

KLASSİK İRS – PORTRETLƏR
 КЛАССИЧЕСКОЕ НАСЛЕДИЕ – ПОРТРЕТЫ
 CLASSICAL HERITAGE – PORTRAITS

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THE TURKIC WORLD IN MAHMÛD AL-KÂSHGHARÎ

KÂSHGHARÎ'S TURKIC PEOPLES

Kâshgharî presents the Turkic world in the following geographical order. Some of the details can be seen in his map as well (Figs. 1–2). Going from the areas “opposite the Byzantine Empire” (*Rûm*), i.e. West to East, the tribes are arrayed as: Bâchhânâk (*Pecheneg*), north of “Darband Khazarân” and west of the Varangians (*Warang*, *Варангъ/Варягъ*), Şaqâlîba (generally denoting the Slavs, but also a term for the northern peoples as a whole including Turks and Finno-Ugrians; Golden 1995a; Nazmi 1998, 74–76; 81–101) and Rûs/Русь (*Rus'*)¹⁰⁰, a setting which accurately reflects the movement of the Pechenegs towards Danubian Europe following their defeat by the Rus' in 1036 (Golden 1992, 268–269). Curiously, the map depicts the *Warang* (at least those in the Rus' state), *Şaqâlîba* and Rus' as distinct, when by this time, they were all part of the Rus' state with its capital in Kiev and Novgorod in the north as the second most important city.

The “Qifchâqs” (Qıpcâq? Qıvçaq?) are noted next, stretching from an area eastward of the Pechenegs et al. and to west of the Volga/Ātil River¹⁰¹ to territories shared with and east of the Oghuz union and northeast of Tārâz (Talas/Jambıl). The earliest attestation of this ethnonym is the Uyghur Shine Usu inscription (dated 759/760; line N4 *türk qıvçaq). However, recent editions of the inscription have not preserved it, only the signs for – çaq or – çıq are legible¹⁰². Whether this is the result

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¹⁰⁰ These and the following geographical references are based on Kâşğarî's map: Kaşğarlı Mahmut/Atalay 1939–1941, I, 22–23; Kâşğarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, insert between pp. 82 and 83.

¹⁰¹ Kâşğarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 112, notes Ātil (cf. Mod. Tatar *İdel*, Chuvash *Atıl*) as the “name of a river (the Volga) in the country of Qifçaq which flows into the Bulğâr Sea; it has an arm which flows over Rûs”. On Ātil/İtil/Atıl see Golden 1980, I, 224–229.

¹⁰² Aidarov 1971, 343–344. But cf. Moriyasu/Ochir 1999, 178; Berta 2004, 282; Aydın 2007, 34; User 2010, 475 (N3).

of erosion that has occurred since the first studies or an initial misreading remains unclear.

Why does Kâshgharî have this form of the name: Qifčâq? An Arabic-script tradition that goes back to the mid-9th century has a form that could render either **Qivčaq* or *Qipčaq*: *Xifšâx* is recorded by Ibn Khurdâdhbih, who received his information from Sallâm the Interpreter, sent by the Caliph al-Wâthiq, to Central Eurasia and China (842–845; Ibn Khurdâdhbih/de Goeje 1889, 31). The Arabic script tradition has the regular substitution of ف (f) or ب (b)¹⁰³ for *p* and *v* (which are lacking in Arabic). Subsequent Arabic-script sources (Arabic and Persian), offer a variety of forms: Qibjâq (قِبْجَاق), Qifjâq (قِفْجَاق) Khifjâq (خِفْجَاق), Khifjâkh (خِفْجَاخ) and Khifchâkh (خِفْجَاخ)¹⁰⁴. Georgian has *Qivč'aq-i* (ყ ი ვ ჩ ა ყ ი), but Armenian has Khbshakh (խ ք շ ա ք)¹⁰⁵. The Mongol (*Kibčaq*, pl. *Kibča'ut*, *Kimča'ut*) and Chinese forms (欽察 *qin cha*, Yuan-era pronunciation: *k^him tš^ha*)¹⁰⁶ point to an earlier *Qipčaq*. **Qivčaq* is clearly suggested by the Georgian tradition. Does Kâshgharî's *Qifčâq* represent *Qipčaq* or *Qivčaq*? Kliashtornyi has argued that the ethnonym may be etymologized from Turkic *qovi*, *qovuuq* (“unfortunate, unlucky”, but also “rotten”, “hollowed out” [of a tree]; Clauson 1972, 581; 583), an apotropaic renaming of the Sir tribal union following their disastrous defeat in 646. Thus, in his view, the Sir appear as *qibčaq* in the Shine Usu Inscription (Kliashtornyi 1986). The word *qivčaq* is attested in the *Qutadğū Bilig* (lines 2639, 5133) where it is joined with *qovi* (*qivčaq qovi*) to mean “hollow and vain”, “hollow and unsteady” or “hollow and empty”¹⁰⁷. These citations, unique in Old-Middle Turkic and the tale in the Oghuz Khan cycle in which the eponymous ancestor of the Qipchaqs was born/found in a hollowed out tree (hence his name – most probably a folk etymology) have given rise to a variety of interpretations – none of them fully convincing¹⁰⁸. Indeed, such an apotropaic renaming

¹⁰³ Arabic-based Persian and Turkic texts, which have need of *p* use ب with diacritics, پ to represent this sound

¹⁰⁴ Kumekov 2004, 71, notes a progression of forms in the Islamic authors, Khifšâkh, Khifčâkh, Khifjâkh (8th–9th centuries), Khifčâq, Khifjâq (10th century), Qifjâq, Kifčâq, Qibčâq, Qibjâq (11th century). On these forms, see Bartol'd 1968e, 550; Golden 1995–1997, 100–101; 2005a, 248–249.

¹⁰⁵ On these forms, see Bartol'd 1968e, 550; Golden 1995–1997, 100–101; 2005a, 248–249.

¹⁰⁶ Secret History 2004, I, 126; 194; 201; 206; 208; II, 733; 959; Pelliot/Hambis 1951, 97; Pulleyblank 1991, 254; 44.

¹⁰⁷ Kutadgu Bilig/Arat 1979, 277; 512; English transl.: Yûsuf Khâşş Hâjib/Dankoff 1983, 126; 207; Turkish transl.: Yusuf Hass Hacib/Arat 1974; 196; 371 “kof ve boş” (in both instances). Clauson 1972, 581, renders both instances of *qivčaq* (the only ones found in the Old–Middle Turkic texts) as “unlucky?”.

¹⁰⁸ See Rashîd al-Dîn 1373/1994, I, 53; Abu'l-Ghâzî Bahadur Khan/Desmaisons 1970, [Turkic] 19; [French] 81–19; Abu'l-Ghâzî Bahadur Khan/Ölmez 1996, 133–134. Marquart 1914, 157–162, discussed the Qipchaq-naming legend from the Oghuz Khan cycle of tales and other sources and connected *qovi* “hollow” (“leer, wüst”) with notions of the “steppe” (“Wüste, Steppe”). See also Radloff for much of this (Radlov 1963, II/1, 843–844), Pelliot (1930, 279–281; 302), and Pritsak's (1982, 325) interpretation of the data. Németh 1991, 97, picking up on another suggestion by Marquart (1914, 161–162), associated the name with the Siberian Sagay Turkic term *qipčaq* “angry, furious” which he placed in the category of “nicknames” adopted as ethnonyms.

