

THE TURKS





TECHNICAL COORDINATION

MURAT OCAK



ART DIRECTORS

D. HAMZA GÜRER / ŞAFAK TAVKUL



VISUAL DESIGN

VISUAL DIRECTOR

ASST. PROF. DR. TUFAN GÜNDÜZ

ASST. VISUAL DIRECTOR

HASAN TAHSİN

DR. MUHAMMET GÖRÜR / FATMA DOĞANCI / UĞUR ALTUĞ
YÜKSEL ŞAHİN / AHMET SAİT CANDAN / HÜSEYİN KÖKSAL / HAYAT ARAS



SCANNING

TURGAY SÜSLÜ / ÜMİT BAHADIR



TYPE SETTING

MEHMET KESKİN / FATMA ÖZGÜR ŞAHİN / AHMET DÜZGÜN
UMUT ARAS / TURGAY SÜSLÜ / ÜMİT BAHADIR / VURAL DÖNMEZ
ZÜLFİKÂR MERT / CAN AYVAŞIK / LALE AZİMZEDE / SERHAN BALKANAL
VURAL DÖNMEZ



PROOF READING

ELNUR AĞAYEV

ZEHRA FİLİZ BİLİR / EMİNE ÖZDEMİR / BÜŞRA BOLAY



GRAPHIC DESIGN

D. HAMZA GÜRER



PRINTED AT

SEMİH OFSET



BOUNDING HOUSE

BALKAN CİLTEVİ

975-6782-55-2 ISBN (TKNO)

975-6782-56-0 ISBN (VOL. 1)

ANKARA 2002

INNER COVER DESIGN: GÖKTÜRK INSCRIPTIONS



TURKISH TRIBES IN CENTRAL ASIA IN THE PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD

PROF. DR. AHMET TAŞAĞIL
AHMET YESEVI UNIVERSITY / KAZAKHSTAN

Turkish tribes and the events they caused in the pre-Islamic Period resemble a tree, which begins with its roots first, then develops its trunk, and finally divides into branches. The tribes that preceded the great states, such as the Hun, Göktürk and Uygur empires, are a significant aspect of our ancient history. It is not possible to comprehend this history, especially the ancient times of Central Asia, without first analyzing the tribes and describing their history. Here we shall discuss the ancient Turkish tribes that existed before the tenth century.

The first remarkable tribe that lived in a comprehensive region extending from Lake Baikal to the west of the Kazakhstan steppes is the Ting-lings. In addition, there were many other tribes in other regions of Central Asia. The Vu-suns are another tribe living in the Tanri Mountains and referred to frequently in the records. While this continued until the third and fourth centuries A.D., some Turkish groups crossed the Volga River and headed towards Central Europe.

When the Hun States drifted from the stage of history, new states were established by the Juan-Juans in the Orkhun Region, Akhuns (White Huns) in the plains of Turkistan-Afghanistan, and Tabgachs in China. The Kao-ch'e tribes took the place of the Ting-lings in Central Asia mainly in the north, namely the Kazakhstan steppes in the same ages.

They maintained their existence for centuries, too. However, they could not establish a powerful state by cooperation. The Göktürks appeared on the stage of history in the sixth century, and tribes living in the Central Asia were commonly known as Toles. Toles took the place of Kao-ch'es. The Toles tribe, which is known to have been quite large according to the information in the records, served an important role on the way to the independence of the Göktürks and became the

real citizens of the state. The events that occurred after 627 indicate that they were the main factor of the Turkish nation. In the mean time, there were other groups such as Kirghiz and Kaurikan in the northern regions.

Many Toles tribes made use of the fact that Göktürks lost their power over time. However, they were not called Toles. Each tribe started to play under its own name on the stage of history. The year 627 is a turning point in this respect. When the tribes living in the Tola-Kerulen region rebelled, leadership lay with the Sir Tardush tribe. Then, the name Toles managed to maintain its name under the existence of a tiny group.

From then on, the tribe living in the eastern part of Ötüken was Tokuz Oghuz, and the tribe living in the western part of Otuken (*Ötüken*) was Tardush according to Göktürk inscriptions. The Sir Tardush tribe that established its independent state between 627-647, maintained its tribal existence. There were severe fights against the tribes that did not want to be under the rule of the Göktürk State after it was established, notably the Toquz Oghuz, Karluq, Bayırku, Turgish, Kirghiz tribes. Eventually, all tribes were under the rule of the state by about 723 and the state experienced an era of order during the reign of Bilge Khagan. After his death in 734, the state lost its power and some tribes such as Uygur, Karluq and Basmil brought a close to the era of the

Göktürk state by rebelling together. The Toquz Oghuz tribe was the main component tribe of the Uygur State, and the Karluq tribe shifted to the west. They extended to Lake Isik, the Tanri Mountains and even to the Talas River. When the Kirghiz tribe demolished the Uygur State, they stayed on the stage for a while, but the Kitay tribe (Kitan-Liao) took their place soon.

The Western Göktürk State encountered rebellions by the tribes under the command of Khagan T'ung Yabgu around the 630s. After



Eagle figured on rock, Karakol Village,
Onguday, Altai



Khagan T'ung was killed by his uncle, the state drifted into complete disorder. Tribes organized themselves as ten tribes and they were registered as Ten Arrows in the records. One group settled near the Ili River and another group settled near the Chu River. Then, unsuccessful members of the dynasty surrendered to China. After this event, Turgish tribe, one of the Ten Arrow Tribes, ruled a comprehensive area.

They fought against Islamic forces along the Syr Darya River and against the second Göktürk state in the east, but they could not succeed. They shifted north and west after leaving their residences in the Ili plain. Syr Darya plain was their new residential area. The name Turgish tribe disappeared in this region immediately and the Oghuz tribe appeared in the same region. The Oghuz tribe, which spent winters around the Syr Darya, moved to the North Kazakhstan steppes in summers. The land of the Oghuz Tribe extended to the Caspian Sea (Mangishlak) and Cim-Emba River. The easternmost borders extended from Sayram (Isficab). In fact, there arose many tribes from the Turgish and Karluq tribes. We can learn their names from Islamic records and the oldest dictionary of Turkish Language, called *Divan-u Lugat-it Türk*.

TING-LING TRIBE

They were living in four groups in a region extending from the western part of Lake Baikal to South Siberia and the Yenisei basin during the era of the Great Hun Empire. The Western group lived near the Irtish River, the southern group lived in the region extending from the Gobi Desert to China and the northern group lived around Lake Baikal and the Yenisei. The western group first expanded to South Kazakhstan and then to Europe and the southern group spread to the source of the Yellow River. The information about them starts from the era of Mete Khagan (209-174 BC).

Ting-lings were in the north region of Huns according to the records. Archeological findings indicate that the Karasu culture between twelfth-seventh centuries BC was the ancestors of Ting-lings.¹

The name Ting-ling does not appear much in the records since they did not interfere with many events in Hun Empire.² According to the records, they were involved mostly with hunting, and in the production of arrows and bows.³ It can be said that they lived independently during the weak era of the Huns, between 71 and 51 BC. However, they generally lived under the rule of Hun Empire.⁴

After the Hun Empire was overthrown and they headed towards Central Europe, the western group of Ting-lings took their place. This group that settled near Syr Darya would thereafter head toward Eastern Europe (460 AD), and constituted a member of the Ogur tribe.⁵ According to the Chinese records, Ting-lings appeared in three different regions around 350 BC: the Gobi Desert, Lake Baikal, and the Kazakhstan steppes.⁶

THE OGUR TRIBE

The Ogur Tribe, considered to have originated from the western branch of the Ting-lings, lived in three separate groups before they moved to Eastern Europe. The first group lived in the region between the Syr Darya and Chu Rivers, the second group lived in the Emba basin, namely the Western Kazakhstan steppes, and the third group lived near the Yayik River. It is highly possible that the first group comprised Ten Ogurs, the second group comprised Thirty Ogurs and the third group comprised Nine (Toquz) Ogurs. Afterwards, Ogurs appear under the names of Sarogur (Yellow-white Ogur), Bitte (Five Ogurs), Ultigur-Altziagir (Six Ogurs), Kutrigur-Kuturgur (Tukurgur or Nine Ogurs), Ungur, Hunugur (Ten Ogurs), Utirgur-Uturgur (Thirty Ogurs).⁷ They were driven from the eastern part of the Ural Mountains to the western part between 461-465.

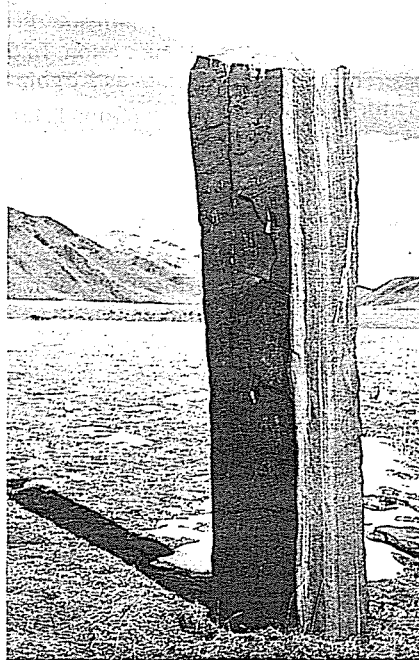
The Ogurs engaged in hunting and producing furs as well as agriculture, cultivating the land and fruits as was natural owing to the region in which they lived.

The Ogurs came under the rule of the administration that ruled the remainder of the European Huns, which was overthrown when they came the northern region of the Black Sea. The Ogurs started to be mentioned under the name of Bulgars from then on. They began to live in three groups in their new habitat.

There were Ten-Ogurs in the east of the Azak Sea/Thirty Ogurs between Don and Volga, namely the far north/and Nine Ogurs in the west towards the Dniiper. The group in the east came under the rule of Sabars and the Göktürks in the later periods. The Western group joined the Avars. The Eastern group established the state named Greater Bulgaria (Magna Bulgaria) around the 630s.⁸

THE SABAR TRIBE

There is little information about the Sabars in the records. Sabar, Sabeir, Saber are mentioned in Byzant-



Balbal from Altai region



tine records whereas the usages such as Sabir and Sebir are indicated in Armenian, Syriac, and Islamic records. The first information about Sabars is indicated during a period between 461 and 465. Sabars, who lived in a region between the Ili River and the Tanri Mountains, came to northwest Kazakhstan due to pressure from the Juan-Juans, settled near the Tobol and Ishim Rivers, and drove to the west the Ogurs who were living there. The same group of Sabars headed towards Europe due to pressures by the Avars following 506. Eventually, they captured the region around the Caucasus in 558. It is understood that Sabars, who established relations with the Sassanid and Byzantine Empires, lived especially around the Kuban River. It is known that they advanced to the region of the Armenians and even to Anatolia and invaded regions including Kayseri, Konya and Ankara. In the mean time, they were ruled by a Ruler called Balak (Belek) and after he died in 520, his wife, Boarik (Bularik) ruled them for a while, however, they were severely defeated by Avars in 557. Later their names are indicated in relation with the Gök-türks.

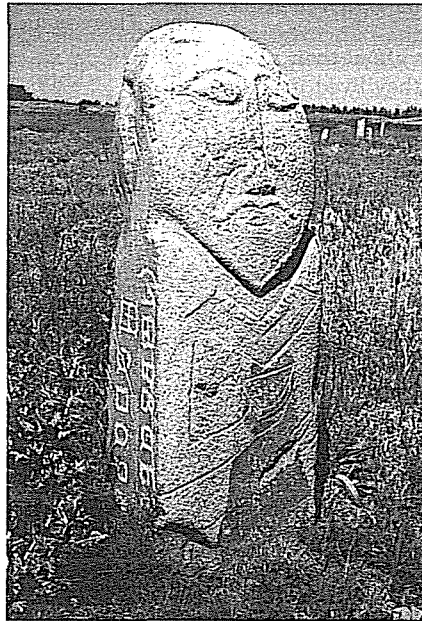
The cultural activities of Sabars exceeded their political activities. Many names of fortresses and places exist bearing the names *sabar*, *saber*, *sopar*, *savri*, *sabrei* and *sibir* in the locations around Ob, Tura and Irtish near Tobolsk. In addition, the name Sabar is maintained in names like *Ay Sabar* and *Kun Sabar*. On the other hand, the Tobolsk people refer to their ancient people as *sybyr-syvyr* and mention them extensively in their myths. The name Siberia, which Russians used to refer to the region after they occupied Iskler (Sibir) city in the fifteenth century, has spread today over a vast geographic extent.⁹

THE WU-SUN TRIBE

The origin of the Wu-suns is mentioned in myths. Their history is interconnected with the history of Huns, or Yue-chihhs, who invaded the country of the Wu-suns and killed the father of their well-known ruler, K'un-mo. However, they did not dare to kill K'un-mo since he was too young, so they threw him in the grass. Later, a black bird flew over the child and gave him meat while a female wolf breastfed him.

The Hun Ruler, who observed all these events, was amazed and decided that the child was blessed. He took the child from the grass, brought him up and appointed him the commander of his army. When he achieved many victories in the Hun army in the following years, his former people and country were granted to him under his rule.

Thus, K'un-mo collected his former people and advanced the Wu-suns. Consequently, he had some ten thousand archers. When the Hun Ruler died, he declared his independence. When he defeated the armies sent to attack to him, the Huns believed that the gods had saved him. In fact, when the Wu-suns were residing with the Yue-chihhs between Ch'i-lien and Tun-huang, they took shelter among the Huns after they were defeated. The said K'un-mo was born then and a person called Pu-chia Yabgu escaped with him in his arms. The following events are mentioned in connection with myths. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the Wu-suns were defeated by Yue-chihhs instead of by Huns. K'un-mo, who got more and more powerful, attacked Yue-chihhs upon the permission of Hun Ruler and forced them to move to Tokharistan.¹⁰ The Wu-suns settled the abandoned residential areas.¹¹ They frequently struggled with Huns sometimes on their own and sometimes in alliance with Chinese forces.



Balbal from Kyrgyzstan

Their country was the region between Ili River and the Tanri Mountains. The real fields of activity of the Wu-suns were stockbreeding and hunting, they did not deal with agriculture. Especially, horse breeding improved. There were four-five thousand herds of horses per person. They lived in tents made of felt and lived on meat and milk.¹² Although the Chinese records give such information, the archeological excavations around Yedisu, Chu and Talas Rivers revealed that they had engaged in agriculture and established residential places. It is strange that irrigation canals were found, which proved that they had dealt with irrigated agriculture.¹³ Again the iron plough and metal signs apart from the wooden coffin found near a Wu-sun grave in Chao-su county of China indicate that they used the iron ore well.¹⁴ Again the Chinese record of Wei Shu, tell us much of their culture. According to this, their capital city (center) was Ch'ih-ku Castle. Their lands were grassy and even. It rained and snowed much and there were many pine trees in their mountains. They had green eyes and red hair. They had red wine like oil and it gave a nice odor to the bones.

THE KAO-CH'É (KANGLI) TRIBE

After Ting-lings left the stage of history, the Kao-ch'é tribes¹⁵ (People with high carts or *kangli*) in Turkish took their place and maintained their existence more than two centuries. They lived between the Mongol-origin Juan-Juans in the east, Tabgachs in the southeast and Akhuns in the south and southwest in a separated way. Although they could not establish a state af-



ter cooperating, sometimes some tribes were on the stage in certain periods and they played important roles. They withdrew from the stage of history after leaving their places to the Toles tribe in the middle of sixth century. Frankly, the name Kao-ch'e turned into Toles within the historical process.

It is indicated that Kanglis spoke the same language as Huns. According to some records, their ancestor was the nephew of the Hun Ruler.¹⁶ The Kao-ch'e's consisted of many tribes. They were Ti, Yuan-ho, Hu-lu, Chiepi, Hu-ku, I-ch'i-chih. The main place Kao-ch'e's convened was Turfan. The Kanglis were weakened after battles against their neighbors, especially Tabgachs and Juan-Juans. Eventually, they disappear from the records after 536. They would possibly be named Toles thereafter.¹⁷

According to the Chinese records about their socio-economical life, it is indicated that they lived in tents, raised horse, sheep and cattle; buried the dead with their weapons, ate raw meat, drank horse milk, the wheels of their carts were huge, and they believed in a myth that they originated from the wolf. However, many Kao-ch'e tribes stopped nomadic life and started to engage in agriculture after 429.¹⁸

THE TÖLES TRIBES

The common name for other Turkish Tribes that lived in the comprehensive region extending from the east of Lake Baikal to the northern part of Black Sea until 627 was Töles. Therefore, the Töles tribe that spread over a wide-ranging landscape had the most number of tribes among the neighbors of China. Töles was the same as Kao-ch'e's, the common name of the tribes that lived in the fourth and fifth century.¹⁹

When Chinese records are examined carefully, it is observed that the tribes, under the rule of the state dominant in the Central Asia during a certain period since the establishment of the Great Hun Empire until the end of the first Göktürk State (630), had their own regions. However, the important point is that the tribes were first collected under a common name and then the names of small tribes within this union are referred to in yearbooks. Another important point is that the said tribes lived in separate and certain geographical regions mainly in the western part of the state.

