

# Studies of the Karabalgasun Inscription: Edition of the Sogdian Version

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## 0. Preface

It was some thirty-five years ago that I first tried to read the Sogdian version of the Karabalgasun Inscription. In those days I was a member of a study group dubbed “Young Dunhuangologists” (in Japanese *Yanton*), to which belonged Takao Moriyasu (Uighur studies: history), Hiroshi Kumamoto (Khotanese philology: linguistics), Tokio Takata (Sinology: Chinese linguistics), Tsuguhito Takeuchi (Old Tibetan philology: linguistics), and myself (Sogdian philology: linguistics). It should be mentioned that Dunhuang 敦煌 is pronounced *tonkō* in Japanese, hence *ton* of *Yanton*, of which the *yan* part is short for “young.” We met once a month and read texts discovered in Central Asia, among others those discovered in Dunhuang and Turfan. On one occasion I selected the Sogdian version of the Karabalgasun Inscription edited by O. Hansen (1930). As Moriyasu, a leading scholar of the history of the Uighurs, had extensively investigated the Chinese version in the course of his own study of the battle fought between the Uighurs and the Tibetans for the occupation of Beshbaliq or Beiting 北庭 (now Jimsa) around 790 CE, he was expected to be most helpful for understanding the Sogdian version. I soon realized that Hansen’s edition of 1930 had been outdated mainly due to subsequent progress in Sogdian philology. I also noticed that when one checked his readings against the rubbing of the inscription published by Radloff (1892), one could improve his text in a considerable number of places. Moreover, I was able to place one fragment (Hansen’s Fragment 7) in its original position. I then decided to publish this revised text and translation in Japanese, which appeared in 1988.

Just before the publication of this article I learnt that J. Hamilton and N. Sims-Williams had also been collaborating on a revision of Hansen’s edition. Hamilton and I published the summaries of our own discoveries in the proceedings of a conference held in Kyoto in 1988 (Yoshida 1990 and Hamilton 1990). In August–September 1997, I was given a chance to survey the site of Karabalgasun as a member of an expedition headed by Professor T. Moriyasu of Osaka University (now emeritus). Our *in situ* examination of the fragments of the inscription gave Moriyasu and myself a chance to revise the Chinese, Sogdian, and Uighur versions. Moriyasu’s text and translation of the four larger Uighur fragments were published in the provisional report of the survey (Moriyasu and Ochir 1999, pp. 219–224). I also published the text and translation of those fragments that had been left there (Yoshida in: Moriyasu and Ochir 1999, pp. 215–219), although my text was basically the same as that published in Yoshida 1988.

Later, Hamilton’s and Sims-Williams’s preliminary edition of the Sogdian text was kindly placed at my disposal. In May 2003 Moriyasu and I were given an opportunity to give lectures on the inscription at Collège de France. When

Professor Hamilton was on his way to attend our lecture, he collapsed on the pavement of Collège de France and passed away a few days later. It was in such sad circumstances that the publication of the revised edition of the inscription became the responsibility of Moriyasu and myself. Since then I have spent considerable time in improving the Sogdian text while incorporating Hamilton's and Sims-Williams's preliminary edition and have published several independent articles on topics pertaining to the inscription (Yoshida 2010, 2011, 2011a, 2013), in which my improved readings are cited. When Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst published their *Dictionary of Manichaean Sogdian and Bactrian* in 2012, Sims-Williams incorporated all the words found in the inscription, and when doing so some of Yoshida's (1988, 2011, 2011a) readings and translations are queried or corrected.

As for the Chinese version, Moriyasu and I established the text during the preparations for our joint lecture at Collège de France, which was subsequently published in Moriyasu 2003. Our joint article comprising the Chinese text, translations (in Japanese accompanied by an English translation), and commentary will appear soon. In this article we also discuss problems concerning the establishment of the Chinese text and the historical background of some events recorded in the inscription. Apart from these, the Sogdian text and its Japanese rendering will be appended. The present article written in English, a pendant to this joint work, as it were, consists of the Sogdian text, translation, commentary, and glossary, to which the Chinese and Uighur versions accompanied by English translations are appended. In the introduction I devote some space to the archaeological site of Karabalgasun, previous studies, and materials for reading the stele. This introduction is followed by a discussion of the contents of the inscription, where I comment on the relationship between the three versions and the historical background of several intriguing passages, in particular those concerning the identity of Tian Kehan 天可汗 "Heavenly Qaghan," Manichaeism among the Uighurs, and the relationship between the Uighur Steppe Empire and the Abbasid Empire.

## I. Introduction

### 1. General Remark on the Karabalgasun Inscription

#### (A) The archaeological site and the inscription

The Karabalgasun Inscription is trilingual, being written in Old Turkish, Sogdian, and Chinese. While the Old Turkish version in Runic script is badly damaged and only a few small fragments containing a small number of readable words have survived, substantial parts of the other two versions have survived to this day. Studies based on the Chinese and Sogdian texts have shown that the inscription commemorates the military achievements of the eighth Uighur qaghan (r. 808–821) and his predecessors as well as their adoption and support of the Manichaean religion and church. It is no doubt one of the most important sources for the history of the Uighur Steppe Empire and the study of Manichaeism in China and Central Asia.

The site of Karabalgasun is located on the left bank of the Orkhon River in the northwestern corner of Uburkhangai Aymak of the Republic of Mongolia, some 380 km to the west of the modern Mongolian capital Ulaanbaatar (**Maps 1, 2, and 3**). It is the ruins of the capital of the Uighur Steppe Empire from the second half of the eighth century to the first half of the ninth century. The archaeological site is very huge, encompassing an area of more than 32 km<sup>2</sup>, and was arranged along a north-south central avenue at an angle of approximately 26 degrees. In the northeastern corner are found the remains of what seems to be a square palace surrounded by a rampart of ca. 1500 meters (404 m x 360 m) in total.<sup>1</sup> Fragments of the Karabalgasun Inscription are found scattered on the ground located some 500 meters to the south of the palace. Judging from the old map made by Radloff (1892, plate XXVII = **Map 3**) the spot where the fragments were discovered looks like the courtyard of a large building complex. If one takes the huge size and weight of the stones into consideration, it seems likely that all the fragments have remained at the spot where the inscription used to be standing. In view of its location near to the palace, the building is most likely to have held an important institution of the Uighur Steppe Empire.

Since 2009 the German Archaeological Institute has been undertaking extensive research at the site. The German team defines what I call the palace as “Palace or Temple District” and the complex where the inscription was discovered as “Manichaean Sacral Complex.”<sup>2</sup> Already in 1999 I envisaged the possibility that the complex might be identified with a Manichaean church (Yoshida in: Moriyasu and Ochir 1999, p. 223).<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps no mere coincidence that in Qočo, or the capital of the West Uighur Kingdom, the main Manichaean church, so-called “Ruin K,” is located just to the south of the palace. When the Steppe Empire was conquered by the Khirghiz people in 840 CE, the main part of the Uighurs moved southwestward and settled in the northern part of the Tarim Basin, with its winter and summer capitals established in Turfan and Beiting respectively. Throughout the 10th century Manichaeism enjoyed the status of state religion of the kingdom. The rulers of the West Uighur Kingdom may perhaps have imitated the location of their Manichaean church in their original capital in Mongolia.

In the late 19th century and early 20th century when several European and Japanese expeditions visited the site of Karabalgasun, there had remained some 30 fragments bearing inscriptions. On the basis of subsequent studies one can now arrange most of the larger fragments as shown in **plates 1, 2**.<sup>4</sup> As stated above, the inscription is trilingual in Old Turkish in Runic script, Sogdian, and Chinese. The Chinese and Sogdian versions occupy three sides, one wide side and two narrow sides, and the other wide side is inscribed in Runic script. The Chinese text occupies the left half, and

the Sogdian the right. The columns of the Chinese text run from right to left, while those of the Sogdian version run from left to right. Column XX<sup>5</sup> of the Chinese version is inscribed on a narrow space made by removing a corner of the stone. This situation suggests that one line would have been written on the other corner of the Sogdian side. Both the Chinese and Sogdian texts are inscribed vertically, but the Runic script is written horizontally. In view of the fact that one wide side is occupied by the Runic while the other is shared by the Chinese and Sogdian, it may be assumed that the Runic side was regarded as the front and main face.

As the drawing of the reconstruction (**plates 1, 2**) shows, the Chinese version is the best-preserved, and from the Runic side there have survived only a few small fragments, which cannot be placed in their original positions.<sup>6</sup> As one can see from the reconstruction, the Sogdian version, which is the main subject of this study, is preserved relatively well, but the cursive nature of the Sogdian script often makes the reading difficult or impossible even when the surface of a stone is only slightly weathered.<sup>7</sup> The title of the inscription is engraved in a pentagonal space on the dragon-shaped ornament placed upon the body of the inscription. Only in the case of this part, the Runic text is the best-preserved, while the surface of the Sino-Sogdian side has badly deteriorated. It seems to me that the deterioration of the surface is due to exposure to the open air for many centuries. In other words, when the inscription was broken the stones lay in such a way that the Sino-Sogdian side of the inscription was touching the ground, while in the case of the frontispiece it was the other way round.

When Professor Moriyasu first visited the site in August 1994, he was surprised to find out that some larger stones were missing. In **plates 3 and 4** I have marked with oblique lines those stones that are now lost. We asked Professor A. Ochir, who was in charge of the cultural remains in Mongolia at that time, about their present whereabouts, but he had no idea. Later in 2013, when Dr. Sh. Saito visited the site, he was told that some stones had been broken and taken away by the local people, who used them as tomb stones and building materials. Only a few of these stones have been retrieved, but their rubbings produced for us by Dr. Saito have turned out to be useless due to further deterioration.

Finally, I should like to discuss the original size of the inscription. By measuring the size of the surviving fragments one can work out the approximate size of the original stele as shown in **plate 5**. However, the original height cannot be measured since no complete line or column has been preserved. Nevertheless, when editing the Chinese version, Moriyasu and I were able to join a hitherto unplaced fragment (no. 5 in our numbering of the fragments) with the stone published in Radloff 1892, XXXIV-1. For this joining see **plate 1**. Since what is lost at the bottom of column X can be restored with considerable certainty by referring to the context and the beginning of column XI, we are now able to estimate the number of Chinese characters per column as 90.<sup>8</sup> As ten Chinese characters occupy some 45 cm of vertical space, one column comprising 90 characters would be 405 cm tall. On the establishment of the Chinese text, see our joint article to be published in 2019 [In the meantime the joint article has appeared].

## (B) Materials for reading the Sogdian text and the editions of the Chinese and Runic versions

After the Russian scholar Yadrintsev discovered the inscription in 1889, Radloff visited the site of Karabalgasun and made rubbings of the inscription. After Radloff, several people visited the site and made further rubbings. For example, two sets of rubbings are now preserved in Japan, one at Kyoto University, of which several sheets are now housed in the library of Ritsumeikan University for the reasons unknown to me, and the other in the National Diet Library in Tokyo.<sup>9</sup> E. Nomura, a member of the Otani Expedition, also produced a set of rubbings, and it was made use of by Haneda when he edited the Chinese text. However, its present whereabouts is not known. A few sets are known to be housed in several institutions in China, including the National Library of China in Beijing.<sup>10</sup> As far as I can see

from the two sets preserved in Japan, their quality is poorer than that reproduced by Radloff. This is particularly the case with what Hansen calls Fragment 2. Obviously, after Radloff took his rubbing, the surface of this stone was exposed to the open air and weathered to such an extent that in some parts the two rubbings of Fragment 2 preserved in Japan are almost useless. Understandably, the state of preservation was even worse when we prepared rubbings in 1997. This is one of the reasons that my edition published in Yoshida 1999 (pp. 215–216) has no independent value.

In the course of his expedition in Central Asia, Commandant Bouillane de Lacoste also visited the site in 1909; he differed from the others in that he made mouldings (Fr. *estampages*) rather than rubbings of the inscription. As I shall show later, de Lacoste's mouldings turned out to be one of the best materials for reading the inscription, although they had not been made extensive use of until Hamilton began to look into this material.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, mouldings of several fragments are now lost; as for the Sogdian version, only those of Fragments 1, 3, and 4 have survived and are preserved in the library of Société Asiatique.<sup>12</sup> Apart from the rubbings and mouldings, Heikel published photographs of some major fragments (Heikel 1892, tableaux 47, 57–61), but, as one can imagine, these photographs published in facsimile are very poor in quality and virtually useless for reading the inscription.

Studies of the inscription began when Radloff's rubbings were reproduced in the *Atlas der Alterthümer der Mongolei* published in 1892. For the Chinese version, Schlegel's text and his German translation appeared in 1896, and his edition is still consulted by Western scholars, although it contains many characters restored by Schlegel without any convincing grounds. As for columns VIII–X, Chavannes and Pelliot published their text and translation in 1913, and their edition based on an examination of Radloff's rubbings and de Lacoste's mouldings has remained to be the standard work and the most reliable version (Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, pp. 177–199). It is only to be regretted that the two scholars did not publish the entire text and translation.

In China and in Japan several texts were published. If one counts the texts only partly edited or cited, their number is quite large. However, in many cases they simply reproduce one or the other of the texts edited by Wang Guowei and Toru Haneda. Quite recently Lin Meicun et al. have revised the text and published their own edition. However, as Moriyasu and Yoshida (2019) will point out, they restore the gaps without alerting the reader, and one must be very careful when consulting their text. In this article I append the Chinese text as revised by Moriyasu and myself and its English translation (**Appendix II**). However, for the commentaries on the readings and translation one must refer to our forthcoming edition to be published in Japanese.

Finally some words on the edition of the Runic version. Soon after the appearance of the *Atlas*, Radloff published his readings of the Runic texts, and his text has largely remained to be consulted (Radloff 1895). Only in 1999 did Moriyasu publish revised texts and translations in the report of his expeditions in 1996 and 1997 (Moriyasu in: Moriyasu and Ochir 1999, pp. 219–224), which are reproduced as **Appendix III** here in this work.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. Placement of Sogdian Fragments

The placement of Sogdian fragments 1–4 was discovered already by Radloff in 1892 when he published the *Atlas*, where on plate XXXII the fragments are correctly placed. The placement of Fragment 5 can be determined by looking at the Chinese text preserved on it.<sup>14</sup> Later in 1930 when O. Hansen published the Sogdian version he established the placement of Fragment 6 by referring to a qaghan's name attested in that fragment. He was able to identify the fifth qaghan's name on it. Line 4 of Fragment 6 records the enthronement of the fifth qaghan, while line 13 of the main stone

mentions the fourth qaghan's accession to the throne, and line 14 refers to the death of the sixth qaghan; accordingly, line 4 of Fragment 6 belongs to line 13 of the main stone. Although the number of words lost between Fragment 4 and Fragment 6 is not known, the consideration of the context suggests that the gap is not very large.<sup>15</sup> Incidentally, Fragment 5 was brought to Russia together with other smaller fragments.

In 1988 when I revised Hansen's text, I noticed that line 3 of Fragment 7, which obviously comes from the bottom of the inscription, is directly followed by line 18 of the main stone, namely Fragment 1:

(7/3) ... rtms γrβ || (1/18) prwrt'k ... "... And again, many/ times ..."<sup>16</sup>

Since other lines of Fragment 7 can also be joined with the beginning of the main stone in the following way, my discovery seems to be confirmed.

(7/4) ... γr'n wrcy-'w(°)kw || (1/19) (°)krtw δ'rt ... "... He made/ great peace ..."

(7/5) ... pr mγ-wn t'z-yk'n'y || (1/20) [°x]š'w'nyh ... "... in the entire Tajik/ realm ..."

I then tried to determine the placement of Fragment 9, since the peculiar expression *mγwn t'zyk'n'y 'xš'w'nh* "entire realm of Tajiks" appears in both Fragment 7 and Fragment 9 (cf. Frag. 9, line 7: *mγ-wnw t'z-'yk'n'k 'xš'w'nh*). I assumed this combination should have belonged to one and the same line, namely, line 20.<sup>17</sup> However, this assumption of mine was later contradicted by Professor Moriyasu's discovery. When he visited Karabalgasun in 1994, he saw one stone on which three texts are preserved: one is Fragment 6, and the other two are Fragment 9 and one in Runic script (Moriyasu in: Moriyasu and Ochir 1999, 7c = Atlas XXXV-6). Thus, it is clear that Fragment 9 belongs to the narrow side of the inscription.<sup>18</sup> On the basis of the dimensions of this stone showing three faces I estimate that line 1 of Fragment 9 corresponds to approximately line 32 as counted from the very beginning.

In the course of our survey in 1997, we also discovered a small stone containing three lines in Sogdian. The stone has a part of the bottom tenon, and shows the ends of lines, so that it is clear that it also comes from the bottom. Its shape suggests that it was broken from Fragment 7, and we were able to join the two fragments (**plate 1**). Thus line 1 of this small fragment and the beginning of line 13 of the main stone join to give a continuous text.

... 'xš']w'nty || (1/13) [w](yδβx)s pw z-r'yš wβ' "... in the realms/ (the religion) prevailed and became without hindrance."

Later I noticed that Chavannes and Pelliot (1913, p. 178, n.) refer to a moulding of a small stone not mentioned by any scholar. According to them, it contains the start of the Sogdian text, but now I am pretty sure that this stone is the same as the small fragment that we were able to join with Fragment 7. I call this stone Fragment Paris.<sup>19</sup> Incidentally, the Runic side of the Fragment Paris has been left blank, and one may infer that the Runic inscription did not occupy the entire face, that is to say, the lower part of the Runic side was left blank. On this point see also note 6 above.

In 2016, Dr. P. Lurje together with Dr. Elikhina announced the discovery in the Hermitage Museum of yet another two fragments bearing Sogdian texts, and he was able not only to join the two fragments but also to join these two with Fragment 7 (**plate 1**). In fact, as I let them know when they informed me of their discovery, one of the two fragments had already been published by Hansen as Fragment 10. I am grateful to Dr. Lurje for allowing me to quote his edition of the

two joined fragments.<sup>20</sup> I refer to the joined fragments as Frag.Rus. (= Fragment Russia), which preserves lines 11–17.

### 3. Progress in the Understanding of the Sogdian Version

The study of the Sogdian version has a history of more than 100 years. As early as in 1891, when two fragments were brought to Russia, Radloff referred to line 2 of Fragment 5 and tried to read it in Uighur. It is understandable that Radloff tried to read it as Uighur since at that time the Sogdian language and script were not yet known. Later in 1909, F. W. K. Müller noticed that the part read by Radloff was actually written in Sogdian, and he was able to recognize two Sogdian words,<sup>21</sup> although he misread the second one. However, the Sogdian version was left unstudied for the next 20 years until 1930, when Hansen published the entire text. He was able to read substantial portions of the inscription. In particular, his reading of the names of the Uighur qaghans was very important in that it enabled him to place Fragment 6 in its correct position. I cannot but admire how much he was able to read from the poor photographs and facsimiles of the St. Petersburg rubbings. However, the Sogdian philology was not yet mature at that time, and with our present state of knowledge we can improve his readings even without seeing the facsimiles. Unfortunately, except for several short passages cited by Henning 1937 and idem 1938 and by other scholars just in passing,<sup>22</sup> no extensive attempt had been made to revise Hansen's text and translation for more than 50 years until Yoshida 1988. Below I compare the part read by Radloff with the readings by subsequent scholars:

Line 2 of Fragment 5

Radloff (1891): *pylksww yynync* “anerkend Ini[n]tch (Mökö Tegin)”

Müller (1909): *np 'γštw δ'rynt* “haben es geschrieben”

Hansen (1930): *np 'γštw δ'rym* “haben wir gesezt”<sup>23</sup>

Yoshida (1988): *np 'xštw δ'rym* “we have written”

For the situation after the publication of Yoshida 1988, see the **Preface** above.

#### Notes

- (1) See Dähne 2016, pp. 35–36. Since there are no remains of the outer wall surrounding the entire site of Karabalgasun, one cannot mark the distinct area of the city.
- (2) See also the report of the latest excavations of this area by a German team published in Dähne 2016, p. 36; idem 2017, pp. 27–85. As far as I can see from the report, nothing particularly religious has been discovered there.
- (3) Ramstedt had already pointed out this possibility (Hüttel and Dähne 2012, p. 422).
- (4) Throughout this paper, when referring to the fragments of the Sogdan version I use the numbers given in Hansen 1930, i.e. Fragments 1 to 10.
- (5) Throughout this article, columns in the Chinese text are referred to by Roman numerals.
- (6) One fragment (Radloff XXXV-6/9; bottom right) comprises five lines, and between lines 4 and 5 there is a blank space of two lines, while line 5 is followed by another blank space. This placement of lines seems to

indicate that the fragment belonged to the bottom of the Runic side, where a blank space was left below the last line. Unfortunately, the fragment is too small to yield any context and was not translated by Moriyasu. Since the Runic fragment 7c comes from the same stone as Sogdian Fragments 6 and 9, its position on the Runic side can also be inferred. On this point see also plates 1, 2.

- (7) One may say that approximately one-third of the Chinese version and one-quarter of the Sogdian text have survived.
- (8) For the Chinese text, see Appendix II below. See also plate 6, where the Chinese columns are arranged vertically.
- (9) According to Haneda (1957, p. 310), the set housed in Kyoto University and Ritsumeikan University was prepared by Sanduo 三田, a diplomatic official of the Qing Dynasty accredited to Kulun 庫倫 or Ulaanbaatar around 1910, and all sets now preserved in Japan and China seem to have been produced by this official.
- (10) On those found in China, see Moriyasu and Yoshida 2019.
- (11) It is to be noticed that it requires great effort and patience to read the letters of de Lacoste's mouldings, which look just like thick pieces of paper with a rugged or uneven surface, and one needs to place them in a dark room and examine the rugged surface with a torch in one hand and a mirror in the other to recognize and decipher letters on them. In May 2003 I myself spent considerable time in reading from the mouldings, and I shall refer to my readings in the commentary.
- (12) As a matter of fact, the moulding of Fragment 9 is now lost but is reproduced in de Lacoste 1911, plate 17, facing p. 74.
- (13) Moriyasu's text and translation are largely followed by Zieme 2003. One relatively large fragment was not read by Moriyasu. On this fragment, see also note 6 above.
- (14) Hansen (1930, pp. 9–10) also discusses and confirms this placement of the five fragments. Nevertheless, the exact place where Fragment 5 fits in became apparent when the number of Chinese characters per column was discovered by Moriyasu and myself.
- (15) Cf. my commentary on line 13, Frag. 4 below. On this point, see also Hansen 1930, p. 11.
- (16) Notations such as (7/3) denote line 3 of Fragment 7, etc.
- (17) A reconstruction of the Sogdian part based on this assumption is published in Yoshida 1988, p. 25.
- (18) See also the illustration found in **plate 2**. In fact Hansen (1930, p. 11) considers the possibility that Frag. 9 should belong to the narrow side. However, his only grounds for this assumption are that Frags. 7, 9, and 10 are all small, and consequently they could come from the narrow side. Cf. also his curious comment on Frag. 9 (Hansen 1930, p. 12), in which he even suspects that it does not belong to the Karabalgasun Inscription.
- (19) In Yoshida 1988, I was misled by Chavannes and Pelliot and proposed that Fragment Paris be joined to the right of Fragment 1. Unfortunately, the moulding of Fragment Paris is now lost.
- (20) I have slightly modified their text.
- (21) Moreover, Müller was able to read the qaghans' names in lines 13 and 14 of Frag. 1 and identified them correctly with those encountered in columns XIII and XIV of the Chinese version. He also gave the transcription of Frag. 9, which is relatively well preserved, and tried to compare his text with columns VII–XII of the Chinese version. Since Frag. 9 comes from the narrow side, his comparison cannot be supported, although his readings of Sogdian words are basically correct. On this point, see also Hansen 1930, p. 12.
- (22) Henning (1938, p. 550) extensively commented on line 19 in connection with *twyr'kc'ny*, which I now read



*twyr 'ystny*. For Hansen's *m 'ywny* "ganz" (now to be read *mnxw 'y*) see Haloun and Henning 1952, p. 203, n. 2, where he proposes to read *m 'yw 'y* "broke." In Henning 1937 the following forms are discussed: *'[β]t 'δ 'nyh* (Frag. 8, line 5: p. 119), *'γš 'w 'nty* (for *'xš 'w 'nty*, Frag. 9, line 9: p. 96), *'γšnyrkw* (for *'xšnyrkw*, line 17: p. 88), *kδ 'm* (line 4: p. 57), *kδ 'm 'yδ 'k* (line 15: p. 68), *p 'ryc* (line 5, etc.: p. 83), *\*pcγwzty* (reading unsettled, line 15: p. 76 "bedecken"), *\*prγ'nš* (now to be read *pr γny*, line 8: p. 55), *ptcγš-* (for *ptcxš-*, line 12: p. 93), *pts 'k* (line 1, etc.: p. 86 "Denkmal"), *ptwyst* (line 20: p. 78), *s 'rβ 'γty* (now to be read *xrl-wγty*, line 20: p. 104), *wyδβ 'γs* (for *wyδβ 'xs*, Frag. 9, line 8: p. 87), *wyδp 'i* (line 14: p. 102), *wym 'nt* (now to be read *wyš 'nt*, line 21: p. 82), *wyn 'ncykw* (line 18: p. 96), *wysprδ* (now to be read *šyr p 'δ*, line 18: p. 96).

## II. Some Problems Surrounding the Contents of the Inscription

Before editing the Sogdian text I should like to discuss the historical backgrounds of the inscription in connection with its contents. The battle between the Uighurs and the Tibetans for the occupation of Beshbaliq or Beiting 北庭 fought around 790 CE and recorded in column XV of the Chinese version has been extensively studied by Moriyasu (1979 = 2015, pp. 230–274). Nevertheless, one does not find a corresponding account in the Sogdian version handed down to us and it will not be discussed here. Yoshida (2009a) dwelled on the Uighurs' defeat and ousting of the Tibetans from Kucha and the latter's devastation in Four Tughristan (reported in line 19 and column XVI of the Chinese version) in connection with Khotanese secular documents and dated this battle to 798 CE. Similarly, the flight of the Tibetans and Qarluqs to Ferghana recorded in column XX is identified with an event of 802 CE recorded in a Khotanese document (ibid.).<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Relationship among the Three Versions

First, let us compare the headline or title of the inscription in the three languages. It is inscribed in a shield-shaped space placed above the body of the inscription.<sup>2</sup> The best-preserved Uighur version reads as follows:

**Uighur:** *[b]u tängrikän [ay] tängriä q[u]tbulmīs alp bilgä tängri uyγur qa[γan ... bitidimiz]* “[We have written] this [inscription(?) in praise of] the godlike [Ay] Tängriä Qutbulmīs Alp Bilgä Tängri Uighur Qaghan.”

Although the other two versions are damaged and almost lost, they are repeated in the first column/line of each version. They read as follows:

**Chinese:** *Jiu xing hui gu ai deng li luo gu mo mi shi he pi jia ke han sheng wen shen wu bei bing xu* 九姓迴鶻愛登里囉汨沒蜜施合毘伽可汗聖文神武碑并序 “Inscription accompanied by a preface dedicated to the qaghan who is wise like a saint and brave like Mars (by the name of) Ay Tängriä Qutbulmīs Alp Bilgä of the Uighurs (representing) Nine Tribes (= Toquzoghuz).”

**Sogdian:** *'yny 'y tkry-δ'xwtpwl-mys 'l-p pyl-k'βγγ 'wyγwr x'γ- 'n γwβty-'kh pts'k np'x(š)[tw δ'rym]* “We wrote this \*monument for glorifying Ay Tängriä Qutbulmīs(sic) Alp Bilgä godlike Uighur Qaghan.”

Since both the Uighur and Sogdian versions begin with *bu* = *'yny* “this,” it seems certain that the Sogdian and the Uighur texts are interdependent while the Chinese version follows its own long-standing tradition of epitaph writing and is independent of the other two versions. This fact is most likely to indicate that in the court of the Uighur Steppe Empire there existed two groups of scribes, one Sogdo-Uighur and the other Chinese. One may be reminded of a passage in the Šine-Ussu Inscription commemorating the second Uighur qaghan (r. 747–759):

**W5:** *suydaq tavyačqa sälänjädä bay baliq yapiti bertim* “I had Bay-Baliq built on the Sälänjä for the Sogdians and

Chinese.” (Moriyasu, et al. 2009, pp. 20, 31)

This sentence has been believed to show that Sogdians and Chinese were brought to Mongolia to serve as bureaucrats as well as technocrats resident in cities or towns built for the sedentary peoples belonging to the empire. The interdependence of the Sogdian and the Uighur versions may possibly point to the fact that the latter was also composed by the bilingual Sogdians.<sup>3</sup>

Let us, then, examine closely how the Chinese and Sogdian versions differ from or correspond to each other. For this purpose I have selected a passage where the story is told of why the third qaghan Mouyu or Bögü became involved in the affairs of the An Lushan rebellion in China. One finds the passage in question in column VII of the Chinese version and line 9 of the Sogdian.

Chinese, column VII: 使，幣重言甘乞師，併力欲滅唐社。○可汗忿彼孤恩竊弄神器，親統驍雄，與王師犄角，合勢齊駢，剋復京洛。<sup>4</sup> “... sent] <sup>07</sup>an ambassador, who pleaded by means of (Shi Zhaoyi’s 史朝義) rich presents and honeyed words for the dispatch of troops to join forces (with them), (because) he (= Shi Zhaoyi) wished to overthrow the foundations of the state of Tang. The qaghan was outraged by his ingratitude for (Chinese) imperial favour and by his intention to steal and abuse the imperial regalia (i.e. to usurp the throne). Taking personal command of his brave cavalrymen, the qaghan took part in a joint combat operation with the (Chinese) emperor’s forces, and advancing with united strength he recaptured the capital of Luoyang.”

Sogdian, line 9: (1) *ZY ptškw'nh 'yt w'nkW ZY cymyδ t(r)γty'kh β(r')yδt ZY ZKn z-'wr \*δβrδ' ZY c'nkW βγγ 'xšywny 'y(n)y ptškw'(n)h ptyγwš (x)wt(y 'M 'rps[t'(2)]kw 'sp'δy p(r)'yw kw βγp(wr)st(n)w s'r x[r'(4)](m)tδ'rt xyδ 'sp'(δy)['n ... ...]* “(1) and an entreaty came (saying): “Save (us/him) from this oppression and give assistance to him.” When the godlike king heard this entreaty, (2) he deigned to proceed to China (= land of the Chinese emperor) with the powerful army. (4) Those sold[iers ... ...]”

It is clear that what had happened is described with quite different wording in the two versions, although the general course of events recorded in the two versions is the same. In any case, when one tries to decipher the Sogdian version, the Chinese version, though relatively better preserved, is not as helpful as one might expect.<sup>5</sup> There follows the rough correspondence of topics recorded in the Chinese and Sogdian versions.

	Chinese	Sogdian
Title	I	1
Composers of the stele	I–II	1–3
Foundation of the empire	III–IV	4–5
Overthrow of Ashinas-Turks	V	6–7
First and second qaghans	V–VI	7
Mouyu and An Lushan Rebellion	VI–VII	7–9
Introduction of Manichaeism	VII–X	10–13
Succession from third to seventh qaghans	XI	13–14
8th qaghan’s support of seventh qaghan	XII	14–15

Seventh qaghan before enthronement	XIII	16–17
Conquest of Khirghiz	XIII–XIV	18
Siege of Beshbaliq	XIV–XV	==
Defeat of Tibetans in Kucha	XVI	19
Pursuit of enemy to Syr Darya	XVII	==
Submission of local king(s)	XVIII	==
Reaching Islamic territory while pursuing enemy	XIX	==
Reaching Ferghana while pursuing enemy	XX	==
Turgish and subjugated Qarluqs	XXI	20
Submission of Caliph and flourishing of Manichaeism	XXII	21–23

## 2. The Problem of Tian Kehan 天可汗 or Tängri Qaghan

The most vexing and tantalizing problem surrounding the Chinese version of the Karabalgasun (hereafter KB) Inscription is no doubt the identity of Tian Kehan 天可汗, or “Heavenly Qaghan,” attested several times in the inscription. As far as one can tell from what has been recorded, Tian Kehan plays the leading role and the inscription seems to be dedicated to him. According to Chavannes and Pelliot (1913, pp. 179, 199) and Haneda (1957, pp. 225–227, 317–323, 324 n. 18), it is the eighth qaghan (r. 808–821) to whom the inscription is dedicated, but according to Abe (1955, pp. 179–193) and Mackerras (1972, pp. 184–186), it is the seventh qaghan (r. 795–808). Henning (1938, p. 550, n. 2) remarks that the Sogdian version supports the latter view, although he adduces no reason. Since the identity of Tian Kehan is of vital importance for dating the events recorded in the inscription, I summarize Moriyasu’s and my opinion based on our joint edition of the Chinese text and my new edition of the Sogdian text, both of which lend support to the identification of Tian Kehan with the seventh qaghan.<sup>6</sup>

First, it has become clear now that the Sogdian version is much longer than has been generally believed. According to my calculations, it comprises more than 43 lines and a somewhat similar situation is assumed for the Chinese version, which could have comprised 34 columns at the most. That is to say, we have ample space for the eighth qaghan’s achievements to be recorded, and this point was rightly noted by Moriyasu when he discovered the correct placement of Sogdian Fragment 9, which constitutes the narrow side of the stele.

Secondly, as has been noticed by Abe and others, at least one of Tian Kehan’s military exploits reported in the inscription, the siege of Beiting or Beshbaliq described in column XV, is known to have been carried out in 790/1 CE by no one other than the later seventh qaghan when he was still a counselor or minister. As I once showed (Yoshida 2009a), Tian Kehan’s defeat of the Tibetans in Kucha as recorded in line 19 and in column XVI of the Chinese is dated to 798 CE during the seventh qaghan’s reign.

Thirdly, in the Sogdian version one finds the following passages relevant to this problem.

(a) line 14: (1) *xwtl-wγ pyl-k’ x’γ-’n’ βc’npδy xr’mtδ’rt pts’r tnkryδ’ ’wl-wk pwl-mys ’l-pw xwtl-wγ ’wl-wγ pyl-k’ x’γ-’n’* [(2) *nys/ty*] “(1) (When) ⑥ Qutluγ Bilgä Qaghan proceeded (from) the world, then ⑦ Tängri Qaghan Ülüg Bulmīs

Alp Qutluy Uluy Bilgä Qaghan (2) [ascended] (the throne).”<sup>7</sup>

(b) line 16: *pr s't pw(yrw)xty xwy-štr 'yl 'wk'sy 'l-pw xwtl-wy t(yk) 'yn n'm δ'βr* “He gave the name (= title) of tegin (or prince) to Il Ögäsi (prime minister named) Alp Qutluy who is a chief of all the ministers.”

(c) line 17: (6) *lty nβ'nt w'st nβyr 'k* “He stood as a counselor by [...].”

(d) line 17: Frag.Rus. *'jxš 'w(nδ)l'(7)lry w'δy nysty L' wm't* “He had not sat on the seat of [the rul]er.”

(e) line 23: (2) *'βc 'np]δy xr 'mty L' wm't pts'r c'nk w βyy 'xšy-wn 'k [ ]* “[The qaghan] had not proceeded (from) the [wor]ld. (= The qaghan had not passed away). Then, when the godlike king ...”

(f) line \*41: *J' 'l-pw pyl-k' x'γ'n [ [... ... ... ]* ⑧Alp Bilgä Qaghan [... ... ...]”

If one combines these passages with what is known from the Chinese sources, it seems clear that between passages (a) and (e), the seventh qaghan’s achievements are reported both before (b, c, and d) and after his accession to the throne. It is worth noting that in (b) the seventh qaghan was accorded the title *tegin* “prince” when he was still chief of the ministers (*pwyrwx-ty*, pl.obl. of Uigh. *buyruq* “minister”). This statement can be taken to show that he was adopted into the ruling Yaghlaqar clan from his original Ädiz clan.<sup>8</sup> Yaghlaqar was a clan from which all the previous Uighur qaghans had originated, and this adoption must have been necessary for him to be the legitimate successor of the sixth qaghan. As a matter of fact, in view of his greatest contribution to the restoration and subsequent prosperity of the Uighur Steppe Empire, it would be simply impossible for no mention to be made of the seventh qaghan’s military exploits in the inscription.<sup>9</sup>

It is likely that *prnpδy 'xšy-wn 'k* “glorious king/emperor” and *prnxwntk 'xšy-wn 'k* “id.” attested in lines 21 and 22 are the Sogdian counterpart of Tian Kehan “Heavenly Qaghan.” Since he is described as being still alive in (e) (= line 23), the eighth qaghan had not ascended the throne at this stage. Later in line \*41, the eighth qaghan’s name is mentioned, and possibly at this point he was the main figure in the events described. Thus, *βyy 'xšy-wn 'k* “godlike king” of line 23 most likely denotes the eighth qaghan when the seventh qaghan was still alive. It is worth noting that in lines 9–12, *βyy 'xšywny* is invariably employed to refer to the third qaghan. Obviously, among the Uighurs special prestige was accorded to the seventh qaghan Huaixin after his restoration of the empire and the change in ruling clans from Yaghlaqar to Ädiz. In my opinion, Abe (1955, pp. 169–199) is right in assuming that Huaixin’s distinguished contribution to the empire helped earn for him the legend of Boquy Khan.<sup>10</sup>

### 3. Manichaeism and the Uighur Steppe Empire

Let us see what is recorded in the inscription about Manichaeism among the Uighurs. Although this is supposed to be the most intriguing aspect of the inscription, there still remain many questions unanswered even after a prolonged period of study. As far as what has survived is concerned, in the Chinese version one finds two places where Manichaeism is mentioned (columns VII–X, XXII), while many more passages in the Sogdian version are concerned with Manichaeism

(lines 7–10, 17–19, 21–23, \*37, Fragment 8, lines 2, 5). One also encounters relatively numerous references to Manichaeism in the fragments of the Uighur version as edited by Moriyasu in Moriyasu and Ochir 1999: No. 7c, lines 5, 12; No. 12, lines 2, 4, 7, 13 (**Appendix III**). Here again, the interdependence of the Sogdian and Uighur versions seems to be betrayed.

(A) Introduction of Manichaeism (lines 10–13 and Chinese columns VII–X)

The introduction of Manichaeism to the Uighur Empire is recorded in columns VII to X of the Chinese version and lines 10 to 13 of the Sogdian version. The Sogdian part in question reads as follows in my translation:

**line 10:** (1) ( $\delta\beta$ ) $\tau\gamma k(w)$  'nxw(n)cw 'krtw  $\delta'r$  'nt s't  $\delta ynykt$  'z-y<r> 'nt ZKw  $\beta\gamma y$  m'rm'ny  $\delta ynh$  (w' $\beta r$ ) c'nk w'yny (n'p)t ' $\beta\check{s}krty$  w $\beta'$   $\beta\gamma y$  'xš('y)-wny 'M ('rp)[s(2)]t'kw '(s)p' $\delta y$  pr 'yw m $\delta y$  ('w)ytwk'n z-'y(h)[ (4) s]('r '' $\gamma$ )z-'nt ''( $\gamma$ )t[ ]kw s't $\cdot\gamma$ •t (rt)[y ... ... (6)](n) ct $\beta$ 'r ptšm('r•••• $\delta$ •••)[... ...] “(1) They made the second battle. All the heretics distressed the religion of godlike Mar Mani. When these people were persecuted, the godlike king together with the powerful army (2–4) began to bring (them) here to the land of Ötükän [... ...] (6) four in number [... ...]”

Thus, when the Uighur qaghan was staying in Luoyang, Manichaeans were persecuted, and the qaghan gave a helping hand to them and led Manichaean monks to the land of Ötükän, or Karabalgasun.

According to our reading of the Chinese version, it was five monks who first came to Karabalgasun, that is to say, four monks headed by Ruixi 睿息 and another referred to as *fashi* 法師 “master of the law,” who was apparently the leader of the group. All previous scholars have thought that it was four monks who visited the Uighur capital, and that Ruixi was also referred to as *fashi*.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, the Sogdian version does not help solve the question; what has survived just mentions the number four, which would correspond to the number of monks recorded in the Chinese version. In our understanding of the Chinese text, owing to this *fashi*'s great contribution in propagating Manichaeism among the Uighurs, he became a *mahistag*, i.e. presbyter. Possibly this was the first time that the seat of *mahistag* or presbyter was established in the Uighur capital.

**columns VII–VIII:** (VII)可汗乃頓軍東都，因觀風■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■法(VIII)師，將睿息等四僧入國。闡揚二祀，洞徹三際。況法師妙達明門，精通七部，才高海岳，辯若懸河。故能開正教於迴鶻。■■■■■■■■■■對爲法，立大功績，乃爲默侯悉德。 “Thereupon, the qaghan stationed the army in the eastern capital (東都 = Luoyang). On that occasion the qaghan observed the people's lives (there) [... ...].<sup>08</sup> A master [of the law by the name of ...] brought four monks headed by Ruixi (睿息) to our country. They clearly showed (the doctrine of) the two sacrifices and were thoroughly acquainted with (the teaching of) the three times, to say nothing of the master of the law (= *fashi* 法師), who was marvelously learned in the Doctrine of Light (明門 = Manichaeism) and understood the seven scriptures (七部) perfectly. His abilities were deep like an ocean and high like a mountain, while his eloquence was like a torrent. That is why they were able to propagate the right teachings (正教 = Manichaeism) in the land of the Uighurs. [... ...] what he [did] for the religion, i.e. his great accomplishment and accumulation of merit [made] him (= the master of the law?) a *mahistag* (*moxixide* 默侯悉德 = presbyter).”



be abandoned by you?) ...].’ [... ...]”

If one combines the Sogdian and Chinese versions, one can assume that after the qaghan had converted, the ministers changed their mind and asked the qaghan to give them a second chance. Thus the Chinese expression 再三懇[請] “again and again (or twice and thrice) beg(ged) and request(ed)” can only describe a situation in which the ministers asked the qaghan to give them a second chance. Therefore, Chavannes and Pelliot’s (1913, p. 193) rendering “Par deux et par trois fois, avec sincérité [je l’ai étudiée]” is definitely to be discarded. Their restoration must have been based on their simple guess that this is a statement made by the qaghan. One may also notice that in the Sogdian version one finds such expressions as “You (pl.) cannot accept (the religion)” and “(You pl.) Adopt (the Manichaeism religion)!” in which the predicate verbs are second person plural forms. Moreover, it is clearly written that the latter statement was made by the qaghan.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the Chinese phrase 此法微妙, 難可受持 “This law is subtle and marvelous, and it is difficult (for you) to accept and observe it” was a statement made by the qaghan to the ministers.

The Chinese text shows that later the ministers were ordered by the qaghan to burn and destroy idols. In the corresponding Sogdian text, the place where the idols were burnt is called *yr’(m’)kw (n’)m z-’yh* “lit. the land named wealth” and I venture to identify it with the town named Bay Baliq “Wealth City” mentioned in line w5 of the Šine Usu inscription (see above and Moriyasu, et al. 2009, pp. 20, 31, 41).

In the Chinese version it is stated that when he heard that the qaghan and his subjects had converted to Manichaeism and that the Uighur Steppe Empire had adopted Manichaeism as its state religion, the *fawang* 法王 “lord of the law” praised it.

**column X:** 法王聞受正教, 深讚虔, ■■■■■, ■默奚悉德領諸僧尼, 入國闡揚. 自後○慕闡徒衆, 東西循環, 往來教化. “When the lord of the law (= *fawang* 法王) heard that the Uighurs had accepted the right teachings (正教 = Manichaeism), he deeply praised their pious [... ...] (Another?) *mahistag* (= presbyter) led monks and nuns into the country (of the Uighurs) and elucidated the Manichaeism teaching clearly. Thereafter, the Teacher (*možak*) and his disciples traversed the land in all directions from east to west, and shuttling (between the Uighurs and their homeland) they edified the people.”

As Chavannes and Pelliot (1913, p. 195, n. 1) once argued, this *fawang* is to be identified with the archeagos seated in Babylonia. I mistook *fawang* for the *možak* (Yoshida 2000, p. 57; idem 2010). This was because *Možak Mār Aryāmān Puhr* is referred to as *δrm’yk xwt’w* “the lord of the law” in one of the Bāzāklik letters. However, since I now understand that the Teacher *Mār Aryāmān Puhr* was at the same time archeagos of the entire Manichaeism world, I abandon my old idea without regret (Yoshida 2019, pp. 43–45).

In one part of line 12, which is preserved in Fragment 6, one reads somewhat clearly as follows:

(6) [ (’sky?) ] *ZY c’δr c’nkw βγy (mry) nyw(rw) ’n m(w)z-’k(’)* [“(6) [...] upwards and downwards (= eastward and westward). When godlike *Mār Nēw-Ruwān*, the *možak* [... ...]”

Thus, the *možak* or Teacher at the time of the Uighur conversion was called *Mār Nēw Ruwān*, and the beginning of his name also seems to be encountered in Runic fragment No. 12, line 4: *tāngri mar n[ ]* “godlike *Mār N-*” (**Appendix III** below; see also Moriyasu and Yoshida, forthcoming) and in the Uighur fragment Mainz 345 (Moriyasu 2015, pp.



25–26). I also suggest that *nyw 'wc* found in yet another Uighur fragment 81TB10: 06-3 is a corruption of this same name (Yoshida, forthcoming a). In the Uighur text (81TB10: 06-3) it is recorded that the *možak* came all the way from Tughuristan<sup>14</sup> to the Uighur court and that he was welcomed by Bögü Qaghan. Thus, Možak Mār Nēw Ruwān's visit to the Uighur court is recorded in this Uighur text as well as in the Sogdian and Chinese versions of the KB inscription. Nevertheless, his name is not found in the Chinese text that has come down to us. On this point see also Yoshida, forthcoming a and forthcoming b, where I collect and discuss what is known about the early phase of Uighur Manichaeism during Bögü's reign. If one follows the course of the Uighurs' conversion to Manichaeism as reconstructed by me, it may be outlined as follows.

