

# Ethnonyms and Toponyms of the Old Turkic Inscriptions in Chinese Sources

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## Introduction

After the Tang-Turkic war, in the middle of seventh century, according to the Chinese sources, the Tang Dynasty set up the autonomous administrative and political organization system of *jimizhou* 羈縻州 (protected prefectures), which employed Turkic puppet Qayans in order to control and regulate Turkic tribes. Initially, the Tang Chinese Empire subjugated the Eastern Turkic population, and later the Western Turkic, who were suzerains of ancient city-states in present-day northwestern China and southern Kazakhstan, including Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Chinese annals – including *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, *Tang Huiyao* 唐會要, and *Cefu yuan gui* 冊府元龜 – preserve many Old Turkic onomastics. But these Turkic tribal names and toponyms seem to be documented by being transferred into Chinese names, and are only recorded in the Chinese sources mentioned here. Thus, the location and occupants of these Turkic groups have to be investigated using these particular Chinese sources. Interestingly, through an investigation of all medieval Chinese sources, one can observe that these district names are registered only in the four sources mentioned here. For instance, the locales occupied by Turkic tribes have been ascribed different administrative names for the same *Jimizhou* territory. In addition, Chinese toponyms such as *Jilu* 雞鹿 and *Dawan* 大宛 can also be found in the *Hanshu* 漢書, the history of the earlier Chinese Han Dynasty. *Jilu* is a location name in modern Inner Mongolia, and *Dawan* is an ancient Chinese name for the Ferghana valley of Uzbekistan. Yet, in the Tang Dynasty, Chinese historians used both these toponyms for the areas around Orkhon valley and Tashkent, respectively.

These facts beg the question: Are locations names given in the Chinese annals to territories occupied by Turkic inhabitants at all original names? According to the four Tang Dynasty sources mentioned here, there were two ways of transcribing from Old Turkic onomastics into Chinese. Sometimes the words were simply transliterated from Old Turkic, taking Chinese characters to approximate the pronunciations of the Old Turkic ethnonyms, personal names and even toponyms in the same way as the Chinese versions found on the Old Turkic inscriptions. For example, Bolchu

was written as *Woluzhou* 嗚鹿州. A second way was to translate the original Turkic words into Chinese meaning equivalents. For example, Quşlayaq, which denotes a “place where there are many birds and they are hunted,” was written as *Jitian* 雞田. Some names even appear as a mixture of these two methods, transliterating part of the name and translating the other. For example, the Turkic place name of Ezgenti Qadaz was transcribed as *Yanhongda jing* 閻洪達井 – taking “Ezgenti” as “Yanhongda” and “qadaz,” the word for “well,” as “jing.” Many Old Turkic toponyms were prescribed as the translations from Turkic into Chinese. During the middle ages, many geographical sites and settlements of Central Asia carried duplicate names, in both Turkic and Chinese. These include Temir Qapıy as *Tiemen guan* 鐵門關 and Toyu balıq as *Jilu* 雞鹿/雞祿.

In this study, I have investigated the ethnonyms, toponyms and personal names of the Old Turkic inscriptions within Chinese sources. Late rulers of the Second Turkic Qayanate (also Khaganate) (682–745) erected some stone stele inscribed in Turkic, the most famous of them being the Orkhon inscriptions. However, the Orkhon inscriptions cover only the geography of Turkic Qayanate and its immediate neighbors. Thus, many of the names within cannot be ascribed to distant places and states as some scholars have proposed. Many scholars consider Purum mentioned in these inscriptions as the Byzantine or Eastern Roman Empire, and Temir Qapıy as the “Iron Gate” north of Samarkand. However, I argue that the Purum in the Orkhon inscriptions denotes a state of Tokharstan ruled by the Western Turkic Qayans, and Temir Qapıy is an important gorge near the city of Agni (modern Qaraşahar) in Xinjiang. Geographical realms recorded in the Orkhon inscriptions cover areas in the west, or the territory of the formerly Western Turkic Qayanate. The campaign of Bilge Qayan and Tonuquq never went beyond Syr-Darya, located between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. In reading the geography of the Orkhon inscriptions this way, I conclude that the Tokharians mentioned in the Orkhon inscription were inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan oases of Agni, Kuchar, Aksu, and Turfan.

**Soyud = *Suheduo*** 宿呵多, **Caojuzha** 漕矩吒; **Berčekker = *Xiao Bolü*** 小勃律;  
**Buqaraq = *Bohe guo*** 鉢和國

The Kültegin inscription mentioned the envoys from Soyud, Berčekker and Buqaraq ulus countries by the name Näj Seşün and Oğul Tarqan: ‘quriya: kün: batsıqdaqı: Soyud: Berčekker: Buqaraq ulus: budunta: Näj Seşün: Oğul Tarqan: kelti’(KT 10–11). Zuev identifies Soyud with Sogdiana: ‘the ancient Türkic runiform inscriptions of Mongolia precisely discriminate between them: the mother country was called Soyud,

and a colony was called Soydaq<sup>1</sup>. At the start of the eighth century Samarqand came under Arab control. It is clear that in that episode the Soyud is not a Sogdiana and Samarqand, but the Buqaraq, which cannot be the Bukhara to the west from Samarqand.

The *Suishu* describes Cao-guo is situated to the north (rightly south) of Congling, this is the country of *Jibin* 罽賓 of Han period. Their king's family is *Zhaowu* 昭武, name is *Shunda* 順達, is descended from the king family of *Kangguo* 康國 [SS j.83 Xiyu]; an account of Caoguo occurs in the *Xin Tangshu*: Jibin (Kapisa) is *Caoguo* 漕國 of Sui period, is situated to the south of Congling (Pamir) [XTS j.221A Xiyu-A]. In my opinion, the name Caoguo, MChin *tshaw-kuək*, came down from Zhaowu or Kang, they are a sort of the Soyud. The ruler of the Kapisa who had their headquarters in *Xiuxian* 脩鮮 is called *teqin* or *tekin* and one of king also called *Fulin Kipo* 拂菻罽婆 (Purum Kapisa).

In other hand, Soyud/Suyuda is Turkic form of Juhuda/Jaguda, with its capital at Ghazni. According to the *Xin Tangshu*, *Xieyu* is located southwest of Tokharistan. Their native name is Caoju or Caojuzha. Their territory is said to be contiguous in the east with *Jibin* 罽賓 (Kapisa), northeast with the *Fanyan* 帆延 (Bamiyan), in the south with the *Polumen* 婆羅門 (Brakhman, i.e. India), in the west with the *Bosi* 波斯 (Persia) and in the north with Hushijian (Guzgan). Their ruler lives in the city of *Hexina* 鶴悉那 (Ghazni) and the city of Asuoni [XTS j. 221B Xiyu-B]. Caojuda, MChin *tshaw-kyə-tra*, it can be easily read as Juhuda, or restored as Suyuda. Buddhist monk Faxian called it *Suheduo* 宿呵多. Accordingly, power in both Juguda and Kapisa was concentrated in the hands of the Turkic royal family.

The Chinese authors of the Tang period generally call the region Baltistan and Bolor (in the Yasin valley) *Bolü* [XTS j. 221B Xiyu-B]. These names they evidently borrowed from the Tibetan, who calls this region *Bruzha*. The *Weishu* states that the countries *Ganda* 乾達阿 (Gandhara), *Puoluo* 婆羅 (Baharak?), *Dasheyue* 達舍越, *Gashimi* 伽使密 (Kashmir), *Buliusha* 不流沙 (Bruzha) whose sent envoys to the Wei in the third year of *Jingming* 景明 (502) [WS j.8 The fourth year of Yongping (511)] [XTS j.221B Da Bolü]. At the time, the country of *Buliusha*, Mchin put-liw-ša, which was also called Great Bolü and Little Bolü of the Tang period, was under the ruler of king Bruzha. According to the *Xin Tangshu*, there are two Bolü countries: *Da Bolü* 大勃律 (Great Bolü) and *Xiao Bolü* 小勃律 (Little Bolü). *Da Bolü* also called as *Bulu* 布露 is situated the southeast of *Xiao Bolü*, probably modern Baltistan; *Xiao Boü* is situated north of Kashmir and east of the city *Jiabulue* 迦布羅 (Kabul), they

<sup>1</sup> Yu. A. Zuev, *Ранние тюрки: очерки истории и идеологии*, Almaty, 2002, p.160.

political center located Yasin valley. Bolü or Bolyu, MChin pñut-lyt, is a Chinese transliteration of the country name Burusho/Brusho.

To the Turkic Chinese Bolü was known in Orkhon inscription under the name of *Berčeker*. These names they evidently borrowed from the local language of Burusho or Xiao Bolü, who probably call own country *Werchikwar*. Through an accident of naming, the term *Werchikwar* now commonly refers to a dialect of Burusho in the Yasin basin. The names of the Burusho language are Burushaski, Brugaski, Verchikwar (*Werchikwar*) and Kanjut.<sup>2</sup> Now the name Burusho we use to designate the Burusho people in the Hunza, Nagar, Yasin, and Ishkoman valleys, and some parts of the Gilgit valley, in Gilgit Baltistan, in Srinagar in Jammu and Kashmir.

The Xin Tangshu states: ‘The country *Humi* 護蜜 (Kumidji), also called *Damoxitiedi* 達摩悉鐵帝 (Dharmasthiti/Termistat) or *Huokan* 鑊侃 (Wakhan). During Wei dynasty was known as *Bohe* 鉢和. This place is Ancient Tokharistan... Their ruler lives in the city of *Sejiashen* 塞迦審城 (Ishkashim)’ [XTS j.221B Xiyu-B].

The name of Bohe, MChin *puat-xñua*, is identical with Turkic Buqaraq. Buqaraq might represent Baharak. Baharak is the name of town and seat of Baharak district Badakhshan province in northeastern Afghanistan. The present town of Baharak has been the capital of the Badakhshan, approximately 30 km to the southeast of Faizabad.

In the 729 the Tang chronicler noted a ruler from the country *Humi* or *Bohe* by the name *Wuhu dagan* 烏鶻達干/烏鶻達幹 come to Chinese court [XTS j.221B Xiyu-B; CFYG j.975]. *Wuhu dagan* could be easily restored as Oγul Tarqan.

The meaning of *ulus* is a country in Turkic<sup>3</sup>; Suyud, Berčeker, Buqaraq ulus means the countries of Suyud, Berčeker, Buqaraq. The lands of Suyud (Suyuda), Berčeker (*Werchikwar*) and Buqaraq (Baharak) were a part of the Tokharistan. The territory of Tokharistan was identical Kushan Bactria, in the seventh and eighth centuries, extended from the Iron Gates of Sogdiana to the Sind river.

Now it is a well-known fact that there were very strong connections between the Suyud, Berčeker and Buqaraq rulers and the Kök Turkic court. Since around 630 to 758 Tokharistan was under the rule of Yabyus of a dynasty founded by Khan Yabyu Tardu Šad, son of the Western Turkic qaγan Tung Yabyu. The Yabyu of the Turkic continued to rule Tokharistan even after the destruction of the Turkic empire by the Tang. There was also population of Turkic who ruled the region even

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<sup>2</sup> According to Litvinskiy, Burushaski is a completely distinct language: it stands at the confluence of three great families – the Indo-European, the Sino-Tibetan and the Altaic – but belongs to none of them [*History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol.3, 1996, p.378].