When the East and West Göktürks came under the rule of China, the situation of these tribes started change. Especially the period beginning in 627 and lasting until the rebellion of Turkish tribes that the Chinese records called Töles, shall be discussed here.²⁰ When Töles tribes were on the course of attacking Juan-Juans for the first time in the history, it is indicated that the Gök-

türks defeated them and took 50 thousand families under their command. Upon the joining of Töles tribe to them and the increase in their number, they began to regard themselves at the same level with Juan-Juans. Consequently, they offered marriage to Juan-Juans. When the offer was rejected and they were insulted, they attacked and defeated them severely, and destroyed this Mongol state.²¹ After this event in 552, the Gök-türks declared their independence and established a state. As far as can be observed, the Töles tribe was closely involved in the establishment of the Göktürk State.²²

Activities of Töles Tribes that played an important role even in the establishment stage of the state during the history of the Göktürks lasting about two years appear frequently and in different roles in history thereafter. There is much information about these Turkish Tribes known as Töles during the era of the Göktürk State in the Orkhun Monuments²³ and Chinese records. Particularly, there are special Toles sections in the records such as Swei Shu, Pei Shih and Chiou T'ang.²⁴

According to these records, the Turkish tribes called Töles (T'ie-lo) originated from the Huns. It is necessary to explain the expression, "They originated from

Huns". The Huns, who established a great empire in the northern part of China, collected almost all tribes under their rule.

This caused them to make a mark on the memories of the Chinese, therefore they related the established states and tribes years and years later to the Huns.

The role played by the Töles in the history of the Göktürks was stressed even in their establishment process. Later, when The Göktürk State dominated the Central Asia completely, they were interconnected to each other in separated eastern and western parts again according to the record. This indicates that Töles tribes took their place in the Göktürk State ranging from the east to the west. We relate this to the fact that they took place in the Göktürk State completely in its establishment process and became the main members of it. We do not observe any information about the Töles tribes after Bumin Khagan defeated them in 551 and took them under his rule, until the beginning of 600s in the Chinese records.

After Tardu, Ruler of the Western Göktürks, was defeated in 603, the fact that the Töles tribes disintegrated reveals that many of them, especially the ones living around the Tanri Mountains in the west of the Altai Mountains were under the rule of the Western Göktürks. Thus, the history of Töles tribes would take place among the Western Göktürks. However, it is understood that the Sir Tardush, Bayirku and the similar tribes were not among them. It is indicated in the Töles secti-



Animal figured tissue, from an Hun grave, Noin-Ula region, Mongolia



on of Chiou T'ang Shu that each of the Töles tribes in the east appeared as an independent political power.²⁵ Another remarkable point is that Töles tribes were at very small level, even at *urug* (tribe)²⁶ level.

When we observe the geographical expansion of the Töles tribes, it is understood that they lived in five separate regions generally.²⁷

The first region was the northern part of Tola River, where P'u-ku (Bugut),²⁸ T'ung-lo (Tongra), Wei-ho,²⁹ Bayirku (Pa-ye-ku),³⁰ Fulo tribes are reported to have lived. These five tribes had integrated in single *erkin* (freedom).³¹ Also small tribes (*urug*) such as Meng-ch'en, T'u-jo-ho, Ssu-chie (Izgil),³² Hun and Hu-hsie lived in this region and they had a total of twenty thousand well-trained warriors.

The second region indicated is the west of Hami (i-wu), north of Karashar (Yen-ch'i) and the foot of Pailshan (Ak dag) Mountain.³³ There were Ch'i-pi, P'u-lo-chih, I-shih, Su-p'o, Na-ho, Wu-kaan, Ye-shih, Yu-hi-huan tribes and other small tribes here and they had twenty well-trained horsemen. We estimate they were under the rule of the Western Göktürks until 603. It is highly possible that there were Töles tribes engaged in agriculture and trees.

The third region indicated was further north, southwest of the Altai Mountains. The Sir Tardush (Hsie-yen-t'uo), Shih-p'an, Ta-ch'i and other small tribes had more than ten thousand warriors.

The fourth region indicated was the north of Semerkand near Syr Darya (A-te Suyu-Aris River) where some tribes such as Hoshih, Ho-chie, Po-hu, Pi-kan, Chuhai, Ho-pi-hsi, Ho-ts'o-su, Pa-ye-wei and Ho-ta lived. They had the capability to field thirty thousand warriors.

The fifth group lived in the eastern part of Caspian Sea (Te-i Hai). Although some tribes such as San-suoyen, Mie-ts'u, Lung-hu are indicated in this region, we are not of the inclination to consider them all under the name of Töles. Ogur tribes included in the western groups of Turks in the northern parts of Black Sea and Caspian Sea also lived there during the same era.³⁴

There were En-chu, A-lan, Pei-ju, Chiou-li, Fu-wen-hun and other tribes in the eastern part of Byzantium (Fu-lin) among the sixth group of Toles tribes. Though there were some groups such as Alans, originating in Persia, among them, it can be asserted that most of them were Turks.³⁵

There were Sabar Turks in the east of Byzantium during the same period. This state could maintain its rule until 576.³⁶ As known, Khazars (the Caspian peop-

le) took their place and maintained their rule for a long time.

The people among the Töles tribes, that were residing near the Tola and Kerulen Rivers, which had come under the rule of Eastern Turkish State after the Göktürk State was pacified, attaining its former power thanks to Shih-pi Khagan, rebelled with the support of China after 627.³⁷ Eastern Göktürks were weakened severely after this rebellion and completely disintegrated as a result of the following depression.³⁸

Most of the Töles tribes almost kept living independently, establishing relations with China since the Eastern and Western Göktürk States came under the rule of Chinese rule. The most powerful of them were Sir Tardush, Bayirku and Uygur tribes. However, T'ai-tsung, Emperor of T'ang dynasty, who followed the activities of the said tribes closely, prevented them from getting more and more powerful and opposing China.

The name Töles is indicated among the participants that contributed to the establishment of the Göktürk State. According to the relevant record, Töles tribe was in the east of the center (the capital city) then.³⁹ After the second the Göktürk state was completely organized thanks to the rule of Bilge Khagan, Töles and Tardush people were put into order and *yabgus* (governors) were sent for their administrators.⁴⁰

Bayan Chor, who was the ruler of Uygur State and enabled actual improvements in all fields, starts with Töles when he lists the names of tribes under his command in Shine Usu Inscriptions.⁴¹

Adargin tribe is mentioned in the record, *Moğolların Gizli Tarihi* (Secret History of the Mongols) and it is estimated that the tribe called Tooles in the west of Lake Baikal was the successor of the Töles tribe.⁴²

TRIBES IN CENTRAL ASIA BETWEEN THE 6TH AND 10TH CENTURIES

THE APAR (AVAR) TRIBE

The Apar tribe is mentioned only once in the Orkhun Inscriptions. Here, the tribe is indicated among the names of the tribes present in the funeral when Mukan Khagan died in 572.⁴³ It is understood that they were a different tribe from Juan-Juans and are recorded as the Avar Empire, which dominated Europe about three hundred years. Actually, this tribe consisted of two tribes called War and Gun.⁴⁴



Deer-stone in Orkhun region, Mongolia



The appearance of War-Guns (Uar-Hun) on the stage of history was about 350 BC. The Juan-Juan State had been powerful enough in the region of the Tanrı Mountains towards the middle of fifth century. Escaping ahead of them, the Uar-Huns captured Tokharistan and Kushan Region, and Soghdia. They even sent envoys to China from here.⁴⁵ Coins belonging to them were found.

The Chinese called Uar-Huns "Hua (Uar)." The states they established were called Akhun, Ephtalite (Hephtalite) (about 358). Chol (Desert) in Curcan and Askils in the era of West Göktürks were among the tribes of Akhun. Another Akhun group was called the Red Hun (Kamir Hyon, Kermichion, Hermichion). The Zavul tribe among them established a principality in the middle and south part of Afghanistan. This tribe or group of tribes played an important role in capturing North India. Indian records call them Huna.⁴⁶

In conclusion, the Akhun State maintained its rule mainly centered on Soghdia, Baktria and Tokharistan until 558. In 558, it was overthrown by the joint action of Istemi Yabgu, ruler of the west wing of the Göktürk State and Anushirvan, the Sassanian ruler.⁴⁷

Uar-Huns (War-Guns) were separated and one branch of them went to Central Europe over the north of the Black Sea following the Caucasus, and established a state that maintained its rule until 805 there. The name of this state was Avar as expressed explicitly in Byzantine records.

ARAMUT TRIBE

Aramuts are considered a people close to the Uygurs in spite of the lack of information about them.⁴⁸

A-TIE (EDIZ) TRIBE

The Chinese designation of the Ediz tribe is A-tie. In some records, the He-shih tribe that lived in the north of Semerkand is identified with A-ties.⁴⁹ Ediz (A-tie) tribe possibly lived within the borders of Western Göktürk state. Later, they are indicated among the tribes that lived in the southeast of Lake Baikal near Tola River.⁵⁰ In the mean time, the number of their trained warriors was 1700 before 626.⁵¹ When Bayirkus, with whom they lived together in the same region, established relations with China, they acknowledged fealty to China in 627. The Chinese changed the name of their land and it was called "the state (chou) of Chit" thereafter.⁵² They escaped from Kapgan (Mo-ch'a), the Ruler of the second Göktürk State, and took shelter in the T'ang Empire in China (about 711).⁵³

After Bilge Khagan ascended the throne in 716, he also lists their names among others that were under his rule.⁵⁴ The inscription in the Cirkak region of the Kemicik River includes the name of the Ediz Tribe. The rele-

vant ruler received the Ediz tribe and Kabay tribe as treasurers, according to the inscription.⁵⁵

AZ TRIBE

We estimate that the Az tribe was north of the Turghish tribe during the era of the second Göktürk State. The Az tribe rebelled against the second Göktürk State in 715 but was defeated by Kul Tigin.⁵⁶

BAYIRKU TRIBE

The Bayirku tribe was living north of the Tola River when they first appeared on the stage of history.⁵⁷ The Bayirku tribe, that had been in the eastern border of P'u-ku) Bugu, settled on the green steppes north of the Gobi Desert as the west neighbor of Mo-ho tribe.⁵⁸

The Bayirku tribe.⁵⁹ maintained its mark in history under the rule of China some time in the seventh century, then came under the rule of the Göktürks later.⁶⁰ Although they were active in the rebellions against the Göktürks in 711, the Bayirku tribe never had the power to constitute a political entity.⁶¹

This tribe had warriors numbering more than ten thousand according to the records, and the population of this tribe is indicated as sixty thousand.⁶² In addition, they are reported to have raised well-fed horses and mined quality type iron. K'anggan Steam passed through the resi-

dential area of Bayirku tribe. Their traditions were noticeably similar to that of the Toles tribe. However, there were slight differences in their language.⁶³

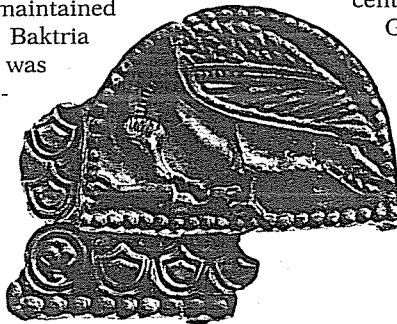
BASMIL TRIBE

The Chinese transcription of the Basmil tribe is P'hsi-mi. Another name for their homeland was the country of Pi-la. They lived separately in the north of Turfan, south of Lake Baikal and southeast of Kirghiz during the dynasty of Sui (581-617). The number of their houses exceeded two thousand then.⁶⁴

He Basmil tribe lived under the rule of Göktürk Khagans and was in continuous contact with China.⁶⁵ Some members of the Basmil tribe took shelter in China after losing a battle against the Uygurs, and some others came under the rule of the Uygurs.⁶⁶

The name of Basmil tribe again appeared on the stage of history in eleventh century. The name is mentioned twice especially during the era of Karahanid Dynasty.⁶⁷ Arslan Tegin (*Lion Ruler*) achieved a great victory against Yabaku and the Basmil tribes.⁶⁸ The name of Basmil tribe is again mentioned in the Ordos-Alashan region in the northwest of China in the same century.⁶⁹

According to various records, members of the Basmil tribe were sound, healthy, and energetic. They were



An Eagle eating a fish, Early Avar Period



experienced in hunting and archery. Since there was much snow in their country, they would construct a wooden horse and follow the deer skiing fast on the snow. They lived in shelters constructed of beech bark. The men would cut their hair and make hats of the beech bark.⁷⁰

BULAQ TRIBE

There are different records about the origin of the Bulaq tribe in the sources. They are a branch of Yaghma tribe and reported to have joined with Toquz Oghuzs (Nine Oghuzs)⁷¹ while they are indicated as a tribe of Karluqs according to Mervezi.⁷² There is not any information about Bulaq tribe in *Diwan-u Lugat it-Turk* (the oldest Turkish dictionary). According to the information provided in this piece, another name of them is Elke Bulaq. Although they were captured by Kipchaks, the Great God saved them from Kipchaks.⁷³ Though it is difficult to assign the origin of Bulaq tribe, it can be estimated that they lived near Upper Chu regions and in the west of Balkash in the middle of eleventh century.⁷⁴

CHARUCK TRIBE

According to Mahmud of Kasghar, they lived along the Uyghur border to the east of Kasghar. The name of their homeland was Barchuck (Head of Doe).⁷⁵

On the other hand, it is reported that there was a tribe called Charuqlug that was a tribe of Oghuzs.⁷⁶

CH'I-PI TRIBE

This branch of tribe appeared first on the stage of history in about 603. The said Ch'i-pi tribe lived in the southwest of Hami, in the north of Karashar and the regions close to the foot of the Tanri Mountains in Aktag region. There were other tribes such as P'ulo-chih, I-shih, Su-po, Na-ho, Wu-hu, Ye-shih and Yu-ni-hu in the same regions. All of them were powerful enough to forward twenty thousand warriors altogether.⁷⁷

Ch'i-pi tribe established political relations with China making use of the fact that East Göktürk State was overthrown and West Göktürk State encountered internal disorders. The emperor of T'ang dynasty settled them in a region between Kan and Liang and their land was called the city of Yu-hsi. China kept them out of the borders of their empire politically in 653 and Yen-jan, established in East Göktürk State included them in its great military governorship and assigned them the Ho'lan military governor office.⁷⁸ They would make dresses from the skin of deer. They would eat mosses in their lands. They would construct houses from trees and all of them, whether noble or not, would live in them.⁷⁹

CHIGIL TRIBE

The Chigil tribe became an independent tribe in tenth century, but they were a branch of Karluq before this century. They lived in the north of Isik Lake. Some of them lived in the city called Chigil. It is indicated that some of them worshipped the sun and stars.⁸⁰ However, Chigil was a tiny city containing fortresses, a mosque, and a marketplace according to the record of Mukadesi written in 985.⁸¹

The Chigil tribe was divided into three branches. Those who maintained the former lifestyle lived in Kuyash, town-dwellers lived in Toroz (Tolos) and the third branch resided near Ili.⁸²

There were Chigils that lived in Mawaraunnahr in the second half of eleventh century. These members of Chigil tribe constituted the real actors of Karahanid army. Later they accepted the rule of Seljuks, but they did not get what they expected.⁸³ Battles with Oghuz tribe played an important role in their political experience.⁸⁴

CHIK TRIBE

The Chik tribe, whose name is first mentioned in the inscriptions in 709, lived near Yenisei, the region close to Kirghiz.⁸⁵ Kimeks that appeared in tenth century are regarded as the successors of Chiks.⁸⁶

EZGISH TRIBE

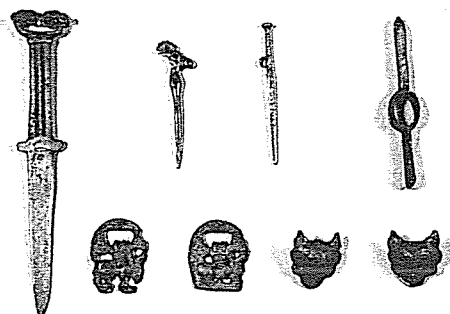
This tribe that numbered among the members of the Ten Arrows lived in the Ferghana region. The members of Ten Arrows included the Turkmen tribe living in the military-town and region to the west of Balasagun, the Barsgan tribe living southwest of Lake Isik, and the Ezgish tribe residing in Ferghana and Uzkend.⁸⁷

KHALACH TRIBE

The name, Khalach appeared on the stage of history just before 805. Ibn Hürdädbih reported when describing the wayside journey stages on the way to Upper Barshan from Taraz that Karluqs spent the winter in Cermiyye (Keshra Bas) and Khalachs were near Karluqs. According to the records, mass of the Khalachs were residing in Taraz, a significant mass of them settled in Khorasan. Khalachs that advanced to the south from Khorasan found new living areas in Sistan. They came under the rule of the Ghaznavids and Ghurs, and they played important roles during the era of Turkish Delhi Sultanate. They enabled this state in 1290 to experience a successful era until 1320.⁸⁸

HU-HSIE TRIBE

The Hu-hsie tribe, one of the Toles tribes just like the Huns, was included in the troops that could field about twenty thousand warriors.⁸⁹