- i) Bögü's first encounter with Manichaeism<sup>15</sup> / Manichaean mission to the Uighur court from Central Asia (before 761/2 when the *Mahrnāmag* began to be copied; my conjecture and date unknown).<sup>16</sup>
- ii) Bögü's final conversion after some hesitation because of an anti-Manichaean vassal named Tarkhan (U72/U73).<sup>17</sup>
- iii) Invitation to the Uighur court of the five Manichaean monks whom Bögü encountered in Luoyang in 762/3 (KB inscription).
- iv) The Chinese monks' successful propagation; one Manichaean church headed by a *mahistag* was established in the capital (KB inscription).
- v) Anti-Manichaean Uighur ministers' final adoption of Manichaeism (KB inscription).
- vi) Archegos's praise of the Uighurs' conversion (KB inscription).
- vii) Arrival of the Central Asian monks and Možak Mār Nēw Ruwān, whose seat was placed in Tughuristan (Karashahr or Šorčuq) (KB inscription; 81TB10: 06-3; P. t. 1283; Mainz 345; cf. Yoshida forthcoming a).
- viii) Establishment of Manichaean churches in various cities in China, first in 768 CE and again in 771 CE (Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, pp. 261–263, nos. X, XI, XII).<sup>18</sup>

## (B) Other references to Manichaeism

### (a) Comparison of the seventh qaghan and the angel Jacob (lines 17–18)

It is interesting to note that the seventh qaghan's valour is compared with the angel Jacob, whose name is attested twice in the Sogdian text:

line 17: *rty xwty y(')xy (')[(2)x]šy-wn 'k wm 't ky pr y 'kwβ βr 'y-(št) 'k 'xšnyrkw xypδ[ (4)]CWRH \*(pyst)δ 'rt* “He himself was a brave (2) king, who has adorned(?) his own body (or himself) with the mark of the angel Jacob (= in the manner of the angel Jacob).”

lines 17–18: (Frag.Rus.) *']xš 'w(nδ)[ '(7)]ry w 'δy nysty L' wm 't pr /18/ (1) y '(k)[wβ βr]('yš)ty 'xšn(y)rkw wysprδ yr 'n yny ZY mrt 'nyh wyn 'ncykw 'krtw δ 'rt* “(Frag.Rus.)–(7) he had not sat on the seat of [the ruler]. With /18/ (1) the mark of the angel Jacob (= Like the angel Jacob) he displayed great skill and valour everywhere.”

In Manichaean Uighur panegyrics, an Uighur qaghan is compared with the angel Jacob:

*kün tängritäg körtlä ay tängritäg yaruq yakob frišti täg alp ärdämlig ...* “beau comme le dieu Soleil, lumineux comme le dieu Lune, vaillant et vertueux comme l’ange Jacob ...” (Hamilton 1986, p. 40, ll. 51–53).

For the role played by the angel Jacob in Manichaeism and Gnosticism, cf. Böhlig’s article (1978) entitled “Jacob as an angel in Gnosticism and Manicheism.” See also Yoshida 2019, pp. 138–139.

(b) Revival of Manichaeism by the seventh qaghan (lines 16–17)

In 779 CE Bögü Qaghan, who had chosen Manichaeism as the state religion, was killed by his cousin, and the latter succeeded to the throne. It is natural to suppose that the religion was also rejected by the fourth qaghan. In fact the Sogdian version seems to record that after Bögü it was the seventh qaghan who revived the religion, and that from his time onward Manichaeism gained a firm footing among the Uighurs. One reads as follows in lines 16–17:

lines 16-17: *c' nkw /17/ (1) (•••)[ J(p)wkw 'xšy-wn'k z-mnyh 'xw'š wβ'ZY wyδp' t δ(yn)m(y)ncw pts'k δ(βty)w k'm*  
*”(x)w(’š)t* “As /17/ (1) in the time of King Bögü there was a =?=, at that time he (= the seventh qaghan) desired again to =?= the religious monument.”

Although the reading and meaning of *’xw’š* (or *’nywnšt*, etc.) is not clear to me (on which see below), the general context suggests that the seventh qaghan accomplished or established something concerning the religion, which had also been accomplished or established before by Bögü Qaghan, namely, the third qaghan. According to recent excavations, the archaeological site where the inscription was discovered underwent two phases of construction work (Dähne 2016, p. 36; idem. 2017, pp. 27–85). This passage may possibly hint at these two construction phases. One may also connect this passage with the event of 803 CE recorded in the Manichaean Uighur document cited above, where it is reported that Boquy Xan, that is to say, the seventh qaghan, came to see a *možak* in Qočo to discuss plans for installing of three *mahistags* in Uighur territory.<sup>19</sup> Since both the third qaghan and the seventh qaghan are known to have built Manichaean temples in China (Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, Texts X, XI, XII, XIX, XX), this may also be mentioned in this passage. However, the latter scenario is not very likely, since it was towards the end of the seventh qaghan’s reign in 807 that he had Manichaean temples built in China (Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, pp. 275–276).

(c) Relocation of the *možak*’s seat from Tughristan<sup>20</sup> to Qočo? (lines 19–20)

In lines 19–20, after the defeat of the Tibetan army in Kucha and Tughristan in 798 CE, it is stated thus:

lines 19–20: (7) *...J(t)δ’rt ’rt’wty ZY ny’wš’kty yr’n wrcy-’w(’)kw (1) (’)krtw δ’rt* “he ...ed [...] He made great peace for elects and auditors.”

As I showed in Yoshida 2018a and Yoshida forthcoming a, the seat of the Teacher had been located in Karashahr or Šorčuq during Bögü’s reign. However, it had moved to Qočo or Turfan by 803 CE, when the seventh qaghan met a *možak* there. Therefore, at one stage before 803 CE the seat was relocated to Turfan. Possibly, the qaghan produced peace for the elects and auditors by moving the seat of the Teacher from Karashahr or Šorčuq to more secure Turfan.

(d) Rescuing Manichaeans from the Abbasid persecution and establishing a Manichaean monument in the western

region(?) (lines 20–23)

Obviously, towards the end of the seventh qaghan's reign there was persecution of Manichaeans in the Abbasid Empire:

lines 20–21: *rtms pr my-wn t'z-yk'n'y* (1) [*'x]š'w'nyh* (*pyz*)*t ZY p(r)šk'r wm 't* “Also, in the entire Tajik (= Islam/Abbasid) (1) realm, there were strikings(?) and persecution.”

Just after this passage in line 21 it is recorded that when the seventh qaghan proceeded downward (= westward), he sent an order to the *amīr* of Khorasan and to many other local *amīrs* and rulers (see also below). Being an enthusiastic supporter of Manichaeism, the qaghan is likely to have tried to stop the persecution. Line 22 reports that the qaghan also established an immeasurably large religious monument in the lower lands (= western regions).

Because of all these meritorious works by the seventh qaghan the Manichaean church enjoyed prosperity:

lines 22–23: (7) *Jtδ'rt ZY ZKwy my-wnw 'xš'w'nyh pr βγ(y)* (1) [*m'rm'ny δynh wγ](š)y ZY xws'nty-'kh'krty p'rZY* (*pry*)-*myδ 'xš'w'nyh cw δynmyncw pts'k* (•••••)[“(7) He [...]ed. And in the entire realm in the godlike (1) [Mār Mānī's religion/church] there were joy and happiness, because in this realm whatever religious monument [there was ...]”

The corresponding Chinese passage seems to be found in column XXII:

■ ■ 寺宇，令僧徒寬泰，聽士安樂 “[The Heavenly Qaghan restored/established] the (Manichaean) temples and made the elects relieved, so that the auditors lived in ease and comfort.”

In this connection it may be recalled that a very similar incident is recorded by al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist*. There follows the English translation of the relevant passage by Reeves (2011, pp. 228–229):

The last time when they were visible was during the reign of al-Muqtadir (908–932 CE), when they kept close to Khurāsān. Out of fear for their lives, those of them who were left concealed their affairs and roamed about in this region. (Eventually) around five hundred of their members gathered together in Samarqand. When their business became public, the governor of Khurāsān sought to put them to death. Then the king of China—I think it was (actually) the lord of the Toghuzghuz—sent a message to him saying: ‘In my country there are many more Muslims than there are people of my religion in your country,’ and he swore to him that if he should kill a single one of them, he would kill the whole community (of Muslims) who were with him. (He also promised) he would demolish the mosques and leave among the remaining lands lookouts against the Muslims in order to (identify and) kill them. So the governor of Khurāsān refrained from harming them, and he accepted the *jizya* from them.

It is worth noting that on both occasions the Uighur rulers did not send soldiers to prevent persecution. In other words, there was no battle or even skirmish between the two states.

## (e) Manichaeism under the eighth qaghan

According to the colophon of the *Mahrnāmag*, copying of the book began in 761/2 and was completed during the reign of the eighth qaghan (r. 808–821). Thus, the eighth qaghan followed his predecessor in supporting Manichaeism. A few references to Manichaeism are found in the remaining part of the inscription. While the mention of *δynh* in line \*37 (= Fragment 9, line 6) and in line 2 of Fragment 8 is encountered in broken contexts, *pr 'βt'δ'ny'* “in/by/for the bishop-ship” (Fragment 8, line 5) seems to indicate that the seat of bishop or *aftādān* was established in the capital (Ordu Balīq) during his reign.<sup>21</sup> For the location of the other five bishoprics recorded in the *Mahrnāmag*, see above.

#### 4. Relationship between the Abbasid Empire and the Uighur Steppe Empire

In this section I should like to discuss the relationship between the Abbasid Empire and the Uighur Steppe Empire as recorded in the Karabalgasun Inscription.<sup>22</sup> In his book on the Tibetan empire in Central Asia, Beckwith (1987, p. 165) remarks as follows:

The Uyghur Empire had by now expanded to its greatest east-west extent. In the late spring or early summer of 821, an Uyghur army appeared in Uśrūsana, apparently after attacking a Tibetan and Qarluq force to their west and chasing them across the Jaxartes into Ferghana, where the Uyghurs collected great quantities of plunder from the local people. It was also probably in that year that the Arab envoy, Tamīm b. Baḥr, traveled to Ordubalīq via the Uyghur-controlled lands near Talas, the Issyk Kul, and Jungaria.

The following footnote is added to this remark:

The fate of the Tibetan army is unknown. The Karabalgasun inscription does not allow absolute dates to be determined for the events it describes. Such a major Uyghur expedition into Arab-dominated territory should have been noticed by the Arab chroniclers, hence my assumption that the entry in Ṭabarī (iii: 1044)<sup>23</sup> refers to this event.

Beckwith's understanding of the Chinese version of the Karabalgasun Inscription represents a traditional view,<sup>24</sup> and he assumes that Tian Kehan 天可汗 mentioned in the inscription is to be identified with the eighth Uighur qaghan Baoyi (r. 808–821). As argued above, Tian Kehan cannot be identified with Baoyi and must be identified with Huaixin or the seventh qaghan (r. 795–808).

Thus, the Uighurs' attacking of Tibetan and Qarluq forces to their west and chasing them across the Jaxartes into Ferghana suggested by Beckwith as the achievement of Baoyi was in fact carried out by Huaixin, and consequently one cannot combine it with the event of 821 CE recorded by Ṭabarī. On the other hand, in the Chinese version as edited by Moriyasu and myself, there are two more passages that mention Tajiks and a caliph, i.e. columns XIX and XXII (see **Appendix II**). My current translation of lines 20–22 of the Sogdian version reads as follows:

/20/ *rtms pr mγ-wn t'z-yk'n'y* /21/ (1) [*x*]š'w'nyh (pyz)t ZY p(r)šk'r wm't ZY prnpδy 'xšy-wn'k c'nkw c'δr  
*xr'mtδ'rt kw xwr's'n xm'yr ZY kw ('n)[y* (2) γr](β')wt'kcykt xm'yr ZY 'xš'w'nδ'r s'r prm'nh (pr')šy wys'nt[ ...  
 ... (6)](n)γ'wš'kt [ ... ... (7)]mwmyn xm'yr prm MN prnxwnt'kw 'xšy-wn'k /22/ (1) [p'](š) ZY pckwryy [w](')β

*prw'rt'k 'rp'st'k ('z-'ty)t ZY (yr)'n nm'ck'n βšmtw δ'r'nt* “Also, in the entire Tajik (= Islamic/Abbasid) realm, there were strikings(?) and persecution. And the fortunate ruler, when he proceeded downward (= westward), sent an order to the *amir* of Khorasan and to [many other] local *amirs* and rulers. They [... ..] auditors [... ..] up to Mumin Amir (= the Abbasid caliph), because of the [repect] and fear of the fortunate ruler, so many times they sent mighty nobles(?) (and) very great offerings.”

Obviously, this text does not mention a military invasion or armed conflict of any kind but rather a diplomatic relationship involving the exchange of envoys.

According to Minorsky, during the period of the Uighur Steppe Empire, three events related to Toghuzghuz or the Uighurs are recorded in Islamic sources. Apart from that of 821 CE mentioned above, the remaining two are as follows:

- (i) The earliest reference to the Toghuzghuz is found in Ya‘qūbī (ii, 479).<sup>25</sup> Soon after 161/777 the Caliph al-Mahdī sent envoys to invite the eastern rulers to submit. Among them the king of Toghuzghuz bearing the title of *xān* is mentioned.
- (ii) The second is found again in Ya‘qūbī (ii, 568), where reference is made to the revolt of Rāfi‘ ibn-Layth in Samarqand (ca. 806–810). When Hārūn al-Rashīd (who died in 809) sent Harthama against the rebel, the latter had secured aid from many sides including “Turks, the Karlukhs, the Toghuzghuz, and the armies of Tibet.”

Considering that Huaixin’s or Tian Kehan’s period of reign ended in spring 808 CE, one is forced to connect the above-mentioned (ii) with the contact between the Uighurs and the Tajiks recorded in the inscription. Mention of Qarluqs and Tibetans in the inscription seems also compatible with this assumption, which was first proposed in Yoshida 1988 and later in de la Vaissière 2007, pp. 126–131. However, during the revolt of Rāfi‘ ibn-Layth it was not the caliph but Rāfi‘ ibn-Layth who contacted the Uighurs. Moreover, as Karev (2015, pp. 304–313) points out, according to Ya‘qūbī, *Ta‘rīkh* (ii, 538), it was Jabghūya or Yabghu of the Qarluqs who was directly involved in the revolt, not the Uighur qaghan, who had already died by the time Harthama arrived. Karev himself mentions the event recorded by Ibn Khaldūn in which a khāqān’s brother was arrested by ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā during the battle against the khāqān fought in 804 CE, and he goes on to suggest the possibility that the contact between the Uighurs and the Tajiks recorded in the inscription may correspond to this event. It is certainly a possibility, although the details and reliability of Ibn Khaldūn’s record, which was not referred to by Minorsky, remain obscure to me.

In any case, as lines 20–22 of the Sogdian version and Tamīm b. Baḥr’s report indicate, the exchange of envoys between the Uighur Steppe Empire and the Abbasid Dynasty did take place, possibly because of the Qarluqs, who were a formidable enemy common to both parties.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, for the Uighurs the persecution of the Manichaeans by the Abbasid caliph, Hārūn al-Rashīd, could also have been a pretext for sending an order to the *amir* of Khorasan and to many other local *amirs* and rulers to put a stop to it. It does not seem fanciful to suppose that Tamīm b. Baḥr was the very envoy dispatched by Hārūn al-Rashīd on this occasion, since Minorsky’s dating of the envoy to 821 CE is based on an unfounded assumption that identifies the arrival of the Uighurs in Ushushana in 821 CE recorded by Ṭabarī with the Uighurs’ invasion of the Syr Darya and Ferghana areas mentioned in the Chinese version of the Karabalgasun Inscription.<sup>27</sup>

Again, in line \*38 the entire realm of the Tajiks is mentioned immediately after the word *ypγw* “Yabghu” (*[/](\*\*\*\*\*i)*)

ypγw mγ-wnw t'z- 'yk'n'k 'xš'w'nh[] “Yabghu, the entire realm of Islam”), unfortunately without further context. However, it is certain that this passage is related to an event that occurred during the reign of Baoyi (r. 808–821). Qarluq Yabghu is mentioned again in Islamic sources when he was defeated by al-Faḍl b. Sahl, prime minister of Ma‘mūn, and took flight to the Kimäk’s territory (Beckwith 1987, p. 162). It may be worth mentioning that Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh* (ii, 538) records that the Yabghu in question is the very Yabghu who was converted to Islam by the hand of Caliph al-Mahdī (r. 775–785). In other words, this Yabghu had been the leader of the Qarluqs who repeatedly fought against Huaixin during his entire career even before the latter ascended the throne and is most likely to be identified with the Yabghu mentioned in column XX: “For this reason the Yabghu (= the leader of the Qarluqs) did not follow the instructive order (of the *možak*?) and left his country.”<sup>28</sup>

### Notes

- (1) Recently Zhang Zhan (2018) has published a fresh study of these Khotanese documents. On this question see also Yoshida forthcoming.
- (2) The three versions are arranged in the following way. Here I give the restored text of the Chinese and Sogdian versions.

Chinese/Sogdian side	Uighur side
1 九姓迴鶻愛登	1 [b]u tängrikän
2 里囉汨沒蜜施	2 [ay] tängridä q-
3 合毘伽可汗聖	3 [u]tbulmīš al-
4 文神武碑并序	4 [p] bilgä täng-
	5 [ri]( uyγur) qa-
1 'yny 'y tkryδ' xwt	6 [γan ]
2 pwl-mys 'l-pw pyl-k' βγγ	7 [ ]
3 'wyγwr x'γ-'n γwβty'kh	8 [ ]
4 pts'k np'xštw δ'rym	9 [ bitidimiz?]

- (3) Uighur elements found in the Sogdian version also suggest that the Sogdian scribes were bilingual. On this question see also **Part III-1-(B)** below.
- (4) For the notations in the Chinese text, see **Appendix II**.
- (5) This seems to be the case, in spite of Henning’s repeated appeal to Sinologists to re-edit the Chinese version (Henning 1938, p. 550, n. 2; idem 1949, p. 158).
- (6) For a full discussion of this problem, see Moriyasu and Yoshida forthcoming.
- (7) ⑥ and ⑦ denote respectively the sixth and seventh qaghans.
- (8) On the seventh qaghan’s original clan, see Hamilton 1988, p. 140. It may be noted in passing that the qaghan who had been alleged to have ruled in 805–808 has proved to be non-existent. Cf. Hamilton 1988, p. viii.
- (9) This last point is rightly emphasized by Moriyasu in our joint article.
- (10) Differently Clark (2009), who argues that Boquγ Khan should be identified with Bögü or Mouyu Qaghan. On this question, see also Moriyasu 2015, pp. 547–553.

- (11) This seems to be because due attention has not been paid to *kuang* 况=况 “to say nothing of, even more” preceding *fashi*.
- (12) The six cities are (1) Ordu baliq (Karabalgasun), (2) Pnžknδ (Beshbaliq), (3) Cyn’necknδ (= Qočo), (4) ’kwcyk (= Kucha), (5) ’rqcyk (= Karashahr), and (6) ’wewrcyk (= Šorčuq). Although the start of the list is lost and Ordu baliq has been restored by the modern scholars, the restoration is almost certain since the eighth qaghan is named as leader of the auditors of the city in question. On this point, see Moriyasu 2015, p. 244.
- (13) Cf. line 12 (wy)δp(’)t (β)γγ ’xšy-wny pty-s(y)n)t pr m’nh pr ’m’y w’nkW ZY ptcxšδ “At that time the godlike king consented (and) issued an order (saying): “(You pl.) Adopt (the Manichaean religion)!”
- (14) As I argued in Yoshida 2018a, Tughuristan is to be identified with what is now Karashahr or Šorčuq.
- (15) Since this is the very beginning of Manichaeism among the Uighurs, it may not be fanciful to assume that this very beginning should be referred to as *uluy bašlay* “great beginning,” which is encountered in U111a. So far this designation has been identified with the Chinese *nianhao* Shangyuan 上元 (760–762) or Qianyuan 乾元 (758–760). For the former see Bang and von Gabain (1929, pp. 425–426) and Clark (2000, pp. 90–99), and for the latter Palumbo 2003, p. 271. However, no Chinese *nianhao* having been translated into Uighur or Sogdian, this identification has remained highly hypothetical. On this point, see also Moriyasu 2015, p. 540.
- (16) For my conjecture based on 81TB10: 06-3, where as many as 200 scriptures are mentioned as having been brought to the Uighur court by a *možak* named *nyw ’wc* (corruption of *nyw rw’n*), see Yoshida forthcoming a. In this article I argue that originally the *Mahrnāmag* was intended to be included among the 200 books.
- (17) For the new text and translation, see Clark 2017, pp. 134–147.
- (18) The relative chronology of vi) and vii) on the one hand and viii) on the other is not settled.
- (19) Admittedly, the event of the year 803 CE seems too late to be placed on this position of the stele.
- (20) As I argued in Yoshida 2018a, Tughuristan found in the late Uighur text 81TB10: 06-3 is a later form of Tughuristan or the land of Tughri.
- (21) Henning (1937, p. 119) read ’βt’δnyh. On this reading see below. Moriyasu, who discovered *aftādān* in an Uighur fragment (No. 12 as edited by Moriyasu in Moriyasu and Ochir 1999, pp. 221–222 = **Appendix III**), draws attention to the fact that ’βt’δ’ny’ is also attested in the Sogdian version.
- (22) For a more detailed discussion of this question, see my forthcoming article “Relationship between the Abbasid Empire and the Uighur Steppe Empire as recorded in the Karabalgasun Inscription (in Japanese).”
- (23) The passage in question is translated into English as follows:

In this year, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn set out for Khurasan in Dhū al-Qa’dah (205 [April-May 821]). He remained (in his encampment) for two months until news of ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Naysābūrī al Muṭṭawwi’ī’s outbreak (khurūj) at Naysābūr reached him, and then he left. Toghuz-Oghuz arrived in Ushrūsanah. (Bosworth c1987, pp. 106–107)

Toghuz-Oghuz is the designation for the Uighurs in Islamic sources.

- (24) One may be reminded of the fact that Beckwith’s book was published one year before Yoshida 1988, where the word *t’zyk’n’y/t’z’yk’n’k* was first recognized in the inscription.
- (25) Minorsky’s “ii. 568” is a misprint.
- (26) Even after the revolt of Rāfi’ ibn-Layth, “qaghan, the king of Turks” is mentioned by the later Caliph Ma’mūn

(r. 813–833) as a possible ally in the year 195 (= 810/1 CE). His minister, al-Faḍl b. Sahl, advised him to write a letter to the qaghan, which Ma'mūn actually did. Tamīm b. Baḥr may have been dispatched on this occasion.

- (27) Incidentally, the Uighurs' effective control of the Semirech'e area is betrayed also by the Uighur coins discovered there (Yoshida 2018b). In fact, when Tamīm b. Baḥr visited the Uighur court in Mongolia, he made use of the Uighur post-station system starting from Lower Barskhan near Taraz.
- (28) The Chinese original of what I translate "instructive order" is *jiaoling* 教令. This cannot denote an order issued by the qaghan since no blank space precedes the expression. In the inscription a space of one character is left blank before characters referring to a qaghan's order or words, whereas a space of two characters precedes Tian Kehan 天可汗.



### III. Edition of the Sogdian Text

#### 1. Language and Script

First, let us look at the linguistic and philological aspects of the inscription. The Karabalgasun Inscription is unique among Sogdian materials in that it is the only substantial text datable to the early 9th century.<sup>1</sup> While the famous Mug documents and the majority of Buddhist Sogdian texts were written in the 8th century, most of the Manichaean and Christian Sogdian texts are dated to the 10th century.<sup>2</sup> Thus one can gain a clear picture of how the Sogdian language and script looked in the early 9th century only by studying the Karabalgasun Inscription.

##### (A) Script

As for the script, the ductus encountered in the Karabalgasun Inscription is a carefully written cursive script and not a formal script as found in the majority of Buddhist Sogdian texts. Among the three Sogdian inscriptions found in Mongolia, i.e. Karabalgasun Inscription, Bugut Inscription, and Sevrey Inscription, the last named is inscribed in a script very similar to that of the Karabalgasun Inscription and is likely to date back to the Uighur period.<sup>3</sup> What I call the formal script has also been known as the *sūtra* script. The shape of the aleph differs from that of the formal script in that it has only one horn rather than two. Almost all of its features are no different from those found in the carefully written Manichaean texts, and for that matter several carefully written Mug documents of the early 8th century such as the famous marriage contracts (Nov. 3 and Nov. 4) also betray the same ductus. However, one feature is worthy of special attention. The letter l, that is to say, resh (r) with a diacritic, assumes a typically Uighur shape in that its diacritic looks like a large hook rather than a small resh (r) written under<sup>4</sup> the letter resh as one sees in most Buddhist texts. Other features may be summarized as follows (see **figures (a)** in **plate 7**):

- (a) the shape of the initial ' is typically "cursive" with only one horn: 'xš'w'nh
- (b) s and š can be clearly distinguished: 'xš'w'nh vs. nysty 'škwδ'skwn
- (c) β and γ are indistinguishable except in a word-final position: γrβ'ky'kh, γrβ, nysty
- (d) n and ' are largely indistinguishable except in a word-initial position: t'z-'yk'n'k
- (e) γ is sometimes disjoined: x'γ-'n
- (f) γ is sometimes disjoined: pty-synt
- (g) z is always disjoined except in ideograms like ZK and ZY: t'z-'yk'n'k
- (h) l shows a specifically Uighur form: pyl-k' in contrast to that in other texts

One might expect a formal rather than a cursive script to have been used in a monument such as the Karabalgasun Inscription, which records the qaghans' achievements and transmits a message of the empire. This situation may be taken to suggest that for the Central Asian Manichaeans this variety of Sogdian script was for writing their holy scriptures. In fact, all the Manichaean folio books so far known are written in this type of ductus.<sup>5</sup> It seems to me that this type of carefully written cursive Sogdian script represented a kind of book script for the Sogdian Manichaeans,<sup>6</sup> and that later

this variety came to be employed as the Uighur formal script. However, one will need the collaboration of competent Uighurists to inquire into this question.

## (B) Language

### (a) General

As a whole, the Sogdian language of the inscription is slightly younger than the classical Sogdian of the eighth-century Buddhist texts. First, one may notice that the 3rd person plural pronoun found in the inscription is not *wyšn* but *wyš'nt*, that is to say, a form suffixed with an otiose plural ending. *wyšn* itself is the plural oblique form and *wyš'nt* is definitely a later form. It is also to be noticed that *wyš'nt* is a direct case form, whose oblique form *wyš'nty* is also attested in line 19.

The imperfect and the preterite are indistinguishable in their function, and they interchange with each other without any perceivable difference.

line 5: *γrβ srδ 'xš'w'nh z-γtw δ'rt c'nkwxwty tnp'r p'ryc* ... “He held (preterite) the realm for many years. When he left (imperfect) his body ...”

In classical Sogdian, the distinction between the two tenses seems to be comparable to French “passé simple” and “passé composé,” and there is a noticeable tendency to prefer the preterite in direct speech and to employ the imperfect in narrative parts. But later the distinction tends to be lost, and in many late texts preterite forms are preferred, although some Christian Sogdian texts use imperfect forms much more than preterite.<sup>7</sup>

The conjunction *rt* or its younger variant *rt* is very common in classical Sogdian, and almost all sentences begin with this conjunction. However, in the latest stage of the Sogdian language this conjunction simply disappeared and was replaced by *ZY* (= *ʔ*, *ʔy*), which was originally a coordinating conjunction meaning “and.” In the inscription one finds only ten instances of *rt(y)*, and this feature also seems to indicate the younger stage of the language of the inscription. Similarly, the definite article *ZK* is not at all common in the inscription. Only five instances (*ZKn* x 2, *ZKw* x 1, and *ZKwy* x 2) are encountered. As I argued in Yoshida 2019a, the article is very common in the eighth-century texts, whereas very few articles are encountered in the latest stage.

### (b) Uighurisms or Turco-Sogdian features<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting linguistic feature of the Karabalgasun Inscription is the noticeable influence of the Uighur language. Later in the tenth century, very peculiar Sogdian was written, which contains many Uighur elements, such as personal names, loan words, expressions calqued on Uighur idioms and syntax, and so on. This variety of language was named Turco-Sogdian in Sims-Williams and Hamilton 1990/2015. The language of the Karabalgasun Inscription is clearly a forerunner of this variety of Sogdian. Already in 1930 when Hansen edited the text, he noticed that a few expressions attested in the inscription are based on Uighur idioms. He drew attention to two of them. One is *MN βγyšty prnβyrt* = *tāngridā qutbulmīš* “having obtained fortune/charisma from gods,” which also appears in a Turco-Sogdian letter of the 10th century. The other is *tnp'r p'ryc* = *āt'üz qod-* “to die (< to leave one's body).”

Later when I revised Hansen's text, I noticed that some combinations of synonyms found in the inscription are comparable to instances of hendiadys in Uighur, which is notoriously common in that language. Since the Uighur

counterparts show alliteration and are native to their language, there is no doubt about Sogdian's imitating of Uighur idioms. Most common is *ɣny ZY mrt'nyh* "skill and manliness," which I compared with Uighur *är ärdäm* "manly qualities," but later Sims-Williams and Hamilton (2015, p. 79) discovered a more likely counterpart: *alp ärdäm* "brave and manly." For other examples, see the following list:

- ɣrβ'y ZY 'p'y* (line 5) "wisdom and understanding" = *bilgä bilig* "wisdom"  
*prn ZY prnxwntkyh* (lines 4, 8) "fortune and majesty" = *qut qiv* "divine favour"  
*prnxwntkyh ZY prnpδ'ky'kh* (line 14) "majesty and splendour" = *qut qiv*  
*pyr'y ZY ɣrβ'kyh* (lines 8, 14) "believing and wisdom" = ?

One may notice some other features showing Uighur influence, but it is sometimes not easy to determine whether a particular feature is based on Uighur or not. Thus, one may be surprised to find that the word *ɣr'n* "heavy" is fairly common in the inscription and covers a quite wide range of meanings:

- 'rkh šyr ɣr'n* (line 15) "work (was) very great"  
*ɣr'n ɣny ZY mrt'nyh* (line 18) "much skill and manliness"  
*ɣr'n twp'ytc'ny šp'δ* (line 19) "mighty Tibetan army"  
*ɣr'n wrcy-'w'kw* (line 19) "great peace"  
*ɣr'n nm'ck'n* (line 22) "many presents, valuable presents"  
*ɣr'n xws'nty'kh* (Frag. 8, line 4) "much happiness"

However, one cannot be absolutely certain that this is due to the influence of the Uighur counterpart *ayir*, which covers a quite wide semantic range, including "heavy, much, many, important, very, respectful, valuable" (Clauson 1972, pp. 88–89), since one can also imagine that the Sogdian word underwent the same semantic changes. Similarly, *yxwst'y*, past participle of the verb *yxw'y* "to separate, to cut off," is used in the sense of "distinguished," as in *MN s'ṭ 'z-tyty yxwst'y* (line 15) "distinguished among all the nobles." This usage of *yxwst'y* is comparable with Uighur *adruq* or *adirmiš*, as in *siz kiši-dä adruq bägräk är közünür siz* "vous paraissez une personne très noble, différente du commun des mortels" (Hamilton 1971, p. 41), which covers the same semantic range as "separated" and "distinguished" and is the perfect participle of the verb *adir-* "to cut, distinguish." In Yoshida 2011a I argued that the Turco-Sogdian variety of the Sogdian language was the product of those Sogdians who were bilingual in Sogdian and Uighur rather than bilingual Uighurs.

### (C) Other features, including plain errors by the stonemason(s)

As I remarked earlier, the inscription is badly damaged, and readings and interpretations of forms so far not attested are inevitably accompanied by uncertainty. One good example of a hapax is *wyptm'kw*, meaning "immeasurable," which can be analysed into *wy-* and *ptm'k* and provides a clear case of the suffix *wy-*, meaning "without."<sup>9</sup> For this function the privative suffix (*'*)*pw* is common, and in fact (*'*)*pw ptm'k* is attested several times (Gharib 1995, p. 54 and DMSB, p. 162b). Fortunately, in this case the word is found in a relatively well preserved part and the reading is almost certain. On the other hand, there is also a familiar word used in an unexpected meaning. I am thinking of *pts'k*, a verbal noun

derived from the verb *pts'c* “to arrange, to set in order,” which has been attested with the expected meaning “order, arrangement” (DMSB, p. 156a). This word is also employed to refer to a congregation of the Manichaean church, which can easily be seen as a natural extension of the original meaning (Yoshida 2019, p. 103). However, in the Karabalgasun Inscription the word is used in the following combination: line 1 *γwβty'kh pts'k np'xštw δ'rym* “we have written *pts'k* of glorifying (the qaghan),” where the word is most likely to denote the inscription itself.<sup>10</sup> Not knowing the exact meaning, I translate it vaguely as “monument.”

Although the inscription must have been executed with prodigious care by the stonemasons, one does come across a few carving errors. For example, in line 7 *šyr* “very” is inscribed *šyn*, which is left uncorrected. (**figure 7(1-4)**) In line 9 the stonemason seems to have inscribed *δynd' c'nkw* first instead of *δbrδ' ZY c'nkw*. When he noticed his mistake he changed the long tail of -' into -' ZY, as a result of which the whole word looks like *δynd'ry*. On this point, see also my commentary below. (**figure 9(1-3)**) However, it is often difficult to recognize such errors in this not well preserved inscription, since in many places one is not able to read the text properly so that it is unclear whether the incomprehensibility is due to an inscribing error or not. A case in point is what I read it *'γtd'rym* “we have brought” in line 12. Following Hamilton’s note, Sims-Williams proposed to read the form *pšγtd'rym*. However, *pšγtd'rym* “we have poured” is not expected from the context,<sup>11</sup> and if one looks carefully at the rubbing its first letter looks like *p* corrected to *'*. (**figure 12(1-2)**) Nevertheless, the reading suggested by me remains to be highly hypothetical.

## 2. Text, Translation, and commentary

In what follows I give the text in five parallel lines: Line one, Hansen 1930; line two, Yoshida 1988; line three, Hamilton’s old note; line four, Sims-Williams’s provisional text based on Hamilton’s note as well as Hansen 1930 and Yoshida 1988; and line five, Yoshida’s current text.<sup>12</sup> As I explained in the preface, Sims-Williams’s text based on Hamilton’s old note had been prepared not for publication but as a working edition on which they intended to improve through subsequent collaboration. The two sets of material were kindly placed at my disposal by Sims-Williams when I resumed the edition of the Sogdian text. The reason that I give not only my latest text but also all the previous readings is that in this way one can get an idea of how controversial a reading of one single word can be: if a reading of a word is shared by all five texts, this reading is certain and most reliable, whereas if all five readings differ from each other, utmost caution is needed when reading the passage that includes the word in question. Apart from that, since I have benefitted so much from Sims-Williams’s provisional text, it would be unfair to give only my text as if I had discovered all the correct readings by myself. One example will illustrate the situation: *xrl-wγty* “Qarluqs” of line 20. All previous scholars including Henning (see note 22 above) read the word as *s'rβty* “towers,” and Sims-Williams’s revised reading has greatly enhanced our understanding of the passage and consequently the historical context (Yoshida 2011, pp. 14–19).

In Hamilton’s old note, when he thought his reading was uncertain, he pencilled several possible readings for each typewritten letter, so that the total number of possible readings for one word suggested by him can become quite numerous and one simply cannot give them all. In such cases I have selected only one representative reading, which is usually the one originally read and typewritten.<sup>13</sup> Consequently these alternative readings are largely ignored in my edition. Let us take one example. In line 9 one finds *βγpwrstnw* “China,” which was read by Hansen . . . *'st.w*, Yoshida (1988) *(...)'st(n)w*, Hamilton *βγpcystrw*, Sims-Williams *\*βγp(wr)st(n)w*, and *βγp(wr)st(n)w* in Yoshida’s current text. Cf. **figure, line 9(2-2)**. Sims-Williams adds an asterisk to indicate that his reading departs considerably from Hamilton’s.

In his old note Hamilton wrote in several possible readings above and below the typewritten letters. In this case he added the letter *m* below the letter *γ* and 'y below *cy*. In my 1988 edition I expected here a word denoting China, and remarked that what one sees on the rubbing cannot be restored to \**cynstnw*, in my latest edition I follow Sims-Williams's ingenious suggestion, which perfectly fits the context and the traces of the letters.

In the text and glossary, fragment numbers given by Hansen are indicated by (1), (2), etc.<sup>14</sup> In the text, (parentheses) indicate uncertain readings mainly due to damage of the stone. This applies to Hansen's text where uncertain letters are printed boldfaced. Illegibly damaged letters are indicated by parenthesized bullets: (•••). Letters that have been wholly restored are placed in [square brackets]. In the translation, words not in the Sogdian text and added to improve the English are placed in (parentheses), while word(s) in [square brackets] correspond to the restored part of the text. In the text and translation square brackets with three dots, [...], indicate slight damage, usually comprising just a few words, while square brackets with three sets of three dots, i.e. [... ... ...], indicate a large gap.<sup>15</sup> This distinction between small and large gaps is necessary to show whether the context is recoverable between the words remaining before and after the gap. In the translation, each qaghan's name is preceded by a circled number such as ①, ②, etc., referring to the order of succession. In the glossary an asterisk preceding a line number (e.g. \*10(4)) indicates that the form in question is substantially illegible or uncertain. However, use of the asterisk is somewhat arbitrary depending on how uncertain the form in question is. When I discuss the reading of a difficult word, I sometimes reproduce the images from the rubbings published by Radloff and those preserved at Kyoto University,<sup>16</sup> and from Lacoste's mouldings.<sup>17</sup> Images of Lacoste's mouldings are cited from the notes taken by myself in May 2003. In the commentary the images taken from the rubbings of Kyoto University are indicated by "Kyoto," while those of Radloff's *Atlas* and Lacoste's mouldings are not indicated as such.

**Title**

1 [’yny ’y] tnkry[δ’] γwt	2 [pwr-myš] (’r-p)w [pyr]-k’ βγγ
1 [’yny ’y] tnkry[δ’] xwt	2 [pwl-mys] (’l-p)w [pyl-]k’ βγγ
1 [’yny ’y] tnkry[δ’] xwt-	2 [pwl-mys] (’l-p)w [pyl-]k’ βγγ
1 [’yny ’y] tnkry[δ’] xwt-	2 [pwl-mys] (’l-p)w [pyl-]k’ βγγ
3 [’wyγwr γ’γ-’n .wcty . .h]	4 [pts’k] np’γš . . . δ . . . . .
3 [’wyγwr x’γ-’n] (γwβ)ty’kh <sup>18</sup>	4 [pts’k] np’xš[tw] δ(’r)ym
3 [’wyγwr x’γ-n] (γwβ)ty’kh	4 [pts’k] np’xš[tw] δ(’r)ym
3 [’wyγwr x’γ-’n] (γwβ)ty’kh	4 [pts’k] np’xš[tw] δ(’r)ym

NB: Hamilton’s reading of this part is not available.

**We wrote this \*monument for glorifying Ay Tangridä Qutbulmäs Alp Bilgä godlike Uighur Qaghan.**

**Line 1**

- (1) ’yny ’y tnkryδ’ γwtpwr-myš ’r-p[w] pyr-k’ βγγ ’w[y]γwr
- (1) ’yny ’y tnkry-δ’ xwtpwl-mys ’l-(p)[w] pyl-k’ βγγ ’w[y]γwr
- (1) ’yny ’y tnkry-d’ γwtpwl-mys ’l-p pyl-k’ βγγ ’wyγwr
- (1) ’yny ’y tnkry-δ’ xwtpwl-mys ’l-p[w] pyl-k’ βγγ ’wyγwr
- (1) ’yny ’y tnkry-δ’ xwtpwl-mys ’l-p pyl-k’ βγγ ’wyγwr

γ’γ-’n . .wcty . .h pts’k np’γ////////////////////  
 x’γ-’n (γ)wβty-(’k)h p(t)s’k np’x[štw δ’rym ]  
 γ’γ-’n γwβty-(w)h pts’k np’γ(š)///  
 x’γ-’n γwβty-’kh pts’k np’x(š)[tw δ’rym ...  
 x’γ-’n γwβty-’kh pts’k np’x(š)[tw δ’rym ]

- (3) BLANK . . ’ky. . (4) ] š. tc . . ’w . . . . .////////////////
- (3) BLANK ’ky(.)[ (4) ]( )]
- (3) (••?) BLANK ’k’r(t•)[ (4) ]pry’(’)wy p(y)••••••••
- (3) BLANK ’k’r(t•)[ (4) ] pry’(’)wy p(y)[ ...
- (3) BLANK (ny-)’k(w ’)[l-(4)]p(yn’ncw) p(γ)[’trx’n

- (5) ] . . mwn’kw ms βγ . .(k) . (k) p . .////
- (5) ] mwn’kw m(z)-yxw (.....)[ ]
- (5) ] mwnkw (β)s (y)s(pw•’)k ’yp///
- (5) ]•• mwn(’)kw ms \*βγ(pwr’k) ’yp[ ]
- (5) ](••) mwnkw ms βγ(pwr’k) np(’)[yk? ]

**(1) We wrote this \*monument for glorifying Ay Tängridä Qutbulmäs(sic) Alp Bilgä godlike Uighur Qaghan. (3-**

4) (Our) grandfather Alp Inanchu Baghatarkhan [... ...] (5) also [produced] this in Chinese scri[pture]? ... ..]

1(1-1)<sup>19</sup> OH/YY/SW 'l-p[w], JH/YY2<sup>20</sup> 'l-p. (figures)<sup>21</sup> JH reads 'lp on the moulding. The reason that OH, YY, and SW prefer 'l-p[w] is that the space between *p* of 'l-p[w] and the *p*- of the next word *pyl-k*' is much larger than one would expect between two words. On the other hand, one cannot see any trace of the letter *w* here. Therefore, I follow Hamilton in reading 'l-p rather than 'l-p[w]. In this inscription one finds three different spellings for this Uighur word: 'lpw <\*41>; 'l-pw hdl., 13(1), 14(1), 16(1), 20(1); and 'l-p here, i.e. 1(1).<sup>22</sup>

1(3) JH 'k'rt. ~ 'kr'c, SW 'k'r(t), YY2 (ny)-'kw]. (figure) What I saw on the moulding looked more like 'ky or 'kw preceded by depressions, which could be traces of letters. My observation may also be supported by the rubbing of the *Atlas*. Nevertheless, my reading of (ny)-'kw "grandfather" is very hypothetical.

1(3)-(4) The gap between Frag. 3 and Frag. 4 is very small. In the corresponding place in the Chinese column I, not a single character is lost. While the upper part of the character 藥 remains on Frag. 3, the lower part is seen on Frag. 4. (plate 6)

1(3)-(4) JH *pry''wy* ~ *pryšwy*, SW *pry'(')wy*, YY2 (')[l-lp(yn'ncw) p(γ)]'trx'n(?)]. (figures) Except for the letter *p*, almost nothing certain can be seen on the St. Petersburg and Kyoto rubbings. My reading is based on the assumption that the minister named here is the same person as 合伊難主莫何達干 = Alp Inanchu Baghatarkhan listed in the second place after 內宰相頡于伽思藥羅 斡□□ "the prime minister of the inside, (i.e. royal court, with the title of) *il ögäsi* (named) Yaghlaqar [...]" in column I of the Chinese version. If my reading/restoration of *ny'kw 'lpyn 'cw pγ 'trx 'n* is correct, his name comes first in the Sogdian version, while he is named after the prime minister Il Ögäsi Yaghlaqar [...] in the Chinese version. This placement of the two names may possibly indicate that Alp Inanchu Baghatarkhan was in charge of composing the Sogdian version,<sup>23</sup> whereas the prime minister Il Ögäsi (named) Yaghlaqar [...] was in charge of the Chinese version.

1(5-1) OH/YY/SW *mwn'kw*, JH/YY2 *mwnkw*. (figure) Although the expected spelling is *mwn'kw*,<sup>24</sup> aleph (') cannot be seen and one must read *mwnkw*, which seems to be either a spelling variant or an error for *mwn'kw*.

1(5-2) YY *mz-*, JH *ms* ~ *βs*, OH/SW/YY2 *ms*. (figures) All these readings are not impossible. Possibly, some carving error may be inferred here.

1(5-3) OH *βγ . .(k) . (k)*, YY *yxw* (.....), JH *yspw'k*, Kljaštornyj *βsp(wr)k'k*, SW/YY2 *βγ(pwr'k)* "(Chinese) Imperial." (figure) I follow SW's reading. According to JH's old note, S. Kljaštorny reads *mwn'kw ms βsp(wr)k'k ryp*. As a matter of fact my old reading *mz-yxw* (...) is not so different from *ms βppwr'k* if one considers the similarity of *y* and *β* on the one hand and *w* and the first part of the letter *p* on the other.

1(5-4) Kljaštorny *ryp]*, JH/SW 'yp], YY2 *np(')[yk]*. (figure) What Kljaštorny and JH read as *r-* and *'-* respectively looks like a combination of the tail of the preceding letter *k* and the unsuccessful and abandoned beginning of the letter *n*.

**Line 2**

- (1) 'δ'k wn'kw 'γš'wnd'r MN (w)γγšty prnβγty RBkw
- (1) (R)B(k') (γr)β'kw 'xš'wnd'r MN βγγšty prnβyrty RBkw
- (1) ny'k γrβ'kw 'γš'wnd'r MN βγγšty prnβy(r)ty RBkw
- (1) (n)y'k γrβ'kw 'xš'wnd'r MN βγγšty prnβyrty RBkw
- (1) (n)y'k γrβ'kw 'xš'wnd'r MN βγγšty prnβyrty RBkw

twrkc'ny 'βc'npδ'kw 'γšywny ''y tnkryδ' γwtpwr-myš // // // // // // // //  
 twrkc'ny 'βc'npδ(ykw) 'xšy-wny ''y tnkryδ' xwtpwl-my(s) [  
 twrkc'ny 'βc'npδ'kw 'γšy-wny ''y tnkryδ' γwtpwl-mys (p)[  
 twrkc'ny 'βc'npδ(y)kw 'xšy-wny ''y tnkryδ' xwtpwl-mys (p)[  
 twrkc'ny 'βc'npδykw 'xšy-wny ''y tnkryδ' xwtpwl-mys[ 'lp pyl-k' x'γ'n?

