probably *sü[lädükd]ä:*.

(d) In lines 15 to 17 the subject of the finite verbs is *Küli: Čor*, but l. 17 ends “*Küli: Čor* was his Counsellor etc.”; at some point therefore the *χayan* must have been mentioned; the most probable place is in the gap after *Tata[bī:]* as the subject of *]dükdä:... süñüşdükdä:*.

(e) *Kăč-* is specifically “to cross (a river)”, as opposed to *aš-* “to cross (a mountain)”.

(f) *Tämir Qapıy* was the Buzgala defile, half way along the road from Samarkand to Balkh, and is mentioned several times in *KT*, *BX* and *Toñ.* as the furthest point which the Türkü reached in the south west.

(g) *Täzik* also occurs in *Toñ.* 45. It should no doubt properly be transcribed *Täžik*, the spelling in *Kaš.* I 387; both sounds would be represented by the same letter in the runic alphabet. It appears in the Chinese records as *Ta-shih*, Middle Chinese (Prof. P u l l e y b l a n k) *Ta-žjək*. It has been customary to translate it as “Arabs” or “Moslems”, but there does not seem to be good reason for this. It is the modern name *Tajik* and is translated *al-farsī* “Persian” in *Kaš.* I 387.

Line 17 (a) The first complete word is damaged, probably *tükädi:* (see note 4 (b)), but *tüşdi:* is possible.

(b) See note 16 (d). *Tata[bī:]* can safely be restored here; *Qitañ Tatabi:* occurs several times in *KT* and *BX*. After this there is a gap of about 9 to 10 letters before *dükdä:*; a possible restoration would be *[tapa: χayan sülä-]* which is perhaps a little too short or *[tapa: Bilge: χayan sülä]* perhaps a little too long.

(c) *Ančaq*, a crasis of *anča: oq*, meaning “thus, similarly” and the like, is a better reading than S a m o i l o v i c h’s *antaq*, a word which does not exist, although *antay*, a crasis of *an-* and *täg* is common enough.

(d) The phrase *bilgä:si: čavušī:* also occurs in *Toñ.* 7. With the suffix *-si:* *bilgä:*, normally an adjective meaning “wise”, must be a noun, and it is clear that in this and other phrases like *bilgä: Toñuquq* it is the title of a high civil official “Counsellor” or the like.

(e) *Čavuš* is a high military title, something like "Field Marshal". In *Kaš* I 368 it is translated "the man who marshals the ranks in battle and restrains the army from outrageous behaviour". See note 1 (b).

This sentence has every appearance of being the end of the biography of Küli Čor (II). It is almost incredible that the inscription after reciting the high posts which he reached in the wars against the Qitañ and Tatabi: should revert to trivial childish exploits.

Line 18 (a) This line has been largely misread and mistranslated. *Ygr* is quite clear and must be the name of some kind of animal which a boy of seven could have killed. The only such word which even remotely resembles it seem to be *yüär* (*sic*) "a young she-goat between one and two years of age", an Azerbaijani dialect word listed in A. M. Shcherbak's *Названия домашних и диких животных в Историческое развитие лексики тюркских языков*, Moscow 1961.

(b) The next sentence is severely damaged, but by comparing the old and new squeezes enough of each letter can be seen to make the reading certain. A "pig with tusks" is of course a wild boar. There is a reference to a *toñuz* and his *aziy* in *İrq Bitig* para. 6.

Line 19 (a) (PU) *idil* (which seems likelier than *idin*) is presumably the name of *aqin* "his white (-horse)"; neither word seems to occur elsewhere.

(b) *At uplu*; the second word occurs in l. 23 but does not seem to be noted elsewhere. The meaning "his horse fell" or the like is fairly clear, but there is no obvious transcription. There is one outside possibility; *Kaš*. I 197 lists a word *uvul* "to be crushed" (*futta*); this survives in some modern languages as *ufal*-, but the transcription *ufulu*: is open to the objection, see note 10 (c), that *f* is not a recognized Turkish sound.

(c) *Ün*- (this transcription is preferable to *ön*-) normally means (of the sun) "to rise", (of a plant) "to spring up" and the like, but is also used of animals and men for "to get up" (from the ground), clearly the meaning here.

(d) *Ayitip*, not *ayilip* the previous reading, is clearly legible on the squeeze. It is the causative form of *a:γ*- "to rise", and means "making (his horse) get up".

Line 20 (a) *Sür*- has several meanings; in *Kaš*. II 7 it is translated "to drive forward, hurry" (*sāqa*) a horse, and "to drive away" (*tarada*) a dog. *Sü*: *sürti*: presumably means "he hurried the army forward".

(b) *Içgintükin* seems fairly clear on the squeeze and is preferable to the earlier reading *käçgintükin*, which is quite inexplicable, but its morphology and its grammatical function are both obscure. There does not seem to be any other occurrence of *içgin*- but it could be explained etymologically as a reflexive form of *içik*-, which is fairly common in the inscriptions and is translated in *Kaš*. I 192 "to sue for peace (*istaslama*) and submit (*daxala*) to an opponent". The word might tentatively be translated "until they submitted".

(c) After *tapa*: a piece has flaked off the stone and 6 or 7 letters are lost; it is difficult to suggest what preceded *-γali*, but the general meaning is clear: "going towards the Qarluq to subdue them".

(d) The next passage is most obscure. The first problem is the subject and object of *kigürti*:. If the subject is *süsi*: “his army” it is in an unusual place in the sentence; it would be much easier to translate “he brought his army home again”, but that leaves the preceding words in the air; *azîn erig* can hardly mean “a few men”; *azîn* might be an instrumental used adverbially “little by little”, in which case *erig* “the men” could be the object of *kigürti*: and the sentence would mean “his army gradually brought the men home again”, but this is not very satisfactory.

(e) *Atlan-* is translated in *Kaş.* I 256 *rakiba* “to ride”; here perhaps “to ride away”.

(f) *Sön*, as such, does not seem to be noted elsewhere, but is presumably the instrumental, used adverbially, of **sö*:, which is the basis of the adjective *söki* “previous, former” which occurs in several Uyğur texts and in the *Qutaḍyu: Bilig* (verse 738 in A r a t ’ s edition, *söki teg* “as they were before”). *Sö*: also occurs in the phrase *södä*, or *södin*, *bärü* “for a long time past” in Manichean Türkü and Uyğur. *Anča: sön* therefore seems to mean “rather before that”.

Line 21 (a) The grammar of the sentence ending *urti*: is obscure; *arqasi:n siyu*: “breaking its back” is presumably a parenthesis, but the question still remains whether *Qarluq* is the subject of the sentence or an adjective qualifying *ärmälig* see note 9 (c). Perhaps the likeliest meaning is “? He] struck the Qarluq chestnut swift horse and broke its back”.

(b) *Tur* is certain, *up* damaged but probable; the next five or six letters are lost but probably contain the end of the sentence, perhaps *turu[p içikdi: or içginti:]* “halted and surrendered”.

(c) *Ältäbär* and *irkin* were both the titles of headmen of tribes; the first occurs only in the inscriptions, the second also in *Kaş.* and the *Qutaḍyu: Bilig*; both occur frequently in transcription in the Chinese records, which state that there were three Qarluq tribes but make no mention of a Qarluq *ḡayan*. The *ältäbär* mentioned here was presumably the head of one of the tribes. *Irkin* seems to have been a title of less importance.

(d) *Kälti*: see note 8 (a).

(e) (PU) *Šir* is quite clear in the squeeze, and seems to be identical with the central word in the phrase *Türkü* (PU) *šir (bodun)* which occurs several times in *Toñ*. There is no trace of a Turkish word *sir*, and if the initial is *š*- it must be a loan word. The likeliest explanation is that put forward by A a l t o in his edition of *Toñ*. that it is the Sogdian word *šyr* “good, beautiful”.

(f) *Yegän*, which occurs also in l. 26, is, like *čiqan* (note 1(c)), a term of relationship and means “the son of one’s younger sister, or daughter”, i.e. nephew or grandson. It survives in several modern languages. The *Yegän Čor* in this line, the son of the (PU) *Šir Irkin* was presumably the nephew or grandson of the *ältäbär*. The *Yegän Čor* in l. 26 who was the son of the *Tard[u:š Küli:]* (?) *Čor* was obviously a different person.

Line 22 (a) There is enough of the first word left to reconstruct *Qarluq* and the next word must be *sančyalä*:.

(b) *Bulnað* is fairly clear and the word must have ended in [-tī:], this is the obvious word to expect after *oyli:n kisi:si:n*, see note 5 (e). The next two words present a problem; *išvara:* presumably begins a new sentence, so they seem to belong to the previous sentence in spite of their position after the finite verb (on this see the remarks on punctuation in Section III). *Tγ* is quite clear and *taγ* is a likelier transcription than *atiγ*. The next word might be [üz]ä:; if so the phrase might mean “carried (them) into captivity over the mountains”.

Line 23 (a) The words preceding *ülügi:* are obscure, but the likeliest reading is *s]ükä: tusu: bola[yi:]n tedi:* “he said ‘may I become a benefit to the [army ?]’”. *Tusu:* is fairly common in Uyğur and in *Kaş.* III 224 is translated *al-manfa’a wa’l-sifā’* “benefit, remedy”.

(b) *Ülüg* is translated *al-naşīb* “fate, destiny” in *Kaş.* I 72 and is used in this sense in the Postscript to the *İrq Bitig*.

(c) *Ärinč* is translated *la’alla* “perhaps” in *Kaş.* I 132; it adds a little more uncertainty to the Reported Perfect *ärmiş* “was perhaps (or presumably)”.

(d) *Özi: qışya:* recalls the phrase *qışya: özlüg* “short -lived” which occurs in Uyğur and the *Qutaḍyu Bilig* (verse 1533); the meaning is presumably “after a short life; at an early age”. For *kärgäk bultī:* see note 3 (d).

Line 24 (a) The name of the *χayan* is lost beyond recall, but for chronological reasons (see Section VI) it was almost certainly *Bilgä*.

(b) In *Türkü tegin*, a title inherited certainly from the Juan-juan and probably ultimately from the Hsiung-nu meant specifically “prince”, the son of a *χayan*.

(c) *Ulayu:*, the gerund of *ula:-* “to join together” (*Kaş.* III 255 *waşala*), is used before nouns in the plural to mean “all” of the class mentioned, cf. *KT* S 1, *BX* N 1. The implication here is that all the four royal princes, the *χayan*’s younger brother and presumably his three sons, attended the funeral.

(d) *Yoylattī:* is the causative denominal verb from *yo:γ*, the word quoted by Menander Protector as *δόγνα* (from the earlier from **do:γ*) translated “the customary rites for the dead”. In *Kaş.* III 143 *yo:γ* is translated “the meal (*ta’ām*) given to a tribe (*qawm*) when they have returned from a funeral for three or seven days”. It seems, however, to be more comprehensive and to cover the whole business of preparing and decorating the tomb (*bäḍizi:n bädzät-*), the interment and the subsequent funeral feast.