Objects from Chandman Uul, Ubsu, Mongolia



HUNS

The Huns, the small-scaled tribe of Toles tribes in the Far East, were near Tola River in about 603. There were also small-scaled tribes such as Meng-ch'en, T'u-ju-ho, Izgil (Ssu-chie), Hu-hsie near them.⁹⁰ The tribe in the far south among the Toles tribes was Huns. They acknowledged fealty to the Chinese Emperor under the leadership of A-t'an-chih, who received the title of Ilteber, in 630. Sir Tardushs accepted the rule of China completely in 647. Their lands were called the military governorship of Kao-lan. Later, it was divided into two parts as the east and the west.⁹¹

KANGLI TRIBE

The name Kangli is given explicitly in the historical sources. As far as we know, they were a branch of Kipchaks. We provided detailed information under the title of Kao-ch'e tribe. They lived north of Aral Lake.⁹² Mahmud of Kasgar mentions a Kipchak chief called Kangli.⁹³

KARLUQ TRIBE

When Karluqs first appeared on the stage of history, they were living near P-ku-chen Water west of the Altai Mountains.⁹⁴ Their names are mentioned among the listed tribes of Toles for 605. Karluqs are close to the Göktürks or at least they are their relative tribe. Therefore, they are indicated among the Göktürk dynasty such as Turgish tribe, not among the Toles tribes.⁹⁵

It is known that they were divided into three tribes: These were Mou-ts'e (Mou-loo), Ch'ih-ssu (P'o-fu) and T'a-shih-li.⁹⁶ Karluqs rebelled against T'ung Yabgu, the ruler of West Göktürk, they were under the command of and played an important role weakening his power.⁹⁷ Ni-shu Kul Ilteber, the chief of Karluqs and Bagatur, ruler of Ch'u-mu-k'uns left Ch'e-pi and passed to the side of Chinese army. Kao Tsung, the Chinese ruler, went to the sacred T'ai Mountain to worship in his own country in 666, Ch'i-li Tudun, chief of Karluqs, and more than thirty chiefs of the tribe were with him.⁹⁸

We see Karluqs among the tribes that acknowledged fealty to the second Göktürk State in 682. They not only rebelled against Kapgan in 711, but also made contacts with China. As a consequence of Karluq-Chinese relations, one whole group of the three Karluq tribes took shelter in T'ang Empire.⁹⁹ There were fights between Karluqs and the Göktürks in the regions close to China after 720s.¹⁰⁰

As known, Karluqs overthrew the Göktürk State completely together with Uyghurs and Basmils in 744.¹⁰¹

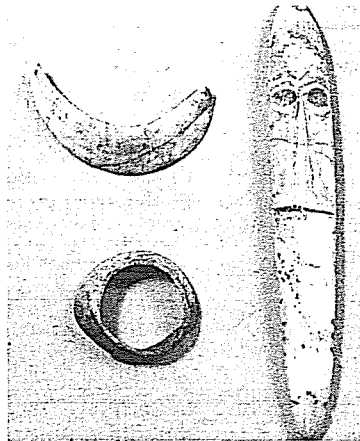
The relations between Karluqs and Tibetans after eighth century appear in the Chinese records.¹⁰² Remainers of Karluqs were found around Kuku Nor in eleventh-twelfth centuries.¹⁰³ Again the name of Bukhara Karluqs is mentioned due to their relations with Karahanid State in the events in twelfth century, since the main component of the Karahanid State was the Karluq tribe.¹⁰⁴

According to Hudud'ul-Alam, there are five location names belonging to Karluqs. There were some parts of Tibet, borders of Yaghma and Toquz Oghuz in the east of Karluq country; some parts of Yaghma tribe and the country in Mawaraunnahr in the south, Oghuz borders in the west and Tuhsil, Chigil, Toquz Oghuz countries in the north.¹⁰⁵ There was the Basham region of Karluqs near Chirchick River and Narin River.¹⁰⁶ According to the information provided by *Pendname*, Sebuk Tegin, founder of Ghaznavids, originated from Basham, which was a Karluq city.¹⁰⁷ Karluqs were opposed to Karahanid State over time. This situation was to the advantage of Karahitays that came from the east.¹⁰⁸ It is especially known that they had adverse effect in Katwan (Katvan) Battle and caused them to advance into Khorassan after 1137.¹⁰⁹

KIPCHAK TRIBE

The name Kipchak first appeared on the stage of the history in the region around Tobol-Ishim Rivers. In this time, Kimeqs were living around Irtish River. They were in the north of Pechenegs.¹¹⁰ Kuns were in the north of Kansu-Odos region of China. Kuns came from the east and joined with Kipchaks and Kimeks. A group of people consisting of 300 tenants set out from China to attack Karahanid State, however, driven back by Togan, the ruler of Karahanid State (1017/1018).¹¹¹ Mahmud of Kasghar reported that Kipchaks were among the Turkish tribes.¹¹²

Actually, Kipchaks played an important role on the region extending from Irtish River to the Danube River and Central Europe. They maintained their achievements in three continents for centuries. Kipchaks were called Kipchak (Kıfşak) (Islamic), Kun (Hungarian), Khartes (Armenian), Polvets and Polovtsı (Russian), Falben, Falones, Valani, Valwen, Pallidit (German and others), Kumanos, Kumanoi, Cumanus, Komani (Byzantine and Latin) in the source records.¹¹³ Their most common names are Kipchaks and Cumans. Actually, a Cuman-Kipchak union was realized after the integration of Kimeks, Kipchaks and Kuns (The Yellow) that came from the northwest China. The name Cuman came into being after Kuns joined the Kipchaks (1012-1013).¹¹⁴ On the other hand, the name, Cuman,¹¹⁵ is indicated as yellow, *aman* for their yellow hair in Armenian, Russian and German source records.



Objects from Dornod Kurgan Mongolia



Kipchaks lived on a region extending from Irtish River and Balkash Lake to the north Syr Darya and Middle-West Kazakhstan steppes¹¹⁶ in ninth and eleventh centuries. They came near Itili River in the beginning of eleventh century (1030s).¹¹⁷

KIRGHIZ TRIBE

The actual homeland of Kirghiz was the north of Kogmen Mountains, Kem Basin that is one of the branches of Yenisei River. There are different theories that the name Kirghiz originated from the Turkish expression *kir gezmek* (wandering in the country) or *Kırk Oğuz* (Forty Oghuzs).¹¹⁸ The first record of the word Kirghiz was as *Ke-k*.¹¹⁹ This was the first transcription of this name. We observe that it was later mentioned as *Chie-ku*.¹²⁰ It was written as *Ch'iku*¹²¹ in the early periods of the Göktürks (555s), *Chie-ku*¹²² in about 648, *Chie-ku* during the era of Great Uygur State (744-840), and *Hsia-chia-ssu*, *Chia-chia-ssu*¹²³ and *Ho-ke-ssu*.¹²⁴ These are all different transcriptions of the word, Kirghiz. However, the expression, *Ho-ke-ssu*, given in *WHTK*¹²⁵ is the closest one to the name of Kirghiz. *He-kus*, who lived in the north foot of *Pai-shan* (Aktag) of the *Tanri Mountains*,¹²⁶ were indicated in the list given for *Toles tribes* in about 603.

Since the last transcription of the name, Kirghiz, is close to the name *He-ke-ssu*, it is concluded that they were called this name in the relevant time.¹²⁷ This gives information not only about the name of Kirghiz but also a reply to later claims that they were not Turkish in origin.¹²⁸ In addition, it is another interesting point that the name, Kirghiz, maintained its transcription for centuries.

Kirghiz were mentioned for the first time in the history during the era of *Shan-yu'su Mo-tun* of the Great Hun Empire.¹²⁹ According to this information, Kirghiz lived among some tribes such as *Ting-ling*, *Ch'u-she*, *Hun-yu*, *Hsin-li* and called as *Ke-k'un*. Kirghiz that were possibly under the command of other tribes listed in about 203 BC, are not mentioned in the records thereafter. During this period, they lived near *Kem River* in the north of *Altai Mountains*.¹³⁰

Kirghiz, defeated by *Chih-chih Shan-yu* in 46 BC, had to acknowledge fealty to this ruler. Kirghiz were mentioned with the name, *Chien-k'un*, then. They went back to the real center, 7000 (3710 km) away, when they were defeated by *Chih-chih*. They were far away from *Kuca* (*Ch'u-she*) about five thousand (2650 km).¹³¹ The said region was in the north of *Altai Mountains* and west of *Tannu-ola* (*Sayan*) mountains. It is understood that Kirghiz spread to the north of *Isik Lake* where the *Wu-suns* had lived and they went back to their former

residential area when they were defeated by *Chih-chih Shayu* during the period we could not find any information about them. Apart from this, there is not any record about Kirghiz during the Hun period.

It is observed that Kirghiz started to be mentioned in historical texts following the establishment of *Göktürk State*. It is estimated that Kirghiz lived in the region between *Kem River* and *Abakan River* during the period before 552. After the *Göktürks State* was established, they were observed near *Lake Baikal*. The name of Kirghiz under the rule of *Uygur State* is *Chia-chia-ssu*. It means yellow-red faced. During this period, Kirghiz maintained their relations with some tribes and states such as *Karklucks*, *Tibet*, *Iran* (*Ta-shih*).



Vases which have been found in *Töv Noyan Uul Kurgan*, *Mongolia*

Kirghiz terminated the rule of *Great Uygur State* that had lasted for approximately one century and captured *Otuken* region, thus marked their names into Turkish history. They further took action to improve their independence and to establish a new state. Kirghiz sent an envoy to *China* in 843 and urged them to recognize the new established state.¹³²

This envoy was informed that they would be recognized provided that they attack *Uygurs* and *Hei-ch'e-tzus*.¹³³ Kirghiz rejected this offer at the beginning. However, the Chinese came to an agreement with Kirghiz to punish *Uygurs* and *Hei-ch'e-tzu* tribe in March 844.¹³⁴ According to this agreement, Kirghiz would take action (invade) in the autumn of that year and the Chinese army would take action with the troops of *You-chou*, *T'ai-yuan*, *Chen-wu*, *T'ien-te* regions and wait them before important passages. Eventually, Kirghiz attacked *Shih-weis* with their two thousand warriors. *Shih-weis* were defeated and Kirghiz drove *Uygurs* to the northern parts of *Gobi Desert*. The *Uygurs* who escaped to the mountains and forests advanced into *East Turkistan* and took shelter in the state of *Menlig Tegin* who ruled the *Uygurs* near *Kuca*.¹³⁵

The name, Kirghiz, is mentioned many times in Turkish inscriptions in addition to the Chinese records mentioned above.¹³⁶ As far as we understand from the *Tonyukuk* inscription, the Chinese came to an agreement with the *Ten Arrows* and Kirghiz. The *Ten Arrows* and Kirghiz would reside in *Altai Mountains* and come to an agreement with the Chinese, and attack *Kapgan*, the *Göktürk Khagan*. However, the *Göktürk* army under the command of *Kapgan* and *Tonyukuk* overcame *Kogmen Mountains* in the winter of years 696-697 and defeated Kirghiz severely near *Ani River*, one of the branches of *Yenisei River*. Even the *Khagan* of Kirghiz died there. When *Kapgan Khagan* was killed by the *Bayirku* tribe, *Bilge Khagan* erected a *balbal* (monument) for him referring to the dead Kirghiz *Khagan* in 716.¹³⁷



When the Göktürk State was overthrown and Uygurs took its place, the first Khagan Bayan Chor (745-759) fought against Kirghizs in order to enforce the order of the state.¹³⁸ The Kirghizs, defeated by Bogu Khagan before 779, were also severely defeated by Tuna Baga Tarkan (779-789), who took his place after killing him.¹³⁹ We observe that Kirghizs fought against Uygurs and defeated. Kutlug Bilge Khagan, from Uygurs, not only killed the chief of Kirghizs but also captured many horses and cattle in his expedition to Kirghizs. In addition, the iron trade executed by Uygurs together with other tribes and cities was taken under the control of Uygurs.¹⁴⁰

There is precious little information about Kirghizs in Islamic records. These records only mention the branch that originated in the region of the Yenisei River. A caravan would come to Transoxania from Kirghiz state once in two years. The materials on the caravan were precious furs, musk and wood (beech) especially used in arrow production. Many textile products and commercial commodities would be taken to Kirghiz State. The Kirghiz Khagan would stay in the city called Kemcikesh. They did not have any other cities. They are indicated as the sole tribe that burnt their dead people. They lived in tents made of felt, played mortal games and worshipped fire. There was a tribe called Furi under their command. There was Kemekas town where the Kirghiz Khagan resided. There was another Kirghiz tribe called Kuseym. They would hunt to get fur, musk and hutuvv (horn).¹⁴¹ We learn that Kirghizs could field eighty thousand well-trained warriors.¹⁴² There were Kaurikans in the east, Tibetans in the south and Karluqs in the southwest. It is clearly indicated that their traditions resembled noticeably the Göktürk traditions.¹⁴³

The following interesting information can be provided about them: the lands of Kirghizs were full of water, moist and damp in summers. It would snow much in winters. All of them were tall and huge. They had red hair, light skin, and green eyes. They were called snake tigers. The climatic conditions were very severe. Even half of the big rivers would freeze. They would cultivate corn, wheat, and similar cereals. They would get flour through grinding. They would cultivate in the third month and would harvest in the ninth month. They would cook and produce drinks. They did not have any vegetables and fruits. Their horses were strong and huge. The excellent warriors would become the chief of horsemen. They had many camels, cattle, and sheep. There might be a few thousand animals in rich farms. They mined iron after every rain. They would manufacture sharp arms from good quality iron and convey them to the Göktürks. They had arrows, arches and spears as weapons. Mounted warriors would make shields of wo-

od and protect their feet and legs. They would manufacture round shields for their shoulders and thus protect themselves from spears.

The title of their chief was A-je. It is known that they had the surname of A-je just because of this fact. They would gather around the erected flag and take the red color granted. Others had the title respecting their own tribes. Their clothes were made of precious sable and beaver. A-je would wear cap made of sable in winters and gold in summers. Its tip was sharp (pointed) and the bottom side was folded. All members of Kirghizs would wear caps made of white felt and would

bring a knife and sharpening stone with them. The clothes they wore were made of leather. They did not wear caps. The clothes of women were made of wool and silk. The silk used in the clothes would be brought from Beshbalik, Fergana and Iran.

A-je would settle in Green Mountain (Ch'ing-shan). There was fence around instead of wall. They had tents called Mi'te Ch'ih-t'o made of woven

felts. The chiefs of the tribe would live in small tents. When warriors were summoned to a campaign, they would all take action. They would present the fur of sable and green mice as tax.

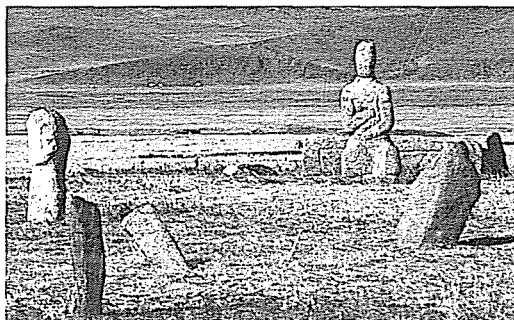
There were six positions other than the Kirghiz Ruler in the state administration. These were the Prime Minister (Hsin-hsiang), tudun (T'u-tu), ch'ang-shih (civil officer), general (chiang-chun), takan (Ta-kan). All of the seven Prime Ministers, three tuduns and ten lieutenants had military positions. In the mean time, there were fifteen high-ranking officers. All of the tribes would eat meat with koumiss. Only A-je would eat something like bread with meat.

Their written language was the same as the language of the Uygurs. Their laws were very severe. The punishment employed for the people, who escaped from the battle, did not execute their office, who were treacherous, and who were thieves, was death.

KIMEK TRIBE

Kimeks appeared in history in 656. Their ruler had the title of Shad Tutik.¹⁴⁴ When Uygur State was overthrown in 840, some tribes such as Eynur, Bayandur and Tatar joined Kimeks. The Kimek rulers were called Baygu (Yabgu) from then on.¹⁴⁵ Idrisi, who referred to a record belonging to tenth and eleventh centuries, reports the name of their ruler as Canaq Ibn Hakan el-Kimeki.¹⁴⁶ There are ancient Turkish scripts on stone mirrors belonging to ninth-tenth centuries in Irtish and Tarbagatay.¹⁴⁷

The homeland of Kimeks was Upper Irtish region. It is estimated that they were the successors of Chiks that lived during Göktürk and Uygur periods.¹⁴⁸ There



Balbals from Bayanhongor, Mongolia



were Kirghiz in the east, Artush and Etil Rivers in the south, some of the Kipchaks in the west and some part of non-residential area in the north.¹⁴⁹

Gerdizi indicates Kimeks as seven tribes. The names of these tribes are Imi, Imak, Tatar, Balandur, Hipchack, Ankaz and Eclal.¹⁵⁰ In addition, the Imi tribe had a small tribe called Bayavut under its command. This tribe would appear among Mongols later.¹⁵¹ However, according to *Hudud'ul Alem*, Kimeks are reported that they lived in 11 tribes,¹⁵² but only the names of Hifchack (Ifchack), Karkara, Han, Yagsun and Yasu are mentioned.