- (3) . . . . . γ.w tykyn 'wk' // // // // // // // //
- (3) (... t)ykyn 'wk' [  
 (3) •••••γw(l) tykyn 'wk' [  
 (3)] γwl tykyn 'wk' ...  
 (3)](•'wy-γ)w(r) tykyn 'wk' [

- (4) t. . . . .m . . . . . // // // // // // // //
- (4)]( ) [  
 (4)]•••••y γ'y (š)y m•••••mš(•)ty •••••  
 (4)]y \*γ(n)y ZY m[rt'nyh ]mš•ty ...  
 (4) pr γr>('n) γny ZY m[rt'nyh ](•••••)[

- (5) pt]s'k np'γštw δ'rym m'γw .γ// // //
- (5)](...) np'xštw δ'rym m'xw sx[  
 (5)]••• np'γštw d'rym m'γw (β)γ[  
 (5) pt]s(')k np'xštw δ'rym m'xw sγ[tm'n  
 (5)](•••) np'xštw δ'rym m'xw sγ[tm'n ]

**(1-3) [For the sake of our(?)] grandfather, the wise ruler, who has obtained majesty from the gods, king of the Turkish land, Ay Tängriḡä Qutbulmīs [Alp Bilgä Qaghan(?)], an Uighur prince (who is) an öḡä (= minister) [...]**  
**by (his) skill and v[alour] [... ...] (5) we all wrote [this] monument [... ...]**

2(1-1) OH 'δ'k, YY RBk', JH/SW/YY2 ny'k. **(figures)** If one considers the shape of each Sogdian letter, JH/SW's ny'k and YY's RBk' are not so different.

2(1-2) JH γwtpwl-mys (p)[, SW xwtpwl-mys (p)[, YY2 xwtpwl-mys [. **(figures)** Traces of the letter p are hardly visible on the moulding or on the St. Petersburg and Kyoto rubbings.



2(3) JH/SW *Jywl*, YY2 *J(•'wy-γ)wr*. (**figures**) *γ* is not certain. The last letter is more likely to be *-r* than *-l*. In JH's note, he considers restoring *[yaɣla]qor*, in which he also proposes to read a final *-r*. Since the clan name *Yaɣlaqar* is spelled *γyl-'xr* in this inscription (cf. line 3), his restoration is not supported. My suggestion of *( 'wyγ)wr* is no more than a simple guess. It could also be the end of a name such as *singqur*. Cf. *küdägümüz alp sinqur tegin* "our son-in-law Alp Singqur Tegin," Clauson 1972, p. 838a.

2(3)-(4) JH *J••••y*, SW *Jy*, YY2 *[(4) pr γr]( ' )n*. (**figures**) The gap after Frag. 3 is very small. At the top of Frag. 4, just after a damaged place, I recognize a long "horizontal" tail, which could be that of the letter *'*, *n*, or *β*, etc. JH's *••••y* is not seen in the rubbing. I, therefore, restore *[γr]( ' )n*. In fact *γr 'n* precedes *γny* in line 18. For the restoration of *pr*, see *pr xypδ γny ZY mrt 'nyh* in line 5.

2(4) JH reads *m••••mš(•)ty*, hence SW's *m[rt 'nyh] mš•ty*. YY2 *m[rt 'nyh ](••••)[ ]*. I was not able to recognize any trace of *mš•ty* on the moulding or on the two rubbings.

2(5-1) SW *pt]s( ' )k*, YY2 *J(•••)*. (**figure**) According to JH's old note, he was not able to read *pt]s 'k*. He simply cited this reading from OH's text. On the other hand, OH's *pt]s 'k* may possibly be based on his assumption that the same word should precede the phrase *np 'xštw δ 'rym* "we have written" as that found in line 1. The traces on the St. Petersburg rubbing simply rule out his assumption, although I have no alternative reading. In his old note JH cites Kljaštornyj's reading *Jyc*. Kljaštornyj may have read from the original stone or rubbing. As we recall, Fragment 5 is one of the stone fragments that were brought to St. Petersburg.

2(5-2) YY *sx[*, JH *(β)γ[*, SW/YY2 *sγ[tm 'n]*. "united, all, all together." (**figure**) Beside *(β)γ[ ]*, JH suggests *mγ[ ]*. According to JH's note, SK (= Kljaštornyj) suggested *sγ[tmn]*, with which Kljaštornyj must have thought of *sγtm 'n*.

### Line 3

- (1) . . . (r)δw(n) 'wγwz 'yr 'wk'sy 'r-p(w) . . .ncw pγ'trγ'n  
 (1) γ(.r)δwn ('w)γwz ('yl) 'wk'sy ('l-pw yn'n)cw p(γ')trx'n  
 (1) (γ)wrδwn 'wγwz 'yl wk'sy 'l-p'yn'ncw pγ'trγ'n  
 (1) xwrδwn 'wγwz 'yl 'wk'sy 'l-p'yn'ncw pγ'trx'n  
 (1) γw'δwk 'wγwz 'yl 'wk'sy 'l-p'yn'ncw pγ'trx'n

. . . . . γ . ' . 'wk' 'wtwr pγ'trγ'n . . . . . γ . . . . t . . γwtṛ-wγ . // // // // //  
 t(....) yγ(l-'x)r 'wk' 'wtwr pγ'trx'n (....) yγl-'xr 'wk' xwtl-wγ (.)[  
 t(•• 'l-p)yγl-'γr 'wk' 'wtyr pγ'trγ'n •••• yγl-( ' )γ(l) 'wk' γwtl-wγ p//  
 t(•• 'l-p)yγl-'xr 'wk' 'wtyr pγ'trx'n •••• yγl-'xl 'wk' xwtl-wγ p[ ...  
 BLANK yγl-'xr 'wk' 'wtyr pγ'trx'n BLANK yγl-'xr 'wk' xwtl-wγ (p)[γ'trx'n?

- (3)]. . . r 'wk' // // // // //                      (4)] . . . . . " . . // // // // //  
 (3)](.l) 'wk' [                                              (4)](     ) [  
 (3) ••••(ypl) 'wk'                                              (4)]p•šd (k)w (•)rd (•)ds pc(y)γ[ ...

(3)](yp)l 'wk' ... (4)]p•šδ (k)w [s]rδ•δs pc(yp)y[ ...

(3)](••)r 'wk' BLANK [ (4)](•••••••)δ(•δ)s (•••••)[

(5)] 'wk' . . . . . ny //

(5)]'wk' (.....) ZY [

(5)]'wk' (.....) ZY [

(5)]'wk' •••••••••• ZY[ ...

(5)] 'wk' BLANK [

**(1) Oghuz II Ögäsi Alp Inanchu Bayatarkhan of the throne, Yaghlaqar Ögä Ötir Baghatarkhan, Yaghlaqar Ögä Qutluy Ba[ghatarkhan ](..)l Ögä, (4) [... ...]**

**(5) Ögä [... ... ...]**

3(1-1) JH *γwrđwn* ~ *swrđwn*, SW *xwrđwn*, YY2 *γw'δwk*. (**figures**) In fact these readings are not so different in terms of their appearance, because *-r-* and *'-* on the one hand and the final *-n* and *-k* on the other look quite similar. However, the final letter shows a slightly slanting tail, which one may prefer to read *-k*. In any case *γw'δwk*, which is a variant of *γ'δwk* “throne,” has been attested in Pelliot sogdien 16. Possibly, *γw'δwk* corresponds to the Chinese expression *nei (zaixiang)* 内(宰相) “(the prime minister) of the inside” found in the title of 内宰相相頡于伽思藥羅斡□□ “the prime minister of the inside, (i.e. royal court, with the title of) *il ögäsi* (named) Yaghlaqar [...].”

3(1-2) YY (*'lpw yn 'n*)*cw*, JH/SW/YY2 *'l-p'yn 'ncw*. (**figures**) JH's reading is supported not only by the moulding but also by the two rubbings. YY's *'lpw* was influenced by the spelling of this word in other places (lines 13, 14, 16, 20) and is to be discarded.

3(1-3) BLANK *γyl-'xr*. (**figures**) SW's *t(•• 'l-p)γyl-'xr* is based on the readings suggested by YY *t(... ) γyl(-'x)r* as well as JH's *t(•• 'l-p)γyl-'γyr*. However, as far as I was able to tell from the moulding, there is a blank space of some 8 cm between *py'trx'n* and *γyl-'xr*. The two rubbings also seem to support this observation, although the surface is damaged and one sees a trace looking like the letter *t*. The fact that each combination of a name and a title is followed by a blank space also lends support to my reading. JH's old note indicates that at one time he also suspected a blank space here.

3(1-4) JH/SW/YY2 *'wtyr*. (**figures**) This reading is preferred to OH/YY's *'wtwr*. From the rubbings it is hard to decide between *'wtyr* and *'wtwr*. This Uighur name element *ötür* (cf. Clauson 1972, p. 68a) is attested in the *Mahrnāmag*, line 33 (Müller 1913, p. 9) and MIK III 36 (IB 6371; T II D 135) ii/6 and ii/24 (BeDuhn *apud* Gulácsi 2001, pp. 233–234). In the former it is spelled *'wytyr*, but in the latter *'wytwr*. In this edition I follow JH/SW's *'wtyr* because the moulding seems to prefer it. One interesting question is whether *γyl'xr 'wk' 'wtyr py'trx'n* is to be identified with *'wytyr wg'* encountered in the *Mahrnāmag*, line 33, since the two texts were produced during the reign of the eighth Uighur qaghan. On the meaning and etymology of *'wtyr*, which Lurje reads *'wtwr*, see Lurje 2010, p. 456.

3(3) JH/SW *J(yp)l 'wk' ...*, YY2 *J(••)r 'wk' BLANK*. (**figures**) That a blank space follows *'wk'* is clear on the moulding as well as on the St. Petersburg rubbing. What precedes *'wk'* is difficult to read. The last letter seems to be *-r* (or possibly

-/). On the moulding, I thought I could read the preceding letter as *t* or *w*, although almost nothing is visible on the St. Petersburg rubbing. In his note entered later into SW's text, JH suspects *yyl'xl* (sic) here.

3(4) JH/SW ]p•šδ (k)w [s]rδ•δs pc(ypp)y[ ... , YY2 J(.....)δ(•δ)s (.....)]. (figures) I cannot see how JH was able to read so many letters in this place. I was not able to recognize any of the readings suggested by JH except for faint traces of what looks like δ(.δ)s on the moulding. Both the St. Petersburg and Kyoto rubbings are hopeless for this part, as OH's text shows.

3(5) OH 'wk' . . . . . ny //, YY/JH ]'wk' (.....) ZY[, SW ]'wk' ..... ZY[ ..., YY2 J 'wk' BLANK [. What one sees on the St. Petersburg rubbing seems to show that a blank space follows 'wk' as in Frag. 3. (figure) I am not able to recognize any trace suggesting ZY. In this place where the authors of the inscription are mentioned, each name is preceded only by a blank space without any coordinating conjunction.

Line 4

- (1) zγtw δ'r'nt pr prn ny prnγwntk'n z'wr zγtw δ'r'nt ny kd'm 'γš'wnd'r
- (1) z-γtw δ'r'nt pr prn ZY prnxwntkyh z-'wr z-γtw δ'(r'n)t ZY kd'(m) 'xš'wnd'r
- (1) zγtw d'r'nt pr prn ny prnγwntky' z'wr zγtw d'r'nt ny kd'm 'γš'wnd'r
- (1) z-γtw δ'r'nt pr prn ZY prnxwntkyh z-'wr z-γtw δ'r'nt ZY kd'm 'xš'wnd'r
- (1) z-γtw δ'r'nt pr prn ZY prnxwntkyh z-'wr z-γtw δ'r'nt ZY kd'm 'xš'wnd'r

wm. . . y ny γrβ'kw . . .p. ny γrβ'k . . . . ct////////

(w)m't('y) ZY γrβ'kw y'xy ZY γ(....) w(.....)[

'βy-'wny ny γrβ'kw y'γy ny γ(n)y-(n)t 'wyγ(wr γ)'γ'n ///

wm't('y) ZY γrβ'kw y'xy ZY γny-(n)t 'wyγ(wr x)'γ'n ...

wm'(t)'y ZY γrβ'kw y'xy ZY γ(nk)yn w(m't)[n](t) rt[y

- (2)]n 'γš'wn//////// (3)... t 'wtsr/// (4) t. . . . t . . . . .mnw . . . . .
- (2)](.n 'xš'wn[δ'r (3)](.t 'wts[r'? (4) ]( ) [
- (2)]n 'γš'wn/// (3) ••••t ('y)t •// (4) ]l (t)s('nt (•)p'r (z)mnw 'wrδ(y) •••••
- (2)]n 'xš'wn[... (3)]t 'wts[r' ... (4)\*](pty)s(y)nt \*[y](w)'r (z)mnw 'wrδ• ....
- (2) sγtm'n 'xš'wn[δ'r(3)]t 'wts(')[r (4) ](pry)s'nt (prw) z-mnw (••)[

- (5) ]. . . n///
- (5) ]( ) [
- (5) ] •• ('n) y(wk)[
- (5) ](β)[s]'k ywk ...
- (5) ](••)yk ywk [ βs'k? ]

(1) They held [territory] and they held (it) by means (i.e. power) of majesty (= charisma) and blessedness. Whoever was a ruler, they were(sic) wise, brave, and victorious, and [ (2) all the] rul[ers] (3) thence (4) arrived on time?

## [... ...] (5) teaching [and training? ... ...]

NB: The main text or body of the inscription must have followed the list of those who were in charge of establishing the inscription. Since in the Chinese version the main text starts in a new column (column III), one might expect that the Sogdian version would also begin in line 4. Nevertheless, the first word of line 4 being *zγtw δ'r'nt*, it is not very clear whether the main text starts here. One may restore 'xš'w'nh and other words preceding it at the end of line 3. Cf. line 5: *γrβ srδ 'xš'w'nh z-γtw δ'rt* “he held the realm for many years.”

4(1-1) YY/SW/YY2 *wm't'y*. (figures) JH reads 'βy- 'wny. In fact it is difficult to read -t- on the moulding since no “horn” of the letter *t* is visible in the corresponding place. On the rubbings one can only see obscure traces of letters. However, as OH already recognized, the reading *wm-* is almost certain and the trace is not incompatible with the letter -t-.

4(1-2) JH/SW *γny-(n)t*, YY2 *γ(nk)yn*. (figures) For the combination of *y'xy* and *γnkyn*, see *y'xy 'PZY γnkyn* (SCE 308 = Chin. *yongjian* 勇健 “brave and tough”). See also KB line 13: *šyr γrβ'kw ZY γnkynw*.

4(1-3) JH 'wyγ(wr γ) 'γ'n, SW 'wyγ(wr x) 'γ'n, YY2 *w(m't)['n](t)*. (figures) This is a typical case exemplifying how difficult it is to read the inscription. Faint traces of letters combine to give totally different impressions to readers. As far as I can see on the moulding, neither 'wyγwr nor *x'γ-'n* seems to be justified. From the rubbings one may also read *w'stnt* for my *wm't'nt*.

4(1-4) YY2 *rtfy*. (figure) After *wm't'nt* one can see what looks like *rtf* on the St. Petersburg rubbing, while it is blurred on the Kyoto rubbing. I was not able to make out any traces of letters on the moulding.

4(4-1) JH *jl (t)s(')nt*, SW *J(pty)s(y)nt*, YY2 *J(pry)s'nt*. (figures) Although JH did not read the letter *p*, it can clearly be seen on the St. Petersburg rubbing. Because of the preceding 'wts'r “thither, thence,” I prefer to read *prys'nt* “they reached” for SW's *ptysynt* “he consented.”

4(4-2) JH (.)*p'r*, SW \*[y](w)'r, YY2 (*prw*). (figures) What looked like *p'r* to JH's eyes may be an ill-formed *prw*. In this inscription, *prw* is attested only once in line 22, Frag. 2: *prw c'δr 'wt'k*. SW's *[y](w)'r* also seems to be due more to consideration of the context and Sogdian grammar than to what one can see on the rubbing, for one certainly expects a short grammatical word between the verb and *zmnw* “time.”

4(4-3) JH/SW 'wrδ•. I was not able to recognize any of these letters on the moulding or on the two rubbings.

4(5) JH *Jyk ~ J'k ~ J'n ~ Jyn*, SW (β)[s]'k, YY2 *Jyk*. (figure) The curve of the final letter suggests -k rather than -n. SW's ingenious suggestion (β)[s]'k is not impossible. Nevertheless, the combination of βs'k and *ywk* follows the order *ywk βs'k* without exception (hence my restoration of [βs'k]), and so SW's suggestion is less likely. For the order of the two synonyms, see *ywk ps'kw* (Yoshida 2019, Letter B, ll. 7–8). As a whole *J(.)yk* preceding *ywk* seems to be an adjective ending with the suffix -yk and dependent on *ywk βs'k*, i.e. “such and such teaching and instruction.”

**Line 5**

- (1) 'skw(°)skwnw pr γypδ γny ny mrt'nyh γrβ'y ny . .p'y 'ry γrβ srδ  
 (1) (°)sk(w°)skwnw pr (xy)pδ γny ZY mrt'(n)yh (γr)β'y ZY (°)'p'y z-'wr γrβ srδ  
 (1) (°)'skw'skwnw pr γ(y)pδ mrt'(n)yh γrβ'y ny 'p'y z-'wr γrβ srd  
 (1) 'skw'skwnw pr xypδ γny ZY mrt'nyh γrβ'y ZY 'p'y z-'wr γrβ srδ  
 (1) 'skw'skwnw pr xypδ γny ZY mrt'nyh γrβ'y ZY 'p'y z-'wr γrβ srδ

'γš'wnyh zγtw δ'rt cn'kw γwty tnp'r p'r. . cywyδ γypδ . . . // // // // // [   
 'xš'w'nh z-γtw δ'rt c(°)nkw xwty tnp'r p'ryc cywyδ γ(γrtr ...) [   
 'γš'wnyh zγtw d'rt cn'kw γwty tnp'r p'r'cy cywyδ γypd(•) z't' // //   
 'xš'w'nh z-γtw δ'rt c'nkw xwty tnp'r p'ryc cywyδ xy(p)δ z't[y   
 'xš'w'nh z-γtw δ'rt c'nkw xwty tnp'r p'ryc cywyδ γy(rt)r z-'t[y

- (2) kwṛ py]r-k' γ'γ-'n // // (3) . . . // // // // // //   
 (2) kwl py]l-(k') x'γ-'n [ (3)](...) [   
 (2) ]l-k'(°) γ'γ-'n // // (3) ] š(•y) '(šmy)mr zk• // //   
 (2) \*kwl py]l-(k') x'γ-'n ... [ (3)]š(•y) '(šy)mr ZK•[...   
 (2) kwl py]l-k' x'γ-'n [ (3) ny]s(t)y (••mr ••)[

- (4) . . . . . y . . . mt . . . . . / . / /   
 (4)]( ) [   
 (4)] ••d(β) (w)yδ(yt)y (β)γ(w)stry γ••••••••••   
 (4)]••δ(°) (°)yδ(yt)y \*(y)x(w)st(°)y x[...   
 (4)](M)N 'yδ(yt)y (y)x(w)st(°)y (γnk)[yn?

**(1) He remained [...] (and) he held the realm for many years by means (i.e. power) of (his) skill and valour, understanding and perception. When he left his body (= died), after that, his son (2) [①Köl Bi]lgä Qaghan (3) [moun]ted [the throne ...] (4) [He was] distinguished from (other) people (and was) bra[ve? ... ... ]**

5(1-1) γrβ'y = M γrβy “knowledge.” Cf. DMSB, p. 88a, s.v. γrβy.

5(1-2) JH p'r'cy, YY/SW/YY2 p'ryc. **(figures)** JH seems to have recognized faint traces seen on the tail of -c as the letter y.

5(1-3) JH/SW xy(p)δ, YY2 γy(rt)r. **(figures)** As far as I can see on the moulding, -δ is not visible and what JH reads as -δ seems to be a rather clear -r, which, however, is not very obvious on the rubbings.

5(1-4) SW/YY2 z't[y]. This word clearly indicates that the preceding part is related to Köl Bilgä's father. According to the *Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu*, his father was called Hushu 護輸, who killed the military governor of Liangzhou 涼州 and fled to Mongolia to hold Mt. Ötükän.

5(3) JH/SW *Jš(•)y '(šy)mr ZK•[*, YY2 *ny]s(t)y (••mr ••)[*. I was able to make out only faint traces of what looks like *mr* followed by two short strokes looking like *nn*. From the context one may expect and restore *z-t[ 'y kwł py]l-k' x'γ-'n [ny]s(t)y*. Cf. lines 8, 13, and 14. Thus, one is tempted to read *[ny]s(t)y* for JH's *Jš(•)y*, which I myself was not able to recognize on the moulding.

5(4-1, 2) JH *J •••dβ (w)yδ(yt)y*, SW *J•••δ(') ('y)δ(yt)y*, YY2 *J(M)N 'yδ(yt)y*. (**figures**) My reading or rather restoration of *MN* is based on the usage of *yxwst'y* "distinguished" in this text. For example in line 16 one reads: *MN s'ī 'yδ'yty yxwst'y ZY 'ny'z-'nk* "distinguished and different from all the people." Cf. also line 15: *MN s'ī 'z-'tyty yx(ws)t[ 'y ZY 'ny'z-'nkw]* "distinguished [and different] from all the nobles."

5(4-3) JH *(β)γ(w)stry*, SW *\*(y)x(w)st('y)*, YY2 *(y)x(w)st('y)*. (**figures**) SW's proposal to read *yxwst'y* is compatible with the traces on the moulding. In fact JH's *(β)γ(w)stry* basically assumes the same shapes of letters.

5(4-4) JH *γ•••*, SW *x[*, YY2 *(γnk)[yn?] "victorious"?* (**figures**) This part is visible on the rubbings. But one cannot make out the letters from these faint traces. Alternatively, on the basis of line 16 (*MN s'ī 'yδ'yty yxwst'y ZY 'ny'z-'nk*) one may rather restore *yxwst'y (ZY 'n)[y'z-'nk]*.

**Line 6**

- (1) p.c'w ny δ(')s('nš) krt'y . . . . . tyt . . . ty 'γš'wnd'r't 'krt'nt
- (1) p(.)c'w ZY 'šš(n')š kyty (t.....) '(.)st(..)k (....)ty 'xš'wnd'r't (')krt'nt
- (1) p(r)y(')w ny ('n)s(n')s kyty twr(k) 'xš'wnd'r (')st('n)t γwty 'γš'wnd'r't 'krt'nt
- (1) \*p(c')w ZY \*( 'x'ns) k(r)ty twr(k) 'xš'wnd'r (')st('n)t xwty 'xš'wnd'r't 'krt'nt
- (1) p(r')yw ZY 'šn's knty twr(k) 'xš'wnd'r (')st('n)t xwty 'xš'wnd'r't 'krt'nt

k . . . m' . . 'γšywny βγtw δ'r't .w. . .γ. // // // //  
 k(.....m'...) 'xš('w'nh) z-γtw δ('r'n)t (.....) [  
 k(ynβr) mnd 'γš'wnd'r(•) (zγ)tw d'r('n)t (y)w(')r (β)γtw // // //  
 ky••• m(')δ 'xš'w('nh) z-γtw δ'r('n)t (y)w(')r (β)γtw  
 kyZY i (srδ) 'xš'w('nh) z-γtw δ'r('n)t (y)w(')r βxtw(n)[y

- (2)] wym't cywyδ . // // // // // (4)]. . . . γ . t δrwtykw . . t . . . . .t . . . . . // //
- (2)](.) wm't (cywy)δ (....)[ (4)]('xš'w'n)h δβtykw 'y-tδ('r'n)t [ ]
- (2)] wm't cy-wyd 'γš' // // // (4)] •• βγ(y) (γw)nh d(β)tykw ('y) t(y)p('y)t ny // // //
- (2)] wm't cy-wyδ 'xš'[wn (4)]('xš'w'n)h δ(β)tykw 'y-tδ('r'n)t ZY [ ]
- (2) tw](γ?) wm't cy-wyδ 'xš'[wnd'rty (4)]('xš'wn)h δ(β)tykw 'y-tδ('r'n)t ZY [ ]

**(1) [...] together with [...] they arrested the Tujue ruler of the Ashinas clan (and) they themselves became rulers who held this realm for one year. However, (2) there was [quickly] a rupture and from those rulers (4) they took the realm again [... ..]**

6(1-1) JH  $p(')y(')w$ ,  $p(r)y(r)w$ , etc. SW  $*pcw$ , YY2  $pr'yw$ . (figures) SW's suggestion to read  $*pcw$  "quarrel" is based on the assumption that it constitutes a kind of hendiadys with  $'x'ns$  "strife." However, since the reading and the meaning of  $'šn's$  are now confirmed (see below), there are no grounds for expecting the word  $pcw$  here. That the letter  $r$  (*resh*) rather than  $c$  is to be read is almost certain on the moulding. The penultimate letter may also be read  $'$ , i.e.  $prw$ , which could be a variant spelling of  $pr'yw$ .

6(1-2) JH  $(n)s(n)s kyty$ , SW  $*('x'ns) k(r)ty$ , YY2  $'šn's knty$ . (figures) I now believe there is practically no doubt about my reading  $'šn's knty$ . On this word see Yoshida (2019, pp. 5–6). For understanding the historical context of this passage, I cite a paragraph from Mackerras 1990, p. 317:

The second of the great nomad empires of Mongolia lasted from 744 to 840, and its capital was Karabalgasun on the High Orkhon River. For some years before its foundation, the Uighur leader, known to Chinese as Ku-li p'ei-lo, had been consolidating the power of his own clan, the Yaghlakar, among the various Uighur tribes; and in 742, he led a coalition of Uighur, Karluk and Basmil forces in a successful attempt to drive the last important ruler of the Eastern Türks from the Mongolian steppes. This set the scene for further expansion of Ku-li p'ei-lo's power, and the Chinese historian tersely remarks that in 744 "he attacked and defeated the Basmil and took upon himself the title of Kutlugh bilgä Köl keghan." Shortly after this, the Karluk also became victims of the Uighur kaghan, and an easterly group of them was brought under subjection.

6(1-3) JH  $kyn\beta r mnd$ , SW  $ky\bullet\bullet m(')\delta$ , YY2  $kyZY i (sr\delta)$ . (figures) It looks as if one can read  $kyZY y (sr\delta)$ . I assume what looks like the second  $y$  is in fact the numeral  $i$  "one." The initial letter  $s$ - is ill-formed and looks like  $m$ -, but  $m'\delta$  or  $my\delta$  does not make good sense in the context. According to the Šine Usu Inscription (North, line 9), after 742 the second war against Tujue began in 743 (Moriyasu et al. 2009, pp. 11, 34). This situation seems to be recorded in this passage.

6(1)-(2) JH  $(\beta)ytw / / / (2) wm't$ , SW  $(\beta)ytw (2) wm't$ , YY  $\beta xt(w)[ny (2) tw](\gamma) wm't$ . (figures) In view of the size of a gap in line 5, not more than one short word seems to have been lost between the two stones. Possibly, one may restore  $\beta xt(w)[n(2)](\gamma) wm't$  "there was a schism." However, the very first letter on the right edge of Frag. 2 appears to be  $-\gamma$ . I have tried restoring the very short word  $tw](\gamma)$  "swift(ly), quick(ly)" here, but it is very hypothetical since one expects  $twx$  rather than  $tw\gamma$ . In the two rubbings  $\beta xt w$  looks more like  $*\beta xrt$ , etc., but  $\beta xt w$  is very clear in the moulding.

6(4-1) JH  $\bullet\bullet \beta\gamma(y) (\gamma w)nh$ ; YY/SW  $(xš'w'n)h$ , YY2  $(xš'wn)h$ . (figures) What JH reads as  $\gamma w$  is read by the others as  $'w$ . The letters are blurred but their traces are not incompatible with my reading (YY2).

6(4-2) JH  $(')y t(y)p('y)t ny / / /$ , YY/SW  $'y-t\delta('r'n)t$ , YY2  $'y-t\delta('r'n)t$ . (figures) YY's  $'y-t\delta('r'n)t$  is a regrettable error for  $'y-t\delta('r'n)t$ , which may have influenced SW's reading.

### Line 7

(1) . . t'ynew ny wyspw 'γš'wnδ'r s't kw . . . s'r m.k . . 'γš'wnyh

(1) β'trynew ZY wyspw 'xš'wnδ'r (s't) kw (.....) s'r m(.)k(..)š '(xš)'wnh

(1) β'trynew ny wyspw 'γš'wnd'r s't kw CWR(H) s(r) m(nkšřš) 'γš'wnh

(1) β'tryncw ZY wyspw 'xš'wnd'r s't kw CWRH s'r \*m(nxrš) 'xš'wnh  
 (1) β'tryncw ZY wyspw 'xš'w'nd'r s't kw CWRH s'r m(n)x(yr)š 'xš'wnh

. . . ptsyty 'rpst'kw 'krty γrβ srδ 'γš'wnyh zγtw δ'rt cn./// [kw (2)]r  
 šyn ptsyty 'rpst'kw 'krty γrβ s(rδ) 'xš'(w'nh z-γtw) δ('r)t c'[nkw (2) kw]l  
 š(w') ptsyty 'rpst'kw 'krty γrβ srδy 'γš'wn•h zγtw d'rt cn'//// (2) /// l  
 \*š(yr) ptsyty 'rpst'kw 'krty γrβ srδy 'xš'w'nh z-γtw δ'rt c'(n)[kw (2) γw]l  
 \*š(yr) ptsyty 'rpst'kw 'krty γrβ srδy 'xš'w'nh z-γtw δ'rt c'(n)[kw (2) kw]l

pyr-k' γ'γ-'n tnp'r pr['γtδ'rt] // // // (4) [tn]kryδ' pwr-myš 'yr 'ytmys  
 pyl-k' x'γ-'n t(n)p'r p(')[ryc(4) tn]kryδ' pwl-(mys) 'yl (' )yt(mys  
 pyl-k' γ'γ-'n tnp'r p(r) // // (4) tn]kryδ' pw(l)d-mys 'yl 'ytmys  
 pyl-k' x'γ-'n tnp'r p(')[ryc ... (4) tn]kryδ' pwl-mys 'yl 'ytmys  
 pyl-k' x'γ-'n tnp'r p(')[ryc (4) tn]kryδ' pwl-mys 'yl 'ytmys

p[yr-k' γ'γ-'n γšty] . . . . . // // //  
 p)[yl-k' x'γ-'n nysty ]  
 'l[p 35cm // // ]  
 'l[p ]  
 (')[wl-wγ pyl-k' x'γ-'n nysty]

**(1) He oppressed [the enemy] and he drew all the rulers entirely to himself. The realm became very well organized (and) powerful. He held the realm for many years. When (2) ①Kül Bilgä Qaghan left his body, (4) ②Tängriä Bolmīs II Itmis [Ulugh(?) Bilgä Qaghan mounted the throne ... ..]**

7(1-1) β'tryncw is 3 sg. impf. and its subject must be the first qaghan, while its direct object is likely to be the Qarluqs. See above for the development of events in which the Uighur qaghan came to be the supreme ruler of the Mongolian plateau.

7(1-2) YY/JH/SW 'xš'wnd'r, YY2 'xš'w'nd'r. **(figures)** 'xš'w'n- rather than 'xš'wn- is clear on the rubbings and the moulding.

7(1-3) JH/YY *mnkyrš*, etc., SW \**mnrš*, YY2 *mnxyrš*. **(figures)** SW's *mnrš* seems to be based on the fact that '*nkyrš*' has not been attested but '*nxrš*' is known. A close look at the moulding and the two rubbings, in particular the moulding, enables one to read *mnxyrš* almost certainly. It is likely to be a spelling variant of *mnrš*.

7(1-3) YY *šyn*, JH *šw'*, SW/YY2 \**š(yr)*. **(figures)** On the moulding and the two rubbings *šyn* seems to be clear and it is almost impossible to read *š(yr)*. Nevertheless, one certainly expects *šyr* rather than *šyn* or *šy'* and it seems to be appropriate to emend the text. Cf. also DMSB, s.v. *šyr*: KB7(1) (Ms *šyn*).



7(2) *p'ryc*. One may also restore *pr[γtd'rt]*. It is only because one expects a very short gap between Frag. 2 and Frag. 4 that I restore *p(')[ryc]* rather than *pr[γtd'rt]*.

7(4-1) JH/SW *l[p]*, YY (*p*)[*ylk'*, YY2 *'[wl-wγ pyl-k']* or *'[l-p pyl-k']*. (figures) On the moulding, almost nothing is seen where JH proposes to read *l[p]*. What one can see on the two rubbings is a trace looking like *'* (*aleph*), but no trace of the letter *l* is visible. The second qaghan's Uighur designation is known from the Šine Usu Inscription: *tängridä bolmīš il itmiš bilgä*. If *'* does exist, it may be due to an error of the scribe, who was so accustomed to write *'lp* or *'lpw* before *pylk'*. One may also consider restoring *'[wl-wγ]*, since the combination of *uluγ* and *bilgä* is actually encountered in the seventh qaghan's appellation. On the possibility of restoring an extra *uluγ* also before *bilgä* for the third qaghan's designation found in the Chinese version, see Moriyasu and Yoshida, forthcoming.

7(4-2) At the end of line 7 one can easily restore a sentence recording the succession of the third qaghan to the second: *c'nkW ... x'γ'n tnp'r p'ryc kwn tkryδ' xwt pwlmys 'yl twtmys kwlwk pylk'*. For the restoration of an extra *kwn* in the third qaghan's appellation see Moriyasu and Yoshida, forthcoming.

#### Line 8

- (1) γ'γ-'n γšty cn'kw mšy wyδ's . . wny ' . . 'z 'rkW wM't pr s't  
 (1) x'γ-'n (ny)sty c'nkW m(..) wyδ'sγwny '(ny)'z-'nkW wM't pr s't  
 (1) γ'γ'n ('y)sty cn'kw m(rt)y wyδ'sγwny 'n(y)'z'nkW wM't pr s't  
 (1) x'γ-'n (ny)sty c'nkW m(rt)y wyδ'sγwny 'n(y)'z-'nkW wM't pr s't  
 (1) x'γ-'n (ny)sty c'nkW (š)xy wyδ'sγwny 'n(y)'z-'nkW wM't pr s't

. . . yh ny cn'kw 'γš'wnd'ry w'δy 'sty ny ctβ'r kyr'nw  
 β(ry)nh ZY (c'n)kw 'xš'wnd'ry w'δy (ny)sty (Z)Y ctβ'r (kyr'nw)  
 (β)w'nh ny cn'kw 'γš'wnd'ry w'δy ('w)sty ny ctβ'r k[y]r'nw  
 β(ry)nh ZY c'nkW 'xš'wnd'ry w'δy (ny)sty ZY ctβ'r kyr'nw  
 β(ry)nh ZY c'nkW 'xš'wnd'ry w'δy (ny)sty ZY ctβ'r kyr'n

.k. . . . . / / / / / / / / (2).wys pr prn ny prnywntk'n / / / / / / / /  
 (.k.....)[ (2)mn](t)wxs pr prn ZY prnxwntkyh (.)[  
 wyn(p)' ny pckwyr (p)[ty(2)]mwxs pr prn ny prnywntk(yh) p / / / /  
 wy(zp)' ZY pckwyr (p)[ty(2)](m)wxs pr prn ZY prnxwntk(yh) p[r  
 wy(zp)' ZY pckwyr [wy(2)δ](β')xs pr prn ZY prnxwntk(yh) p[r

- (4) . . . ny γrβ'kyh prγ'nš . . . . . / / / / / / / /  
 (4)](..) ZY γrβ'kyh pr γny ZY [mrt'nyh ]  
 (4) / / / (\*šzn)y γrβ'kyh pr γ(rβk)y 40cm / / / /  
 (4)](\*šz) ZY γrβ'kyh pr γny ZY [mrt'nyh ]  
 (4) py](r'y) ZY γrβ'kyh pr γny ZY [mrt'nyh ]

7[③Kün Tangridä Qut Bulmīš II Tutmīš Alp Külüg Bilgä] | 8(1) Qaghan got seated (on the throne). Since he was extremely wonderful and distinguished in every manner, when he mounted the seat of the ruler, terror and fear [spre]ad in the four directions. (2) By (the force of) majesty and gloriousness, by [religious belief] (4) and understanding, and by skill and [valour ... ..]

NB: Here begins the account of the third qaghan. His full title and name (Kün Tangridä Qut Bulmīš II Tutmīš Alp Külüg Bilgä) must have begun in the large gap of the preceding line.

8(1-1) OH *mšy*, YY *m(..)*, JH/SW *m(r)ty*, YY2 (*š*)*xy*. (**figures**) The first letter does look like *m*-, but if one compares it with other clear initial *m*-s like *mwnkw* (line 1), it looks more like *s*- or *š*- with an additional stroke below the body. As far as the St. Petersburg rubbing is concerned, JH/SW's *m(r)ty* is practically impossible since the space is too small to encompass two letters between the first letter and the last one, which looks like *-y*. I venture to read (*š*)*xy* “very, very much, absolutely; firmly” and to take the first letter to be an ill-formed *š* since a word emphasizing the following *wyδšywny* “wonderful” is expected.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, what I saw on the moulding suggests *m'yδ*, which could also be employed to emphasize the following adjective or adverb; cf. DMSB, p. 110b.

8(1-2) OH/YY/JH/SW *kyr'nw*, YY2 *kyr'n*. (**figures**) As far as I was able to see on the moulding, there is no trace of final *-w*. On the other hand, one can see a small loop below *-'* and the whole trace looks like *-t* with a long vertical tail. It seems that the stonemason first inscribed *kyrt* and later corrected it to *kyr'n* by adding the long tail of *-n*. All these corrections have made it difficult to read such an easy word as *kyr'n* correctly.

8(1-3) JH *wyn(p)'*, SW/YY2 *wy(zp)'*. (**figures**) Although OH and YY were not able to read this word, it is very clearly seen on the moulding.

8(1-4) JH/SW/YY2 *pckwy(r)* is clearly seen on the moulding and the Kyoto rubbing, but is hardly discernible on the St. Petersburg rubbing. (**figures**)

8(1)-(2) OH *J(.)wγs*, YY *mn](t)wxs*, JH *(p)/// (2) /mwxs*, SW *(p)[t(2)y](m)wxs*, YY *[wy(2)δ](β')xs*. (**figure**) The most likely reading of the first word on Frag. 2 is *J(.)wxs*, whence OH's and YY's readings. However, one cannot see any trace of the letter *m* before what looks like *-wxs*. While he follows JH's reading (*/mwxs*), in his footnote SW suggests the possibility of reading *w[yδ]β'xs*. Since *ptymwxs* “he clothed himself, donned” makes little sense in the context, whereas *wyδβ'xs* “prevailed” does, I prefer to follow SW's suggestion. Possibly *β* and *'* have combined to look like *w*, before which a small trace of the preceding letter is visible. The beginning of the word is hardly visible on the moulding and the two rubbings. I cannot see how JH recognized *(p)* here.

8(4) JH *p/// (4) // (•šzn)y γrβ'kyh*, SW *p[r (4)](•šz) ZY γrβ'kyh*, YY2 *p[r (4) py](r'y?) ZY γrβ'kyh*. (**figures**) The part preceding *ZY* is hard to read. Almost nothing is left on the moulding. My reading is in fact a restoration based on *pr RBkw p(yr'y) ZY γrβ'kyh* (line 14).

**Line 9**

- (1) . . ptškwnyh ’’yt wn’kw ny cy(m)yδ t’yt’ .h . . . .δt ny ZKn ’w.  
 (1) (ZY ptšk)w’nh ’’yt w’nkwy ZY cy(m)yδ t(r)γty’kh β(wc)δt ZY ZKn z-’wr  
 (1) ny ptškw(nyh) ’’yt (w’n)kw ny cymyd t(r)γtz’yh β(rn)ydt ny ZKn ’wr  
 (1) ZY ptškw’nh ’’yt w’nkwy ZY cymyd t(r)γty’kh β(r’)yδt ZY ZKn z-’wr  
 (1) ZY ptškw’nh ’’yt w’nkwy ZY cymyd t(r)γty’kh β(r’)yδt ZY ZKn z-’wr

δynd’ry cn’kw βγγ ’γšywny ’’(r)y ptškw(’t) . .γw(š) . . . . . // // // // (2) (k)w  
 δβrd’ ZY c’nkwy βγγ ’xšywny ’yny ptškw’(n)h (pty)γw(š .....)[ (2)](k)w  
 dynd’(r)y cn’kw βγγ ’γšywny ’y(n)y ptškw’(nh) ptyγwš (β)w(ty’)m ’rps[t’(2)]kw  
 δβrd’ ZY c’nkwy βγγ ’xšywny ’y(n)y ptškw’(n)h ptyγwš \*(x)wt(y ’)M ’rps[t’(2)]kw  
 δβrd’ ZY c’nkwy βγγ ’xšywny ’y(n)y ptškw’(n)h ptyγwš (x)wt(y ’)M ’rps[t’(2)]kw

’sp.δy (t)γyw . . . . . ’st.w s’r . // // // // (4) .rtw δ’rt . . . . . γp’ . . . . . // // //  
 ’sp(’δy (.)yw (.....)st(n)w s’r (.) [ (4)](.)tδ’rt x(y)δ ’sp’(δy)[ ]  
 ’sp’dy p(r)’yw (z)kw (βγ)pcystrw s’r γ / / / [ (4)](š)td’rt (•)γyd ’sp’y(š) 42 cm / / / /  
 ’sp’δy p(r)’yw kw \*βγp(wr)st(n)w s’r x[rt ... (4)](γ)tδ’rt xyδ ’sp’(δy)[ ]  
 ’sp’δy p(r)’yw kw βγp(wr)st(n)w s’r x[r’(4)](m)tδ’rt xyδ ’sp’(δy)[’n ]

**(1) and an entreaty came (saying): “Help (us/him) from this oppression and give assistance to him.” When the godlike king heard this entreaty, (2) he deigned to proceed to China (= land of the Chinese emperor) with the powerful army. (4) Those sold[iers ... ..]**

9(1-1) *βr’yδt*. (**figures**) This reading is fairly clear on both the moulding and the rubbings. *βr’yδt* is a metathesized form of \**βr’ytd* “help! (2 pl. impv.)”; cf. DMSB, p. 55b. Since the same spelling occurs in Ch/U 6536a, it cannot be just an accidental misspelling. For the similar metathesis of a voiceless stop and a fricative sound at the end of a word, cf. *pwtystβ ~ pwtysβt* (Yoshida 2008, pp. 344–350). On the etymology of *βr’ytd* (< \**fra-yātaya-*), see Sims-Williams 1989, p. 261. Cf. also Chor. *fy’cy’k* “to help (inf.).”

9(1-2) OH/YY/JH/SW/YY2 **ZKn**. (**figures**) This looks more like *nkyn* or *nkryn* on the Kyoto rubbing and the moulding. But no such form is known and its irregular shape seems to be due to small cracks on the surface. Obviously *ZKn* here is not an article preceding *z-’wr* but a personal pronoun, and accordingly *ZKn z-’wr δβrd’* means “help him.” The 3rd person singular pronoun here is likely to refer to the sender of the letter. According to the Chinese sources, it was Shi Zhaoyi 史朝義, Shi Siming’s 史思明 son, who sent a letter to Mouyu or Bögü, but as it stands, the Sogdian text seems to indicate that the Chinese emperor was the sender of the letter of entreaty.

9(1-3) OH *dynd’ry*, JH *dynd’(r)y*, YY/SW *δβrd’ ZY*, YY2 \**δβrd’ ZY*. (**figures**) As far as one can see on the rubbings and the moulding, the stonemason first inscribed *dynd’*. Since it does not make sense and because *δβrd’* and *dynd’* look similar, this spelling seems to be a simple carving error. Then while he was inscribing the next word *c’nkwy* he noticed his mistake and inscribed *ZY* on the long tail of the final *-’*. This *dynd’-ZY* for \**δβrd’ ZY* looks like *dynd’ry*, hence





10(1-5) JH '(dp)t, SW '(δp)t, YY2 (**n'p**)t “**people**”? (**figures**) The context seems to refer to the persecution of the Manichaeans. Since the plural form is not expected for *n'β*,<sup>27</sup> one may also read *z'kt*. In Bāzāklik C a monk is called *dynz'k* “child of religion.” For this expression, see also Middle Persian *dyn przynd'n* and Uighur *nom oyulani* (Yoshida 2019, p. 197). Admittedly, the following verb in 3 sg. (*βškrty wβ'*) makes my reading (*n'p*)t or (*z'k*)t very unlikely.

10(1-6) *βškrty wβ'* “was expelled.” On the meaning of *fškr-*, see now Sims-Williams 2019.

10(1-7) JH *rm*, SW —, YY2 '**M**. JH's clumsy note seems to have been overlooked by SW, but see now DMSB, p. 73a.

10(2-1) JH (*yty*), SW (*rty*), YY2 **pr'yw**. (**figures**) In his note SW queries JH's reading. On the St. Petersburg rubbing *rty* is almost impossible, whereas *pr'yw*, which is most expected from the preceding '**M**, is at least compatible with the traces.

10(2-2) JH (*.pr*m'y, etc., SW *pr*m('n), YY2 **mδy**. (**figures**) What JH and SW take for *p* is in fact the last letter of the preceding word *pr'yw*. This *w* and the following space induce JH to read *pr*m here, which reminds him of a word connected with *pr*m'y “to order.” In any case *-δ-* is clearly seen on the St. Petersburg rubbing.

10(2-3) OH *twtwk'n*,<sup>28</sup> JH/SW *γrβtwk'n*, YY2 (**'w**)*ytwk'n*. (**figures**) The context and the ending *-twk'n*, which is clear, suggest this reading. *'wytwk'n z-yh* must be the Sogdian counterpart of Old Turkish *ötükän yer* “the land of Ötükän” attested in a Runic inscription (Tonyuquq). This is the plain along the River Orkhon, where the capitals of several steppe empires, including the Uighur Qaghanate, were located.