<sup>3</sup> *Gaochang guan zazi* [The Uighur-Chinese dictionary of Gaochang], Hu Zhenhua and Huang Renhua (eds.), Beijing, 1984, p.34.

after the destruction of the empire of Western Turkic<sup>4</sup>. Tabari mentions that all princes down to the Sind area and to Herat considered themselves, even if purely nominally, as servants of the Yabyu of Tokharistan<sup>5</sup>. Hyecho wrote that the king of Tokharistan had lived in Balkh, but was forced to remove to Badakhshan by the Arabs<sup>6</sup>.

The name Par-Purum occurs between the countries Tüpüt and Qırqız (KT E4, BQ E5). This problem was disputed a long time. Radloff read it as Parpurim and later Parpurum together with the previous word<sup>7</sup>, and Thomsen and Orkun read it as Apar and Apourim [Thomsen 1896.98; Orkun 1936.30–31]. Hamilton explained second word was ancient Turkic form of Frōm~Frūm (=Byzantine Empire)<sup>8</sup>, Malov read Apar (=Avar) and Purum (=Rim)<sup>9</sup>.

It can be easily deduced from the order of the ethnonyms or toponyms that they are told according to clock direction, that is, from east through south to west, and then to north. According to the order in the text, we should look for Par-Purum in the area what is today Kashmir and Afghanistan.

The Xin Tangshu states that, in the Kapisa, there was a king named *Fulin Jibo* 拂菻罽婆. Harmatta considers that in this name of *Jibo* 罽婆, there is a confusion between the sign *bo* 婆 and *suo* 娑; accordingly, the correct form is *Fu-lin-ki-suo* in which it is easy to recognize the Iranian name \**Frōm Kēsar* (emperor of Rome [=Byzantium])<sup>10</sup>. According to Harmatta, on the coins of some Arab governors, a Bactrian text overstruck on the rim has been discovered: *φρομο κησαρο βαγο χοαδηο κιδο βο ταξ ικανο χοργο οδο σαιο βο σαβαγο ατο ι μο βο γαινδο* (Fromo Kesaro, the Majestic Sovereign [is] who defeated the Arabs and laid a tax [on them])<sup>11</sup>. I can find no evidence that the character for *bo* was known as *suo* in ancient times. In my opinion *Jibo* is a variant of *Jibin*. *Jibin* almost certainly referred to included Kandahar and Kapisa. The Chinese pilgrim Wu Kong's account helps to locate *Jibin* both in

<sup>4</sup> Enoki Kazuo, *On the date of the Kidarites (2)*. *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 28, 1970, pp.13–18.

<sup>5</sup> Emel Esin, *Tabarī's Report on the Warfare with the Türgiṣ and the Testimony of Eighth Century Central Asia* Art. CAJ 12 / 2–4, 1973, p.131.

<sup>6</sup> Hyecho 慧超. *Wang wu Tianzhu guo zhuan jianshi* 往五天竺國傳箋釋[Memoir of the pilgrimage to the five kingdoms of India], Anotated by Zhang Yi 張毅, Zhonghua shuju, Beijing, 1994, p.96.

<sup>7</sup> V. V. Radloff, P. M. Melioranskij, “Drevnetjurkskie pamjatniki v Košo-Cajdame”, in *Sbornik Trudov Orkhonskoj Ekspedicij* 4, Sankt-Peterburg, 1897, p.131 and W. Radloff, *Die alttürkschen Inschriften der Mongolei*, Neue Folge, Sankt-Petersburg, 1895, p.45.

<sup>8</sup> J.R. Hamilton, “Opla-/Yopla-, UF-/Yuf- et autres formes semblables en turc ancien”, in *AOH* 28/1, 1974, pp.111–117.

<sup>9</sup> S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1951, p.29.

<sup>10</sup> J. Harmatta, “Tokharistan and Gandhara under Western Türk Rule (650–750): History of the regions” in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, v.3, B. A. Litvinsky, Zhang Guang-da and R. Shabani Samghabadi (eds.), UNESCO, 1996, p.372.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p.374.

Kapisa nad Kanfahar: ‘on the twenty first day of the second month of the twelfth Guisi year (753), he (Wu Kong) arrived at the kingdom *Qiantuoluo* 乾陀羅; this is the eastern capital of Jibin. The king lives in winter in this place; in summer, he lives in Jibin’<sup>12</sup>. According to Hill, the Persian name for Kandahar was Kapisakaiš<sup>13</sup>.

In the Weishu mentioned the country *Pulan* 普嵐 with *Yanda* 嚧嗟. *Pulan*, MChin *p<sup>h</sup>uə-lam*, which rightly correspondos to Purum. In 456, the *Pulan* sent the first embassy to the court of Wei and for the first time they were known to the Chinese. According to the Weishu *Pulan* sent three embassies from 456 to 467[WS j.5–6]. *Pulan* is a Chinese transcription of a name of Purum, which is also written as *Fulin* 拂林 or *Fulin* 拂赫[XTS j.221A Jibin; j.221B Da Bolü]. Without doubt *Fulin*, MChin *fut-lim*, is the Chinese transcription of Purum. Purum, must have been a real country to the west of Badakhshan. Korean Buddhist monk Hyecho, Chinese Hui Chao (704–783), who travelled Tokharistan between 723 and 729, reports that in Gandhara, Kapisa and *Xieyu* 謝颺 (Juguda) the kings and military forces were Turkic<sup>14</sup>. The Turkic kings bearing the title *purum* of Kapisa. The names of kings or the country *Pulan*, *Fulin*, *Fromo* are attested by the legends of their coins, by texts of the Nestorian Monument in China and Chinese accounts.

Par-Purom probably comes from *Vara Brahma/Phra Phrom*, is the Sanskrit name of god brahma. In his *Records of Western Countries Xuanzang* writes about the country *Ximataluo* 呬摩坦羅 as follows: ‘The country of *Ximataluo* is formerly a part of the country of Duhuoluo. ... Their manners and customs, as well as their wears made of felt, skin and coarse cloth, are very similar to the Turkic. ... Their ancestors established a strong country, of which the king was of *Shi* 釋 (Sakya) origin. ... the country adjoins *Qilisema* 訖栗瑟摩 in the west. By travelling eastwards through valleys 200 and odd li, one reaches *Boduochuangna* 鉢鐸創那’. All scholars identify *Boduochuangna* with Badakhshan and located *Ximataluo* to the west of Badakhshan<sup>15</sup>. According to the Uighur version *Xuanzang Biography*, *Boduochuangna* is transcribing *Pānžū višay*<sup>16</sup>. According to Harmatta of the territories annexed in 625 by the Western Turkic Empire, Khuttal and Kapisa-Gandhara were independent kingdoms after the disintegration of the Hephthalite kingdom. The Hephthalite kings bearing

<sup>12</sup> *Taishō shinshū dai zōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 [Revised version of the canon, compiled during the Taishō era], Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡辺海旭 et al. (eds.), vol.51, Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, Tokyo, 1924–1932–1935, p.979

<sup>13</sup> John E. Hill, *Through the jade gate to Rome: A Study of the Silk Routes during the Later Han Dynasty 1<sup>st</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> Centuries CE*, John E. Hill BookSurge, Charleston, South Carolina, 2009, p.517.

<sup>14</sup> Hyecho, 1994, pp.71,91,93.

<sup>15</sup> Enoki, 1970, p.34.

<sup>16</sup> L. J. Tuguševa, *Ujgurskaja versija biografii Xuan-Zanga*, Moscow, 1991, pp.69,290.

the Indian names of Kapisa-Gandhara continued the coinage of the Hephthalite kings of Tokharistan. All the coin legends are written in the Brahmi alphabet and all kings bear Indian names<sup>17</sup>.

The Liangshu states that the country of Hua guo 滑國 conquered their neighbouring countries such as Bosi 波斯 (Persia), Panpan 盤盤, Jibin (Kapisa), Yanqi 焉耆 (Agni), Qiuci 龜茲 (Kuchar), Shule 疏勒 (Suluq/Kashgar), Gumo 姑墨 (Aqsu), Yutian 于闐 (Khotan) and Goupan 句盤 and extended their territory by more than a thousand li [LS j.54 Huaguo].

Panpan must be situated in the region to the east Persia. Panpan, Mchin *phuan-phuan*, by the way, I am of the opinion that Panpan is transcribing Par-Purum. The Par-Purum=Panpan identity is established for the following reasons: 1) The Kültegin inscription mentioned three countries: Soγud, Berčekér and Buqaraq ulus. These countries located between Persia and Kashmir-Pamir (see below). In my opinion Par-Purum is common name of the three countries. 2) Par-Purom comes from *Vara Brahma/Phra Phrom*, is the Sanskrit name of god brahma.

*Temir Qapıγ* = *Tiemen guan* 鐵門關

This river name occurs in the Kül Tegin and Bilge Qayan inscription (KT E39, BQ N3): *Soγdaq budun itiyin tiyin, Yinčü ügüzüg keče, Temir Qapıγqa tegi süledimiz. Anta kisre Qara Türgeš budun yayı bolmuš, Keñeres tapa bardı. Bizin sü atı turıq azuqı yoq erti*. Scholars consider that Yinčü Ögüz (Pearl River) is Syr-Darya<sup>18</sup>.

I think that by the *Soγdaq budun*, not the Sogdiana, but the Sogdian colonies outside of Sogd is meant. According to Livšić, frequently the Sogdian colonies outside of Sogd were called Suli/Sulik (from *Sogdian* sóγδyk ‘Sogdian’) and Sogdak (from *Sogdian* syδ'k). Mahmud Kashgari writes: ‘Sogdak are the people living in Balasagun. They are from Sogd, which is between Bukhara and Samarkand, but they look like Türks and have accepted their customs’ [Kashgari Mahmud I 437].

It is clear that in that episode the *Temir Qapıγ*, which cannot be a Buz-gala mountain pass in the Baisun Mountains far to the south from Samarqand. Zuev says that a separate campaign to Sogd and Tokharistan, beyond the limits of the Qayanate, did not happen<sup>19</sup>. Tonusuq inscription mentioned the battle of the Bolču (TI N11). About his move Tonusuq tells: ‘having organized and gathered together the lords and the people who had come (and join us), since a few of the people had fled, I ordered the On Oq troops to march off. We, too, marched off, and followed them

<sup>17</sup> Harmatta, 1996, p.362.

<sup>18</sup> René Giraud, *L'Empire Des Turcs Célestes: Les Règnes d'Elterich, Qapghan et Bilgä 680–734: Contribution à l'histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris, 1960, p.180, and S. G. Kljashtornyj, *Istorija Centralnoj Azii i pamjatniki runičeskogo pisma*, Sankt-Peterburg, 2003, p.188.

