

ON THE 51ST LINE OF THE TUÑUQUQ INSCRIPTION

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Abstract

The Tuñuquq inscription consists of the stone steles which are still standing. The first and bigger stone contains an inscription of 35 lines. There are 27 lines on the second and smaller stone. Most parts of this inscription are well understood. However, the 51th line was already severely damaged when this inscription was discovered. The sentences in the 51th line appear differently in the publications. According to most researchers, there are two sentences in this line. According to the Chinese chronicles, Qapḡan Qaghan was one of the younger brothers of Elteriš Qaghan (= Qutluḡ) and appointed as šad by him; Qutluḡ died of a disease when Qapḡan Qaghan was at the age of twenty-seven; Qapḡan Qaghan appointed his younger brother as the Shad of the left wing [i.e. the Tölis people] and the son of Qutluḡ [i.e. Bilgä Qaghan of the future] as the Shad of the right wing [i.e. the Tarduš people]. Therefore, the first sentence may be mended and read as follows, if we accept the text by Radloff:

𐰚𐰠𐰇 [𐰚𐰠: 𐰚𐰠𐰇] 𐰚𐰠𐰇 [𐰚𐰠𐰇] 𐰚𐰠𐰇 [𐰚𐰠𐰇] 𐰚𐰠𐰇 [𐰚𐰠𐰇] 𐰚𐰠𐰇 [𐰚𐰠𐰇] Qapḡan qaqan : y(e)ti ot(u)z : yašqa [qapḡan(i)m učdoq(i)nta [tölis bod(u)n üzä šad] ärti : “Qapḡan Qaghan, at (the age of) twenty-seven, was [the Shad above the Tölis people] when [my qaghan died]”. The past tense of the verb *olor-* is *olortī* or *olortum*, not *olordī* or *olordum*. According to Alyılmaz, the last part of the second sentence is :𐰚𐰠, i.e. *-d(i)m* or *-d(u)m*. Therefore, the second sentence should be :𐰚𐰠𐰇𐰠: 𐰚𐰠𐰇𐰠 as Aalto already showed, not 𐰚𐰠𐰇𐰠: 𐰚𐰠𐰇𐰠. This sentence can be read as qapḡan qaqan : ol(o)rtd(u)m : “I enthroned Qapḡan Qaghan”.

Key words: Chinese chronicles, Qapḡan Qaghan, second East Turkic Empire, Tuñuquq inscription

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Tuñuq gives a brief report on the first two kagan's and his achievements, and relates the military campaigns which he, together with Elteriš and Kapgan kagans, carried on.⁴

Most parts of this inscription are well understood. However, the 51th line was already severely damaged when this inscription was discovered.⁵

II. Interpretation of the 51th line by the scholars

The sentences in the 51th line were interpreted as follows:

(1) 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏.....𐰽𐰺𐰏.....𐰽𐰺𐰏:𐰺𐰽𐰺𐰏:𐰽𐰺𐰏:𐰽𐰺𐰏

𐰽𐰽𐰺𐰏:𐰽𐰺𐰏:𐰽𐰺𐰏 [Radloff 1899: 22]

kpgnkgn jtiotz jškaja.. nġa..... rti

Капаған қаған jāti отуз жашка әрті

kpgnkgn olrdi

Капаған қаған олурды.⁶ [Radloff 1899: 23]

“Als Kapagan Chagan sieben und dreissig Jahre alt war war er. Kapagan Chagan erhob sich.” [Radloff 1899: 23]

“[for 𐰽𐰺𐰏:𐰺𐰽𐰺𐰏:𐰽𐰺𐰏] Diese drei Worte sind als richtig entziffert anzusehen, da deutliche Spuren aller in ihnen vorkommenden Buchstaben vorhanden sind.” [Radloff 1899: 81]