10(4-1) JH *J(k)py p(y)z'nt '(s)t*, SW *J(k)py p(t)z('n)t '(s)t* “acknowledged, took,” YY2 **'γ'z-nt '(γ)t** “they began to come/bring.” (**figures**) The reading of *z-nt* is almost certain, whereas the preceding part is almost illegible, but there is no trace of a descender. My reading is thus based on the assumption that *'γt* (more likely than *'st*) is a past infinitive derived from *'ys* “to come” or *'βr* “to bring.”

10(4-2) JH/SW/YY2 **s'tγ•t (rt)jy**. Here I have just followed JH's reading. Not much is seen on the moulding, and JH's reading seems to have been based on the St. Petersburg rubbing, which is not very clear either.

10(6) OH .. *ctβ'r ptšmr*. . . . *δ* . . . *tw*, JH *////(t) ctβ'r ptšm(rt) ••δ• ••tw///*, SW *J(t) ctβ'r ptšm('r) •δ• ••tw[*, YY2 **J(n) ctβ'r ptšm('r•••δ•••)j**. (**figures**) On the right edge of Frag. 6 only a long tail is visible. What comes after *pt(š)-* is not visible on the St. Petersburg rubbing. JH's reading seems to be based on OH's text, which is supported by the Kyoto rubbing except for *••tw*. In view of the Chinese version, one may restore *[δn](n) ctβ'r ptšm['ry dyn]δ[rt pr'yw]* “with monks four in number.”

### Line 11

- (1) .w. . . . . k'rw ny ptkwnw pδkh δ'rymskwnw rt kδ'wty 'sp.stskwnw  
 (1) (..... ptk)r'kw ZY ptkwnw pδkh δ'rymskwn ZKn δywyty 'spyšymskwnw  
 (1) 'spyšy-my-k(')rw ny ptkwnw pdkh d'rymskwnw rt dywyty 'spyšy(')skwnw  
 (1) \*'spyšy-m(s)k(w)n w ZY ptkwnw pδkh δ'rymskwnw ZKn δywyty 'spyšymskwnw



11(1-2) *ZKn* preceding the plural noun *δywt* is a general obl. form (DMSB, p. 37a, s.v. *'wyn*).

11(1-3) JH *(p'y)y('n)t*, SW *\*(pt)y-(syn)t*, YY2 *'rky βynt*. (**figures**) As for SW's suggestion, reading *s-* seems to be impossible both on the moulding and the rubbings. From the context, a verb denoting what the qaghan did to his subjects is expected, hence SW's *\*ptysynt* "he consented." If *swc'y* is a present infinitive, this verb should govern it. My *'rky βynt* corresponds better to the traces of letters than the other two readings. For understanding the semantic relationship between "burn in the fire" and the verb in question, the Chinese version may be of some help, reading (曰)既有志誠任即持賣應有刻畫魔形悉令焚爇 "(Qaghan) said: 'Now that you have resolution and sincerity (towards Manichaeism), I entrust you to go immediately and fetch whatever sculptures, paintings, and images of demons you have and to have them burnt and cremated.'" *'rky βynt* "lit. to bind in the work" may correspond to *ren* 任 "entrust" of the Chinese version. For this meaning, see the compound *'rkβynty* "setting (someone) to work" (DMSB, p. 18a). The combination of *'rkh* and *βynt* is also encountered in the *Vessantara Jātaka*, lines 1238–1240 (Benveniste 1946, p. 73): *rty šn nwkr 'wyn pr 'mn 'ynch pr 'y'z 'rkh βsty ZY prm 'nh prm 't* "Now the Brahmin's wife (*lit.* woman) began to put them to work and to give the orders."

11(1-4) JH/SW *(p) 'ty 'pyšm(r)t*, YY2 *'krty p(tkr'y)t*. (**figures**) As far as I could see on the rubbings and the moulding, the initial letter of JH/SW's *(p) 'ty* cannot be *p-*, and one small stroke precedes what is most likely *-k-*, hence my *'krty*. For my reading *ptkr'yt*, see line 12, (1)-(2): *δsty 'krt(y) ptkryt*.

11(2)-(4) JH *ptcxšδ ///š*, SW *\*ptcxšδ[r'nt...]š*, YY2 *ptcxš(')](y)*. (**figure**) As I have already remarked several times, the gap between Frag. 2 and Frag. 4 is very small. On this point, see also line 14, where virtually no letter is lost between the two stones. Therefore, what JH reads as *š* on Frag. 4 is likely to be the last letter of a word beginning with *ptcxš-*. I take it for *-y* and assume that the form in question functions as the present infinitive *ptcxš'y* "to adopt, to accept" dependent on *'rky βynt*. It may also be possible that the end stroke found on the right edge of Frag. 4 is in fact the final part of the letter *δ* of *ptcxš(δ)* (2nd pl. impv.), i.e. *δynh ptcxš(-)[(4)](δ)* "Adopt the religion." Cf. line 12, *pr'm'y w'nkw ZY ptcxšδ* "(the qaghan) ordered, saying, 'Adopt (the Manichaean religion).'" In that case the translation would read as follows: (1) We are ...ing [...] and we are holding the perverted law. We are serving demons. Now the godlike king entrusted(?) (them with) burning the hand-made images all (2) in the fire, (saying,) '(As for) the religion, (you pl.) adopt the lord Mar Mani's religion!'

11(4) JH *10 cm ny dy[n]h (p)t[cy]šd (z)m(y) ny (p) 7 cm*, SW *(δ.....)* ZY *δy[n]h (p)t[cy]šd(δ'rt) ZY (p)[*, YY2 [**no text**]. SW's text is based on JH's reading. Since almost no discernible letters can be seen on the moulding and the two rubbings, I refrain from reading this part. Again I cannot see from where JH got his reading.

11(6-1) *'jšm'xw L' ptcyt kwnδ* "you cannot accept." Since the sentence is negated, *L' ptcyt kwnδ* could also be translated in the imperfect tense: "you were not able to accept (the religion)."<sup>29</sup> Here, for reasons unknown to me, the verb *ptcxš-/ptcyt-* inflects as if it were a heavy stem. On this point see, also *ptcxšδ* in the next line.

11(6-2) JH *pty (mw)...*, hence SW's restoration *pty mw[z'k'*, YY2 *(p)l'r]ZY*. (**figure**) I cannot see any traces suggesting JH's reading. SW takes *pty* as the Teacher's name Patti.





12(1-1) JH *(wy)p(y)t* or *'p't*, SW/YY2 *(wyδ)p(')t*. (**figures**) Since I was able to recognize  $\delta$  on the moulding, I follow SW's ingenious restoration.

12(1-2) JH *pšytd'rym*, SW *pšytδ'rym*, YY/YY2 *(')ytδ'rym*. (**figures**) The beginning of this word is badly damaged. The first letter seems to have been corrected from *p-* to *'-*. In any case, *pšync/pšyt-* “to spill, shed” is not wanted from the context.

12 (1-3) JH *γm(d)* or *γm(y)*, SW *γm(y)*, YY2 *xy-(δ)*. (**figures**) What JH read as *γmy* or *γmδ* may perhaps be read *xy-δ*.

12(1-4) JH *'št//*, SW *'št/*, YY2 *'krt(y)*. (**figures**) At first glance JH/SW's reading *'št/* for my *'krt(y)* seems justified. However, as far as one can see on the moulding and the St. Petersburg rubbing, the letter they read as *š* is fairly large and I prefer to take it for a combination of poorly inscribed *k* and *r*. One can see a faint trace of the letter *y* after *t*. *xy-(δ) δsty 'krt(y) ptkryt* would be rendered as “those idols made by (human) hands.” For this expression, see also *δsty 'kry ptkr 'yt* in line 11 discussed above.

12(2-1) YY *γr'(...)kw (n')m (z-')yh*, JH *γr't'kw (t)'m (z')yh*, SW *γr't'kw (n')m (z-')yh*, YY2 *γr'(m')kw (n')m z-'yh*. (**figures**) For *γr'(m')kw* I first followed OH/JH/SW in reading *-t'-*, but the letters are all damaged and *t* is a little larger than ordinary *t* and looks like *k* followed by a letter such as *r* or *n*. Thus, the reading is not absolutely certain. Although the context suggests that the place was quite popular among contemporary Uighurs, no such place-name seems to be known. On the other hand, the fact that *x/γ* and *k* appear in the same word can hardly be reconciled with the Uighur orthography and is enigmatic. As it stands, the word may also be read *γr'm'kw* ‘wealth,’ with *-m-* being admittedly ill-formed. If this reading is correct, the place named ‘wealth’ reminds one of Bay Baliq “City of Wealth” attested in the Šine Usu Inscription.

12(2)-(4) JH *s////(4)/d(')rym*, SW *(s)[wγtw(4)]δ(')rym*, YY/YY2 *(s)[w(4)]cym*. (**figures**) On the two rubbings of Frag. 4 *Jcym* is very clear, but I was not able to recognize any of the letters on the corresponding part of the moulding. In any case,  $\delta$  seems to be ruled out safely. It is also to be remembered that there is very little space between Frag. 2 and Frag. 4.

12(4-1) YY2 *γr'n*. JH *srβw(γ)* or *snww(š)*, etc., hence SW's *\*(š'n)w(x)*. (**figures**) Here again, I was not able to recognize any letters on the moulding. Things are better on the two rubbings. The word begins with a letter looking like  $\gamma/x$ ,  $\delta$ , or *s* and ends with a long tail. Thus both *š'nwx* and *γr'n* are not impossible. What I read as *'* seems to have been read by JH as *w*, possibly because a depression precedes the letter *alif*, which combines with the depression to look like the letter *w*. The third rubbing at the National Diet Library seems to support *γr'n*.

12(4-2) JH *(wyspd) ..... βγγ m'rm'ny .....*, SW *](wyspd)[ryt ]..... βγγ m'rm'ny [*, YY2 *](wyspd)[ryt ]..... βγγ m'rm'ny [ ]*. (**figures**) I was not able to make out *(wyspd)[ryt]* on the moulding. Faint traces are seen on the Kyoto rubbing but not on the St. Petersburg rubbing. Similarly, faint traces looking like *βγγ m'rm'ny* are visible on the moulding and the Kyoto rubbing but not on the St. Petersburg rubbing. Here I largely follow JH/SW's reading.

12(6-1) JH /•γšy (z)kw(y)/RBkw, SW J\*(')xšy-(wn'kw)(?), YY2 ('sky?) ZY. (figures) Before *c'δr* all the letters are blurred and almost illegible except for ZY. My reading of *'sky* is a simple guess based on the antonym *c'δr*. For *'sky* as opposed to *c'δr* see P3, lines 234–235, where *'sky* and *c'δr* denote east and west respectively (Azarnouche and Grenet 2010, p. 64). In fact we have *dongxi* 東西 “east (and) west” in the corresponding place (column X) of the Chinese version: 東西循環, 往來教化 “... traversed the land in all directions from east to west, and shuttling (between the Uighurs and their homeland) they edified the people.”

12(6-2) JH βγγ 'γšy-wny, SW βγγ ('xšy-wny)(?) (•••), YY2 βγγ mry nywrw'n. (figures)<sup>30</sup> While SW simply followed JH's conjecture based on the assumption that 'xšywny should follow βγγ, JH's old note indicates that he once wondered if *rw* is possible in the place where I read *rw'n*. On the two rubbings one can recognize *m'r* (or *mry*) after βγγ. *nywrw'n* is clearer on the Osaka rubbing than on the other two rubbings. The name of the contemporary *možak* or Teacher is also encountered in a Manichaean Uighur fragment studied by Moriyasu. On this point see **Part II, section 3 (A)** above.

On the placement of what I call Frag.Rus. and Frag.Paris, see **Part I**.

### Line 13

- (1) // . . . . . spw. . . . . cn'kw pwkw γ'γ-'n tnp'r pr'γtδ'rt wn'kw  
 (1) (.....)s pw z-r'yš wβ' c'nkw pwkw x'γ-'n tnp'r pr'γtδ'rt w'nkw  
 (1) [wy]dβγs pw z(r')yš wyn(d) c'nkw pwkw γ'γ-'n tnp'r pr'γtδ'rt w(nd'kw)  
 (1) [wy]δβxs pw z-r'yš wβ' c'nkw pwkw x'γ-'n tnp'r pr'γtδ'rt w'nkw  
 (1) [w](yδβx)s pw z-r'yš wβ' c'nkw pwkw x'γ-'n tnp'r pr'γtδ'rt w'nkw

'r-pw γwtr-wγ pyr-k' γ'γ-'n . . . . . γšty šyr γrβ'kw ny . . . // //  
 '(l)-pw x(wtl)-wγ pyl-(k)' x'γ-'n nysty xwty šyr γrβ('k)w ZY  
 'lpw γwtl-wγ pylk' γ'γ-'n (')ysty γwty šyr γrβkw ny γ// //  
 'l-pw xwtl-wγ pyl-k' x'γ-'n nysty xwty šyr γrβ'kw ZY  
 'l-pw xwtl-wγ pyl-k' x'γ-'n nysty xwty šyr γrβ'kw ZY

// (2) kwnw wm't ny ' . . . . . γrβ 'γš'wn'kw 'rkh // // // // // // //  
 (.)[(2)](k)ynw wm't (ZY) 's(ky ....) γrβ ('x)š'wncykw 'rkh [  
 γ// // (2) // (k)ynw wm't (ny) 'γ's(')tk(w)γsyγ γrβ 'γš'wncykw 'rk(h) (w) // //  
 γ[n(2)](k)ynw wm't (ZY) '(s•s•••w)xsyγ γrβ 'xš'wncykw 'rkh (w)[ ...  
 (γ)[n(2)](k)ynw wm't (ZY) '(sky c'δ)r γrβ 'xš'wncykw 'rkh (')[-

- (4) .stw δ'rt ny 'γš'w. . . . . // // // // // // //  
 (4) '](kr)tw δ'rt ZY 'x(š'w)[nh z-γtw δ'rt?  
 (4) // [']krtw d'rt ny 'γš('w'n)yh •••••pw/ •••t••••• d'rt ny (w)••••• // // //  
 (4) ']krtw δ'rt ZY 'xš'w'(n)yh •••••pw• •••t••••• δ'rt ZY (w)[  
 (4)-](k)rtw δ'rt ZY 'x(š'w)['nh

- (6) t]np'r p'r . . . tnkryδ' pwr-myš kwṛwk pyr-k' γ'γ-'n γšty // // // // //  
 (6) c'nk w t]np'r p'rycw tnkryδ' pw(l)-mys kwl-w(k) pyl-k' x[γ'n nysty  
 (6) // // [t]np'r p(')rycw tnkryδ' pwl-mys kwlwk pyk-k' γ'γ'n 7cm  
 (6) t]np'r p'rycw tnkryδ' pwl-mys kwl-wk pyl-k' x'γ-'n \*(nys)ty [  
 (6) c'nk w t]np'r p'rycw tnkryδ' pwl-mys kwl-wk pyl-k' x(γ)[- 'n nysty

(Frag.Rus.) ZY mγ-wnw z-γtw δ'rt [(Frag.Paris) c'n]kw#

**And in the realms (the religion) (1) prevailed and (the prevalence of the religion) became without hindrance. When ③Bögü Qaghan left his body, thus ④Alp Qutluγ Bilgä Qaghan got seated (on the throne). He himself was very wise and (2) brave. East and west he accomplished many works of the realm. (4) And [he kept] the realm [well organized ... ...]**

**(6) [When he] left the body, ⑤Tängriδä Bolmīs Külüg Bilgä Qaghan got seated (on the throne) [... ... ...] (Frag.Rus. + Frag.Paris) ] he kept [the realm? ...] and entirely. When**

13(1-1) JH/SW [wy]δβxs, YY2 [w](yδβx)s. (figures) On the moulding I was able to see traces of yδβx before a clear final s, although almost nothing except -s is visible on the two rubbings.

13(2-1) YY 's(ky. . . ), JH (γ's'ik w)xsysr, SW '(s•s•••w)xsysr, YY2 's(ky c'δ)r. (figure) The traces of the letters are too obscure to read them. My reading is a mere guess but is not incompatible with the traces.

13(2)-(4) JH/SW (w)[... (4) 'jkrw δ'rt, YY2 (')[(4)](k)rtw δ'rt. (figure) Since the gap between the two fragments is small, there seems to be no space for another word to be placed before -krw, which is found on the right edge of Frag. 4. What JH/SW read as w is likely a part of the initial letter *alif*.

13(4) JH/SW 'xš'w'(n)yh •••••pw• ••t••••• δ'rt ZY (w)[]. I was not able to make out any legible traces after 'x(š'w)[ on the moulding or on the two rubbings. However, JH/SW's tentative reading suggests the following restoration: 'x(š'w'nh šyr xw)pw( ZY p)t(s'γty z-γtw?) δ'rt ZY (c)['nk w ... x'γ'n (6) t]np'r p'rycw "He kept the realm very good and well organized. And when the qaghan (by the name of such and such) left his body." For šyr xw pw ZY pts'γty z-γtw δ'rt, see line 14 below. This restoration, if it should turn out to be correct, also suggests that the gap between Frag. 4 and Frag. 6 is not very large. On this point see, also **Part I-2** above.

13(6) SW x'γ-'n \*(nys)ty. This reading is based on OH's γ'γ-'n γšty. However, as far as I can see from the two rubbings, no trace of nysty is to be seen. It is likely to have been OH's restoration.

**Line 14**

- [cn'kw]<sup>31</sup> (1) γwṛ-wγ pyr-k' γ'γ-'n 'βc'npδy γr'mtδ'rt pts'r tnkryδ' 'wṛ-wk pwr-myš 'r-pw  
 (1) (xwṛl-w)γ pyl-k' x'γ-'n 'βc'npδy xr'mtδ'rt pts'r tnkryδ' 'wl-wk pwl-mys 'l-pw  
 (1) γwṛlwγ pyl-k' γ'γ-'n 'βc'npdy γr'mtd'rt pts'r tnkryδ' 'wl-wk pwl-mys 'l-pw  
 (1) xwṛl-wγ pyl-k' x'γ-'n 'βc'npδy xr'mtδ'rt pts'r tnkryδ' 'wl-wk pwl-mys 'l-pw

(1) xwtl-wγ pyl-k' x'γ-'n 'βc'npδy xr'mtδ'rt pts'r tkryδ' 'wl-wk pwl-mys 'l-pw

γwtr-wγ 'wr-wγ pyr-k' γ'γ-'n [γšty]////////(2) ty pr RBkw pyr ny γrβ'kyh  
 xwtl-w(γ) 'w(l)-wγ py(l)-k' x'γ-'n [(2) nys]ty pr RBkw p(...) ZY γrβ'kyh  
 γwtl-wγ 'wl-wγ pyl-k' γ'γ-'n //// (2)/// ty pr RBkw p(yry) (n)y γrβ'k(yh)  
 xwtl-wγ 'wl-wγ pyl-k' x'γ-'n [(2) nys]ty pr RBkw p•••• ZY γrβ'kyh  
 xwtl-wγ 'wl-wγ pyl-k' x'γ-'n [(2) nys]ty pr RBkw p(yr'y) ZY γrβ'kyh

γny ny mrt'ny-'kh ////////// (4) prnγwntk'n ny prnpδy . . . . .w. . . . .////////  
 γny ZY mrt'ny-'kh [(4)]prnxwntkyh (ZY) p(rn)p(δ)[y-?  
 γny ny mrt'ny-'kh //// (4)/// prnγwntky(h) ny prnpdy••••• 40cm•••//  
 γny ZY mrt'ny-'kh (4) prnxwntkyh ZY prnpδy['kh  
 γny ZY mrt'ny-'kh (4) prnxwntkyh (ZY) prnpδ['ky'kh

(6) šyr γwpw ny pts'γty zγtw δ'rt ny wyδp't . . . . .////////  
 (6)](š)yr xwpw ZY pts'γty z-γtw δ('r)t ZY wyδp(')[t ]  
 (6) //šyr γwpw ny pts'γty zγtw d'rt ny wydp'(t)///  
 (6)]šyr xwpw ZY pts'γty z-γtw δ'rt ZY wyδp'(t)[ ]  
 (6)]šyr xwpw ZY pts'γty z-γtw δ'rt ZY wyδp'(t)[ ]

(Frag.Rus.) kw prnxwntk(?) 'x]šy-wn'kw s'r m'δ ptyškwy'(n)[t? ]#

**(1) (When) ⑥Qutluγ Bilgä Qaghan proceeded (from) the world, then ⑦Tängriḍä Ülüg Bulmīs Alp Qutluγ Uluy Bilgä Qaghan (2) [mounted] (the throne). He [ruled(?)] with great devotion and wisdom, skill and valour, (4) gloriousness and majesty [... ...]**  
**(6) he kept [the realm] very good and well organized. And at that time [... ... ]**  
**(Frag.Rus.) They addressed [the fortunate em]peror thus [...]**

In this line, after recording the seventh qaghan's or Huaixin's accession to the throne, his retainers' and vassals' request begins and continues to line 15. In my opinion, they requested that the seventh qaghan appoint the later eighth qaghan or Baoyi in his youth as a prince regent, and this passage seems to correspond to column XII of the Chinese version: [At that time, ⑧Ay Tängriḍä Qut Bulmīš] (XII) Alp Bilgä Qaghan was still “a dragon under water,” and he was the eldest among all the princes. The governors-general (*dudu* 都督, Uig. *totoq*), the prefects (*cishi* 刺史, Uig. *čigši*), the internal and external ministers, and chamberlains submitted a request to the qaghan (saying), “O Heavenly Qaghan! When (an emperor) remains (seated on) his jewelled throne with his robe trailing and his hands folded, he needs a wise [man] who assists and supports (the emperorship). [... ...] (The eighth qaghan's) competence to help (you) govern the state is as enormous as an ocean or a mountain. As our state is of gigantic structure, (in order to govern it properly) its laws and rules ought to be clearly organized. We earnestly wish you to fulfill with your heavenly favour what your subjects entreat you to do.”



(6) γny] (Z)Y mrt'nyh MN s't ''z-'tyty \*yx(ws)t('y)[

(6) pr γny] (Z)Y mrt'nyh MN s't ''z-'tyty yx(wst)['y ZY 'ny'z-'nkW?

(7) ]#

(7) ](.γ)#

(7) / /wγ(y)#

(7) cn']wx(y)#

(Frag.Rus.)(h) 'nβrz βr't δ['r]t [ (7) ](•)x(y)#

**(1) Your Majesty is sitting on the seat of the ruler and (your) work for the realm is very great and energetic. Whoever would not (2) be able to surpass (?) (him = the eighth qaghan?) by manly skill and valour (i.e. Nobody would surpass (him = the eighth qaghan?) by manly skill and valour). (4) In terms of the power of religious wisdom (any) ruler would not [...] princes [...] (6) [In terms of skill] and valour [he (= the eighth qaghan?) is] distinguished and [is different] from all the noble men. [... ... ...]**

**(Frag.Rus.) ] he (= the seventh qaghan?) looked after/visited [...] (7) [...]**

For the Chinese parallel of this line see above. I surmise that the excellent qualities mentioned in line 15 do not refer to the seventh qaghan but to the eighth qaghan during his princship. Nevertheless, it is curious to see that from the end of line 15 through to line 16 the text concerns the later seventh qaghan when he was still a counselor or a minister. In our joint edition of the Chinese version, Moriyasu and I argue that from the very beginning of the seventh qaghan's reign the later eighth qaghan supported the former, and that both in the Sogdian and Chinese versions this fact is specifically emphasized by being mentioned just after the seventh qaghan's enthronement. It is true that a privileged status was granted to the seventh qaghan by referring to him as Tian Kehan or Heavenly Qaghan and by spending considerable space on him in the inscription, but the inscription itself was after all dedicated to no other qaghan than Baoyi, and a special favour must have been accorded to him by recording his achievements from the very beginning of his career when he was still one of the princes.

15(1-1) JH reads  $p(\tilde{s})m'γprn$  for my  $(\tilde{s}m)'xprn$ . **(figures)** I am not able to see what JH recognized as  $p$  before  $\tilde{s}$  on either the moulding or the rubbings.

15(1-2) YY  $p(.p.)$ , JH/SW  $kwzpy$ , YY2  $k(w)z-py$ . **(figures)** As far as I could see from the moulding, only the second letter  $w$  is not certain:  $k(w)z-py$ . In this case the two rubbings are far inferior and the initial letter does look like  $p-$ , and it is not easy to read  $z-$  and  $-y$ , the latter of which appears as a circle followed by another stroke, hence OH's  $p(y).p(t)'$  and YY's  $p(.p.)$ .

15(2-1) OH/SW  $s'r$ , JH  $s't$  or  $s'n$ , YY2  $*s'r$ . **(figures)** The word ends with a horizontal tail and it is impossible to read  $s'r$ . If it is  $t$ , the loop is too small. As a whole I follow OH/SW in seeing  $s'r$  here. The stonemason seems to have first inscribed  $s'n$  and later corrected it to  $s'r$ . The combination of the preposition  $pr$  and the postposition  $s'r$  is not common but has been attested several times (Sims-Williams 2015, p. 70).

15(2-2) OH *ptywnty*, SW *ptz'nty* “(whoever in respect of skill and valour) is (not) acknowledged,” YY2 *p(t••)nty*. (figures) The letters between *p-* and *-ty*, comprising three or four letters, are hardly legible. After *p-*, *t* is possible, but not certain. From the context one may expect a verb meaning “be superior.” However, it does not seem possible to read *ptr'zty*, 3rd sg. pres. of *ptrz-* “to rise up, become exalted, be proud, be haughty.” Possibly, an old *-ya-* present stem (*\*ptr'yzyty* < *\*pati-razya-*) is to be assumed. On this form, see Yoshida 2019, p. 141, n. 268. If one can read *\*ptywzty* (Henning 1937, p. 76), it could be a 3rd sg. pres. mid. of *ptywz* ‘to hide.’ In this context *L' \*ptywzty* “he does not hide himself” may perhaps imply that one who is superior to others would inevitably become conspicuous and would eventually be known to the world. Another possibility is to read *s'n* ‘enemy’ instead of *s'r* and to restore *\*ptw'yrtty*, which could be 3rd sg. opt. of *ptw'yrt* ‘to expel’: “Nobody (other than he) would expel the enemy by means of manly skill and valour.”

15(4-1) JH *J'wr*, SW/YY2 *[z-J'wr]*. (figures) On the Kyoto rubbing *J'wr* is almost certain but not on the moulding and the St. Petersburg rubbing.

15(4-2) JH/SW *'xš'w'nδ[']ry (w)[']δy L'*, YY2 *'xš'w'n(δ'r••••••••) L'*. (figures) I was not able to recognize any letters in this place between *'xš'w'n* and *L'* on the moulding or on the two rubbings. Thus, *(w)[']δy* being not certain, it seems still possible to read *'xš'w'n(h)* instead of JH/SW's *'xš'w'nδ[']ry* since what looks like an ascender of the letter *δ* could be due to the uneven surface of the inscription.

15(4-3) JH *wyspd(rwt)*, SW/YY2 *wyspδ(ryt)*. (figures) Almost nothing can be seen in the St. Petersburg rubbing, but the word appears very clear on the Kyoto rubbing and the moulding.

15(6) JH *βγ(ws)t(ry)*, YY/SW/YY2 *jx(ws)tf'yj*. On the Kyoto rubbing slightly more can be seen than on the St. Petersburg rubbing. But I was not able to recognize the final *'y*, and I cannot see from where JH gets his *(ry)*.

15(7) Not read by OH. JH *J(w)γγ ~ J(w)γz*, SW *cn']wx(y)*, YY2 *J(c)x(y)*. SW's restoration *cn']wxy* is based on the first word of the next line, which he reads *cn[m'ny]*. The combination of *cn'wxy* and *cnm'ny* is attested in BBB730–731. Cf. also *cnxwy cm'ny* (P5, line 75, cf. Benveniste 1940, p. 78) and *cnxwem'ny* (Intox. 36, cf. MacKenzie 1976, p. 10). However, since I cannot see any trace of *cn-* at the beginning of the next line, I simply transcribe it as it appears on the rubbings. Moreover, if my restoration of *[c'](n)kw* before *mwn'kw* in line 16 is correct, *cn'wxy cnm'ny* is not expected.

**Line 16**

- (1) γ.y . . . // . kw mwn'kw ptškw't pt . . . 'nt ny pr s't pwrnβγty γwyštr
- (1) [.....]kw mwn'kw ptškw'nh pty-(sγ)nt ZY pr s't p(.....)ty xwy-štr
- (1) cn•••/ /ykw m(w)n'kw ptškw't pts('y)nt ny pr s't pw(rn)βγty γwy-štr
- (1) cn[m'ny j]kw mwn'kw ptškw'nh pty-(sy)nt ZY pr s't \*pw(rny'n)ty xwy-štr
- (1) [ c'](n)kw mwn'kw \*ptškw'nh pty-(sy)nt ZY pr s't pw(yrw)xty xwy-štr

'yr 'wk'sy 'r-pw γwtr-wγ . . . . n'm δ'βr ny γwt(y) / / / / / / / (2). 'ry  
 'yl 'wk'sy 'l-pw xwtl-wγ t(.....)n n'm δ'βr ZY xwt(y)[ (2) M](N) 'z-y  
 'yl 'wk'sy 'l-pw γwtl-wγ '(š)t n'm d'βr ny γwt(y) / / / (2) / / /t 'zy



'yl 'wk'sy 'l-pw xwtl-wγ (t)[wγ \*ZY] n'm δ'βr ZY xwt(y)[ (2) M](N) ''z-y  
'yl 'wk'sy 'l-pw xwtl-wγ t(yk)'yn n'm δ'βr ZY xwt(y)[(2) M](N) ''z-y

mrt'nyh MN s't . . . . . ty . . . s . . y ny . . . . . // // // // (4).

mrt(s'r) MN s't 'yδ'yty yxwst'y ZY 'ny'z-'nk[(4)](w)

mrt's'r MN s't wyd'yty βγ(ws)try (n)p'γš (cn)t/ // // (4) // // (t)

mrt's'r MN s't 'yδ'yty yxwst'y ZY 'ny'z-'nk[(4)](w)

mrt's'r MN s't 'yδ'yty yxwst'y ZY 'ny'z-'nk[(4)]

wm't . . . . . // // // // // // // // // // //

wm't (.....)[

wm't ny '(β)c['n]pd[y]k••••y m••• 20cm••• d(β)yš('n)t z' // // //

wm't ZY '(β)c['n]pδ[y]k ••••y m..... δ(β)yš('n)t z'[yh

wm't ZY '(β)c['n]pδ[yk ](L') xypδ[

(6) ny cntr pr δynh cywyδ p't . . . . . // // //

(6) ZY cntr pr δynh cywyδ p't (.....)[

(6) // // (d) crtr pr dynh cywyδ p't (šrγw)

(6)(δ) ZY cntr pr δynh cywyδ p't (šrγw)[

(6)(•) ZY cntr pr δynh cywyδ p't(•••)[

(7) // // k . . 'n . . . w cn'kw#

(7) ](.)'k (...nw c'nkwx#

(7) // /kryd' (')šmrw c'nkwx#

(7) tn]kryδ' \*( 'z)m(n)w c'nkwx#

(Frag.Rus.)(yw) rtms ('w)[ (7) ](k)[••]( 'n (ncm)nw c'nkwx#

**(1)[...] since he (= the 6th qaghan) consented to this entreaty, he gave Il Ögäsi (prime minister named) Alp Qutluy who is a chief of all the ministers the name (= title) of tegin (or prince). He himself was (2) distinguished and different from all the people from his birth onward. And [...] (4) of the world [... ...]**

**(6) inside concerning the religion from that time [... ... ...]**

**(Frag.Rus.) And also [...] (7) [...] church/assembly [...] when/as**

What has survived in this line largely corresponds to the following Chinese sentence found in column XIII: When [the Heavenly Qa]ghan (= the seventh qaghan) was prime minister, he was matchless and unparalleled among all the ministers, for he was born with an extraordinary auspicious sign. From boyhood to adulthood he was excellent, heroic, and brave like Mars.

16(1-1) JH *cn*•••, SW *cn*[*m'ny*, YY2 [ ]. For SW *cn*[*m'n*], see my commentary on line 15. As far as I can see, nothing is visible at the beginning of line 16, neither on the two rubbings nor on the moulding.

16(1-2) JH/SW *Jykw*, YY2 *[c'](n)kw*. One cannot be certain of the reading of the antepenultimate letter on either the moulding or the two rubbings. Accordingly both readings are possible. However, the conjunction *c'nk* is expected from the context.

16(1-3) JH *ptškw't*, YY/SW *ptškw'nh*, YY2 *\*ptškw'nh*. (**figures**) Both on the rubbings and the moulding one is obliged to read *ptškw'ty*, which could mean “(what is) entreated/petitioned” (past participle employed as a noun). Since the noun *ptškw'nh* is more expected, I venture to emend it.

16(1-4) OH/JH *pwrnβty*, YY2 *pwyrwxty*. (**figures**) For the reading of this Uighur word *pwyrwx* meaning “minister,” see also Yoshida 2011, p. 16, idem 2011a, p. 82. On this Uighur word, see Clauson 1972, p. 387 s.v. *buyruk*. One can read the traces of the letters in various ways, and OH's reading is not impossible. Nevertheless, since *-γ/x-* is almost certain, SW's restoration *pw(rny'n)ty* “meritorious actions” is not likely.

16(1-5) JH *'š)t n'm*, SW *(t)[wγ ZY] n'm*, YY2 *t(yk)'yn n'm*. (**figures**) As far as I can see on the moulding and the two rubbings, my reading is more or less certain. SW's reading *(t)[wγ ZY]* ‘salary and’ is nothing but a conjecture based on the similar passage in line 20. Curiously, JH reads *'št* here. It seems to me that what I read as *-yn* is read *-t* by him, while his *-š-* corresponds to my *-k'-*. On a similar discrepancy between his reading and my transcription, cf. line 12: JH *'št/* vs. YY2 *'krt/*. In any case, I cannot see why he did not recognize the rather clear *t-* at the beginning of the word. Linguistically, there is no way to determine the exact relationship between the four noun phrases: (a) *s't pw(yrw)xty xwy-štr* “chief of all the ministers,” (b) *'yl 'wk'sy* “Il Ögäsi or Prime Minister,” (c) *'l-pw xwtl-wγ* “Alp Qutluy,” and (d) *t(yk)'yn* “prince.” Here my translation is based on the assumption that the seventh qaghan had already been named Alp Qutluy before he was adopted as a prince, while Yoshida 2011 and 2011a translated the passage “He gave the minister (or) chief of all ministers, the name of Alp Qutluy Tegin.”

16(2)-(4) JH *(cn)t/ / / (4) / / (t)*, YY/SW *'ny'z-'nk[(4)](w)*, YY2 *'ny'z-'nk[(4)](#)*. (**figure**) The tail of *-k* is seen on Frag. 4. As a matter of fact, JH proposes to read *-k* or *-t* here. He seems to recognize a long tail. One can hardly read */(w)* on the moulding or the two rubbings. SW seems to be influenced by YY's mistaken reading.

16(4-1) JH/SW/YY2 *'(β)c['n]pδ[y]k*. I follow JH/SW's reading. However, I cannot see enough traces to support it.

16(4-2) JH/SW *δ(β)yš('n)t*, YY2 *(L') xypδ*. (**figure**) This is more or less certain on the moulding. But nothing is visible on the two rubbings. I cannot see why JH read *δ(β)yš('n)t*, which is translated by SW as “they harmed.”

16(6-1) *cntr pr δynh*. On this expression, see Yoshida 2019, p. 115.

16(6-2) *cywyδ p't* is translated by SW as “afterwards,” and I follow him in my translation “from that time.” In DMSB, p. 134a, *³p't* is glossed “time, occasion,” with a query. *cywyδ p't* may also be a variant of *cywyδ pyδ'r p't* “because,” of which *p't* is a later form of the conjunction *p'r(w)ty* “for, because.”

16(6-3) JH/SW *(šrγw)*, YY(••••). (**figures**) Not translated by SW, who may have thought that *šrγw* “lion” does not suit



(6) /// ty nβ'nt w'st (z)yr(t)k (nm'c) 18cm

(6) ]ty nβ'nt w'st nβyr'k (nm'c) [

(6) ]ty nβ'nt w'st nβyr'k (z-)mn(w)(?)[

(7) // // // // // // // y w'δy zyšty L' wm't#

(7) 'xš'w'nδ']ry w'δy nysty L' wm't pr#

(7) // // // // // // // /ry w'dy nysty L' wm't pr#

(7) 'xš'w'nδ']ry w'δy nysty L' wm't pr#

(Frag.Rus.) 'xšw'(nδ)]['(7)]ry w'δy nysty L' wm't pr#

**(1) (As/Since/When) in the time of King Bögü there was a 'xw's(?) , at that time he desired again to 'xw's(?) the religious monument. He himself was a brave (2) king, who had adorned his own body (or himself) with the mark of the angel Jacob (= in the manner of the angel Jacob). With treasure and wealth [...] came [... ...]**

**(6) he stood as a counselor by [...]. Time(?) [... ... ...]**

**(Frag.Rus.)-(7) he had not sat on the seat of [the ruler]. With**

Since in the following line 18 mention is made of the subjugation of the Khirghiz people, which was Huaixin's achievement before his accession to the throne, the subject of the sentences "he stood as a counselor" and "he had not sat on the throne" is to be identified with Huaixin before his enthronement.

17(1-1) OH *wn'kw*, YY *w'nkW*, JH/SW/YY2 (*p*)*wkw*. (**figures**) *pww* is more or less certain on the moulding, before which some eight letters (the last letter not showing a long tail) are lost. I was not able to read any of these letters. From the context one may restore [*ZKwy βyy*] (*p*)*wkw* 'xšy-wn'k *z-mnyh* "in the time of the godlike king Bögü." Since a new sentence begins with *c'nkW* at the end of line 16, JH/SW's *ZY* is not expected.

17(1-2) JH '( )*γw(nš)*, SW '*x'ns*, YY2 '*xw's*. (**figures**) Cf. also DMSB, p. 6b '*γw's* ... '*γw'st*, where Sims-Williams remarks as follows: "Two related forms, noun and past inf. respectively, reading and meaning of both unclear." JH and I recognize the same sequence of letters, while SW's older reading '*x'ns* is in fact an emendation. On the possible historical background of this passage see, **Part II, section 3 (B)** above.

17(1-3) YY *δ(βt-ykw)*, JH *dysyw*, SW *δ(βtyk)w*, YY2 *δ(βty)w*. (**figures**) The letters between *δ* and *w* are blurred and hard to read. On the basis of what is left on the moulding, I prefer to read *δβtyw*. This reading may also be in accordance with JH's *dysyw*.

17(1)-(2) YY/YY2's '( )*x/šy-wn'k* is followed by SW. (**figure**) While JH's *k'///* is simply impossible, YY/SW/YY2's '( )*]* is not certain. But what is left at the beginning of Frag. 2 does suggest this word. Possibly a variant form \**xšy-wn'k* was inscribed. Although not common, the spelling without a prothetic vowel, i.e. *xšywny*, is attested in both Manichaean and Sogdian script (DMSB, p. 40b).

17(2-1) *pr* ~ '*xšnyrkW* may be compared with MP *pd nyš'n* ('*y*) ~, Parthian *pd* ~ *nyš'n* "in the manner of ~."

17(4-1) JH  $(p)y(\dot{s})y\delta t$ , etc., SW  $ny\dot{s}y\delta t$ , YY2  $(pyst)\delta(r)t$ . (**figures**) JH proposes several other readings for the first and third letters, i.e.  $p/k/z$  for the first letter and  $\dot{s}/s/r/k/z$  for the third. Hence SW's  $ny\dot{s}y\delta t$  "he places." As far as I can see, the first letter looks like a dot followed by a short space. Thus,  $z-$  seems to be the best reading. On the other hand, as JH's reading of  $p$  suggests, the first letter also looks like a damaged  $p$ . In any case, my  $(pyst)$  is a restoration rather than a reading. Between  $\delta$  and the long tail of the final letter  $t$ , there are traces of two small letters, hence my reading  $\delta(r)t$ .

17(4-2) JH  $pt(y\bullet)d \bullet\bullet t$ , SW  $pty\bullet\delta\bullet\bullet t$ , YY2  $(rty \delta nn)$ . (**figures**) After what I read as  $(pyst)\delta(r)t$ , almost nothing is seen on either the St. Petersburg rubbing or the moulding. The Kyoto rubbing is a little better. For  $(\gamma zny ZY \gamma)[r'm'kw?]$  I simply follow SW's suggestion.

17(4-3) JH/SW  $pc'y$  'profit'. I was not able to read anything similar on the moulding.

17(6-1) OH  $c'\delta r$ , JH/SW  $(nm'c)$ , YY2  $(z-)mnw$ . (**figures**) YY was not able to recognize a meaningful word. If the word ends with  $-c$ , one would expect a long tail, which is hardly visible. Although  $z-$  is blurred, the other three letters are fairly discernible. Alternatively one can read  $(.)m'r$ , which may be restored to  $(\dot{s})m'r$ , etc.

17(7-1)  $'x\dot{s}w'(n\delta)[']ry w'\delta y nysty L' wm't$  "he had not sat on the seat of the ruler." This implies that the seventh qaghan had not yet ascended the throne at this time. As the Chinese version indicates, when Huaixin defeated the Khirghiz, which is recorded in the following line, he was still a minister.

17(7-2) YY/JH/SW/YY2  $pr$ . Although it was not read by OH, it is very clear on the two rubbings.

### Line 18

(1) w. . . . . // . . . ty 'γš'wn'kw wysprδ γr'n γnw ny mrt'nyh wyr'ncykw  
 (1) (.....)ty 'xš(ny)rkw wysprδ γr'n γny ZY mrt'nyh wyn'ncykw  
 (1) (w)'γ•••//••(š)ty 'γšn(y)rkw wysprδ γr'n γ(n)y ny mrt('yn)h wy(n)'ncykw  
 (1) (w)'γ[•• βr'y](š)ty 'xšn(y)rkw wysprδ γr'n γny ZY mrt'nyh wyn'ncykw  
 (1) y'(k)[wβ βr](yš)ty 'xšn(y)rkw wysprδ γr'n γny ZY mrt'nyh wyn'ncykw

'krtw δ'rt ZKn 20 RTPW ptšm'ry γryzy γ'γ-'n .// // [pr γ(2)]ypδ δsty'  
 'krtw δ'rt ZKn 40 RYPW ptšm'ry x(ryyz)-y x'γ-'n (.)[ (2) x]ypδ δsty'  
 'krtw d'rt ZKn 20 RYPW ptšm'ry γ(r)γzy γ'γ-'n p// // (2) // [x]ypd dst(y')  
 'krtw δ'rt ZKn 40 RYPW ptšm'ry x(r)γyz-y x'γ-'n p[r (2) x]ypδ δsty'  
 'krtw δ'rt ZKn 40 RYPW ptšm'ry x(r)γyz-y x'γ-'n (pr)[(2) x]ypδ δsty'

pr wysprδ p'(š)y rtšy 'γš'wnyh ''st wn'kw ny .// // // (4) . . . . . δ. . .  
 pr (s..p.)δ p's'y rtšy 'xš'wnh ''st w'r'kw ZY (.)[ (4)](... ..δ....)[  
 p(r pw) p(r)d p's'y rtšy 'γš(')w(nn)h 'yst wn'(•)kw ny pt// // (4) // 'syd' kw(n)d'  
 pr wysprδ p's'y rtšy 'xš'wnh ''st w'r'kw ZY pt[ (4)]'syδ' kw(n)δ'  
 pr š(yr) p(')δ p's'y rtšy 'xš'wnh ''st w'r'kw ZY (pw)[ (4)](•)syrk kw(r)δ

...../////////

[

.....dw(r)t •••22cm•••γy]pd ••//

.....δw(r)t [ xy]pδ ••[

mr(t)[xm'yt](L'?) [ xy]pδ (••)[

(6) ]t. γ'γ-'ny δ'tmyncw 't . t . . . . . /////////

(6) ]t(.) x'γ-'n(y) β'tryncw (....) [

(6) // /t(y) γ'γ-'n(y) β(')t(ryn)cw (β)γ(ws)try •••••••//

(6) ]t(y) x'γ-'n(y) β'tryncw \*(β)γ(y-š)t(')y[

(6) ky](m')k(?) x'γ-'n(y) β'tryncw (••w•••••) [

(7) // . ny krt'k δ . . . . . skwnw rtyš γrβ#

(7) ](γ) ZY krt'k δβr'ntskwnw rtms γrβ#

(7) // /γ ny krt'k d(ynynt)skwnw (r)tm(s) γrβ#

(7) ]γ ZY krt'k δβr'ntskwnw rtms γrβ#

(7) tw]γ ZY krt'k δβr'ntskwnw rtms γrβ#

<sup>17</sup>With<sup>18</sup>(1) the mark of the angel Jacob (= In the manner of the angel Jacob) he displayed great skill and valour everywhere. He threw the qaghan of the 400 thousand-strong Khirghiz (tribe) (2) by his own hand and (4) with a good (i.e. skilled) arrow. He took his realm, (making it) empty (4) and without [...] (?), where [men ... not ... ...] (6) he subdued the [Kimäk (?)] qaghan [... ... ...] (7) they are (still) giving [payment (of recompense)?] and accumulation(?) (of treasure). And also many

18(1-1) JH/SW w'γ/ ], YY2 y'(k)[wβ]. (figures) As far as I can see from the moulding, y'k- is not impossible, whereas JH/SW's w'γ looks almost impossible. Cf. also *pr y'kwβ βr 'yšt'k 'xšnyrkw* of line 17.

18(1-2) OH/JH 20, YY/SW/YY2 40. (figures) The reading is very clear.

18(1-3) JH p///, SW p[r], YY2 (pr). (figures) A faint trace of *pr* can be seen on the St. Petersburg rubbing, but it is blurred on the Kyoto rubbing.