According to *Hudud'ul Alem*, the ruler had the title of HaKhagan (the ruler),¹⁵³ and the title of Tutug according to *Mücmaliit-tevarih*.¹⁵⁴ Sable, beaver and fox were among their important assets. Traders from Transoxania would go to Kimeks and Kirghiz, and would purchase precious furs from them.¹⁵⁵

When Liao (Karaitay) State was established in the north of China in 916, they came to the region of north-west China, namely the Kuns (the yellow) Tarbagatay in Ordos and drove Kimeks to the west and then integrated with them.¹⁵⁶ Kipchak and Yimek substituted the name Kimek in eleventh century.¹⁵⁷ Yimeks were among the Kharazmshah army including Bayavuts in twelfth century.¹⁵⁸

On the other hand, Yimaks (Kimak) were a group from Turkish tribes and belonged to Kiphaks.¹⁵⁹

KUEI-KUO TRIBE

There is very little information about Kuei-kuo tribe that is not mentioned much in the records and did not participate in any political event or battle.¹⁶⁰

KURIKAN TRIBE

It is indicated that Kurikans (Ku-li-kan) resided in the north of Lake Baikal (Hanhai)¹⁶¹ and according to some records, they settled north of Uygurs and Lake Baikal.¹⁶² They had enough power to field five thousand well-trained warriors.¹⁶³ According to only a single record, they resided in two tribes together.¹⁶⁴ There were many lilies on their lands. They would raise well-fed horses. Their heads resembled the heads of camels, their muscles and bones were huge and they could run a few hundred kilometers a day.

Kurikans are not much mentioned in the records since they lived north of Lake Baikal. However, they sent envoys to the funeral of Mukan Khagan and presented their condolences in 572. When this subject is mentioned in Orkhun Inscriptions, the expression, Three Kurikans, imply that they lived in three separate tribes.¹⁶⁵

KU-MO-NIEN TRIBE

Ku-mo-nien Tribe is observed after a eight-day travel towards north from Tou-liou tribe. K's-shih-yen, Po-ma and K'u-mo tribes were also in the same region. They did not have herds such as cattle and sheep. Their marriage traditions were similar to the traditions of the Göktürks. There were a great many pine trees (sun-hua) on their lands. They would bring furs made of sable and mouse leather. Green and white skinned ones would be elected as the chief.¹⁶⁶

OGHRAKS

It is known that Oghraks lived on the border of Uygurs. They were famous for their courage. They were also called as Black Yigach. Ughrak is a type of Turks living on Black Yagach border.¹⁶⁷

OGHUZ TRIBE

Although there are many explanations about Oghuzs tribe, ok+u+z meaning "tribe" is now commonly accepted.¹⁶⁸ The appearance of Ten Arrows and Turgish tribe¹⁶⁹ after the year 634 in West Gök-Türk state supports the philological evidences. The fact that the name Oghuz tribe was not mentioned in Gök-Türk history until 627 proves that Tolesh tribe continued the pre-Oghuzs period functions. In other words, the name Tolesh and its concept lost its importance and a new fluctuation and construction period began in Central Asia after the year 627.

West Oghuzs: Though it was estimated that Oghuzs came to Seyhun (Syr Darya valley) in 775-785 (in the reign of the Caliph el Mehdi),¹⁷⁰ the assumption that they are the followers of Turgish tribe is more probable in terms of

historical flow.¹⁷¹ It is known that due to pressure of the Karluq tribe, the Uygur tribe immigrated to the Tansi mountains-Lake Isik (Light)-Chu-Talas environs and in later period they expanded to the west in Syr Darya environs and to the northwest of the region.

This region was the land of West Gök-Türk state before the immigration of Turgish tribe. Probably, Tolesh tribe constituted Ten Arrows in other word, Seyhun Oghuzs tribe approximately in 603. The existence of Oghuzs in ninth century was proved with Islamic records.¹⁷² A large area, from Isficap City to Caspian Sea including Mangishlac became the home for Oghuzs tribe. The southern border in Mangishlac was Curcan. Siyah-küh (Karabakh) peninsula was invaded by Oghuzs. The border began from Jit region in Curcan city.¹⁷³ The border in the east part expanded to Baratekin region located on the south side of Lake Aral. The main popula-



Balbal from Mongolia



tion density of Oghuzs was in the surrounding of Seyhun (Syr Darya). Sozak City located in the north hand side of Karabakh named Karacuk in the records. The border in the north reached to Itil and to the north of Cem-Emra River. The other cities in Syr Darya basin were Yenikent (Newcity), Cend, Barchunlig city, Signak, Karnak, Süt-kent (Milk-city), Sabran, Ashnas, Otrar (Farab), Ikan, Ozkend, Sayram-Isficab.¹⁷⁴ Moreover Dede Korkut and Oghuzs myths are said to happen in Karabakh in other words in Syr Darya basin.¹⁷⁵

Moreover the wooden transcription found in Talas mentions the Inner Oghuzs.¹⁷⁶ And again Shine Usu transcript mentions the Eight Oghuzs.¹⁷⁷

It was seen that the Oghuzs founded a state of which the capital for winter was Yeni-kent (New City) in the beginning of tenth century. The title of the ruler was yabgu and the regent of the ruler was Kul Erkin. The army commanded by "Sübası". There were other titles such as Tinal and Tarkan.

The name of Oghuzs was mentioned during the rule of Abdullah b. Tahir, governor of Khorassan (828-844) as they were defeated in 838-840 and a thousand soldiers of Oghuzs army were captured. A part of Pechenegs did not immigrate to Europe and stayed on Oghuzs lands.

The Oghuzs fought with the Karluq tribe in the east, the Kipchaks tribe and Kimen tribe in the north, Khazars and Pechenegs tribes on the northwest borders. In one of the wars between Karluq tribe and Oghuzs, the yabgu of the time was killed. The last Samanid prince Ebu Ibrahim (Munahir) requested help from the yabgu (ruler) of Oghuzs to take Transoxania back from the Karahan tribe, and they formed an alliance to do so. As a result of this cooperation the yabgu accepted Islam and became a Muslim (1001-1002).¹⁷⁸ Some historians argue that Ebu Ibrahim requested help from the son of Khagan of the Seljuks, Arslan Yabgu.¹⁷⁹

The Oghuzs tribe consisted of two organizations, the Three Arrows (Ok) and Grey Arrows (Ok). In DLT 22 tribes and in *Camiüt-tevarih* 24 tribes were registered. Grey Arrows: Kayı, Bayat, Alka-evli (Alka Boluk), Karaevli (Kara Boluk), Yazır, Doger, Dodurga, Yaparlı (not registered in DLT) Afshar, Kızık (not registered in DLT), Begdili, Karkın. Three Arrows: Bayındır, Pechene, Cavuldur, Chepni, Salur, Alayuntlu, Yüregir, Bugduz, Yıva (va), Kınık.¹⁸⁰

A group of Oghuzs came to the north part of the Black Sea with the name Uz tribe after 870's, appearing as Tork in Russian records. They reached Dnieper in 1055 and the Danube River in 1065. But with the contagious diseases, starvation and chilling cold added to the attacks of Pechenegs they could not maintain their political integrity. The remaining population went under the rule of Byzantine and Russia.¹⁸¹

PO-MA TRIBE (PIEBALD HORSE TRIBE)

Po-ma tribe, with Turkish meaning "Piebald Horse" or "Stained Horses" was called sometimes Pi+st'u and sometimes E-lo-chih tribe in some records.¹⁸² They were on the north side of Gök-Turks. It was said that they settled down to environs of Lake Baikal and the distance to the capital of China, Ch'ang-an was approximately 7 thousand kilometers. A record argues that they settled

on the north side of Kirghiz tribe.¹⁸³ The report that they had 30 thousand soldiers in the army shows that they were more powerful than the other tribes in terms of military force. The country was ruled by the "erkin" (the ruler). They were not different from Gök-Turks. They established detachments with bows, arrows and swords. As their horses were of piebald color, they were called by this name.

They had struggles with Kirghiz tribe throughout their history. They looked like Kirghiz tribe but their languages were not completely the same. They were longhaired. They made hats from the shelves of Hush tree. They also used hush tree as a house construction material. Each tribe had their own rulers and no ruler

obeyed the other ones.¹⁸⁴

The Göktürks called Po-ma tribe as Ko-ts tribe and their county was called Ko-ts.¹⁸⁵

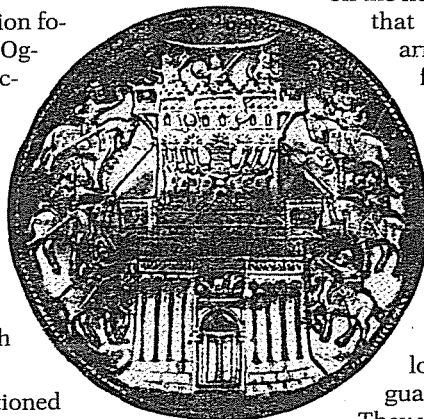
PU-KU TRIBE (BUGU / BUGUT)

The Bu-gu tribe¹⁸⁶ appeared on the environs of Tola River in 603 as in the transcriptions of Toles tribe lived on the east side of To-le-ke tribe. They used the same lands as the Tongra tribe and their army consisted of 10 thousand soldiers. Their lands located the most north part of the region. Due to the weakening of Göktürk state they went under rule of Tarduhs tribe. They lived for approximately 20 years under their rule. Though they gained freedom for a short time after 647, they went under the rule of China.¹⁸⁷ As for the records the name P'u-ku was firstly mentioned in AD 300 in Chin Shu.¹⁸⁸

The Pu-ku army had at least 30 tents and ten thousand soldiers. They were fond of their freedom and so difficult to defeat. They earned their living by breeding the horse.¹⁸⁹

PAI-SHI TRIBE (WHITE KAY)

The Pai-shi tribe was founded on the former land of Hsien-pi tribe. The distance of their capital to the northeast was thousand and five hundred kilometers. They had borders with T'uglo and P'u-ku tribes. They retrained from Sir Tardush tribe. For this reason, they protected themselves between Ao-chih River and Ling-Shing Mountain. Their neighbors were Ch'i-tan tribe on



Silver plate, Karluq, Karaz (8th century)



the south, Wu-lo-hun tribe on the north, Mo-ho tribe on the east and Bayrku tribe on the west part. The width of their land from the north to south was about a thousand kilometers. They rounded the mountain. They had approximately ten thousand soldiers in the army. They made clothes from the red leather. The married women generally wore copper bracelets; their sons and daughters attached rings to the shoulders of the clothes.

They had three branches; Chü-yen, Wu-jou-mo (mei) and the other Huang-shuei. They believed that their rulers were bestowed by Göktürk Khagan Hsie-ki. They established connections with China in 626-648. But as their lands declared as Chih-yen chou their rulers was appointed as military governor (Ts' e-shih).¹⁹⁰

PECHENEG TRIBE

The Pechenegs are one of Turkish tribes that appeared in Middle Kazakhstan.¹⁹¹ They appeared probably pursuant to the reconstruction of Khagan Isbara of Göktürk tribe in 634.¹⁹² They may have lived between Lake Isik and Balkas, since one of Pecheneg tribe had the name Chor while the other one had the name Chopan. In fact, Pechenegs consisted of eight main tribes and forty little branches. The names of the main tribes were: Irtim, Chor, Yula, Kulpey (Kol Beg), Kari Bay, Talmat, Kopun and Chopan. The first three tribes had more respect than the others did and for this reason they were called Kangar.¹⁹³

The movements of Karluq tribe due to the pressures of Uygurs tribe caused the immigration of Pechenegs tribe from the south part of Lake Balkas to the shores of the Sir Darya. As for the Byzantine records of Constantine Porphyrogenetos "a number of Pechenegs who immigrated to the deep west of the region due to the pressures of Oghuzs stayed with the population of Oghuzs." So they may be Pechenegs that were mentioned in the records of Oghuzs listed in Kashgar.¹⁹⁴ In later periods, Pechenegs migrated from the north of Lake Aral to the north of Caspian Sea.¹⁹⁵ Later between 860-880, they expanded as far as the Don-Kuban basin. After this period the Khazar State was subjected to great difficulties. Pechenegs expanded into the valley located on the north part of Black Sea and to the Balkans, besides expelling the Hungarians into Central Europe. They regulated their lands as eight parts. They migrated to the Lower Danube due to the attacks of the Uz tribe (1049). Though they had battles with Byzantium, they dissolved due to the joint attack of the Byzantines and Cumans in 1091. A part of the population went to the Hungarians' region and another group stayed on in the Danube environs. They were able to maintain their existence until the end of the twelfth century.

There are many records in Islamic history on the Pechenegs tribe.¹⁹⁶ Many of their golden and silver artifacts have survived to the present time.¹⁹⁷ It was also mentioned in the records that Pechenegs (Becanek) were Turkish and lived near Oghuzs tribe.¹⁹⁸

SHA-T'O TRIBE

The Sha-t'o tribe is one of the Turkish tribes that emerged in the West Göktürk state. The West Göktürk state was dragged into a domestic crisis due to the death of T'ung Yabgu in 630. At this time, they lived at the foot of the Tanrı Mountains and the Ch'u-yue tribe was accepted as their ancestors. In other words, Ch'u-yue was the very first name of Sha-t'o groups. Ch'u-yue tribe was living within a complex structure as Ch'u-mi tribe and Tardush tribe. As the borders of Ch'u-yue covered the sandy area located on the east part of Barkol and extending to the north and south of the region, their name was Sha-t'o meaning pile of sand. Also they were known as Sh-t'o Göktürk tribe.

They came under Chinese rule as of the year 659 but they immigrated to Bes-balik (Pei-t'ing) with the other tribes due to the attacks of Tibetan tribes. Anyway, they capitulated to Tibet tribe in the beginning of ninth century with the population of seven thousand tents. Tibetans took them to Kansu region. Tibetans also battled in the area and in 808 they immigrated to the east part of Otuken Mountains with a population consisting 30 thousand people. Tibetans followed them. They came up to You River by fighting. They progressed until Shih-me, fought all the time with Tibetans but there was no success.

After this development, the leaders of Sha-t'o tribe received many different presents from the Chinese and they settled to Ling-chou region to protect themselves from Tibetans. In later periods, the commanders and other rulers of Sha-t'o tribe gained various successes on behalf of the T'ang Dynasty.

In a later period, the Sha-t'o tribe became the heir of the T'ang dynasty and created three families one after another. The son of Ling-chou founded the first Sha-t'o ruler in 923 and the later dynasty took the name T'ang. As the population of the tribe was small due to the militaristic structure of the tribe, the tribe could not survive for a long time and dissolved in the year 936. The second Sha-t'o state was founded in 937 and took the name Chin. But the state dissolved due to harsh attacks of Kitan tribe. The ruler was captured. The general called Liou-Chih-vuan founded another state in 947, took the name Han but like the other two states, this state dissolved after three years. So, the existence of Sha-t'o tribe in China ended in the year 950.¹⁹⁹



Drawing of a Kuman woman sculpture



SIR (SIX SIR) TRIBE

The appearance of the Sir Tardush tribe resulted from the domination of Hsie tribe on Yen-t'o tribe. As this tribe founded a Khagan state after the development process, China had to accept the importance of the state and many of the surrounding tribes went under the rule of the newly founded state. This unity of the tribes dissolved due to the defeat of the Sir Tardush tribe by the Chinese and by other tribes in the year 647. The name was also used for the tribe dwelling on Tola River basin in the second Göktürk State period.

When Khagan Bilge had the throne and stated his area of dominance, he mentioned the tribes "Six Sir, Nine Oghuzs, and Two Ediz".²⁰⁰ The word *Sir* mentioned on the tombstone of Tonyukuk proves the existence of the Sir group dwelling in the basin of Tola River like the other tribes such as Turk Sir, Bodun, and Oghuzs group.²⁰¹

SSU-CIHE (IZGIL) TRIBE

Izglil tribe was the "urug" part of Toles community who dwelled on the surrounding area of Tola River about the year 603. At the time, Meng-ch'en, T'u-joho, Hun and Hu-shie tribes were sharing the same lands and they had 29 thousand soldiers.²⁰² They united with China after 647.

