

ON THE NAME AND TITLES OF TONYUQUQ

Erhan AYDIN*

Abstract: *The Tonyuquq inscription is one of the most studied works since its discovery. The name of the proprietor Tonyuquq and the meaning expressed by this name have been discussed quite extensively. The name is read in two different forms in the form of Tonyuquq and Tynyuuquq. The name of Tonyuquq was observed once in the inscription of Bilgü Qagan, and once in the inscription of Küli Çor. The lettering of Tonyuquq as a word is different in Bilgü Qagan and Küli Çor inscriptions and Tonyuquq inscription. The difference is based on whether it is written with the consonant ñ or using the letter n or y.*

One of the topics covered in the present article is about the scripture of the name of Tonyuquq in the inscription that bears his name and in Bilgü Qagan and Küli Çor inscriptions. Another issue covered in the article is the titles used by Tonyuquq and the meanings of these titles. After discussing the meanings of these titles in the general Turkish language, the subject is elaborated in detail. The article ends with a collection of the sentences where the name Tonyuquq was mentioned.

Keywords: *Tonyuquq, Tonyuquq inscription, The old Turkic inscriptions, The Old Turkic, titles.*

Tonyukuk'un Adı ve Unvanları Üzerine

Öz: *Tonyukuk yazıtı, bulunduğu günden bugüne kadar üzerinde en çok çalışma yapılan yazıtlardandır. Yazıtın sahibi Tonyukuk'un adı ve bu adın ifade ettiği anlam epeyce tartışılmıştır. Ad, Tonyukuk ve Tynyukuk biçiminde iki farklı biçimde okunmaktadır. Tonyukuk'un adı, kendi yazıtı dışında, Bilge Kağan yazıtında bir kez, ad olarak ise Küli Çor yazıtında bir kez tanıklanmıştır. Tonyukuk'un sözcük olarak yazımı, Bilge Kağan ve Küli Çor yazıtlarındaki ile Tonyukuk yazıtındaki biçimleri birbirinden farklıdır. Bu farklılık, ny ünsüzü veya n veya y ile yazılıp yazılmadığı konusundadır.*

Bu makalede ele alınan konulardan biri, Tonyukuk'un hem kendi yazıtındaki hem de Bilge Kağan ve Küli Çor yazıtlarındaki yazımları üzerinedir. Makalede ele alınan bir başka konu ise Tonyukuk'un kullandığı unvanlar ve bunların neyi ifade ettiği yönündedir. Bu unvanların genel Türk dilindeki durumları üzerinde görüş belirtildikten sonra konu üzerinde ayrıntılı biçimde durulmuştur. Makale, Tonyukuk adının geçtiği yerlerdeki cümlelerin toplu olarak verilmesi ile son bulmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: *Tonyukuk, Tonyukuk Yazıtı, Eski Türk Yazıtları, Eski Türkçe, Unvanlar.*

Introduction

The Tonyuquq inscription that includes two steles, was discovered in 1897 by Y. N. Klements at Bañ-Tsokto near Nalayh town, about 60 km east of Ulaanbaatar, the capital city of Mongolia. The first study on the inscription was published in 1898 by

* Prof. Dr., İnönü University, Faculty of Science and Literature, Department of Turkish Language and Literature, Malatya / TURKEY. E-mail: ayerhan@gmail.com, ORCID NO: 0000-0003-4795-7320

Radloff (Radloff 1898). Radloff (1898, p. 73) identified that the inscription discovered by Mrs. Klements was erected in the name of Tonyuquq, and quoted the sentence *bilgä toñuquq bän özüüm tawyač eliñä qılntum türk bodun tawyačqa körür ärti* “Bilgä Tonyuquq, I myself was born in China. (While) the Turkish people were under Chinese rule” from the first stele and mentioned that the inscription states that the inscription was erected during the reign of Bilge Khan, and thus it should be erected on 716 at the earliest. Radloff determined that Tonyuquq was seventy years old when he authored the inscription and based on this information his date of birth should be 646. The fact that Radloff provided these important information indicates that he started working on the inscription immediately after its discovery. However, the whole text was not included in that study. Radloff published a scientific article on Tonyuquq inscription in 1899: *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei* (Zweite Folge). In the last section of Radloff's book, the famous work by with W. Barthold “Die alttürkischen Inschriften und der Arabischen Quellen” (pp. 1-29) and by F. Hirth “Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert nach Chinesischen Quellen” (pp. 1-140) were included.