18(1)-(2) (pr)/(2) x]ypδ *dsty'* “by his own hand.” Obviously, this is a cross between *pr xypδ dstw* and *xypδ dsty'*. Nevertheless, such incongruence in case agreement is not isolated; cf. [p](r) *prymyδδ pnc δβrty'* (BBB 668-669), *pr mzyx yzny'* (E27, 51R4).<sup>32</sup>

18(2-1) OH *pr wysprδ*, YY *pr (s.p.)δ*, JH *pr pw p(r)δ* or *pr ks-p(r)δ*, SW *pr wysprδ*, YY2 *pr šyr p'δ* “with a good arrow.” (figure) The whole sequence would seem to look like *pr š(.)p(')δ*. Possibly the stonemason made an error in that after *pr* he began to inscribe *š-* because he was misled by the following *p'š'y*. If that is the case, the original text could have read *pr p'δ p'š'y* “he threw away with an arrow.” My *šyr* is just a simple attempt to reconcile what is left

on the stone with the context.

18(2)-(4) JH/SW *pt[(4)]'syδ'*, YY2 *p(w)[(4)](.).syrk*. (**figures**) *w'r'kw ZY p(w)[ ](.).syrk* “empty and without ...” seems to correspond to Chin. XIV 國業蕩盡，地無居人 “The national resources (of the Khirghiz state) were exhausted completely and the land became uninhabited.” What I read *-yrk* can be read in several different ways, e.g. *syβn*, but JH/SW's *'syδ'*, in particular *-δ-*, is impossible. Although I cannot read a meaningful word, the word seems to combine with *w'r'kw* to mean “empty and ruined, empty and uninhabited, etc.” I first tried to read *p(r)[ ]s'it* “in the whole,” but *-t* seems impossible.

18(4-2) JH/SW *kw(n)δ'*, YY2 *kw(r)δ*. (**figures**) In his marginal notes SW suggests *kw(r)δ* for *kw(n)δ'*. The two rubbings show traces supporting *kwrδ*. In any case, a 2nd person plural verb is not expected in this context.

18(4-3) YY2 *mr(t)[xm'yt]*. (**figures**) Somewhat certain is *mr-*. Since many words begin with *mr-*, it is not easy to restore the word. One might consider *mrt'nyh*, but in this inscription it always constitutes a hendiadys with *yny* which invariably precedes *mrt'nyh*. If *mr(t)[xm'yt]*, one may think of the Chinese phrase 地無居人 “became uninhabited by people.”

18(6-1) JH/SW *jt(yn)*, YY2 *ky](m')k*. (**figures**) Several other readings are possible. My reading is nothing but a hazardous conjecture assuming that the name of a Turkish tribe living to the west of the Uighurs should precede *x'γ'n* “qaghan.” On the Kimäk tribe, see Minorsky 1948, p. 303.

18(6-2) JH *(β)γw štry/βγynstry*, SW *\*(β)γ(y-š)t(')y*, YY2 *(•w•••••)*. It is almost impossible to recognize readable letters on this part of the two rubbings. However, one can see a circle, which could be part of the letter *w* or *p*.

18(7-1) *krt'k* or *knt'k*. (**figure**) If *knt'k*, it would be understood as the past participle of *kn-* “to dig.” *krt'k* is attested twice in the Bugut Inscription in the combination *šyr'k γr'm'k krt'k*, hence my tentative translation “accumulation(?) of nice trasure” (Yoshida 2019c, p. 12). The preceding word ending with *-γ* may possibly be restored as *[tw]γ* “payment.” In DMSB, *krt'k* is described as an “unclear word.”

18(7-2) *δβr'ntskwnw*. (**figure**) In his text SW reads *δβr'ntskwnw* and translates “they were scattered.” Considering JH's *δynyntskwn*, *δβyntskwnw*, or *δβryntskwnw*, he seems to have been thinking of an error for *\*δβy'ntskwnw* or *\*δyβ'ntskwn*. DMSB, p. 72a lists *δβr'ntskwnw* here under the lemma *δβr-* “to give” and describes it as 3.pl.pres.dur., i.e. “they are giving (still now).”<sup>33</sup>

## Line 19

(1) *prwr . . . / . . . . . γr'n twp'wte'ny 'sp'δ m'γwny ny ctβ'r twγr'kc'ny ny*

(1) *prwr(t)['k ...](...) γr'n twp'ytc'ny 'sp'δ mnxw'y ZY ctβ'r twγr'k(c')ny ZY*

(1) *prwr(y)t'(.k) kr(n) γr'n t(w)p'ytc'ny 'sp'd m(r)γwny ny ctβ'r twγr(y)k'tny ny*

(1) *prwrt['](k) \*(ZKn) γr'n twp'ytc'ny 'sp'δ mnxw'y ZY ctβ'r twγr(y)k(c')ny ZY*

(1) *prwrt['k M]N k(ws)'n γr'n twp'ytc'ny 'sp'δ mnxw'y ZY ctβ'r twγr'y(s)tny ZY*





p. 104a, the reading *kws 'n* is rather doubtful. If my reading *kws 'n* is correct, it corresponds to Chinese column XVI:

Again, a large army of Tibetans besieged Kucha. The Heavenly Qaghan led the soldiers (there) in order to relieve it (= the city of Kucha). Then, the Tibetans [...] fled to Ushu (于術). He (together with his army) surrounded them (= the Tibetans) from four sides and annihilated them at one time. Their corpses were so foul-smelling and horrible that one could not [bear? ... When they were gathered together, their corpses were] mountainous, and so a huge mound of corpses covered with soil was constructed as a monument (to his victory). The rest (of the enemy soldiers) who had been captured and remained alive [... ...]

On the dating of the incident recorded in line 19 and column XVI to 798 CE, see Yoshida 2009a.

19(1-2) JH *twyr(y)k'tny*, SW *twyr(y)k(c')ny*, YY2 *twyr'y(s)tny*. (**figures**) SW's *twyr(y)k(c')ny* seems to be based more on OH's and YY's texts than JH's reading. On the moulding, I read *twyr'yktny*. But I think what looks like *-k-* is a slightly ill-formed *-s-*. In any case, *-t-* is so clear that one cannot read *-c-* on the moulding or on the two rubbings. For this reading and the identification of Tughristan with Ushu 于術 of the Chinese version, see also Yoshida 2018a.

19(1-3) YY/SW *'ny 'ny*, JH *'ny 'ty*, YY2 *'ny-'ty* “taken, besieged.” (**figures**) JH/YY2's reading is supported by both the moulding and the two rubbings.

19(1)-(2) JH  $\gamma$ ///, SW/YY2 *x[y $\rho$  $\delta$ ]*. I just follow SW's reading and restoration, but I myself am not able to see any readable trace at the end of Frag. 1. It may also be possible that the next word *'xš 'w'nh* begins here, i.e. ( $\prime$ )/[(2)x]š 'w'nh.

19(2-1) JH ( $\prime$ )*spty*, YY/SW/YY2 *(xw)ty*. (**figures**) Although it is difficult to read the letters preceding *ty*, JH's *-p-* can hardly be justified.

19(2-2) JH *pty-(cy) $\gamma$ (š)*, YY/SW/YY2 *pty-(c)xš*. *ptcxš-* is usually translated “to accept, receive.” However, in the Christian Sogdian text E27/60R23 *ptycxš* means “took, took hold of”: *ptycxš cn xyp $\theta$  qwcy wyny x'št* “(a wolf) took his clothes with its mouth” (Sims-Williams 1985, p. 127).

19(2)-(4) JH *t////(4)///d(•t)*, SW *t[..... (4)] $\delta$ (•t)*, YY2 *[s(4)']n*. (**figures**) What JH reads as *d* seems to be a simple crack on the stone. As it stands, the shape is ill-formed for the letter *- $\delta$ -*. I cannot see any trace of the letter *t-* at the end of Frag. 2, while one sees only a long tail of the letter *'* or *n* at the beginning of Frag. 4. Since the gap between Frag. 2 and Frag. 4 is small, I propose to restore *[s']n*. Possibly a stroke of the preceding letter *'* may also be seen, i.e. *[s](')n*.

19(6) JH  $\gamma$ (*'nt*)/ $\gamma$ (*w'y*), SW/YY2  $\gamma$ (*n'y*). (**figures**) In principle *x(w)y[štr]* is also possible, as JH's  $\gamma$ (*'nt*),  $\gamma$ (*w'y*), etc. suggest.

19(7-1) JH  $\prime$ /// $\gamma$ *d'rt*, SW  $\prime$  $\gamma$  *$\delta$ 'rt*, YY2  $\prime$ (*t*) $\delta$ '*rt*. (**figure**) Only a faint trace of a letter is visible before  $\delta$ '*rt*. It could be part of any letter without an ascender or descender. My reading as well as JH/SW's is compatible with the trace.

19(7-2) *ny'ws'kty*. In line 5 of the Runic text of Fragment 7c, which comes from the same stone as Frag. 6 and Frag. 9, one finds *nyyošak* (Moriyasu in Moriyasu and Ochir 1999, p. 220 and **Appendix III** below). Since the position of this stone can be inferred from the relative placement of Frag. 6 (cf. **plate 2**), one may connect this *ny'ws'kty* with it. Of course the Runic form could correspond to *ny'ws'kt* of line 21 or *tingshi* 聽士 “auditor(s)” of column XXII.

**Line 20**

- (1) 'krtw δ'rt // . . . .yh ptwyst . . s'rβ'γty 'r.rk.r 'r-pw . . .cw pyr-k' ypyw
- (1) ['](k)rtw δ'rt (.....)kh pt(βy)st'y s'rβγty 'nβr(z)-kry 'l-pw (yn)cw pyl-k' ypyw
- (1) (')krtw d'rt •/• CWRH ptwysty s'r βγty '(nw'z)k(r) 'l-pw yncw pyl-k' ypyw
- (1) (')krtw δ'rt •[••]• CWRH \*ptw(')sty (xrl-w)γty 'nβr(z)-kry 'l-pw yncw pyl-k' ypyw
- (1) (')krtw δ'rt (r)[t]y CWRH ptw(y)sty xrl-wγty 'nβr(z)-kr 'l-pw yncw pyl-k' ypyw

n . . . .δ t. .(w.n)y n'm δ'βr ny m . . . . st'rk t . . . . // // // (2)s γw(r) γ'γ-'n  
 nyšyd t(....)y n'm δ'βr ZY m'x(.) 'st'rk (t)[ (2)](š) x(w)β x'γ-'n  
 nyšyd twγ ny n'm d'βr ny mnd (')'st(n')k tw•/ // (2)/ //š γrβ γ'γ-'n  
 nyšyd twγ ZY n'm δ'βr ZY \*m(')δ (')'st('r)k tw[rk(2)y]š x(w)β x'γ-'n  
 nyšyd twγ ZY n'm δ'βr ZY m('yδ) (')'st(ny)k tw[rk(2)y]š x(w)β x'γ-'n

ky pr δst p. . . .y twrkyš 'γš'wnδ'r wm't ny // // // (4)''w. m . . . . . // // // //  
 ky pr δ(s)' p'δ 'dry twrkyš 'xš'w'nδ'r wm't ZY [ (4)](.)t (....)[  
 ky pr ds' p'd 'dry twrkyš 'γš'w'nd'r wm't ny p// // (4)/ //w(d)t MN ••30cm••// //  
 ky pr δs' p'δ 'dry twrkyš 'xš'w'nδ'r wm't ZY p[ ... (4)]w(δ)t MN [  
 ky pr δs' p'δ 'dry twrkyš 'xš'w'nδ'r wm't ZY (•)[ (4)](••δt) MN [

- (6) .m' γ'γ-'n . . t . . . . . // // // //
- (6) [(r)m' x'γ-'n (...)[
- (6) //p(cw)m' γ'γ-'n ••••••••••// // //
- (6) [p(c')m' x'γ-'n ••t••••••••
- (6) [ (')mn x'γ-'n (•••)[

- (7) // // w . . . t ''βrs'r w'sty rtms pr mywn t . . . k . .y#
- (7) w(ym')nt 'nβrz-kr(y) w'sty rtms pr mγ-wn t'z-yk'n'y#
- (7) //wys'(n)t ('n)β(r)zkr w'sty rtms pr mγ-wn t'zyk(y)n'y#
- (7)]wys'nt 'nβrz-kr w'sty rtms pr mγ-wn t'z-yk'n'y#
- (7) p](r) wys'nt 'nβrz-kr w'sty rtms pr mγ-wn t'z-yk'n'y#

**(1) <sup>20</sup>He made| <sup>19</sup>great peace for the electi and the auditors.| <sup>20</sup>For those Qarluqs who had submitted themselves, he appointed the minister (named) Alp Inču Bilgä as yabghu and gave (him) the royal emblem and the title (= name). And this original Turgish (2) lord, qaghan, who was a ruler of the three (tribes of) Turgish (originating from) the ten arrows and (4) [...] from [... ...]**

(6) our(?) Qaghan [... ..]

(7) He appointed (him) as a minister over them. Also, in the entire Tajik (= Islam/Abbasid) (to be continued to the next line)

20(1-1) Not read by OH, YY, and JH/SW. YY2 (r)[t]y. (figures) Yoshida (2011, p. 18 and 2011a, p. 82) restored (x)[wt]y, which is also possible. Almost nothing can be seen on the moulding. My reading or rather restoration of (r)[t]y or (x)[wt]y is a simple guess. In any case the word must be very short.

20(1-2) JH/YY2 ptwysty “offered, submitted.” (figures) SW prefers to read ptw’sty “returned,” which is not impossible. On the St. Petersburg rubbing the ending looks like -t’y, but if one looks at the moulding and the Kyoto rubbing, -ty seems certain.

20(1-3) OH/YY/JH s’rβyty, SW (xrl-w)ty, YY2 xrl-wyty. (figures) Here SW’s ingenious reading, which is also supported by the rubbings and the moulding, is followed.

20(1-4) JH ’(nw’z)kr, YY/SW ’nβrz-kry, YY2 ’nβrz-kr. (figures) What YY read as *k* is in fact *z*, which is followed by a crack, and the combination of the letter *z* and the crack looks like *k*. The final letter is definitely *-r* on the Kyoto rubbing. So far ’nβ’rzkr’k (*aka*-stem) “minister of some important function” has been known. But the plural form of ’nβrzkr, i.e. ’nβrzkrty, is also attested (Sundermann 2012, p. 161). Here ’nβrzkr seems to be a synonym of ’nβ’rzkr’k. For the stem not ending with the *aka*-suffix, see also Chr. ’brzqry’ (or ’brzbry’) “agency, business” (Sims-Williams 2016, p. 22). For this form see also a more clearly visible instance found toward the end of line 20, the part belonging to Frag. 7. The corresponding Chinese character is *zhu* 主 “ruler, master” (column XXI):

[... .. (The Heavenly Qaghan selected)] Bilgä Qaghan of the Black Turgish tribe, [...] and moreover, in order to entrust him with (the care of) those Qarluqs who had submitted themselves, he appointed him as their ruler (= *zhu* 主) with the title of Inčü Bilgä Yabghu. Furthermore, Turgish of the Three Tribes and of Ten Arrows [... ..]

20(1-5) twy ZY n’m “the royal emblem and the title.” For this translation, see Yoshida 2011, p. 18 and 2011a, p. 83.

20(1-6) JH mnδ, SW m(’)δ, YY2 m(’y)δ. (figures) What JH reads as *n* is blurred, and the word could equally be *m(y)δ* or *m(’y)δ*. It is curious that the traces on the moulding look more like *mδy* “here.” If the latter reading is correct, the translation would read: “Here (in the Chu valley) the original Turgish lord, qaghan, ...”

20(1-7) YY ’st’rk, JH (’)’st(n’)k, SW (’)’st(’r)k, YY2 (’)’st(ny)k. (figures) JH proposes several other possible readings. However, ’stnyk makes perfect sense in the context: “original Turgish lord.” So far ’stnyk and ’stn’y attested in Buddhist Sogdian texts have been translated as “permanent, constant.” However, this word translating *ben* 本 in the Chinese originals could also mean “original.” On this shade of meaning, see Sims-Williams 1983, p. 42.

20(2)-(4) JH/SW pf ... (4)]w(δ)t, YY (•)](4)](••δ)t. I can only see a faint trace of a letter at the end of Frag. 2. *w* before *δ* is only seen on the retouched rubbing reproduced in the *Atlas* and is hardly certain.

20(6) JH *p(cw)m'*, SW *p(c')m'*, YY2 J (*'mn*). (**figures**) SW considers the possibility of reading *pr'm'* in his marginal note. As far as I can see, what JH reads as *-c-* does not look like a letter. Thus, there is a blank space before *'m'* or *'mn*, which seems to be an independent word. If *'mn*, this may be the same word as *'mnw* “our” encountered in Bāzāklik letter A (Yoshida 2019, p. 98). In any case, this part lacks context, and there is not much sense in dwelling on the reading any further.

20(7) JH *//wyš'(n)t*, SW *Jwyš'nt*, YY2 [*p](r) wyš'nt*. (**figure**) A trace of the letter *r* preceding *wyš'nt* can be seen on the St. Petersburg rubbing.

**Line 21**

- (1) [*'γ-*]š'w'nyh . . . /t ny p. .k'r wm't ny prnpδy 'γšy wn'k cn'kw c'δr γr'mtδ'rt
- (1) [*'x*]š'w'nyh (.....)t ZY p(..)k'r wm't ZY prnpδy 'xšy-wn'k c'nkw c'δr x(r')mt(δ)'rt
- (1) [*'γ*]š'w'nyh p(y•)t ny p(•)šk'r wm't ny prnpdy 'γšy-wn'k c'nkw c'dr γr'mtd'rt
- (1) [*'x*]š'w'nyh p(y•)t ZY p(•)šk'r wm't ZY prnpδy 'xšy-wn'k c'nkw c'δr xr'mtδ'rt
- (1) [*'x*]š'w'nyh (pyz)t ZY p(r)šk'r wm't ZY prnpδy 'xšy-wn'k c'nkw c'δr xr'mtδ'rt

kw γwr's'n γm'wr ny kw ..// // // // // (2). ..wt'kcyk. . . γm'wr ny 'γš'w'nδ'r prm't  
 kw xwr's'n xm'yr ZY kw (n)[y (2) γr](β ' )wt'kcykt xm'yr ZY 'xš'w'nδ'r s'r prm'nh  
 kw γwr's'n γm'(y)r ny kw pt// // (2)// // (t) (•)wt(•)kcykt γm'yr ny 'γš'w'nd'r s'r prm'nh  
 kw xwr's'n xm'yr ZY kw pt[ ... (2)](t) (•)wt'kcykt xm'yr ZY 'xš'w'nδ'r s'r prm'nh  
 kw xwr's'n xm'yr ZY kw (•n)[y (2) γr](β ' )wt'kcykt xm'yr ZY 'xš'w'nδ'r s'r prm'nh

ktšy wym'nt // // // // // (4) . . . . . // // // // //  
 (βr')šy wym'nt[ (4)](....)[  
 (r)tšy wyš'nt // // //  
 (βr')šy wyš'nt[  
 (pr')šy wyš'nt[

- (6) (n)γ'wš'kt . . . . . // //
- (6) ](n)γ'wš'kt (...) [
- (6) // /nγ'wš'kt ••• 27cm ••• // //
- (6) ] nγ'wš'kt .... [
- (6) ](n)γ'wš'kt [

- (7) // mwmδk γm'wr prm MN prnywnt'kw . 'γšy wn'k#
- (7) ]mwmyn xm'yr prm MN prnxwnt'kw 'xšy-wn'k#
- (7) // / (y)m(w)m(d') γm'yr prm MN prnywnt'kw 'γšy-wn'k#
- (7) ](•)mwmyn xm'yr prm MN prnxwnt'kw 'xšy-wn'k#
- (7) ] mwmyn xm'yr prm MN prnxwnt'kw 'xšy-wn'k#

<sup>20</sup>Also, in the entire Tajik (= Islam/Abbasid) <sup>21</sup>(1) realm, there were strikings(?) and persecution. And the fortunate emperor, when he proceeded downward, sent an order to the amir of Khorasan and to (2) [many other] local amirs and rulers. They [... ...]

(6) auditors [... ... ...]

(7) up to Mumin Amir (= the Abbasid caliph), because of | <sup>22</sup>the [respect] and fear |<sup>21</sup>of the fortunate emperor,

21(1-1) JH *py(.)t*, *pw(.)t*, *p'(.)t*, SW *py(.)t*, YY2 *(pyz)t*. (figures) On the moulding one finds only a clear *t* and a faint trace of what looks like *p*. If the reading and rendering of the following word *p(r)šk'r* “persecution” are correct, one may expect a word similar in meaning. Therefore, I first tried to restore *(py)[š]t* and take it for an action noun based on the verb *pyz/pyšt-* “to hit.” However, its past stem *pyšt-* being light, the expected form would be *\*pyšty*. Therefore, one may rather restore *(py)[z]t* and regard it as either the plural form of the action noun *pyz* “(act of) striking” (cf. DMSB, p. 165b, s.v. *pyz*) or an action noun based on the verb *pyzt* “to chase, frighten(?)” (cf. DMSB, *ibid.*).

21(1-2) JH *p'šk'r*, *pršk'r*, SW *p'šk'r* “honoured(?)”, YY2 *p(r)šk'r*. (figures) Sims-Williams’s “honoured” seems to be based on an analysis of the word into *p'š* “respect, honour; guard, watch, fastening” and *k'r* “action.” I read the word *pršk'r* and derive it from the root *škr* “to pursue” with the preverb *pr*. In principle Chr. *pšq'r* “persecution” could be the same word; cf. Chr. *pšt'y* “to prepare” < *pršt'y*. The word *pršk'r* may also be attested in L52, line 6: “*c p(r)šk'r ZY pž'rn nyst* “there is no persecution or affliction.” If my assumption that here mention is made of the persecution is correct, it may refer to that which the Manichaeans endured under Abbasid rule, not only during the reign of Caliph al-Mahdī (r. 775–785) but also during Caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd’s (r. 786–809) time. On Hārūn ar-Rashīd’s attitude toward heretics see, an entry of Hārūn ar-Rashīd in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (on line edition):

<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/harun-al-rasid>. (accessed 6th September 2019). See also Gulácsi (2016, pp. 110–111).

21(1-3) JH/SW *kw pt[(2)]t*, YY2 *kw ('n)[y (2) γr](β)*. (figures) As far as the faint traces of letters found on the two rubbings are concerned, JH’s *pt[* seems to be impossible. On the moulding one cannot see any trace of letters here. My reading is no more than a guess. Although JH reads *t* at the beginning of Frag. 2, one sees only the long tail of a letter, which could be not only *-t* but also *-'*, *-β*, *-n*, or even *-k*, hence my *[γr](β)*.

21(2-1) JH *rtšy ~ ptšy ~ ktšy*, YY/SW *(βr')šy*, YY2 *(pr')šy*. (figures) If one looks carefully at the first letter on the two rubbings, it looks more like *p-* than *β-*. This *pr'šy* represents the same verb form as *βr'šy* “he sent.”

21(2-2) YY *wym'nt*, JH/SW/YY2 *wyš'nt*. (figures) Both readings seem possible, but in the context *wyš'nt* “they” would make better sense than *wym'nt* “boundary.”

21(7) JH *ymwmd'* with several other reading possibilities, SW *(')mwmy*, YY/YY2 *mwmyn*. (figure) No trace of a letter is seen before *m-*, with which the word begins. *mwmyn xm'yr* is the Sogdian adaptation of Arabic *'amīr al-mu'minīn* “Commander of the faithful, i.e. caliph.” On the possible Chinese counterpart *men* <?> *an ming* 閻閻名 (Middle Chinese *\*muən* <?> *·âm mǎng*), see the commentary on the Chinese text (Moriyasu and Yoshida 2019).

**Line 22**

- (1) // // // // ny pckwry.y . .β prw'rt'k 'rp'st'k . . . . . nm'ck'n . . .mtw  
 (1) [cšty] ZY pckwry [γ](r)β prw'rt'k 'rp'st'k (.....) γr'n nm'ck'n βšmtw  
 (1) ••(t)/ny pckwry γrβ prw'rt'k 'rp'st'k '(')zy(ty)t(y'd) ny γr'n nm'ck'n βšmtw  
 (1) (••t) ZY pckwry γrβ prw'rt'k 'rp'st'k \*( 'z'ty)t(y \*δn) γr'n nm'ck'n βšmtw  
 (1) [p'](š) ZY pckwry [w]'β prw'rt'k 'rp'st'k ('z-'ty)t ZY (γr)'n nm'ck'n βšmtw

- δ'r'nt cn'kw pyr-k' // // // // (2) 'γšy wn'k prw c'δr .rt'.t wyptm'ky γr'n  
 δ'r'nt c'nk w p(rnx)[wnt'k (2)]('xšy-wn'k prw c'δr 'wt'kt wyptm'kw γr'n  
 d'r'nt c'nk w pylk' // // // (2) // 'γšy-wn'k 'prw c'dr 'wt'kt w(')ptm(y)ky γr'n  
 δ'r'nt c'nk w p(rnx)[wnt'k (2)]'xšy-wn'k prw c'δr 'wt'kt wyptm'kw γr'n  
 δ'r'nt c'nk w p(rnxw)[nt'k (2)]'xšy-wn'k prw c'δr 'wt'kt wyptm'kw γr'n

- δβ'myncw ny // // // // // // //  
 δynmyncw (.)[  
 dy(n)mync (np) // // //  
 δynmyncw (p)[ts'k  
 δynmyncw (p)[ts'k

- (6) . s'r . . . . . // // //  
 (6) ](.s'r (...)[  
 (6) // // .....p]ts'r (•)β••• 22cm ••• // // //  
 (6) p]ts'r •β•••[  
 (6) ](•) s'r (•••)[

- (7) // // /tδ'rt ny ZKwy mγ-wnw 'γš'w'nyh pr . . . #  
 (7) ](t)δ'rt ZY ZKwy (m)γ-wnw 'xš'w'nyh pr (....)#  
 (7) // // /td'rt ny (Z)Kwy mγ-wnw 'γš'w'nyh pr βγ(y) (•)#  
 (7) ]tδ'rt ZY ZKwy mγ-wnw 'xš'w'nyh pr βγ(y)#  
 (7) ]tδ'rt ZY ZKwy mγ-wnw 'xš'w'nyh pr βγ(y)#

<sup>21</sup>Up to the Abbasid caliph, because of | <sup>22</sup>the [respect] and fear |<sup>21</sup>of the fortunate emperor,| <sup>22</sup>so many times they sent mighty nobles(?) (and) very great offerings. When (2) the fortunate emperor [...] immeasurable great religious [monument] in the low countries [... ...]

- (6) [... ... ...]  
 (7) He [...].ed. And in the entire realm in/for the godlike

22(1-1) JH ... (t)/ny (or ..γšny, etc.), SW (••t) ZY, YY2 [p'](š). (figures) A very short word precedes ZY pckwry “and fear.” From the context one expects a synonym of pckwyr “fear, worship.” On the two rubbings nothing can be seen. The trace on the moulding looks like -š or -s. Thus, one may restore [p'](š) “respect, honour” or [tr](s) “fear, respect,”

the latter of which has not hitherto been attested in Sogdian.

22(1-2) YY  $[\gamma](r)\beta$ , JH/SW  $\gamma r\beta$ , YY2  $[w]'\beta$ . (**figures**) What JH read as  $\gamma$  is almost totally broken and his  $r$  looks more like ' or  $n$ . Thus  $[w]'\beta$  or  $[c]'\beta$  is preferred to  $[\gamma]r\beta$ .

22(1-3) JH  $''zytyt(y'd)$ , SW  $'(z'ty)t(y*\delta n)$ , YY2  $(''z'ty)t ZY$ . (**figures**) It is more or less certain that the first word ends with  $-t$  and is followed by  $ZY$ . JH's  $d (= \delta)$  seems to be non-existent. The preceding letters are difficult to make out, although it is certain that there is no letter with an ascender or descender. I just follow SW's suggestion:  $''z'tyt$  "nobles." Alternatively, in light of  $'rpsty'w'zy$  "mighty assembly" (STii 2, line 8 = E24c2.8; cf. Sims-Williams 2016, pp. 30, 35), one may read  $'rp'st'k (nw'z-)yt$  "mighty assemblies." This group of notable people may perhaps denote a delegation sent to the Uighur court by the caliph, who was at that time Hārūn ar-Rashīd. In principle, this delegation could be identified with that headed by Tamīm b. Bahr, since Minorsky's dating of the delegation to 821 CE can hardly be supported, for he mistook the Uighur qaghan in question for the eighth qaghan Baoyi (r. 808–821). On this point, see **Part II, section 4** above and Yoshida, forthcoming.

22(1-4) JH  $pylk'$ , YY/SW/YY2  $p(rnxw)[nt'k]$ . (**figures**) JH seems to read the combination of the letters  $r$  and  $n$  as  $yl$ . On the rubbings one does find what looks like a diacritic of the letter  $l$ , but it must be an accidental crack on the surface. Unfortunately, I was not able to see any trace of letters on the moulding. Nevertheless, the context makes my reading almost certain.

22(2) JH  $ny///$  or  $np///$ , SW/YY2  $(p)[ts'k]$ . (**figures**) What looks like  $n-$  could be a small crack on the surface of the stone. If correctly restored,  $\delta nymyncw (p)[ts'k]$  denotes a religious monument or congregation. More difficult is  $c'\delta r'wt'kt$  "low(er) countries." Since  $c'\delta r$  also means "west" as against  $\delta ky$  "upwards, east,"  $c'\delta r'wt'kt$  may refer to Sogdiana as against the Semirech'e area. It is well known that in the tenth century there existed in Samarqand a Manichaean community (Yoshida 2019, pp. 34–43). In any case, since in this inscription China is referred to as  $\beta\gamma pwrstn$ , "low(er) lands" are very unlikely to be located in China, although it is well known that in 807 CE during the seventh qaghan's reign three Manichaean temples were founded in China. Cf. Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, pp. 275–276, text XX.

22(6) JH/SW  $[p]ts'r$ , YY  $J(\bullet) s'r$ . (**figure**) I was not able to find  $t$ . There is a trace of a letter that looks like the tail of  $-h$ . However, it is very uncertain.

22(7) JH  $pr \beta\gamma(y) (\bullet)$ , SW/YY2  $pr \beta\gamma(y)$ . (**figures**) Only very faint traces of  $\beta\gamma-$  being visible on both the St. Petersburg and Osaka rubbings, the reading is not certain. Line 22 seems to end with this word.

### Line 23

(1) ////////////////. . .sy ny  $\gamma ws'nty'kh'krt$ . . .ny

(1) [            ](wy $\gamma$ w)š ZY  $xws'nty'kh'krt(y rtm\delta)$

(1) •• 14cm ••'γšy ny  $\gamma ws'nty'kh'krty p'rny$

(1) [m'rm'ny  $\delta yn h *$ ](w)γšy ZY  $xws'nty'kh'krty p'rZY$

(1) [m'rm'ny  $\delta yn h w\gamma$ ](š)y ZY  $xws'nty'kh'krty p'rZY$

. . . mrδ . 'γš'w'nyh 'yw δβ'myncw pts'k . . . . . // // // //  
 [pr]y-myδ 'xš'w'nyh ('y)w δynmyncw pt(s)'k (.....)[  
 pry-myδ 'γš'w'nyh cw d(y)nmyncw pts'k ••••// // //  
 pry-myδ 'xš'w'nyh 'yw δynmyncw pts'k ... [  
 (pry)-myδ 'xš'w'nyh cw δynmyncw pts'k (•••••)[

(2) // // // // δy γr'mty L' wm't pts'r c'nkw βγγ 'γšy wn' . . . . . // // // //  
 (2) ]δy xr'mty L' wm't pts'r c'nkw βγγ 'xšy-wn'(k)[  
 (2) // // // dy γr'mty L' wm(')t pts'r c'nkw βγγ 'γšy-wn'k // // //  
 (2) 'βc'np]δy xr'mty L' wm't pts'r c'nkw βγγ 'xšy-wn'k ...  
 (2) 'βc'np]δy xr'mty L' wm't pts'r c'nkw βγγ 'xšy-wn'k [

(6) . rt . . . . . // // //	(7) // // 'w' // // // // //
(6) ] (δ')rt [	(7) ]'w(.)[ ]#
(6) // // •• 12cm •• d'rt p•• 15cm •• // // //	(7) // // 'w(') // // // #
(6) ] δ'rt p[...]	(7) ]'w(')[ ...]#
(6) ](δ')rt [	(7) ]'(w•)[ ]#

<sup>22</sup>In the Godlike| <sup>23</sup>(1) [Mar Mani's religion] there was [j]oy and happiness, because in this realm whatever religious monument [there was ... ..] (2) [The qaghan = the 7th qaghan] had not proceeded (from) the [wor]ld. Then, when the godlike king (= the 8th qaghan) [... ..]  
 (6) he [...]ed [... .. ..]  
 (7) [...]

23(1-1) YY (wyγw)š, JH •• 'γšy, SW J(w)γšy, YY2 wγJ(š)y. (figures) -šy could also be -š. However, the preceding part is almost lost and I do not see from where JH gets his reading. YY's (wyγw)š "(he/it) rejoiced" is a restoration rather than a reading. The restoration is based on the context where it is followed by ZY xws 'nty'kh 'krty "and there was satisfaction." Here, I follow SW's restoration wγšy "rejoice (nom. sg.)."

23(1-2) YY ('y)w, OH/SW 'yw, JH/YY2 cw. (figures) The word looks more like cw than 'yw, in particular on the moulding.

23(2) Since [ 'βc'np]δy xr'mty L' wm't "had not proceeded (from) the w[orld]" indicates that the qaghan was still alive, the qaghan in question must be the seventh qaghan, whereas the following βγγ 'xšywn'k "godlike king/emperor" denotes the eighth qaghan.

**Line 24**

(2) ] c'dr ctβ'r kyr'n p . . . . . ny // // //  
 (2) ] c'dr ctβ'r kyr'n p( ) [  
 (2) // // c'dr ctβ'r kyr'n pt(γw)••d•• (wynp') ny ••



(2) ] c'δr ctβ'r kyr'n pt(γw)[š]δ['rt ](wyzp') ZY [pckwyr

(2) ] c'δr ctβ'r kyr'n p(.....)[

(2) [... ... ] downward/westward four directions [... ... ]

24(2) JH *pt(γw)••d•• (wynp')*, SW *pt(γw)[š]δ['rt ](wyzp')* ZY [*pckwyr*, YY/YY2 *p(.....)*]. Since almost nothing can be seen on the two rubbings, I refrain from following SW's text based on JH's reading.

### Fragment 9

#### Line 1/\*32

]not read[

not read

•• •'w myδ••••

] •• •'w myδ••••[

]••••[

...

On the two rubbings no readable trace is seen. I do not know from where JH gets this reading.

#### Line 2/\*33

//// βγγ ZY (δ). . . . . //

] βγγ ZY δ(..)[

//•w βγγ ny d(yw')t •••••

]•w βγγ ZY δ(ynh)[

](w βγ)y (ZY) δ(w••)[

[... ... ] god and [... ... ]

\*33-1 OH/YY/SW *βγγ ZY*, YY2 (*βγ)y (ZY)*. (**figure**) What I read as *βγγ ZY* also looks like *xwty*.

\*33-2 JH *d(yw')t*, SW *δ(ynh)*, YY2 *δ(w••)*. (**figures**) *βγγ ZY δynh* found in Frag. 8 line 2 appears very different from what one sees here.

#### Line 3/\*34

. pw . . yw γr'n . . . . . //

](.....)w γr'n w(.)[

//• (r)m(•) (pr)'yw γr'n w(•)•••••//

]• (r)m['](p)r'yw γr'n w(•)[

]••• (pr)'yw γr'n (w')[

[... ... ] with [... ] great [... ... ]

\*34 SW ]• (r)m['] (p)r 'yw “with the people(?)”, YY2 J•• (pr)'yw. (**figure**) I cannot read any meaningful word in the place preceding *pr'yw*.

According to DMSB, p. 228a, *yp'k* “anger” is found in this line. Possibly SW proposes to read what I read as *(w')[* as *(yp)['k]*, which is possible.

#### Line 4/\*35

.sp . . . kw prβrtyt . . . . . / / / / / / / / / / /  
 ]'sp('s')kw prβyr(')t [  
 / / / • 'spt'kw prβry'(.t) •••••••• / / / /  
 ]• 'spt'kw prβ'yr(')t [  
 ]'sp(t)'kw prβ'yr[t δ'rt?

[... ..] **he explains/explained completely** [... ..]

\*35 *prβ'yr't* is not impossible but less likely. The final *-t* of *prβ'yr[t* shows a long tail and is less likely to be followed directly by *δ'rt*, hence *prβ'yr[t δ'rt*. (**figures**)

#### Line 5/\*36

. . ny γr'm'kw γrβ δp [  
 ](y) ZY γr'm'kw γrβ δp[γry'kh?  
 / / / •••(n)y (•)ny γr'm'kw γrβ (z)ds••••••(ky)y(w) •••  
 γz](n)y ZY γr'm'kw γrβ δp[γry'kh ](••••••w•••)[  
 γz-](n)y (Z)Y γr'm'kw γrβ 1-(LPw)[ ]('p)ryw[n?  
 [... ..] **treasure and wealth, many thousands** [...] **blessing(?)**[... ..]

\*36 Between *γrβ* and *δp-* there is a clear *z-* like hole. (**figure**) I tentatively regard it as a stroke denoting the numeral “one.” However, as far as I can see from the attested examples, the stroke representing *1* of *1-LP(w)* is attached to *L*, and my reading is highly hypothetical. According to DMSB, p. 235a, this word is to be read *z-ynt* “weapons.” *'pryw* can be either a variant of *pr'yw* “together with” or part of *'prywn* “blessing.” (**figure**) For *'pryw* for *pr'yw*, see DMSB, p. 16.

#### Line 6/\*37

. . . kw pr RBkw γrβ'ky'kh cntr δynh ny . . . . . / / / / /  
 ](w')nkw pr RBkw γrβ'ky'kh cntr δynh Z(Y)[  
 / / / (kw) (w)'nkw pr RBkw γrβ'ky'kh cntr dynh ny •••••  
 ](kw w)'nkw pr RBkw γrβ'ky'kh cntr δynh ZY [  
 ](•) w'nkw pr RBkw γrβ'ky'kh cntr δynh ZY [  
 [... ..] **thus with great wisdom inside, with respect to religion and** [... ..]

\*37 *cntr δynh* “inside, with respect to religion.” On this expression see the commentary on line 16.



\*41 *’l-pw*. This is one of the three spelling variants representing alp: *’l-pw*, *’l-p*, and *’l-pw*. This variation seems to indicate that Uighur orthography was not yet established. For the spelling of this word, see my comment on line 1 above.

**Line 11/\*42**

////////. y mδy ’skwγt////////  
 ](k)y mδy ’skw’nt[  
 /// ky mdy ’skw’(n)t ●●●///  
 ]ky mδy ’skw’nt[  
 ](k)y mδy ’skw’nt[  
 [... ... ..] **who are staying here** [... ... ..]

**Line 12/\*43**

//////// mγ . . w . . . . .////////  
 ]m(γ)[ ](w)[  
 ///• mγ•yd●●///  
 ]• mγ[w](nw)[  
 ]• m(•)[ ](••)[

**Fragment 8 (unplaceable)**

**Line 1**

//////// . . . . .////////  
 ](.....)[  
 not read JH  
 not read SW  
 ]( ●●●●)[

**Line 2**

//////// . w βγγ ny δynh . . . . .////////  
 ](.)w βγγ ZY δynh [  
 ] (k)w βγγ ny dynh /●●●●●  
 ]•w βγγ ZY δynh ●●●●●●●● [   
 c`n](k)w βγγ ZY δynh ●●●●●[  
 [... ... ..] **when] the god and the religion** [... ... ..]

**Line 3**

//////// t γrβ krty wγs . . . . .  
 ](t) γrβ krtr wγš[  
 ]t γrβ krtr wγš[  
 ]t γrβ krtr wγš[y  
 ](t) γrβ krtr wxš[yn`yt?

[... ..] group of many redeemers(?) [... ..]

On the meaning of *krtr* “rank, order, host,” see Sims-Williams 2017, p. 35. See also DMSB, p. 88b s.v. *γrf-krtr* “of many kinds, numerous.” It refers to a group of people.

#### Line 4

////////.r'n γws'nty'kh 'krty . . . . y δ sγ . . /

](γ)r'n xws'nty'kh 'krt(y cyw)yδ sx[

](γ)r'n γws'nty-'kh 'krty ••(n)yδ s(γ)[

](γ)r'n xws'nty'kh 'krty (cyw)yδ sx••[

](γ)r'n xws'nty'kh 'kr(ty)[ cyw]yδ sγ[tm'n?

[... ..] there was great happiness. From that a[ll? ... ..]

JH 'krty ••(n)yδ s(γ)[, SW 'krty (cyw)yδ sx••[, YY2 'kr(ty)[ cyw]yδ sγ[tm'n]. (figure)

#### Line 5

////////. s'r sytd'rt ny pr 't'δ'nyh /

]s'r sytd'rt ZY pr 'βt'δ'nyh [

]s'r sytd'rt ny pr 'βt'd'ny(')[

]• s'r sytd'rt ZY pr 'βt'δ'nyh[

] s'r sytd'rt ZY pr 'βt'δ'ny' [

[... ..] He raised [...] towards [...] and in the bishopric [... ..]

YY/JH/SW 'βt'δ'nyh, YY2 'βt'δ'ny-'. (figure) It is almost certain that the final letter is not *-h* but *-'*. The word is likely to be an abstract noun derived from 'βt'δ'n and means “bishopric” rather than the oblique form, as assumed by DMSB, p. 5b. The mention of 'βt'δ'ny' here in the inscription may perhaps indicate that the seat of 'βt'δ'n “bishop” was established in Karabalgasun during Baoyi's reign. The colophon of the *Mahnāmag* clearly suggests that the bishop was resident in the Uighur capital. On this point, see **Part II, section 3, (B)-(d)** above.

#### Line 6

////////. δβ . . . pty . . . . .////////

](..) δβz(') pty('r...)[

] dβ'n(z) pty(r'yδ)[

]•• δβz(') pty('r•••)[

]•• δβnz pty('r •••)[

[... ..] terrible misfortune [... ..]

According to DMSB, p. 72b, what YY 1988 read as δβz' may rather be read δβn' “fear.” DMSB also suggests δynh for the same word. The reasons that the reading is not settled are that one finds no stroke representing the final ' and that the two are combined to form a single word looking like δβn'pty'r, etc. Since in this inscription the letter z is almost

always followed by a space, it may be fitting to read *δβnz pty 'r* and translate “terrible (*lit.* thick) misfortune”? (**figure**)

**Line 7**

////////// . . . . . //////////

](.....)[  
 ](none)[  
 ]••••••••••[  
 ](•••••)[

**Line 8**

////////// . . . //////////

](...)[  
 ](none)[  
 ]••••••••••[  
 ](•••••)[

**Notes**

- (1) A few epigraphic materials are known from the 9th century such as the Ladakh inscription. But they are all very short.
- (2) On the datable Manichaean Sogdian texts, see Yoshida 2017a, p. 114, n. 5. For the approximate dating of the Bulayīq Christian Sogdian texts, see Yoshida 2017, p. 157, n. 7.
- (3) On the historical context in which the Sevrey Inscription was established, see Yoshida 2018, where I argue that the inscription was prepared by Bögü (r. 759–779) or the third Uighur qaghan to show off the Uighurs’ contribution in suppressing the An Lushan Rebellion to those Chinese people who visited the Uighur court via Sevrey. For the latest edition of the Bugut Inscription dated to the late sixth century, see Yoshida 2019b, c.
- (4) As a matter of fact, since the letters are inscribed vertically, the diacritic is added on the right side of the letter resh. It may also be noted that no other diacritics are encountered in the inscription.
- (5) The reason that I refer only to folio books, which are not numerous, is that some of the scrolls were written on the verso of Buddhist Chinese texts and at least some of them were copied by novice scribes for training and practising.
- (6) I should like to draw attention to the fact that at least one Buddhist Sogdian text, Or. 8212/176, the Sogdian version of the *Vajracchedikā* discovered in Dunhuang, is not written in the formal or *sūtra* script but in this ductus, which could be referred to as “formal script 2” as opposed to “formal script 1,” i.e. the so-called “formal script” or *sūtra* script.
- (7) The preterite-dominant language and the imperfect-dominant variety most likely represent two different regional, possibly eastern and western, dialects (Yoshida 2017, pp. 164–171).
- (8) For a more extensive discussion of this topic, see Yoshida 2009 and idem (2011, pp. 31–41).
- (9) Incidentally, I recently discovered another occurrence of this word in Dx. 06489 of the St. Petersburg collection,

where one reads *wyptm'ky wzt' ZY [p](t)y'(r) [ 'n](δ)[my ](c)wpr 'nβrt [δ'rt]* “he assembled immeasurable damage and harm on the body.”