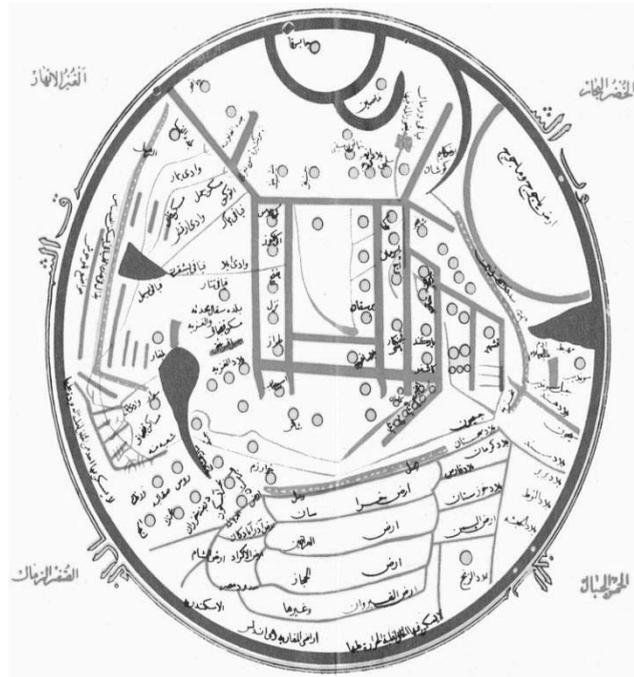


Fig. 1. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's world map, from the *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, 1076 CE. Red: mountains; yellow: sand; blue: rivers; green: sea, ocean (after <http://registan.net/2007/02/28/mahmud-kashgaris-11th-c-map-of-turkic-world/>).

of a people is not otherwise attested. Moreover, Turkic *qıv* (with the denominal suffix *-čaq*) is perhaps a more likely source for **qıvčaq* and has exactly the opposite meaning: “fortunate” (Clauson 1972, 579: *qıv* “good fortune” + suffix *-čaq*; see Erdal 1991, I, 46–47). The etymology of *Qıpchaq* and its original form remain a matter of contention and speculation.

The Oghuz on Kāshgharī's map lie to the west and east of “Qaraçuq Mountain” (*jabal qarājuq*), in the east sharing a zone with the *Qıpchaqs*. The “Qaraçuq Mountain” is perhaps the Qarataw mountain range in Kazakhstan (as Dankoff suggests in Kāshgharī/Dankoff 1982–85, III, 241; on Qarachuq as an “Oghuz” town, see above). The Yemäk and Bashghirt are placed in the “deserts” (*fiyâfi*) between the Ili (*Ilâ*) and Irtysh (*Ärtiř*) rivers, east of the Basmil. The Qay are north of them. The Yabaqu are not noted while the (“deserts of”) Tatar are depicted along the western side of the Ili – far from Mongolia. The *Qırghız*, who are “closest to Şin” (Kāshgharī/ Dankoff 1982–85, I, 82), are curiously absent from the map and indeed from Kāshgharī's narrative. He claims to have traveled in their lands and remarks that they speak a “pure Turkic”, but



Fig. 2. Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī's world map, translated into English (see Fig. 1; graph G. Höhn).

he has little to say about them, other than to note their geographical location (Kāšyarī/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 70; 82; 83; 230). There is not one citation of a specifically Qirghiz term.

The Qirghiz had been responsible for the destruction of the Uyghur Qaghanate in Mongolia in 840, setting into motion an Uyghur diaspora in Xinjiang and Gansu. They do not appear to have made a permanent claim on the old sacred Türk and Uyghur territories on the Orkhon and Selenge in Mongolia, but retired to their Yenisei homeland. Nonetheless, Muslim merchants knew their lands and the products coming from them¹⁰⁹. Despite some notable lacunae, Kāshgharī covers an impressive range from the Pontic steppe zone to Siberia.

Kāshgharī then lists tribes that “are middling between South and North” (Kāšyarī/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 82). Of the Chigil, Tukhsi, Yaghma, Oghraq, Charuq, Chömül/Chomul (vocalization is uncertain), noted therein, only the latter are recorded on the map – as eastern neighbors of the Qay. The Uyghurs, important foes of the Qarakhanids, militarily and ideologically/religiously, are described as a “principality [*wilāya*]¹¹⁰ composed of five cities” (Kāšyarī/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 139–140): Sulmī/Solmī, the foundation of the latter, as with a number of other Central Eura-

¹⁰⁹ Drompp 1999; 2005, 36–38; Golden 1992, 176–183.

¹¹⁰ Kazimirski 1860: “Gouvernement d’une province, prefecture, pays, province, contrée, empire, autorité royale, souveraineté”.

sian cities is credited to Dhu'l-Qarnayn/Alexander the Great, e.g., “Qoço, Janbaliq, Beşbaliq and Yanjbaliq”¹¹¹. Kâshgharî also records a number of frontier cities of the Uyghur realms (which he nowhere defines geographically): Kûsân, also called Kuča, a well-established city before the Uyghurs became the dominant political element¹¹², Kijüt and Tarim (on the Uyghur frontier, near Kucha; Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 302 [Tarim]; II, 217; 334 [Kijüt]).

Kâshgharî concludes his overview with Tangut/Tañut, Khitay “which is Şîn”, and *Tawğaç* “which is Mâşîn” (Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 82), the only one noted on the map. Barthold saw this as a north-south divide, each consisting of ten groups. The tribes from the Pečenegs to the Qırghız constituted the “northern” grouping, from the Chigil to Tawghach the “southern” (Bartol’d 1968b, 205). There is no indication that the Turkic peoples thought in terms of such a north-south division and, indeed, a number of the peoples noted, were not really Turkic-speakers. Moreover, they had not all entered the Central Eurasian steppe zone and come into the purview of Muslim authors at the same time. Kâshgharî describes the “Turkic peoples” as he knew them – or of them – in his time. No mention is made of historical precedence.

Kâshgharî goes on to catalogue the various language groupings and their relationship within Turkic. In his view, those who are monolingual, “who do not mix with Persians, and who do not customarily settle in other lands” speak the “most elegant” Turkic (Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 83). Those who are bilingual and “mix with the populace of the cities” speak incorrectly. He cites the speech of Soghdaq, Kānchāk and Arghu as examples¹¹³. The Soghdaq are, of course, the Sogdians. Moving beyond their home territory in what is today Uzbekistan in the region between the Oxus/Amu Darya and Jaxartes/Syr Darya with the Kashka Darya and Zarafshân valleys and Ustrushâna forming its central zone¹¹⁴, they colonized parts of Semirech’e from at least the 5th century CE and established diasporan settlements in Mongolia and Xinjiang. Among their foundations was the city of Sûyâb (see above), which functioned as a capital for the Western Türk/On Oq state until the Qarluqs took it in 766. Sogdian urban developments were well established until at least the 10th century, although outlying settlements were contracting by the first half of the 10th century. Some of these towns attracted “foreign” populations (e.g., Chinese, Per-

¹¹¹ Kâshgharî’s Solmı/Sulmı = Chin. 焉耆 *Yanqi*, *Argi* in Saka, *Agni* in Sanskrit, now Qarashahr; see Bailey 1982, 58; Zieme 2009. Solmı does not appear to be Turkic. Elsewhere, Qocho (Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, II, 263) is simply noted as the “name of a town in Uighur” and Beshbaliq as the largest of the Uyghur cities. Both formerly Tokharian-speaking, were undergoing Turkicization since the 5th century (Tremblay 2001, 45). Yanjbaliq is translated as “new city”. *Baliq* is defined as “fortress, city, in the dialect of the heathens (*al-jāhiliyya*) and of Uighur” (Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 290–291). On the map, to their east is Qatun Sını (“Tomb of the Qatun”; Clauson 1972, 832), mentioned in the text (Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, II, 218; 315) as “a city between Tanjut and Şîn”.

¹¹² Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 308; Liu 1969; Litvinskii 1992.

¹¹³ Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 83, they “have a certain slurring (*rikka*)” so Dankoff. Auežova (Kâshgharî/ Auežova 2005, 69 “[their] speech becomes broken” [речь становится ломаной]) is closer to the sense of the comment. Rustemov (Kâshgharî/Kormushin 2010, 73) renders it as “a softening in pronunciation” [смягчение в произношении]. *Rikka*, lit. “weakness, feebleness”, when used with reference to language, *rakka* means “to speak incorrectly”, in a broken fashion; Lane 1863–1893, 3; 1141.