4 Tekin 1968: 10-11.

5 Many parts of this inscription are now damaged as Cengiz Alyılmaz reports as follows: “Bilge Tonyukuk yazıtları da tıpkı Köl Tigin ve Bilge Kağan yazıtları gibi bir anıt mezar külliyesi içinde bulunmaktadır. Bilge Tonyukuk adına inşa olunan bu külliyyede yazıtlar dışında insan heykelleri, sunak masasına ait işlemeli taşlar, üst tarafı parçalanmış taşbalar, balballar, gözetleme kuleleri, barka ait tuğla ve kiremit parçalan, künkler, döşemeler bulunmaktadır. Ancak külliyyedeki eserlerin tamamı, açık alanda korumasız ve örtüsüz bırakıldıkları için ciddi şekilde tahrip olmuşlardır. Bilge Tonyukuk yazıtları bu tahribat sonucunda neredeyse tamamen aşınmış; yazılı yüzeyler tabakalar hâlinde dökülmeye başlamıştır. Çetin doğa koşullarına (ısı farkı vd.) bazı bilim adamlarının güzel görüntü alabilmek amacıyla harflerin içlerini boyamaları, gölgelenmek için hayvanların yazıtların diplerine yatmaları ve yazıtlara sürtünmeleri, kuş dışıklarının meydana getirdiği asitlenmeler de eklenince söz konusu tahribat daha da artmış ve hızlanmıştır. Külliye içindeki diğer eserler de külliye de 1897, 1909, 1925 ve 1957 yıllarında yapılan kazılar yüzünden ciddi şekilde tahrip olmuştur.” (Alyılmaz 2005: 186)

“Yazıtın doğu yüzündeki bütün satırlar (51-58. Satırlar) aynı ölçüde aşınmış, yıpranmış, yağlanmış, kararmış ve okunamaz hale gelmiştir. Bu yüzdeki yazılı yüzeyler de ancak parmakla yoklayarak okunabilmektedir.” (Alyılmaz 2005: 225)

6 This word is given as 𐰽𐰽𐰺𐰏 олурты in Radloff 1899: 89b.

“[for 𐰉𐰺𐰏 𐰉𐰏] Grosse Lücke, wo nur mit Mühe in der Mitte der Zeile 𐰉𐰏 анда und am Ende 𐰉𐰺𐰏 zu erkennen sind.” [Radloff 1899: 81]

“[for 𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏] Қапаған қаған олурты ist ebenfalls schwer zu lesen, aber doch sind von dem gössten Theile der Buchstaben deutliche Spuren zu finden, so dass ich diese Lesung ebenfalls für unzweifelhaft richtig halte.” [Radloff 1899: 81]

“Jäti otuz jaška «sieben und zwanzig Jahre alt». Mo-tscho-Chagan war somit entweder im Jahre 664 oder 666 geboren.” [Radloff 1899: 122]

(2) “Qap(a)γan kagan [————].” [Thomsen 1924: 169]

(3) “Kapagan kagan (...).” [Ross 1930: 42]

(4) 𐰉𐰺𐰏 𐰉𐰏 𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏

𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏 [Orkun 1936: 117]

k^ap^ag^an k^ag^an y^ti ot^uz y^aš^ka ... anda ... erti k^ap^ag^an k^ag^an ol^urdi [Orkun 1936: 116]

“Kapagan hakan yirmi yedi yaşında ... orada .. idi. Kapagan hakan (tahta) oturdu.” [Orkun 1936: 117]

(5) 𐰉𐰺𐰏 𐰉𐰏 𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏 [Sprengling 1939: 18]

(6) ...𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏 [Malov 1951: 60]

Qapayan qayan... [Malov 1951: 64]

“Капаган-каган...” [Malov 1951: 69]

(7) 𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏 𐰉𐰏 𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏𐰉𐰺𐰏 [Aalto 1958: 46]

q^ap^aγ^an q^aγ^an il^hä: r.....nta.....rti: q^ap^aγ^an q^aγ^an: ol^urdi^m: [Aalto 1958: 47]

“dem Volk des Qap(a)γan-Qayan ... dort ... Den Qap(a)γan-Qayan setzte ich ein.” [Aalto 1958: 46]

“Thomsen übersetzt nur ’Qap(a)γan Kagan (...). Ohne bei Nacht Schlaf...’; Grønbech⁷: *qapayan qayan jeti otuz jašqa[...]anda [...]järti. qapayan qayan olurdi;...*” [Aalto 1958: 60]