- (10) Kljaštornyj and Livšic (1972, p. 72) claim that the word is also attested in the Bugut Inscription, and translate the word “stele.” But their reading has turned out to be illusionary. See now Yoshida 2019b, c.
- (11) The preceding word is *zwšy ZY nm 'c* “sacrifice and homage.”
- (12) Since the correct placement of Fragment 9 was discovered after Hamilton’s and Sims-Williams’s collaboration, in their text they placed 12 lines of Fragment 9 between lines 14 and 25 of the front face, as I did in my text published in Yoshida 1988. On this point, see also my remark in **Part I, section 2** above. In this edition, I have removed their readings of Fragment 9 from the main text.
- (13) Incidentally, Hamilton wrote *č* and *d* instead of *c* and *δ* respectively, and he still spelled *ny* for *ZY*. I have left them as they are except for *č*, which appears *c* in this edition. The same applies to Hansen’s text.
- (14) For example, in the glossary one finds *βypwrstnw* 9(2) under the lemma *βypwrstn* “China.” 9(2) indicates that the word in question is attested in line 9 and in Frag. 2.
- (15) The gaps between Fragment 3 and Fragment 5 and between Fragment 4 and Fragment 6 are represented by square brackets with two sets of three dots, [... ...], since in this case the gap is not very large. On this point see above my remarks on the placement of the stones.
- (16) As I remarked in **Part I, section 1**, the rubbings of smaller fragments are now preserved at Ritsumeikan University.
- (17) See **figures (b)** reproduced on pp. 117–119.
- (18) An underlined letter represents an uncertain reading, which, however, is compatible with the trace. In the original publication a question mark was affixed below the letter in question.
- (19) A notation like “1(1)” indicates that the form commented there is found in Fragment 1 of line 1, while “1(5-2)” stands for the second in the commentary of the words found in Fragment 5.
- (20) The abbreviations are OH = Hansen 1930, YY = Yoshida 1988, JH = Hamilton’s note, SW = Sims-Williams’s provisional text, and YY2 = Yoshida’s current text.
- (21) Scanned images of the word in the rubbings and moulding are reproduced as **figures**.
- (22) See also *'l-p 'yn 'ncw* attested in line 3.
- (23) As I discussed above, the Sogdian and Uighur versions are likely to have been composed by one and the same group of scribes.
- (24) See *mwn 'kw* of line 16. (**figure**)
- (25) One may also read *šyr* “very” here.
- (26) Actually to the right of this *β-* or *γ-*, since the letters are inscribed vertically.
- (27) But see *n'βt* encountered in line 19. In principle it may be possible to assume that here not only Chinese believers but also several different groups of Manichaeans are mentioned as being persecuted.
- (28) This old reading is still referred to by Livšits (2015, p. 72), where it is taken for the plural form of *twtwk* meaning “governor-general = Turkish *totoq*).
- (29) It must be taken into consideration that in honorific usage the 2nd person plural pronoun *šm 'xw* can refer to 2nd person singular (Yoshida 2006), which in this context denotes the qaghan.
- (30) Here I also cite an image from the rubbing produced by me during the 1997 expedition, which is now preserved at Osaka University.

- (31) In his edition Hansen restores *c'nkw* at the end of line 13.
- (32) Sims-Williams takes *γzny'* as an independent stem meaning “treasury” (Sims-Williams 2016, p. 90).
- (33) I assume that the people subjugated by the Uighurs continued to pay reparations to the Uighurs until the time when the inscription was erected.



## IV. Glossary

- ”**βr**”/”**γt**” vb. “to bring”  
 ”γt past.inf. \*10(4)  
 ”γtδ’rym 3.pl.tr.pret. \*12(1)
- ”**γ’z**”/ vb. “to begin”  
 ”γ’z’nt 3.pl.impf. \*10(4)
- ”**γ(t••)**[ ] “?” 17(4)
- ”**lpw pylk**’ Uighur personal name: Alp Bilgä Cf. also  
 ’lpw.  
 ”lpw pylk’ <41>
- ”**p’y** noun “understanding”  
 ”p’y 5(1)
- ”**pryw** noun “blessing” \*<36>
- ”**s’yt**” vb. “to take”  
 ”st 3.sg.impf.mid. 18(2)  
 ”st’nt 3.pl.impf.mid. 6(1)  
 ’ytδ’r’nt 3.pl.pret.tr. 6(4)
- ”**stnyk**” adj. “original, permanent”  
 ”stnyk \*20(1)
- ”**šn’s-knty**” adj. “belonging to Ashinas family” [DMSB,  
 pp. 26b, 97b two words]  
 ”šyn’s-knty 6(1)
- ”**tr**” f. “fire”  
 ”try obl. 11(2), 12(2)
- ”**xw’š**” noun unknown word, “construction, foundation?”;  
 the reading ambiguous: *’nywnš*, etc. See also below.  
 ”xw’š 17(1)
- ”**xw’št**” past stem of an unknown verb “to construct,  
 found?”; the reading ambiguous.  
 ”xw’št past inf. 17(1)
- ”**y tnkryδ’ xwtpwlmys ’lp/’lpw pylk**’ Uighur personal  
 name (eighth qaghan): Ay Tängriđä Qutbulmäs Alp Bilgä  
 ”y tnkryδ’ xwtpwlmys ’lpw pylk’ \*hdl., \*2(1)  
 ”y tnkryδ’ xwtpwlmys ’lp pylk’ 1(1)
- ”**z’ty**” m. “noble man”  
 ”z’tyt pl. \*22(1)  
 ”z’tyty pl.obl. 15(6)
- ”**zy**” noun “birth”  
 ”zy 16(2)
- \*”**zyr**”/ vb. “to hurt, injure”  
 ”zyr’nt 3.pl.impf. \*10(1) (written ”zr’nt)
- ’**βc’npδ**” f. “world, earth”  
 ’βc’npδy xr’m “go (out of) the world = to die”  
 ’βc’npδy obl. 14(1), \*23(2)
- ’**βc’npδyk**” adj. “of the world, worldly”  
 ’βc’npδyk \*16(4)  
 ’βc’npδykw 2(1)
- ’**βškr-’βškrt-**” vb. “to expel”  
 ’βškrty wβ’ 3.sg.pass.impf. 10(1)
- ’**βt’δ’ny**” f. “bishopric, rank of bishop”  
 ’βt’δ’ny’ Fr.8/5
- ’**δry**” num. “three”  
 ’δry 19(2), 20(2)
- ’**krt-**” s.v. **βw-’krt-** and **kwn-’krt-**
- ’**lp, ’lpw, ”lpw**” s.v. ”y tnkryδ’ xwtpwlmys ’lp/’lpw pylk’,  
 tnkryδ’ ’wlwk pwlmys ’lpw xwtlwy ’wlwy pylk’, ”lpw  
 pylk’
- ’**lp’yn’ncw py’trx’n**” Uighur personal name: Alp Inančü  
 Bayatarxan  
 ’lpyn’ncw py’trx’n \*1(1)  
 ’lp’yn’ncw py’trx’n 3(1)
- ’**lpw xwtlwy**” Uighur personal name (pre-regnal name of  
 the seventh qaghan): Alp Qutluy  
 ’lpw xwtlwy 16(1)
- ’**lpw xwtlwy pylk**’ Uighur personal name (fourth  
 qaghan): Alp Qutluy Bilgä  
 ’lpw xwtlwy pylk’ 13(1)
- ’**lpw yncw pylk**’ personal name: Alp Inčü Bilgä  
 ’lpw yncw pylk’ 20(1)
- ’**mn**” 1.pl.pers.pron.encl. “us, our”  
 ’mn \*20(6)
- \*’**nβrz-βr/’nβrz-βr’t**” vb. “to look after, visit”  
 ’nβrz-βr’t δ’rt 3.sg.tr.pret. \*15(Frag.Rus.)
- ’**nβrzkr**” noun “minister”  
 ’nβrzkr 20(1), 20(7)

- '**ncmn** noun “assembly, community”  
'ncmnw \*16(7)
- '**nxw'y/** vb. “to break, destroy”  
mnxw'y 3.sg.impf. 19(1)
- '**nxwnc** noun “struggle, battle, conflict”  
'nxwncw 10(1)
- \*'**nxyrš/** vb. “to draw, pull nearer(?)”  
mnxyrš 3.sg.impf. \*7(1)
- '**ny-** adj. “other”  
'ny \*21(1)
- '**ny'ty** p.p. of (')ny's “to take”  
'ny'ty \*19(1)
- '**ny'z'nk** adj. “different, distinguished, extraordinary”  
'ny'z'nk 16(2)  
'ny'z'nkw 8(1)
- '**pryw** s.v. **pr'yw**
- '**rk** f. “work, deed”  
'rkh 13(2), 15(1)  
'rky obl. 11(1)
- '**rpst'k, 'rp'st'k** adj. “mighty, prosperous, powerful”  
'rp'st'k 22(1)  
'rpst'kw 7(1), \*9(1)-(2), \*10(1)-(2)
- '**rt'w** m. “elect, Manichaean monk” (originally “righteous”)  
'rt'wty pl.obl. 19(7)
- '**skw-/'skw't** vb. “to stay, remain”; see also nyδ/nyst-  
'skw'nt 3.pl.pres. <42>  
'skw'skwnw 3.sg.impf.dur. (or 'z-pret.?) 5(1)
- '**skwδ'skwn** s.v. **nyδ**
- '**sky** adv. “up, upward, eastward”  
'sky \*12(6), \*13(2)
- '**sp'δ** noun “army”  
'sp'δ 19(1)  
'sp'δy obl. 9(2), 10(2)
- '**sp'δy'n** noun “soldier”  
'sp'δy'n \*9(4)
- '**sp's** noun “service”  
'sp's 12(1)
- '**spt'k** adj./adv. “perfect; perfectly”  
'spt'kw <35>
- '**spyš-/** vb. “to serve”  
'spyšymskwnw 1.pl.pres.dur. 11(1)
- '**šm'x** pron.2.pl. “you”  
'šm'xw 11(6)
- '**šm'xprn** pron.+noun “your (sg.) majesty”  
'šm'xprn 15(1)
- '**wγwz** Uighur tribal name: Oghuz  
'wγwz 3(1)
- '**wk'** Uighur word: *ögä* “minister, consultant”  
'wk' 2(3), 3(1) (x2), 3(3), 3(5)
- '**wk'sy** s.v. **'yl 'wk'sy**
- '**wlwγ** s.v. *tnkryδ' pwlmys 'yl 'ytmys 'wlvγ pylk',  
tnkryδ' 'wlvk pwlmys 'lpw xwlvγ 'wlvγ pylk'*
- '**wlvk** s.v. *tnkryδ' 'wlvk pwlmys 'lpw xwlvγ 'wlvγ  
pylk'*
- '**wst'y/** vb. “to appoint, place”  
w'sty 3.sg.impf. 20(7)
- '**wšt/** vb. “to stand, take one's place, be”  
w'st 3.sg.impf. 17(6)
- '**wt'k** noun “place, region, country”  
'wt'kt pl. 19(1), 22(2)
- '**wt'keyk** adj. “local”  
'wt'keykt pl. 21(2)
- '**wts'r** adv. “thence, thither, there”  
'wts'r \*4(3)
- '**wtyr py'trx'n** Uighur personal name: Ötir Baghatarkhan  
'wtyr py'trx'n 3(1)
- '**wyγwr** Uighur tribal name: Uighur  
'wyγwr \*hdl., 1(1), \*2(3)
- '**wytwk'n** place name: Ötükän  
'wytwk'n 10(2)
- '**xš'w'nh, 'xš'wnh** noun “realm, dominion”  
'xš'w'nh 5(1), 6(1), 7(1), \*13(4), 18(2), \*19(2), <38>  
'xš'w'nty pl.obl. \*12(Frag.Paris)  
'xš'w'ntyh pl.obl. <40>  
'xš'w'nyh obl. \*21(1), 22(7), 23(1)  
'xš'wnh \*6(4), 7(1)
- '**xš'w'ncyk, 'xš'wncyk** adj. “of the realm”  
'xš'w'ncykw 15(1)  
'xš'wncykw 13(2)

- 'xš'w'nδ'r, 'xš'wnδ'r** m. “ruler, king”  
 'xš'w'nδ'r 7(1), \*15(4), 20(2), 21(2)  
 'xš'w'nδ'ry obl. 15(1)  
 'xš'wnδ'r 2(1), 4(1), 6(1)  
 'xš'wnδ'rt pl. \*4(2-3), 6(1)  
 'xš'wnδ'rty pl.obl. \*6(2)  
 'xš'wnδ'ry obl.sg. 8(1), \*17(Frag.Rus.)-(7)
- 'xšnyrk** noun “mark, sign”  
 'xšnyrkw 17(2), 18(1)
- 'xšywny** m. “king, emperor, ruler (denoting qaghan)”  
 'xš'ywny 10(1)  
 'xšywn'k 17(1), \*17(1)-(2), 21(1), 21(7), 22(2), 23(2)  
 'xšywn'kw \*14(Frag.Rus.)  
 'xšywny 2(1), 9(1), 11(1), 11(4), 12(1), \*12(4)
- 'yδ'k, 'yδy** m. “someone”  
 'yδ'k 15(1)  
 'yδ'yt pl. \*19(1)  
 'yδ'yty pl.obl. 16(2)  
 'yδyty pl.obl. 5(4)
- 'yl** s.v. *tnkryδ' pwlmys 'yl 'ytmys 'wlwγ pylk'*
- 'y1 'wk'sy** Uighur word: *il ögäsi* “prime minister”  
 'yl 'wk'sy 3(1), 16(1)
- 'yny** dem. “this”  
 'yny nom.sg.m. hdl.\*1, 1(1), 9(1) (as acc.), 10(1),  
 11(1) (as acc.)  
 mwn'kw acc.sg.m. 16(1)  
 mwnkw acc.sg.m. 1(5)
- 'ys/'γt** vb. “to come”  
 'γt 3.sg.pret.intr. 9(1)
- 'ytd'r'nt** s.v. *'s/'yt*
- 'ytmys** s.v. *tnkryδ' pwlmys 'yl 'ytmys 'wlwγ pylk'*
- 'M** prep. = δnn “with”  
 'M 9(1), 10(1)
- βγ-** m. “god, lord”  
 βγγ nom.sg. 9(1), 10(1), 11(1), 11(4), 12(1), 12(4)  
 (x2), 12(6), 23(2), <33>, Fr.8/2  
 βγγ gen.-dat.sg. hdl., 1(1), 10(1), 11(2), 22(7)  
 βγγšty pl.obl. 2(1)
- βγpwr'k** adj. “Chinese(?)” \*1(5)
- βγpwrstn** noun “China”  
 βγpwrstnw 9(2)
- βr'yšt'k** m. “angel”  
 βr'yšt'k 17(2)  
 βr'yšty \*18(1)
- βr'yt/** vb. “to help”  
 βr'yδt 2.pl.impv. 9(1) (by metathesis from \*βr'ytd)
- βryn-** f. “manner, type”  
 βrynh 8(1)
- βš'm/βšmt-** vb. “to send”  
 βšmtw δ'r'nt 3.pl.tr.pret. 22(1)
- βtrync/** vb. “to press, suppress, oppress, defeat”  
 β'tryncw 3.sg.impf. 7(1), 18(6)
- βw-/'krt-** vb. “to become”  
 'krt'nt 3.pl.intr.pret. 6(1)  
 'krtty 3.sg.intr.pret. 7(1), 23(1), Fr.8/4  
 wβ' 3.sg.impf. 13(1), 17(1)
- βxtwny** f. “division, schism”  
 βxtwny \*6(1)
- βynt** vb. “to bind” in combination with 'rk: 'rky βynt  
 “to entrust”  
 βynt 3.sg.impf. 11(1)
- c'δr** adv./adj. “down, downward, westward; lower”  
 c'δr 12(6), \*13(2), 21(1), 22(2), 24(2)
- c'nkW** conj. “when, as, while; as, since”  
 c'nkW 5(1), \*7(1), 8(1) (x2), 9(1), 10(1), 12(6), 13(1),  
 \*13(Frag.Paris), \*16(1), 16(7), 21(1), 22(1), 23(2),  
 \*Fr.8/2
- cntr** adv. “inside”  
 cntr 16(6), <37>
- ctβ'r** num. “four”  
 ctβ'r 8(1), 10(6), 19(1), 24(2), <39>, <40>
- cw** rel.pron. “what(ever)”  
 cw 23(1)
- CWRH** f. “body, self”  
 CWRH 7(1), 17(4), 20(1)
- cymyδ** prep.+dem. “from this”  
 cymyδ 9(1)
- cywyδ** prep.+dem. “from that”  
 cywyδ 5(1), 6(2), 12(1), 16(6), \*Fr.8/4
- δ'βr** s.v. *δβr-*

- δ`r/zyt-** vb. “to have, hold, keep”  
 δ`rymskwnw 1.pl.pres.dur. 11(1)  
 zγtw δ`r`nt 3.pl.tr.pret. 4(1) (x2), 6(1)  
 zγtw δ`rt 3.sg.tr.pret. 5(1), 7(1), 13(Frag.Rus.), 14(6)
- δβnz** adj. “thick, extreme”  
 δβnz Fr.8/6
- δβr-/** vb. “to give”  
 δ`βr 3.sg.impf. 16(1), 20(1)  
 δβr`ntskwnw 3.pl.pres.dur. 18(7)  
 δβrδ` 2.pl.impv. 9(1)
- δβtyk** adj./adv. “second, secondly, again”  
 δβtykw 6(4), 10(1)
- δβtyw** adv. “again”  
 δβtyw \*17(1)
- δnn** prep. “with”  
 δnn \*17(4)
- δs`** num. “ten”  
 δs` 20(2)
- δst-** m. “hand”  
 δsty nom.sg. 11(1) (as instr.-abl.), 12(1) (as instr.-abl.)  
 δsty` loc.sg. 18(2)
- δyn** f. “religion, church”  
 δynh \*8(2)-(4), 10(1), 11(2) (x2), 15(2), 16(6), <37>,  
 Fr.8/2
- δynmync** adj. “of the religion, religious”  
 δynmyncw 17(1), 22(2), 23(1)
- δynyk** noun “heretic”  
 δynykt pl. 10(1)
- δyw** m. “demon”  
 δywty pl.obl. 11(1), 12(1)
- γn-** m. “ability, skill, art”  
 γn`y \*19(6)  
 γny nom.sg. 2(4) (as acc.), 5(1) (as acc.), 8(4) (as acc.), 14(2) (as acc.), \*15(1) (as acc.), 18(1) (as acc.)
- γnkyn** adj. “victorious, brave”  
 γnkyn \*4(1), \*5(4)  
 γnkynw \*13(1)-(2)
- γnt`k** adj. “bad, evil”  
 γnt`k 19(2)
- γr`m`k** m. “wealth”  
 γr`m`kw \*12(2), \*17(4), <36>
- γr`n** adj. “heavy, important, serious, great”  
 γr`n \*2(4), \*12(4), 15(1), 18(1), 19(1), 19(7), 22(1),  
 22(2), <34>, Fr.8/4
- γrβ** adj. “many, much”  
 γrβ 5(1), 7(1), 13(2), 18(7), 19(1), \*19(6), \*21(2),  
 <36>, Fr.8/3
- γrβ`k** adj. “wise”  
 γrβ`kw 2(1), 4(1), 13(1)
- γrβ`ky`kh, γrβ`kyh** f. “wisdom, knowledge”  
 γrβ`ky`kh <37>  
 γrβ`kyh 8(4), 14(2), 15(2)
- γrβ`y** m. “knowledge, knowing”  
 γrβ`y 5(1)
- γw`δwk** noun “throne” (reading uncertain)  
 γw`δwk 3(1)
- γwβty`kh** f. “praise, glorification”  
 γwβty`kh \*hdl., 1(1)
- γyrtr** adv. “later, afterwards”  
 γyrtr \*5(1)
- γzn-** m. “treasure”  
 γzny nom.sg. \*17(4) (as instr.-abl.), \*<36>
- k`m/** vb. “to desire, want”  
 k`m 3.sg.impf. 17(1)
- kδ`m** inter.-rel.pron. “which(ever)”  
 kδ`m 4(1), 15(1)
- kδry** adv. “now”  
 kδry 11(1)
- knty** s.v. ”šn`s-knty
- krt`k** noun unknown word possibly “accumulation of treasure(?)”  
 krt`k 18(7)
- krtr** noun “group of people, host, company”  
 krtr Fr.8/3
- kw** prep. “to, toward”  
 kw 7(1), 9(2), 21(1) (x2)
- kwl** s.v. *kwl pylk`*
- kwl pylk`** Uighur personal name (first Uighur qaghan):  
 Kül Bilgä  
 kwl pylk` \*5(2), \*7(2)

**kwlwk** s.v. *tnkryδ' pwl-mys kwl-wk pyl-k'*

**kwn-/krt-** vb. “to do, make”

'krtw δ'r'nt 3.pl.tr.pret. 10(1)

'krtw δ'rt 3.sg.tr.pret. 13(2)-(4), 18(1), 20(1)

'krty p.p. 11(1), \*12(1)

**kwrδ** rel.adv. “where”

kwrδ \*18(4)

**kws'n** place name: Kucha

kws'n \*19(1),

**kwzp-** adj. “energetic, eager”

kwzpy nom.sg.m. 15(1)

**ky** rel.pron. “who”

ky 17(2), 20(2), <38>, <42>

kyZY 6(1)

**kym'k** name of a nomad tribe “Kimäk” (restoration highly hypothetical)

kym'k \*18(6)

**kyr'n** noun “direction, side”

kyr'n 24(2), <39>

kyr'nw 8(1), <40>

**L'** adv. “not”

L' 11(6), 15(2), 15(4), \*16(4), 17(7), \*18(4), 23(2)

**m'δ** adv. “thus” (introducing the direct speech)

m'δ 14(Frag.Rus.)

**m'rm'ny** prop.n. “Mar Mani”

m'rm'ny 10(1), 11(2), 12(4)

**m'x** pers.pron.1.pl. “we, us, our”

m'xw 2(5)

**m'yδ** s.v. **myδ**

**mδy** adv. “here”

mδy 10(2), <42>

**mγwn** adj. “whole, all”

mγwn 20(7)

mγwnw 13(Frag.Rus.), 22(7), <38>

**MN** prep. “from”

MN 2(1), \*2(4), \*5(4), 15(6), \*16(2), 16(2), \*19(1),

19(2), 20(4), 21(7), <40>

**mnxw'y** s.v. 'nxw'y

**mnxyrš** s.v. 'nxyrš

**mrt'nyh** f. “manliness, bravery”

mrt'ny'kh 14(2)

mrt'nyh \*2(4), 5(1), 15(2), 15(6), 18(1)

**mrt's'r** adv. “hither, here”

mrt's'r 12(Frag.Rus.), 16(2)

**mrtxm'k** m. “man”

mrtxm'yt pl. \*18(4)

**mry nywrw'n** prop.n. “Mār Nēw Ruwān”

mry nywrw'n \*12(6)

**ms** adv. “also, too”

ms 1(5), <40>

rtms 16(Frag.Rus.), 18(7), \*19(2), 20(7)

**mwmyn xm'yr** noun “Commander of the faithful, caliph” Adaptation of Arabic *'amīr al-mu'minīn*, a title of the Abbasid caliph

mwmyn xm'yr 21(7)

**mwn'kw, mwnkw** s.v. 'yny

**mwz'k** noun “Teacher (title in the Manichaean hierarchy), *možak*”

mwz'k' 12(6)

**myδ** dem./adv. “this; thus, very”

m'yδ \*20(1)

myδ <32>

**n'β** s.v. **n'p**

**n'm** noun/adv. “name, title; by name”

n'm 12(2), 16(1), 20(1)

**n'p, n'β** noun “people”

n'βt pl. 19(2)

n'pt pl. \*10(1)

**nβ'nt** postp. “with, beside”

nβ'nt 17(6)

**nβyr'k** m. “counselor”

nβyr'k 17(6)

**nγ'wš'k** m. “auditor, Manichaean lay believer”

nγ'wš'kt pl. 21(6)

nγ'wš'kty pl.obl. 19(7)

**nm'c** noun “homage, worship”

nm'cw 12(1)

**nm'ck'n** noun “offering, present”

nm'ck'n 22(1)

**np'yk** noun “scripture, text, writing” \*1(5)

- npys/np'xšt-** vb. “to write”  
 np'xštw δ'rym 1.pl.tr.pret. \*hdl., \*1(1), 2(5)
- nšyδ/** vb. “to appoint, seat, place”  
 nyšyδ 3.sg.impf. 20(1)
- ny'k** m. “grandfather, ancestor”  
 ny'k 2(1)  
 ny'kw \*1(3)
- nyδ/nyst-** vb. “to sit, take the throne”  
 nysty 3.sg.intr.pret. \*5(3), 8(1) (x2), 13(1), \*14(2)  
 nysty 'skwδ'skwn 3.sg.pres.perf.dur. 15(1)  
 nysty L'wm't 3.sg.pl.perf.neg. 17(7)
- nywrw'n** s.v. *mry nywrw'n*
- p'δ** noun “arrow”  
 p'δ 18(2), 20(2)
- p'rZY** conj. “because, for”  
 p'rZY \*11(6), 23(1)
- p's** noun “respect, honour; guard”  
 p's \*22(1)
- p't** noun “time, occasion”  
 p't 16(6)
- pckwyr** noun “fear”  
 pckwyr 8(1)  
 pckwry obl. 22(1)
- pδk-** f. “law, rule, rite”  
 pδkh acc. 11(1)
- py'trx'n** Uighur word and title: *baγa tarxan* s.v.  
*'lp'yn'ncw py'trx'n, 'wtyr py'trx'n*
- pr** prep. “on, in, by, for”  
 pr 4(1), 5(1), 8(1), 8(2), \*8(2), 8(4), 14(2), 15(1),  
 15(2), 16(1), 16(6), 17(2), 17(7), \*18(1), 18(2), 20(2),  
 \*20(7), 20(7), 22(7), <37>, Fr.8/5
- pr'sy** s.v. *pryš/pryšt*
- pr'yw** postp. “together with”  
 'pryw \*<36>  
 pr'yw 6(1) [DMSB p. 141b pr'w “therefore”], 9(2),  
 10(2), \*<34>
- prβ'yr/prβ'yrt** vb. “to explain, tell”  
 prβ'yrt δ'rt 3sg.pret.tr. \*<35>
- prm** postp. “until, during”  
 prm 21(7)
- prm'n** f. “order, command”  
 prm'nh 12(1), 21(2)
- prm'y** vb. “to order, command”  
 pr'm'y 3.sg.impf. 12(1)
- prn** noun “glory, majesty, charisma”; see also *'šm'xprn*  
 prn 4(1), 8(2)
- prnβyrt** adj. “having obtained charisma/majesty”  
 prnβyrt 2(1)
- prnpδ'ky'kh** f. “gloriousness, fortunateness”  
 prnpδ'ky'kh \*14(4)
- prnpδy** adj. “blessed, fortunate”  
 prnpδy 21(1)
- prnxwnt'k** adj. “blessed, fortunate”  
 prnxwnt'k \*22(1)  
 prnxwnt'kw 21(7)
- prnxwntkyh** f. “blessedness, glory”  
 prnxwntkyh 4(1), 8(2), 14(4)
- pršk'r** noun “persecution”  
 pršk'r \*21(1)
- prw** prep. “on, in, but, for”  
 prw \*4(4), 22(2)
- prwrt'k** m. “time (French fois)”  
 prw'rt'k 22(1)  
 prwrt'k \*19(1)  
 prwrt'kw 19(6)
- pryc/pryt-** vb. “to leave, abandon, omit”  
 p'ryc 3.sg.impf. 5(1), \*7(2)  
 p'rycw 3.sg.impf. 13(6)  
 pr'γtδ'rt 3.sg.tr.pret. 13(1)
- prymyδ** prep.+dem. “on this/these, for this/these, etc.”  
 prymyδ 23(1)
- prys/pr'γt** vb. “to reach, arrive at, approach”  
 prys'nt 3.pl.impf. \*4(4)
- pryš/pryšt** vb. “to send”  
 pr'sy 3.sg.impf. \*21(2)
- pš'y/** vb. “to throw, cast, drop”  
 p's'y 3.sg.impf. 18(2)
- ptcxš-/ptcyt-** vb. “to accept, receive; take hold of”  
 ptcyt kwnδ' 2.pl.pres.pot. 11(6)  
 ptcxšδ 2.pl.impv. 12(1)

- ptcxš'y pres.inf. \*11(2)-(4)  
 ptycxš 3.sg.imf. 19(2)
- ptywš/** vb. “to hear”  
 ptyγwš 3.sg.impf. 9(1)
- ptkry** m. “statue, idol, image”  
 ptkr'yt pl. \*11(1)  
 ptkryt pl. 12(2)
- ptkwn** adj. “perverted, heretical”  
 ptkwnw 11(1)
- pts'k** noun “monument”  
 pts'k dir. \*hdl., 1(1), 17(1), \*22(2), 23(1)
- pts'r** adv. “then, thereupon”  
 pts'r 11(4), 14(1), 23(2)
- ptsyty** pp./adj. “(well-)ordered, (well-)organized, arranged” (derived from *pts'c* “to arrange”)  
 ptsyty 7(1)  
 pts'γty 14(6)
- ptsynt/** vb. “to agree, consent, be pleased”  
 ptysynt 3.sg.impf. 12(1), 16(1)
- ptškw'n** noun “humble message, request”  
 ptškw'nh 9(1) (x2), 16(1) (written ptškw'ty)
- ptškwy-** vb. “to say (humbly), request”  
 ptyškwy'nt 3.pl.impf. \*14(Frag.Rus.)
- ptšm'r** noun “number”  
 ptšm'r 10(6)  
 ptšm'ry obl. 18(1)
- ptwysty** p.p./adj. “offered” derived from *ptwyδ* “to offer”  
 ptwysty \*20(1)
- pty'r** noun “hostility, opposition, misfortune”  
 pty'r Fr.8/6
- p(t•)nty** “?” \*15(2)
- pwkw** personal name of an Uighur qaghan (third qaghan): Bögü  
 pwkw 13(1), 17(1)
- pwlmys** s.v. *tnkryδ' pwlmys 'yl 'ytmys 'wlwy pylk', tnkryδ' pwl-mys kwl-wk pyl-k', tnkryδ' 'wlwk pwlmys 'lpw xwtlwy 'wlwy pylk'*
- pwrtpwrst-** vb. “to turn away”  
 pwrst'y 3.sg.intr.pret. 12(Frag.Rus.)
- pwyrwx** Uighur noun: *buyruq* “minister”
- pwyrwxy pl.obl. 16(1)
- pw-zr'yš** adj./adv. “without restriction”  
 pw-zr'yš 13(1)
- py't/pyst** vb. “to adorn”  
 pystδ'rt 3.sg.tr.pret. \*17(4)
- pyδ'r** postp. “because of, on account of, for”  
 pyδ'r 12(1) (cywyδ pyδ'r), \*19(4) (MN ... pyδ'r)
- pylk'** s.v. *'y tnkryδ' xwtplwmys 'lp'lpw pylk', tnkryδ' pwlmys 'yl 'ytmys 'wlwy pylk', 'lpw xwtlwy pylk', tnkryδ' pwl-mys kwl-wk pyl-k', xwtlwy pylk', tnkryδ' 'wlwk pwlmys 'lpw xwtlwy 'wlwy pylk', 'lpw yncw pylk', 'lpw pylk'*
- pyr'y** m. “act of believing, belief, piety”  
 pyr'y \*8(4), \*14(2)
- pyz** noun “act of striking”  
 pyzt pl. \*21(1)
- RBk** adj. “great, big, huge”  
 RBkw 2(1), 14(2), <37>
- rt** s.v. **rty**
- rty** conj. marking the beginning of the finite clause  
 rtms 16(Frag.Rus.), 18(7), 19(2), 20(7)  
 rty \*4(1), \*10(4), 17(1), \*17(4), \*20(1)  
 rtyšy 18(2)
- RYPW** num. “10,000”  
 RYPW 18(1)
- s'n** noun “enemy”  
 s'n \*19(4)
- s'r** postp. “toward, from”  
 s'r 7(1) (kw ... s'r), 9(2) (kw ... s'r), \*10(4), 14 (Frag.Rus.), 15(2) (corrected from s'n; pr ... s'r), 21(2) (kw ... s'r), 22(6), Fr.8/5
- s't** adj. “all”  
 s't 7(1), 8(1), 10(1), 11(1), 12(2), 15(6), 16(1), 16(2)
- s't•γ•t** “?” \*10(4)
- sytm'n** adj./noun “all, altogether, entire”  
 sytm'n \*2(5), \*4(2), \*Fr.8/4
- srδ** noun “year”  
 srδ 5(1), \*6(1)  
 srδy obl. 7(1)
- swc** vb. “to burn”

- swcym 1.pl.inj. \*12(2)-(4)  
 swc'y pres.inf. 11(2)  
**\*syn/syt** vb. "to raise"  
 sytd'rt 3sg.pret.tr. Fr.8/5  
**šx-** adj. "hard, solid, firm"  
 šxy nom.sg.m. 8(1)  
**šy** 3.sg.pers.pron.encl. "his/her, him/her, etc."  
 rtyšy 18(2)  
**šyn** s.v. **šyr**  
**šyr** adv./adj. "very, very much; good"  
 šyr 7(1) (written *šyn!*), 13(1), 14(6), 15(1), \*18(2)  
**šyrn'm** noun "fame"  
 šyrn'm <38>  
**t'zyk'n'y** adj. "Tajik, Muslim, Islamic"  
 t'z'yk'n'k <38>  
 t'zyk'n'y 20(7)  
**tnkryδ'** s.v. **'y tnkryδ' xwtpwlmys 'lp/'lpw pylk'**  
**tnkryδ' 'wlwk pwlmys 'lpw xwtlwγ 'wlwγ pylk'** Uighur personal name (seventh qaghan): Tängriḏä Ülüg Bulmīs Alp Qutluy Uluγ Bilgä  
 tnkryδ' 'wlwk pwlmys 'lpw xwtlwγ 'wlwγ pylk' 14(1)  
**tnkryδ' pwlmys 'yl 'ytmys 'wlwγ pylk'** Uighur personal name (second qaghan): Tängriḏä Bulmīs Il Itmis Ulugh Bilgä  
 tnkryδ' pwlmys 'yl 'ytmys 'wlwγ pylk' \*7(4)  
**tnkryδ' pwl-mys kwl-wk pyl-k'** Uighur personal name (fifth qaghan): Tängriḏä Bulmīs Külüg Bilgä  
 tnkryδ' pwl-mys kwl-wk pyl-k' 13(6)  
**tnp'r** noun "body" (*tnp'r pryc* "to leave one's body = to die")  
 tnp'r 5(1), 7(2), 13(1), \*13(6)  
**tryty'kh** f. "depression, distress"  
 tryty'kh 9(1)  
<sup>1</sup>**twy** noun "royal emblem" (a loanword from Chinese *du* 纛 Middle Chinese \**d'uok*)  
 twy 20(1)  
<sup>2</sup>**twy** adv. "quickly"  
 twy \*6(2)  
<sup>3</sup>**twy** noun "payment"  
 twy \*18(7)  
**twyr'yystn** place name "Tughristan"  
 twyr'yystny obl. 19(1)  
**twpyt** name of an empire: Tibet  
 twpyty \*19(4)  
**twpytc'ny** adj. "Tibetan"  
 twp'ytc'ny 19(1)  
**twrk** Turkish tribal name: Turk, Tujue 突厥  
 twrk 6(1)  
**twrkc'ny** adj. "Turkish" 2(1)  
**twrkyš** name of a Turkish tribal state: Turgish  
 twrkyš \*20(1)-(2), 20(2)  
**tyk'yn** s.v. **tykyn**  
**tykyn** m. Uighur word: tegin "prince"  
 tyk'yn \*16(1)  
 tykyn 2(3)  
**w'β** adj./adv. "so many, so much, so great, such"  
 w'β \*22(1)  
**w'βr** adv. "so much"  
 w'βr \*10(1)  
**w'δ** noun "seat, throne"  
 w'δy obl. 8(1), 15(1), 17(7)  
**w'nkw** adv. "thus, so"; *w'nkW ZY* introducing direct speech  
 w'nkW 13(1), <37>  
 w'nkW ZY 9(1), 12(1), <39>  
**w'r'k** adj. "empty"  
 w'r'kw 18(2)  
**w'sty** s.v. **'wst'y**  
**w'št** s.v. **'wšt**  
**wβ'** s.v. **βw-/'krt-**  
**wβyw** adv./conj. "and, also"  
 wβyw ZY <40>  
**wγš-** m. "joy"  
 wγšy nom.sg.m. \*23(1)  
**wm't** s.v. **x-/wm't**  
**wrcy'w'k** m. "peacefulness"  
 wrcy'w'kw 19(7)  
**wxšn'y** m. "saviour"  
 wxšn'yt pl. \*Fr.8/3  
**wyδ'sywny** adj. "wonderful, marvelous"



- wyð'sywny 8(1)
- wyðβxs-** vb. “to be spread, be propagated, unfold”  
wyðβ'xs 3.sg.impf. \*8(1)-(2), <39>  
wyðβxs 3.sg.impf. \*13(1)
- wyðp't** adv. “then, at that time”  
wyðp't 12(1), 14(6), 17(1)
- wyn'ncyk** adj. “visible”  
wyn'ncykw 18(1)
- wyptm'k** adj. “immeasurable”  
wyptm'kw 22(2)
- wysp-** adj. “all, every”  
wyspw acc.sg.m./incl. 7(1)
- wyspōry** m. “prince”  
wyspōryt pl. \*12(4), \*15(4)
- wysprō** adv. “everywhere”  
wysprō 18(1)
- wyš'nt** 3.pl.pers.pron. “they”  
wyš'nt 20(7), 21(2)  
wyš'nty obl. 19(1)
- wyzp-** f. “terror”  
wyzp' nom.sg.f. 8(1)
- x-/wm't** vb. “to be”  
wm't 3.sg.intr.pret. 6(2), 8(1), 13(2), 16(4), 17(2),  
17(7), 20(2), 21(1), 23(2) s.v. **nyð, xr'm**  
wm't'nt 3.pl.pret. \*4(1)  
wm't'y 3.sg.intr.pret.opt. 4(1)  
xcy 3.sg.pres. 15(1)
- x'γ'n** Uighur word “qaghan”  
x'γ'n \*hdl., 1(1), 5(2), 7(2), 8(1), 13(1) (x2), \*13(6),  
14(1) (x2), 18(1), 20(2), 20(6), <41>  
x'γ'ny obl. 18(6)
- xm'yr** noun “Amir, commander” loanword from Arabic.  
See also *mwmyn xm'yr*.  
xm'yr 21(1), 21(2)
- xr'm/xr'mt** vb. “to walk, proceed, go (honorific for šw-)”; *βc'npōy xr'm* “to proceed from the world = to pass away”  
xr'mtō'rt 3.sg.tr.pret.tr. (instead of intr.) 9(2)-(4),  
14(1), 21(1)  
xr'mty L'wm't 3.sg.plupf.neg. \*23(2)
- xryyz** name of a Turkish tribal state: Khirghiz  
xryzy obl. 18(1)
- xrlwy** Turkish tribal name: Qarluq  
xrlwyt pl. 19(2)  
xrlwyty pl.obl. 20(1)
- xwβ** noun “lord, king”  
xwβ 20(2)
- xwp** adj./adv. “good, well”  
xwpw 14(6)
- xwr's'n** place name: Khorasan  
xwr's'n 21(1)
- xws'nty'kh** f. “joy, happiness”  
xws'nty'kh 23(1), Fr.8/4
- xwtlwy** s.v. *'lpw xwtlwy pylk', tnkryð' 'wlwk pwlmys*  
*'lpw xwtlwy 'wlwy pylk, 'lpw xwtlwy*
- xwtlwy pγ'trx'n** Uighur personal name: Qutluy Baghatarkhan  
xwtlwy pγ'trx'n \*3(1)
- xwtlwy pylk'** Uighur personal name (sixth qaghan): Qutluy Bilgä  
xwtlwy pylk' 14(1)
- xwtpwlmys** s.v. *'y tnkryð' xwtpwlmys 'lp/'lpw pylk'*
- xwty** adv. “(my)self, (your)self, (him)self, etc.”, emphasizing a personal pronoun expressed or understood  
xwty 5(1), 6(1), \*9(1), 13(1), 16(1), 17(1), 19(2)
- xwyštr** adj./noun “superior, elder”  
xwyštr 16(1)
- xyð** dem. “that, those”  
xyð 9(4), \*12(1)
- xypð** adj. “my, your, his, their, etc.”  
xypð 5(1), 16(4), 17(2), \*18(2), \*18(4), \*19(1)
- y'kwβ** noun “angel Jacob”  
y'kwβ 17(2), \*18(1)
- y'xy** adj. “brave”  
y'xy 4(1), 17(1)
- yγl'xr** Uighur tribal name: Yaghlaqar  
yγl'xr 3(1) (x2)
- yncw** s.v. *'lpw yncw pylk'*
- ypγw** Turkish title, referring to the leader of Qarluqs: yabghu

ypγw 20(1), <38>  
**yw'r** conj. “but, however”  
     yw'r 6(1)  
**ywk** noun “teaching”  
     ywk 4(5)  
**yxwst'y** adj. “distinguished”  
     yxwst'y 5(4), \*15(6), 16(2)  
**z't'y** m. “son”  
     z't'y \*5(1)  
**z'wr** noun “power, strength”; *z'wr δβr-* “to help”  
     z'wr 4(1), 5(1), 9(1) (*z'wr δβr-*), \*15(4)  
**z'y** f. “earth, ground, place, country”  
     z'yh 10(2), 12(2)  
**zyt-** s.v. **δ'r**  
**ZKn** art./3.sg.pron.gen.-dat. “the, him”  
     ZKn 9(1) (pron.), 11(1) (art. with pl.), 18(1) (art.)  
**ZKw** art.acc.sg. “the”  
     ZKw 10(1)  
**ZKwy** art.loc. “the”  
     ZKwy 12(2), 22(7)  
**zmn-** neut. “time, hour”  
     zmnyh loc.sg. 17(1)  
     zmnw acc.sg. 4(4), \*17(6)  
**zr'yš** noun “(act of) cutting, restriction” s.v. **pw-zr'yš**  
**zwšy** m. “offering, sacrifice”  
     zwšy 12(1)  
**ZY** conj. **(i)** “and”, **(ii)** “then” [distinction between (i) and (ii) is somewhat arbitrary, particularly when the context is broken], **(iii)** (complementizer)  
     **(i)** ZY 2(4), 4(1) (x2), 5(1) (x2), 7(1), 8(1), 8(2), 8(4) (x2), 9(1) (x2), 11(1), 12(1), 12(6), 13(1), \*13(2), 13(4), 13(Frag.Rus.), 14(2) (x2), 14(4), 14(6), 15(1) (x2), \*15(2), 15(2), 15(6), 16(2), 16(6), \*17(4), 18(1), 18(2), 18(7), 19(1), 19(7), 20(1), 21(1) (x2), 21(2), 22(1) (x2), 23(1), <33>, <36>, <37>, <38>, <39>, Fr.8/2  
     **(ii)** ZY 4(1) (x2), 6(1), 6(4), 8(1) (x2), 9(1), 12(4), 14(6), 16(1) (x2), 16(4), 17(1), 19(1), 20(1), 20(2), 21(1), 22(7), Fr.8/5  
     **(iii)** ZY 6(1) (kyZY), 9(1) (w'nkw ZY), \*11(6) (p'rZY),

12(1) (w'nkw ZY), 23(1) (p'rZY), <39> (w'nkw ZY), <40> (wβyw ZY)

### Numerals

**i** 6(1)  
**40** 18(1)  
**1-LPw** “1,000” \*<36>

### Incomplete words

**p(t•)nty** 15(2)  
**(pw)[ ](•)syk** 18(2)-(4)  
**wxš[ ]** Fr.8/3  
**sx[ ]** Fr.8/4  
**[•](p•)yšy-m(s)k(wn)w** 11(1)  
**γn' [ ]** 19(6)  
**][tδ'rt** 19(7), 22(7)  
**][δ'rt** 23(6)  
**][•x(y)** 15(7)  
**][kw** 10(4)

## V. Appendix

### Appendix I: List of the First to Eighth Uighur Qaghans<sup>1</sup>

1. 闕毗伽可汗 Köl Bilgä Qaghan r. 744–747 (懷仁・骨力裴羅)
2. 登里囉沒蜜施頡曷德蜜施毗伽可汗 Tängriä Bolmîš Il Itmîš <Uluγ?> Bilgä Qaghan r. 747–759 (英武威遠・葛勒可汗・磨延啜)
3. 登里囉汨沒蜜施頡曷登蜜施合俱錄毗伽可汗 Kün Tangriä Qut Bulmîš Il Tutmîš Alp Külüg <Uluγ?> Bilgä Qaghan r. 759–779 (英義建功・牟羽可汗・移地健)
4. 合骨咄祿毗伽可汗 Alp Qutluγ Bilgä Qaghan r. 779–789 (英義成功長壽天親・頓莫賀達干)
5. 登里囉沒蜜施俱錄毗伽可汗 Tängriä Bolmîš Külüg Bilgä Qaghan r. 789–790 (忠貞・多邏斯判官)
6. 汨咄祿毗伽可汗 Qutluγ Bilgä Qaghan r. 790–795 (奉誠・阿睺)
7. 登里囉羽錄沒蜜施合汨咄祿胡祿毗伽可汗 Tängriä Ülüg Bulmîš Alp Qutluγ Uluγ Bilgä Qaghan r. 795–808 (懷信・骨咄祿將軍)
8. 愛登里囉汨沒蜜施合毗伽可汗 Ay Tängriä Qut Bulmîš Alp Bilgä Qaghan r. 808–821 (保義)

#### Note

- (1) In (parenthesis) are appellations bestowed by the Chinese court and pre-regnal names (underlined).





XXII) ██████████ 寺宇，令僧徒寬泰，聽士安樂。自開法來，悶 閣名，未曾降伏 ██████████  
 ██████████  
 XXIII) ██████████ 中 有 ██████████ 世之土，中外國 ██████████， ██████████ 委付， ██████████ 里 ██████████  
 ██████████  
 XXIV) ██████████ ██████████ 武定禍 ██████████  
 ██████████

(Columns XXV–XXXIV are totally broken.)

**Section 1 (columns I–II): Title of the inscription and its composers**

<sup>01</sup>Inscription accompanied by a preface dedicated to the qaghan who is wise like a saint and brave like Mars (by the name of) Ay Tängriđä Qutbulmīš Alp Bilgä of the Uighurs (representing) Nine Tribes (= Toquzoghuz). (Composed by) the prime minister of the inside, (i.e. royal court, with the title of) *il ögäsi* (named) Yaghlaqar [...], [*il ögäsi*] of [Oghuz? (tribe)] (named) Alp Inanču *baya* [*tarxan*, ... ..<sup>02</sup> *ba*] *yatarxan*, Ögälig Siqır(?), Ögä [...] *baya tarxan*, Ö[gä] *die-yi-ye*[... ..], [... ..].