Lines 25 to 28 (a) The sequence of these lines is obscure. Line 28 is complete and with the last two words of line 27 forms the author’s postscript. If the first word of line 27 can be restored as *[an]i:n* making *ani:n üčü:n* “therefore”, this line too is probably complete, and seems to follow naturally after line 26. There must have been something before *tegi:n* at the beginning of line 26, which as it is part of the description of the funeral might have been expected to follow line 24, but between the two is line 25, which is part of a panegyric on the deceased. In the absence of a considerable section of text at the beginning of line 25 and perhaps also line 26, the original purport of this part of the inscription is obscure.

Line 26 The third word can be confidentially restored as *T[ar]d[u:š]* and *[Küli:]*

would neatly fill the gap before *Čoriŋ*; this can be regarded as probable but not certain.

Line 27 (a) *Quvu:rap* “assembling” seems to be the only occurrence of this verb as a trisyllable. *Qvra:-* occurs in Uyğur and survives in several modern languages as *qura-*.

(b) (PU) *Bäntir* seems to be the same name as *Bendir* in the Miran document (Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları* II 65, B(a) 4.)

(c) *Bänim*, hitherto misread, is obviously followed by the opening words of line 28 *bilmäz b(i)ligin*, “information not within my personal knowledge” and presumably refers to the first two lines of the inscription; the remainder was *b(i)ltükimin ödükimin* “what I (myself) knew and remembered”.

Line 28 *Biti:dim* seems to be the natural end of the inscription; the sentence is clearly parallel to the concluding sentences of *KT* and *BX* on the south-east corners of those monuments. Samoilovich read five scattered letters in a supposed line 29. There is no trace of them on the new squeeze, and they were probably only faults on the surface of the stone.

V. Transcribed text

- (W.) line 1 [x+11; ? *alpi:n ärdämi:n*] *üçü:n, apa:, [tarχan], čiqan Tonyuquq, a:tiγ bärmiš. [x]*
- line 2 [x+7] *tduqda:, (PU) bögtürmiš. İšvara: čiqan küli: čor, bolmiš. Inča: (?) [.....]*
Tonyuquq
- line 3 [x] *Qa[p]γa[n], χayan, älintä: qarip, ädgü: bāŋi:, körti:. Uluγ, Küli: Čor, säkiz on, yašap, yoq bol[tī:.]*
- line 4 [x+2] *i: Özlüki:, boz at, ärti:. Kädim b² [.....]. Alpī: ärdämi:, anta:, tükädi:. Türk, bodunqa:, o[x]*
- line 5 [x] (PU) *Sayır Čolu:γan, yayi:(t)tuqda:, [Küli:] Čor, [? u p l y u: tägi]p, sančip ölürüp oyli:n, kisi:si:n, bulna[dip; x]*
- line 6 [x] (PU) *bolup, Az älig, tutdī:. (PU) Az[.....] ärti:. Küli: Čor, Türk, bodun, b²[...]r² [x]*
- line 7 [x+4; ?*χa*] *γan, aŋa:, äli:n[.....] b(i)lgä:si:n üçü:n, alpi:n ärdämi:n [üçü]n, qaz[γ]antī:, qa. γ[x]*
- line 8 [x+9] *tür[.....]l² ... İšvara: Bilgä:, Küli: Čor, ?kiši: [..] üki:, (PU) ävmädüki: yoq*
- line 9 [x+30] *ärti:. Süñüş bolsar, čärig, étär ärti:. Av avlasar, (PU) ärmäli:, täg ärti:.*
- line 10 [x+29] *sančdī. (PU) Käčindä:, tümän sükä:, süñüşdi:. Küli: Čor, u p l y u: tägip, süsi:n*
- line 11 [x+7] *i(t)tī: [19] Bäsbalıqda:, tört sü[ñüş s]üñüşdükdä: Küli: Čor, u p l y u: tägip, bulγayu:*
- line 12 [x+19; *Tav*] *γačqa:, bunča:, süñüşüp, alpi:n, ärdämi:n, üçü:n, kü: bunča, tutdī:.*
- (E.) line 13 [x+40] *oyli:n, k[isi:si:]n, uđixt[uqī:, ?qo]ntuqī:, etdüki:, yär alduqī:*
- line 14 [x+26; ?*İšvara:*] *B(i)lgä: Küli: Čor, Tardu:š, bodunıγ, etä: ayu: olurti:.*

- line 15 *q t m*, .yiy, özlüki:n, binip, u[p l y u t äg i]p, üč ärig, sančdi:. Tü[rgäs bodun (?).
e]tdükda:, Küli: Čor, özlüki: yägrän at, binip
- line 16 [x+10]i:. Anta: käreü:, barip, Y(i)nču: ögüzig, kăcip, Tămir qapıyqa:, Tăzikkă:
tăgi: (PW) sü[.....]ä:, qazyanti:. Toq(q)uz Oyuzqa:, yăti: sünüş sünüşdükdä:
- line 17 [x+8]a:, (PU) tükădi:. Qitan, Tata[b i:, ? tapa:, xayan, sülă]dükdä:, băs sünüş,
šünüşdükdä:, Küli: Čor, anča, b(i)lgä:si, čavuş: ärti:. Alp i:, bökäsi: ärti:.
- line 18 [x+4] Küli: Čor, yăti: yaşı:ŋa:, (PU) yăgăr, ölürti:. Toq(q)uz yaşı:ŋa:, azyily, *tonuz*, ölürti:. Qarluq yay i:(t)tuqda: Tăzdä:, sünüşdükdä:
- line 19 [x+6] Küli: Čor, anta: kăsră: Qarluqqa:, yăm[ä:], sünüş[dük]dä:, (PU) idil
aqi:n, binip, u p l y u: tăgip, sanča: idip, at u p l u:, ünti:. Yana:, ayitip
- line 20 [x+4; ? s]ü: sürti:. Qarluqiy, (PU) içgintüki:n, sančdi:. Qarluq, tapa:, [.....]
yal i:. barip, (PU) azin (PU) ärig, yana:, ävi:ŋä: süsi:., kigu:rti:. Qarluq, atlanti:.
Anča: sön
- line 21 [x; Q]arluq, yăgrän, (PU) ärmälig, arqa:si:n, siyu:, urti:. Qarluq, ani:n, turu
[p ? içginti:] Ältăbăr, özi: kălti: (PU) Šir, Irkin, oyl i:, Yegän Čor, kălti:.
- line 22 [x+10] Qarluqiy, sa[nč]yal i: sülădi:. Sünüşüp, süsi:n, sančdi:. Äli:n, alti.
Oyli:n, kisi:si:n, bulnađti, (PU) tay(PU) üzä:. İšvara:, B(i)lgä: Küli: Čor,
- line 23 [x+17; ? s]ükä: tusu: bola[y]i:n tedi:. Ülügi:, anča:, ärmiş ärinč. Yay i:qa:, *yalnu:s*,
u p l y u: tăgip u p l u: kirip, özi:, qisya:, kărgäk bult i:.
- line 24 [x+16] xayan, inisi:, Äl Čor, tegin, kălip, ulayu:, tört tegin, kălip, İšvara:
B(i)lgä, Küli: Čoriy, yoylat(t)i:.. Bădizi:n, bedzet(t)i:.. Olurt(t)i:.
- line 25 [x+40]i:n, bu: [.....]m, qazyanti:. Artuq, yilq i:γ, igi(t)ti:.
- (S.) line 26 [x] tegin, kălti:. (PU) Ta[r]d[u:š, ?Küli:] Čoriŋ, oyl i:, Yegän Čor, kălti:.
- line 27 [?x; an]i:n, üçü:n, bunča:, bodun, quvu:rap, yoylad i:. (PU) Băntir, bänim
- line 28 bilmăz, b(i)ligin, b(i)ltükimin, ödükimin, bunča:, b(i)tig, bit i:dim.
- Horizontal line [Kü]li: Čor bit i:[g] bi[ti]dim.

VI. The contents of the text and the historical background

As so much of the text is lost, it might seem at first sight that there is very little to be made of it, but by piecing little bits of evidence together it can be got to yield a good deal of history.

It has hitherto been assumed, at least tacitly, that the whole inscription relates to a single individual whose personal name was Küli: Čor, but careful analysis shows that *Küli: Čor* is a title, not a personal name, and that the inscription refers certainly to two, and almost certainly to three, individuals who held that title. They can conveniently be distinguished as *Küli: Čor* I, II and III.

The text falls into five sections:

(1) a brief account of the life and death of the elder (*uhuy*) Küli: Čor I (lines 1 to 3).

(2) a fairly long account of the life of Küli: Čor II, ending with the statement that he held the high offices of *bilgä:* and *čavuş* in the war against the Qitañ and Tatabi: (lines 4 to 17).

(3) a section which begins with an account of the childhood exploits of a Küli: Čor, who can hardly be the same as the individual whose life is described in the previous section, mentions his exploits in wars which were contemporary with those mentioned in section (2), and ends with an account of his death at an early age (lines 18 to 23).

(4) an account of his funeral (lines 24 to 27).

(5) the author's postscript (end line 27 and 28).

Of the four other Türkü inscriptions three, *KT*, *BK* and *Ongin*, all begin with an account of the ancestors of the persons commemorated, *Toñ.* alone is the autobiography of Toñuquq himself and makes no mention of his ancestors. It seems at first sight odd that an inscription commemorating Küli: Čor III should devote so little space to his life, and so much to that of Küli: Čor II who was presumably his father and still alive when the memorial was erected, since there is hardly room in it for an account of his death. The explanation perhaps is that Küli: Čor III had a rather short life, and there was not much to say about it, while Küli: Čor II had had a much longer and more distinguished life.

The title *küli: čor* is made up of two separable words. *Küli:* or *kül* (both forms occur, the original pronunciation was perhaps *küli* with a short *-i*) occurs before a number of other titles, *tegin*, *irkin*, *totok*, *čigši:* and *bilgä:*, but apparently nowhere else. Of these *totok* and *čigši:* are Chinese loan words and *tegin* was inherited from the Juan-juan, and perhaps ultimately from the Hsiung-nu. It is itself perhaps a loan word, and the uncertainty about the pronunciation may point in this direction. It may perhaps have meant something like "senior". It occurs in the Chinese records in the transcription *k'ü-li*, Middle Chinese (Prof. P u l l e y b l a n k) *k'iuət-lyi* in North West China probably *k'iuər-lyi*. This suggests that it was *küli:/kül*, not *köli:/köl*. *Kaš.*'s explanation (I 108,8) that *kül irkin*, a title borne by Qarluq notables, meant "one whose intellect is concentrated (from *irk-* "to collect") like a deep pool (*kö:l*)" is obviously preposterous.