1. The Name, Identity and Inscription of Tonyuquq

The first sentence in the Tonyuquq inscription reads as follows: *bilgä toñuquq bän özüüm tawyač eliñä qılntum türk bodun tawyačqa körür ärti* “Bilgä Tonyuquq, I myself was born in China. (While) the Turkish people were under Chinese rule”. Although the date of birth of Tonyuquq is not known precisely, it can be argued that he was born broadly between 630 and 681. It is known that the first Turk Khanate had been heading south around 630, that is towards the northern regions of China, and the Orhon, Tula and Selenge regions were under the rule of the *Toquz Oγuz* (nine Oghuzs). It is known that the Kök Turks who settled at northern China from 630 lived in the Ordos region for a while until they recaptured the old lands in central and northern Mongolia. Tonyuquq also mentions in the first stele of the inscription that they lived in this region.

Whether the name is *Tonyuquq* or *Tunyuquq* divided the researchers into two groups. Today, certain researchers prefer *Tonyuquq*, while others prefer to use *Tunyuquq*. The fundamental reason for those who read it as *Tunyuquq* is based on the affix *tun*, ‘first’ (DLT III, 101). According to A. U. Elöve (1958, p. 70), the word is not a name but a title meaning ‘the head, the great, the greatest, the highest, the first degree, elevated as the first’. R. Giraud (1961, p. 65-66) reads the word as *tony uquq*. He stresses the form in BQ S 14, written with the *n* and *y* consonants, instead of *ñ*, and reads it as *tonnuquq*; *ton* ‘dress, clothes’, + *I* possessive suffix and *yuquq* as in Kirg. *yuq*- ‘living without marriage, being sticky’ verb and explains the meaning as ‘whose dress is blessed with oil’. Giraud also compares the words with the name “Abasiyanık” in Turkish. V. M. Nadelyayev (1963, pp. 212-213), bases the name on *tunyuq* ‘hoof’ and explains it as *tunyuq+oq* ‘hoof+oq’. Although M. Erdal (2004, p. 72), did not associate it with the name Tonyuquq, explained the word *doynaq* ‘horse’s hoof’ as < *toñoq.

According to S. G. Klyashtorny (1966, pp. 202-205), *ton+yuq-uq* is derived from the verb < *yoq-/yuq*- ‘to hide, to protect’ and it was used in Uyghur legal documents. Thus, the name means ‘hidden, protected thing, value, treasure, jewelry’. On the other hand, O. F. Sertkaya (2003, p. 33), read the word as *tony* or *tuny* and based on the division of the consonant *ñ* in the words *toñ* or *tuñ* into *n* and *y*, suggested the examples

in DLT, Uzb., Alt., Tel., Hak. *tun*, Tuv. *dun*. And considered the *uquq* section as *u-q-uuq* as ‘the one who understands.’ J. P. Roux (2007, p. 140) suggested a rather bizarre idea and explains the word as ‘with oiled dress,’ discussing the culinary culture of the Mongols and suggesting that they had dirty and stained clothes. Erdal (2004, p. 41) reads the word as *tuñoqoq*.

There are significant problems about the identity of Tonyuquq. It is recorded in Chinese resources that Ashide Yuanzhen was the commander-in-chief and died in battle with the Tūrgeš (Liu 2006, p. 297). Hirth (1899, pp. 14-15) suggests that this death was manufactured by the Chinese, Tonyuquq and A-schi-tö Yüan-tschön [Ashide Yuanzhen 阿史德元珍] should be the same person. Hirth is so sure about this fact that he provided information about this person's family and experiences confidently. According to him, he was in charge of an office in the present day Ta-t'ung-fu, located outside the Great Wall, in the north-east region in the Yinshan Mountains and the great wind of the Yellow River. He was well educated and well-versed in Chinese. Also according to Hirth, Ashide Yuanzhen was from the city of Yüntschung [Yunzhong 雲中]. The city was located to the north of today's Ta-t'ung-fu, north of Yinshan and the great wind of the Yellow River. According to the information quoted by Hirth, Schlegel (1892, p. 13) stated that Yüntschung [Yunzhong 雲中] was where today Yulin (榆林) is located. According to Liu (2006, pp. 217-218 and pp. 330-331), the view that Ashide Yuanzhen and Tonyuquq were the same person was fabricated by Hirth. Indeed, in the resources provided by Liu, Ashide Yuanzhen was mentioned in resources that narrated the Ilteriš Khan period, while there is no such mention in Qapıan Khan period resources. Afterwards, during the attempts of Qapıan's son Inäl Khan (Fuju 匍俱) to take the realm, in his struggle with Köl Tegin, the name of Tonyuquq was transformed into Tunyugu (噸欲谷). Köl Tegin destroyed Inäl Khan and almost all of his supporters during this struggle, only Tonyuquq was spared. Because he was the brother-in-law of Bilgä Qapıan, his brother (Liu 2006, pp. 330-331). According to the information quoted by Taşağıl (2004, p. 63), in Chinese resources, Tonyuquq's name was Yüanchen, and he learned all Chinese traditions and was aware of the gaps in the borders and the Chinese wall. While he was supervising the surrendered clans in Ch'anyü military governorship, he was dismissed and jailed by the military governor Ch'angshih.