(8) QpGNQGN: ytiUTz:YsQa.....nta.....rti:QpGNQGNULRDi:
[Giraud 1961: 29]

Qapayan qayan yeti otuz yaşqa anta ärti. Qapayan qayan olurdi.
[Giraud 1961: 57]

7 GRÖNBECH: vervielfältigter Text der Tonjukuk-Inschrift mit einer Wortliste, von Prof. KAA-RE GRÖNBECH bei seinen Vorlesungen an der Kopenhagener Universität verwendet. Ich bin Herrn Mag. art. KÅRE THOMSEN vielen Dank schuldig, weil er mir dieses wertvolle Material zur Verfügung gestellt hat.” [Aalto 1958: 91].

“Qapghan Qaghan devint Qaghan dans sa trentième année... Qapghan Qaghan régna.” [Giraud 1961: 64]

“Qapyan qayan yeti otuz yaşqa (qayan bolti ?). anta ärti. Qapyan qayan olurdi. Tün udimati.

Il est sage de renoncer à combler les deux lacunes, la première de dix caractères environ, la seconde de quatre ou cinq caractères. Cependant, si l’on tient compte que le chiffre 27 peut correspondre à l’âge d’accession au trône de Qapghan, on peut suppléer dans la première phrase : qayan bolti : «devint qaghan». La phrase qui suit la lacune : Qapyan qayan olurdi, où il faut signaler la forme de passé accompli doit vouloir dire : Qaghan régna comme qaghan.” [Giraud 1961: 115]

(9) qapyan qayan [yeti] otuz [..... anta ärti] qapyan qayan olurtdum. [Tekin 1968: 252]

“Qapyan Kagan, at (the age of) twenty-seven, ... I enthroned Qapyan Kagan.” [Tekin 1968: 289]

(10) ...:YHYY1H [Ergin 1970: 157]

Qapgan Kağan [yiti] otuz yaşqa [..... anda erti] Qapgan Kağan olurtı [Ergin 1970: 81]

“Kapgan Kağan yirmi yedi yaşında orada idi. Kapgan Kağan oturdu.” [Ergin 1970: 44]

(11) ...:YHYY1H [Ajdarov 1971: 323]

Қапаған қаған... “Капаған кағану...” [Ajdarov 1971: 332]

(12) “If *otuz yaşqa*: is the correct reading in the damaged line 51 and T.’s age when Qapyan ascended the throne in 693, he must have been born in 663.” (Clauson 1971: 126)

(13) Kapgan Kagan yiti otuz yaşqa [tegi çor erti :] anda [kisre kağan bolmuş] erti “Kapgan Kagan war bis zu seinem 27. Lebensjahr ein Çor (trug den Titel Çor). Später (nach seinem 27. Lebensjahr) wurde er Kagan.” [Sertkaya 1988: 55]

Kapgan Kagan olurtı “Kapgan wurde Kagan” [Sertkaya 1988: 55-56]

(14) 𐰽𐰺𐰍.....𐰽𐰺𐰍.....𐰽𐰺𐰍.....𐰽𐰺𐰍 [Tekin 1994: 20]

k(a)pg(a)n k(a)g(a)n [y(e)ti] ot(u)znta(ä)rti : k(a)pg(a)n k(a)g(a)n : ol(u)rtd(u)m [Tekin 1994: 21]

“Kapgan Kağan yirmi (yaşında?) idi. (Onu ben) Kapgan kağan (olarak) tahta oturttum.” [Tekin 1994: 20]

(15) Kapgan Kağan [yeti] otuzntaerti. Kapgan Kağan olurtdum. [Tekin 1995: 92]

“Kapgan Kağan yirmi (yaşında?) idi. (Onu ben) Kapgan kağan (olarak) tahta oturttum.” [Tekin 1995: 93]

(16) qp̄ȳnq̄ȳn : [?] r [...] ntA [...] rtI : qp̄ȳnq̄ȳn : wl̄rtdm : [Rybatzki 1997: 39]
qap̄yan qayan : [?] r [...] nta [...] rti : qap̄yan qayan : olortdum : [Rybatzki 1997: 71]