<sup>19</sup> Zuev, 2002, p.175.

up. Having crossed over the Yinčü Ögüz, and passed by the Beñiligek tay, which is (also) called Tinesi oyli (Son of Tengri). We came as far as the *Temir Qapıy*. There we ordered the armies to turn back. İnäl Qayan (is...) confused (fled) Tokhars... and the Sogdian people under Asuq, who are on this side of the others mentioned, all came and submitted to İnäl Qayan. The Türkish people reached the *Temir Qapıy* (TII W8–9, S1–2). Regarding the word, Malov read it *Tinäsi oylı jatıyıtma bänligäk tayıy* and translated as *гору Бянглигяк—местожительства сына Тинэси*<sup>20</sup>, but René Giraud read *bänıyılıg äktaı*<sup>21</sup>. Regarding the word of *tezik*, scholars believe that this is ethnonym. In my opinion this word is adjective, means run away, shy away, to escape<sup>22</sup>.

According to the *Xin Tangshu*, the river *Zhenzhu* 真珠 (the Pearl River) lies between the pass of *Bodaling* (Bedel art) and the lake of Issik köl: leads from the town of Dashi in the district of Wensu across the Bedel pass to Dunduo cheng, which is none other than the town of Chishan (Red mountain) capital of the Wusun, and past a river of *Zhenzhu* and lake of Xuehai (Lake of Snow) [XTS j.43B Dili-7B]. The river *Zhenzhu* seems to be the Naryn River, the eastern affluents of Syr-Darya. Indeed in the chapter of Chach (Tashkent) of *Xin Tangshu* explains, with respect to the name of the Syr-Darya, that the river *Yaosha* 藥殺 (Yaksart), called amongst Chinese *Zhenzhu* or *Zhi* 質 [XTS j.221B Xiyu-B].

In my opinion Turkic Yinčü Ögüz is *Yingsuo chuan* 鷹娑川 (the valley of Yingsuo) of *Tangshu*. The Dudufu and valley *Yingsuo* occurs several time in the *Tangshu*, the valley of *Yingsuo* situated to the northwest of Agni [XTS j.43B Dili-7B]. The same as modern Yulduz, a valley Yulduz or Zhulduz northwest of Qarašahar, and a river of the same name.

During the Tang dynasty the mountain north of Kucha called *Baishan* 白山 (White Mountain) [JTS j.40 Anxi duhu]. The mountain is also known by the names of *Tianshan* 天山, *Ajietian* 阿羯田 (Aq tay) and *Sanmi* 三彌 (*Zemštay*) which sends out continually smoke and fire. It produces *naoshadr* (sal ammoniac) [XTS j.221A Xiyu-A; j.215B Tujue-B].<sup>23</sup> According to Forsyth in the mountains to the north is a volcano, and from its base a river called *Zamcha* issues. On its banks are dug alum and a salt of zinc called *zamch* which is used as a mordant with alum in dying. The rocks at the foot of the hill are hot to the touch, but the water of the river is cold.

<sup>20</sup> Malov, *op.cit.*, pp.64, 69.

<sup>21</sup> Giraud, 2003, p.182.

<sup>22</sup> Sir G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford, 1972, pp.572, 574.

<sup>23</sup> About Baishan Mountain, see E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, vol. II, London., 1910, pp.243–244.



Loud rumblings and explosions are constantly heard in the interior of the mountain, which is very high, and whose top is always covered with snow. It is called Khán Khurá Tágh. ...It has a volcano which emits smoke and vomits up streams of pebbles and hot mud. At the bottom of the volcano is the Tolaman River which further on is called Koksú or ‘Blue water’<sup>24</sup>.

Turkic probably calls Baishan Beñiligeġ tay, because the mountains continually smoke and fire. Beñiligeġ means ‘eternal’ in Turkic. The mountain also called Tinesi oġli (Son of Teġri). Tinesi is the same as Tianzi (son of Teġri). This is the Tianshan (the Celestial Mountain) or Tianzi Shan. The Chinese author is probably in calling Tianshan as Tianzi Shan (the Mountain of Tianzi), or Tianshan is short name of Tianzi Shan.

During the Turkic Qayanate period there were two of mountain passes called *Tiemen guan* 鐵門關 or *Tiemen shan* 鐵門山 by Chinese: first, *Tiemen guan* (Iron gate pass) of near Agni (modern Qarašahar) [XTS j.43B Dili-7B]; second, *Tiemen shan* (Iron gate mountain) south to the Samarqand [XTS j.221B Xiyu-B].

First pass has still the same name by Chinese, it was strategically located to the north of Korla at the mouth of a 14 km long gorge on the Konchi River. The main settlements linked by the pass are the town of Agni to the north and the city of Korla in the south connects Qarašahar basin and Tarim basin. Turkic *Temir Qapıy* may be identified with the Tiemen-guan near Agni.

According to the Tangshu, *Yinie kehan* 移涅可汗 (Inäl Qayan) is son of Qapayan Qayan. In 714, Qapayan send Inäl Qayan and Toġa Tegin to attack Bešbalyq [JTS j.194A Tujue-A].

Toqyr is the Indo-European tribe name of Agni. *Xin Tangshu* reports that the royal king family of Agni is *Tuqizhi* 突騎支, MChin *thut-khi-tsi*, i.e. *Twryry*. According to Henning, the *Four-Twryry-Land*, occurring in Sogdian, Uigur, and Middle Persian sources contemporary with the Uigur colophons. It became clear that this “*Four-Twryry-Land*”, presumably the homeland of the *twryry* language, lay in Chinese Turkestan, and probable that it lay ‘near or between Bishbaliq and Kucha’<sup>25</sup>. According to the Tangshu, the *Anxi sizhen* 安西四鎮 (the four garrison of Anxi) established by Tang Dynasty between 648 and 658 that stationed at the cities Kucha, Khotan, Kashgar and Agni. It seems to me that Anxi sizhen is probably the *Four-Twryry-Land*. Indeed, Anxi means the Pacify the West, in my opinion, *anxi=arsi*, a variant of Agni.

<sup>24</sup> T.D. Forsyth, *Report of a Mission to Yarkund in 1873, with Historical and Gographical Information Regarding the Possessions of the Ameer o Yarkand*, The Foreign Department Press, Calcutta, 1875, pp.43–44.

<sup>25</sup> W. B. Henning, “The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters”, in *BSOAS*, no.12, 1948, p.158.

In my view, this sentence indicates the historical situation of a war against the Tokharian and sogdak people who became ally with Tang dynasty. Tokharian lived in Anxi dudufu of Tang dynasty. The troops, commanded by TONUQUQ passed by Nar art (the pass connects Kunges valley and Yulduz valley), and arrived at Yulduz valley. They crossed the Yulduz River, passed the city of Agni, and arrived at *Temir Qapïy*. Other troops, commanded by Inäl Qayan from Bešbalyq coming to *Temir Qapïy*.

**Keñeres = *Jueyueshi* 厥越失**

This tribe name occurs in the Kül Tegin inscription [KT E39].

Scholars connect the name Keñeres with the Kangar. Their old center near present day Tashkent<sup>26</sup>.

According to the Chinese sources, *Duolu kehan* (Tuyluy qayan) established his horde/residence at the west of the mountain of *Wuzuhe* (called this as northern horde) and in the domain of one of qayans fell the possessions *Jueyueshi* 厥越失 (Keñeres), *Baximi* 拔悉彌 (Basmil), *Boma* 駁馬, *Jiegu* 結骨 (Qırqız), *Huoxun* 火燭 (Horezm), *Chumukun* 觸木昆 [TD j.199; JTS j.194B Tujue-B].

The Chinese transcription is naturally read *kyat-yat-şit*. Zuev says transliteration *Jueyueshi* (< kiwat-jiwat-siet) corresponds to the name of area Kürüşhi in the river Ejim valley (Ch. Ayan < a-iam, Türkic Ayam)<sup>27</sup>. In the Kültegin inscription the Keñeres is described as an ally of Eastern Turkic and an enemy of Tūrgeş.

In my opinion *Jueyueshi* is Keñeres. The previous center of Keñeres was probably located in the area of the present day Oskemen/Ust-Kamengorsk of Eastern Kazakhstan. Oskemen is ancient city, and was formerly called *Jiange-er tula* 鏗格爾圖喇 (Kenggirtura)<sup>28</sup>. Similar name was survived of the river Kengir (a tributary Sarysu) in the Jezkazgan modern Kazakh steppe. Because Keñeres belonged to the northern horde of Western Turkic. Southern horde of Western Turkic is situated the north of Chu river and in the domain of one of qayans fell the possessions *Qiuci* 龜茲 (Kucha), *Shanshan* 鄯善 (Charqiliq), *Qiemo* 且末 (Calmadana), *Tuhuoluo* 吐火羅 (Tokharistan), *Yanqi* 焉耆 (Agni), *Shi* 石 (Tashkent), *Shi* 史 (Kesh), *He* 何 (Koshania), *Mu* 穆 (Merv), *Kang* 康 (Samarqand) (XTS j.215B Tujue-B).

<sup>26</sup> J. Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig, 1898, p.10, and O. Pritsak, *Studies in Medieval Eurasian History*, London, 1981, p.8.

<sup>27</sup> Zuev, 2002, p.236.

<sup>28</sup> Xu Song 徐松, *Xiyu shuidaoji* 西域水道記 [Waterways of the Western Countries], Zhonghua shuju, Beijing, 2005, pp.325–327.

**Bükeli-Čöl Igil = Fuliyu 匍利羽 (=Sijie biebu 思結別部 = Abusi 阿布思)**

In the Kül Tegin and Bilge Qayan inscription mentioned the country of Bükeli-Čöl Igil (KT E4, BQ E5) : (Özi anča) kergek bolmiş. yiyçi sıytçı öngre kün toysıqda Bükeli-Čöl Igil, Tabyač, Tüpüt, Par-Puram, Qırqız, Üç Qurıqan, Otuz Tatar, Qıtan, Tatabı... bunča bodun kelipen sıytamış yoylamış. Antag külüg qayan ermiş. ‘They thus passed away (lit.: ‘became lacking’). As mourners and lamenters there came from the east, from where sun rises, the representatives of the Bükeli-Čöl igil, the Chinese, the Tibetan, the Avar, the Byzantium, the Qirghiz, the Üch Qurıqan, the Otuz-Tatar, the Qıtan and the Tatabı... This many peoples came and mourned and lamented. So famous kagans were they’.

Regarding Bükeli-Čöl Igil, Malov read it as Bökli Čöl(l)ir il<sup>29</sup>, but there is no second letter l in this stele. The studies on the Bükeli-Čöl Igil showed that it, or at least its first component refers to Korea. Henning in “The Date of the Early Sogdian Letters” showed that Bükli meant ‘Korea’<sup>30</sup>. It is therefore to be read literally as Bükeli-Čöl Igil. The li of Bükeli is regarded as the coordinating conjunctive suffix -li ‘with, and’. We can confirm the same from examples such as bāgli bodunliy ‘the lords and people’ (KT E6), toruq buqalı sāmiz buqalı ‘lean bulls and fat bulls’ (T 5), tünli künli ‘night and day’ (BQ-SE). In OT the word büke means ‘a big snake, a long large snake’ or ‘dragon’ [Mahmud Kashgari, 3.247]; In modern Turkic languages čöl is attested with the meaning ‘desert’.