Čor is a title which is fairly rare in Turkish, occurring only in the inscriptions and one or two paper documents, but fairly common in the Chinese records, where it is transcribed *ch'o*. Unlike the *ältäbär* and *irkin* (see note 21 (c)) who were the headmen of tribes, either by heredity or by election by the tribesmen themselves, the *čor* seems usually to have been an administrative official appointed by the *ḡayan* to take charge of a tribe or tribal confederation, but it may also have been hereditary. It was certainly sometimes, but not always, held by a member of the royal family. According to the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (Liu, p. 158) *Eltäriš* (Qutluḡ) *ḡayan* was a hereditary *toḡun čor* before he became *ḡayan*. His younger brother, who succeeded him as *ḡayan*, is called in the Chinese records *Mo-ch'o* (that is *Bögö: Čor*). As this Chinese phrase is transcribed in a Tibetan document as *hBug-čor*, the transcription *čor* is to be preferred to *čur*.

The title *küli: čor* is mentioned fairly frequently in the Chinese records, both in the lists of high officials of both the Eastern and Western Türkü and as the title of individuals. In a much damaged passage in *BX*, S. 13ff. it seems to be stated that

when Bilgä: Xayan was enthroned (in A. D. 716) there were present, *inter alia*, the western, Tardu:š, *begs* led by a *Kül Čor* and the eastern, Töliš, *begs* led by an *apa: tarḡan*. Although it cannot be proved, it is very probable, particularly having regard to the reference to the Tardu:š in line 14 of this inscription, that this individual was Küli: Čor II. It is also probable, if the restoration *Ta[r]d[u:š Küli:] Čorin oyli: Yegän Čor* in line 26 is correct that he is mentioned there also. It will be noted that in this case both father and son had the title *čor*.

We have a good many accounts of events in the Eastern Türkü ḡayanate during the first half of the eight Century, the period within which this inscription must fall. On the Turkish side we have accounts of events in the lives of Kül Tegin and Bilgä: Xayan, many of them dated by years in the life of one or the other, and these by reference to the Chinese records can be converted into Chinese and so into calendar years, although these years do not all begin simultaneously on the 1st of January. There are no dates in *Toñ.*, but the sequence of events is the same and all these sources are therefore complementary. We also have a variety of Chinese records translated in *Chavannes* and *Liu*; there are minor discrepancies between some of them but broadly speaking they are complementary to the Turkish sources. Thus putting all the evidence together we have a fairly clear idea of the sequence of dated events which provide the framework into which most of the events mentioned in this text can be fitted.

Very little is now left of the brief biography of Küli: Čor I (lines 1 to 3). His personal name was *Toñuquq* (spelt *Tonyuquq*), but it is certain that he was not the famous *Toñuquq* for at least three reasons:

(1) The famous *Toñuquq*'s title was *Boyla: Baya: Tarḡan* (*Toñ.* 1.6; *BX S* 14) quite different from the titles in this inscription;

(2) he did not die before A.D. 725, while if *Qapḡan* is correctly restored in line 3, Küli: Čor I probably died during his reign, that is not later than A.D. 716.

(3) he nowhere mentions that he was a cousin of the ḡayan, which he surely would have done if he had been.

If, as is almost certain, *tarḡan* is correctly restored after *apa:* in line 1, the subject of *bärmiš* must have been a ḡayan, since no-one else could have given Küli: Čor I the title of "Commander-in-Chief Cousin *Toñuquq*". As he died almost certainly not later than A.D. 716 he must have been born not later than the middle of the second quarter of the 7th Century and as his mother and her sister, the mother of the ḡayan were probably about the same age, the ḡayan who gave him the title must have been born at about the same time, perhaps with a difference of a few years, and that ḡayan must have been *Eltäriš* (*Qutluḡ*) ḡayan, who according to the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (*Liu*, p. 158) revolted and proclaimed himself ḡayan in A.D. 682 and died a natural death in or about A.D. 693 (see *Liu*, note 847, disregarding the last sentence which is based on the assumption, long since disproved, that *Ongin* was a memorial to him). In view of their close relationship it is not surprising that he gave Küli: Čor high offices.

Toñuquq must have been an aristocratic name; the other *Toñuquq* too was related

by marriage to the royal family, one of his daughters being married to Bilgä: Xayan (*Liu*, p. 171). The traditional spelling of the name is retained here, but S. G. Klyash-torniy in a closely argued article *Тонюкук — Ашиде Юаньчень* in “Тюркологический сборник”, Moscow 1966 makes a fairly convincing case for the spelling *Tunyokuq*.

The only coherent sentence in line 2 is “he became (that is was promoted to) Lord Cousin Küli: Čor”. In the Chinese lists of Turkish titles the Küli: Čor is habitually shown as senior to the Apa: Tarxan.

To sum up, Küli Čor I was born near the middle of the seventh Century, was given high office by Eltäriš, that is not later than A.D. 693, and died not later than A.D. 716, but in view of the categorical perfects in line 3 within the lifetime of the author of the inscription.

If, as seems reasonable, we assume that Küli: Čor II was the son of Küli: Čor I he was probably born in the second half of the seventh Century. We cannot date the earliest events recorded in his biography. Line 4 may record the first battle in which he took part, against an enemy whose name is lost, and the concluding words in it seem to state that it was in this battle that he made his name. Line 5 describes another successful battle against the (PU) *Sayir Čulu:yan*, a name of which there is no other trace. Line 5 also mentions the first event for which a date may be hazarded, the capture of the Az realm. The Az were a small tribe who lived somewhere near the western end of the Tannu Ola range, either just to the south of it or just north of it in what is now western Tuva. The Čik tribe occupied most of Tuva to the east of them. According to *BX E 26* the Čik and Qırqız became hostile to the Türkü in A.D. 709—710, while Qapγan was still on the throne. His nephew, who later became Bilgä: Xayan, thereupon attacked and defeated the Čik and captured the Az (these words are damaged but the sense is certain). This campaign is not mentioned in *KT*; at this time Kül Tegin seems to have been fighting the Bayırqu: (*KT E 34*). But in the following year, A.D. 710-11, both brothers and Toñuquq were engaged in the campaign against the Qırqız (*KT E 35—6*; *BX E 26—7*; *Toñ. 23—8*). It was at the beginning of this campaign that Toñuquq procured an Az guide to lead him over the Tannu Ola range. There was another campaign against the Az in A.D. 715—16 (*KT N 2*), but that is obviously not the one referred to here; the capture of the Az realm referred to in line 6 can be firmly dated to A.D. 709—10.

The rest of line 6 and lines 7 and 8 are too fragmentary to yield any historical date and line 9 is part of a panegyric on Küli: Čor II.

Line 10 refers to a campaign, but the site of the battle, Kăčän, or Kăčin, is unfortunately unknown.

Line 11, however, refers to events which can be closely dated. Bešbaliq, now Fu-yüan-hsien, about 100 miles east by north from Urumtsi in north eastern Sinkiang was called by the Chinese P’ei-ting and was one of the garrison towns with which they maintained a rather precarious hold on Sinkiang (*Liu*, note 945). At this time it was in the Basmil area (*Liu*, p. 173). We have both Turkish and Chinese accounts of a campaign in this area in A.D. 714. They agree that the Türkü attacked,

but failed to capture, the town. *BX* E 28 says "in my 30th year (A.D. 714) I made an expedition towards Bešbalıq and fought seven battles, [gap] I killed his whole army [gap] came and submitted. Bešbalıq therefore escaped (capture)". The *Chiu T'ang Shu* (*Liu*, p. 169) says that in A.D. 714 Mo-ch'o (Qapγan Xayan) sent his sons Inäl Xayan and Toγa: Tegin and his brother-in-law Huo-pa ältäbär Shih-a-shih-pi to besiege P'ei-ting, but the siege failed, and the Chinese garrison captured Toγa: Tegin in a sortie and beheaded him. This is indirectly confirmed by the statement in *KT* S 7, *BX* E 31 that in the following year ten men of a Toγra: clan were killed at Toγa: Tegin's funeral. The reference to "Chinese" in line 12 is no doubt to the Chinese garrison.

Lines 13 and 14 refer to a peaceful migration which ended in Küli: Čor II organizing and taking charge of the Tardu:š. This supports the suggestion made above that he was the Kül Čor who led the Tardu:š begs at Bilgä Xayan's enthronement in A.D. 716. If this is correct these lines must refer to events before that date. A great deal of confusion has been caused by the assumption that *Tardu:š* and *Töliš* were the names of specific tribes. They were in fact administrative terms for the western and eastern groups of tribes within any large tribal confederation (certainly both the Eastern and Western Türkü and the Uyyur, perhaps also others). In this passage the reference is no doubt to the Western group of the Eastern Türkü.

At this point we get into chronological difficulties. There is no reference in the historical records to any attack by the Türkü on Bešbalıq before A.D. 714, and there is no obvious earlier time at which such an attack could have taken place (The *Chiu T'ang Shu* (*Liu*, p. 174) says that it was captured by Toñuquq in A.D. 720, but that is irrelevant), but the events referred to in the following lines occurred before that date.

Line 15 refers to two battles (Küli: Čor's two charges are mentioned) which judging by the context are likely to have been part of the campaign against the Türgäš and Western Türkü in A.D. 711 (*KT* E 36—38; *BX* E 27—28; *Toñ.* 29—43; *Chiu T'ang Shu*, *Liu*, p. 169). The raid to the Iron Gate referred to in line 16 is not mentioned in the Chinese records, no doubt because it did not concern them, and is mentioned only in general terms in *BX*, but in *KT* E 39 and *Toñ.* 44—5 it is said to have occurred immediately after the subjugation of the Türgäš, that is presumably in A.D. 711 or 712.

The Eastern Türkü were almost constantly at war with the Toq(q)uz Oγuz, but the reference in l. 16 must be to the particularly active hostilities apparently in A.D. 715. These were later than the war with the Qarluq and, according to *KT* N 2—3 immediately followed the second subjugation of the Az and the subjugation of the Izgil. According to *KT* N 4 there were five battles against the Oγuz in one year and these are enumerated one by one; according to *BX* E 29 there were four battles; part of the text is damaged but some of the places mentioned are different and the two brothers may have been in charge of different armies; the seven battles mentioned in l. 16 may have been spread over both the armies.

The Qitañ and Tatabi, who lived in the eastern extremity of the steppes and are

the only tribes mentioned in the inscriptions who are known to have been Mongols and not Turks, are mentioned several times in *KT* and *BX*, either as being hostile or as sending delegations to royal funerals, but the only references to hostilities against them are in a much damaged passage, *BX* S 2, which mentions a campaign against the Qïtañ in the winter of A.D. 721—2, and one against the Tatabi: in the summer of the same (or the next ?) year. There is no direct reference to these campaigns in the Chinese records, but there is a story in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (*Liu*, p. 713) that in A.D. 720 the Chinese tried to organize a converging attack by the Basmil, Tatabi (Chinese *Hi*) and Qïtañ, but that the Basmil attacked prematurely and were routed and Bešbaliq captured (see above). The story goes on that after this the Türkü turned east and raided Liang-chou in Kansu. The campaigns against the Qïtañ and Tatabi: mentioned in line 17 no doubt followed this raid. It will be noticed that by this time Küli: Čor had risen to the high offices which the great Toñuquq held.