“Qap̄yan Qayan ... [als Qap̄yan Qayan wurde er inthronisiert]. Ich inthronisierte Qap̄yan Qayan.” [Rybatzki 1997: 120]

(17) KpGNKGNIIñA : r[...]ntA[...]rtI : KpGNKGN : WLRTDm : [Berta 2004: 40]

qap̄°yan qayan eliñã r [...] nda [...] rDI qap̄°yan qayan olord°δwm [Berta 2004: 70]

“*Kapgan kagán ... Kapgan kagánt trónra ültettem.*”⁸ [Berta 2004: 86]

(18) :𐰎𐰏<...>𐰞𐰟<...>𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨 [Alyılmaz 2005: 228]

(19) k(a)pg(a)n k(a)g(a)n : y(e)ti ot(u)z : y(a)şka [.....]nta [.....] (ã)rti (T 51) “Kapgan Kağan yirmi (yaşında?) idi.” (TY 20)

“Qap̄yan Kagan, at (the age of) twenty-seven, ...”

“(1) Çin kaynaklarında Mo-chuo/nun (默啜= Kapgan Kağan) *şad* (殺 *sha*) unvanında bulunduğu ve 27 yaşındayken ağabeyi İleriş Kağan’ın hastalıktan vefat etmesi üzerine hakan olarak tahta çıktığı kaydedilmektedir.

(2) Yazıtın tahribata uğrayan kısımlarında bununla ilgili şeylerin anlatılmış olma ihtimali hayli yüksektir.” [Li 2008: 227]

(20) k(a)pg(a)n k(a)g(a)n [y(e)ti] ot(u)z [y(a)ş(ı)nta] ... (ã)rti : [User 2009: 132, 246, 320, 465]

(21) :𐰎𐰏<...>𐰞𐰟<...>𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨

kapgan kagan yēti otuz <...>nta <...>di

“Kapgan Kağan yirmi yedi <...>” [Aydm 2012: 121]

(22) :𐰎𐰏<...>𐰞𐰟<...>𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨 [Ölmez 2012: 187]

8 This sentence was translated into Turkish as “Kapgan kağan ... Kapgan kağanı tahta çıkardım.” in Berta 2010: 93.

kapgan kagan : [yèti] otuzntaerti : kapgan kagan : olortdum
[Ölmez 2012: 168]

“(... ?) Kapgan Kağan yirmi [yedi] idi. Kapgan Kağan’ı tahta çıkarttım.” [Ölmez 2012: 176]

III. Conclusion

As seen above, the sentences in the 51th line appear differently in the publications. According to most researchers, there are two sentences in this line. The first sentence is :𐰃𐰆𐰪.....𐰆𐰏.....𐰆𐰏:𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰃𐰆𐰏𐰃𐰆𐰏𐰃𐰆𐰏𐰃𐰆𐰏, if we accept the text by Radloff. This sentence can be read as *qapγan qayan : y(e)ti ot(u)z : yašqa nta ärti* :. The part *qapγan qayan : y(e)ti ot(u)z : yašqa* means “Qapγan Qaghan, at (the age of) twenty-seven”. According to the Chinese chronicles, Qapγan Qaghan was one of the younger brothers of Elteriš Qaghan (= Qutluγ) and appointed as *šad*⁹ by him¹⁰; Qutluγ died of a disease when Qapγan Qaghan was at the age of twenty-seven; Qapγan Qaghan appointed his younger brother as the Shad of the left wing [i.e. the Tölis people] and the son of Qutluγ [i.e. Bilgä Qaghan of the future] as the Shad of the right wing [i.e. the Tarduš people].¹¹ Therefore, this sentence may be mended as follows:

:𐰃𐰆𐰪[𐰃𐰆:𐰆𐰏]𐰃𐰆𐰏𐰃𐰆𐰏𐰃𐰆𐰏:𐰆𐰏[𐰆𐰏𐰃𐰆𐰏𐰃𐰆𐰏:𐰆𐰏:𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰃𐰆𐰏𐰃𐰆𐰏𐰃𐰆𐰏] *Qapγan qayan : y(e)ti ot(u)z : yašqa [qayan(i)m učdoq(i)]nta [tölis bod(u)n üzä šad] ärti* : “Qapγan Qaghan, at (the age of) twenty-seven, was [the Shad above the Tölis people] when [my qaghan died]”.