Fifty years ago Zuev rightly identify Bökli with Chinese Fuliyu 匍利羽, but he translated Fuliyu as ‘Wing [of tribe] Fu-li’. Zuev says that Fu-li are a Toles tribe mentioned in Tongdian [TD j.199] and Wenxian tongkao [WXTK, j.344] under a name Fulo 覆羅 (p’iuk-la) and in Suishu under a name Fu-li 伏利 and Fuliju 伏利具. The cited data is complemented by comparison of the Chinese transmission of Fu-li as b’uek-lji with the ethnonym Bokli (in the text: Bökli chollyg el, Bökli kaganka...) in the large inscription on the monument in honor of Türkic prince Kül-Tegin<sup>31</sup>.

According to the Tang Huiyao, Fuliyu MChin fhuwk-li-ya (all MChin. Reconstructions are given, if not otherwise indicated, after Pulleyblank<sup>32</sup>), is the name of Turkic tribe: ‘The horses of the Fuliyu 匍利羽 are horses of the most southern Tujue (Türk), [they are] north from the Gangmolishi 剛摩利施 mountains, in the present Dailin-zhou 蹄林州’ [THY j.72.]. OT sources suggests that the rulers of Bükeli

<sup>29</sup> Malov, 1951, p.29.

<sup>30</sup> Henning, 1948, p.611; Enoki, 1970, p.25.

<sup>31</sup> Yu.A. Zuev, “Tamgi loshadej iz vassalnyx knjazhestv”, in *Trudy instituta Istorii, Arheologii i Etnografii Akademii Nauk Kazakhskoj SSR*, Alma-Ata, 1960, pp.110–111.

<sup>32</sup> See E. G. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of reconstructed pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*, Vancouver, 1991.

also have used the title of qayan (KT E8, BQ E8): ilgerü kün toyusıqda Bükeli qayanqa tegi süljü bermis; qurıyarı Temir qapıyqa tegi sülüyü bermis. Tabıaç qayanqa Elin törüsin alı bermis.

In my opinion Bükeli-Čöl Igil consists of three words: Bükeli, Čöl and Igil. The last word appears in Chinese as Sijie. Zuev's opinion the term Sijie (< -yiei-kiet < igil) is the Chinese variation of the name for a tribe of the Turkic Igil. The text of the Uigur Eletmiş-Kagan monument the name Igil is supplemented with a determinative qara ('blackness') (qara igil bodun)<sup>33</sup>. The Chinese information about Fuliyu is poor and unclear. The Tang Huiyao text says: Dailin- zhou (Dailin Prefecture) is founded at the tribe of Sijie biebu 思結別部 (the separated tribe of Sijie or another tribe of Sijie) [THY j.73, 1314]. The Tangshu Fuliyu is also called Abusi 阿布思 (Abız) and Sijie biebu. In the chapter Huihe of the Jiu Tangshu we find Dailin zhou with tribe of Abusi (Abız). In the chapter of Tiele of the Jiu Tangshu, Dailin mentioned with the tribe of Sijie biebu [JTS j.195 Huihe; j. 199B Tiele]. The Taibai yinjing 太白陰經 mentioned that for the tribe Fuliyu established the district of Jitian 稽田州 [TBYJ j.3]. This Jitian perhaps is Jitian 雞田州, i.e. Turkic Qušlayaq (see below). Fuliyu, Sijie biebu and Abusi are three variants of one name; the basic form is Fuliyu; Abusi is dialectical variant (see below); Sijie biebu hinted relations with the tribe of Sijie, i.e. igil. In the list of newly founded administrative divisions in the Tangshu text the Sijie appear not only in the Lushan dudufu, but also in district the Dailin zhou district (Tangshu, j. 217). Some clarification of this event is contained in Tang Huiyao: 'District Dailin zhou is founded at the Sijie biebu tribe' (THY j.73.1314).

In fact, Dailin is ancient Chinese name for the place of made magic of Xiongnu, the Hanshu says: 'In the autumn, when the horses have grown fat, they gather for a great assembly at Dailin and count people and cattle' [HS j.94A. Xiongnu]. According Yan Shigu the words Dailin means 'to circle the forest'. Gangmalishi is obviously identical with Qamlanču, which is derived from turkic word 'qam: sorcerer, soothsayer, magician'<sup>34</sup>. In middle Turkic, this word was used as verb with the denominal verb suffix -la meaning 'to act as a qam, to heal' which was probably developed from 'to ask a qam, to make magic'. Dailin is the equivalent of Qamlanču. The exact location of Dailin Prefecture cannot be determined, but it was south of Gobi Desert.

Zuev says that 'Exactly in agreement with the Chinese long (dragon) is named the ninth (out of ten) Uigur tribe Long on the river Qamlanču after the migration of a part of Uigurs to the eastern slopes of the Great Khingan'<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> Zuev, 2002, p.45.

<sup>34</sup> Sir G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford, 1972, p.625.

<sup>35</sup> Zuev, 2002, p.231.

Now it is possible to solve the much discussed problem of the Bükeli-Čöl igil and that of the connection between the names Fuliyu, Sijie biebu, Igil: Bükeli were originally of the Turkic origin. They have separated from the Igil, moved towards to east, have settled down in the Great Hingan. Surname Bükeli just like long in Chinese; igil=sijie.

**Abiz qayan = *Abusi* 阿布思**

In the Kül Tegin, Bilge Qayan inscription mentioned the Abiz qayan together with Toquz Oyuz (KT E14, E16; BQ E12, E13).

All scholars read this name as Baz qayan. In the Orkhon Turkic texts the vocals *a/ä* at the beginning of the words were not written, and must be read as Abiz. After second Kök Türk state was founded in 682 in the south of Gobi desert, in the north called Orkhon region there were Toquz Oyuz clans who leaded by Abiz Qayan. According to the Jiu Tangshu, in 703 Qapayan qayan fought with Abusi, the ruler of Toquz Oyuz in the north of Gobi. Toquz Oyuz had been defeated and Abusi fled to China [JTS 194A Tujue-A]. The Chinese spelling may well reflect a foreign prototype Abus~Abuz.

**Kögmän = *Quman* 曲漫 = *Qingshan* 青山**

Kögmän is mentioned in the Kül Tegin, Bilge Qayan, TONUQUQ, TERX, ŠINE USU inscription (KT E17; KT E20; KT E35; BQ E15; BQ E17; BK E27; T 23; TR 5; SU 23).

*Iwasa Sei-ichirō* 岩佐精一郎 and Cen Zhongmian rightly identify Kögmän with *Quman* 曲漫 of *Youyang zazu* 酉阳雜俎<sup>36</sup>; Quman, MChin *k<sup>h</sup>ywk-muan*. The mountain of Kögmän usually been identification with Sayan or Tannu Ola<sup>37</sup>. Kögmän means Blue mountain in the Turkic. The translated name of Kögmän, occurs in the Xin Tangshu as *Qingshan*, i.e. the ‘Blue Mountain’: the horde of Qirqiz’s king of *Are* 阿熱 is situated in the mountain of Qingshan...the east of Qingshan, there is the river of *Jian* 劍 [XTS, j.217B, Huihu-B]. There is a river *Jian*, MChin *kiam*, i.e. Kem river.

**Yašil ögüz = Non ula = *Nahe* 那河**

In the OT inscription Yašil ögüz [KT E17, BQ E15] appears together with Šantuñ yazı. They are situated the east of Turik Qayate. The river of Yašil usually been

<sup>36</sup> Iwasa Sei-ichirō 岩佐精一郎, 突厥毘伽可汗碑文の紀年, *東洋學報*, 第23卷第4号.昭和11年8月, 1936, p.571, and Cen Zhongmian, *Tujue jishi* 突厥集史, Beijing, 2004, p.871.

<sup>37</sup> V. V. Bartold, *Raboty po istorii i filologii Tjurkskix i Mongolskix narodov*, Moscow, 2002, p.300, and Giraud, 2003, p.41. See also Kljaštornyj, “Manichaeen Monasteries in the land of Arghu” in *Pamjatniki Drevnetjurkskoj pismenosti i etnokulturnaja istorija Centralnoj Azii*, Sankt-Peterburg, 2006, p.140.

identification with the Yellow River (chin. Huanghe River), north of Tang dynasty. Yaşil means here ‘blue’ or ‘green’. OT name Yaşil ögüz might refer to the Mid-Mongolian name Non ula (the Blue river), the river in Northeast China, modern *Nenjiang* 嫩江 (the Nen River), is the longest tributary of the Songhua River. According to the *Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu*, in the Tang period the river called by Chinese Nahe (the Na river) [JTS j.199B Shiwei; XTS j.219 Shiwei].

**Keñü Tarman/ Keñü Tarban = *Jinya shan* 金牙山**

Keñü Tarman occurs in the Kül Tegin inscription [KT E21]:

*Ilgerü Qadırqan yişiy aša boduniy anča qonturtimiz. Anča itdimiz. Quriyaru Keñü Tarmanqa tegi türük bodunuy qonturtimiz. Anča itdimiz.*

Bilgä Qayan inscription, the same name appears as Keñü Tarban [BQ E18]. This *b* was used in the place of *m*. From this, we can say of the place name Tarman that there were two phonetic variants such as Tarman and Tarban in the Turkic Qayanate period. S.G. Kljaštornyj considers this place names is Tarband close to Otrar in Kazakhstan<sup>38</sup>. Zuev cited a large and convincing material to identify Küngü in the ancient Türkic texts with *Gongyu* 恭御 of the Xuanzang route corresponds and Arabic Kundji-dih; Tarban with the Chach royal residence Tarband<sup>39</sup>.

In the Kül Tegin inscription, mentioned four place name, which is called settlement or bringing to order: to the east Qadyrqañ jyş,<sup>40</sup> to the south Čuayay yiş, to the west Keñü Tarman and to the north Kögmän yiş: *Türük budun ülesikiñ biriye Čuayay yiş, Tögültün yazı qonayin tiser türük budun üleskiğ* (KT S6–7); *Kögmen yir sub idisiz qalmazun—tiyin, az qyrqyz bodunuy i[tip] yarat[ip] keltimiz. Sünüşdimiz ilin* (KT E20). Three of which are the names of the mountain.

Keñü Tarman consists of two elements: Keñü and Tarman/Tarban. According to the *Xin Tangshu*, in 657 the general Su Dingfang attacked Western Turkic Ishbara khan *Ashina Helu* 阿史那賀魯 and defeating him at *Jinya shan* mountain. Ashina Helu crossed the river of Ili and run away [XTS j.215B Tujue-B].

*Jinya* bears both functions: transcription and translation. First, *Jinya*, MChin *Kim-nja*, i.e. Keñü; second, *Jinya* means ‘the Golden Residence/Horde’, second character is abbreviated form of *Yazhang* 牙帳 (horde, residence).