Based on the information provided by Chinese resources, Ashide Yüanzhen and Tonyuquq cannot be the same person. Because, according to the Chinese resources, Ashide Yuanzhen died in a battle with the Tūrgeš along with Ilteriš Qapıan. Thus, it is not accurate to consider Ashide Yuanzhen and Tonyuquq as one and the same.

Sinologists were comparing the information in the Chinese resources with the information available on the inscriptions while others were tackling with the words and phrases in the inscriptions after the runic Turkic texts were deciphered. Sinologist F. Hirth's famous article published at the end of the study by Radloff on Tonyuquq in 1899 includes old Turkic inscriptions in general, and the Sinology data related to the Ilteriš Khan period and Tonyuquq in particular. In this study by Hirth, in addition to the claim that Ashide Yuanzhen was actually Tonyuquq, another important claim was his views on Sir Tarduš. The most important opposition to Hirth's claim that the name of the clan mentioned as Xue yantuo (薛延陁) in Chinese resources was actually Sir Tarduš came from P. Boodberg (1996: 116), who summarized Hirth's claim as the

“ghost of the Sir Tarduš”. Hirth’s claim was identified with Sir Tarduš later on and even today and there were those who claimed and debated that the phrase Hsieh [Xue 薛] in Chinese corresponded to *Sir*. For example, Klyashtorny goes even further to suggest that Xue yantuo did not mean Sir Tarduš, but Sirs, in other words, the Kipčaks. Klyashtorny even made an odd proposition (Klyashtorny-Sultanov 2004, pp. 127-129) that Sirs, who were ranked before the Oghuzs on the recount of the clans in BQ E 1, preceded the Oghuzs in the hierarchy. That is, the name of Sir affixed to the name of Tarduš clan was based on the Tonyuquq inscription. That was why Boodberg used the phrase “ghost of the Sir Tarduš”.

Chinese resources state that Bilgä Qayan wanted to establish cities and temples, however Tonyuquq dissuaded him to change his idea by pointing out that their nomadic lifestyle was what made them a greater military power when compared to Tang (唐) armies (Golden 2002, p. 9). See (Togan 2006, p. 53) for information in Jiu tangshu (舊唐書). For a comparative analysis on the subject with information from Chinese resources, see (Ercilasun 2016, pp. 295-296).

The Tonyuquq inscription includes two steles and the first stele is better preserved than the second. It can be argued that the inscription was personally dictated and erected by Tonyuquq. Giraud (1999, p. 31) considered that it might have been written in 715, but that does not seem possible. Because Tonyuquq himself mentions on the inscription that Bilgä Qayan was on the throne at the time. K. Kabulov (2002, p. 119) claimed that the inscription was written by two different individuals based on the fact that the word *türk* was written by both the sign that corresponds to *uk/ük* and by the *k²* sign. Another suggestion on the writing of the inscription was made by M. Adamoviç. Adamoviç (2005, p. 347) argued that the last section of the inscription could be added by a relative of Tonyuquq, and that this individual did not have a good command of grammar since the word *bintägi* should be *bögtägi* ‘useful person’ on the line II / E 7 (57) of the inscription.

2. The Titles of Tonyuquq

When all old Turkic inscriptions with runic letters are considered, the name Tonyuquq is witnessed in the following manuscripts:

Tonyuquq inscription: T1 W 1 (1), T1 W 5 (5), T1 W 6 (6), T1 S 8 (15), T1 S 10 (17), T1 N 7 (31), T1 N 10 (34), T2 W 2 (37), T2 S 3 (47), T2 E 8 (58), T2 N 1 (59), T2 N 3 (61).

Bilgä Kayan inscription: BQ S 14

Küli Çor inscription: KÇ W 1

Bilgä Qayan, when listing the state administrators, refers to the names and titles of Tonyuquq as *Tonyuquq boyla baya tarqan*: BQ S 14: *başlayu ulayu šad[apıt] bağlär <...> ataman tarqan Tonyuquq boyla baya tarqan* “other masters <...> Ataman Tarqan, Tonyuquq Boyla Baya Tarqan” (Aydın 2017, p. 99). It can be stated that apart from Tonyuquq, the words *boyla*, *baya* and *tarqan* are titles or title qualifiers. In BQ S 14, Tonyuquq name is written in runic letters as follows: $\downarrow\downarrow D \gg \delta$. It can be seen here that it is not written with \tilde{n} (\mathfrak{Z}), but with the sign that corresponds to sounds *n* (\mathfrak{D}) and *y* (\mathfrak{D}) with dark vowels.