To sum up, Küli: Čor II must have been born in the second half of the seventh Century and so might well have been the son of Küli: Čor I. We cannot precisely date the beginning of his career, but he was involved in the campaign against the Az in A.D. 710, probably in the campaign against the Türgäš in A.D. 711, the raid to the Iron Gate in A.D. 711 or 712, the campaign against Bešbaliq in A.D. 714; the battles with the Oyuz in A.D. 715 and the campaigns against the Qïtañ and Tatabi: in A.D. 721 and perhaps 722 or 723. There is no mention of his death so he was presumably alive when the monument was erected.

If we accept, as seems inevitable, that lines 18 to 23 are a biography of Küli: Čor III, we can safely infer that he was born a little before A.D. 700 and so could have been a son of Küli: Čor II. It is however perhaps odd that if Ta[r]d[u:š Küli:] Čor is correctly restored in line 26 and identified with Küli: Čor II the latter's son Yegän Čor is not identified as the brother of the deceased.

Apart from his childhood's exploits as a hunter, the first mention of his activities is in a battle with the Qarluq at (PU) Tüz. The only modern name which looks at all like this is Tess, the name of the river which rises, like the Selenga, in the Hanghai mountains, but flows in the opposite direction west north west into the Ubsa Nor. There is one difficulty about this identification. In the seventh Century the Qarluq were subjects of the Western Türkü (*Chiu T'ang Shu* (*Chavannes*, p. 33, note 4)) that is they were situated north of P'ei-ting (see above) and west of the Altay mountains. There is also a statement in the same authority (*Liu*, p. 221) that after their defeat by the Eastern Türkü they submitted to the Chinese and were settled in the Altay mountains. On the other hand the reference to the Qarluq war in *KT* might be taken to suggest that when they became hostile they moved eastwards to attack the Eastern Türkü. It reads as follows: (N 1—2) "In Kül Tegin's 27th year (A.D. 711—12) the Qarluq rebelled (or "got on the move" ?, *ärü:r baru:r ärkäli:*) and became hostile. We fought at (PU) *Tamay iđuq baš*. At the time of that battle Kül Tegin was thirty years old (A.D. 714—15). Riding his horse Alp Salči: he attacked impatiently (?) and transfixed two men in succession. We killed and captured the Qarluq". There is a similar but shorter passage in *BX* E 28—9. It is also perhaps significant that the

next sentence in *KT* W 2 is, "The Az remained hostile", since their country lay very close to the Tess.

The Qarluq war, which lasted for three years, is mentioned very briefly in *KT* and *BX*, perhaps because the two brothers took part only in the final battle. The present inscription gives a much fuller account of it:

- (a) the battle at Tüz (line 18);
- (b) another (*yämä:*) battle in which Küli: Čor was unhorsed and remounted (line 19);
- (c) another victorious battle (line 20);
- (d) a further attack on the Qarluq and a return home (line 20);
- (e) the Qarluq rode away (line 20);
- (f) another battle (line 21);
- (g) the Qarluq gave in (?) and the *ältäbär* and others came in to submit (line 21);
- (h) another campaign against the Qarluq (line 22);
- (i) their defeat and capture.

This elaborate description suggests that Küli: Čor III was left more or less in charge of the campaign until the final battle, while the *ḡayan*, the princes, Toñuquq and Küli: Čor II were engaged in the war with the Türgäš, the raid to the west and other military operations.

Küli: Čor III's last battle and death are described in line 23. There is nothing to show when and where this occurred, but if it is accepted that the war against the Qitañ and Tatabi: described in line 17 was that of A.D. 721 to 722 or 723 it was probably after that date or, allowing for the usual time lag of up to a year between death and burial, a little before it. The fact that the funeral was organized by the royal princes seems to make it certain that Küli: Čor III was related by marriage to the royal family; they would hardly have gone to this trouble to honour a fairly young man unless he was a relative.

Taking these facts into account we can say with reasonable confidence that the monument was erected not before, say, A.D. 722 but not much later. It is therefore a few years older than *KT* and *BX*. As Toñuquq was still alive in A.D. 725 the actual monument must be older than *Toñ.*, but there are reasons for believing that Toñuquq composed the text of it sometime earlier. The latest reference in it is a statement that Bilgä Xayan was on the throne, but there are no references to any events during his reign. *Ongin* is probably to be dated to between *KT* and *BX*.

VII. Translation

Note. Conjectural reconstructions of the text are shown in *italics*. The existence, but not the length, of gaps in the text is shown by dots.

Chapter I

1 ... Because of *his toughness and manly qualities* *Eltäriš Xayan* is said to have given him the title "*Commander-in-Chief* Cousin Toñuquq". 2 ... he is said to have ordered *the army* to assemble (?). He is said to have become Lord Cousin Küli: Čor.

Thus ... Toñuquq. 3 ... He grew old in the realm of *Qapγan* Xayan and enjoyed good happiness. The elder Küli: Čor died at the age of eighty.

Chapter II

4 ... His charger was a grey horse. (His) clothing ... His toughness and manly qualities reached perfection there. ... the Türkü people ... 5 ... When the (PU) Sayır Čolu:γan became hostile, Küli: Čor, *attacking impatiently* (?), piercing, killing, taking their children and womenfolk into captivity ... 6 ... becoming ... he took the Az realm ... Az ... was ... Küli: Čor ... the Türkü people ... 7 ... xayan ... him his realm ... Because of his wisdom, his toughness and manly qualities he prospered. ... 8 ... Lord Counsellor Küli: Čor without hurrying 9 ... he was ... When there was a battle, he marshalled the troops. When he went hunting, he was like a swift horse (?). 10 ... he routed ... At (PU) Kāčin he fought an army of ten thousand men. Küli: Čor, *attacking impatiently* (?) sent ... his army ... 11 ... When he fought four battles at Bešbaliq, Küli: Čor, *attacking impatiently* (?) and disrupting *the enemy* 12 ... While fighting the Chinese he acquired so great a reputation because of his toughness and manly qualities. 13 ... leading the children and womenfolk, *settling* and organizing, taking territory 14 ... *Lord Counsellor* Küli: Čor gave orders for the organization of the Tardu:š and assumed control of them. 15 ... riding his charger ..., *attacking impatiently* (?), pierced three men. After organizing *the Türgäš people*, Küli: Čor riding his chestnut charger 16 ... By going westward from there, crossing the Pearl River (the Jaxartes) and campaigning as far as the Iron Gate and the Persians he prospered. While fighting seven battles against the Toq(q)uz Oγuz 17 ... came to perfection (?). When *Bilgä Xayan* campaigned against the Qitañ and Tatabi:, and fought five battles, Küli: Čor was his Counsellor and Field Marshal, his warrior and champion.

Chapter III

18 ... Küli: Čor at the age of seven killed a young wild female goat (?). At the age of nine he killed a wild boar. When the Qarluq became hostile and fought at Tāz 19 ... When Küli Čor after that again fought the Qarluq, riding his white charger Iḍil (?), *attacking impatiently* (?) thoroughly routing them, when his horse was brought down (?), he got up. Pulling (it) up again 20 ... he drove the army forward. He routed the Qarluq until they submitted (?). Going against the Qarluq in order to ... little by little (?) the army brought the men home again (?). The Qarluq rode away. A little earlier (?) 21 ... He (?) hit the Qarluq chesnut swift horse (?) breaking its back. The Qarluq therefore halted *and submitted*. The ältäbär himself came (to submit). Yegän Čor, son of the (PU) Šir Irkin came (to submit) 22 ... he campaigned to rout the Qarluq. He fought and routed their army. He took their realm, and took their children and womenfolk into captivity over the mountains (?). Lord Counsellor Küli: Čor 23 ... he said 'may I become a benefit to *the army*'. His destiny was apparently this. He entered (the battle) alone against the enemy and was brought down (?) and met his fate after a short life.

Chapter IV

24 ... the younger brother of *Bilgä Xayan*, Prince *Äl Čor* came, all the four princes came and organized the funeral of Lord Counsellor *Küli: Čor*. They had (the tomb chamber) decorated. They laid him (in it). 25 ... prospered. He reared more cattle. 26 ... Prince ... came. *Yegän Čor*, the son of the *Tardu:š Küli: Čor*, came. 27 *Therefore* so many people came together and attended the funeral.

Chapter V

I *Bäntir* 28 have written all this inscription (containing) information not known to me personally and things I know and remember.

Mason's Postscript

I have written *Küli: Čor*'s inscription.

VIII. Vocabulary

ayit- to pull up; 19. See note 19 (d)
al- to take; 13, 22
alp toughness; 1, 4, 7, 12; warrior 17
anča this, this one, such 23; a little 20
ančaq thus, similarly; 17. See note 17 (c)
anī:n, anī:n üčü:n therefore; 21, 27
anta: there; 4, 16, 19
aṇa: (to) him; 7
apa: [*tarṇan*] commander-in-chief; 1.
 See note 1 (a)
aq white (horse); 19
arqa: back; 21
artuq more; 25
at horse; 4, 15, 19
atlan- to ride, to ride away ? 20. See
 note 20 (e)
a:t title; 1
av hunting; 9
avla- to hunt; 9
ay- to order, prescribe; 14. See note
 14 (b)
aziylīy wild; 18
azīn (PU) little by little, gradually (?)
 20. See note 20 (d)
äḍgü good; 3
äl realm; 3, 6, 7, 22

ältäbär; 21. See note 21 (c)
är man; 15, 20
är- to be; 4, 6, 8, 9, 17, 23
ärdäm manly qualities; 1, 4, 7, 12
ärinč apparently; 23. See note 23 (c)
ärmäli: a swift horse (?); 9, 21
äv home; 20
ävmädüki yoq without hurrying; 8.
 See note 8 (b)
bar- to go; 16, 20
bäḍiz decoration; 24. See note 24 (d)
bäḍzet- to decorate; 24. See note 24 (d)
bānim I, myself; 27
bāṇi: happiness; 3. See note 3 (b)
bär- to give; 1
bäš five; 17
bil- to know; 28. See note 27 (c)
bilgä:, b(i)lgä: wise; counsellor; 7, 8,
 14, 17, 22, 24. See notes 7 (b), 17 (d)
b(i)lig information; 28. See note 27 (c)
bin- to ride; 15, 19
biti:- to write; 28
b(i)tig inscription; 28
bodun people; 4, 6, 14, 15, 27
bol- to become; 2, 6, 9, 23
boz grey; 4

bögtür- to order to assemble (?); 2.

See note 2 (a)

bökä champion; 17

bul- to find; 23. See *kärgäk bul-*

bulγa- to disrupt; 11. See note 11 (b)

bulnaδ- to take into captivity; 5, 22.

See notes 5 (e) and 22 (b)

bunča: so great; so many; 12, 27, 28

čäriḡ troops; 9

čavuš field marshal; 17. See notes

17 (d—e)

čiqan cousin; 1, 2. See note 1 (c)

čor See *Küli: Čor*

et- to arrange, put in order, organize;

9, 13, 14, 15. See note 9 (b)

ičgin- to submit; 20, 21. See note 20 (b)

iḡil (*Iḡil*) name of a horse (?); 19. See

note 19 (a)

igiḡ- to rear; 25

ini a younger brother; 24

Irkin See *Šir Irkin*. See also note 21 (c)

iḡ- to send, auxiliary modal verb; 11,

19

iṇča: ? thus; 2

išvara: lord; 2, 8, 14, 22, 24. See note

2 (b).

käč- to cross; 16. See note 16 (e)

kädim clothing; 4. See note 4 (b)

käl- to come; 21, 24, 26. See note 8 (a)

kärgäk bul- to meet one's fate; 23.