The word *keñü* was derived from the adjectiv *keñ-* ‘broad or wide’ with the suffix *-ü*. For example, *beñü*, *meñü*, eternal or monument<sup>41</sup>. As well known, there is form that was a variant of *beñügü*.

<sup>38</sup> Kljashtornyj, 2003, pp.203–209.

<sup>39</sup> Zuev, 2002, p.176

<sup>40</sup> In middle Turkic Qadyrqañ=*Huai* 槐, means ‘*Styphnolobium japonicum*’ [Gaochang guan zazi, p.37].

<sup>41</sup> *Drevnetjurkskij Slovar*, Leningrad, 1969, p.94.

The word *tar* in the Turkic dialect has the meaning ‘the Mountain pass or defile’ [Wuti Qing wenjian II 1957:2721] or straight/gorge<sup>42</sup>. This word does not appear either Ancient Turkic Dictionary or in the Clauson’s dictionary, but widely used to the toponyms of Central Asia. A memory of the *tar* has been preserved in Eastern Turkistan geographical names. A mountain passes Tar-ayzī, Tariz in the Kashgar region; Tar-bashi and Tengi-tar in the Pamir Mountain. According to the Sven Hedin *Tengi* means narrow pass, *tar* also means narrow pass in native language<sup>43</sup>. In other hand, the word or suffix *-man*, this in Turkic means ‘mountain’, often occurs with mountain’s names (cf. Kögmän, Ereimen). In my opinion, Tarman/Tarban means ‘a mountain peak’. This occurs in the form of *daban* in middle Turkic where it means ‘= *ling* 嶺, a mountain peak, amountain ridge’<sup>44</sup>.

The Jinya or Keṅü mountain is situated somewhere in the Tianshan range to the north of the upper Ili. Modern Talqī pass leads over the Borokhoro range, known by the name of the Keṅ say (the Wide gorge) in Turkic. For designation of small mountain rivulets with rocky stony riverbeds the ancient Türks used a word say ‘rocky place’<sup>45</sup> which is also frequently used in the modern geographical nomenclature with the meaning ‘dry riverbed’, ‘pebble’, ‘shoal’. Keṅ say or Talqī pass in the Xin Tangshu called as Cheling 車嶺 (Wagon ridge), MChin *tʃʰia-liajj*: ‘... crossing the Wagon ridge, you come to the city *Gongyue* 弓月 (Künjüt) and cross the plain of *Sihun* 思渾 and pass the city *Zhishimi* 蟄失蜜, (and then) cross the river Ili’ [XTS j.40 Dili-4]. In the *Xishiji* this defile called as *Tiemu-er chancha* 鐵木兒懺察, the version of Siku quanshu mentioned as *Temu-er chechen* 特穆爾徹辰<sup>46</sup>. According to Bretschneider *Tiemuer chancha* may be intended for *temor cham* or *temor cham chab sar*, iron roadway, in Mongol<sup>47</sup>. In my opinion, *chancha* or *chechen* is *zhamchi* in mongol or *yam-qa* in Turkic, postal communication<sup>48</sup>.

At that time under the Turkic qayans, Turkic peoples engaged in campaigns of war to the west as far as the Tianshan mountains in the rebellion of the Türgiṣ, eastwards as far as the Hingan mountains in the rebellion Qitan, Tatabi and Bükeli peoples, northwards as far as the Mongolian steppe in the rebellion of Toquz Oʻyuz and Qirqiz peoples.

<sup>42</sup> Forsyth, 1875, p.59.

<sup>43</sup> S.A. Hedin, *V Serdce Azii*, Moscow, 2010, p.99.

<sup>44</sup> *Gaochan guan zazi*, p.34.

<sup>45</sup> Mahmud al-Kaṣgari, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, vol. 3, ed. and trans. By R.Dankoff, Harvard University, 1985, p.173.

<sup>46</sup> Chang De, p.559; the version of the Siku quanshu of *Xishiji* 四庫全書·西使記.

<sup>47</sup> E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, vol. I, London, 1910, pp.126–127.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p187, and *Gaochang guan zazi*, p.46.

On Oq bodun = Shixing 十姓 (= Shijian 十箭):

Nushibi 弩失畢 = nišēbīg

Duolu 咄祿 MChnL = tuyluy,

On Oq occurs in the Kültegin, Bilge Qayan, Tonuquq and Terx inscription (KT E19, BQ 15, BQ E16, KT N7, KT N13, TI N6, TII W7, TII E2, TI N9, TX 23). According to the Chinese sources the Chinese name of the On Oq was Shixing, i.e. the ten families or Shijian, i.e. the ten arrows. Its ruler bore the imperial title Išbara qayan. The On Oq realm was two wings, each of which was in turn subdivided into five districts: the western, the right wing was Nushibi 弩失畢, full name is Youxiang wu Nushibi 右廂五弩失畢 (the Right wing-room five Nushibi); the eastern, the left wing was Duolu 咄祿, full name is Zuoxiang wu Duolu 左廂五咄祿 (the Left wing-room five Duolu). The tribes of Duolu situated the east of Suiye (Suyab), and the Five Nushibi situated the west of Suiye (Suyab).

During the Tang Dynasty, there were two territory under the control of the Western Turkic, which become a Chinese Protectorate: the first that of Mengchi 濛池, was to the west of the valley of the Suyab and included the Nushibi tribes; the other, that of the Kunling 崑陵, was to the east of this valley and included the Dulu tribes.

On the basis of Chinese information one may assume that among the On Oq offices there were those of čor/čur, nizük irkin and čopan, known from other Steppe realms. Nishu 泥孰, Mchin niaj-šhiwk = nizük. According to Harmatta, there is a connection with Saka form näjsuka-, meaning ‘fighter, warrior’, from the Saka näjs-, ‘to fight’. The element Nizük in the tribal name became the dynastic name of the kings of Kapisa-Gandhara<sup>49</sup>. Pritsak says that čopan/župan is the office name of Pečeneg<sup>50</sup>. According to Makhmud Kashgari, ‘čoban is the assistant of head of village’<sup>51</sup>.

The western wing, Nushibi, had the westernmost location. The term Nushibi MChin *nuš-šit-pjit*, can be explained as a Chinese transcribe of the Sogdian word of *nišēbīg* [nšpyk], nšmy [nišame]: west<sup>52</sup>. According to the Chinese sources, Nushibi were concentrated between the Mirki and Isfijab. Mahmud al-Kašgari localises the land of Arγu and its cities between Balasayun and Talas in one case, and between Balasayun and Isfijab in the other<sup>53</sup>. They extended up to the Isfijab (Sayram), the east of modern Chimkent of Kazakhstan. The predominating element in Nushibi is the

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<sup>49</sup> Harmatta, 1996, p.366.

<sup>50</sup> Pritsak, 1981, vol.X, p.16.

<sup>51</sup> Kašgari, 1985, vol.I, p.461.

<sup>52</sup> D. N. MacKenzie, *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*, London, 1986, p.60, and B. Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary. Sogdian-Persian-English*, Teheran, 1995, p.6085.

<sup>53</sup> Kašgari, 1985, vol.I, p.238.



Sogdians, because they settled in the cities, they were city-dwellers and traders. The cities of the Nushibi was Mirki/Birkü, Kulan/Qulan, Barskhan and Qašu.

According to the Chinese epitaph of the Stone sculpture at Qianling mausoleum, the first Axijie's political center is *Julan*, i.e. Kulan, modern Qulan in Kazakhstan, the east of the Taraz; the second Axijie's political center is *Qianquan*, i.e. Thousand spring, also called *Bingyu* 屏聿, MChn *pjiajŋ-jyt*, i.e. Bingyul, modern Mirki in Kazakhstan<sup>54</sup>. According to Kljashtornyj, Yägänkent (Yakankent), Ordukent, Čigilbalyq, Qašu/Qušu are know from Arabic and Persian sources of the tenth-eleventh centuries. Yakankent is the district of Isfijab. Qašu ulus is 'small city near Yakankent'<sup>55</sup>. In the Kültegin inscription mentioned Qušu tutuq:

“birle: Qušu tutuq: birle: süñüşmüs: erin qop: ölürmüş: ebin barimîn: qop: kelürti: Kültegin: yeti otuz: yašŋja: Qarluq: budun: erür barur: erikli: yayi bolti: Tamay iduq: bašta: süñüşdümüz” (KT N-1)

Cen Zhongmian identify Qušu tutuq with *Geshuhan* 哥舒翰 of Tūrgeš general (Cen Zhongmian, 1958. 902). Zuev considered that Qushu can be attested as the names of dog of Turkic, Qyzyl-Qushu (Ge-zir-gu-çu) and Qara-Qushu (Ga-ra-gu-çu) in the Tibetan documents of the Pelliot Collection<sup>56</sup>.

I can suggest that Qušu can be identified with the tribe name of *Geshu* 哥舒. The clan of Geshu belonged to Nushibi, western branch of On Oq (the Ten Arrows).

The *Duolu* is a tribal designation (eponym), rather than a proper name. It is mentioned in the Chinese annals under various names: *Duolu* MChnL *tuet-lük*<sup>57</sup>, *Dulu* 都陸 MChnL *tuə-liwk*, *Duolu* 咄祿 MChnL *tuet-luk*<sup>58</sup>, is the Turkic word *tuyluy*, means 'have flags' or 'have standards.' In the Moyunčor inscription, *tuyluy* appears together with *türk*: *Üč tuyluy türk bodun* (Turkic people with three flags) [MČ 8]. The *Jiu Tangshu* the *Duolu* and Nushibi is also called *Wu duo liu buluo* 五咄六部落五咄六啜, *Wu Nushibi Wu sijin* 五弩失畢五俟斤 (the Five tuys and six tribes, the five Nushibi five irkin) [JTS j.194-II Tujue-II]. The term of *duo* can be explained as a Chinese transcribe of the name of *tuyluy* 'flag', 'standard'.

Chinese sources shows that there was the six gathering place or cities of *Duolu*: Fuyan, Yanpo [Tuzköl (Issik köl)], Shuanghe (Iki Ögüz), Jieshan (Qordan), Waluzhou [Boluču] and Yinsuo. We can located the six tribes of *Duolu* in the area of Emil, Bortala, Ili and Yulduz valleys and the upper reaches of Chu river.

<sup>54</sup> Chen Guocan 陈国, 唐乾陵石人像及其衔名研究 Tang Qianling shiren xiang jiqi xianming yanjiu.[] 文物集刊 *Wenwu jikan* 2, 189–203, Beijing, 1980, p.195.

<sup>55</sup> Kljashtornyj, 2006, pp.543–544.

<sup>56</sup> Zuev, 2002, p.134.

<sup>57</sup> Li Zhenhua, Zhou Changji, *Hanzi gujin yinbiao* 汉字古今音表, Beijing, 1999, p.23.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, p.20.