In a later period the Izgil tribe was seen on the lands of former Sir Tardush tribe. Like the many other Turkish tribes, the Izgil tribe established ties with the Chinese and constructed their structure in line with that of Chinese.²⁰³

When the country of Khagan Kapgan broke out in rebellion in 715, Izgil tribe was among the rebels. Khagan Kul Tigin joined to the war on his famous horseback. As result Khagan Bilge and Khagan Kul Tigin defeated them. The horse of Kul Tigin died in the war.²⁰⁴

SIR TARDUSH TRIBE

The Sir Tardush tribe was among the important tribes that proved its importance and existence in geographical land of the Göktürk State before the year 647. After their emergence in 628, following the disintegration of the East Göktürk State in the year 630, they acted like a state between 628 and 647. All records inform us about the integration of Sir and Tardush tribes and they were accepted within the Toles community.²⁰⁵ Sir Tardush tribe maintained its existence until 603 on the east part of Altai and the Tanri Mountains. Tardush tribe lost a war with Chinese in the second half of seventh century and they dissolved. A part of the population were taken to China and settled to Ch'i-t'an region.²⁰⁶ The remaining population had a rebellion aga-

inst China in 669. The emperor of T'ang dynasty crushed this rebellion by asking help from the Göktürks.²⁰⁷

TA-HAN TRIBE

They were located on the north side of the Chu' tribe. It was reported that they had plenty of sheep and horse herds. The people were tall and large. They dwelled near surrounding of Chien-hai with Kirghiz tribe. They did not immigrate to the region in the former periods. They provided leather and horses to the Chinese Palace. It was reported that in later periods they went to the palace again for various reasons.²⁰⁸

TARDUSH TRIBE

While the second Göktürk state was reorganized the name of Tolesh and Tardush tribes were mentioned in the records.²⁰⁹ Mention of the Tardush and Tolesh tribes in the foundation period of the Second Göktürk shows their importance between 552 and 630. In the Second Göktürk state period, after the year 682, the Tolesh lived on the east the Tardush tribe lived on the west part of the region. So, we estimate that they lived near the Basin of Irtish River.²¹⁰

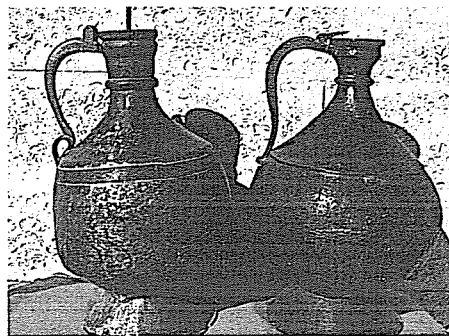
In the organization after the Kapgan took the title of Khagan in the year 692, the name Bilge was registered the honor name of Tardush tribe.²¹¹ One of the rules took the funeral of Kul Tigin in the year 732 was Tardush Inanchu Chor.²¹²

The name of Tardush tribe was indirectly mentioned on the transcripts. Upon the death of Tonyukuk and his wife, who waged battles in the regions of the Kirghiz tribe between 696 and 697, Kapgan was the only commander of the army. With the addition of Inal and Bilge in the year 698, they progressed up to the Yarish Valley. At this the name of Tardush Shad was mentioned in the transcripts.²¹³ It was known that the respective in the transcripts was Bilge himself. As they won the war in later period, Ten Arrows (Turgish tribe) repelled the Tardush Shad to the east part of the region.²¹⁴

The name of Tardush was also mentioned on the tombstone of Turkish ruler, Kul Chor and in the Hushotu transcript dated 716. This

shows that Kul-Chor or Kul-İç-Chor was ruling the Tardush tribe.²¹⁵

After Bayan Chor took the title of Khagan, he frequently fought with the other tribes to make them its slaves. After the battle against the Tatar tribe in 749, he sent his two sons to rule the Tardush community, bestowing them with the title of yagbu and shad.²¹⁶ It was estimated that Haytu Tamir transcripts belonged to the Tardush tribe. And the records mentioned about the Tardush commander called Kul Chor who gained success in attacks on the Beshbalyk tribe.²¹⁷



Pitchers from the excavations in Osh, Kyrgyzstan



TOQUZ OGHUZ (CHIOU-HSING) TRIBE

The name Toquz Oghuz tribe was used for the community who dwelled on the east part of Göktürk state, near surrounding of Tola River and Kerulen region, after the weakening period of East Göktürk state following 626. The Toquz Oghuz tribes had generally the following names: P'u-ku (Bugu), Hun (Qun), Bayırku (Pa-ye-ku), Tonra (T'ung-lo), Ssuschie, Ch'i-pi, A-pu-sse, Ku-lun-wu-ku, Ediz (A-tie).²¹⁸

With the Otuken based development of the Uygur State after the year 742, this situation led to the admission of Toquz Oghuzs to the union. And in later periods, the Toquz Oghuz tribe kept its existence under the rule of the Uygur state.²¹⁹ The Uygur State was registered as Toquz Oghuz tribe in the Islamic records.²²⁰

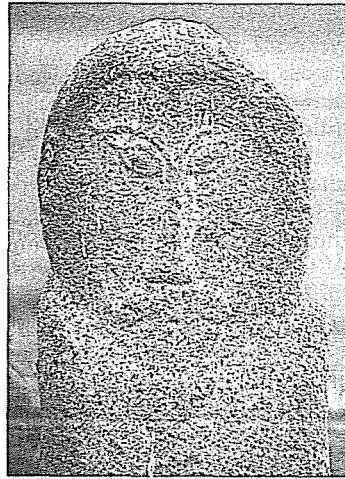
The Khagans of Toquz Oghuz were among those informed about the developments in the country of Bilge Khagan.²²¹ As for his statements, the Toquz Oghuz tribe was one of the elements of Göktürk State. Later, the Toquz Oghuz tribe was among those whom Kutlug Khagan battled in the foundation period of Göktürk state. And in this stage the names of Baz Khagan, Kirgiz tribe, Kurikan tribe, Otuz Tatar tribe, Kitan tribe and Tatabi tribe were mentioned in the records. But the important matter here is that the names of the respective tribes were always mentioned with the community that constituted the tribe.²²² This situation shows that Toquz Oghuz tribe was not a single unit but a complex structure that involved many different communities.²²³

After overcoming the rebellion of Karluq tribe and Basmil tribe in 714, the Toquz Oghuz tribe, once known as the best ally of the Khagan was an enemy after this period. Bilge Khagan explained this situation, as "they became our enemies due to the confusion between the sky and the earth". Bilge Khagan had four wars with them and defeated them in Toquz Balik, Antargu near Antargu River, Ezgenti Kadiz.²²⁴ In 716 Toquz Oghuz tribe left their homeland and migrated to China.²²⁵

Toquz Oghuz tribe had struggles with Bayan Char Khagan. In Shine Usu manuscripts, it was said that they ruled the Toquz Oghuz tribe for a complete century.²²⁶ During the development of the Uygur State, Bayan Char Khagan collected all Toquz Oghuz tribes under the same roof.²²⁷ The records shows that Bayan Chor fought with the Toquzs Oghuz tribe in 751.²²⁸ In this period Toquz Oghuz dwelled in the Basin of Ani River and established cooperation with Kirgiz and Citlek tribes.

There is also information on the Toquz Oghuz tribe in the Islamic records. For example; according to *Hudud al-Alam* (Borders of the World) their neighbor on

the north was the Kirghiz state and they were the most populous Turkish state in the region. They exported nice scents, lined fox fur, gray squirrel, sable, sabica fur, various types of horns, and the leathers of yak bulls. Their most important animals were sheep and cattle. They were the richest Turkish tribe in the surrounding region. And there are seven regions that were supposed to belong to them.²²⁹



Balbal

TO-LAN-KE TRIBE

This tribe was not mentioned on the records before 647. They appeared after the collapse of the unity of Tardush tribe in the same year. They lived on the surrounding lands of Tola River. They had ten thousand well-trained soldiers in their army. Though they had no relation with Chinese before the collapse of Tardush unity, T'ang Empire recognized them. Their ruler Mo went to the palace in China several times. After the construction period of 650 in the East Göktürk state, they took part within the borders of Yen-jan military administration system. The title of their rulers was right great general. After his death, Sai-fu kept the existence of the state with the title ilteber.²³⁰

TU-PO TRIBE

They were also called as Tu-p'o tribe. Their borders were Hsiao-hai on the north side, Kirgiz state in the west part and Uygur state on the south side. They separated to three branches. These three branches had their own ruling structure. They had no concept of year or time. There is other information relating to them: they made their dwellings from plants. They did not know cultivation. There were hundreds of types of plant in their lands. They ate the roots of these plants. They hunted wild animals and fish for food. They made their clothes from the furs of wild animals. They hid dead people in the holes of trees and caves in the mountains. They mourned dead people. They were similar to the Göktürk State. Their punishment system was lighter than the others. For example, the punishment for stealing something was to pay double the price of the good stolen. Due to the visit of the Kurikan rulers in the year 648, they had relations with Chinese by sending envoys to China.²³¹

TONGRA TRIBE

The Tongra tribe was among those whose name was mentioned in the lists. They were among the powerful tribes on the Basin of Tola River with the other tribes such as P'u-ku, Wei-ho, Bayırku, Fu-lo.²³² They lived under the rule of Sir Tardush State. It was said that they had the same traditions as the Göktürk State. They located on the north side of Sir Tardush and on the west of the To-lan-ko tribe. The distance to the capital of China was eighteen thousand kilometers. Their ability to



place 30-thousand soldiers in the army showed their power. They sent envoys to the palace of China by benefiting from the deterioration of Göktürk State in 628. They requested the rule of China in later periods. China allocated the military region of Kuei-lin. Their generals were known as ilteber Shih-chien Chor in the earlier periods but in later periods they took the title of military governor.

When the Second Göktürk state in the year 682, some of the runaways of Oghuzs came to the lands of Ton-yukuk and told them of the emergence of a new Khagan with higher authorities. The runaway mentioned that Khagan sent envoys to China and sent another envoy called Tongra Eshim to Göktürk to establish cooperation with them.²³³ We can gather from these statements that Tongra tribe was a part of Toquz Oghuz State in the respective period.

The name, Tonrga, was mentioned in the serial rebels against Second Göktürk State in 716. After Kul Tigin fought with Karluq tribe, Az, Ilgiz, Toquz Oghuzs, Ediz, and Oghuzs tribes and defeated all of them, a group of Tongra soldiers killed ten soldiers in the funeral of Tonga Tekin.²³⁴

In 742, 5 of their rulers immigrated and accepted the rule of China with a population of ten thousand people. They were settled in the Shuo-fang region. Besides giving the lands located to the south of the Yellow River, they had clothes. He-ch'u lands were evacuated because of them. They rebelled after ten years. All tribe communities passed through the river and came to the north of the desert. They dissolved due to attacks of Uy-gurs and the society dispersed into the surrounding regions. A-pu-see took refuge in Karluq State in a later period. The administrator of Pei-t'ing talked to him and persuaded him to submit to China. In the end, he was killed in the capital city of China.²³⁵

TUHSIL TRIBE

The Tuhsil tribe dwelled on the Basin of Ili River on the west part of the lands of Chigil tribe. Their west border expanded to the fountain of Chu River. The names of their cities were: Suyab, Biglilig, Urkes, Lazine and Ferahiye and the villages.²³⁶

The Tuhsil tribe, regarded as a sub-branch of Karluq state, was mentioned as *Tuhs* in *Hudud al-Alam* and as Tuhs in Kargar and Merzevi.²³⁷ Suyab was an important place in the period of Göktürk and Turgish tribe. It was reported that about 20 thousands soldiers were available in Suyab.²³⁸ There is the entry stating that a commander called Yinal Tigin ruled the army consisting of three thousand mounted soldiers derived from the surrounding villages.²³⁹ In a later period, they lived

in the Kubas region near the Ili River. In records, the most accurate language was used by the Yagma tribe and Toshi tribe.²⁴⁰ And this Turkish was called Hakani Turkish. After Mahmud of Kashgar, the names Tohsi and Tuhsi do not appear in the records.

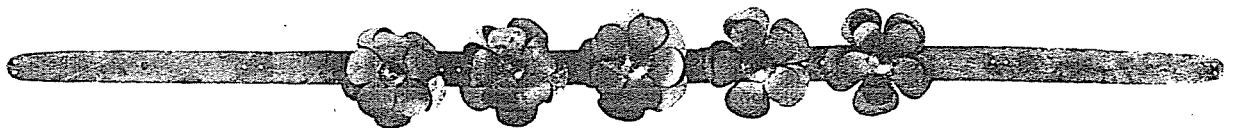
TURGISH TRIBE

The Turgish tribe appeared after 635 in the Göktürk lands due to various political events. The later developments showed that they were once a part of Western Göktürk state. In 634, Khagan Ishbara separated the country into ten different communities and gave an arrow to each of them and after this period the communities were called Ten Arrows and Ten Shad.²⁴¹ Following this, five of these communities were called the Five Tuo-lu and the remaining five communities were called as Nu-shih-pi. The Five Tuo-lu community was organized as small groups and lived on the east part of Tokmak (Suei-ye). The right part of the community, Nu-shih-pi lived on the west part of Tokmak. The new tribe established as a result of this organization was called Ten Arrows.²⁴²

A-shih-na Ho-lu had the rule in Western Göktürk state after 651 and following to this development the center of the state was changed as Ming-bulak and took the administration authority of Five Tuo-lu and Nu-shih-pi community.²⁴³ At this period, the name Turgish was mentioned in Five Tou-lu community. According to this record, there was a group ruled by Turgish Ho-lo-shih within the Tou-lu tribe and this tribe dwelled on the lands near Borotala River. The Ten Arrows communities, Ch'u-mu-kun Chor were near the Iml River. Hu-lu-wu Chu Chor was on the south part of Lake Aral, She-she-t'I-tun near Ebinor, Shu-ni-shih Chü'pan Chor on Yildiz valley. The ones who lived on the west side of Chu River were, Beş Nu-shih-pi, A-hsi-chie Ch'üe Erkin, Ke-shu Ch'üe Erkin, Pa-sai-kan, shao-po Erkin, A-hsi-chie Ni-shu Erkin ve Ke-shu-ch'u-pan Erkin. These communities belonged to Five Nu-shih-pi unity.²⁴⁴

The Turgish tribe gained importance with the gradual deterioration of the West Göktürks in terms of political effect. In the later years, the West tribes weakened. The people of Five Tuo-lu and Five Hu-shih-pi dissolved. The sons of A-shih-na She-er and A-shih-na Puchen', Yüan-ch'ing and Börü Shad, were appointed as generals by the Chinese. Börü Shad and Hu-se-lo took the rule and Yüan-ch'ing left the authority in 686. The title of the Börü Shad was Chie-chung-shih-chu Khagan.

Turgish tribe took in the alliance against Kapgan Khagan of Second Göktürk in 696. After the defeat of this alliance by Kapgan Khagan, Turgish tribe went un-



A diadem with golden flowers, Middle Asia (2300 B.C.)



der the rule of Göktürk state.²⁴⁵ Turgish tribe took part in the rebels against the rule of Kagan Khagan.²⁴⁶ But this tribe was defeated in 711 by Bilge and Kul Tigin brothers and they were settled to Tabar region.²⁴⁷ The Göktürk army progressed and Black Turgish tribe was defeated by Kul Tigin.²⁴⁸

Another ruler appeared on the land dominated by Turgish tribe in 715. The ruler called Ch'e-pi-shih-su-lu collected the remaining Turgish people and declared himself as Khagan. With the help of his power to rule the society the quantity of the people he ruled increased in a short time and the figure reached to two hundred thousand people. He became the hero of the Western countries. In this period, the daughter of Bilge Khagan with the son of Turgish Khagan and the son of Bilge Khagan married the daughter of Turghis Khagan.²⁴⁹ In this way, he strengthened the ties between two tribes via the acquaintance. The son-in-law of Bilge, and Markarac Tamgacı from Turgish Khagan joined to the funeral of Kul Tigin in 732.²⁵⁰ Moreover, they desired Ten Arrows to see the things written on the tombstone of Kul Tigin.²⁵¹

Il Etmish Kutlug from black tribe of Turgish tribe became Kaghan in 742. According to Shine Usu tombstone, Bayan Chor who defeated Three Karluq before 747 and this situation resulted with the refuge of the Ten Arrows, in other words to the Turgish.²⁵² Karluq and Turgish tribes defeated them in the later period.²⁵³

The Turgish tribe weakened after the year 756. The yellow and black tribes appointed their Khagans and fought each other. As there were many problems, the rebellions could not be controlled. In 759 the Khagan of Black Tribe, A-to Pei-lo sent to envoy to the Chinese palace. As Karluq tribe strengthened it moved to the west. The tribe lived on the Basin of Sui-ye River. Both tribes weakened and the population diminished. The remaining community of Hu-se-lo went under the rule of Uygur State. T'e-p'ang-le began to live in Kashgar and declared t-he was the yagbu. The remaining community settled to the Chin-so Hill and their population reached to two hundred thousand people.²⁵⁴

The name, Turgish, was mentioned in two sections of Hoytu Tamir. Probably, they fought wars with the other tribes.²⁵⁵

The name, Turgish, was mentioned in three lines of the Tuba Tombstone. On this record, Ezgene was killed when he was 26 years old.²⁵⁶ The west border of Turgish expanded up to the Syr Darya.²⁵⁷ The Tibetan records also mention about Turgish tribe.²⁵⁸

TURKMEN TRIBE

El-Mukaddesî, who wrote his work in 985, mentions a new Turkmen tribe apart from the Oghuz and Karluq tribes. For this study, they lived between Isficab and Balagasun. The towns called Baruket and Bulach were the border regions with the Turkmen tribes.²⁵⁹ The quantity of the population was low.