¹¹⁴ On the borders of Sogdia proper, still not fully defined: de la Vaissière 2005, 13–16; 2007, 17. On the rise and spread of Sogdian: Livshits/Khromov 1981, 347–349.

sians, Syrians). Turkic was making headway by the 9th–10th centuries and bilingualism was becoming more common, but Sogdian inscriptions left by caravaners and graffiti from the 11th century are not unknown. Sogdian texts of the 9th century from Xinjiang already show Turkic influences. The Sogdians, whose language, given their geographical diaspora across Eurasia, had divided into distinct dialects¹¹⁵, remained the predominant urban population. Kâshgharî describes a process of linguistic shift that was still in progress in his time: “the people of Balasaghun speak both Soghdian and Turkic”. They settled there having come “from Soğd which is between Bukhara and Samarqand”. The same was true, he tells us, in ʿArâz and Isbîjâb (also Sayram and madînat al-Baydâ “White City”¹¹⁶ in Kazakhstan). The Sogdians of Balasaghun have the “dress and manner” of the Turks (see Kâşyari/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 84; 352).

The apparent denationalization of the Balasaghun Sogdians as expressed in clothing, “manner” and bilingualism point, it has been suggested, to the final stages of (Sogdian) “language death” as these diaspora Sogdians were becoming “Turks”, an assimilation process that had been in progress for centuries before Kâshgharî wrote and was now reaching its final stage in some areas¹¹⁷. By the 10th century, Persian had largely supplanted Sogdian in the major cities such as Bukhârâ and Samarqand. Sogdian may have continued to be spoken in the countryside, especially in the more inaccessible highland regions, for several more centuries, perhaps as late as the 16th century (Livshits/Khromov 1981, 350; Lurje 2003a). Closely connected to these cities was the land of Arghu, which extended from Isbîjâb to Balasaghun and was “the country between ʿArâz and Balâsâgûn”. The region was “named *arġu* since it is between two mountains”. *Arġu* in Turkic denotes a “ravine between two mountains” (Kâşyari/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 84; 151; Clauson 1972, 215 *arġu* “valley”). Lying outside of the Sogdian core zone, it was an area of Sogdian settlement in western Semirech’e¹¹⁸. Indeed, de la Vaissière terms it a “Sogdo-Türk bastion, the breeding ground for commerce in Türk slaves and the womb from which the Qarakhanid state was born”¹¹⁹. Doerfer has also used the geographical designation Arġu as the name

¹¹⁵ Bartol’d 1964, 461–467; Yoshida 1990, 120; Krippes 1991, 67–68. There were already distinctions between the Sogdian dialects still spoken in the rural areas surrounding Bukhara and Samarqand. These two cities by the 10th centuries had become centers of Neo-Persian literature reflecting the expansion of Persian in the major cities at the expense of Sogdian, see Livshits/Khromov 1981, 349.

¹¹⁶ Kâşyari/Dankoff 1982–85, II, 241, where the variant “Saryam” is also recorded. Its etymology is uncertain. Dankoff (Kâşyari/Dankoff 1982–85, II, 242) also notes *sayram suw* “shallow water”. Clauson 1972, 859, reads it as *seyrem suw* perhaps deriving from *seyre* (< *seðre* – “to be sparse, scattered”) but notes the infinitive *seyremlenmaq* (sic!). Genç 1997, 30, suggests that it may have been a Qarluq town on the border with the Oghuz.

¹¹⁷ Krippes 1991, 68–73; 75–77. Yagnobi (Yaghnâbî) in the Pamirs is the only descendant of Sogdian (Oranskîi 1988, 333–334).

¹¹⁸ Kliashornyi 1964, 130–130; the toponym *Arghu* was still in use in the 13th century, denoting much of the Chinggisid Ulus of Chaghadai, including Semirech’e. It encompassed the river valleys of the Talas, Chu and Ili (Kliashornyi/Savinov 2005, 99).

¹¹⁹ Kliashornyi 1964, 123–125; Krippes 1991; de la Vaissière 2005, 112 pp.; 328–330.

for one of the sub-groupings of Turkic, the one from which the Khalaj language, spoken in the region between Isbījāb and Balasaghun, derived¹²⁰.

Curiously, Khwārazm (classical “Chorasnia”), in modern Western Uzbekistan, another major trading state, which functioned as an emporium for commerce with the Oghuz and the peoples of the northern forest zone, is mentioned only once and then in connection with the Kūchāt tribe, which had settled in its environs (Kāšyarī/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 277). The Khwārazmians spoke a northeastern Iranian language, related to yet distinct from Sogdian, and had a long history of symbiosis with surrounding Turkic peoples. Turkic had supplanted it by the 14th century¹²¹.

After a period of Ghazanvid rule (1017–1041) and a brief and even more obscure conjectured domination by the Oghuz Yabǧu, Khwārazm came under Seljuk rule in the 1040s. The turmoil that assisted Seljuk successes may be connected to the dislocations produced by the Qun migration¹²².

The Kānchāk (or Kanchak/Kanjak), who lived near Kāshghar, a Qarakhanid holding by the early 10th century (Necef 2005, 191–192), appear to have been previously speakers of an Iranian language close to Khotanese Saka¹²³. Whether “Kashgharia”, itself originally a Saka-speaking region (Tremblay 2001, 38) was undergoing some degree of Turkicization as early as the period of sporadic Uyghur domination during the latter’s imperial years (744–840) and the subsequent era of post-imperial Uyghur states in the region (Turfan/Gaochang – Beshbalıq-Qocho), is unclear (Golden 1992, 163–164). Yarkand, to its southeast was Turkic-speaking before the 9th century, Turkic having replaced, most probably, some Saka language (Tremblay 2001, 35; 137). Kāshghar itself became a pawn in the struggles involving various Turkic peoples, China, Tibet and the Arab Caliphate (Beckwith 1987). By Kāshgharī’s time, Kāshghar’s population was seemingly Turkic-speaking, but with some remnants of non-Turkic substratal lexicon and other features. Nonetheless, Kāshgharī does not consider them real “Turks”¹²⁴.

¹²⁰ Doerfer 1987, 107–114. Doerfer says that Kāshgharī presents the Arghu as “türkisierte Soghder” whose language contained a series of Sogdian loanwords. The initial khin Khalaj points to the non-Turkic origin of this ethnonym (pp. 107–108). For a time, they joined the Oghuz union, but later split from them. Arǧu and Khalac denote the same people. The status of Khalaj remains disputed, see above.

¹²¹ Golden 1992, 189; 209; Oranskii 1988, 210–212; 339; MacKenzie 2011.

¹²² Agadzhanov 1991, 66–69; Bosworth 1992; 1996, 178–180. See the useful critical discussion by Peacock (2010, 23–26; 36; 43–44) regarding the Oghuz Yabǧu state and this issue.

¹²³ Tremblay (2007) and Sims-Williams (2011a) suggest that the underlying stratum may be (cautiously) connected with the Saka of Khotan and Tumshuq.

¹²⁴ Bartol’d 1968b, 205; 1968c, 587; Bailey 1985, 54. However, Kāshgharī’s comment (Kāšyarī/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 84) that “Kāshghar has villages in which Kānchākī is spoken, but in the main city [they speak] Khāqānī Turkic”, can be interpreted as indicating that either this dialect with non-Turkic elements was quite distinct or – perhaps – that Eastern Iranian Kānchākī (or Kanchakī) was still very much a living language in rural settlements near Kāshghar. Elsewhere (Kāšyarī/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 357) he simply terms them “a tribe of the Turks”, but in another notice expresses doubts about their Turkicness, pointing to their “corrupt” speech (Kāšyarī/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 85; II, 218). He also mentions a city, *Kānchāk Sānjir* “near Ṭarāz. It is a frontier of Qifcāq” (Kāšyarī/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 357), but also cites a place (“Qifcāq” near Kāshghar [II, 354]). As *sānjir* is Turkic (Clauson 1972, 840), “a projecting part (lateral or vertical) of a mountain”, “the projecting part (corner or buttress) of a wall”, a term used in placenames, this could mean an area of settlement of Kānchāk, well to the west.

Overall, Kâshgharî underscores the bilingualism of the Uyghur zone, commenting that they speak “pure Turkic”, but also have “another language which they speak among themselves”. This language was probably a variant of Saka or perhaps even a vestige of Tokharian, which may have survived until the 13th century¹²⁵ ...