See note 3 (d)

kärü westward; 16

käsrä: after; 19

kigur- to bring (again); 20

kir- to enter (the battle); 23

kisi: womenfolk; 5, 13, 22. See note

5 (d)

kör- enjoy; 3

kü: fame among the people; 12. See

note 12 (b)

ḡayan ḡayan; 7, 17, 24

(*oyul*) *oyli:*, *oyli:* son; children; 5, 13,

21, 22, 26

olur- to take office; 14. See note 14 (c)

olurt- to lay (a corpse in); 24

on See *säkiz on*

ö:- to remember; 28

ögüz See *Y(i)nčü ögüz*

ölür- to kill; 5, 18

özi: *qisya* See note 23 (d)

özlük charger; 4, 15. See note 4 (a)

qapıy See *Tämir qapıy*

qarī- to grow old; 3

qazyan- to prosper; 7, 16, 25. See note 7 (d)

qisya: short. See note 23 (d)

qo]n- to settle; 13

q t m ?; 15

quvu:ra:- to come together; 27. See note 27 (a)

sanč- to pierce, rout; 5, 10, 15, 20, 22.

See note 5 (c). *sanča iḡip* to rout thoroughly; 19

säkiz on eighty; 3

sī:- to break; 21

sön earlier (?); 20. See note 20 (f)

sü army; 1, 10, 20, 22, 23

sülä- to campaign; 17, 22

sünjüş battle; 9, 11, 16, 17

sünjüş- to fight; 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22

sür- to drive forward; 20. See note 20 (a)

šir (PU) good, beautiful (?); 21

taγ (PU) mountain(s); 22. See note 22 (b)

tapa: against; 17, 20

täg as; 9

täg- See *u p l [a:] täg-*

te- to say; 23

tegin prince; 24, 26. See note 24 (b)

toḡuz pig, swine; 18

toq(q)uz nine; 18

tört four; 11, 24

tur- to halt; 21
tusu: benefit; 23. See note 23 (a)
tut- to take; acquire; 6, 12
tükä- to come to perfection, to reach perfection (?); 4, 17. See note 4 (b)
tümän ten thousand; 10. See note 10 (b)
uđiz- to lead; 13. See note 13 (a—b)
ulayu: all; 24
uluh elder; 3
u p l- to be brought down (?); 19, 23. See note 19 (b)
u p l y u täg- to attack impatiently (?); 5, 10, 11, 15, 19, 23. See note 10 (c)
ur- to hit; 21
üč three; 15
üčü:n because of; 1, 7, 12, 27. See also *anin üčü:n*
ün- to get up; 19. See note 19 (c)
ülüg destiny; 23. See note 23 (b)

üzä (PU) over; 22
yayï: enemy; 23
yayit(δ)- to become hostile; 5, 18. See note 5 (a)
yalju:s alone; 23
yana: again; 19, 20
yaš age; 18
yaša- to live; 3
yägar (PU) young wild female goat (?). See note 18
yägrän chestnut (horse); 15, 21
yäm[ä:] again; 19
yär territory; 13
yäti: seven; 16, 18
yilqï: cattle; 25
yoq See *ävmädüki:*
yoq bol- to die; 3. See note 3 (d)
yoyla:- to attend the funeral; 27
yoylat- to organize the funeral. See note 24 (d)

Geographical and ethnical names

Az 6. See note 6 (b)
Bäšbalıq 11
Käčın 10
Tämir qapıy the Iron Gate; 16. See note 16 (f)

Täz 18
Y(i)nčü: *ögüz* the Pearl River (the Jaxartes); 16

Ethnical names

Qarluq the Qarluq; 18, 19, 20, 21, 22
Qitañ the Qitañ; 17
Tatabi: the Tatabi; 17. See note 17 (b)
Tardu:š the Tarduš; 14, 26
Tav]yač the Chinese; 12

Täzik the Persians; 16. See note 16 (g)
Toq(q)uz Oγuz the Toq(q)uz Oγuz; 16
Tü]rgäš the Türgäš; 15
Türk the Türkü; 4, 6

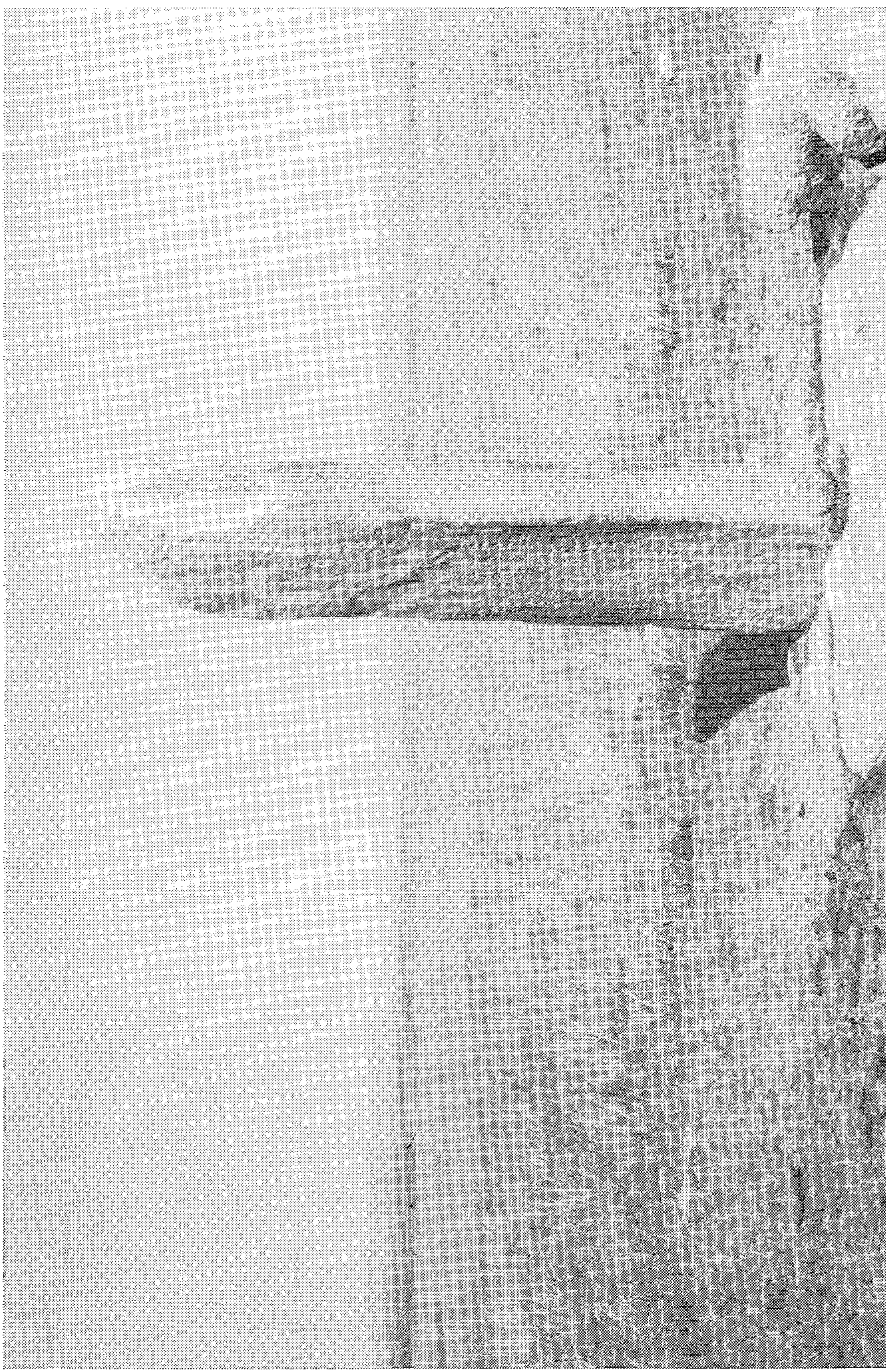
Personal names

Äl Čor 24
Bäntir 27. See note 27 (b)
Küli: *Čor* (I, II, III) 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 22, 24, 26
Qa[p]ya[n] *Xayan* 3

Sayır Čolu:yan 5
Šir Irkin 21
Tonyuquq 1, 2
Yegän Čor 21, 26

IX. Abbreviations

- BX* — The inscription of Bilgä Xayan, quoted by side and line.
- Chavannes* — E. Chavannes. *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St.-Petersburg 1903.
- KT* — The inscription of Kül Tegin, quoted by side and line.
- Kaš.* — Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī, *Dīwān luyāti'l-turk*; quotations are from Besim Atalay's translation (volume, page, and line) after reference to the reproduction of the original manuscript.
- Liu.* — Liu Mau-t sai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'ü-küe)*, Wiesbaden 1958.
- Malov* — С. Е. Малов, *Енисейская письменность тюрков*, Moscow 1952.
- Ongin* — *The Ongin Inscription*. Ed. Sir Gerard Clauson, *The Ongin Inscription*, J.R.A.S., October 1957, pp. 177—192.
- Studies* — Sir Gerard Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian Studies*, London 1962.
- Šu.* — The inscription at Šine-usu, quoted by side and line.
- Toñ.* — The inscription of Toñuquq, quoted by line.