The Turkmen ruler lived in Ordu. Mahmud of Kashgar gives information about the city Ordu and says that the region was located around Balasagun.²⁶⁰ In the list of climates of Ibn Hurdadbih, the City Ordu was called the 13th climate. The 15th climate was Suyab and 16th climate was Barshan. This city was also known as the city of Turgish Khagan.²⁶¹

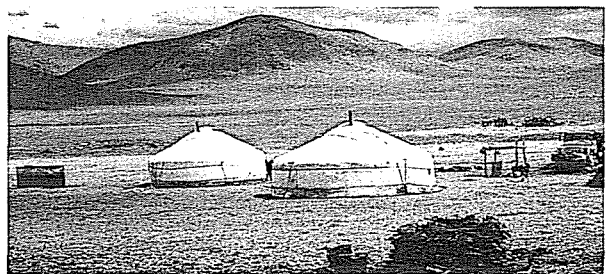
YAGMA TRIBE

They appeared north of the Narin River and were very populous. It was reported that they had 1,700 clans. Their borders were: the Toquz Oghuz State on the east, Huland River that joined to Kucha River on the south, the Karluq tribe on the west. They had excellent weapons and were known as strong warriors. Their ruler was a son of the Toquz Oghuz tribe. Kaçkar, Artush and Hirgili were the towns.²⁶²

The Yagma tribe escaped from the Toquz Oghuzs and submitted to the Karluqs. But the Karluqs did not do anything to help them.²⁶³

The name Yagma was stated as the name of a tribe in the Taryat Terhin manuscript in the Uygurs.²⁶⁴ Bilge Kutlug the commander of Bayan Chor and Tarkan Sengün waged wars. Yagma submitted to the rule of the Uygur state with Lumchishi. It was stated in *Mücmelü'l-Tevarih* that the rulers of Yagma were called Bugra Khagan.²⁶⁵

Mahmut of Kashgar mentions the Yagma tribe as the Black Yagma.²⁶⁶ In another record the Yagma tribe was described as the tribe that spoke the best Turkish.²⁶⁷ It was stated that the Yagma tribe was the founder of the Karahan tribe (Black Yagma or Black Khagan).²⁶⁸



Nomad "yurts" on the steppes

NOTES

(*) Translated by Başar Batur.

1 W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, Newyork 1939, p. 118-120; Tuan L'en-ch'en, *Siung-nu Memleketi Tusındaki Dinglingder*, Tanım Tarmaqtarı, Almatı 1988. p. 121 and others.

2 SC 110, p. 2894; HS 94 A, p. 3754 and others.

3 HS 74, p. 3003; HS 94 A, p. 3781; Ögel, *Büyük Hun İmp. ...I*, p. 384, II, p. 5-76.

4 HHS 89, p. 2950.



- 5 K. Czegledy, 19-21, 48, 49, 56, 57..
- 6 SC 110, p. 2893; SKC 30, p. 862, 863; <gel, p. 375-378; McGovern, p. 111, 112, 120.
- 7 Gy. Moravcsik, Byzantino-Turcica, p. 89, 152, 189 and others 196, 198, 228.
- 8 A. N. Kurat, Karadenizin Kuzeyindeki Türk Kavim ve Devletleri, Ankara 1992, p. 110-118; Kafesoğlu, Türk Milli Kültürü, p. 189.
- 9 Also see Gy. Moravcsik I, p. 39 and others, II, p. 223 and others for information about Sabar tribe; Kafesoğlu, p. 148 and others; L. Rasonyi, Tarihte Türklük, p. 63, 65; Czegledy, p. 21; Ş. Başstav, Sabir Türkleri, Belleten, 17-18, 1942, p. 59 and others.
- 10 Ögel, Büyük Hun İmparatorluğu, I, p. 491-493.
- 11 K. Enoki, The Yüeh-chih-Scythians Identity A hypothesis, Studia Asiatica, p. 25; Ögel, Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Wu-sun'lar ve Siyasi Sınırları Hakkında Bazı Problemler, DTCF, VI-4 1948, p. 259-278.
- 12 SC 123, p. 3172.
- 13 K. A. Akışev, K Probleme Proishojdeniya Nomadizma v Aridnoy zone Drevnego Kazahstana, Poiski i roskopki v Kazahstane, Almatı 1972, p. 42-43, S. İ., Rudenko, Kultura Naseleniya sentralnogo Altaia v skıfskoe vremya Moskva-Leningrad 1960, p. 176-177, Qazaqstan Tarihi Almatı 1996, I, 250-257, 260-264.
- 14 Ma Yong and Sunyutang, The Western Regions under the Hsiungnu and the Han, History of Civilisation of Central Asia, Paris 1994, p. 233.
- 15 Wei Shu, 2259-2260, 2267.
- 16 WS 103, p. 2307; PS 98, p. 3270.
- 17 WS 103, 2311-2312; PS 98 p. 3275.
- 18 Texts where all this information is found are recorded in PS 98 and WS 103. Also see K. Salgarulı, Dunhu-Kaoçı, Almatı 1999, p. 78-82.
- 19 See W. Eberhard, Çin'in Şimal Komşuları, Ankara 1942, p. 79; İstoriya Sibiri, I, Moskova 1968, p. 266; Czegledy, the same record, p. 57 and others; Hsüie Tsung-cheng, the same records, p. 372-273; D. Christian, the same record, p. 250-251.
- 20 Other records that mention about Töles tribe are T'ung Tien 199-1080; Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao 344-2698 a, b; Ts'e-fu-Yüan-kuei 956-33-34 and Sui Shu 84, and Pei Shih 99.
- 21 Chou Shu 50, p. 907.
- 22 A. Taşağıl, Gök-Türkler, Ankara 1995, p. 16-18.
- 23 The name Töles was mentioned twice only in Bilge Khagan inscription among Orkhun Monuments. He created the people (again) (and trained) them according to the ancestors' traditions and put Töles and Tardus people into order then. (eastern line 12); when Turk Bilge Khagan, my father was ruler the current Turkish statesmen were Shadapit and Apa Tarkan along with Kul Chor, who were Tardush statesmen (southern line 13). See T. Tegin, Orkhun Yazıtları, Ankara 1988, p. 41-55.
- 24 According to the recorded information about Töles tribe in Chiou T'ang Shu 194, Sui Shu and Pei Shih looks from a different point of view. Here, it is indicated that tribes got strengthened after their names are mentioned. This expression refers to the period when Eastern and Western Gök-Türk State lost its power and came under the rule of China.
- 25 Chiou T'ang Shu 199, p. 5343-5345.
- 26 Urug means the union of families. See Kafesoğlu, Türk Milli Kültürü, p. 202; A. Donuk, Eski Türk Devletlerinde Askeri-İdari Unvan ve Terimler, İstanbul 1988, p. 89-90.
- 27 It is not particularly accurate to describe the most important region of the Töles tribe as the Kerulen river basin and southern part of Lake Baikal (Yao Ta-chung, Ku-tai pei-hsi Chung-kuo, Tai-peı 1981, p. 170 and others). For, according to the records, it must be regarded as natural that the Töles tribes that extended from Kerulen River in the east and Caspian Sea in the west are mentioned much more frequently and more importantly than the ones closer to China. In addition, there were many more tribes in the west again according to the records.
- 28 This tribe would play an important role in the establishment of the Uygur State. For more information see G. Çandarlıoğlu, Ötüken Bölgesindeki Büyük Uygur Kağanlığı, (İ. Ü. Ed. Fak. non-published assoc. professor thesis, 1972), p. 2, 15 and others.
- 29 For Turkish expressions of Tribe names, see M. Mori, On Chi-li-fa (Eltabar/eltebir and Chi-chin (İrkin) of the T'ie-le Tribes, Acta Asiatica, 9, 1965, p. 31-36.
- 30 Bayırku tribe would especially play an important role during the era of the second Gök-Türk State. See E. Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kioue Occidentaux, Paris 1941, p. 74, 89.
- 31 For the historical development of the Erkin (Free Liberal) title, see A. Donuk, the same record, p. 15.
- 32 For İzgıl-Ssu-chie, see Mori, the same record, p. 43; Also Eberhard, according to these records the Turkish use of Ssu-chie is said to be Sikari (see p. 154).
- 33 This region, northern part of Tanrı Mountains, served as the center of Gök-Türk State. They were called Altındag (Golden Mountain), Ektag etc.
- 34 Kafesoğlu, Türk Milli Kültürü, p. 90; Czegledy, the same record.
- 35 KT, east 4; BK, east 5; also see B. Ögel, "Gök-Türk Yazıtlarının Apurumları ve Fu-lin Problemi", Belleten, 33, 195, p. 70.
- 36 Ş. Başstav Sabir Türkleri, Belleten, 17-18, 1942, p. 59 and others.
- 37 T'ai-tung, Chinese Ruler, sent Ch'iao Shih-wang to I-nan from Sir Tardush Tribe with a flag having wolf head on its tip as an envoy and conveyed to him that he acknowledged him as Khagan., CTS 194, p. 5344.
- 38 Taşağıl, Gök-Türkler, p. 70-85.
- 39 BK, G, 13.
- 40 BK, D, 12.
- 41 Şine Usu, K, 1.
- 42 A. Temir, Moğolların Gizli Tarihi, Ankara 1986, p. 139, 160.
- 43 BK D5; KT D4.
- 44 K. Czegledy, p. 48-75; B. Ögel, Gök-Türk Yazıtlarının Apurumları ve Fu-lin Problemi, p. 71 and others; L. Rasonyi, Tarihte Türklük, p. 79 and others Kafesoğlu, p. 152-154; A. N. Kurat, Karadenizin Kuzeyindeki Türk Kavim ve Devletleri, Ankara 1992, p. 25.
- 45 Wei Shu 102.
- 46 Czegledy, the same record, p. 48-57; Kafesoğlu, Türk Milli Kültürü, p. 81.
- 47 Czegledy, p. 70; Kafesoğlu, the same record, p. 84.
- 48 DLT, I, p. 139.
- 49 TPHYC 198, p. 743.
- 50 TT 1081a; WHTK 2699b; TPHYC 198, 743.
- 51 Note 30.
- 52 HTS 217B, p. 6143; TT, the same record.
- 53 Taşağıl, Kapgan, Belleten, 218, p. 67, 68.
- 54 BK D1.
- 55 See H. N. Orkun, Eski Türk Yazıtları, Ankara 1987, p. 490, 491.
- 56 KT K, 2, 3.
- 57 TT 1081a; WHTK 2699a; TPHYC 198, 737.
- 58 Notes 36 and 37.
- 59 TT 1081a; WHTK 2699a; HTS 217B, p. 6140; TPHYC 198, p. 737; Hsüie Tsung-cheng, p. 228.
- 60 Taşağıl, Kutlu Kağan ve İkinci Gök-Türk Devletinin Kuruluşu, Bir Dergisi, p. 232 and others.
- 61 HTS the same record; WHTK 2699a.
- 62 TPHYC 198, p. 737. According to this record it is indicated as sixty thousand. This number may be more accurate.
- 63 TPHYC 198, p. 738; HTS 217B, p. 6140.
- 64 TT 1083; WHTK 2717c.
- 65 Chavannes, Additionnelles., p. 19; Salman, Basmıllar ve Beşbalık bölgesinin Diğer kabileleri, Marmara Univ. Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi, Number 6, 1991, p. 166.
- 66 HTS 217B, 6143-44; WHTK 2717c.
- 67 DLT, I, p. 459.
- 68 DLT, II, p. 312, III, p. 356; O. Pritsak, Karahanlılar, İA, VI, p. 260; Salman, the same record, p. 177, 178.
- 69 Z. V. Togan, Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş, İstanbul 1980, p. 144.
- 70 TT the same record; WHTK 2717c.
- 71 Hudud'ül-alem, p. 96; Sümer, Oğuzlar, p. 38.
- 72 Sümer, the same record.
- 73 DLT, I, p. 379; Şeşen, İslâm Coğrafyacılarına Göre Türkler ve Türk Ülkeleri, p. 27.
- 74 Sümer, the same record, p. 38.
- 75 DLT, I, p. 28, 30, 381; Şeşen, p. 27.
- 76 DLT, I, p. 497, Şeşen, p. 28.
- 77 Note 37 and also TPHYC 198, p. 742. According to these records, the number of warriors of Ch'i-pi tribe was two thousand. According to TT 1081b, it is indicated as three thousand.
- 78 HTS 217B, p. 6142; WHTK 2699b.



- 79 HTS 217B, p. 6146; WHTK 2699b; TT 1081b.
80 Hududül-alem, p. 98-99; Şeşen, p. 66.
81 Mukaddesi, Sümer, extracted from 274-275, p. 36.
82 DLT, I, p. 393-394; Şeşen, p. 27.
83 İbnül-Esir, İslam Tarihi (Translated by A. Özyayın), X, İstanbul, p. 155; Sümer, p. 36.
84 DLT, I, p. 294.
85 BK, D, 26.
86 Kafesoğlu, the same record, p. 177.
87 Sümer, the same record, p. 22.
88 F. Köprülü, Halaç, İA, V/1, p. 112-113; Sümer, the same record.
89 PS 99 the same record; SS the same record.
90 PS 99 p. 3303; SS 84, p. 1879.
91 HTS 217B p. 6141.
92 Kafesoğlu, Harezşahlar Devleti Tarihi, Ankara 1984, p. 7, 40-42, 52, 53, 130, 131 etc.; Barthold, Moğol İstilasına kadar Türkistan (Translated by H. D. Yıldız) İstanbul 1981, p. 510.
93 DLT, III, p. 379; Also see Cuveynî, p. 36, 145, 188, 305, 315, 337, 341, 381 about the situation of Kangal Tribe in 13th century.
94 HTS 217B, p. 6143.
95 WHTK 22725a; HTS 217B, p. 6143.
96 WHTK 2725a.
97 CTS 194B, p. 5181; HTS 215B, p. 6057; TT 1077b; Liu İ-t'ang, Hsin T'ang Shu Hsi T'u-chüie Chüan K'ao-chu, PC, 14 1983, p. 177; Sal- man, V. ve X. Asırlar Arasında Önemli Türk Boylarından Karluqlar ve Karluq Devleti, Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları, 15 December 1981, p. 170.
98 TT 198, 1073a; WHTK 2691b; HTS 215A, p. 6042.
99 Liu Mau-tsai, I, p. 258; Chavannes, Notes, p. 30-31.
100 BK, D; 38.
101 Lin En-hsien, p. 10, 29; Taşağıl, "Gök-Türklerin Sonu ve Belgele- ri", Belleten, Number 236, 1999, p. 24-29.
102 Chavannes, p. 305; Lin En-hsien, p. 302.
103 Z. V. Togan, "Eftalitlerin Menşei Meselesi", İTED, IV, 1-2, 1964, p. 58; Salman, "Karluq...", p. 189.
104 Pritsak, Karahanlılar, İA; Kafesoğlu, Türk Millî Kültürü, p. 139.
105 Hududül alem, p. 97, 98; from Gerdizi, p. 256, 257 Şeşen, p. 63, 64.
106 G. Le. Strange, The Lands of Eastern Caliphate, Cambridge, 1905, p. 482.
107 E. Merçil, "Sebük Tegin'in Pendnamesi", İTED, VI, 1-2, 1975, p. 222-227.
108 İbnül-Esir, XI, p. 80-84; Atamelik Cuveynî, Tarih-i Cihan-ğuşa (Translated by M. Öztürk) Ankara 1999, p. 305; Kafesoğlu, the same record, p. 140; R. R. Arat, Karluq, İA, VI, p. 351 and others.
109 Kafesoğlu, Harezşahlar, p. 52 and others; Köymen, Büyük Sel- çuklu Devleti, II, Ankara 1954 p. 326-329; E. Merçil, İlk Müslüman Türk Devletleri, p. 69.
110 Hududül alem, p. 101.
111 İbnül Esir, IX, p. 232-233; O. Pritsak, Karahanlı mad İA, VI, p. 256; L. Rasony, Tarihte Türklük, p. 137; R. R. Arat, Kıpçak, İA, VI, p. 714.
112 DLT, I, p. 494; Şeşen, p. 28; P. B. Golden, p. 277 and others.
113 G. Moravcsik, Byzantino-Turcica, II, p. 148 and others Kafesoğlu, p. 175; Kurat, Peçenek Tarihi, p. 183; L. Rasony, Tarihte Türklük, p. 136, 137; S. M. Ahincanov, Kıpçakı, Almatı 1995, p. 4 and others.
114 J. Marquart, Über das volkstum der Komanen, Berlin 1914; L. Ra- sony, the same record, p. 138.
115 Kurat, Karadenizin Kuzeyindeki Türk Kavim ve Devletleri, p. 70.
116 Ahincanov, p. p. 155, 156.
117 Kurat, the same record, p. 73.
118 For example, see L. Ligeti, Kırgız İsminin Menşei, Türkiyat Mec- muası, I, 1925, p. 231-249; L. Bazin, Les Calendriers Turc Ancien et Mediaux, Lille 1974, p. 103; E. G. Pulleyblank, The Name of the Kirghiz, Central Asiatic Journal, 34, 1990, p. 98-109.
119 SC 110, p. 2893 HS 94A, p. 3753.
120 HS 94B, p. 3800; HTS 215B, 6149; WHTK 2724a; TC 6729c.
121 CS 50, p. 909.
122 CTS 194A, p. 5165; HTS 215A, p. 6041.
123 WHTK 2724a, b; TC the same record; HTS 217B p. 6149-6159.
124 WHTK 2724b.
125 2724a, b.
126 SS 84, p. 1879; PS 99, p. 3303.
127 T FYK 996, 6a.
128 W. Barthold, Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Hakkında Dersler, İstanbul 1927, s. and others; Eberhard, the same record, p. 67-70; A. P. Ok- ladnikov, Ancient Population of Siberia and its Cultures, Massac- husetts 1959, p. 41.
129 SC 110, p. 2893; HS 94A, p. 3753.
130 HS 94B, p. 3800.
131 HTS 217B, p. 6149; TC 6729c; WHTK 2687a.
132 CTS 18A; HTS 217B, p. 6150. There is an explanation regarding the HTS expression referring the name (surname) of the trine of Chu- wu and also indicating that He-su meant He-cesur (bold) and Suo meant sol (left) and he was bold and threw arrow well on the left side.
133 TCTC 247.
134 T FYK 980, 19b; Tsai Wen-shen, p. 164-172; TCTC 247; CTS 18B; HTS 217B, p. 6150.
135 CTS 195A; TCTC 248; HTS 217B, p. 6150.
136 KT, D, 4, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25, 36, K, 13; BK, D, 5, 12, 15, 17, 20, 26; T, I, 2, 4, 5, 6, Suci 1-11; Şine Usu 10.
137 KT, D, 25; BK, D, 20.
138 Şine Usu, east, 10; also see Ögel, Şine Usu Yazıtının tarihi Önemi, Belleten, Number 59, 1951, p. 361-379; G. Çandarlıoğlu, Ötügen Bölgesindeki Büyük Uygur Kağanlığı (İ. Ü. non-published thesis of assoc. prof.) İstanbul 1972, p. 26.
139 Suci, 1-11.
140 Orkun, p. 234 and others; Çandarlıoğlu, the same record, p. 126.
141 Hududül-Alem, p. 96-97; Gerdizi, Zeynü ahbar; p. 260-261; Avfi, Camii ül Hikâyât, p. 488 Şeşen, 63, 64, 75, 91.
142 TT 200.
143 TT the same record; TPHYC 199, p. 727.
144 Qazaqstan Tarihi, p. 322.
145 Extracted from Gerdizi, Zeynü-ahbar, Şeşen, p. 73.
146 R. Şeşen, İbn Fazlan Seyahatname, p. 90, 91.
147 Arslonva F. H. -Klaştorny S. G., "Runičeskaya nadpis na zerkale iz verhnego priirtışya", Tyurkologičeskii Sbornik, 1972, Moscow 1973, p. 306-315.
148 Bilge, D, 26; Şine Usu, D, 7, 11; Kafesoğlu, p. 177.
149 Şeşen, p. 66; Ahincanov, Qıpçakı, p. 154 and others.
150 Extracted from Gerdizi, Şeşen, p. 73; also see F. Sümer, Kimek, İA, VI, p. 809-810; E. Buharalı, Kimek Hakanlığı, Tarihte Türk Devlet- leri, I, Ankara 1987, p. 263.
151 Moğolların Gizli Tarihi, p. 54, 55, 143.
152 Hududül Alem, p. 100.
153 Hududül-alem, p. 100; Şeşen, p. 67.
154 From Mücmelüt-Tevarih, Buharalı, the same record, p. 264.
155 Şeşen from Mervezi, the same record, p. 104.
156 V. Minorsky, Sharaf-al-zaman Tahir Marvazi on China, The Turks and India, London 1942, p. 18; P. B. Golden, p. 279; G. Çandarlı- oğlu, Sarı Uygurlar ve Kansu Bölgesi Kabileleri, Tai-pei 1967, p. 43.
157 DLT, I, p. 325.
158 Kafesoğlu, Harezşahlar Devleti, p. 40, 131; Köprülü, Harizşahlar, İA, V/1, p. 265-296.
159 DLT, III, p. 29; Şeşen, p. 28.
160 WHTK 2725c.
161 HTS 217B, p. 6144; WHTK 2724a.
162 TT 108?; TPHYC 200, p. 748.
163 According to TPHYC 200, 748, the number warriors were four tho- usand and five hundred.
164 TT 1080.
165 KT, D4; BK, D5.
166 WHTK 2725c.
167 DLT, III, p. 183; Sümer, p. 39; Şeşen, p. 27.
168 Sümer, p. 14; Kafesoğlu, Türk Millî Kültürü, p. 141; also see DLT, I, p. 37, 48; A. Caferoğlu, Türk Dili Tarihi, I, p. 134. Records that assert other views are P. Pelliot, T'oung Pao, 1930, p. 256-257 (uguz, oguz, agız-first milk; J. Marquart, Über das volkstum der