Kâshgharî makes an extremely interesting comment regarding the “nomadic peoples” (*ahl al-wabr*, lit. “people [of the tents made of] animal hair”), the Chömül (or Ćomul, who “have a gibberish of their own”), the Qay, Yabaqu, Tatar and Basmil, all of whom have their “own language, but they also know Turkic well” (Kâšyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 83). Despite their bilingualism, Kâshgharî, elsewhere, calls the Chömül simply “a tribe of the Turks”. They are noted as allies of the Yabaqu and Basmil in wars with the Qarakhanids (Kâšyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 301;344). They are, perhaps, the Chumi 處蜜¹²⁶ in the *Jiu Tangshu* and other Chinese sources (Chavannes 1941, 21; 28; 31; Harmatta 1992, 266) and the *Cimuḍa/Cumuḍa* of the Khotanese Saka documents, whom Bailey connected with the anthroponym *Cimola/Cimolga* in Kroraina¹²⁷. He etymologized their name as Iranian and consequently their ethnolinguistic affiliations are presumed to be Iranian as well. They were located in Xinjiang and adjoining regions and had a long history of contact with Turkic peoples¹²⁸, hence their fluency in Turkic. All of this is plausible, but speculative. Kâshgharî could distinguish between a number of Iranian languages (e.g., Sogdian and Persian), yet he terms their tongue a kind of “gibberish” (*raṭâna*)¹²⁹. What did Kâshgharî mean here? The Chömül were from a region he knew. Did it refer to peculiarities in their Turkic? He does note one specific word in Chömül Turkic, also found in Yabâqu, Qay, Basmil, Oghuz, Yemäk and Qipchaq (*qırnaq* “slave-girl”¹³⁰), but no overall pic-

¹²⁵ Sümer 1980, 557; Mallory/Adams 2006, 35. Texts of the later Tokharian dialect (Tokharian B) were written in the Indic Brahmi script as well as in Manichaean (Sogdian) script (Fortson 2004, 351–353).

¹²⁶ MC: tšhjwoB mjiet; Schuessler 2009, 48 (1-18,85a); 304 (29-41r).

¹²⁷ Southeast of Khotan, Kroraina became a part of the latter in the mid-fourth century CE, see Vorob’eva-Desiatovskaia 1992, 41. Non-Muslims, they were east of Barchuq and west of the Uyghurs, “allies” of the Yabaqu (Bartol’d 1968c, 587).

¹²⁸ Bailey 1982, 92–93; 1985, 7–8; 92; 96; 133; 135. Bailey derives the name from Iran. *čamrta < čam- “to stride out like a warrior”, “warrior striders” (see also Rastorgueva/Edel’man 2003, 261–262 *čj am > čam- “vazhno vystupat’, vyshagivat’ [...]”) and considers them to be of Yuezhi origin. The Ĥudūd/Sutūdah 1983, 78, and Minorsky 1970, 95, 275) note the “large village” of Jmlī (*Čömüli-kath?). Kaθ is “city” in late Sogdian < kaθ < Old Iran. *kanθa, thence also kand borrowed into Turkic – kend/kent, see Lurje 2003b, 203–207. The later change of -kaθ to kent resulted from Turkicization. It was an Uyghur vassal led by a yabġu, often subject to raids from the Kimek, Qarluq and Yaghma, see also Göckenjan/Zimonyi 2001, 193. Kliashtrnyi 2005, 246, places the “Chomul” in the east of Khotan, on the “north-west extremity of the Tianshan” and south of Lake Lobnor. Pressured by the Qarakhanid advance to Khotan, they joined other non-Muslim tribes in resisting them.

¹²⁹ Baranov 2006, I, 302, raṭâna “chuzhoi neponiatnyi iazyk; zhargon, tarabarshchina”. Raṭâna denotes the idea of “speaking in a language not generally understood (to an Arab)”, a “gibberish or jargon”. See Lane 1968, 3, 1102–1103, and Kazimirski 1860, I, 878, “Parler à quelqu’un dans un baragouin, dans une langue barbare, non arabe”.

¹³⁰ Kâšyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 353. Also in Middle Qipchaq and Chaghatay (Clauson 1972, 661; Toparlı et al. 2003, 145). It survives today only in Turkish (found earlier in Old Anatolian Turkish; Kanar 2011, 452), Türkmen, and the Qazaq of Xinjiang (Zhamyqaeva/Makhranov 2007, 488). Clauson suggests it may be a loanword from Arabic (Lane 1863–1893, I/8, 2253 *ghurnûq/ghirnûq/ghirnâq* “tender youth [...] comely or beautiful youth”) borrowed also into Persian *ghurnaig/ghirniq* (Steingass 1970, 885). Blagova 2000, 240–241, notes these and

ture is presented. Did this offhand dismissal stem from a history of Qarakhanid-Chömül conflict? We do not know. Fortunately, we are somewhat better informed historically about the other “nomads”, the Qay, Yabaqu, Tatar and Basmil. Kâshgharî, however, notes no Qay, Basmil or Tatar words.

The Qay appear under their own name in the Chinese sources: 奚 *Xi* (EMC *γei*, LMC *γiei* or *xhjiqj*; Pulleyblank 1991, 329; Schuessler 2009, 120 [7-1d]: MC *γiei*, Late Han *ge*] = Ġay/Qay), a constituent element of the 庫莫奚 *Kumoxi* (MC *k^huo^c māk γiei*; Schuessler 2009, 48 [1-10e]; 74 [2-40ad]; 120 [7-1d])... They are often paired with the *Qitañ* in the Türk inscriptions. Indeed, all three are noted *in seriatim* in the Kül Tegin (E4, E14) and Bilge Qaghan (E5, E12) inscriptions (Berta 2004, 141–142; 148). The Chinese accounts regularly point to their linguistic kinship (Taskin 1984, 135–139; 154–155). The Qitan subsequently formed the 遼 *Liao* state (916–1125) in northern China, parts of Manchuria and Mongolia (Kychanov 2010, 150–181). A Khotanese Saka text also mentions them together with the *Cumuḍa/Chömül* (Bailey 1982, 86).

Although Németh (1991, 88) essayed a plausible Turkic etymology for Qay meaning “snow-storm, blizzard” (*qay* < *qaδ*; Clauson 1972, 593) falling into the semantic category of ethnonyms representing powerful forces of nature, this, too, must remain a conjecture. The Qay may have been Turkic-speakers, but they were closely intertwined with Mongolic/Para-Mongolic peoples...

Al-Bîrûnî (writing ca. 1029) is the earliest notice to mention the Qun in a listing of the peoples of the Sixth Clime whom he places in the following order: Qay, Qun, Qırghız, Kimek and Toquz Oghuz then going towards the “Türkmen” country, Fârâb and the Khazar capital Ätil/Atıl (Al-Bîrûnî/Wright 1934, 145). The Qay, as part of the “Para-Mongolic” world were certainly in the east, probably in the Mongolian-Manchurian borderlands. The Qun must have been near them. The Qay, Qun, Qırghız and Kimek point towards the north as well, perhaps in an arc from the Mongolian-Manchurian borderlands to Western Siberia. As Al-Bîrûnî mentions the Khazar capital of Ätil/Atıl, which had ceased functioning as a capital after the Rus’ and the Oghuz overran it in 965, 967–969 (Konovalova 2003); his notice is not necessarily contemporary with his own time...

The Qañlı who formed an important component of the eastern Qıpchaqs are reduced to a person: “Qañlı. Name of an important man of Qifçâq” (Kâşğarî/Dankoff 1982–85, II, 343)¹³¹. Kâshgharî mentions another subdivision of the Qıpchaqs, the Yemäk who are associated with the Irtysh River (*Ärtiř suwı yemäki*). He comments that they are “a tribe (*jil*) of the Turks. They are considered by us to be Qifçâq, but the Qifçâq Turks reckon themselves a different party” (Kâşğarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 129; 260; II, 161 [Kaşğarlı 1941, 456]). Rus’ and Islamic sources consider

other hypotheses, including Turk. *qır ~ qız* “girl, unmarried woman, daughter, slave girl” (Clauson 1972, 679–680). If an Arabic loanword, how it made its way into Non-Muslim Turkic tongues remains to be explained.