*The ruling clan and ten tribes of the On Oq in Chinese Sources*

No	clan	title	Political center
I	<i>Duolu</i> 咄陸	<i>Shabolue kehan</i> 沙鉢羅可汗	<i>Kunling</i> 崑陵 [Qamlanču] <sup>59</sup>
1	<i>Chumukun</i> 處木昆	<i>Qulu chuo</i> 屈律啜	<i>Fuyan</i> 訇延
2	<i>Huluwu</i> 胡祿屋 <sup>60</sup>	<i>Que chuo</i> 闕啜	<i>Yanpo</i> 鹽泊 [Tuzköl]
3	<i>Shesheti</i> 攝(懾)舍提	<i>Tun chuo</i> 暉啜	<i>Shuanghe</i> 雙河 [Iki-Ögüz]
4	<i>Tuqishi</i> 突騎施	<i>Heluoshi chuo</i> 賀邏施啜	<i>Jieshan</i> 潔山
			<i>Woluzhou</i> 嗚鹿州 <sup>61</sup>
5	<i>Shunishi</i> 鼠尼施	<i>Chuban chuo</i> 處半啜	<i>Yingsuo</i> 鷹娑
II	<i>Nushibi</i> 弩失畢	<i>Shabolue kehan</i> 沙鉢羅可汗	<i>Mengchi</i> 濛池 [Biñjul]
1	<i>Axijie</i> 阿悉結/Içgil? <sup>62</sup>	<i>Que sijn</i> 闕俟斤	<i>Julan</i> 俱蘭 [Kulan]
2.	<i>Geshu</i> 哥舒	<i>Que sijn</i> 闕俟斤	<i>Geshu</i> 哥舒 [Qošu]
3	<i>Basegan</i> 拔塞幹	<i>Tun shabo sijn</i> 暉沙鉢俟斤	<i>Basegan</i> 拔塞幹 [Barskhan]/ <i>Xieli</i> 頡利
4	<i>Axijie</i> 阿悉結	<i>Nishu sijn</i> 泥孰俟斤	<i>Qianquan</i> 千泉 [Mirki]
5	<i>Geshu</i> 哥舒	<i>Chuban sijn</i> 處半俟斤	<i>Geshu</i> 哥舒

\*According to the JTS, j.194B, Tujue-B; XTS, j.215B, Tujue-B; Chen Guocan, *op.cit.*, pp.189–203.

**Chacha Sunki = *Shazha Zhongyi* 沙吒忠義**

In the Kül Tegin and Bilge Qayan inscription mentioned the personal names of On Tutuq Yorč'in and Chacha Sunki (KT E32, BQ E26). When Radloff and Melioranskij first read this word, he translated it rightly as Chacha Sunki<sup>63</sup>. Malov misread Chacha Sunki as Chacha Sejun<sup>64</sup>. Other turkologists followed by Malov reads Chacha Sejun<sup>65</sup>. As to the identification of Chacha Sunki, Isawa rightly identify him with

<sup>59</sup> According to Mahmud Kashgari, Qamlanču is the city near Iki Ögüz.

<sup>60</sup> According to Zuev, Ulug-ok. The tribe Ulug-ok was a first among the five tribes of the left wing in the Western Türkic Kaganate (Zuev, 2002, p.34).

<sup>61</sup> Tūrgešes consisted of two tribes: *Alishi* 阿利施 and *Suoge mohe* 索葛莫賀. Later on, the two districts were established with the name *Jieshan* and *Woluzhou*, for the two tribes (Alishi and Suoge mohe) of Tūrgeš.

<sup>62</sup> Pritsak, 1981, vol.X, p.23.

<sup>63</sup> V. V. Radloff, P. M. Melioranskij, "Drevnetjurkskie pamjatniki v Košo-Cajdame" in *Sbornik Trudov Orkhonskoj Ekspedicii* 4, Sankt-Peterburg, 1897, p.25.

<sup>64</sup> Malov, 1951, p.40.

<sup>65</sup> A. S. Amanjolov, *Istorija i Teorija Drevnetjurkskogo pisma*, Almaty, 2003, pp.158,167; Myrzataj Zholdasbekov, Kharzhaubaj Sarkhozhauly, *Orkhon Eskertkišterining tolyq atlası*, Astana, 2005, p.188; Geng Shimin, *op.cit.*, pp.129–130; Tuguševa, 1991, p.31.

*Shazha Zhongyi* 沙吒忠義<sup>66</sup>, Mchin *ša:-ta-triwŋ-ŋi* from *Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu*, a general of *Shuofang* 朔方 army of Tang dynasty [JTS, j.93, *Zhang Renyuan* 張仁愿].

### **Bolchu = Woluzhou** 嗛鹿州

Bolchu occurs in the Kültegin, Bilge Qaghan, TONUQUQ and ULANGOM inscriptions (KT E37, BQ E28, TI N11, U 5). According to René Giraud Bolchu (Boltchou) is Bulun-Tohoy, near Ulunggir lake in Xinjiang. He considered Bolchu deriving from the Iranian: pul-bridge, ju-river, Pul-i-ju<sup>67</sup>. Gumilev says Bolchu is Ulunggir river<sup>68</sup>.

Bolchu occurs in the *Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu* as Waluzhou, Mchin *ʔut-ləwk-tʂiw*. The first character wa 嗛 can be read also wo: Woluzhou. Tang dynasty established the Woluzhou *dudufu* 都督府 for *Suoge Mohe* 索葛莫賀, the tribe of Turgeš. Thus, the character *zhou* 州 is a part of toponym, not means administrative unit of zhou (district).

According to Édouard Chavannes Woluzhou situated in the Ili valley<sup>69</sup>. Zuev says that Waluzhou is the city of Balu in the Talas valley<sup>70</sup>.

Woluzhou in the Turkic inscription is called Bolču/Boluču, looks like of Bolut to be identified with was at thirteenth century Bolat. Ancient city Bolat/Fulat/Bula/Boluo/Phulad/Pulad is situated the east of modern Borotala of Xinjiang<sup>71</sup>.

### **Tabar/Tobar = Damo** 大漠

Tabar/Tobar mentioned in the Kültegin inscription (KT E38). Radloff and Melioranskij reads this toponym as Tabar. S.E.Malov, translating the text, marked the name T(a)b(a)r with a questionmark<sup>72</sup>. Regarding Tabar, according to Zuev, the third letter can be also reconstructed as *l* and fifth one is reconstructed as *s*. Thus Tabar transcription as Talas<sup>73</sup>. But this analysis entails a problem because he neglected the existence of the sounds *b* and *r*, I cannot agree with him.

I would bring your attention to a variant of the toponym of Topar, the north of Ayagoz of Eastern Kazakhstan. OT the word ‘toprayan’, from topra, means ‘bare ground’<sup>74</sup>.

According to the *Xin Tangshu*, the Qarluqs had three tribes: *Mouluo* 謀落, *Chisi* 熾俟, *Tashili* 踏實力. For the tribe of *Chisi* 熾俟 (also called *Pofu* 婆匐 or *Suofu* 娑匐)

<sup>66</sup> Isawa, 2004, p.563.

<sup>67</sup> Giraud, 2003, p.179.

<sup>68</sup> Lev Gumilev, *Drevnie Tjurki*, Sankt-Peterburg, Moscow, 2003, p.333.

<sup>69</sup> É. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*. *Sbornik Trudov Orkhonskoj Ekspedicii* VI, St.-Petersbourg, 1903, p.271.

<sup>70</sup> Zuev, 2002, p.239.

<sup>71</sup> Bretschneider, 1910, vol. I, p.17.

<sup>72</sup> Radloff, Melioranskij, 1897, p.29; Malov, 1951, pp.32, 41.

<sup>73</sup> Zuev, 2002, p.173.

<sup>74</sup> Clauson, 1972, p.445.

there was made a district named *Damo zhou*.<sup>75</sup> It should be pointed out that *Damo*, MChin *tha-mak*, if literally taken as the ‘great desert’, could be attributed to the Turkic Tabar or Topar.

### **Tamuy-İduq baş = *Yinshan* 陰山**

Tamuy-İduq baş mentioned in the Kül Tegin and Bilge Qayan inscription (KT N1, BQ E29). Kül Tegin fought against Qarluq bodun at Tamuy-İduq baş (KT N1): *Kültegin yeti otuz yaşına Qarluq budun erür barur erikli yayı bolti, Tamuy-İduq başta süñüşdümüz*. Tamuy-İduq baş is the political center of Qarluq. This name consists of two words: Tamuy and İduq baş. According to Clauson *tamuy* is medieval form of *tamu* ‘hell’<sup>76</sup>. The word İduq baş also found in the Bilge Qayan inscription (BQ E25). Clauson says that the word means ‘the holy summit?’<sup>77</sup>. According to Mahmud al-Kaşgari, İduq tay ‘an inaccessible long mountain’ [Kaş. I 65]. The term of *ıduq* also means ‘sacred’ in the OT. İduq baş occurs as a mountain in the *Tongdian* and the two *Tangshu*: *Wuzuhe* 烏鏃曷, *Zuhe* 鏃曷, MChin *ʒuə-tswək-xhat*. According to the Chinese sources, *Duolu kehan* (Tuyluy qayan) established his horde/capital at the west of the mountain of *Wuzuhe* and called this as northern capital [TD j.199; JTS j.194B Tujue-B].

Xin Tangshu reports that, Qarluqs reside to the north-west of Beiting, to the west of *Jinshan* (Altay), stepping across the river *Puguzhen shui* 僕固振水, incorporating the summit of *Duoda ling* 多怛嶺. In the second year of the *Xianqing* 顯慶 (657) Tang dynasty set up *Yinshan* 陰山 dudufu for the Moula (Bulaq), for the Chisi *Damo* 大漠 dudufu, for the Tashili *Xuanchi* 玄池 dudufu [XTS j.217B Huihu-B]. In the Ecsedy's opinion, Doda Mountains is Tarbaghatay and Yinshan is the northern slopes of Tarbaghatay<sup>78</sup>. Yinshan means ‘the dark mountain’ in Chinese. The name Tünerig tamuk occurs also in the Turkic texts: ‘Tünerig tamuka tüşmegi bar’ (they descend into dark hell)<sup>79</sup>.

### **Qara köl = *Xuanchi* 玄池**

Kül Tegin fought against Az bodun at Qara Köl (KT N2): ‘Az people became enemy. We fought at Qara köl. He (Kül Tegin) mounted white hero horse Shalchy,

<sup>75</sup> Pelliot suggests interprets Chisi as çigil. As regards the name written Pofu, Pelliot suggests to read so instead of its first character, often miswritten in this way; the name suofu, sâ-b’ək is interpreted by him as sâbäg [P. Pelliot, “Neuf notes sur des questions d’Asie Centrale”, in *T’oung Pao* 26, pp.222, 243.

<sup>76</sup> Clauson, *op.cit.*, p.503.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, p.375.

<sup>78</sup> Ildikó Ecsedy, “A contribution to the history of Karluks T’ang period”, in *AOH* 34, 1980, pp.26, 32.

<sup>79</sup> Clauson, *op.cit.*, p.560.

attacked, seized Az Elteber, Az people perished. When the tribes of my uncle Qayan rebelled, and people started enmity and envy, we fought Izgil people. Kül-Tegin mounted white hero horse Shalchy, attacked. The horse fell there. Izgil people perished'. Zuev says that the Qara Köl Lake and the Qara Köl gorge are on the left bank of Syr-Darya, downstream of Otrar, two kilometers from the river. There are ruins of a city with Türkic name SütKent<sup>80</sup>.