The Monument at Ikhe Khushotu
Plate 1. General view. (October 1962)

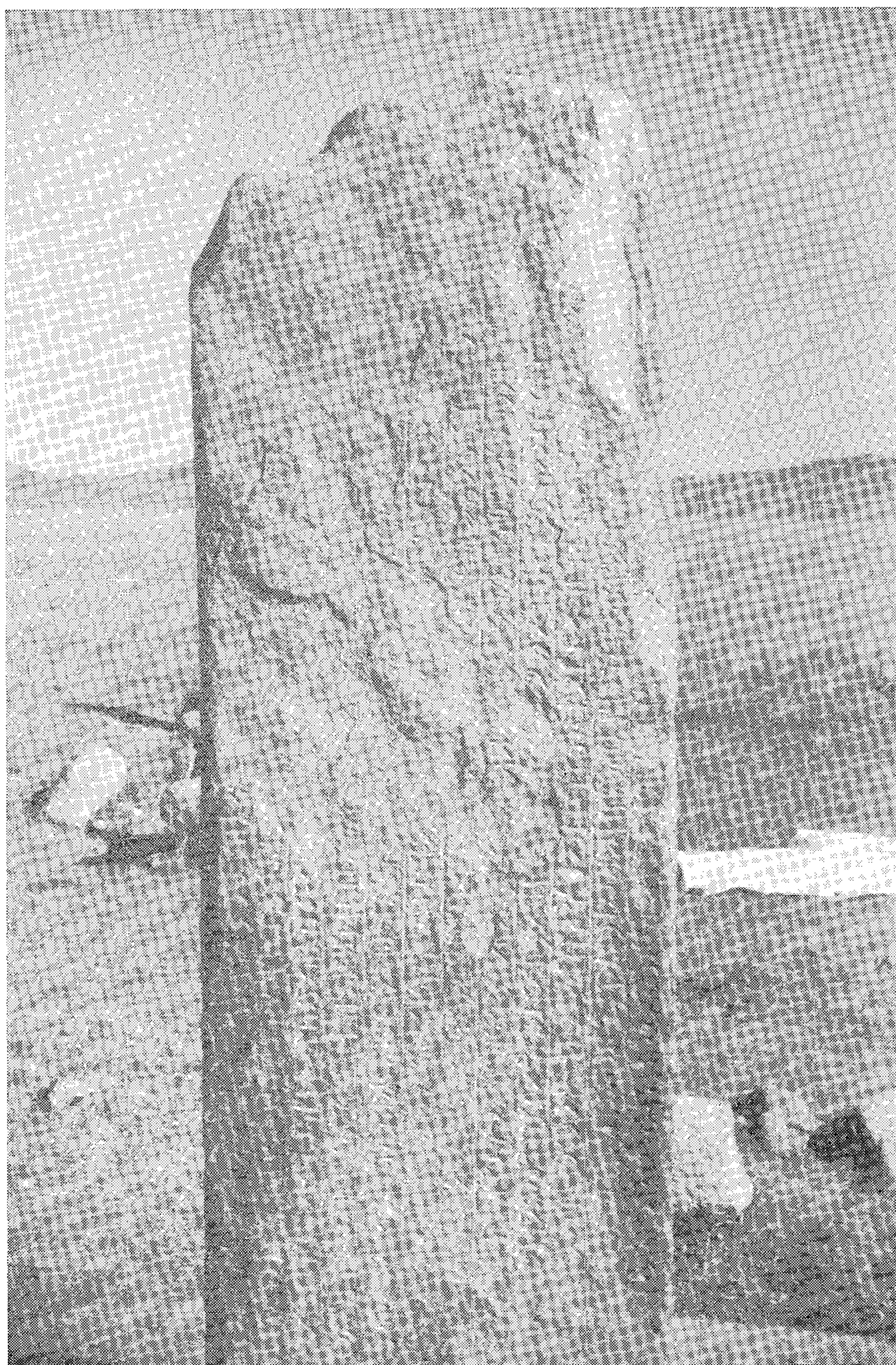


Plate 2. W side. Upper part

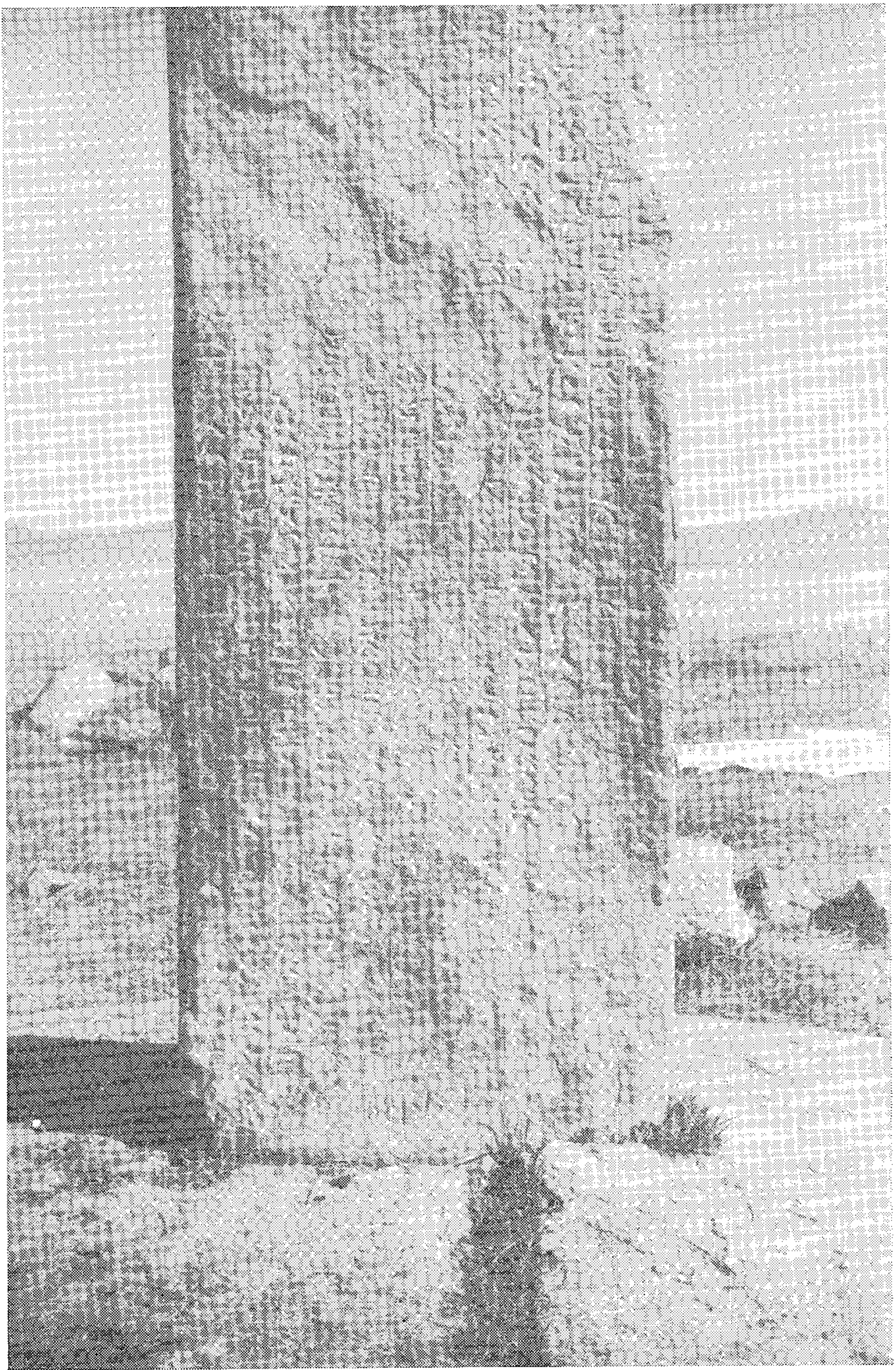
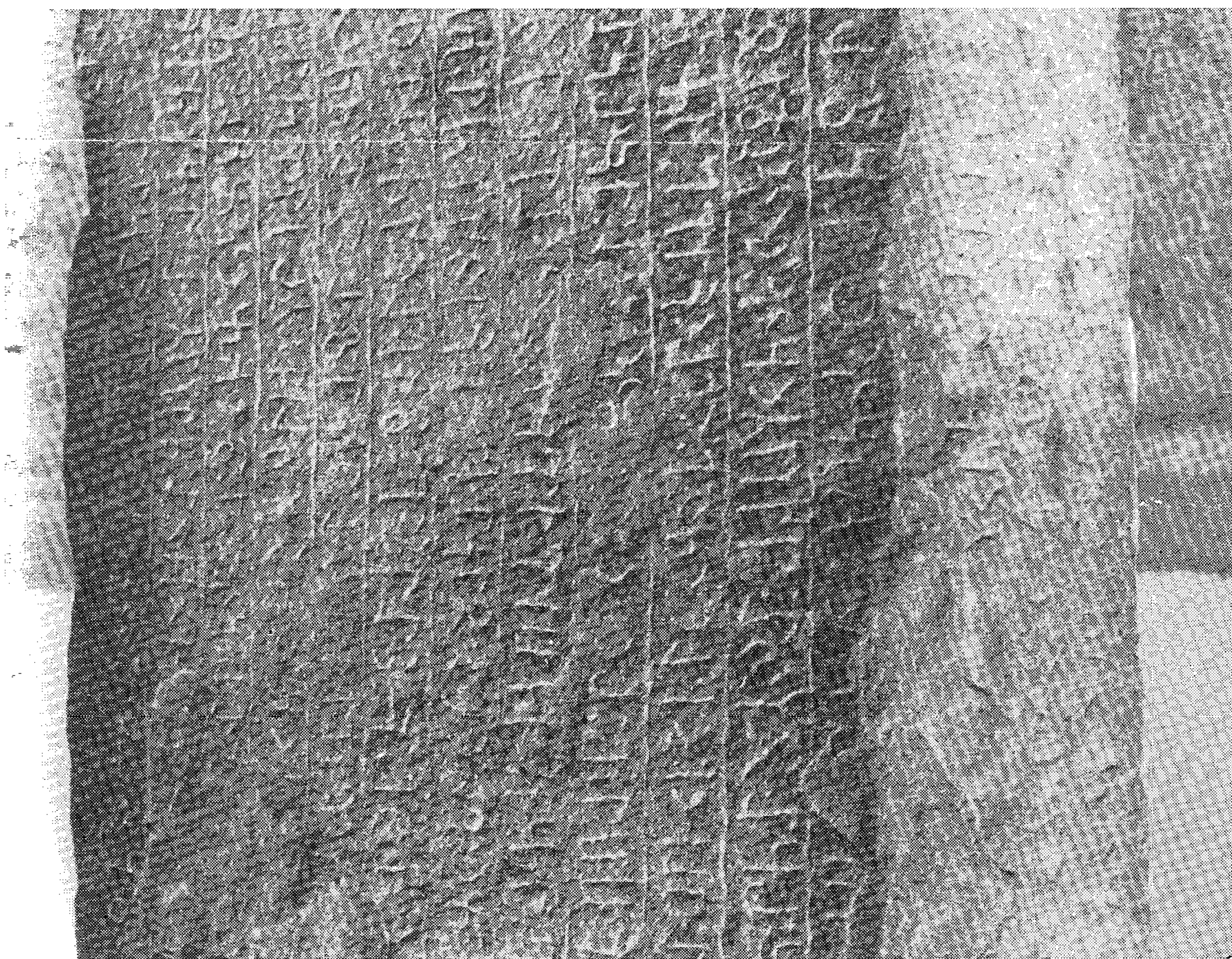
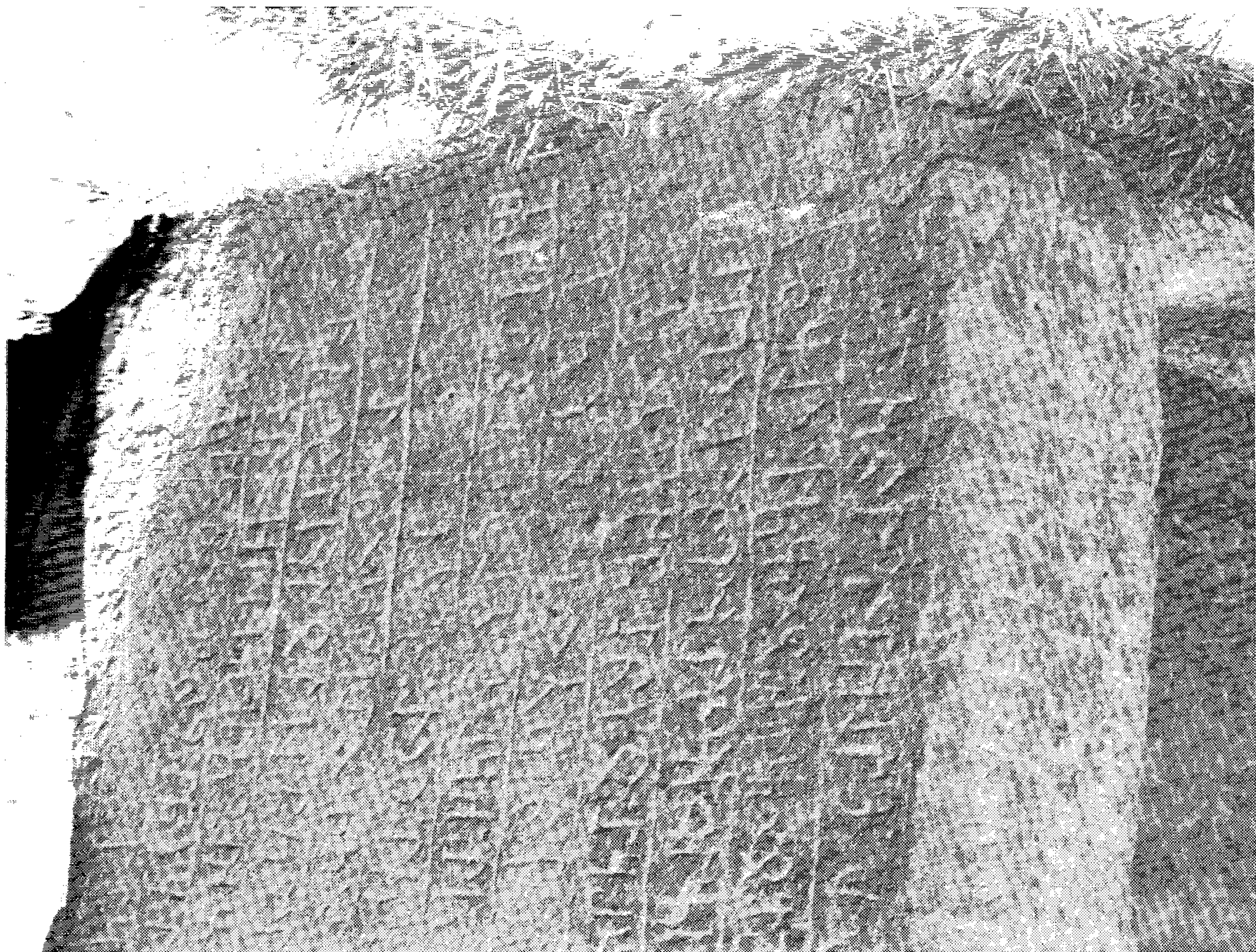