**Section 2 (column III): Introduction**

<sup>03</sup>We have heard as follows: Since the universe was created, the sun and the moon have been shedding light on the entire world. (In the same way) the ruler, who has received the mandate of Heaven, illuminates the whole world. When his edification is splendid, the people themselves will come to pay homage to him from all quarters of the world. [...] From every quarter of the remotest world come the inhabitants to submit to his benevolence. [...]

**Section 3 (columns III–IV): History of the Uighur rulers before the Uighur qaghanate**

[... ..] (One of our ancestors) founded the capital of their country, with rivers (flowing) in front and mountains (rising) behind. [... ..]<sup>04</sup>(Another one of our ancestors) came to possess the country in the northern part of the world and founded its capital on the plain of Orkhon. He ruled the country for a number of years with his brilliant wisdom. (Later) his son (by the name of) [...] succeeded to the throne. By nature, he possessed the excellent ability to decide and judge matters, (so that) all the other tribes tendered their submission to him. [... ..] While the qaghan was on the throne, he nurtured his people with benevolence just as [... ..].

**Section 4 (columns IV–VI): Foundation of the Uighur qaghanate and the first two qaghans**

<sup>05</sup>During several years after the [A]shina clan was deprived of its celestial mandate, (our ancestors) [recovered] our original country. At that time, the Uighurs of Nine Tribes, the Basmils of Forty Tribes, the [Qarluqs] of Three Tribes, and other various tribes said with one voice: “Previously, when (our ancestors) restored our rule, the qaghans were all [... ..” In this way the qaghanship] came to the founder of the empire (by the name of) ①Köl Bilgä Qaghan. [... .. His son ②Tängri]<sup>06</sup>dä Bolmīš Il Itmīš Bilgä Qaghan succeeded to the throne. (With his) excellent wisdom [... (the qaghanate was)] well managed.

**Section 5 (columns VI–VII): The third qaghan Bögü and his achievements (1)**

His son ③Kün Tangriđä Qut Bulmīš Il Tutmīš Alp Külüg Bilgä [...] Qayan succeeded to the throne. [Since he was ...] wonderful and distinguished, all the countries in the world submitted themselves humbly to him. [When the Chinese]

emperor was forced to evacuate (the capital), Shi Siming's [son (by the name of) Zhaoyi ... .. sent]<sup>07</sup> an ambassador, who pleaded by means of (Zhaoyi's) rich presents and honeyed words for the dispatch of troops to join forces (with them), (because) he (= Zhaoyi) wished to overthrow the foundations of the state of Tang. The qaghan was outraged by his ingratitude for (Chinese) imperial favour and by his intention to steal and abuse the imperial regalia (i.e., to usurp the throne). Taking personal command of his brave cavalymen, the qaghan took part in a joint combat operation with the (Chinese) emperor's forces, and advancing with united strength he recaptured the capital of Luoyang. The Chinese emperor [was delighted ... ..] they (= Uighur and China) became brother states and became [...] eternally.

### Section 6 (columns VII-VIII): Bögü qaghan's achievements (2) = Introduction of Manichaeism to Uighurs (1)

Thereupon, the qaghan stationed the army in the eastern capital (東都 = Luoyang). On that occasion the qaghan observed the people's lives (there) [... ..].<sup>08</sup> A master [of the law by the name of ...] brought four monks headed by Ruixi (睿息) to our country. They clearly showed (the doctrine of) the two sacrifices and were thoroughly acquainted with (the teaching of) the three times, to say nothing of the master of the law, who was marvelously learned in the Doctrine of Light (明門 = Manichaeism) and understood the seven scriptures (七部) perfectly. His abilities were deep like an ocean and high like a mountain, while his eloquence was like a torrent. That is why they were able to propagate the right teachings (正教 = Manichaeism) in the land of the Uighurs. [... ..] what he [did] for the religion, i.e., his great accomplishment and accumulation of merit [made] him (= the master of the law?) a *mahistag* (默侯悉德 = presbyter).

### Section 7 (columns VIII-X): Bögü qaghan's achievements (3) = Introduction of Manichaeism to Uighurs (2)

At that time, the governors-general (*dudu* 都督, Uig. *totoq*), the prefects (*cishi* 刺史, Uig. *čigšī*), the internal and external ministers [... .. begged and requested, saying]: “[... ..]<sup>09</sup> Now we repent of our former faults and desire to serve the right teachings.” An edict (of Bögü Qaghan was issued and it) announced the following proclamation: “This law is subtle and marvelous and it is difficult for you to accept and observe it.” (But) twice and thrice they begged and requested, saying: “In the past we were ignorant and regarded (evil) spirits as deities. Now that we have accepted the truth, we can no longer serve these spirits. Single-mindedly we wish [...].” (The qaghan) said: “Now that you have resolve and sincerity (towards Manichaeism), I entrust you to go immediately and fetch whatever sculptures, paintings, and images of demons you have and to have them burnt and cremated. Both praying to ghosts and worshipping (evil) spirits [(ought to be abandoned by you?) ...]” [... ..]<sup>10</sup> since they accepted the Teaching of Light (明教), their barbarous practices full of bloodshed changed and their state became a country of vegetarians; the country where cattle were slaughtered was transformed into a place where good deeds were encouraged. Therefore, as for the people under [the right teachings?], when those above practised (what is good), those below imitated it. When the lord of the law (法王 = *archegos* in Babylon) heard that the Uighurs had accepted the right teachings (正教 = Manichaeism), he strongly praised their pious [... ..] (Another?) *mahistag* (= presbyter) led monks and nuns into the country of the Uighurs and elucidated the Manichaean teaching clearly. Thereafter, the Teacher (*možak*) and his disciples traversed the land in all directions from east to west, and shuttling (between the Uighurs and their homeland) they edified the people.

### Section 8 (columns X-XI): The fourth, fifth, and sixth qaghans

[When Bögü Qaghan passed away, ④ Alp Qutluğ Bil<sup>11</sup>gä] Qaghan succeeded to the throne. He was brave and valiant, talented and astute. (During his reign) the country was well organized both inside and outside. His son, ⑤ Tängriğä Bolmš Külüg Bilgä Qaghan, succeeded to the throne. He governed the country and civilized the people, and in the

country there was much order. His son, ⑥Qutluy Bilgä [Qaghan, succeeded to the throne. ...] all the people were peaceful and contented.

### **Section 9 (columns XI–XII): The seventh qaghan Huaixin and the appointment of Baoyi as his successor**

After he (= the sixth qaghan) passed away, ⑦Tängridä Ülüg Bulmīš Alp Qutluy Uluy Bilgä Qaghan succeeded to the throne. [At that time, ⑧Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmīš<sup>12</sup>] Alp Bilgä Qaghan was still “a dragon under water,” and he was the eldest among all the princes. The governors-general (*dudu* 都督, Uig. *totoq*), the prefects (*cishi* 刺史, Uig. *čigši*), the internal and external ministers, and chamberlains submitted a request to the qaghan (saying), “O Heavenly Qaghan! When (an emperor) remains (seated on) his jewelled throne with his robe trailing and his hands folded, he needs a wise [man] who assists and supports (the emperorship). [... ...] (The eighth qaghan’s) competence to help (you) govern the state is as enormous as an ocean or a mountain. As our state is of gigantic structure, (in order to govern it properly) its laws and rules ought to be clearly organized. We earnestly wish you to fulfill with your heavenly favour what your subjects entreat you to do.” [... ...]

### **Section 10 (columns XII–XIII): The seventh qaghan’s achievements before mounting the throne (1)**

When [the Heavenly Qa]<sup>13</sup>ghan (= the seventh qaghan) was prime minister, he was matchless and unparalleled among all the ministers, for he was born with an extraordinary auspicious sign. From boyhood to adulthood he was excellent, heroic, and brave like Mars. He planned strategy while sitting in the headquarter camp and won a victory in a battle a thousand miles away. He was a warm and mild-minded man who subjugated the (defeated) people with grace. With benevolence he [governed ... ...]. He established rules for the public and laboured for state affairs. (Therefore,) were one to count up (his achievements), it would be impossible to list them exhaustively.

### **Section 11 (columns XIII–XIV): The seventh qaghan’s achievements before mounting the throne (2)**

Firstly, in the land of Khirghiz, which is situated in the north, there were more than 400,000 (cavalry) archers, and their [... ...]<sup>14</sup>Being excellent and heroic, clever and courageous, and having formidable power like brave Mars, once he (= the Heavenly Qaghan) shoots an arrow, it never fails to hit its target. The Khirghiz qaghan was shot (by the Heavenly Qaghan) and perished. The (looted) cattle and horses were so numerous as to fill a valley, while the (looted) arms and weapons are so numerous as to form a mountain. The national resources of the Khirghiz state were exhausted completely and the land became uninhabited.

### **Section 12 (columns XIV–XVI): The seventh qaghan’s achievements before mounting the throne (3)**

Secondly, when the Qarluqs [concluded] an alliance with the Tibetans, the Heavenly Qaghan [led] only a part of the (entire Uighur) army and was confronted with the enemy at Yunhehu (匀曷戶). Since he (= the Heavenly Qaghan) was extremely wise in planning strategy [... ... Arriving in the region of]<sup>15</sup> Beiting (北庭 = Beshbaliq), he (= the Heavenly Qaghan) occupied one half while besieging the other half. Later, personally commanding his great army, the Heavenly Qaghan defeated and overthrew the great evil and won the walled city (= 北庭) back. As for the ordinary inhabitants and the other living beings of the [...] land, he (= the Heavenly Qaghan) nourished and nurtured the honest and innocent while eliminating the dishonest and malicious. In the end [... ... up to(?)] the Humei desert (狐媚磧). All the travellers and the livestock [... ...]<sup>16</sup>[... suits of] armour and helmets were disposed of and abandoned.



**Section 13 (column XVI): The seventh qaghan's achievements (1)**

Again, a large army of Tibetans besieged Kucha. The Heavenly Qaghan led the soldiers (there) in order to relieve it (= the city of Kucha). Then, the Tibetans [...] fled to Ushu (于術). He (together with his army) surrounded them (= the Tibetans) from four sides and annihilated them at one time. Their corpses were so foul-smelling and horrible that one could not [bear? ... When they were gathered together, their corpses were] mountainous, and so a huge mound of corpses covered with soil was constructed as a monument (to his victory). The rest (of the enemy soldiers) who had been captured and remained alive [... ...]

**Section 14 (columns XVII–XVIII): The seventh qaghan's achievements (2)**

<sup>17</sup>[... ] The inhabitants (of the Tarim Basin?) allied with the crazy enemy (in the north) and refused to deliver a tribute (to us). Commanding the whole army, the Heavenly Qaghan himself defeated the rebel soldiers. Chasing and pursuing them, he arrived at the Pearl River (= Syr Darya). He took the local people as captives, more than tens of thousands in number, [while the number of] captured camels, horses, and carts with pack animals [was innumerable. ...] *jin* (進) *bu* (部) [...] the other people came to submit (to us). [... ...] <sup>18</sup>[... ] Acknowledging their crimes and offences, they imploringly pleaded and petitioned for pardon. The Heavenly Qaghan showed compassion for their sincerity and forgave their crimes and offences. Eventually, the Heavenly Qaghan helped the kings (of the Tarim Basin?) to bring the people back to their own occupations. Ever since then, the king has visited the (Uighur) court in person and brought tribute (to the Qaghan) [... ...] Tashili (沓實力), the [right/left] wing (of the Qarluq tribe) [... ...]

**Section 15 (column XIX): The seventh qaghan's achievements (3)**

<sup>19</sup>[... When he (= the Heavenly Qaghan) departed with his] army, he led his entourage and inspected them (= soldiers) personally. When he (= the Heavenly Qaghan) reached the enemy's territory, he rode deep into it unrestrictedly. Leading a few cavalymen by himself and issuing commands, he did not fail to win a victory, (while) the formidable enemy was completely crushed. Pursuing the defeated enemy who were taking flight, he (= the Heavenly Qaghan) directly arrived at [the land of] the Ta[jiks ... ...] more than [... ...]

**Section 16 (columns XX–XXI): The seventh qaghan's achievements (4)**

<sup>20</sup>[... ... (the Heavenly Qaghan)] attacked the Qarluqs and the Tibetans, snatched their banners, and beheaded them. Pursuing the defeated enemy who were taking flight, he advanced westward and arrived in the country of Ferghana. He captured their people and livestock. For this reason the Yabghu (= the leader of the Qarluqs) did not follow the order and left his country. [... ...] <sup>21</sup>[... ... (The Heavenly Qaghan selected)] Bilge Qaghan of the Black Turgish tribe, and moreover, in order to entrust him with (the care of) those Qarluqs who had submitted themselves, he appointed him as their ruler with the title of Inčü Bilgä Yabghu. Furthermore, Turgish of the Three Tribes and of Ten Arrows [... ...]

**Section 17 (column XXII): The seventh qaghan's achievements (5)**

<sup>22</sup>[... ... (The Heavenly Qaghan restored)] the (Manichaeen) temples and made the elects relieved, so that the auditors lived in ease and comfort. Since the time when the (Islamic?) religion was founded, it has never been (heard) that a caliph has surrendered to [... ...]

**Section 18? (columns XXIII–XXIV): ?**

(... untranslatable disjoined characters ...)

[... ...] inside [...] there is [... ...] the ground of the world. The countries inside and outside [... ...] entrusting [...] miles

[... ...]<sup>24</sup> [... ...] with arms (he) overcame the calamity [... ...]

**Note**

(1) For the reconstruction of the Chinese side see **plate 6**.

### Appendix III: Uighur Text (Cited from Moriyasu's Edition Published in Moriyasu and Ochir 1999, pp. 219–224 with Slight Modifications)

(A) Title = Atlas XXXV-1

1 [B] W t η r i k n	bu täñrikän
2 [Y] t η r i d a Q	[ay] täñgridä q-
3 [W] T B W L m s L	ut bulmïš al-
4 [p] b i l g a t η	p bilgä täñ-
5 [r] (i W Y G W R) Q	ri uyğur qa-
6 [G N] // // //	ğan // // //
7 // // // // //	// // // // //
8 // // // // //	// // // // //
9 // [b i t d m z]	// [bitidimiz]

“[We have written] this [inscription in commemoration<sup>1</sup> of] the godlike Uyğur Täñri Qayan (entitled) Ay Täñridä Qut Bulmïš Alp Bilgä.”

(B) No. 7c = Atlas XXXV-6/6 (right;<sup>2</sup> belonging to the same stone as Frag. 6 and Frag. 9; to be placed somewhere in the latter half of the Uighur version)

1 // // // // a // // // // //	// // // // // // // // // // //
2 // // // // k i : s // // // // //	// // // // // // // // // // //
3 // // // // W G i : Q m (G) // // // // //	// // // // // qamay // // // // //
4 // // // // i r : i l i n // // // // //	// // // // // elin- // // // // //
5 // // // // Q a : N W G W š [k] // // // // //	// // // // // -qa nuğoşak // // // // //
6 // // // // : r g m a : i // // // // //	// // // // // ärigmä // // // // //
7 // // // // /k i d a : y i g // // // // //	// // // // // -kidä yeg[irmi?] // // // // //
8 // // // // [i] (l) g r ü (:) k ü n : T W G š W Q // //	// // // // // /ilgärü kün tuysuq // // // // //
9 // // // // : i s d p : Y η i L Y W : W L . // // // // //	// // // // // ešidip yañilayu // // // // //
10 // // // // k i r ü : k ü n : B T š i Q // // // // //	// // // // // kerü kün batsiq // // // // //
11 // // // // // l k / . a : (y) // // // // //	// // // // // // // // // // //
12 // // // // // d i n B R a n č // // // // //	// // // // // dinavaranč // // // // //
13 // // // // // // // // // // //	// // // // // // // // // // //
14 // // // // // // (m) // // // // //	// // // // // // // // // // //

“... /3/ ... all ... /4/ ... his country ... /5/ ... Manichaean auditors ... /6/ ... /7/ ... twenty? ... /8/ ... eastwards towards the sunrise ... /9/ ... hearing ... renewing ... /10/ ... westwards towards the sunset ... /11/ ... /12/ ... Manichaean female priest

... /13/ ... /14/ ...”

(C) No. 12 = Atlas XXXV-6/8 (left; unplaceable)

1	//// TN : Y R T////	///afin (or -tin) yarat-////
2	///.(t)/: d i n////	/////////din[avar?]/////
3	///(m)////: D N(Q)[a]////	/////////adinqa////
4	///: t (ŋ) [r] i : m r : (N)////	/// tāŋri mar n-////////
5	///.: t ū r ū n : Y Y////	/// törün yay-////
6	//// ü n : y m a : Q W .////	//// yemä////////
7	////: B T a D N : a T////	///aftadan ata-///
8	////(r) g i n t a : i n////	/// [ö]rgintä? in-///
9	//[b i] r l a : W L W G : ////	// birlä uluy////////
10	///k i : u g r nč////////	///-ki ögrünč////////
11	////i : Q m G :////////	//// qamaγ////////
12	////D i : n t a [ : ]////////	//////// anta////////
13	////R a nč :////	//// [dinava]ranč////

“/1/... make him famous (or make from) ... /2/ ... [Manichaean priest?] ... /3/... to the other ... /4/ ... godlike Mar N- ... /5/ ... by the law ... /6/ ... and ... /7/ ... nominate an *aftadan* (Manichaean bishop) ... /8/ ... at (or from) the throne? ... /9/ ... with big (or great) ... /10/ ... joy (or joyful) ... /11/ ... all ... /12/ ... there ... /13/ ... [Manichaean female priest] ....”

(D) No. 14 = Atlas XXXV-6/7 (middle; unplaceable)

1	////////// m Q a//////////	//////////-mqa//////////
2	////////// . i D G š : z//////////	////////////////////
3	////////// Q i N : Q n y u ://////////	//////////-qin qanyu////
4	////// y m a : b i z : W .//////////	////////// yemä biz//////////
5	////// k ü č l ü g : B W L T W//////	////////// küčlüg boltu////
6	//////m z : W L W G R G š z : b i l (g)[a]////	////// -miz ol uruysuz bilgä////
7	///(m)z Q a : (Q W) R Q(W)N W : Y N W : i N nč L G : ///	//////-mizqa qorqunu yanu inänčliγ//
8	///(i)r : k i : D Q//////: m g k s i z n : b////	////// bir? eki////// ämgäksizin////
9	///R m Q : Q W N W š m Q : T R T š m Q :////	////// -rmaq qunušmaq tartišmaq////
10	/// ü : š N : (i č) g ü n : (m ŋ)//////////	

/// ašin ičgün maṇa? // // // //

“/1/ ... to my ... /2/ ... /3/ ... what (*or* which) ... /4/ and we ... /5/ became powerful ... /6/ ... that seedless (not well-born), wise ... /7/ ... being afraid of our ..., trustworthy ... /8/ one? or two ... without pain ... /9/ ... -ing, robbing and fighting one another ... /10/ ... food and drink to me? ...

### Notes

- (1) In this broken place one may expect rather a word meaning “praising, glorifying, laudation, etc.” in accordance with the Sogdian counterpart  $\gamma w \beta t y$ -’*kh*.
- (2) Several fragments bear the same number 6 in plate XXXV. Radloff later renumbered them. Thus, XXXV-6/6 (right) indicates that the fragment in question is located to the right of plate XXXV and is renumbered 6.

## VI. Abbreviations and Bibliography

### 1. Abbreviations

1., 2., 3.	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	perf.	perfect
absol.	absolutive	pers.pron.	personal pronoun
acc.	accusative	pl.	plural
adj.	adjective	postp.	postposition
adv.	adverb	pot.	potentialis
art.	article	p.p.	past participle
conj.	conjunction	prep.	preposition
dem.	demonstrative	pres.	present
dir.	direct	pret.	preterite
dur.	durative	pron.	pronoun
encl.	enclitic	prop.n.	proper name
f.	feminine	rel.adv.	relative adverb
fut.	future	rel.pron.	relative pronoun
gen.	genitive	sg.	singular
gen.-dat.	genitive-dative	subj.	subjunctive
impf.	imperfect	tr.	transitive
impv.	imperative	vb.	verb
indel.	indelible	voc.	vocative
inf.	infinitive		
inj.	injunctive		
instr.-abl.	instrumental-ablative		
inter.	interrogative		
intr.	intransitive		
loc.	locative		
m.	masculine		
mid.	Middle		
neg.	negative		
neut.	neuter		
nom.	nominative		
nom.-acc.	nominative-accusative		
num.	numeral		
obl.	oblique		
opt.	optative		
part.	participle		
pass.	passive		

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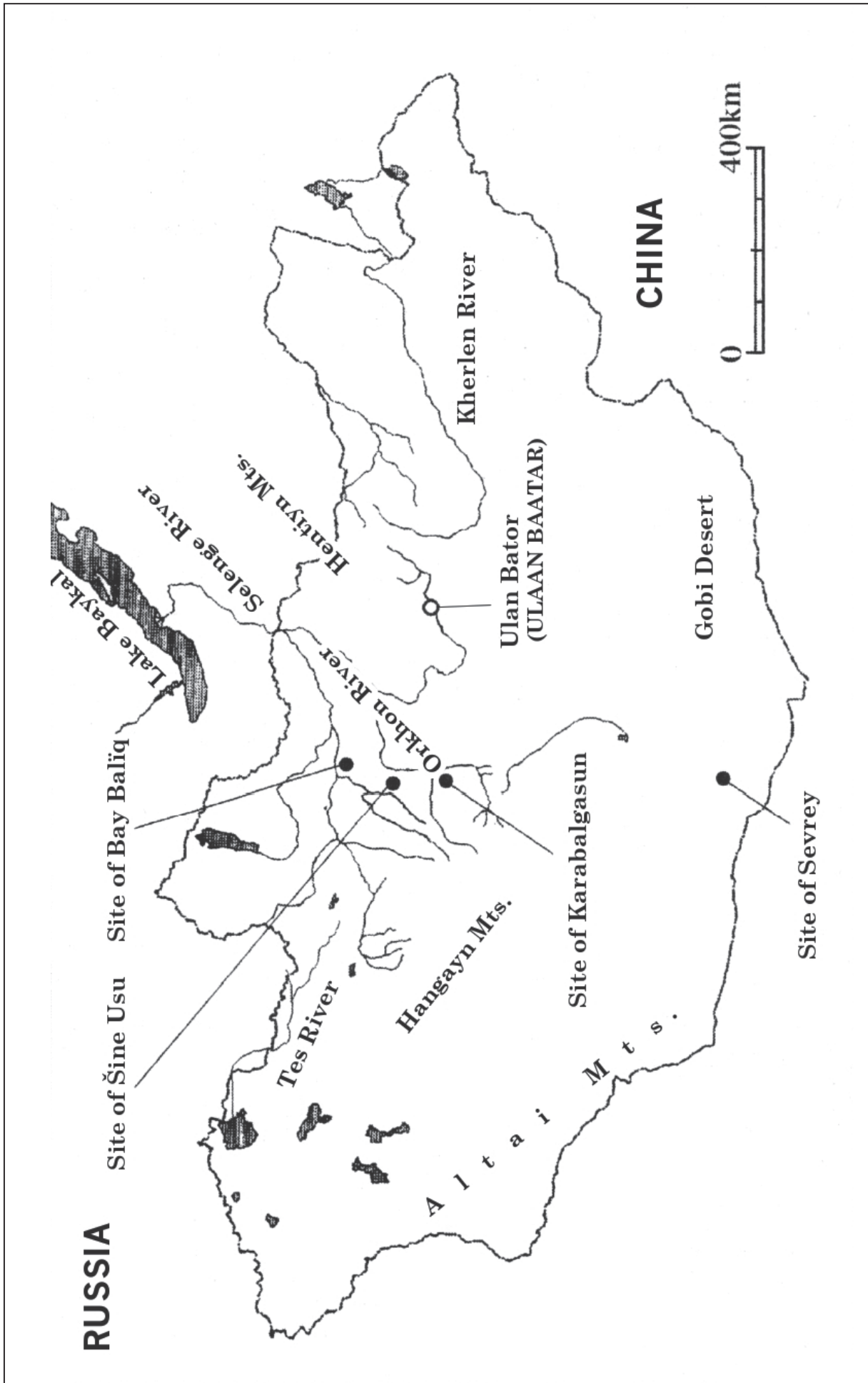


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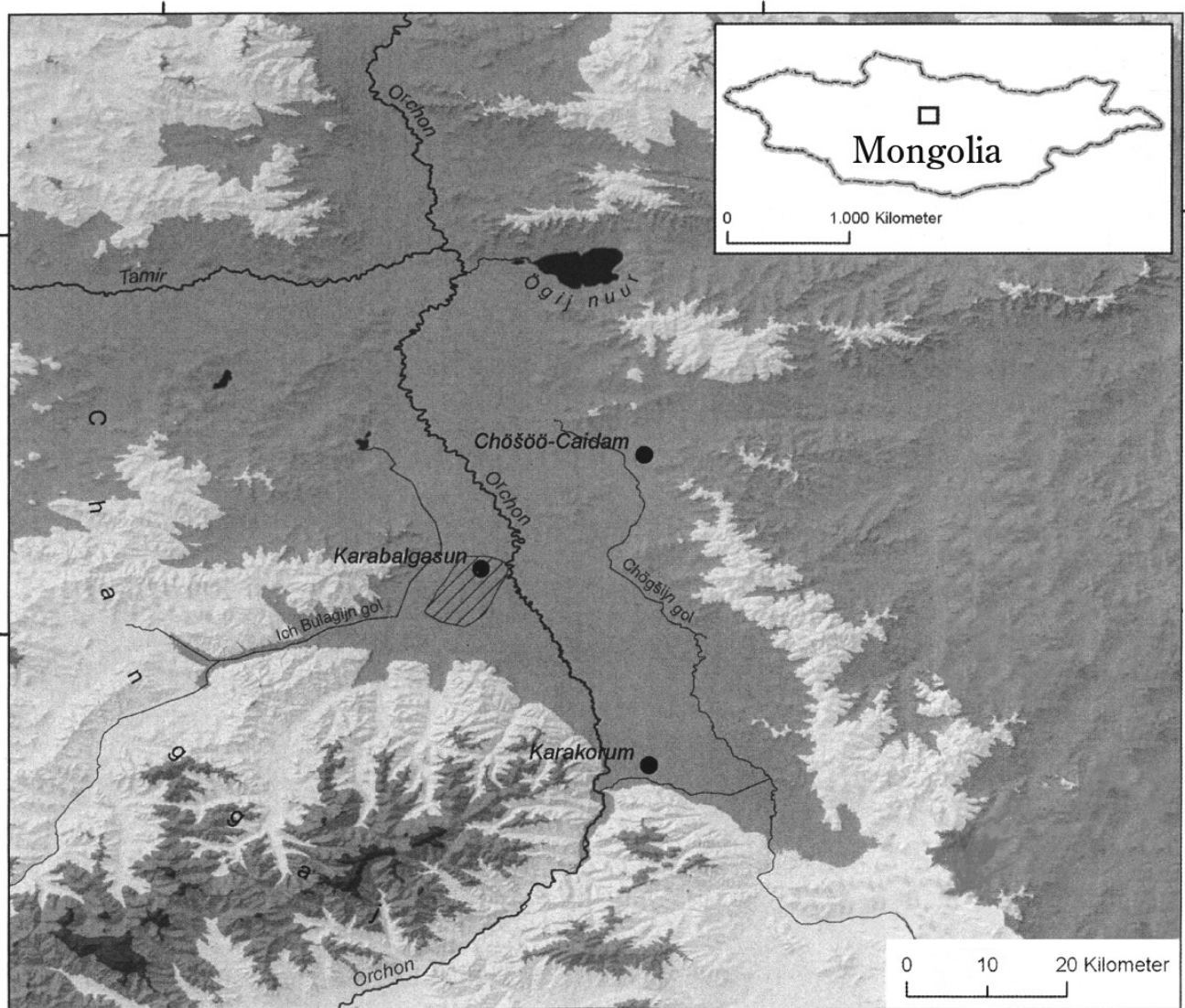
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Map 1. Karabalgasun site in Mongolia (after *SIAL* XXIV, p. 91)



**Map 2. The archaeological sites along the Orkhon River (after Dähne 2017, p. 12)**



Map 3. Plan of the Karabalgasun site as of 1891 (after Atlas XXVII-1)

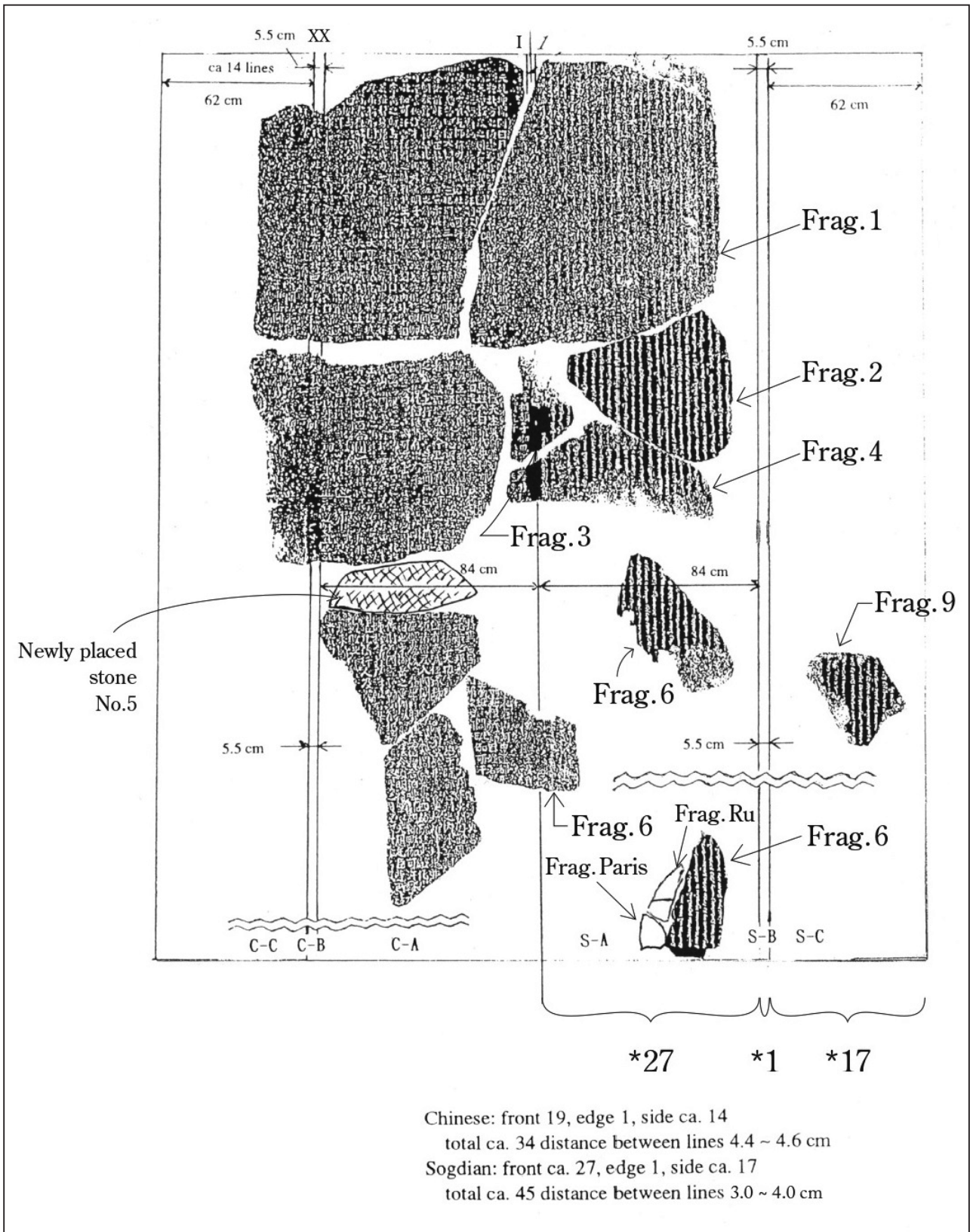


Plate 1. Placement of the survived fragments of the Sino-Sogdian face

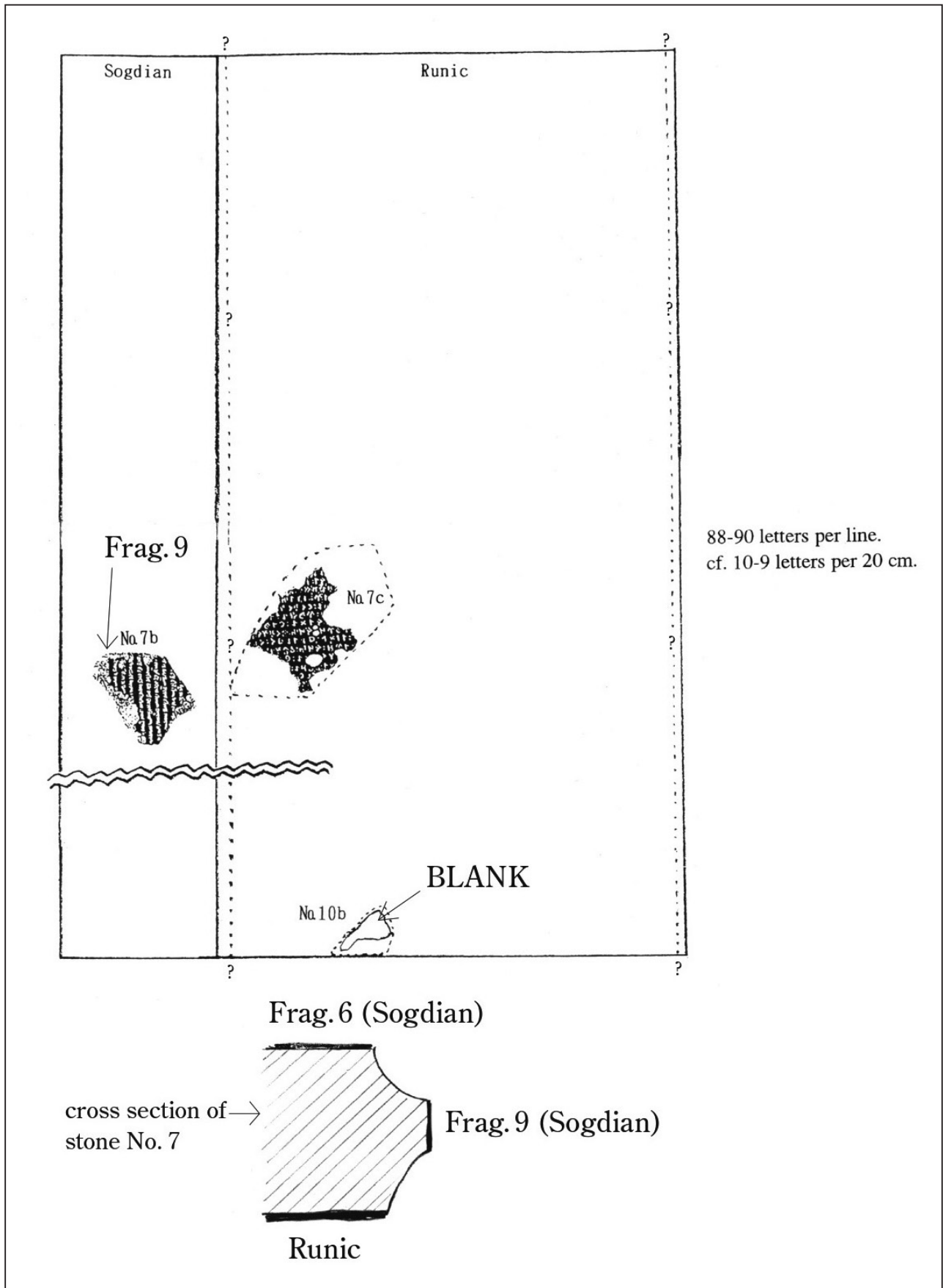
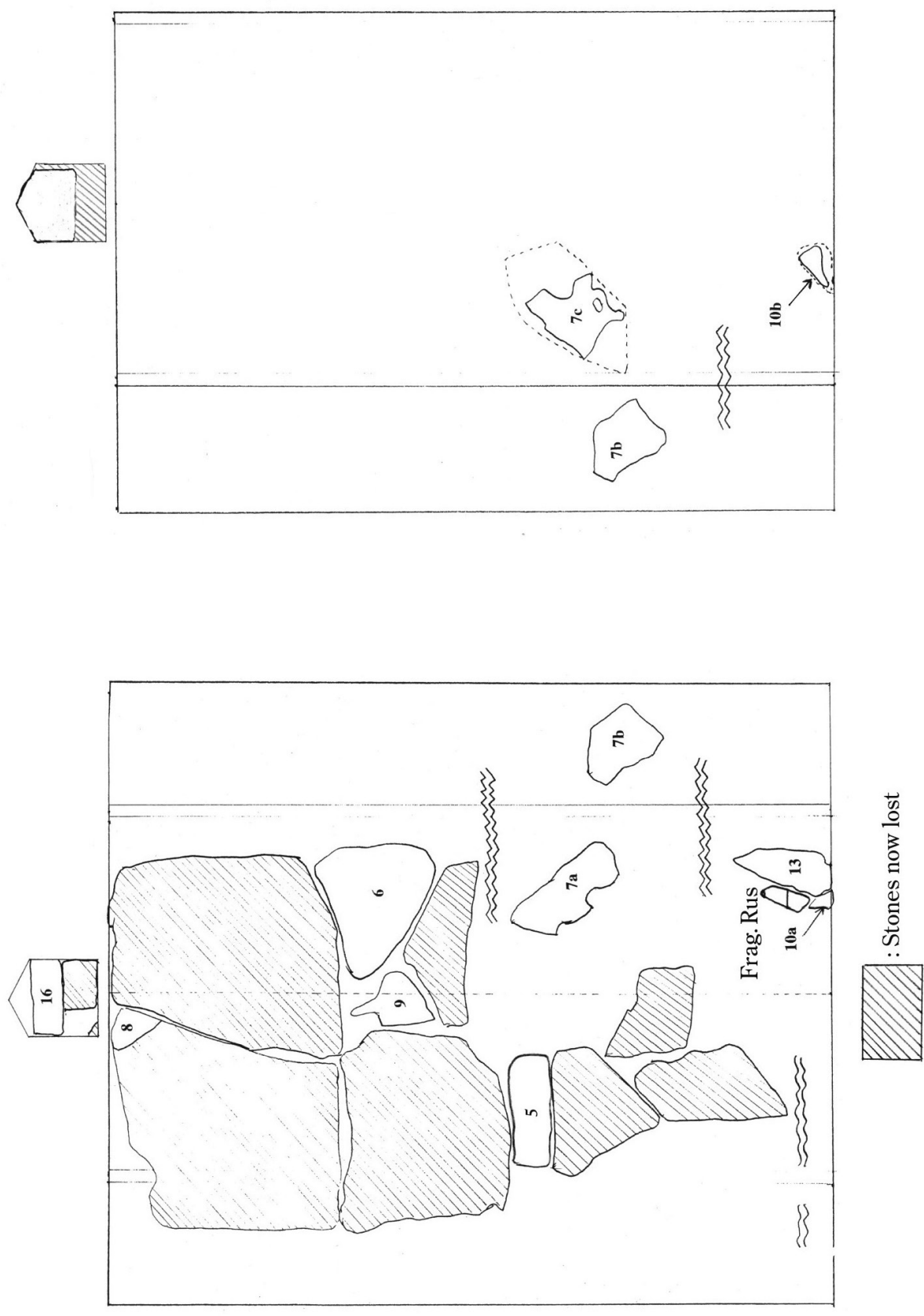


Plate 2. Placement of the survived fragments of the Sogdo-Uighur face





N.B. Stone numbers are those of Moriyasu and Ochir 1999.

Plates 3, 4. Stones now lost from the site

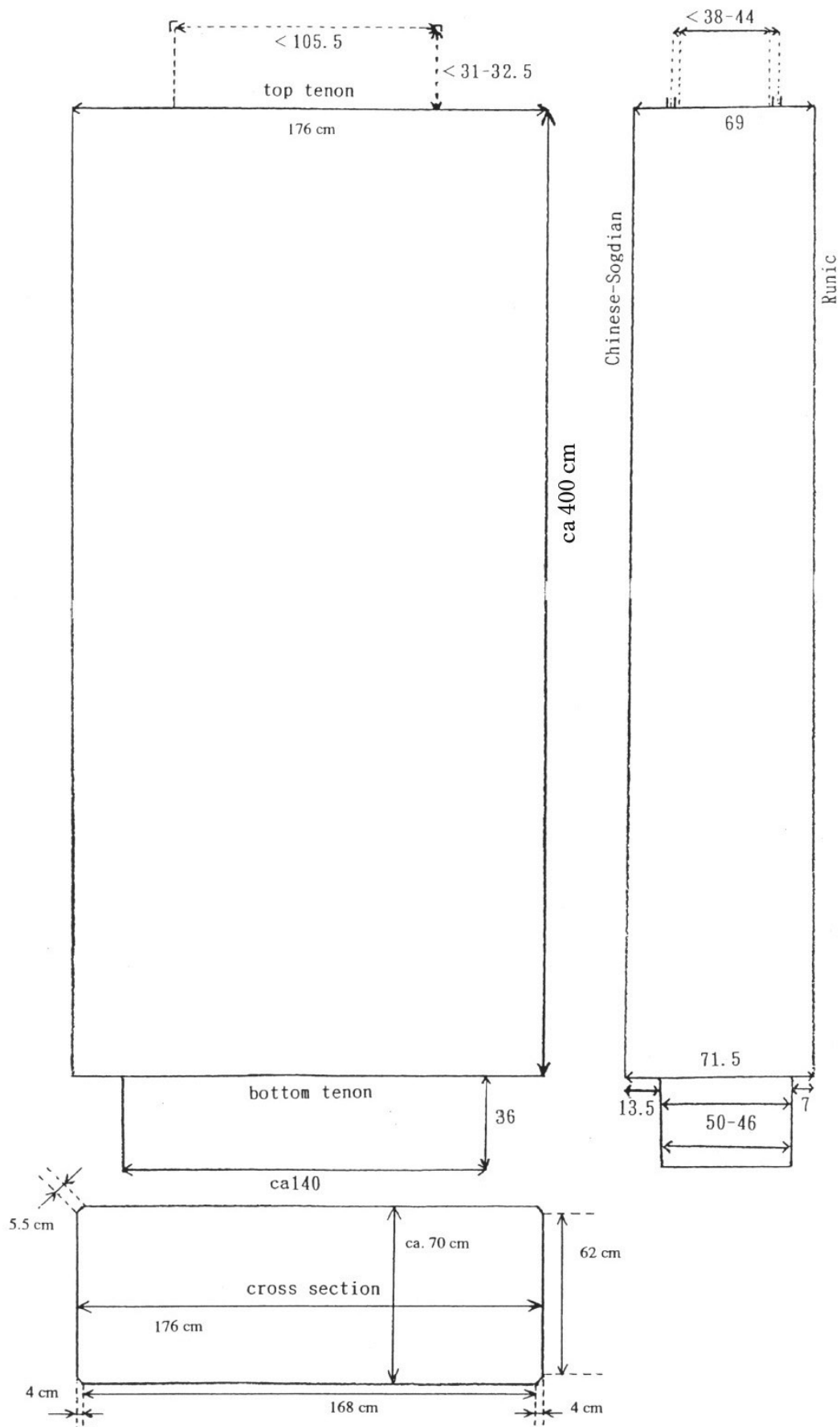


Plate 5. Dimensions of the Karabalgasun Inscription as reconstructed

Left side Corner Front (Left half)

34 33 32 31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24 23 22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 09 08 07 06 05 04 03 02 01

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90

九姓烟鷓登里囉没蜜施合毗伽可汗聖文武神碑并序  
 莫賀達干 紆伽哩伽思乾  
 聞夫乾坤開闢日月照臨受命之君光宅天下德化昭明四方輻湊  
 聖國於北方之隅建都於瑯嶼之野以明智治國積有歲年子  
 史那革命數歲之間復得我舊國于時九姓烟鷓并姓拔悉蜜三姓  
 囉没蜜施頡德蜜施毗伽可汗嗣位英智  
 使幣重言甘乞師併力欲滅唐社 可汗忿彼孤恩竊弄神器親  
 帥將審息等四僧入國闡揚二祀洞徹三際况法師妙達明精遊  
 今悔前非願事正教奉 旨宣示此法微妙難可受持再三懇請  
 受明教薰血異俗化為蔬飯之鄉宰殺邦家變為勸善之國故曰  
 可汗襲位雄才勇略內外脩明子 登里囉没蜜施俱錄毗伽可汗  
 施合毗伽可汗當龍潛之時於諸王中最長都督刺史內外宰相  
 可汗幸衡之時與諸相殊異為降誕之際禳祥奇特自幼及長英  
 北庭半收半圍之次 天可汗親統大軍討滅元兇卻復城宮  
 甲遺棄復吐蕃大軍攻圍龜茲 天可汗領兵救援吐蕃  
 百姓與狂寇合從有虧職貢 天可汗躬親師旅大敗賊兵奔  
 知罪咎哀請祈許 天可汗矜其至誠赦其罪戾遂與其子  
 軍將供奉官並皆親親至於賊境長駟橫入自將數騎發號施  
 收伐葛祿吐蕃奉旗斬賊追逐西北西至拔買那國劫獲人  
 解姓毗伽可汗復與歸順葛祿冊真珠智惠葉護為主又十箭  
 等字令僧徒寬泰聽土安樂自開法來聞 勝名未曾降伏  
 世之中外國 委付 里  
 武定福

19行目までは正面、20行目は面どり部、21行目から側面で、34行目までは存在したと推定される。

Chinese Sogdian

Frag. 1

Frag. 3

Frag. 4

Frag. 5

凡例 Explanation of symbols and conventions employed in this edition

Suggested restorations of wholly damaged letters.  
 太字 破損して完全に欠けている文字を推定復元したもの。  
 Letters partly damaged but restored with certainty.  
 斜体字 残画が多くあって、ほぼ確実に復元できるもの。  
 Traces compatible with the reading proposed.  
 斜体字の太字 提出された読みが残画と矛盾しないことを示す。  
 ただし他の読みの可能性を排除しない。

Plate 6. Chinese text arranged vertically

**Figures (a)**

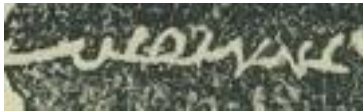
' (alif) of the formal script



So 14830: 'nt'y



So 14830: l'y



Frag. 9, line 7: 'xš'w'nh



Frag. 1, line 15: nsty 'skwδ'skwn



Frag. 9, line 6: γrβ'ky'kh



Frag. 9, line 5: γrβ



Frag. 9, line 7: t'z-'yk'n'k



Frag. 9, line 10: x'γ-'n



Frag. 1, line 12: pty-synt



Frag. 9, line 10: pyl-k'



So 14830: ly

**Plate 7. Samples of letters**

**Figures (b): Illustrations of the forms discussed****line 1**

1(1-1) 'lp or 'lp[w]



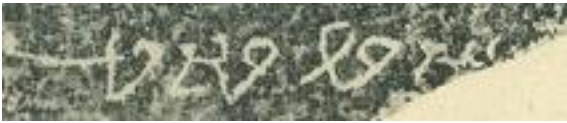
1(1)



13(1) 'l-pw



14(1) 'l-pw

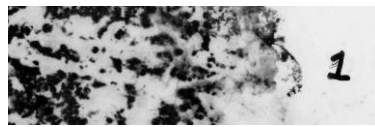


&lt;\*41&gt; 'l-pw

1(3) (ny)-'kw



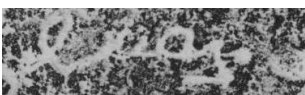
1(4) '[l]p(yn'ncw)



(Kyoto)



1(5-1) mwnk vs 16(1) mwn'kw



1(5) (Kyoto)



16(1)

1(5-2, 3, 4) ms βγpwr'k np(')[yk



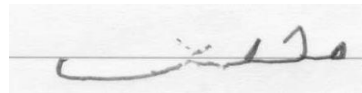
(Kyoto)

**line 2**

2 (1-1) ny'k



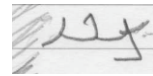
(Kyoto)



2 (1-2) xwtpwl-mys[



(Kyoto)

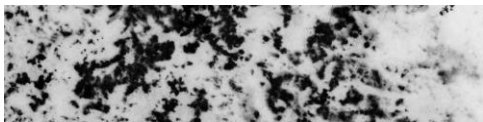


-mys

2(3) ](••y-γ)w(r) tykyn



2(4) YY2 γr](^n γny ZY m[rt'nyh]



(Kyoto)



2(5) JH/SW pt]s'k np'xštw, YY2 ](•••) np'xštw



2(5) sy[tm'n



**line 3**

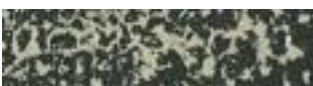
3(1-1) γw'δwk



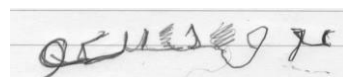
(Kyoto)



3(1-2) 'l-p'yn'cw



(Kyoto)



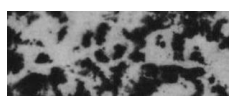
3(1-3) YY t(...) yγ(l-'x)r, JH t(•• 'l-p)yγl-'γyr, YY2 pγ'trx'n BLANK yγl-'xr



(Kyoto)

Moulding: blank space of ca. 8 cm after pγ'trx'n.