KÇ W 1: <...> *üçün apa tarqan çıqan Tonyuquq aty bermiş* <...> “<...> for, Apa Tarqan gave the name Çıqan Tonyuquq <...>” (Aydın 2017, p. 134).

Since the first line of the Küli Çor inscription is incomplete, the *apa tarqan çıqan Tonyuquq aty bermiş* section follows the part that starts with the *üçün* preposition. We think it is necessary to translate this as “Apa Tarqan gave the name Çıqan Tonyuquq”. Thus, it is possible to argue that the name of Küli Çor before he received *är at* was Tonyuquq. Because, on the second line of the western face of the inscription, the missing beginning of the line could be read as <...>-*tdoqda yeg tör<ö>miş işwara çıqan küli çor bolmış* “(when ... happened) (since) he was created (better), he took the title of İşwara Çıqan Küli Çor” (Aydın 2017, p. 134). It is understood that the *är at* of the protagonist of the inscription hero was Küli Çor. Clauson-Tryjarski (1971, p. 24) states that the first three lines of the inscription provides information on the identity of Küli Çor. The author considered that the personal name of Küli Çor was Tonyuquq, however this person was not in fact the known Tonyuquq, since his known title was *Boyla Baya Tarqan* and especially based on the name *Qapyan* claimed to be mentioned in the third line, it was not possible for Küli Çor to die after 716.

Since the title of Küli Çor was obtained later and by taking an *är at*, it is not possible to link the name of the protagonist of the inscription to the title *köl* that we witness in the name *Köl Tegin* by reading it *köl iç çor* or *köli çor*. It was not possible to obtain the title of *köl*, witnessed as *köl tegin* in Turks and as *otçigin* in Mongolians, which was given to the smallest male child of the house, later on.

It is worth noting that the name or title unity in the first line of the Küli Çor inscription should be considered with the name *Tonyuquq* mentioned both in Tonyuquq and Küli Çor inscriptions, although both are not related to the famous Tonyuquq. It is not written with ñ (𐰽) but using the signs that correspond to n (𐰺) and y (𐰻) sound in the Küli Çor inscription: 𐰺𐰻𐰽𐰽𐰽.

Based on the abovementioned views, it is possible to argue that the title unity *toñuquq boyla baya tarqan* observed in Bilgä Qayan inscription referred to the famous Tonyuquq, and the *çıqan Tonyuquq* mentioned in Küli Çor was not related to the famous Tonyuquq, and it was the childhood name of Küli Çor before he received *är at*.

In all texts in Tonyuquq inscription, the name was written 12 times and always with the sign that corresponds to the ñ letter: 𐰺𐰻𐰽𐰽𐰽. It can be argued that the name was not a title of Tonyuquq, but just a personal name since the name of Küli Çor was Tonyuquq before he received *är at*. However, it will be difficult to explain why the *n* and *y* letters were written with different symbols in Bilgä Qayan and Küli Çor, and why the name was written with the ñ sign for 12 times in Tonyuquq inscription.

The title of Tonyuquq in Bilgä Qayan inscription was *Tonyuquq Boyla Baya Tarqan*. Apparently, Tonyuquq also used his childhood name. The titles he used in his own inscription were *Bilgä Toñuquq* and *Bilgä Toñuquq Boyla Baya Tarqan*. His names and titles in Bilgä Qayan inscription and in his own inscription can be listed as follows:

Bilgä Toñuquq: T1 W 1 (1), T1 W 5 (5), T1 S 8 (15), T1 S 10 (17), T1 N 7 (31), T1 N 10 (34), T2 W 2 (37), T2 S 3 (47), T2 E 8 (58), T2 N 1 (59), T2 N 3 (61).

Bilgä Toñuquq Boyla Baya Tarqan: T1 W 6 (6)

Tonyuquq Boyla Baya Tarqan: BQ S 14

Based on the table above, he used *Bilgä Tonyuquq* 11 times and *Bilgä Tonyuquq Baya Tarqan* once in his inscription.