Plate 3. W side. Lower part



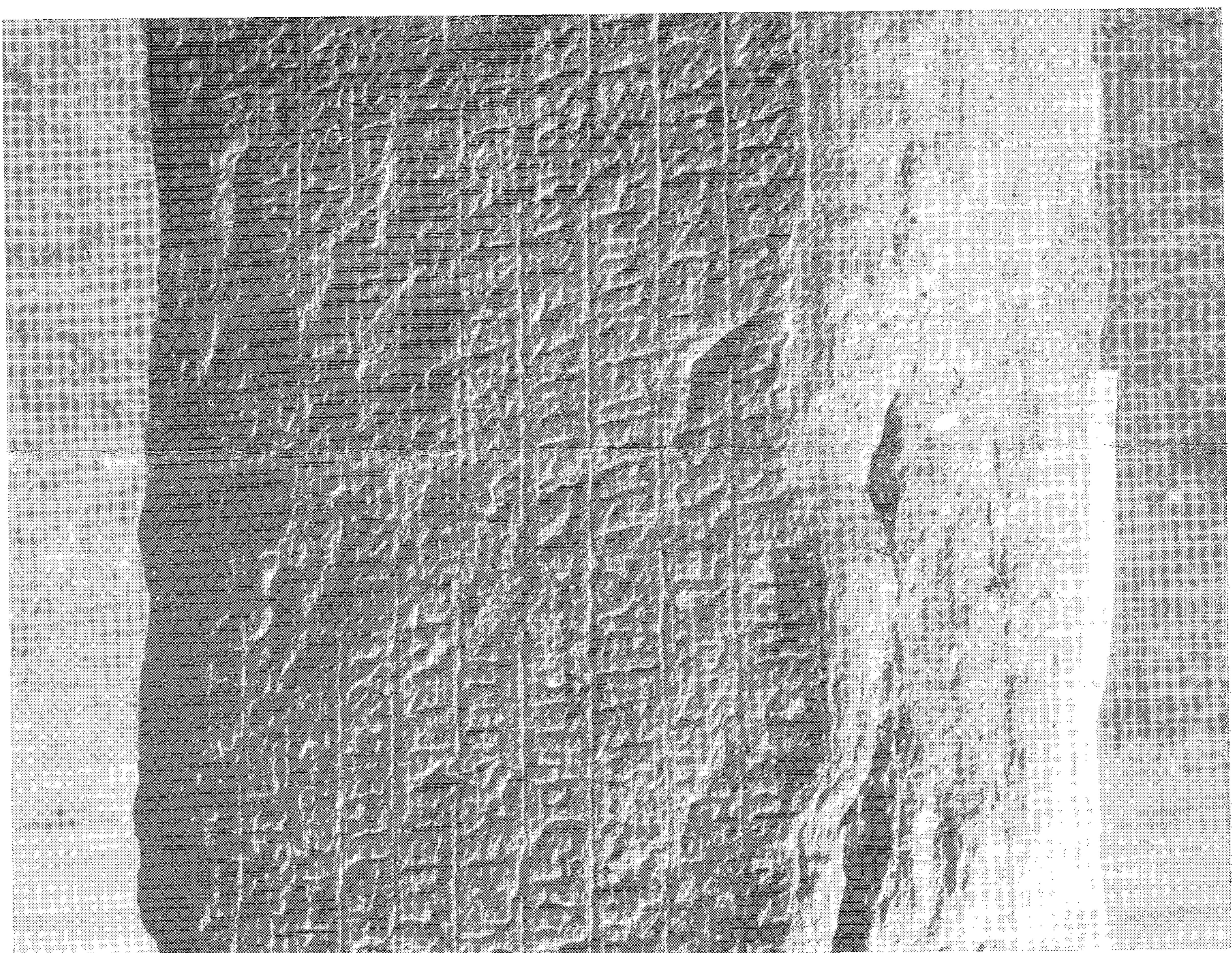
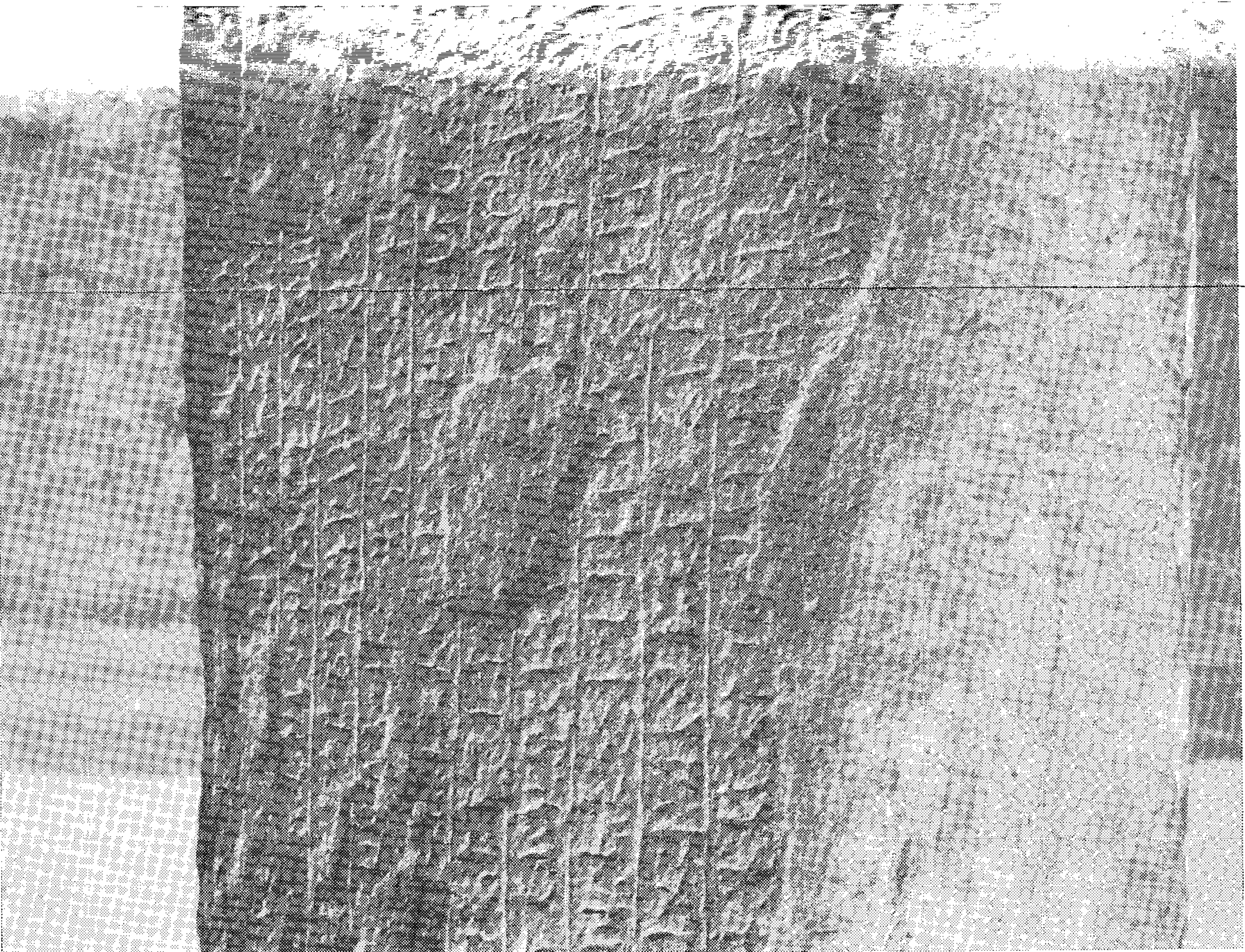
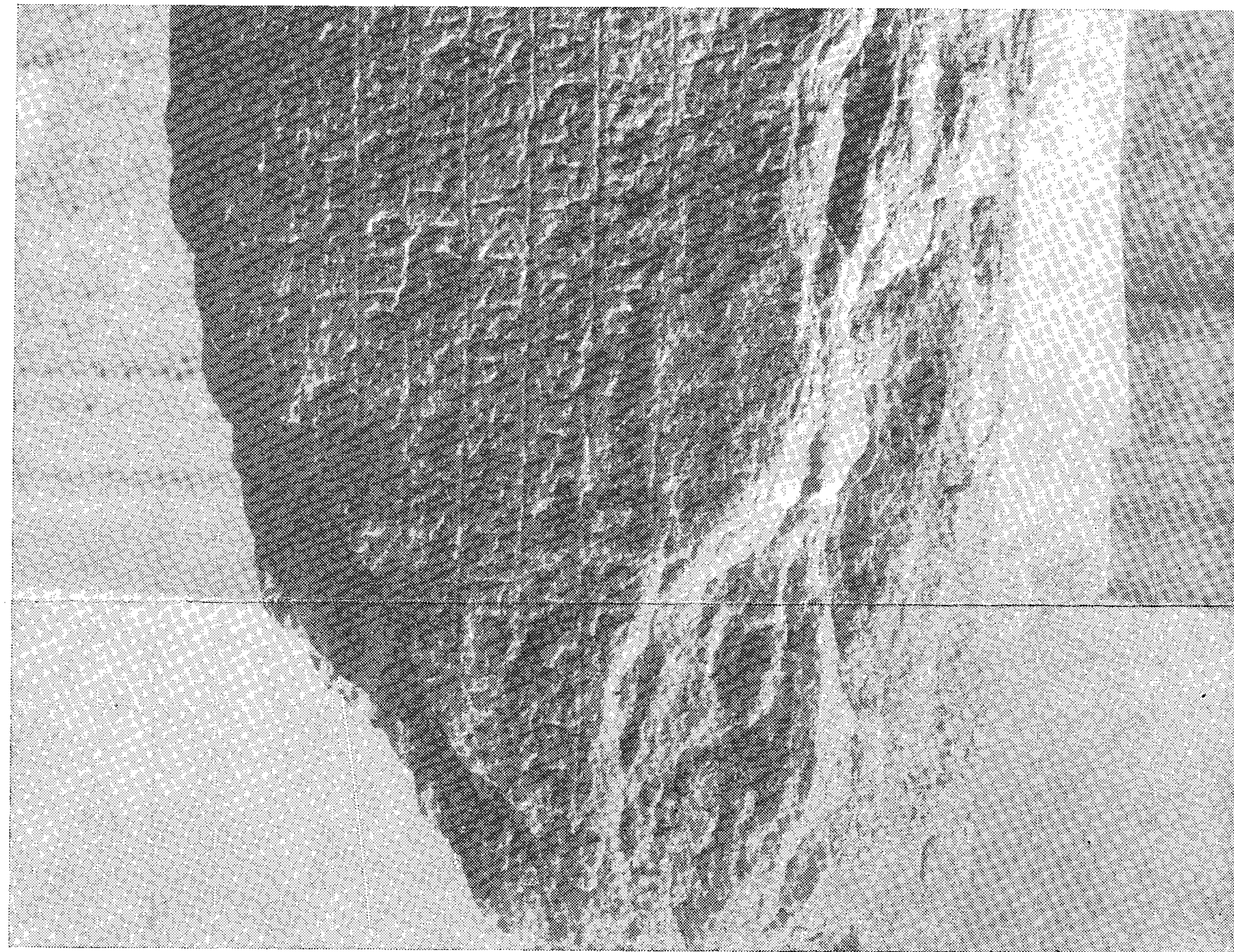