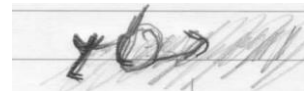
3(1-4) 'wtyr or 'wtwr



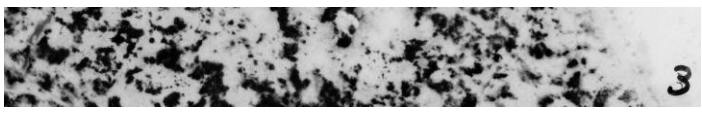
(Kyoto)



3(3) ](•••)r 'wk' BLANK



3(4) JH ]p•šd (k)w (•)rd (•)ds pc(yp)y[ ..., SW ]p•šd (k)w [s]rδ•δs pc(yp)y[ ..., YY2 ](••••••••)δ(•δ)s (••••)[



(Kyoto)

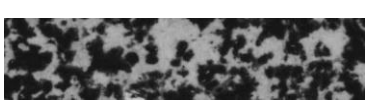


3(5) 'wk' BLANK



line 4

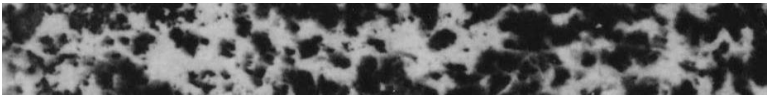
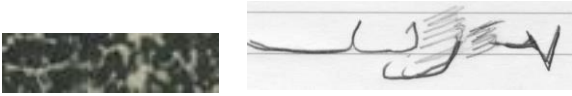
4(1-1) JH 'βy-'wny ny, YY/SW/YY2 wm't'y ZY



(Kyoto)



4(1-2) JH/SW γny-(n)t, YY2 γ(nk)yn



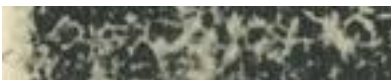
(Kyoto)

γ(nk)yn w(m't)['n](t) rt[y

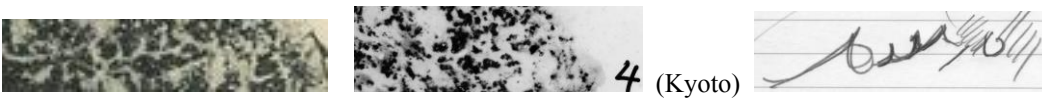
4(1-3) JH/SW 'wyγwr x'γ'n, YY2 w(m't)['n](t)



4 (1-4) YY2 w(m't)['n](t) rt[y



4(4-1) JH ]l (t)s(')nt, SW ](pty)s(y)nt, YY2 ](pry)s'nt



4(4-2) JH (•)p'r, SW \*[y](w)'r, YY2 (prw)

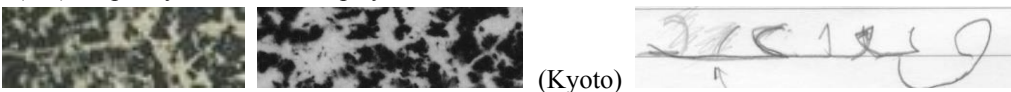


4 (5) ](••)yk ywk



**line 5**

5(1-2) JH p'r'cy, YY/SW/YY2 p'ryc



(Kyoto)

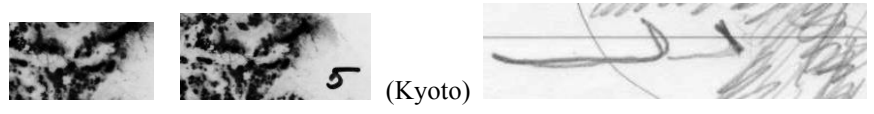
5(1-3) JH/SW xy(p)δ, YY2 γy(rt)r



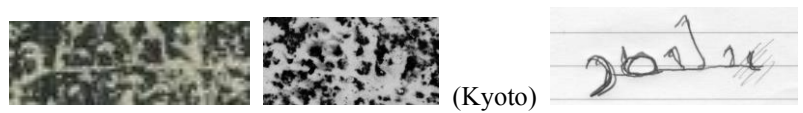
(Kyoto)



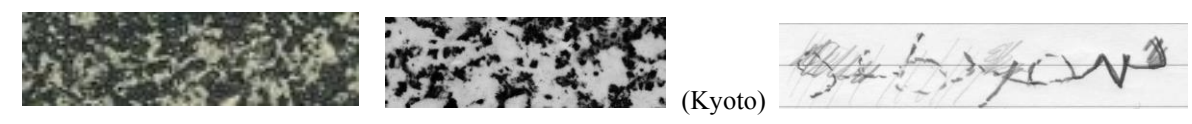
5(4-1) ](M)N



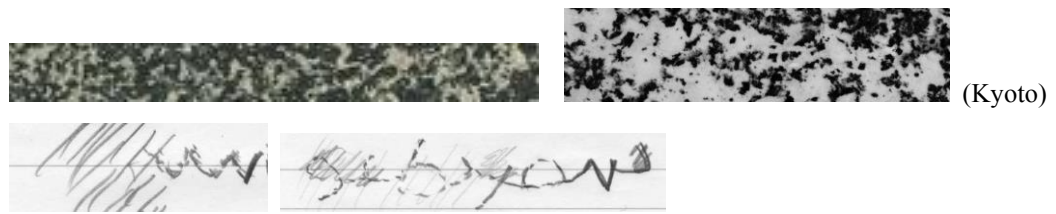
5(4-2) JH (w)yδ(yt)y, SW/YY2 (')yδ(yt)y



5(4-3) (y)x(w)st(')y

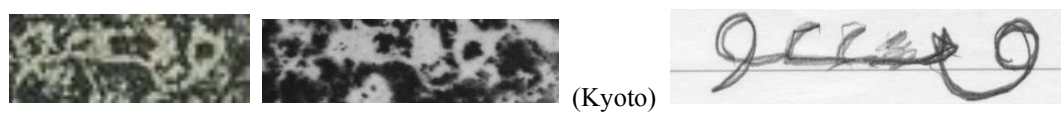


5(4-3, 4) JH (β)γ(w)stry γ•••••, SW \*(y)x(w)st(')y x[...], YY2 (y)x(w)st(')y (γnk)[yn?



line 6

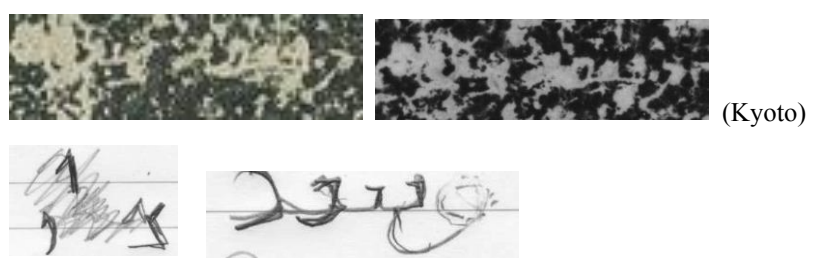
6(1-1) JH p(')y(')w, p(r)y(r)w, etc., SW \*pc''w, YY pr'yw.



6(1-2) ''šn's knty



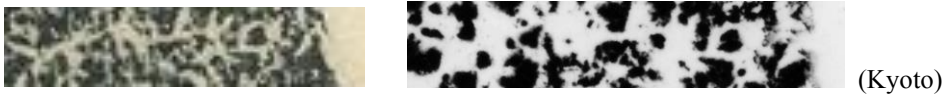
6(1-2) JH kynβr mnd, SW ky••• m(')δ, YY kyZY i s(r)δ



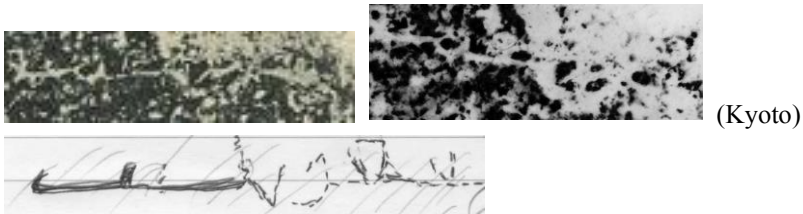
6(1)-(2) YY2 βxtw[ny (2)tw](γ)



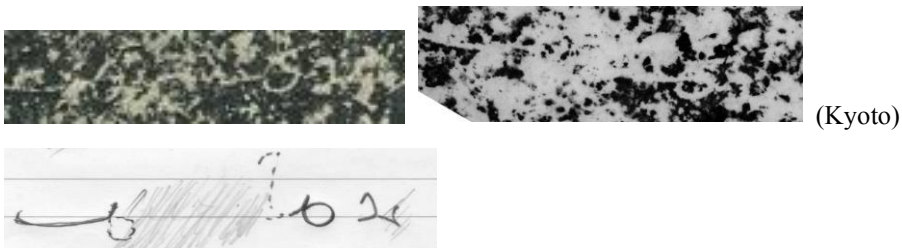
6 (2) JH /// wm't, SW ] wm't, YY2 [tw](γ) wm't



6(4-1) JH ] •• βγ(y) (γw)nh, YY/SW (xš'w'n)h, /YY2 (xš'wn)h

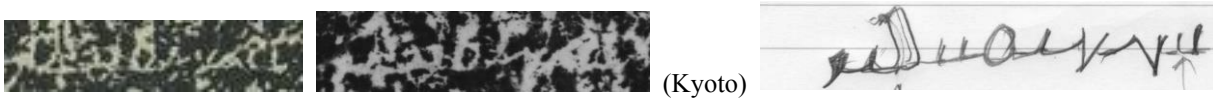


6(4-2) JH (y) t(y)p(γ)t ny ///, YY/SW 'y-t δ(r'n)t, YY2 'y-t δ(r'n)t

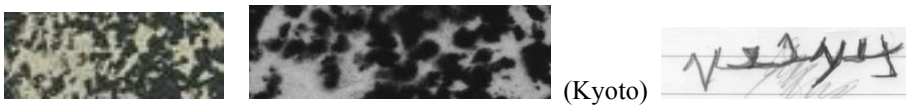


**line 7**

7(1-2) OH/YY/JH/SW xš'wnδ'r, YY2 xš'w'nδ'r



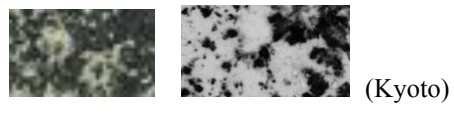
7(1-3) YY2 m(n)x(yr)š



7(1-4) šyn for \*šyr



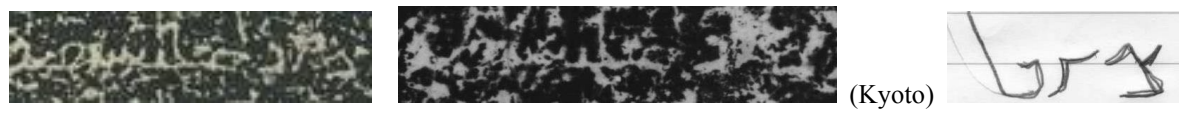
7(4) JH/SW 'l[p, YY (p)[, YY2 '[wl-wy?



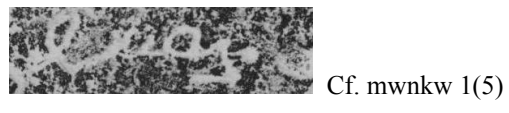
(Kyoto)

**line 8**

8(1-1) YY m(..), JH/SW m(r)ty, YY2 (š)xy.



(Kyoto)



Cf. mwnkw 1(5)

8(1-2) OH/YY/JH/SW <ctβ'r> kyr'nw, YY2 kyr'n

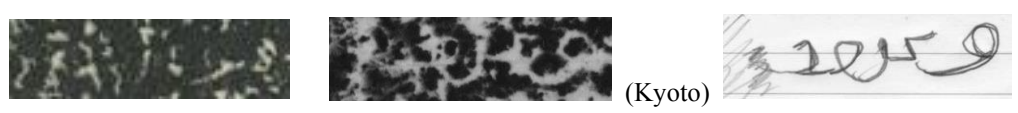


8(1-3) wyzp'



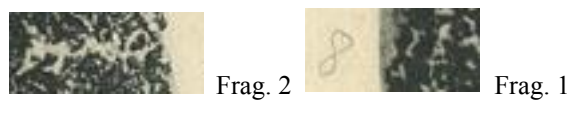
(Kyoto)

8(1-4) pckwyr



(Kyoto)

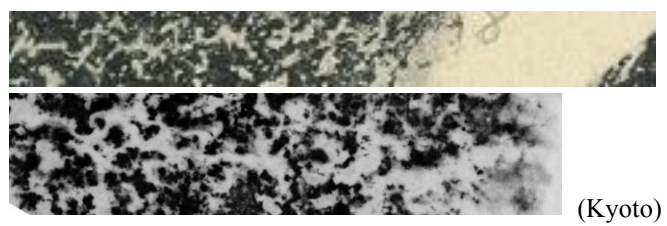
8(1)-(2) SW (p)[t(2)y](m)wxs, YY [wy(2)](δβ')xs.



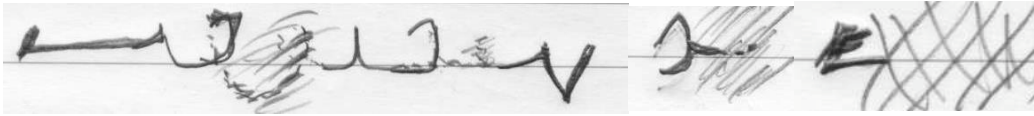
Frag. 2

Frag. 1

8(4) JH p' / / / (4) / / (•šzn)y γrβ'kyh, SW p[r (4)](•šz) ZY γrβ'kyh,  
YY p[r (4) py](r'y) ZY γrβ'kyh.

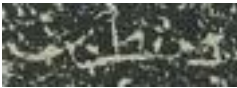


(Kyoto)

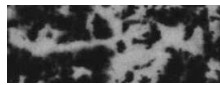
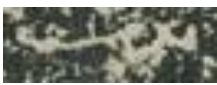


**line 9**

9(1-1) βr'yδt



9 (1-2) ZKn



(Kyoto)



9(1-3) OH δynd'ry, JH dynd'(r)y, YY/SW δβrδ' ZY, YY2 \*δβrδ' ZY



(Kyoto)



9(1-4) JH βwty'm or ywty'm, SW/YY2 xwty 'M



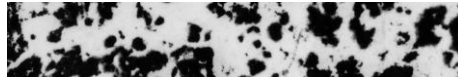
(Kyoto)



9 (2-1) OH (t)γyw, YY (..)yw, JH/SW/YY2 pr'yw

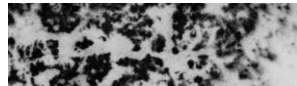


9(2-2) and 9(2-3) JH zk w βγpcystrw, SW/YY2 kw βγp(wr)st(n)w

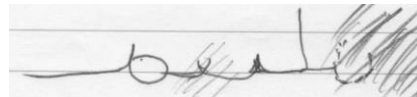


(Kyoto)

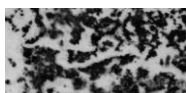
9 (4-1) JH γ / / / / [ (4) ] (š/γ)td'rt, SW x[rt ... (4)](γ)tδ'rt, YY2 x[r'(4)](m)tδ'rt



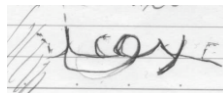
(Kyoto)



9(4) JH 'sp'yš/'sp'ys, YY/SW 'sp'(δy), YY2 'sp'(δy)['n]



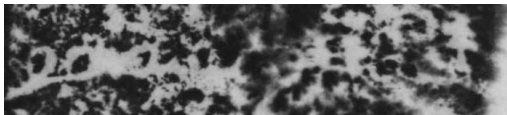
(Kyoto)



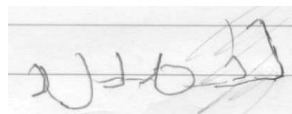
**line 10**

10(1-1) JH (dβ)ty(k)y, SW (δβ)ty(k)y, YY2: (δβ)tyk(w)

10(1-2) JH 'nywncy, SW 'nxwncy, YY/YY2 'nxwncw



(Kyoto)



10(1-3) JH (zw'z)-y('nt), SW \*(pt)z-(')'nt, YY2 ''z-y<r>'nt



(Kyoto)



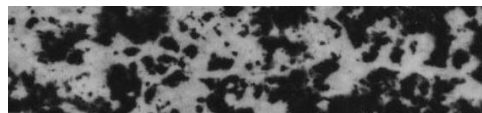
10(1-4) JH: (w'βd), etc., SW (w'βyδ), YY2 (w'βr).



(Kyoto)



10(1-5) JH 'yny '(dp)t, SW 'yny 'δpt, YY2 'yny (n'p)t



(Kyoto)

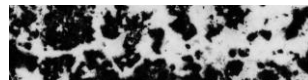


10 (2-1, 2) JH (y)ty (•)prm[']('y), SW (rty) prm('n), YY2 pr'yw mδy



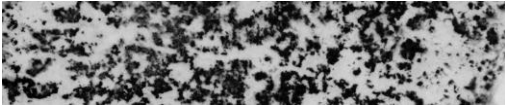
(Kyoto)

10 (2-3) JH/SW γrβtwk'n, YY2 ('w)ytwk'n.

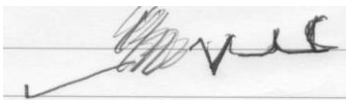


(Kyoto)

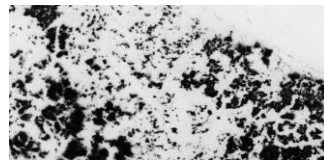
10 (4-1) JH ](k)pγ p(y)z'nt ''(s)t, SW ](k)pγ p(t)z('n)t ''(s)t, YY (''γ')z-'nt ''(γ)t



(Kyoto)



10 (6-1) OH .. ctβ'r ptšmr. . . .δ . . .tw, YY ](..) ctβ'r p(tš)[m'r?, JH //(t) ctβ'r ptšm(rt) •••δ• ••tw//, SW ](t) ctβ'r ptšm('r) •δ• ••tw[, YY2 ](n) ctβ'r ptšm('r•••δ•••)[



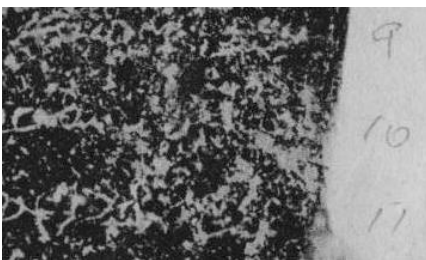
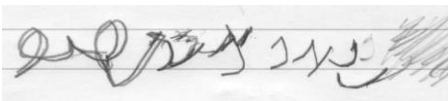
(Kyoto)

**line 11**

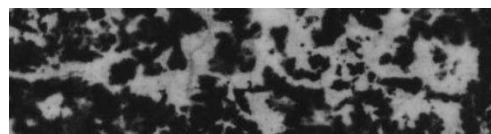
11 (1-1) JH 'spyšy-my-k(')rw, SW \*'spyšy-m(s)k(w)nw, YY(2) [•](p•)yšy-m(s)k(w)nw



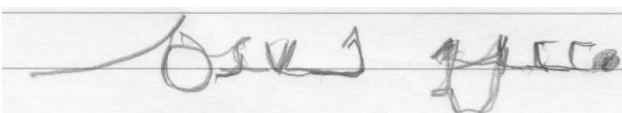
(Kyoto)



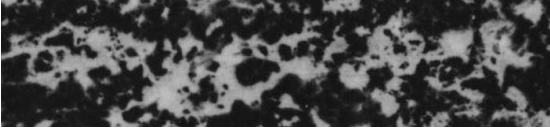
11 (1-3) JH (p')y y('n)t, SW \*(pt)y-(syn)t, YY(2) 'rky βynt



(Kyoto)



11 (1-4) JH (p)'ty 'pyšm/(r)t, SW (p)'ty 'pyšm( r)t, YY(2) 'krty p(tkr'y)t



(Kyoto)



11(2)-(4) JH *ptcγšδ* ///š, SW \**ptcxšδ*['r'nt ...]š, YY2 *ptcxš*(')[(4)](y)



11(6) JH *ptcγt kw(n)d' pty* (mw), SW *ptcγt kwnδ' pty* (mw)[z'k', YY2 *ptcγt kwnδ'* (p)['r]ZY[

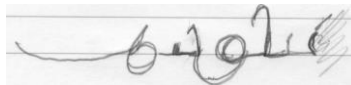


### line 12

12(1-1) JH (wy)p(y)t or ''p't, SW/YY2 (wyδ)p(')t



(Kyoto)



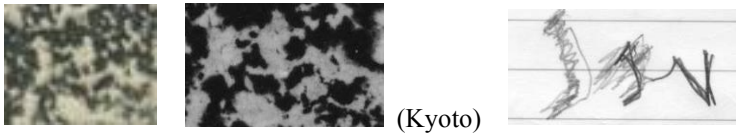
12(1-2) JH *pšγtd'rym*, SW *pšγtd'rym*, YY/YY2 ('')γtd'rym



(Kyoto)

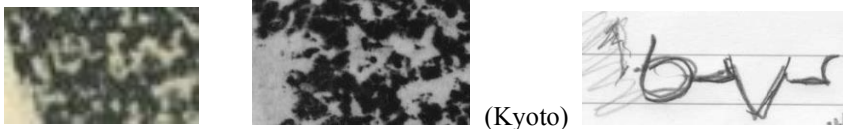


12(1-3) JH  $\gamma m(d)$  or  $\gamma m(y)$ , SW  $\gamma m(y)$ , YY2  $xy\delta$



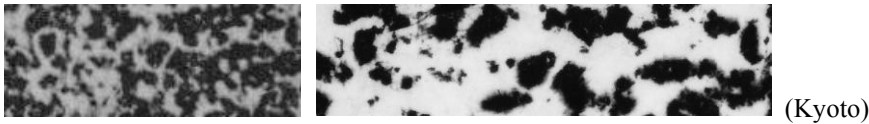
(Kyoto)

12(1-4) JH  $'\text{št}///$ , SW  $'\text{št}[\ ]$ , YY2  $'\text{krt}(y)$



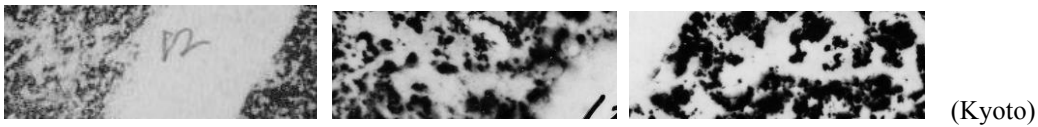
(Kyoto)

12(2-1) JH/SW  $\gamma r't'kw$ , YY2  $\gamma r'(m)'kw$



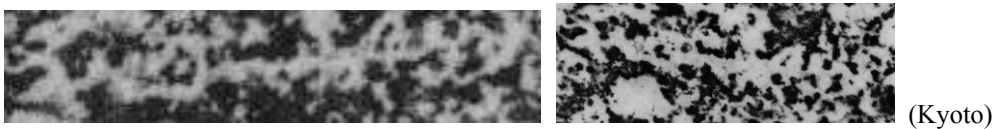
(Kyoto)

12(2)-(4) JH  $s' / / / (4) / d(')rym$ , SW  $(s)[w\gamma tw(4)]\delta(')rym$ , YY/YY(2):  $(s)[w(4)](e)ym$



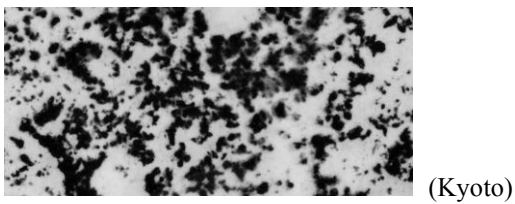
(Kyoto)

12 (4-1) JH  $s(n\beta)w(\text{š}) \beta\gamma y$ , SW  $*(\text{š}'n)w(x) \beta\gamma y$ , YY(2)  $(\gamma r)'n \beta\gamma y$



(Kyoto)

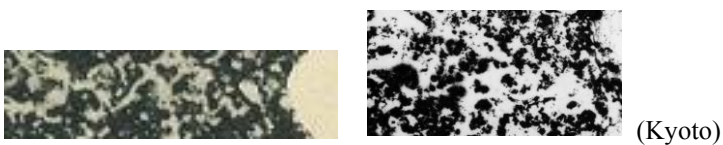
12 (4-2) JH/SW/YY2  $\beta\gamma y m'rm'ny$



(Kyoto)



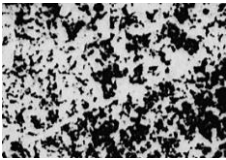
12 (6-1) JH  $/\bullet\gamma\text{š}y(z)kw(y)$ , SW  $*(')x\text{š}y-(wn'kw)(?)$ , YY2  $(\text{'sky?}) ZY$



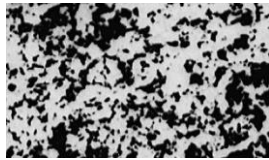
(Kyoto)



12 (6-2) JH βγγ γšy-wny, SW βγγ (ʼxšy-wny)(?) (•••), YY2 βγγ mry nywrwʼn



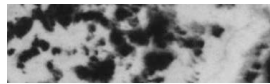
nyw rwʼn



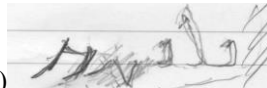
βγγ mry (Osaka)

### line 13

13 (1-1) JH [wy]dβγs, SW [wy]δβxs, YY2 [w](yδβx)s



(Kyoto)



13 (2-1) YY ʼs(ky. . .), JH ʼγʼs(ʼ)tk(w)γsyγ γrβ, SW ʼ(s•••w)xsyγ γrβ, YY2 ʼ(sky cʼδ)r γrβ

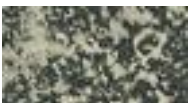


13 (2/4) JH (w)// // [ʼ]krtw dʼrt, SW (w)[ ... ʼ]krtw δʼrt, YY2 (ʼ)[(k)rtw δʼrt



### line 14

14 (2) JH p(yry), SW p••••, YY2 p(yrʼy)



### line 15

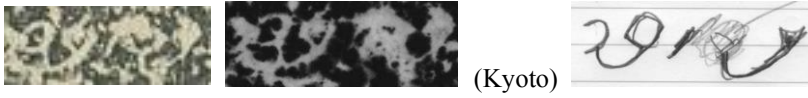
15(1-1) JH p(š)mʼγprn, YY/SW/YY2 (ʼšm)ʼxprn.



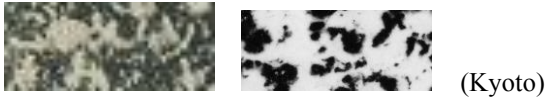
(Kyoto)



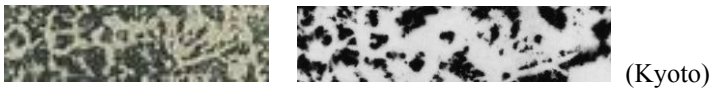
15(1-2) k(w)z-py



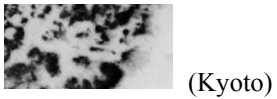
15 (2-1) YY s'n, JH s'(t), OH/SW s'(r), YY2 \*s'(r)



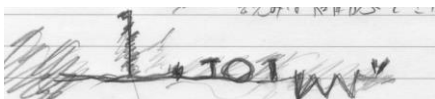
15 (2-2) JH ptz'nty, SW ptz'nty, YY2 p(t••)nty



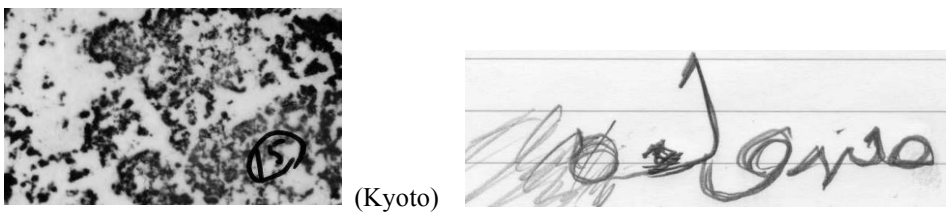
15(4-1) SW/YY2 [z-]'wr



15(4-2) JH/SW 'xš'w'nδ[']ry (w)[']δy, YY2 'xš'w'nδ('r•••••••)

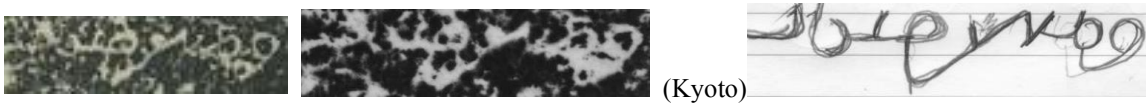


15(4-3) YY2 wyspδ(ryt)[

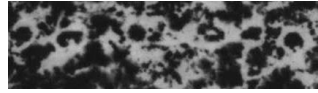


**line 16**

16(1-3) JH ptškw't, YY/SW ptškw'nh, YY2 \*ptškw'nh



16 (1-3) OH/JH pw(rn)βγty, SW \*pw(rny'n)ty, YY2 pw(yrw)xyt



(Kyoto)



16 (1-5) JH '(š)t n'm, SW (t)[wy ZY] n'm, YY2 t(yk)'yn n'm



(Kyoto: t(yk)'yn)



(estampage: t(yk)'yn)

16 (2)-(4) JH (cn)t'/(4)/(t), SW 'ny'z-'nk[(4)](w), YY2 'ny'z-'nk[(4)](#)



16 (4-2) JH d(β)yš('n)t z'////, SW δ(β)yš('n)t z'[yh, YY2 ](L') xypδ[



16 (6-3) JH/SW cywyδ p't (šrw), DMSB cywyδ p't mrxw, YY2 cywyδ p't (•••)



(Kyoto)

16 (7-1) JH // /kryd', SW tn]kryδ', YY2 ](k)[••](')n

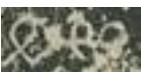


16 (7-2) JH 'šmrw, SW ('z)m(n)w, YY2 ('ncm)nw

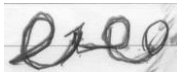


### line 17

17(1-1) OH wn'kw, YY w'nkw, JH/SW/YY2 (p)wkw



(Kyoto)



17 (1-2) JH '(')γw(nš), SW \*(')x('ns), YY2 ''xw'š

17 (1-2) JH '(')γw(n)št, SW '(n)xw('s)t, YY2 ''(x)w('š)t



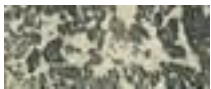
(Kyoto)



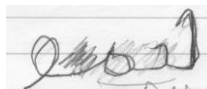
(Kyoto)



17 (1-3) YY δ(βt-ykw), JH d(ysy)w, SW δ(βtyk)w, YY2 δ(βty)w



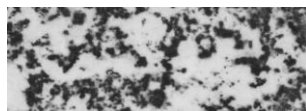
(Kyoto)



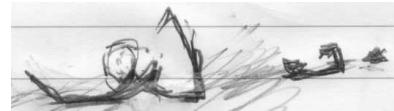
17 (1)-(2) JH k' / / / (2) / / šy-wn'k, SW/YY2 (')[(2)x]šy-wn'k



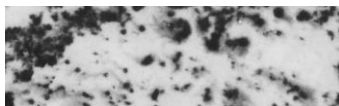
17 (4-1) JH (p)y(š)ydt, SW (n)y(š)ydt, YY2: \*(pyst)δ('r)t



(Kyoto)

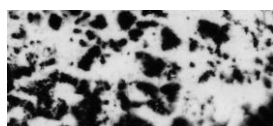


17 (4-2) JH pt(y•)d •••t, SW pty•δ•••t, YY2 (rty δnn)



(Kyoto)

17 (6-1) OH c'δr(!), JH/SW (nm'c), YY2 \*(z-)mn(w)



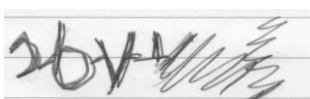
(Kyoto)

**Line 18**

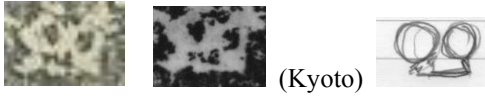
18 (1-1) JH (w)'γ•••//••(š)ty, SW (w)'γ[•• βr'y](š)ty, YY2 y'(k)[wβ βr](yš)ty



(Kyoto)

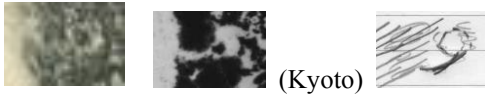


18 (1-2) OH/JH 20, YY/SW/YY2 40



(Kyoto)

18 (1-3) JH p///, SW p[r], YY2 (pr)



(Kyoto)

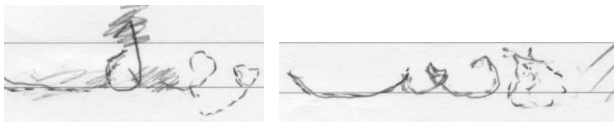
18 (2-1) JH p(r pw) prd, YY pr (s..p.)δ, SW pr wysprδ, YY2 pr š(yr) p(´)δ



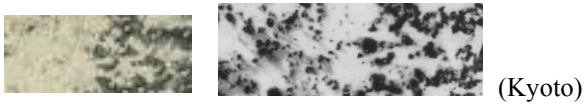
18 (4-1, 2) JH ///'syd' kw(n)d', SW ]'syδ' kw(n)δ', YY2 ](•)syrk kw(r)δ



(Kyoto)



18(4-3) JH/SW ..... , YY2 *mr(t)[xm'yt]*.



(Kyoto)

18 (6-1) JH/SW ]t(yn), YY2 ky](m')k



(Kyoto)

18 (7-1) krt'k/knt'k

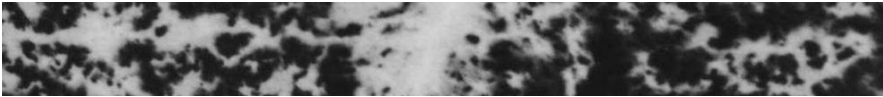


18 (7-2) JH δnyntskwn, δβyntskwnw, or δβryntskwnw, YY2 δβr'ntskwnw



**line 19**

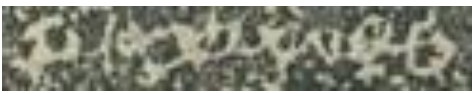
19 (1-1) JH prwr(y)t'(•k) kr(n), SW prwrt['](k) \*(ZKn), YY2, prwrt['k M]N k(ws)'n



(Kyoto)



19 (1-2) JH twγr(y)k'tny, SW twγr(y)k(c')ny, YY2 twγr'y(s)tny



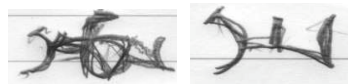
(Kyoto)



19 (1-3) JH 'ny 'ty, YY/SW 'ny 'ny, YY2 'ny-'ty



(Kyoto)



19 (2-1) JH ('s)pty, YY/SW/YY2 (xw)ty

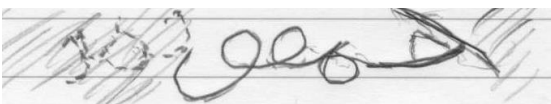


(Kyoto)

19 (2)-(4) JH t'/(4) //d(•t), SW t[..... (4)]δ(•t), YY2 [s(4)]n

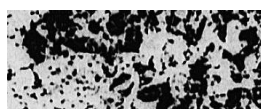


(Kyoto)



(estampage: Frag. 4)

19 (6) JH γ('nt) / γ(w'y), SW/YY2 γ(n'y)



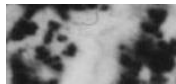
(Osaka)

19 (7-1) JH // /γd'rt, SW ]γδ'rt, YY2 ](t)δ'rt



line 20

20(1-1) YY2 (r)[t]y



(Kyoto)

20 (1-2) SW ptw'sty, JH/YY2 ptwysty.



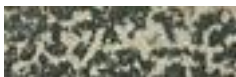
(Kyoto)



20 (1-3) OH s'rβ'γty, YY/JH s'rβγtyJ, SW (xrl-w)γty, YY2 xrl-wyty



20 (1-4) JH '(nw'z)kr, YY/SW 'nβrz-kry, YY2 'nβrz-kr.



(Kyoto)

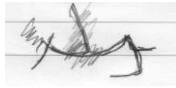


Cf. 20 (7) 'nβrz-kr w'sty

20 (1-6) JH mnd, SW \*m(')δ, YY2 m('y)δ



(Kyoto)



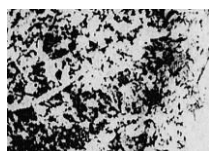
20 (1-7) JH (')'st(n')k, SW (')'st('r)k, YY2 (')'st(ny)k



(Kyoto)



20 (6) JH /p(cw)m', SW ]p(c')m', YY2 ] (')mn



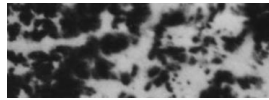
(Kyoto)

20(7) YY2 [p](r) wyš'nt

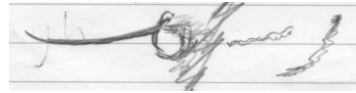


**line 21**

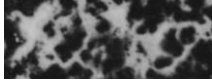
21 (1-1) JH/SW p(y•)t, YY2 (pyz)t



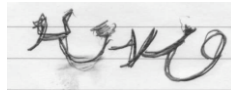
(Kyoto)



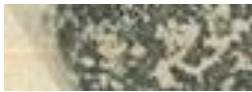
21 (1-2) JH/SW p(')šk'r, YY2 p(r)šk'r



(Kyoto)

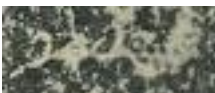


21 (1-3) JH/SW kw pt[(2)]t, YY2 kw ('n)[y (2) γr](β)



(Kyoto)

21 (2-1) JH rtšy ~ ptšy ~ ktšy, YY/SW (βr')šy, YY2 (pr')šy



(Kyoto)

21 (2-2) YY wym'nt, JH/SW/YY2 wyš'nt.



(Kyoto)

21 (7-1) JH // / (y)m(w)m(d'), SW ](')mwmyñ, YY2 ]mwmyñ



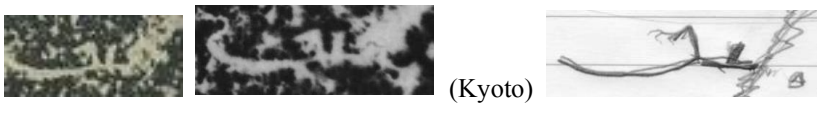
**line 22**

22 (1-1) JH ...(t)ny (or ..γšny, etc.), SW (••t) ZY, YY2 [p']](š)





22(1-2) JH/SW  $\gamma r\beta$ , YY  $[\gamma](r)\beta$ , YY2  $[w]'\beta$

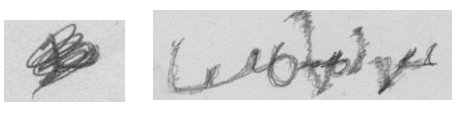


(Kyoto)

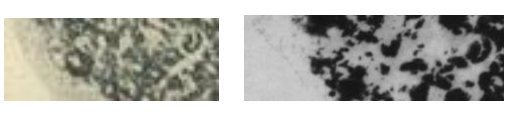
22 (1-3) JH  $(\text{'})'zy(ty)t(y'd) ny$ , SW  $*'(\text{'})'z'ty)t(y * \delta n)$ , YY2  $(\text{'})'z'ty)t ZY$



(Kyoto)



22 (1-4) JH  $pylk'$ , YY/SW/YY2  $p(rnxw)[nt'k]$



(Kyoto)

22 (2) JH  $(np)///$ , SW/YY2  $(p)[ts'k]$

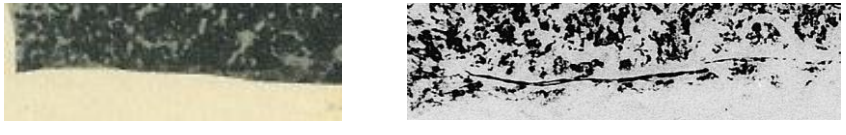


(Kyoto)

22(6) JH/SW  $[p]ts'r$ , YY  $[(\bullet) s'r$ .



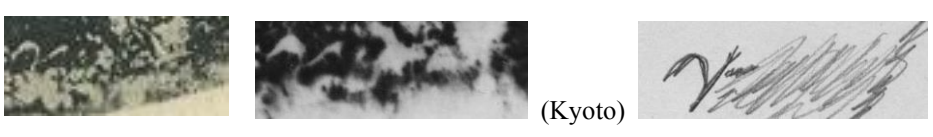
22 (7) JH  $pr \beta\gamma(y) (\bullet)$ , SW/YY2  $pr \beta\gamma(y)$



(Osaka)

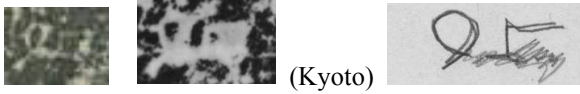
**line 23**

23 (1-1) JH  $\bullet\bullet'\gamma\check{s}y$ , SW  $[(w)\gamma\check{s}y$ , YY2  $w\gamma](\check{s})y$



(Kyoto)

23 (1-2) YY (‘y)w, OH/SW ‘yw, JH/YY2 cw



**line \*33 = Frag 9, line 2**

JH βγγ ny, SW βγγ ZY, YY2 (βγ)y ZY



JH d(yw’)t, SW δ(ynh), YY2 δ(w••)



Cf.  βγγ ZY δynh (Frag. 8, line 2)

**line \*34 = Frag 9, line 3**

JH (r)m(•) (w’)’yw, SW (r)m[’]( p)r’yw, YY2 •• (pr)’yw



**line \*35 = Frag 9, line 4**

JH prβry’(.)t, SW prβ’yr(’)t[, YY2 prβ’yr[ δ’rt?



**line \*36 = Frag 9, line 5**

JH (z)ds••, SW δp[ry’kh, YY2 1-(LPw)[

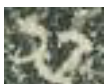


JH ••(kyyw) ••, SW ••w••, YY2 ](’p)ryw[



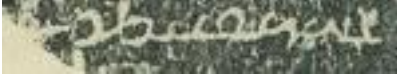
**line \*39 = Frag 9, line 8**

OH/YY/JH/YY2 ky, SW pr

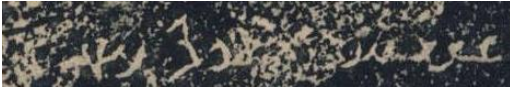


**line \*40 = Frag 9, line 9**

JH 'γš'w'nty d///, SW 'xš'w'nty δ[, YY2 'xš'w'nty-(h)[

**Frag. 8, line 4**

JH 'krty ••(n)yδ s(γ)[, SW 'krty (cyw)yδ sx••[, YY2 'kr(ty)[ cyw]yδ sy[tm'n

**Frag. 8, line 5**

JH 'βt'd'nyh[, SW 'βt'δ'nyh[, YY2 'βt'δ'ny' [

**Frag. 8, line 6**

JH dβ'nz pty(r'yδ)[, SW δβz(°) pty('r••)[, YY2 δβnz pty('r ••)[