2.1. Bilgä Tonyuquq

This is the group of titles that Tonyuquq used the most in the inscription. As mentioned above, when Tonyuquq is considered as the real name, the word *bilgä* is the title. It is obvious that the word used to mean ‘wise, master’ derives from the word *bil-* the verb ‘to know’ using the *-GA+* suffix. Numerous examples can be given from the inscriptions that this title was also used as a title qualifier by women. The title was witnessed twice in the form of *biligä* on the 6th line of the north face of the Tariat inscription. Furthermore, see (ED, p. 340a-b); (TMEN II, No. 836); (DTS, p. 99); (Rybatzki 1997, p. 75, note 215); (Erdal 2004, pp. 242-243); (Şirin User 2006, pp. 220-223); (Aydın 2011, p. 157); (Aydın 2016a, p. 12).

2.2. Bilgä Tonyuquq Boyla Baya Tarqan

The words *Boyla*, *Baya* and *Tarqan*, which follow the *Bilgä Tonyuquq* section, are separate titles. As noted above, if Tonyuquq is not a title but a name, it is unusual for three titles to follow the name.

2.2.1. Boyla

The title was extensively discussed, and several attempts were made to red in in different ways. G. J. Ramstedt (1951a, p. 78) considered the works among the words with unknown origins and emphasized Slavic forms, and indicated that the word might have been transformed into *boyla* form from the word *bägilä* via assimilation or it could have been formed using the word **boy/*buy* with **-la/*-lä* suffix. Ramstedt also attempted to relate the word to Man. *bō* ‘Haus’. Clauson (ED, p. 385b) stated the word meant ‘a high title’, that the title also known in Proto-Bulgarian was used in conjunction with the title *qayan*, and possibly also by Xiongnu (匈奴), but was not witnessed in Chinese resources. According to S. Tezcan (1978, p. 55, p. 64), this title can be interpreted as ‘determination of the movements of the nomadic tribes and the army, ensuring regular and planned movements of the tribes over the state lands’, and assigns the meaning of ‘the stick put through the nose to guide the animal’, metaphorically ‘the commander of the army’ and he reads the title as *buyla*. In our opinion, it seems difficult to explain the structure of the title with Turkish rules. It can be considered that the word *bila* mentioned on the second line of the north face of the Tariat inscription could be a different verse of the title *boyla* (Tekin 1983, p. 836). Furthermore see (TMEN II, p. 398); (Aydın 2011, pp. 158-159).

2.2.2. Baya

Much has been argued about the origin and structure of the word. Ramstedt (1951a, pp. 76-77) thought it was one and the same as *baya* when the *-tur* suffix is dropped in the Mo. word *bayatur* ‘Held’, however also stated that it was difficult to be sure about its origins. Ramstedt (1951b, pp. 108), in another article published in the same issue of the same journal, also noted that the word *baqa* ‘Frosch’ may be word with sound reflection. Other researchers related the word with Sogd. *vγ-* ‘God’ and accepted that it was an older form of the word *bäg*. For example, according to Giraud (1999, p. 119), it is of Iranian origin and is likely related to the word *bäg*. According to Hamilton (1997, p. 198 note 25), it is related to Sogd. *vγ-* ‘God’, and *Vγ* is the addressing form. Doerfer

(TMEN II, No. 828) suggested that the word *baya* is a proper name, not a title. S. Tezcan (1978: 68) related the word to the word *baya* in Oghuz Turkic writing language groups and *baqa* in other Turkic language groups meaning ‘turtle’. In an article by Y.-S. Li (1997, p. 264, p. 266) on the word *baqa*, considered it as a sound-reflective word and defined the development of the word as follows: **bāqa < *bāqqa < *bāqya < bāq* ‘croak’+*ya* ‘a suffix which forms a noun from onomatopoeia’. In the conclusion section of the article, it was stated that the meaning of ‘frog’ with sound reflection was forgotten, meaning of ‘turtle’ is acquired and the word is used to mean ‘frog’ and ‘turtle’. The title was not witnessed in later period resources. Also see (ED, pp. 311b-312a); (Bazin 1948, p. 211); (Rybatzki 2006, pp. 206-207); (Aydm 2011, pp. 155-156); (Aydm 2016b, pp. 17-18).