Plate 4. T side



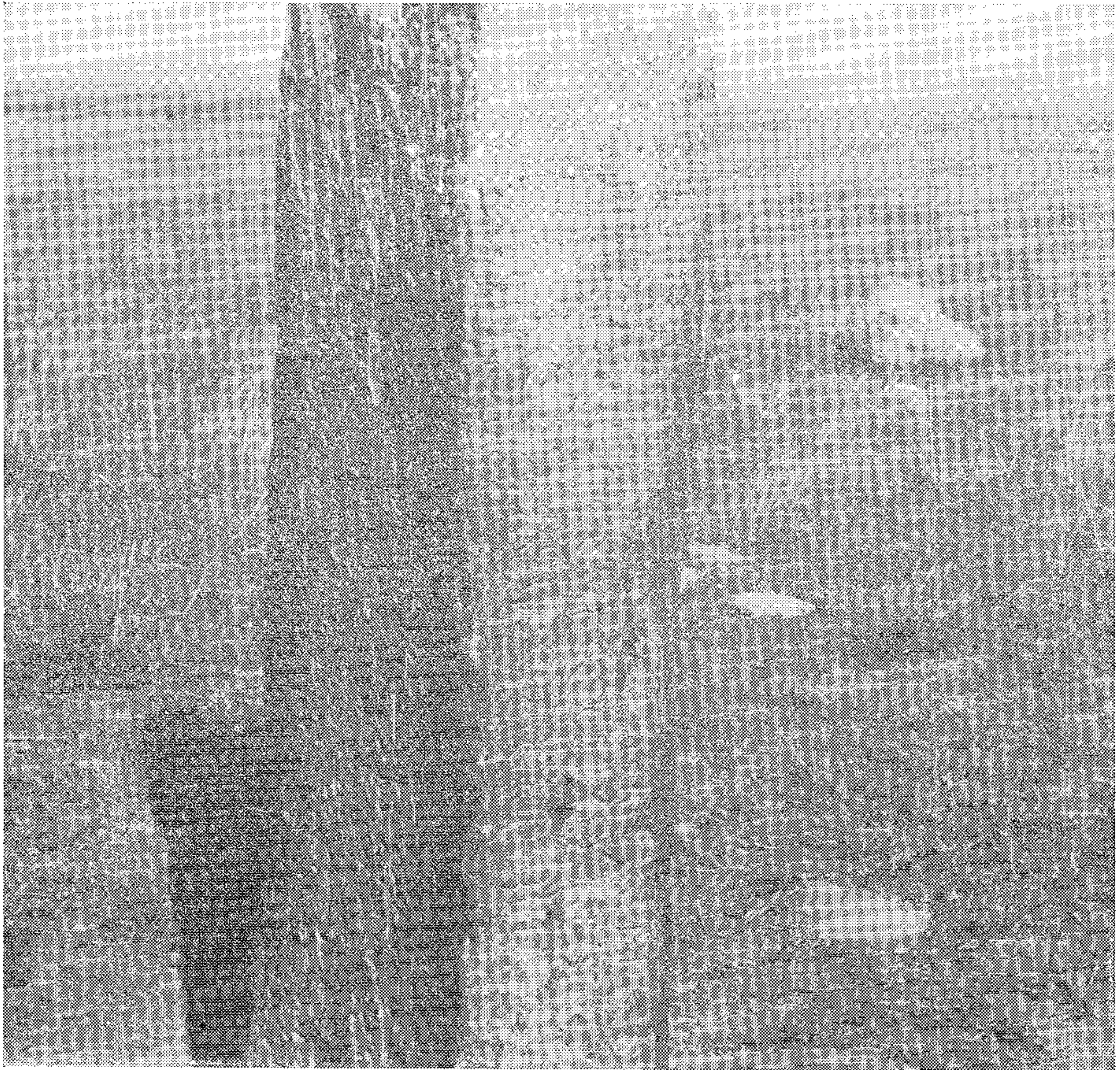


Plate 5. S side. Upper part

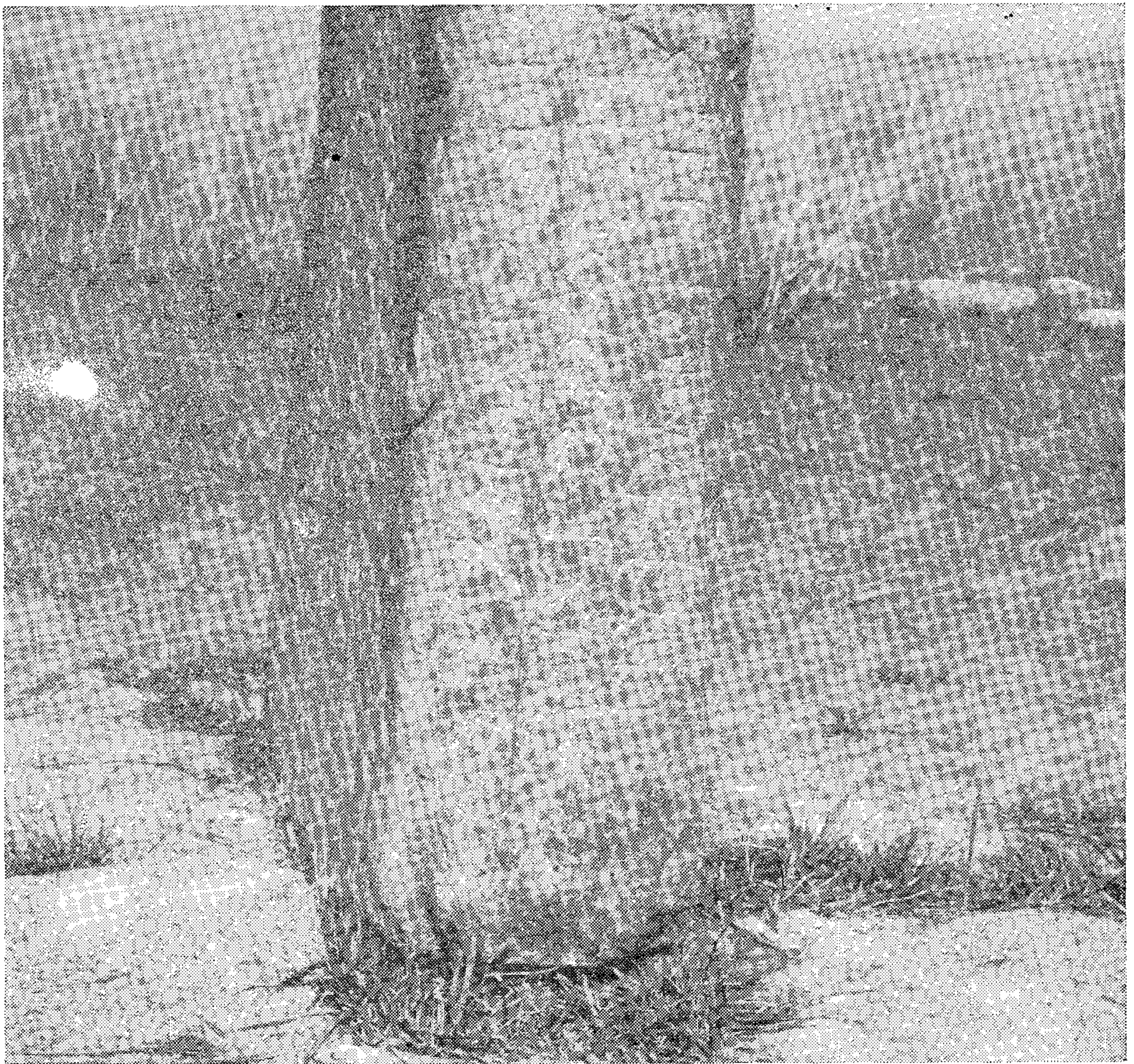


Plate 6. S side. Lower part