¹³¹ On the Qañlı, see Golden 1995–1997, 101–102. The name may derive from the Ancient Iranin Kangha, a toponym that appears to have been adopted by a number of Turkic peoples who inhabited the region at one time or another, see Kliashutoryi 1964, 177–179.

them a subgrouping of the Qıpchaqs. They were originally mentioned (by Gardîzî) as one of the core constituent elements of the Kimek union¹³². *Yemäk/Yimäk/ İmäk* was long considered a variant of *Kimek* with the loss of initial *k-* known to Qıpchaq dialects, but other explanations are possible. The *Yemäk* may have their roots, as do some other elements of the Kimek and later Qıpchaq unions, in peoples stemming from the Mongolo-Manchurian zone (Golden 2002). Thus, Kâshgharî gives us some rather uncertain information regarding disagreements over place (and hence rank) within the relatively newly formed Qıpchaq confederation, but otherwise tells us little.

The presence of the Yabâqu in this listing of tribes that “know Turkic well”, but also speak another language is puzzling. The ethnonym *Yabaqu/Yapaqu/Yapaġu* is otherwise not attested, except in one fragmentary Qırghız inscription dated to not earlier than the mid-9th century in which the deceased described himself as an *içrāk* (or *içrāgi*, i.e. an official in the inner circle of the ruler), a *Yabaqu* and a *Türgeş* (either one could also serve as a personal name, in the Turkic world ethnonyms could also be used as personal names; see Németh 1991, 63–64; 187; 304¹³³), who also held the office of *çañşı* (“chronicler”, “annalist”; Kormushin 2008, 128). As an ethnonym or anthroponym, *Yabaqu* reflects Turkic: *yapaġu*, originally denoting “matted hair or wool” and then an animal characterized by this, e.g., a “colt”¹³⁴. In the ms. (Kaşgarlı 1941, 25; 460) both the ethnonym and the term (“refuse of wool”) are written identically (يَبَاغُو). With initial *y-*, *Yabâqu/Yapaġu* is most probably not Mongolic¹³⁵. It also figures in local toponymy. Kâshgharî, in his entry on *yapâqu*, notes it as the name of a river, *Yapaqu Suwı*, flowing “over Özjand Farġâna from the mountains of Kâşġar”. Zoonyms or hipponyms are known in Turkic ethnonymy, some of probable totemic origin¹³⁶. The *Hudûd* records a river which passes by Ūzgand (Özjand/Özkend) called *Tbâġr (تَبَاغُو) which probably should be emended to *Yabâġû (يَبَاغُو)¹³⁷. This does not necessarily mean that the river took its name from a

¹³² Golden 1995–1997, 121; PSRL 1841–2004, I, 389 (Половци Ємакове “the Yemäk Cumans”); Gardîzî/ Ĥabîbî 1363/1984, 550 (-c. II Imäk).

¹³³ *Yapaġu*, *Yapaġı* is also attested as a personal name in 16th century Chaghatay (see Rásonyi/Baski 2007, I, 332). A late 7th century Uyghur chief bore the name *Türgeş* (see Chavannes 1941, 93; Tremblay 2001, 38)

¹³⁴ Clauson 1972, 874–875; Kâşyari/Dankoff 1982–85, II, 166 (*yabâqu* “a tribe of the Turks”, *yapâqu* “refuse [*qarda*] of wool”. When the hair on the head ‘becomes matted’ you say, *yapâqu boldı*). See also Levitskaia 1989, 125–126 sub *yap*, *yapaq* “sherst”.

¹³⁵ Cf. Class. Mongol *daġaki*, Modern Mong. *daakh*. See also Starostin et al. 2003, II, 887; Tuimebaev 2005, 30.

Levitskaia 1989, 126 (following Poppe 1960, 47), notes a proto-form **dapâki*.

¹³⁶ The Oghuz Bayındır had a sub-branch called *Yapaġı* (see Sümer 1980, 318). A tribe named *Jabaġı* is also attested among the Qazaq and Qırghız (see Lezina/Superanskaia 1994, I, 176; Choroev 1991, 113–114). Cf. also the previously noted Ula Yondluġ (Kâşyari/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 101–102), elsewhere Ala Yonlıl “the Piebald horse (people)”, one of the Oghuz subtribes. On totemic names, see Németh 1991, 65–71. Gardîzî/Ĥabîbî 1363/1984, 548–549 (see also Göckenjan/Zimonyi 2001, 102), notes the ruler of the Qarluqs as Yabâġu. On this basis, Şeşen (1985, 18), among others have identified the Yabâqu as Qarluqs, or a sub-grouping of them (Miquel 2001–02, II, 209). Yabâġû here, however, is simply a garbling of the ancient Inner Asian title *yabġu*, as Gardîzî’s account makes clear.

¹³⁷ *Hudûd/Sutûdah* 1983, 113; Minorsky 1970, 116; 288–289. Bartol’d 1968a, 85–86, located the Yabaqu in the Yamâr River region (the Yamâr of Kâshgharî is “probably the Emil’ in the region in which the city Chuguchak now is”), but comments that it may be a coincidence that the river flowing near Özkend bears the same name. Elsewhere (Bartol’d 1968b, 207; 1968c, 586) connected this hydronym with either a part of the Irtysh or the Ob’ River “which the

people or that the Yabaqu/Yapaqu/Yapaġu were in that region in the 10th century or earlier. Its notation in the Qırġız inscription, however, indicates that such a name was known, either as an ethnonym or anthroponym before the 10th century.

As Yapaġu/Yabâqu is not recorded in other listings of the Turkic tribes in the medieval sources, other explanations of this name's appearance at this time have been offered. Kliashstornyĭ has suggested that Yabaqu (Yapaġu) was a derogatory name given (by the Qarakhanids) to the Qun tribe (Kliashstornyĭ 2005, 244–246), an interesting hypothesis. Kâshgharĭ cites few Yabâqu usages, the choice of one of them does not show them in a positive light: *beg kişini yêdi* “the emir devoured the man's property” (Kâşyarĭ/Dankoff 1982–85, II, 279)¹³⁸.

The Basmil are known to the Türk and Uyghur inscriptions as well as the Chinese sources. The latter initially describe them as a northern, forest-oriented people who hunt using skis in their snowy terrain and live in birch-wood homes (Maliavkin 1989, 103–104). They came under Western Türk rule in 638 (after the fall of the First Eastern Türk Qaghanate in 630) and when we later encounter them their rulers, who bore the title *Iduqqut* (later *Idiqut* “Heaven-sent royal glory/fortune”; Clauson 1972, 46), were from a branch of the Ashina, the Türk royal house, by ca. 650. These Basmil Ashinas briefly held supreme power in the Eastern Qaghanate with the toppling of the Second Türk Qaghanate in 742. In the notice in the *Jiu Tang-shu* on the events of 744 (= 742), they are listed among the components of the Toquz Oghuz union¹³⁹, the dominant tribe of which was the Uyghurs, although it is unclear when the Basmil joined the union...

Qarakhanid wars against “infidel” Turks are recorded in Arabic sources in the first quarter of the 11th century and beyond. Kâshgharĭ cites a verse honoring an undated attack on the Uyghurs in Xinjiang (it is recorded under a notice on *Kând/Ordu Kând/Kâshghar* and referring to “Lower Şĭn”), in which, the Qarakhanid forces raided their cities, destroyed and desecrated their (Buddhist) temples by defecating on “the heads of their idols”¹⁴⁰. The attacks were mutual, each side raiding the other. Al-‘Utbĭ (d. 427/1036 or several years later), a contemporary of the events, records one such attack s.a. 403/1012–1013, reporting that “300,000 tents of the Turks from the direction of Şĭn” descended on the ailing Qarakhanid “Toghan Khan” (r. ca. 388/998–408/1017/18; Kochnev 2001, 52; Bosworth 1996, 181), who died not long after defeating them (al-‘Utbĭ/al-Thâmirĭ 2004, 385–387). In subsequent accounts,

Tatars even now call Omar or Umor”. Genç 1997, 4, identified the Yamâr with the Ob'. Tryjarski 1993, 284, places them between Kâshghar and Özkend and neighboring with the Tatars in the Ili Valley.