2.2.3. Tarqan

It is a word commonly used in old Turkic inscriptions and can be identified as a military title. There are several different views on the origin of the title. A. von Gabain (1950, No. 42) indicated that titles such as *šad*, *tegin*, *tarhan* might have been taken from unknown Central Asian languages, especially from middle Iranian languages, and explained the word *tarqan* as *tar+han*. W. Eberhard (1945, pp. 323-324) questioned whether the original title was *tar-khan* based on the second part, *quan*, as mentioned in his list of Chinese spellings as *ta-quan*, and proposed that the word could be related to ‘agriculture’ or ‘field’. According to Doerfer (TMEN, II, No. 879), Eberhard’s approach was not possible from a grammatical standpoint. Ramstedt (1951a, pp. 63-64) stated that the plural forms of the title were Tü. *tarqat* and Mo. *darḡat* and the word could be related to Kor. *tal*, and it corresponded to different official positions in both Turkish and Mongolian at various times. Pulleyblank (1962, p. 91) identified the root of the title as Xiongnu (匈奴) and stated that *tarḡan* was equal to the ancient Chinese **dān-gwag*. Clauson (ED, pp. 539b-540a) considered Pulleyblank’s proposal as the best etymology and specified that the plural form of the word should be *tarḡa(n)t*. Doerfer (TMEN, II, No. 879) quoted individual etymological propositions for the title one by one and commented about them. For example, he mentioned etymological suggestions such as Chin. *dāgān kan*<*kān* proposed by Bailey (according to Karlgren, *ta*<*d’āt*), the Sino-korean *tar* ‘expert’ ve *tar-kwan* ‘a past-master official, a connoisseur in official work’ > Tü. *tarqan* proposal by Räsänen inspired by Ramstedt, Haneda’s Chin. *tāt-kuan* and *guan* > Tü. *ḡan* development, the connection established by Gabain between the word *tar* and the suffix +*ḡAn* in words such as *burḡan*, *tāḡrikān*, *ötükān*, *yätikān*, and Sinor’s approach to relate the word to a verb *tar-* ‘zerstreuen’ and he determined that the *tarqat* form was not derived from the +*t* plural suffix similar to words such as *taḡšut*, *uruḡut*, *šadaput*, in Mongolian. He considered that the title could be rooted in Ruanruan (蠕蠕) as suggested by Doerfer, Pelliot and Menges: Ruanruan **darḡan* ‘Privilegiertes’ > Mo. *darḡan* ve Tü. *tarḡan*. H.-W. Choi (2000, p. 105, p. 110) stated that the title was used in many languages, and attempted to relate the word with Kor. *tarho-* ~ *tarqu-* ‘to heat (a piece of iron, etc.)’ and ‘to deal with (person, problem, etc.)’. The title is known to possess different meanings at different times. For example, in the Uighurs, it meant ‘deputy, minister’; in Oghuz, ‘the title of the office inferior to the head constable’; in Hazar, it was the title of the monarch, etc. Also see, (Frye 1951); (Aalto 1971: 35); (Tekin 1983: 836); (Aydm 2016a, pp. 19-20).

The unorthodox order of the *bilgä*, *boyla*, *baya* and *tarqan* titles can be explained as follows: It can be argued that the most frequently used title for Tonyuquq was *Bilgä*

Tonyuquq, and the other titles were just ordered one after another to follow the order of Turkish title ranking. However, this was not a usual situation.

3. Conclusion

Based on the abovementioned examples and information, it can be argued that *Tonyuquq* was a proper name, the name was witnessed in the form of *çiğan Tonyuquq* in the Küli Çor inscription, but this was not related to the famous *Tonyuquq*. Especially, the *Bilgä Tonyuquq Boyla Baya Tarqan* expression is considered to be inconsistent with the title group in Turkish, thus, the real title was *bilgä* and the remaining titles of *boyla*, *baya* and *tarqan* were added after the name to better define him.

4. The Phrases Where the Name and Titles were Witnessed

T1 W 1 (1) *bilgä toñuquq bän özüm tawyaç eliñä qıl²intum türk bodun tawyaçqa körür ärti* “Bilgä Tonyuquq, I myself was born in China. (While) the Turkish people were under Chinese rule.” (Aydın 2017, p. 104).

T1 W 5 (5) *uduzuyma uluyı şad ärti ayıyl tedi ayırmas²ı bän ärtim bilgä toñuquq* “The leader of the dispatchers had the (title of) şad. He said tell me, I was his advisor, Bilgä Tonyuquq” (Aydın 2017, p. 105).

T1 W 6 (6) *anta kesrä täñri bilig bertök üçün özüm ök qayan qışdım bilgä toñuquq boyla baya tarqan* “Then, since he provided (eternal) heavenly knowledge, I made khan myself, Bilgä Tonyuquq Boyla Baya Tarqan” (Aydın 2017, p. 105).

T1 S 8 (15) *qayanım bän özüm bilgä toñuquq ötüntök ötünçümün eşidü berti* “My khan (with grace) heard (considered) those I, Bilgä Tonyuquq submitted” (Aydın 2017, p. 107).

T1 S 10 (17) *türk qayanı türk bodunuy ötükän yerkä bän özüm bilgä toñuquq <kälürtüm>* “I, myself, Bilgä Tonyuquq brought the Turk qayan, the Turk people to Ötükän lands.” (Aydın 2017, p. 108).