- komanen, Berlin 1914, p. 37, 201 (oq+u+z= the man with arrow); P. A. Boodberg, 1939, (ugur+oguz= horn); D. Sinor, *Oğuz Destanı üzerine Bazı mülahazalar*, TDED, IV, 1-2, p. 1-14 (Oğuz=öktüz=ox); L. Bazin, *Notes sur les Mots Ogu et Turk*, Oriens, 1953, VI, p. 315; J. Hamilton, JA, 1962, p. 23-25 (klan-oguş).
- 169 TT 1078c; Chavannes, Documents, p. 67, 68, 271; Taşağul, *Gök-Türkler*, II, p. 71 and others; Salman, *Türgişler*, Ankara 1998, p. 12, 13 and others.
- 170 Kafesoğlu, p. 143; Sümer, p. 49.
- 171 See Salman, *Türgişler*, p. 12-94; also Barthold, *Türkistan*, p. 258.
- 172 Extracted from Şeşen, p. 154, 184; Sümer, p. 46; Kafesoğlu, p. 144.
- 173 Extracted from İstahır Şeşen, p. 155; Sümer, p. 46.
- 174 For the remainders and various pieces of Oghuz cities, see T. Qonğratbaev, *Erteдеgi Eskertişter*, Almatı 1996, p. 68-155.
- 175 For Dede Korkut Legends, see B. Ögel, *Türk Mitolojisi*, I, Ankara, 1993; II, Ankara 1995; Korkut Ata, Almatı 1999; M. Ergin, *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, İstanbul 1981.
- 176 See H. N. Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları*, p. 623.
- 177 Şine, D, 1, 3, B, 8.
- 178 Extracted from Gerdizi, Sümer, p. 60.
- 179 İbn'ül-Esir, IX, p. 362; also see Barthold, *Türkistan*, p. 339-340.
- 180 For the list of 24 Oghuz Tribes and evaluations, see Sümer, the same record, p. 163-267; Ögel, *Türk Mitolojisi*, I, p. 327, 354.
- 181 K. Bela, XI-X. Asırlarda Uzlar ve komanların tarihine Dair (Translated by H. Z. Koşay), *Bulleten* 1944, Number 29, p. 119-136; A. N. Kurat, *Karadenizin Kuzeyindeki*, p. 65-68; the same record, *Peçenek Tarihi*, p. 155-188; Kafesoğlu, p. 173; Sümer, p. 67; P. B. Golden, "The Oğuz (Torki) in the South Russian Steppes", *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, p. 275.
- 182 HTS 217B, p. 6146.
- 183 TPHYC 200, 763.
- 184 TT 200; TPHYC 200, p. 763; HTS 217B, p. 6146; WHTK 2725b.
- 185 TT 1081; WHTK 2725b; TPHYC 200, 763, 764; HTS 217B, p. 6146.
- 186 PS 99 the same record; SS 84, 1880.
- 187 HTS 217B, p. 6140; WHTK 2698c; TT 1080c; TPHYC 198, p. 734; also see J. Hamilton, the same record, p. 27, 54 n. 19, n. 20; E. Puleyblank, *Some Remarks on the Tokuzoghuz Problem*, p. 39 and others; Liu, II, p. 592.
- 188 W. Eberhard, *Birkaç Eski Türk Unvanı Hakkında*, p. 337; Donuk, p. 10.
- 189 HTS 217B, p. 6140; WHTK 2725c.
- 190 TT 1081b; HTS 217B, p. 6145; WHTK 2699b.
- 191 A. N. Kurat, *Peçenek Tarihi*, p. 30; Kafesoğlu, *Türk Milli Kültürü*, p. 169; F. Sümer *Oğuzlar*, p. 44; Şeşen, p. 67.
- 192 Taşağul, *Gök-Türkler* II, p. 65-66.
- 193 Kurat, *Peçenek*, p. 32. 33. 43-44; F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 44.
- 194 DLT, I, p. 488; Kafesoğlu, *Türk Milli Kültürü*, p. 169.
- 195 Şeşen, *İbn Fadlan*, p. 45.
- 196 *Hududül alem*, p. 101; Gerdizi, *Zeyn ül ahbar*, p. 272 and Avf i, *Camiü'l Hikâyât*, Şeşen, p. 81, 93.
- 197 About the treasury of Nagy Szent-Miklos, see H. N. Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları*, Ankara 1987, p. 375-399.
- 198 DLT, I, p. 488; Şeşen, p. 28.
- 199 For more information on all subjects, see W. Eberhard, *Çin Tarihi*, Ankara 1987, p. 230-231; Wu Hsing-tung, *Beş Sülale Çağında Sha-t'o'ların Çin Toplumuna Etkileri*, Taipei 1970, p. 20-27; Hou Lin-po, *T'ang Tai i-ti Pien-huan shih-lüe*, p. 191-194.
- 200 BK, D, 1.
- 201 T, 3, 11, 60, 61, 62.
- 202 PS 99, p. 3303; SS 84, p. 1879.
- 203 HTS 217B, p. 6146; Hsüe Tsung-cheng, *T'u-chüe Shih*, Peking 1992, p. 227, 371-377.
- 204 KT, K, 3, 4.
- 205 HTS 217B, p. 6134; Hsüe Tsung-cheng, the same record, p. 404 and others.
- 206 The most texts where this information is provided in the most detailed way are recorded in HTS 217B, p. 6134-6139 and CTS 199B, p. 5345-5349. For partial translation of Sir Tardush section in HTS, see Chavannes, p. 94-96.
- 207 TPHYC 198, p. 699.
- 208 HTS 217B, p. 6146.
- 209 KT, D, 13; BK, D, 12.
- 210 BK, G, 13.
- 211 KT, D, 17; BK, D, 15.
- 212 KT, K, 13.
- 213 T, 31.
- 214 T, 41.
- 215 *İhe Hüşotu*, D, 14.
- 216 *Şine Usu*, D, 6, 7.
- 217 *Hoytu Tamır*, 3.
- 218 Liu, II, p. 592; J. Hamilton, "Toquz Oguz", p. 23-63; M. Mori, the same record; Kafesoğlu, p. 123, 124; Ö. İzgi, *Uygurların Siyasî ve Kültürel Tarihi*, 1987, p. 13; Taşağul, *Gök-Türkler* II; the same record, *Töles Boylarının Coğrafi Dağılımına Bir Bakış*, p. 234-243.
- 219 For more information, see E. G. Puleyblank, "Some Remarks on the Tokuzoghuz Problem, UAJbr, 1956, 28, 35; J. Hamilton, the same record, p. 13-63; C. Mackerras, *The Uighurs, The Cambridge Earl History of Inner Asia*, p. 320.
- 220 V. Minorsky, *Tamim İbn Bahr's Journey to the Uygurs*, BSOAS, 1948, p. 281 and others; for other Islamic records, see Şeşen, p. 17, 19, 20-23, 42-45, 58, 60, 61-65 etc, 72, and others 100, and others 134, and others 143, and others, 163.
- 221 KT, G, 2; BK, D, 1.
- 222 *Tokuz Oguz Budun*, also see Hsüe Tsung-cheng, *T'u-chüe Shih*, p. 226.
- 223 KT, D, 14; BK, D, 12.
- 224 BK, D, 29-31; KT, K, 4.
- 225 BK, D, 35.
- 226 *Şine Usu* K, 3.
- 227 *Şine Usu*, K, 5.
- 228 *Şine Usu*, D, 10 and others.
- 229 *Hududül alem*, p. 94, 95; Şeşen, p. 61, 62.
- 230 TT 1081a; WHTK 2699b; HTS 217B, p. 6142.
- 231 TT 1081a; HTS 217B, p. 6144; WHTK 2699a.
- 232 PS 99, p. 3303; SS 84 1879.
- 233 T, 8, 9.
- 234 KT, K, 7; BK, D, 31.
- 235 TT 1080c; HTS 217B, p. 6140-41; WHTK 2699a; TPHYC 198, p. 736.
- 236 F. Sümer, *Eski Türklerde Şehircilik*, p. 15-17, 75, 81, 82.
- 237 Sümer, p. 37; Şeşen, 28.
- 238 *Hududül-Alem*, p. 99.
- 239 The same record.
- 240 DLT I, p. 32.
- 241 CTS 194B, p. 5184; HTS 215B, p. 6059; Chavannes, Documents., p. 21, 24, 47; Salman, *Türgiş*, p. 4 and others; Taşağul, *Gök-Türkler*, II, p. 66 and others.
- 242 Taşağul, the same record, p. 67; Chavannes, the same record; Liou İ-t'ang, *Hsin T'ang Shu T'u-chüe chüan k'ao-chu*, PC, Number 14, p. 206, 207 and others.
- 243 For information about that other Turkish tribes were divided into the system of administration by governors, see Taşağul, *Gök-Türkler*, II, p. 75; Hsüe Tsung-cheng, the same record, p. 404-414.
- 244 Chavannes, p. 34, 60; Salman, *Türgiş*, p. 8; Taşağul, *Gök-Türkler*, II, p. 71.
- 245 T, 29-43.
- 246 KT, D, 21; BK, D, 18; also see Klyastorny, *Orhon Abidelerinde Kengü Kavmi Yer Adı*, p. 92-96; Kafesoğlu, *Türk Milli Kültürü*, p. 111; R. Giraud, p. 45.
- 247 KT, D, 36-38; BK D, 27, 28.
- 248 KT, D, 39-40; L. Bazin, *Calendriers*, p. 228; Hsüe Tsung-cheng, the same record, p. 650 and others.
- 249 BK, K, 9, 10.
- 250 KT, K, 13.
- 251 BK, K, 15.
- 252 *Şine Usu*, K, 11.
- 253 *Şine Usu*, G, 5.
- 254 414HTS 215B, p. 6066-6069.
- 255 *Hoytu Tamır*, III, 2, IV, 3.
- 256 *Tuba*, III, 3.
- 257 S: G: Klyastorny, *Drevnetyurksie Runičeskie pamyatniki kak istočnik po istorii sredney Azii*, Moskova 1964, p. 139-140; E. Sma-



- gulov, F. Grigorev, A. İtenov, *Oçerki srednevekogo Turkistana*, Almatı, 1999, p. 8.
- 258 G. Uray, "The Old Tibetan Sources of History of Central Asia up to 751 A. D: A survey", *Proglemena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Budapest 1979, p. 275-303.
- 259 Sümer, p. 39.
- 260 DLT, I, p. 124.
- 261 Extracted from İbn Hurdadbih, F. Sümer, *Eski Türklerde Şehircilik*, p. 72-75.
- 262 *Hududül-Alem*, p. 95; Sümer, p. 38; Şeşen, 63.
- 263 From Gerdizî p. 260, Sümer, p. 38.
- 264 T. Tekin, the same article, p. 807-811; S. G. Klyashorny, *Doğu Türkistan ve Ordubalık Khaganları*, (Translated by B. Atsız), *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Number 103, 1996, p. 15, 16.
- 265 Sümer, p. 38.
- 266 DLT, III, p. 34.
- 267 DLT, I, p. 30.
- 268 Sümer, p. 38.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CHINESE REFERENCES