Qara Köl with the meaning 'black lake', which also appears in the sources in Chinese translation *Xuanchi* (the Black lake). Xuanchi is the name of dudufu of Tashili tribe of Qarluq [XTS j.43B Dili-7B] and situated in the territory of Qarluq, east of lake Balqash, could be identify with the lake Zaysan in Eastern Kazakhstan. Its major tributaries are the Qara Ertis (Black Ertis) and Kendirlik from the east; its only outlet is the Aq Ertis (White Ertis).

**Toyu baliq = *Jilu* 雞鹿/雞祿**

Toyu baliq is mentioned in the Kül Tegin, Bilge Qayan inscription [KT E17; BQ E15].

Iwasa Sei-ichirô identificate Toyu baliq with the ancient city of *Anbei duhufu* 安北都護府<sup>81</sup>; Ma Changshou interprets Toyu baliq as the mountain of *Duhu shan* 獨護山; Ma Changshou, and Geng Shimin says that Toyu baliq is the *Duhu cheng* 都護城, i.e. Protecting General administrative of the City of the *Hanhai duhufu* 瀚海都護府 or the *Anbei duhufu* 安北都護府<sup>82 83</sup>.

In fact, after destroyed Eastern Turkic Qayanate and Xueyantuo Qayanate (630–646), the Tang dynasty conquered the Toquz Oγuz tribes, reorganized the nomad people. According to the *Jiu Tangshu* [JTS j. 199B Tiele], the twenty first year of the reign of Zhen-guan (647), in the Toquz Oγuz territory Tang dynasty established 13 dudufu and zhou in the Orkhon steppe:

<i>Huihe</i> 回紇 [Uiyur]	<i>Hanhai dudufu</i> 瀚海都督府
<i>Duolange</i> 多覽葛	<i>Yanran dudufu</i> 燕然都督府
<i>Pugu</i> 僕骨 (Boquq)	<i>Jinwei dudufu</i> 金微都督府
<i>Bayegu</i> 拔野古 (Bayirqu)	<i>Youling dudufu</i> 幽陵都督府
<i>Tongluo</i> 同羅 (Tongra)	<i>Qiulin dudufu</i> 龜林都督府

<sup>80</sup> Zuev, 2002, p.176.

<sup>81</sup> Iwasa, 2004, p.577.

<sup>82</sup> Cen Zhongmian, *op.cit.*, p.904.

<sup>83</sup> Ma Changshou, *Tujue ren he Tujue han-guo* 突厥人和突厥汗国 (The Turks and the Turkic Qayanate), Guilin桂林, 2006, p.68; Geng Shimin, *op.cit.*, p.133.

<i>Sijie</i> 思結 (Igil)	<i>Lushan dudufu</i> 廬山都督府
<i>Hun</i> 渾	<i>Haolan zhou</i> 皋蘭州
<i>Houxue</i> 斛薛	<i>Gaoque zhou</i> 高闕州
<i>Adie</i> 阿跌 (Ediz)	<i>Jitian zhou</i> 雞田州
<i>Qibiyu</i> 契苾羽	<i>Yuxi zhou</i> 榆溪州
<i>Xijie</i> 奚結 (Izgil)	<i>Jilu zhou</i> 雞鹿州
<i>Sijie biebu</i> 思結別部 (Bükeli Čöl igil)	<i>Dailin zhou</i> 蹕林州
<i>Baixi</i> 白霽	<i>Dianyan zhou</i> 寘顏州
<i>Jiegu</i> 結骨 (Qirqiz)	<i>Jiankun fu</i> 堅昆府
<i>Guligan</i> 骨利幹 (Qurıqan)	<i>Xuanque zhou</i> 玄闕州
<i>Juluobo</i> 俱羅勃 (Kürabir)	<i>Zhulong zhou</i> 燭龍州

Since 687, the Second Turkic Qayanate conquered the Toquz Oğuz tribes as far as the Mongolian Steppe near the Hangai Mountains, all Mongolia was united by Turkic Empire.

The Kül Tegin and Bilge Qayan inscription mentioned the battles of Turkic with the Toquz Oğuz of Orkhon steppe:

*“[oplayu tegd]i ol at anta tüstü. Izgil budun öltü. Toquz Oğuz budun kentü budunim erti. Teñiri jer bolyaqın üçün yayı boltı. Bir jülqa bis jölü süñüsdimiz. Eñ ilki **Toyu baliqda** süñüsdimiz. Kül Tegin azman aqıy binip oplaju tegdi. Alti erig sančidi. Sü [ta]şısında jitinč erig qılıčladı. Ekinti **Quşlayaqda** ediz birle süñüsdimiz. Kül Tegin az jayzın binip oplaju tegip bir erig sančidi. Toyuz erig igire toqıdı. Ediz bodun anda ölti. Üçünč **Bo[...]** (Бұһчау?)**da** oğuz birle süñüsdimiz. Kül Tegin azman aqıy binip tegdi, sančidi. Süsin sančidimiz. Ilin altımiz. Törtünč **Čuš başında** süñüsdimiz. Türük bodun adaq qamaş itdi jablaq bolta[či] erti. Oza kelmis süsin Kül Tegin ayıtıp toñra bir uyuş alpayı on erig toña-tigin joyında igirip ölürtimiz. Bisinči **Ezgenti Qadazda** oğuz birle süñüsdimiz. Kül Tegin az jayızın binip tegdi. Eki erig sančidi. Baliq[q]a barmady. Ol sü anda öl[ti]. Mayı qoryan qışlap jazıña oyuzyaru su taşıqdimiz. Kül Tegin beg başlaju iqtimiz. Oğuz jayı orduy basdy (KT E44–46).*

*Bir jülqa tört jölü süñüšdim. Eñ ilki **Toyu baliqda** Toyła ögüzüg jüzti kecip. Süsi [kelti]. Ekinti **Antaryuda** süñüšdim. Süsin sančdym [... ü]čünč [**Čuš başında** süñ]üšdim. Türük bodun adaq qamas it[t] i, jablaq boldačy erti Oza jaña keligime süsin ayyt(t)yım. Üküš ölteči anda tirilti. Anda toñra jilpayuty bir **oyuşy** toña tigin joyında igire toqydym. Törtünč **Ezgenti qadazda** süñüšdim (BQ E30–31).*

*ebin: bariqın: buzdım: Oğuz budun: Toyuz Tatar: birle: tirilip: kelti: **Ayuda**: eki uluy: süñüšdüm: süsin: buzdım: Elin: anta altım: anča qazyanıp: ..: /Teñiri/ yarılqaduq: üçün: /men/otuz artuqi: üç yaşıma: ... yoq erti: ödseg: ütuleg: küč”*

*Iwasa Sei-ichirô* read Mayī Qoryan as Maya quryan and identification it with Mohe kuhan 莫賀庫寒 in the Tang Huiyao (岩佐精一郎 1936.577).

The city or district of *Jilu* 雞鹿 [XTS j.217A Huihu-A] is called Jilu 雞祿 in the Tang Huiyao [THY j.72], is probably the Chinese version of Toyu baliq. The Chinese term is not a transcription. The *Jilu* is of special interest, because the element *ji* 雞 forms part of the toponym, *ji* has the literal meaning ‘chicken or a domestic Fowl’; the Turkic name is Tokhu or Taqayu.

First Kül Tegin fought against Izgil budun at Toyu baliq city. Cen Zhongmian tried to identify Izgil with *Xiezhilue* 頡質略, a ruler of Bayirqu,<sup>84</sup> Geng Shimin identify Izgil with *sijie* 思結<sup>85</sup>. Zuev’s opinion the term *Sijie* (< -γiei-kiet < igil) is the Chinese variation of the name for a tribe of the Turkic Igil<sup>86</sup>.

According to the horse-brand chapter of the *Tang Huiyao*, horses [of the tribe] *Xijie* 奚結 are one brand with the horses of the most southern Tujue, [they] are permanently [located] south from *Jifushan* 雞服山 mountains north from the valley of the river *Helianzhi* 赫連枝, in the present Jilu zhou [THY j.72]. Chinese *Xijie*, MChnL *xhjiaj kjiat*, derived from Turkic Izgil.

As a result in 716–717 some Toquz Oγuz tribes (Uiyur, Qibi, Sijie/Igil and Hun), that did not want to the Turkic hegemony, fled to *Ganzhou* 甘州 and *Liangzhou* 涼州 and, accepting the protection of the Tang dynasty [JTS j.199-II Tiele]. There were two Jilu cities, the northern one in Orkhon steppe, and the southern one, in the *Huile* 迴樂, in the region of Ningxia. Both cities had relations with Toquz Oγuz.

### Qušlayaq = *Jitian* 雞田 = *Jiluo* 稽落

The second Kül Tegin fought against Ediz at Qušlayaq. The Ediz political center in the seventh-eights centuries was located in Qušlayaq. Qušlayaq consists of two words: *Quš* (bird) and *layaq*. The last word is a suffix, ancient form of *lay*. Turkic *Qušlay* had the meaning that is ‘a place where there are many birds and they are hunted’<sup>87</sup>.

Now the identification of *A-die* 阿跌 with Edizes of the ancient Türkic inscriptions is commonly accepted<sup>88</sup>. *A-die* is also written as *hezhi* 訶咥, *xiedie* 跌 or *a-te* 阿特 in the *Jiu Tangshu*, *Xin Tangshu* and *Tang Huiyao*. Their territory was

<sup>84</sup> In 716 Qapayan qayan was killed by a warrior named Xiezhilue of the Bayirqu in the steppe along the Turyla River.

<sup>85</sup> Cen Zhongmian, *op.cit.*, p.904; Geng Shimin, *op.cit.*, p.146.

<sup>86</sup> Zuev, 2002, p.45.

<sup>87</sup> *Drevnetjurkskij Slovar*, p.471; Clauson, 1972, p.672.

<sup>88</sup> Chavannes, 1903, pp.87, 89; Hamilton, 1974, p.2; V. Rybatzki, “Titles of Türk and Uigur Rulers in the Old Turkic Inscriptions”, in *CAJ*, 2000, p.240.

established the *Jitian zhou* 雞田州 [XTS, j.217B, Huihu-B]. Zuev says that soon after Xue-yanto Qayanate fall, in 650 or 653, the Tang's emperor ordered to establish in its remains a district *Jitian* (< kiei-tan <\*ketän). With the known sound transposition n~y (for example, qytan~qytai, qtai/χtai “Kidans”, qon~qoi “sheep”, qanyγ-qaiγγ, Nama~Yama) to the number of such names should be attributed the name of the Khazarian fortress on Dnestr katai/hatai, numerous Kitai-cities in Ukraine and even Kitai-town in Moscow with χtai<sup>89</sup>.