T1 N 7 (31) *sü başı inäl qayan tarduş² şad barzun² tedi bilgä toñuquqa baña aydı* “The commander of the army said İnäl Qayan and Tarduş şad should go. He said this to me, (that is) to Bilgä Tonyuquq.” (Aydın 2017, p. 112).

T1 N 10 (34) *bög<ü> qayan bañaru ança ayıdmiş² apa tarqanjaru icrä saw idmiş bilgä toñuquq añıy ol üz ol* “Bögü Qayan said the following for me: He sent a confidential message to Apa Tarqan: “Bilgä Tonyuquq is evil, adverse.” (Aydın 2017, p. 113).

T2 W 2 (37) *bän ança ter män bän bilgä toñuquq altun yıñıy aña kältimiz* “On my account, I say: “I Bilgä Tonyuquq, we came over the (forested) Altai mountains.” (Aydın 2017, p. 114).

T2 S 3 (47) *ol yerkä bän bilgä toñuquq täğürtök üçün* “Since I, Bilgä Tonyuquq made them reach that place” (Aydın 2017, p. 116).

T2 E 8 (58) *türük bilgä qayan eliñä bitidim bän bilgä toñuquq* “I completed (the job of writing the inscription) in the land of Turk Bilgä Qayan country. I, Bilgä Tonyuquq” (Aydın 2017, p. 119).

T2 N 1 (59) *elteriñ qayan qazyanmasar yoq ärti ärsär bän özüm bilgä toñuquq qazyanmasar² bän yoq ärtim ärsär* “If İlteriñ Qayan could not succeed, if it was not for

him, I, myself, Bilgä Tonyuquq could not succeed, if it was not for me.” (Aydın 2017, p. 119).

T2 N 3 (61) *elteriř qayan bilgä toñuquq qazıyantoq üçün qapıyan qayan türük sir bodun yoridoıı <üçün> bo* “This is since İteriş Qayan (and) Bilgä Tonyuquq succeeded, Qapıyan Qayan advanced Turk Sir people” (Aydın 2017, p. 119).

BQ S 14 *başlayı ulayı řad[apıt] bğlär <...> ataman tarqan Tonyuquq boyla baya tarqan ulayı buyruq <...>* “other řads (and) bğs <...> Ataman Tarqan, Tonyuquq Boyla Baya Tarqan (and) other commander <...> (Aydın 2017, p. 99).

KÇ W 1 (1) <...> *üçün apa tarqan çıqan Tonyuquq atıı bermiř <...>* “for <...> Apa Tarqan bestowed the name Çıqan Tonyuquq <...>” (Aydın 2017, p. 134).

5. Abbreviations and References

- AALTO, P. (1971), “Iranian Contacts of the Turks in Pre-Islamic Times.” L. LIGETI (ed.): *Studia Turcica*. Budapest, 29-37.
- ADAMOVIÇ, M. (2005), “Ein Überflüssiger Streit.” *Materialia Turcica* 25: 345-48.
Alt.: Altai language.
- ATALAY, Besim (1992), *Divanü Lûgati't-Türk Tercümesi I-IV*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.
- AYDIN, Erhan (2011), *Uygur Kağanlığı Yazıtları*. Konya: Kömen.
- AYDIN, Erhan (2016a), “Yenisey Yazıtlarında Geçen Unvanlar ve Unvan Niteleyicileri.” *Türk Dili Arařtırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* 59/2: 5-26.
- AYDIN, Erhan (2016b), “Eski Türk Yazıtlarında Bitkiler ve Hayvanlar.” *Türk Kültürü* 2016/1: 1-51.
- AYDIN, Erhan (2017), *Orhon Yazıtları, Köl Tegin, Bilge Kağan, Tonyukuk, Ongi, Küli Çor*. İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat.
- BAZIN, L. (1948), “Un Texte Proto-Turc du IV^e siecle: Le Distique Hiong-nou du “Tsin-chou”. *Oriens* 1/2: 208-219.
- DLT: *Dīvānu Lūgātī't-Türk*.
- DTS: V. M. NADELYAEV - D. M. NASİLOV - E. R. TENISHEV - A. M. SHERBAK (1969), *Drevnetyurkskiy Slovar'*. Leningrad.
- EBERHARD, W. (1945), “Bir Kaç Eski Türk Ünvanı Hakkında.” *Belleten* 9/35: 319-340.
- ED: G. CLAUSON (1972), *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- ELÖVE, Ali U. (1958), “Bir Yazı Meselesi Üzerine.” *Türk Dili Arařtırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* 1958: 69-85.
- ERCİLASUN, Ahmet B. (2016), *Türk Kağanlığı ve Türk Bengü Tařları*. İstanbul: Dergâh.
- ERDAL, M. (2004), *A Grammar of Old Turkic*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- FRYE, R. N. (1951), “Tarxun-Turxun and Central Asian History.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14/1-2: 105-129.
- GABAIN, A. von (1950), *Altürkische Grammatik*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- GIRAUD, R. (1961), *L'Inscription de Baın Tsokto*. Paris.
- GIRAUD, R. (1999), *Gök Türk İmparatorluğu, İteriş, Kapgan ve Bilge'nin Hükümdarlıkları (680-734)*. Turkish trans.: İsmail MANGALTEPE, İstanbul: Ötüken.
- GOLDEN, P. B. (2002), *Türk Halkları Tarihine Giriř*. Turkish trans.: Osman KARATAY. Ankara: Karam.
Hak.: Hakas.
- HAMILTON, J. R. (1997), “Tokuz Oguz ve On Uygur.” Turkish trans.: Yunus KOÇ - İsmet BİRKAN. *Türk Dilleri Arařtırmaları* 7: 187-232.
- HIRTH, F. (1899), “Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonyuquq. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert nach Chinesischen Quellen.” W. Radloff: *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei* (Zweite Folge). St.-Petersburg, 1-140.
- KABULOV, K. (2002), “Orhun Türklerinin Aslı.” Turkish trans.: Dildar ATMACA, *Türkler*, c. 2, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 118-26.
Kirg.: Kirghiz.