- Shih Chih =SC (Ting-wen Shu Chü publication, Tai-pei 1979 edition).
- Han Shu =HS (Ting-wen Shu Chü publication, Tai-pei 1979 edition).
- Hou Han Shu =HHS (Ting-wen Shu Chü publication, Tai-pei 1979 edition).
- San Kuo Chih =SKC (Ting-wen Shu-chü publication, Tai-pei 1979 edition).
- Liang Shu =LS (Ting-wen Shu-chü publication, Tai-pei 1978 edition).
- Wei Shu = WS (Ting-wen Shu-chü publication, Tai-pei 1975 edition).
- Chou Shu =CS (Ting-wen Shu-chü publication, Tai-pei, 1987).
- Pei Shih =PS (Ting-wen Shu-chü publication, Tai-pei, 1987).
- Suei Shu = SS (Ting-wen Shu-chü publication, Tai-pei, 1987).
- Pei Ch'i Shu =PCS (Ting-wen Shu-chü publication, Tai-pei, 1987).
- Chiou T'ang Shu =CTS (Ting-wen Shu-chü publication, Tai-pei, 1985).
- Hsin T'ang Shu =HTS (Ting-wen Shu-chü publication, Tai-pei, 1985).
- Wu Tai Shih = WTS (Ting-wen Shu-chü publication, Tai-pei, 1985).
- T'ung Tien =TT (Shang-wu edition, Shang-hai, 1935).
- Tsu-chih T'ung-chien =TCTC (Hua-shih publication, T'ai-pei 1987).
- Ts'e-fu Yüan-kuei = TFYK (Chung-hua Shu-chü publication, T'ai-pei, 1981).
- Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao =WHTK (Shang-wu publication 1935, Shang-hai edition).
- T'ung Chih =TC (Shang-wu publication 1935, Shang-hai edition).
- T'ai-p'ing Huan-yü Chi =TPHYC (Ts'un Ch'en-mien publication Peking, 1955).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahincanov, S. M., *Kıpçaki*, Almatı 1995.
- Ahmetbeyoğlu, A., *Grek Seyyahı Priskos'a Göre (V. asır) Avrupa Hunları*, İstanbul 1995.
- Akişev, K. A., "K Probleme Proishojdeniya Nomadizma v Aridnoy zone drevnego Kazahstana", *Poiski i roskopki v kazahstane*, Almatı 1972.
- Akişev, K. A., Kuşaev, G. A., *Drevnyaya Kultura Sakov i Usuney Dolini reki İli*, Almatı 1963.
- Arat, R. R., Karluq, İA, VI.
- Arat, R. R., Kıpçak, İA, VI.
- Arslanova, F. H. -Klyashorny, S. G., "Runičeskaya nadpis na zekrale iz verhnego priirtışya", *Tyurkologičeski Sbornik*, 1972 (Moscow 1973).
- Atamelik Cuveynî, *Tarih-i Cihan-guşa* (Translated by M. Öztürk) Ankara 1999.
- Barthold, W., *Moğol İstilasına Kadar Türkistan* (Translated by H. D. Yıldız), İstanbul 1981.
- Barthold, W., *Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Hakkında Dersler*, İstanbul 1927.
- Baştav, Ş., *Sabir Türkleri*, *Bellekten*, 17-18, 1942.
- Baypakov, K. M., *Srednevekovie goroda Kazakstana*, Almatı 1998.
- Bazin, L., "Notes sur les mots Oguz et Türk", *Oriens*, VI, 2, 1953.
- Bazin, L., *Les Calendriers Turcs anciens et medieviaux*, Lille 1974.
- Bela, K., "X-XII Asırlarda Uzlar ve Komanların Tarihine Dair" (Translated by H. Z. Koşay), *Bellekten*, 29, 1944.
- Bucher, V. F., *Samaniler*, İA.
- Buharalı, E., *Kimek Hakanlığı, Tarihte Türk Devletleri*, I, Ankara 1987.
- Caferoğlu, A., *Türk Dili Tarihi*, I, İstanbul 1958.
- Chavannes, E., *Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, Paris 1941.
- Chavannes, E., *Notes Additional sur les Tou-kiue (turc) Occidentaux*, Paris 1941.
- Christian, D., *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, Oxford 1998.
- Czegledy, K., *Turan Kavimlerinin Göçü* (Translated by G. Karaağaç) İstanbul 1999.
- Czegledy, K., "On the Numerical composition of Ancient Turkish Tribal Confederation", *Acta Orientalia*, 25, 1972.
- Çandarlıoğlu, G., *Ötüken Bölgesindeki Büyük Uygur Kağanlığı* (İst. Ed. Fak. non-published thesis for assoc. prof.), İstanbul 1972.
- Çandarlıoğlu, G., *Sarı Uygurlar ve Kansu Bölgesi Kabileleri*, Tai-pei 1967.
- De Groot, M., *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*, Berlin Leipzig, 1921.
- Donuk, A., *Eski Türk Devletlerinde Askerî İdarî Unvan ve Terimler*, İstanbul 1988.
- Dunlop, "A New Source of Information on the Battle of Talas or Atlakh", *UAJhb*, 3-4, 36.
- Eberhard, W., *Çin'in Şimal Komşuları*, Ankara 1942.
- Eberhard, W., "Birkaç Eski Türk Unvanı Hakkında", *Bellekten*, 35, 1945.
- Eberhard, W., "Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Orta ve Garbi Asya Halklarının Medeniyeti", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, VII-VIII, 1942.
- Eberhard, W., *Çin Tarihi*, Ankara 1987.
- Eberhard, W., "Şato Türklerinin Kültür Tarihine Dair", *Bellekten* 41, 1947.
- Enoki, K., "On the Nationality of the Ephtalites", *Studia Asiatica*, Tokyo 1998.
- Ergin, M., *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, İstanbul 1981.
- Esin, E., *İslamiyetten Önce Türk Kültür Tarihi ve İslama Giriş*, İstanbul 1978.
- Fan Kuo-chien, *Pei Wei Yü Juan-juan Kuan-hsi Yen-chiou*, Tai-pei 1988.
- Franke, O., *Geschichte des chinesisches Reiches*, Berlin 1930, II, 1936.
- Giraud, R., *L'empire des Turcs Celestes*, Paris 1960.
- Gibb, H. A. R., *Orta Asyada Arap Fütuhâtı* (Turkish Translation), İstanbul 1930.
- Golden, P. B., "The Turkic Steppe in Early Samanid Times" *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, Cambridge 1990.
- Golden, P. B.: Golden, "The Oguz (Torki) in the South Russian Steppes", *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, Cambridge 1990.
- Gökbalp, C., *Göktürk Devletinin kuruluşundan Cengiz'in zuhuruına kadar Altailarda ve İç Moğolistan'da ki Kabileleri* (Ank. Üniv. DTCF non-published thesis for doctorate) Ankara 1967.
- Hamilton, J., "Toquz Oghuz et On Uygur", *JA*, CCL, 1, 1962.
- Hamilton, J., *Les Ouighours a L'epoque des Cinq Dynasties d'apres les documents chinois*, Paris 1955.
- Hirth, F., "The Story of Chang Kien, China's Pioneer in Western Asia", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 37, 1917.
- Hoffman, H., *Die Qarluq in der Tibetischen Literatur*, *Oriens*, 3, 1950.
- Hou Lin-po, *T'ang Tai İ-ti Pien-huan Shih-lüe*, Tai-pei 1979.
- Hsüe Tsung-cheng, *T'u-chüie Shih*, Peking 1992.
- Hududül-Alem* (English Translation by V. Minorsky), London 1937.
- İbn'ül-Esir, *İslam Tarihi* (Translated by A. Özyayın), İstanbul 199.
- İstoriya Sibiri (komisyon), I. Leningrad 1968.
- İzgi, Ö., *Uygurların Siyasî ve Kültürel Tarihi*, Ankara 1987.
- Kafesoğlu, İ., *Türk Millî Kültürü*, İstanbul 1987.
- Kafesoğlu, Harezmsahlr Devleti Tarihi, Ankara 1987.
- Kaşgarlı Mahmud, *Divân-u Lugat-it Türk*.
- Klyashorny, S. G., "Orkhun Abidelerinde Kengü Kavmi Yer Adı", *Bellekten*, 69, 1954.
- Klyashorny, A propos des notes Sogd Bärçäkär Buqaraq ulys de l'inscription de kul Teghin, *CAJ*, III, 4, 1958.
- Klyashorny, S. G., *Orkhun Yazıtlarına Göre Orta Asya Milletlerinin Araplara karşı Mücadelelerine Dair*, *Bellekten*, 104, 1962.



- Klyastorny, S. G., *Drevnetyurksie Rinçeskie Pamyatniki kak İstoçnik po istorii sredney azii*, Moscow 1964.
- Klyastorny, S. G., "Dođu Türkistan ve Ordubalık Khaganları (Translated by B. Atsız), *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 103, 1996.
- Korkut Ata (komisyon), *Almatı 1999*.
- Köprülü, F., "Kay Kabilesi Hakkında Yeni Notlar", *Belleten*, VII, 31, 1944.
- Köprülü, F., Halaç mad. İA, V/1, p. 112-113.
- Köprülü, F., *Harizmşahlar*, İA, V/1.
- Köymen, M. A., *Büyük Selçuklu Devleti*, II, Ankara 1954.
- Kurat, A. N., *Karadenizin Kuzeyindeki Türk Kavimleri ve Devletleri*, Ankara 1972.
- Kurat, A. N., *Peçenek Tarihi*, İstanbul 1937.
- Kyunar, N. V., *Kitayskie İzvestiya o Narodah Ujnoj sibirı, Tsentralnoy Azzii İ Dalnego Vostoka*, Moscow 1961.
- LeStange, G., *The Lands of Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905.
- Ligeti, L., *Bilinmeyen İÇ Asya* (Translated by S. Karatay), Ankara 1986.
- Ligeti, L., "Kırgız İsminin Menşei", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, I, 1925.
- Lin En-hsien, *T'u-chüe Yen-chiou, T'ai-pei* 1988.
- Ling Han, "U-sun Jane onun Batus Han Patşalığına karım-katnası", *Tanım Tarmaqtarı*, Almatı 1998.
- Liou İ-t'ang, "Huei-ho Ko-le K'o-han Yen-chiou", *PC*, 16, 1985.
- Liou İ-t'ang, "Hsin T'ang Shu Hsi T'u-chüe Chüan K'ao-chu", *PC*, 14, 1983.
- Liou İ-t'ang, "T'u-chü Chüan Shih-hsi-k'ao", *PC*, 12, 1981.
- Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken*, I-II, Wiesbaden 1969.
- Mackerras, C., "The Uighurs", *The Cambridge History of Early İnnen Asia*, Cambridge 1990.
- Maenchen-Helfen, O., "The Ting-ling", *HJAS*, 4, 1939.
- Malov, S. E., *Eniseyskaya pismennost Tyurkov*, Mosk. Len. 1952.
- Marquart, J., *Über das volkstum Der Komanen*, Berlin 1914.
- Ma Yong and Sun Yutang, "The Western Regions Under the Hsiung-nu and the Han", *History of Civilations of Central Asia*, Paris 1994.
- McGovern, W. M., *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, Newyork 1939.
- Merçil, E., "Sebük Tegin'in Pendnamesi", *İTED*, VI, 1-2, 1975.
- Merçil, E., *İlk Müslüman Türk Devletleri*, Ankara 19.
- Minorsky, V., *Sharaf al-zaman Tahir Marvazi on China, The Turks and India*, London 1942.
- Minorsky, V., "Tamim ibn Bahr's Journey to the Uighurs", *BSOAS*, 1948.
- Moğolların Gizli Tarihi (Translated by A. temir), Ankara 1986.
- Moravscik, Gy., *Byzantino-Turcica*, I, II, Budapest 1958.
- Mori, M., "The Account of the Tingling in His-jung-chuan of the Weilio", *Toyo Gakuho*, sayı 30 (1950).
- Mori, M., "On Chi-li-fa (eltäber/eltebir) and Chi-chin (İrkin) of T'ie-le Tribes", *Acta Asiatica* 9, 1965.
- Okladnikov, A. P., *Ancient Population of Siberia and its Cultures*, Maschusetts, 1959.
- Onat, A., "Çin Türkistan İlişkilerinin Başlangıcı Hakkında Bazı Bilgiler", *Belleten*, 211.
- Orkun, H. N., *Eski Türk Yazıtları*, Ankara 1987.
- Ögel, B., *Büyük Hun İmparatorluğu*, Ankara 1981.
- Ögel, B., *İlk Töles Boyları*, *Belleten*, sayı 48, 1948.
- Ögel, B., "Gök-Türk Yazıtlarının Apurumları ve Fu-lin Problemi", *Belleten*, 33, 1945.
- Ögel, B., "Çin kaynaklarına Göre Wu-sun'lar ve Siyasî Sınırları Hakkında Problemler" *DTCF*, IV, 4, 1948.
- Ögel, B., "Dođu Gök-Türkleri Hakkında Vesikalar ve Notlar", *Belleten*, 81, 1957.
- Ögel, B., *İslamiyetten Önce Türk Kültür Tarihi*, Ankara 1962.
- Ögel, B., *Türk Mitolojisi*, I, Ankara 1987.
- Ögel, B., "Şine Usu Yazıtının Tarihi Önemi", *Belleten*, 59, 1951.
- Ögel, B., "Uygur Devletinin Teşekkülü ve Yükseliş Devri", *Belleten*, 75, 1955.
- Ögel, B., "Uygurların Menşe Efsanesi", *DTCF*, VI, 1-2, 1948.
- Patkanoff, "Über das Volk der Sabiren", *Keleti Szemle*, I, 1900.
- Pritsak, O., *Von den Karluq den Karachaniden, Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 101, 1951.
- Pritsak, O., *Karluq mad İA*, IV.
- Pritsak, O., *Der Untergang des Reiches des Oguzischen Yabgu, M. F. Köprülü Armağanı*, İstanbul 1953.
- Pulleyblank, E. G., "The Name of the Kirghiz", *Central Asiatic Journal*, 34, 1990.
- Pulleyblank, E. G., "Some Remarks on the Toquzoghuz Problem", *UAJhb.*, XXVIII, 1-2, 1956.
- Pulleyblank, E. G., "The Wu-sun and Sakas and the Yüe-chih Migration", *BSOAS*, 33, 1970.
- Qazaqstan Tarihi (komisyon)*, Almatı 1996.
- Qongratbaev, T., *Ertegedi Eskertişter*, Almatı 1996.
- Rasony, L., *Tarihte Türklük*, Ankara 1971.
- Rudenko, S. İ., *Kultura Naseleniya Sentralnogo Altaia v Skifskoe Vremya*, Mosk. Len. 1960.
- Salgarılı, K., *Dunhu-Kaoçı*, Almatı 1999.
- Salman, H., "Çin İmparatorluğunun Batı Ülkelerine karşı Tesis Ettiđi Askeri Hat (Dört Garnizon)", *Belleten*, 211, 1991.
- Salman, H., "VII-X. Asırlar Arasında Önemli Türk Boylarından Karluqlar ve Karluq Devleti", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, 15 December 1981.
- Salman, H., *Türgişler*, Ankara 1998.
- Salman, H., "Basmıllar ve Beşbalık Bölgesinin Diğer Türk Boyları", *Marmara Üniversitesi, Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 6, 1990.
- Sinor, D., *The Cambridge History of Early İnnen Asia*, Cambridge 1990.
- Smagulov, E., Grigoryev, F., İtenov, A., *Oçerk po istorii srednevekego Turkistana*, Almatı 1999.
- Su Pei-hai, "Han Patşalığı Devirindeki U-sundardın köne Mekeni Turalı", *Tanım Tarmaqtarı*, Almatı 1998.
- Sümer, F., *Oğuzlar*, İstanbul 1992.
- Sümer, F., *Kimek mad İA*, VI.
- Sümer, F., *Oğuzlara Ait Destanı Mahiyette Eserler*, *DTCF Dergisi*, XVI-II, 3-4 1961.
- Sümer, F., *Eski Türklerde Şehirçilik*, Ankara, 1994.
- Şeşen, R., *İslam Coğrafyacılarına Göre Türkler ve Türk Ülkeleri*, Ankara 1985.
- Şeşen, R., *İbn Fazlan Seyahatname*, İstanbul 1995.
- T'ang Ch'i, "Preliminary İnterpretation of terms from the Toba (Tabğaç) Language Recorded in the Nan Ch'i Shu, Pien-cheng, IV, 1973.
- Taşagıl, A., *Gök-Türk Ülkesine Gelen Çinli Elçilerin Raporlarına Göre Gök-Türk*.
- Çin ilişkileri (552-630), (İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü) İstanbul, 1989.
- Taşagıl, A., *Gök-Türkler*, Ankara 1995.
- Taşagıl, A., *Gök-Türkler II*, Ankara 1999.
- Taşagıl, A., "Kapkan Khagan" *Belleten*, 217, 1995.
- Taşagıl, A., "Kutlug Khagan ve the second Gök-Türk Devletinin Kuruluşu, Bir Dergisi, 4, 1995.
- Taşagıl, A., "552-627 Yılları Arasında Töles Boylarının Coğrafi Dağılımına bir Bakış", *Mimar Sinan Üniv., Fen-Ed. Fak. Dergisi*, 1, İstanbul 1992.
- Taşagıl, A., *Gök-Türklerin Sonu ve Belgeleri*, *Belleten*, 236, 1999.
- Tekin, T., *Orhon Yazıtları*, Ankara 1988.
- Tekin, T., *Tunyukuk Yazıtı*, Ankara 1994.
- Togan, Z. V., "Eftalitlerin Menşei Meşalesi", *İTED*, IV, 1-2, 1964.
- Tsai Wen-shen, *Li Te-yü'nün Mektuplarına Göre Uygurlar*, *Tai-pei* 1967.
- Tuan Lien-ch'en, "Siung-nu Memleketi Tusındadı Dinglingder", *Tanım Tarmaqtarı*, Almatı 1998.
- Türkeli, C., *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Hunların Ataları (İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü yayınlanmamış doktora tezi)* İstanbul 1990.
- Uray, G., "The Old Tibetan Sources of History of Central Asia up to 751 A. D: A Survey" *Proglemena to the Sources on the History of Pre-İslamic central Asia*, Budapest 1979.
- Wu Hsing-tung, *Beş Sülale Çağında Sha-t'o'ların Çin Toplumuna Etkileri*, *Tai-pei* 1970.
- Yao Ta-chung, *Ku-tai pei-si Chung-kuo*, *T'ai-pei* 1981.
- Yıldız, H. D., "Talas Savaşı Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler", *Edb. Fak. 50. yıl Armağanı*, İstanbul 1979.
- Zuev, Yu. A., "K Voprosu o vzaimootneşeniyah Usuney i Kantszumi s gunnami i Kitaem" *İzv. AN. Kaz. SSR, ser. obşestv. Nauk vıp. 2*, 1957.
- Zuev, Yu. A., "K Etničeskoj istorii Usuney", *Trudi İİAE AN. Ka. SSR*, Almatı 1960. T. 8.