For this mending confer the following examples:

öz(ü)m tarduš bod(u)n üzä šad ärt(i)m “I myself was the shad above the Tarduš people” (KT E 17)

9 “«Schad und Jabgu». Dies sind die beiden höchsten Titel der Türken nächst dem des Kakan. Sie werden nur an die nächsten Verwandten, Brüder oder Söhne, des Monarchen vergeben. Beide Titel werden als Schö-hu (葉護) und Schö (設, cant. Schit, fälschlich 没, mo, gedruckt) bereits im Tschou-schu (Kap. 50, p. 4) erwähnt.” [Hirth 1899: 45].

10 “So wurde Ku-to-lu [= Qutluγ] allmählich stark, so daß er sich schließlich selbst zum Kagan machte. Er ernannte seine jüngeren Brüder Mo-tsch’o zum Schad und To-si-fu zum Ye-hu (Yabgu).” (Liu 1958: 158) (according to 舊唐書 Jiù-táng-shū)
“Schließlich machte er [= Qutluγ] sich selbst zum Kagan. Er ernannte seine jüngeren Brüder Mo-tsch’o zum Schad und To-si-fu zum Ye-hu (Yabgu).” (Liu 1958: 213) (according to 新唐書 Xīn-táng-shū)

11 “Im 2. Jahre (699) ernannte Mo-tsch’o seinen jüngeren Bruder To-si-fu zum Schad des linken Flügels und den Sohn des Ku-to-lu namens Mo-kü zum Schad des rechten Flügels.” (Liu 1958: 163) (according to 舊唐書 Jiù-táng-shū)
“Er [= Mo-tsch’o] setzte wieder To-si-fu als Linken Schad und den Sohn des Ku-to-lu, Mo-kü, als Rechten Schad ein.” (Liu 1958: 218) (according to 新唐書 Xīn-táng-shū)

tört y(e)g(i)rmi yaš(i)mqa tarduš bod(u)n üzä šad ol(o)rt(u)m “When I was fourteen years old, I became the shad above the Tarduš people” (BQ E 15)

toq(u)z oγ(u)z bod(u)n üzä “above the Toquz Oghuz people” (T 9)

qan(i)m qayan učdoqda “when my father, the qaghan, died” (KT E 30)

[qan(i)m] qayan učdoqda “when [my father], the qaghan, died” (BQ E 13-14)

There are six examples of *qayanim* in the Tuñuquq inscription, which denotes Elteriš Qaghan or Qapyan Qaghan:

qayanim ‘my qaghan’ (30th line)

qayan[i]m ‘[my] qaghan’ (15th line)

qayanima ‘to my qaghan’ (12th line, 18th line, 24th line)

qayanimin ‘together with my qaghan’ (53th line)

There is no example of *učdoq(i)nta* in the Orkhon inscriptions. However, there are examples of *(e)čim qayan ol(o)rtoqda* “when my uncle, the qaghan, mounted the throne” (KT E 17), *türük bilgä qayan ol(o)rtoqinta* “when Türk Bilgä Qaghan mounted the throne” (BQ S 13), and *[qan(i)m] qayan (e)čim qayan ol(o)rtoqinta* “when my father, the qaghan, and my uncle, the qaghan, mounted the throne” (BQ N 8-9).

The past tense of the verb *olor-* is *olortı* or *olortum*, not *olordı* or *olordum*. According to Alyılmaz, the last part of the second sentence is :ᠬᠢᠰᠦ, i.e. *-d(i)m* or *-d(u)m*. Therefore, the second sentence should be :ᠬᠢᠰᠦᠬᠠᠶᠠᠨᠠᠶᠠᠨᠣᠯᠣᠷᠲᠤᠮᠤ as Aalto already showed, not :ᠬᠢᠰᠦᠬᠠᠶᠠᠨᠠᠶᠠᠨᠣᠯᠣᠷᠲᠤᠮᠤ. This sentence can be read as *qapyan qayan : ol(o)rtd(u)m* : “I enthroned Qapyan Qaghan”.

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