¹³⁸ Others include *nâçük* “why?” (Kâşyarĭ/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 300, attested in Middle Qıpçaq, Toparlı et al. 2003, 199, also *neşük*, *niçük* etc.), *taşq-* “go out” (Kâşyarĭ/Dankoff 1982–85, II, 22), also found in Yaghma, Tukhsi, Qıpçaq “and some” Türkmen, *yapaqulaq* “chills from a fever” (spelled *yubaqulaq*) and “owl” shared by Yabâqu and Yemâk (Kâşyarĭ/Dankoff 1982–85, II, 178). Clauson 1972, 875, suggests that the term derives from the Yabâqu ethnonym (Yapaqu) itself. He also cites a series of words stemming from these forms that are found in Siberian (*yapqulaq*, *yabaqulaq*, *yabalaq*), southeastern/Türkî (*yapalaq*) and Qıpçaq (*yabalaq*) and Oghuz (*yapalağ*) Turkic. See also Levitskaia 1989, 129.

¹³⁹ Liu 1958, I, 261, has the year 744, but Jiu Tangshu (Jiu Tangshu/Togan et al. 2006, 61–62; 317–319 [commentary]) correctly places these events in 742.

¹⁴⁰ Kâşyarĭ/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 270 (*furçan ävin yıqtımız, burçan üzä sıçtımız*). On *furçan ävi* “Buddhist temple”, see DTS 1969, 194 (*burçan* “Buddha” and then “idol”); see Clauson 1972, 360–361.

“Şîn” became “Khitây”. Thus, Ibn al-Athîr (d. 1233), s.a. 408/1017–1018, depicts a similar scenario with the same number of invaders (300,000) from “Khitây” (Ibn al-Athîr/Tornberg 1965–1966, IX, 297–298). Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286) or his source, is closer to al-‘Utbi chronologically, placing the invasion in 1014, but the invaders were the “*Khetâ*”, numbering some 200,000 along with “from thirty to fifty thousand” others who came as well. They descended on the land of the “Huns”, i.e. the Qarakhanids (and a later attack s.a. 1046; Bar Hebraeus/Budge 1932, I, 186; 204–205)¹⁴¹. The numbers, of course, cannot be taken at face value, but indicate substantial forces.

These invaders were clearly Turkic and Mongolic/Para-Mongolic peoples from the borderlands of the Liao state, set into motion by turmoil with the latter. Troubles with the Uyghurs of Ganzhou, the Tanguts and subject peoples, constituted a fairly consistent problem for the Liao and this undoubtedly had ripple effects in the steppe zone¹⁴². There is no evidence to indicate a policy of Liao/Qitan hostility towards the Qarakhanids¹⁴³ (termed *Dashi* 大食, i.e. Tâjik in the Chinese accounts, a general term for “Muslims”). A Qarakhanid mission sent (probably by Qadir Khan) in 1020, offered “ivory and local products” and sought a Liao princess for the khan’s son. A Liao bride was sent (Wittfogel/Fêng 1949, 51; 108; 317–318; 357).

Whether the Qarakhanid poetry reflected this specific invasion or a series of invasions, or perhaps yet others, unrecorded in our sources, is not entirely clear. The conflict with Böke Budrach and a large force of non-Muslims, as some have argued, may have dated to the 1030s or 1040s¹⁴⁴. Indeed, Kâshgharî says that he spoke with a participant in the actual battle (perhaps already an old man) who said that the Qarakhanid Muslim army amounted to only 40,000, under Ghâzî Arslan Tegin, but were miraculously able to defeat Böke Budrach’s army of 700,000¹⁴⁵. The numbers, whatever the exaggeration, point to large-scale undertakings. This was a period of turbulence in the Liao/Qitan borderlands that had produced the migrations of the Qun, Qay and others (noted above). Kâshgharî cites a poem that ends with the phrase *qaptı mänig qâyımı lit.* “he stole my Qay” which Kâshgharî renders as “he stole from me [the slave imported from the tribes of] Qây” (Kaşgarlı 1941, 478; Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, II, 188–189, the brackets are added by Dankoff). This

¹⁴¹ See Bartol’d 1963, I, 341; 1968a, 103–104; Huncan 2007, 271–272. Bartol’d 1968a, 86, was incorrect in his statement that this was the “only military expedition undertaken by the Muslims against the Unbelievers”, mentioned by Kâşgarî. The verses noted above about the attack on the Uyghurs would indicate that mutual attacks were not uncommon. The Sâmanîds, whom the Qarakhanids in part supplanted, also had a tradition of campaigns against the nomads, which netted them substantial numbers of slaves.

¹⁴² Wittfogel/Fêng 1949, 102; 136; 362 fn. 74; 398–427 (overview of internal Qitan revolts as well as those of subject peoples); 518; Bartol’d 1968a, 103–104; Golden 1992, 184–186; 2005a, 268.

¹⁴³ As Genç 1997, 23, would imply.

¹⁴⁴ Kliashornyi/Savinov 2005, 139, and Kliashornyi 2005, 244, date these events to “some time” after 1027. Togan 1970, 145–146, with Genç 1981, 59–60, and Necef 2005, 329–332, following him, date the Qarakhanid wars with the Basmils, Chömüls and Yabâqu to ca. 1038–1042.

¹⁴⁵ Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, II, 268. Genç 1997, 22, on the basis of Kâşgarî’s “interview” with a participant in the battle would date it too shortly before the composition of the *Dîwân*, but such an interview could have taken place long before the 1070s.

hints at the availability of Qay who had been captured in warfare. Although the Qay were known to him, Kâshgharî does not cite one example of their language.

The Tatars, a Mongolic or “Para-Mongolic” people or grouping of peoples, with a “homeland” in Mongolia, had a long history often marked by internecine strife. They were among the subject peoples of the Türk, Uyghur and Qırghız Qaghanates and are noted in the Türk Orkhon (Otuz Tatar and Toquz Tatar) and the Qırghız (Toquz Tatar) inscriptions. There are traces of Tatar polities outside of their “homeland”, e.g., those noted in the genesis of the Kimek state. Matters are further complicated by the spread, in the Pre-Chinggisid era, of their name as a politonym to other peoples that had become their subjects¹⁴⁶. Kâshgharî terms them “a tribe (*jil*) of the Turks” and comments that their Turkic shares dialect features in common with the speech of the Yaghma, Tukhsi, Qırchaqs, Yabaqu, Qay, Chömül, and Oghuz ($\delta > y$, e.g., *qađıñ > qayıñ* “birch”; Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 85; 312). Interestingly, he places the Ötükan, the sacred ground from which the Ashina, the ruling clan of the Türks were supposed to rule with the favor of Heaven, as the “name of a place in the deserts of Tatâr, near Uıghur” (Kâşyarî/ Dankoff 1982–85, I, 159)¹⁴⁷. On his map it is alongside the Ärtiş River, opposite the “deserts” of the Yemäk, east of the “deserts of Başqirt”, south of the Qay and Chömül, and northwest of Beshbalıq. The reverence for the Ötükan was equally true of the Uyghurs, the Türks’ successors.

It can still be seen in post-imperial Uyghur Manichaeic documents from Qocho, in which the Ötükan continues to be recognized as a spiritual, power-granting center, even after a change in religion from the Tängri faith: *il ötükan küç birü yarlıqaduqın üçün* (“since the Ötükan Realm deigned to give power”), *il ötükan qutı ilki böğü qanları iliglar qutı bu iduq örgin qutı t[ä]ñri iligimiz iduq qut üzä ornanmaqu bolzun* “may the divine good fortune of the Realm of Ötükan (*il ötükan qutı*), of the earlier wise fathers, the divine good fortune of the rulers, the divine good fortune of this holy throne be placed upon our divine king the İduqut”¹⁴⁸.

The tradition continued. The *Liaoshu* reports that the Qitan emperor, 阿保機 Abaoji (r. 907–926), during his campaigns in Mongolia in 924, brought back water and stones from this sacred region and erected steles with inscriptions in Qitan, Turkic and Chinese glorifying his deeds...