- KLYASHTORNIY, S. G. (1966), "Ton'yukuk-Aşide Yuan'çjèn." **Tyurkologiçeskij Sbornik** 1966: 202-205.
- KLYASHTORNIY, S. G. - T. İ. SULTANOV (2004), *Kazakistan, Türkün Üç Bin Yılı*. Turkish trans.: D. Ahsen BATUR. İstanbul: Selenge.
- Kor.: Korean.
- LIU Mau-Tsai (2006), *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Doğu Türkleri*. Turkish trans.: Ersel KAYAOĞLU - Deniz BANOĞLU. İstanbul: Selenge.
- Man.: Manchu.
- NADELYAEV, V. M. (1963), "Çtenie Orhono-Eniseyskogo Znaka í (ʒ) etimologiya imeni Tonyukuka." *Tyurkologiçeskij Issledovaniya*, Moskva-Leningrad, 212-213.
- PULLEYBLANK, E. G. (1962), "The Consonantal System of old Chinese." *Asia Major* (New series) 9/1: 58-144.
- RADLOFF, W. (1898), "Eine neu aufgefundene alttürkische Inschrift. Vorläufiger Bericht." **Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences** 8/1: 71-76.
- RADLOFF, W. (1899), *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei (Zweite Folge)*. St.-Petersburg.
- RAMSTEDT, G. J. (1951a), "Alte türkische und mongolische Titel." **Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne** 55/2: 59-82.
- RAMSTEDT, G. J. (1951b), "Über onomatopoeische Wörter in den altaischen Sprachen," **Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne** 55/2: 106-112.
- ROUX, J. P. (2007), *Türklerin Tarihi, Pasifik'ten Akdeniz'e 2000 Yıl*. İstanbul.
- RYBATZKI, V. (1997), *Die Toñuquq-Inschrift*, Szeged.
- RYBATZKI, V. (2006), *Die personennamen und titel der mittelmongolischen Dokumente. Eine lexikalische Untersuchung*. Helsinki. [e-thesis].
- SCHLEGEL, G. (1892), *La Stèle Funéraire du Teghin Giogh, et ses Copistes et Traducteurs Chinois, Russes et Allemands*. Helsinggissä.
- SERTKAYA, Osman F (2003), "Kâzım Mirşan'a Cevap: *Bilgi (Bilge) Atıy Ukuk* Adlı Bir Tarihcimiz Var mı?" **Orkun** 65: 31-33.
- ŞİRİN USER, Hatice (2006), "Eski Türkçede Bazı Unvanların Yapısı Üzerine." **Bilig** 39: 219-238.
- TAŞAĞIL, Ahmet (2004), *Göktürkler III*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- TEKİN, Talat (1983), "Kuzey Moğolistan'da Yeni Bir Uygur Anıtı: Taryat (Terhin) Kitabesi." **Belleten** 46/184: 795-838.
- TOGAN, İsenbike - Gülnar KARA - Cahide BAYSAL (2006), *Eski T'ang Tarihi (Chiu T'ang-shu)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Tel.: Teleut.
- TMEN: DOERFER, G. (1963-1975), *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen I, II, III, IV*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Tuv.: Tuvinian.
- Uzb.: Uzbek.