Kâshgharî then turns to the neighboring peoples in the east: “the people of Mâşîn and Şîn” speak their own language, the settled population speaks Turkic and can communicate in writing using the “Turkic script” (Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 83). Here, he is very likely referring to merchants who had commercial contacts with the Turkic nomads. Tübüt (Tibet¹⁴⁹) and Khotan (the town and its people are

¹⁴⁶ See Kliashorny 2006c; Janhunen 1996, 159–160; Golden 1999, 370–371.

¹⁴⁷ The Ötükan Yış (Ötükan forested highlands) were probably located in the eastern Khangai Mountains; see Kliashorny 1964, 33–34; Roux 1984, 20; 151–152. See also discussion in Stark 2008, 31; 47–48; 140–141; Jeong 2011, 249 (“in general it is regarded as a wide area of mountains, forest, and steppes in the Orqon River basin located in the north slope of Hangai Mountains”).

¹⁴⁸ von Le Coq 1922, 34 (ll.13–14); 35 (ll. 16–20). See slightly different rendering in Klimkeit 1993, 297; Allsen 1996, 127.

¹⁴⁹ Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 276, terms *Tübüt* “a large tribe in the land of the Turks” and provides them with a Yeme-

also called Udun¹⁵⁰), he informs us, each have “a script and language of their own” and neither of them knows Turkic well. These peoples are described as “settlers in the lands of the Turks” (Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 83; 114–115). This can hardly be true of the indigenous, Iranian-speaking population of Khotan. Indians composed the second largest ethnic grouping in Khotan (Vorob’eva-Desiatovskaia 1992, 41). Kâshgharî cites a linguistic criterion for his not ranking the Khotanese and Kâñchâkî, peoples of East Iranian origins, among the “Turks”: they turn initial a- into ha- (Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 85).

The Bulaq are noted as a Turkic tribe, which the Qıpchaqs “took captive”. They subsequently regained their independence but “came to be called *Älkä Bulaq*” (Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 152; 291). The meaning of *älkä* is not explained, but probably is connected with their change in political fortunes. The Bulaq may have been one of the Qarluq subgroupings, the 謀落 *Mou luo* (MC *Mjäu lāk*¹⁵¹) of the Chinese accounts (Maliavkin 1989, 168–169). The Qarluqs, Chigil, Tukhsi and very likely the Ädgish, at some point before 766, were part of the Western Türk Qaghanate.

On the Volga Bulgars, Kâshgharî is not very informative – or perhaps simply uninformed. He notes that their language and that of the “Suvârîn” (Savâr¹⁵²) who constituted one of the subordinate tribal groupings under their rule, and that of the Pechenegs “is Turkic of a single type with clipped ends”¹⁵³. The Volga Bulgars spoke a West Old Turkic/Oghuric form of Turkic, which differed substantially by this time from Common Turkic¹⁵⁴. Al-Bîrûnî says that the Bulgars and “Suwâr” (Sawâr) have a language that is “a mixture of Turkic and Khazar” (Al-Bîrûnî/Sachau 1923, 41–42)¹⁵⁵.

Kâshgharî appears to rank Pecheneg with Volga Bulgar, whereas Pecheneg (from which there are only fragmentary data), is usually considered Common Turkic (perhaps of or akin to the Northwestern/Qıpchaq grouping¹⁵⁶). Kâshgharî takes note of the $\delta > z$ shift in Bulgar and the $m > b$ shift in “Suvârîn” (Kâşyarî/Dankoff

ni Arab genealogy, claiming that heir language still contained some Arabic words (see also Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 125, on their word *uma* “mother” which he connects with Arabic *umm* “mother”).

¹⁵⁰ Udun is a term of uncertain origin. It is vaguely reminiscent of Tibetan hu-ten, hu-dan, hu-then which probably reflect the native Khotanese hvatana, later hvamna, hvana; Bailey 1979, viii; 501–502; 1982, 2; Vorob’eva-Desiatovskaia 1992, 41–42.

¹⁵¹ Schuessler 2009, 106 (4–65f); 65 (2–1q).

¹⁵² Understandably vocalized as *suvâr* in light of Pers. *suvâr* “cavalier, horseman” (Steingass 1970, 705) but actually going back to *Sabir*, a Turkic people that entered the Volga-Caspian steppelands in the early 6th century and elements of which joined the Volga Bulgars (see Golden 1992, 104–106).

¹⁵³ Kaşgarlı 1941, 25; Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 84 and fn. 3 with a brief discussion of the renderings of *maḥdhūfa al-aṭrâf ‘alâ namaṭ wâhid* “elision/apocapation of the ends in a single manner”; Kâshgharî/Auezova 2005, 70; Kâshgharî/Kormushin 2010, 76 with similar renderings.

¹⁵⁴ See Erdal 1993; Tekin 1988. See Scherner 1977, 9–24, and the chart of the chronology of these changes (p. 14). The separation of Old West Turkic/Oghuric from Old East Turkic/Common Turkic may have begun as early as the 3rd century BCE (Czeglédy 1983, 112), but was certainly in progress in the 1st century BCE–1st century CE, see Róna-Tas 1999, 101–104; 2011, 226–227, and Róna-Tas/Berta 2011, II, 1112–1113, who broadly place it in the period after the invention of the stirrup (3rd c. BCE) and its spread across Eurasia (3rd–5th c. CE).

¹⁵⁵ On the complexities of determining the place of the Khazar language within Turkic, see Ligeti 1986, 475–494; Golden 2005b; Róna-Tas/Berta 2011, II, 1167–1176.

¹⁵⁶ Németh 1932, 50–51; Györfy 1990, 170–191; Tryjarski 1975, 596–603.

1982–85, I, 85). Eventually, this $-\delta > -z$ shift produced $-r$, coalescing with an earlier $z > r$ shift¹⁵⁷. Whether Kâshgharî's remarks actually reflect Bulgharic Turkic or a form of Qıpchaq that was now coexisting in the region (Qıpchaq eventually prevailed in the form of Volga Tatar; see comments of Pritsak 1959) is far from clear. As late as 1184, conflicts between the Volga Bulgars and the Yemäk Cuman-Qıpchaqs were noted in the Rus' chronicles (PSRL 1841–2004, I, 389). Kâshgharî identifies "Suvâr" (well known to the earlier Islamic geographers), with Sakhsîn, "a city near Bulğâr" (Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 330)¹⁵⁸.

The Bashghirt (Mod. Bashqort, Russ. Bashkir), eastern neighbors of the Volga Bulgars in the Ural steppe zone, are noted only twice in Kâshgharî's listing of Turkic peoples. Of their language, his only remark is that their speech, like that of the Yemäk, approaches the "pure Turkic" of the "Qırghız, Qıfçaq, Oghuz, Tuysi, Yağma, Ćigil, Oğraq and Ćaruq" (Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 85). The pairing with Yemäk is not otherwise explained. The Bashghirt, neighbors of the Volga Bulgars and Oghuz, have a complex ethnic history that involved the blending of Oghuric-speaking, Common-Turkic-speaking and Ugric tribes, a process that was, in all likelihood, still ongoing in Kâshgharî's day¹⁵⁹. The Charuq, aside from their "pure Turkic" speech and presence in Barchuq are otherwise not known¹⁶⁰. The name would appear to derive from *čaruq* ("a kind of footwear [...] a rough homemade boot", in Kâshgharî "sandals"; Clauson 1972, 428; Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 291–292). Their relationship, if any, to the Charuqlugh sub-grouping of the Oghuz is not commented on¹⁶¹.

With Tangut/Tajut, Khitay "which is Şîn", and Tawğaç "which is Mâşîn" (Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 82; see above) we have come to the southeastern borders of the Turkic world. The Tajut had long contact with the Turkic world and are noted in the Bilge Qaghan inscription (E24)¹⁶², but belong to another ethno-linguistic grouping. *Tajut* is their name in Turkic and Mongolic. In Tibetan, they were called *Mi nyag* and their self-designations were *Mi* and *Mi-niah/Mi-nyag*. They derived from the 黨 [or 党] 項 Dangxiang grouping (late 6th century) of 羌 Qiang peoples, speakers of a Tibeto-Burmese language, early inhabitants of Gansu and Kokonor, who appear to have come there from Central China by the late 2nd millennium BCE.

¹⁵⁷ If one accepts $-z$ as the initial sound in Turkic and the shift $-z > -r$ as a secondary, Old West Turkic/Oghuric development.

¹⁵⁸ Golden 1995b; Göckenjan/Zimonyi 2001, 218; 220. Minorsky 1970, lxxxi, 453, considers Saqsîn/Sakhsîn, well known in Mongol times, as a "haplogly" of Sarighshîn, the old Khazar city, see also Pelliot 1949, 165–174 (for its possible location); Golden 1980, I, 237–238. There may have been several Saqsîns. One would appear to have been in the lower Volga. Abul-Ĥâmid al-Ĝarnâfî (d. 1170) visited Sakhsîn in which he found Oghuz tribes living under a Bulghâr amîr (Abu Ĥâmid/Iványi 1985, 37–38).

¹⁵⁹ Kuzeev 1974; Miquel 2001–2002, II, 215–216; Golden 1992, 262–264.

¹⁶⁰ Necef 2005, 89–90, would place them among the On Oq tribes, but we lack confirmatory evidence for this.

¹⁶¹ Sümer 2006, 56, considered the Ćaruq as possibly a remnant of the On Oq.

¹⁶² Berta 2004, 163; Bilge Qaghan tells of a campaign against the Tajut, *tajwt tapa sülâdim tajwt bodwnwy bwzdwrm* "I made war against the Tajut, I defeated the Tajut".

They were in contact with “Altaic” peoples as well as under considerable Chinese influence and/or political domination. Their royal house would claim, perhaps without solid justification, Tuoba/Tabghach antecedents (Kychanov 2008, 35–50; Dunnell 1984; 1996, xiii–xiv). As Ruth Dunnell suggests (Dunnell 1984, 81), they may have emerged out of a mixing of Qiang and Xianbei peoples. Their state, which the Chinese called 西夏 *Xi Xia* (“Western Xia”), began to take shape in the late 10th century and fully emerged in the 11th century (1038–1227), in particular in warfare with the Uyghurs (Kychanov 2008, 51–58; Golden 1992, 166–167). It is this complex, periodic intertwining of Taŋut history with that of the Turkic peoples that allowed Kâshgharî to term them “a tribe of the Turks.” Or it may point to Kâshgharî’s ignorance of the southeastern border zone of the Turkic world. Indeed, Kâshgharî’s first-hand knowledge of the Turkic world largely encompassed the Qarakhanid world and its immediate environs, from Kâshghar to the Chu and İli rivers zones, Issyk Kul and Farghâna and some parts of the Oghuz world to its west (Genç 1997, 4).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

What was the basis for Kâshgharî’s presentation of the Turkic world? Clearly, there was a sense of “Turkicness”, but it was one not without internal tensions. There were populations that were becoming Turkic, but still not considered as such by Kâshgharî. There was some ambivalence about nomadic and non-nomadic Turks and whether the latter were truly Turks (e.g., his comments about those who mix with the peoples of the cities speak a poorer/corrupted Turkic). In light of his comments on Oghuz Turkic, this was a subtle jibe at the Seljuks. Yet, there were also nomads who spoke another language alongside Turkic. He views them as Turks. Clearly, Kâshgharî’s Turkic world was not as homogeneous as the employment of the generic *Turk* and his Biblical-Qur’ânic genealogies imply.

Is there any evidence for a historical memory on Kâshgharî’s part of the imperial past of the Türks and Uyghurs? Kâshgharî’s folk etymological explanations of the title of the Uyghur ruler, *Köl Bilgä Xan* (“his intelligence is like a lake”¹⁶³ < *köl* “lake”) and of that of the Qarluq chieftains, *Köl İrkin* (“his intelligence is ‘gathered together like a full pond’”; Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 137), are unlikely and perhaps even his own creations. *Köl* or more probably *Kül* (the vocalizations are uncertain, Chinese renders *Köl/Kül* Tegin as 闕特勤 *que teqin* MC *k^hjwət dək gjən*¹⁶⁴) is an old

¹⁶³ Kâşyarî/Dankoff 1982–85, I, 324; Clauson 1972, 715, preferred *kül* rather than *köl*, and considered Kâshgharî’s explanation “preposterous”. *Kül* is probably not related to Turk. *külüg* “famous” (Clauson 1972, 717–718), an adjective that appears in Turkic royal names (often as *Külüg Bilgä*; Rybatzki 2000, 244; 250–251).

¹⁶⁴ Schuessler 2009, 240 (22-2h); 98 (4-26h); 327 (33-5x), cf. Pulleyblank 1991 闕 *quē* (“fault, defect”) and *quē* (“observation tower, imperial palace”); 263, EMC *k^huat*, LMC *k^hyat*, see discussion in Dobrovits 2012, who argues for *kül* deriving from *külüg* “virtuous” (Clauson 1972, 717–718 “famous”) as *Kül* Tegin denoting “Generalissimo”.

title (cf. *Köl/Kül Tegin*¹⁶⁵, the brother of Bilge Qaghan). Like much of Türk titlature, it was borrowed from sources that are not always certain...

Whether Kâshgharî simply adopted the Afrâsiyâb motif as part of the Irano-Islamic culture that he and other Qarakhanid literati had assimilated or whether he used the Turanian identification for effect is an interesting question. By inserting the mythical heroes of the Turks into Iranian and Hellenistic folklore, as he understood it, Kâshgharî was engaged in a form of what Erich Gruen, the noted historian of Antiquity, has termed “identity theft”, a practice with deep roots within the Ancient World itself. The Romans, early on, embraced Greek legends that proclaimed ancient foreign origins (most notably Trojan, especially in the person of Aeneas) for the founders of their state (Gruen 2011, 224–227; 243–245). Kâshgharî, of course, could hardly have been aware of this historiographical tradition, but like the early Romans, gladly accepted the association with an ancient and martial people. The Turanian tradition provided an excellent canvas on which to delineate such connections. The fierce martial prowess long associated with the Turanian theme in the Iranian world and by extension the Middle East perfectly suited the growing political and military dominance of the Turks in the Islamic heartlands. But, writing in Baghdad, in an ‘Abbâsid Caliphate that had lost much of its temporal power and was reliant on the Seljuks, he had to tread carefully. His ostensible goal was to introduce the Turks, the new politico-military masters of substantial parts of the Islamic world, to the Arabic-reading public. At the same time, he was immensely proud of the Qarakhanid ruling house. Hence, as one recent discussion of the Qarakhanids has asked, why did he “attach the Qarakhanid royal family, rather than that of the Seljuqs, to Afrasiyab?” The Seljuks, or at least some of their propagandists, had already made such a link (Hua 2008, 346–348). Qarakhanid-Seljuk relations were not particularly cordial in the 1070s, although Kâshgharî’s position as Qarakhanid prince “living abroad” – perhaps in a kind of exile – and no longer involved in political matters, may have saved him close political scrutiny¹⁶⁶. The Qarakhanids were under at least nominal Seljuk overlordship¹⁶⁷. Nonetheless, Kâshgharî says nothing about Seljuk ties to Afrâsiyâb. Perhaps he knew nothing of such claims. Perhaps he did not want to give voice to them. The Turanian-Afrâsiyâb connection was useful to his project of making the Turks not newcomers, but an ancient part of the Iranian and thence Irano-Muslim world. Yes, the Turks were to some degree “outsiders” but they were to be viewed as “outsiders” with a history of contact that stretched back to antiquity. In the millennia-old struggle of Iran and Turan, the latter in the form of the Turks had emerged as the victors*.

¹⁶⁵ User 2010, 138–139 (for citations of *Kül Tegin*); 276–278. Many others bore this title/honorific “qualifier”.

¹⁶⁶ Kormushin in Kâshgharî/Kormushin 2010, 32, suggests that his princely status may have aided his contacts with Oghuz chieftains and linguistic informants.

¹⁶⁷ Agadzhanov 1991, 93–95; Kafesoğlu 1953, 19–20; 119–23; Golden 1992, 222; Kochnev 2001, 50.

* There are some cut-backs in the article.