According to the Xin Tangshu, in 652 Tang dynasty re-established the district *Jiluo* 稽落 for the tribe Ate [XTS j.43B Huihe]. Tan Qixiang considered Ate is another transcribe of the name Adie (Ediz)<sup>90</sup>. Jilo also the name of river, it is mentioned in the Jiu Tangshu as a valley where situated the horde of Bilge Qayan and TONUQUQ [JTS j.194A Tujue-A]. *Jiluo*, MChin *kjiaj-lak*, and I identifying it with Qušlayaq. *Khilok* is still the name of a river and a village. The *Khilok* is a right affluent of the Selenge River, south of Lake Baikal.

The Chinese name *Jitian* means ‘the field of the domestic fowl/pheasant’ or ‘the field of the bird.’ Thus, *Jitian* can be attested as Qušlayaq.

There were two *Jitian* cities, the northern one in Orkhon steppe. In the Xin Tangshu text (XinTangshu, tsz. 2176, p. 6 b) Edizes are mentioned between Ba-e-gu (Bayirqu) and Tun-lo (Tongra) among the tribes living east from Ötüken Mountains; and the southern one, in the *Huile* 迴樂, in the region of Ningxia. Both cities had relations with Toquz Oyuz.

### **Ezgenti Qadaz = *Yanhongda jing* 閻洪達井**

Kül Tegin fought against *oyuz* at Ezgenti Qadaz. According to the Tang Huiyao, the horses of *Qi* 契 similar to those of the Adies (Edizs), they living north of *Yanhongda jing* 閻洪達井, south of *Dule* 獨樂 river (Toyla river), i.e. contemporary *Yuxi zhou* 榆溪州 [THY j.72].

*Yanhongda* 閻洪達 is a Chinese transcription of a high advisor's title of the Turkic Qayanate [SS j.84; JTS j.194-II; XTS j.215-I]; *jing* 井 means well of Chinese: the well of *Yanhongda*.

The word *qadaz* was derived from qad/qaz ‘dig’ with the deverbal noun suffix ‘az’, meaning well. For example, *Qaday*, ditch, canal<sup>91</sup>. Thus, Ezgenti Qadaz means well of Ezgenti. However, Ezgenti Qadaz is the name of place, situated south of Toyla river.

<sup>89</sup> Zuev, 2002, pp.204–205.

<sup>90</sup> Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, *Liang Tangshu dilizhi huishi* 兩唐書地理志匯釋, Hefei, 2003, p.290.

<sup>91</sup> *Drevnetjurkskij Slovar*, p.404.



**Tögiltin jazı = *Tujulin chuan* 吐俱麟川**

In the Orkhon inscription Tögiltin jazı appears together with Čuyay yış [KT S6, BQ N5]. The plain of Tögiltin has not been identified. Tögiltin jazı is Tujulin chuan, i.e. the plain of the north of the Great Wall. According to the Xin Tangshu the plain of Tujulin is located the north of *Woyezhen* (near the Wulate qianqi in the Inner Mongolia) [XTS j.43B Dili-7 B].www

**Toquz Ersen/ Toquz Ärsin = *Jiuqu* 九曲**

Kültegin says ‘birgerü Toquz Ersenke tegi süledim, Tüpütke kiçig tegmedim’ (I went on campaigns southwards up to Toquz Ersen; I almost reached Tibet). Zuev identify *ersen* with the ancient indian term *rasayana*, the ‘source (of river or spring).’ Zuev says: « The ancient Türkic word *ersen* ascends to the to old Indian *rasayana* “spring”. The combination *Tokuz ersen* (“Nine springs”) is a name of an area, an end point of the ancient Türkic campaigns in the south, and in the first half the eighth century (“... I went with armies south down to Nine springs” – KTm, 3), and a calque of the Chinese name for the extensive territory of modern autonomous province of the Inner Mongolia on the left bank of the northern bend of Huang He, Jiu-yuan (“Nine springs”)»<sup>92</sup>. Zuev’s very cautious suggestion that the variant Jiuyuan might stand for 九源, i.e. Jiuyuan in Inner Mongolia is absolutely out of the question. Inner Mongolia’s Jiuyuan is identical Chinese 九原 (Nine plain), or Jiuyuan 九淵 (Nine Deep pool of water), near Baotou, but not *Jiuyuan* 九源 (nein source of river).

The Toquz Ersen located to the south of Turkic, a district on the Tüpüt (Tibet) side of the border with Tang. From 707 to 710 there were long-drawn out negotiations for a peace settlement with China ended in dynastic marriage just before Ruizong's accession. The Tibetans were able to extract very favorable terms from the Chinese court, and part of the settlement involved the transfer to Tibet of the territories on the upper course of the Huanghe, known as the *Jiuqu* (Nine Bends), which was crucial to the Chinese defence system built up under the empress Wu [The Cambridge History of China. V.3. Sui and T’ang China, 589–906, Part I.1979.363]. According to the Jiu Tangshu, in 710, Princess *Jincheng* 金城 of the Tang Dynasty married *Chide Zuzan* 赤德祖贊 (Kridê Zukzain). The Tang dynasty ceded to Tibet the district of *Hexi Jiuqu* 河西九曲 (‘Nine Bends West of the River’). Tibet side built here a *Tangmu* 湯沐 for Princess Jincheng [JTS, j.196-I, Tubo-I]. Tangmu means hot spring for bath. Toquz Ersen is obviously equivalentl with *Jiuqu Tangmu*.

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<sup>92</sup> Zuev, 2002, p.60.

**Qordan = Jiedan 羯丹**

This word is used to refer to the enemy in the west in line 14 of the inscription of Tonyuquq: *Öñrā Qitanda, birja Tabyačda, qurija Qurdanta, jirja Oyuzda*. Sir G. Clauson<sup>93</sup> identifies Kordan [Qordan] with Khotan of Chinese Turkestan.<sup>94</sup>

From the context, as I mentioned above, this sentence can be identified with the historical fact that Second Turkic Qayanate engaged in campaigns of war to the west against the Tūrgeš Qayanate. Suyab (southwest of modern Toqmaq of Kyrgyzstan) and Taraz were residences of Western Turkic Qayanate and later of Tūrgeš Qayanate and Qarluq Qayanate. According to the *Xin Tangshu*, [they] come to the city Suyab. North from the city flows the river Suyab (river Chu), and 40 li north from the river is a mountain Jiedan. There the qayan of On Oq annually installs the heads of tribes [XTS j.43B].

Jiedan, MChinL *kiat-tan*, is a Chinese transliteration of the word of Qordan. Qordan is the ancient name for what is now called the boundary mountain of Qorday between Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan.

**Yariš yazı = Yeluo chuan 耶羅川 = Yaluosi chuan 邪羅斯川**

Yariš yazı occurs in line 33 of the inscription of Tonusuq:

*Üč körüg kisi: kelti: sabı: bir: qayanı sü atsıqdi: On oq süsü: qalisiz: atsıqdi: ter: Yariš yazıda: tirillemis temis: ol sabıy esidip: qayanıyaru: ol sabıy itim: Qantuyun: sabıy: yana es b...*

Second word *yazı* means plain in OT. In the Chinese sources this word translated as *chuan* 川 which mean valley or plain, abbreviation form of *pingchuan* 平川.

I would tentatively compare the name Yariš yazı with the name *Yeluo chuan* or *Yaluosi chuan*. Both Tangshu states that after defeated Helu, the Tang cavalry pursue him to the plain of Yaluosi or Yeluo [JTS j.195 Huihe; XTS j.215B Tujue-B]. The plain Yeluo or Yaluosi situated west of Ili.

The plain Yariš yazı is evidently the Sarı-jaz of Rayimbek district east of Kazakhstan. Sarı-jaz situated east of the river Kegen (Makhmud Kashgari called this river *Kaikan*) and the mountain Labasa. We can say of the place names Yariš yazı that were two fonetic variants such as Yariš yazı and Jariš jazı in the Turkic Qayanate period. From this, I can suggest that Sarı-jaz can be identified with the Jariš jazı.

Both Tangshu also mentioned the plain of *Duoluosi chuan* 多羅斯川 [JTS j.194B Tujue-B; XTS j.215B Tujue-B]. But this plain situated north of Xizhou, i.e. Turfan.

<sup>93</sup> Clauson, 1972, p.49.

<sup>94</sup> For the discussion of Qordan, see YONG-SŌNG LI, “Zu Qurdnta in der Tuñuquq-Inschrift”, in CAJ 47/2 (2003), pp.229–241.

### Usin buntatu

Some Turkologist give us that Usin buntatu is toponym or ethnonym<sup>95</sup>. For example, Malov translated: «они разрушили двадцать три города и остались на жительство в земле Усын-бундату». Cen Zhongmian argues that the Usin buntatu is the tribe of *Wuzhumuchin* 烏珠穆沁 of *Menggu youmu ji* 蒙古游牧記. Amanjolov identification it with the Ordos, former area of Usun. Geng Shimin says *us* means fundament, *bundat* means destroyed in OT<sup>96</sup>.

In my opinion, usin buntatu is noun. The word *usin* is supposed to be a compound word made by two words, *us* and denominal suffix *-in*. The word usin is found in the Turkic word *us* meaning ‘interests’, ‘earnings’ and ‘profit’<sup>97</sup>; the word *bundatu* occurs in Mahmud Kahsgari in the form of *mindetu* meaning ‘silk’<sup>98</sup>.

*Üč otuz baliq esdi. Usin buntatu yurtida yatu qalur erti.* They destroyed twenty-three cities, properties (of Chinese) are scattered on the ruins.

### Üč Birkü = *San Shouxiang cheng* 三受降城; *Käjrä baši* = *Huile feng* 迴樂峰

Üč Birkü is mentioned twice in the Moyun čor inscription and appears together with *Käyrä baši*: *ičgerip: yanı yorıdım Käjrä: başınta Üč Birküde: qan süsin: // birle qatiltım: anta:.....(7); Käjrä: baši Üč Birküde (18).*

The name of Birkü, is a compound of the word *berk* ‘firm, stable, solid’ and the suffix *-ü* [Clauson 1972.361]. A similar name can be found in the toponym of Kazakhstan: Mirki or Merke, an ancient city the north of Kazakhstan. The basic meaning of the term Birkü or Mirki is fortress. In modern Kazakh language *Berik Qamal* is attested with the meaning ‘the strong Fortress, the Stronghold’. Üč Birkü means the Three Fortress. The name Üč Birkü could, on a Chinese basis, is translated from *San Shouxiang cheng* (the Three Fortress of the Accept Surrender). According to the *Jiu Tangshu*, until in 707, Chinese General *Zhang Rendan* 張仁亶 (also called *Zhang Renyuan* 張仁愿) took advantage of the absence of the Turkic armies campaigning in the west to erect three fortress and a system of defense posts along the northern course of the Yellow River, which thenceforth kept the Turks out [JTS j.194A Tujue-A].

*Käyrä baši* is the place name near Üč Birkü. The element *baši* should probably not be connected with ‘head of river’. Perhaps it can be compared with Chin. *Huile feng* = the Peak or ridge of Huile. Huile feng is the name of mountain in the

<sup>95</sup> Malov, 1951, p.66; Cen Zhongmian, *op.cit.*, p.871; Amanjolov, 2003, pp.181–182.

<sup>96</sup> Geng Shimin, *op.cit.*, p.111.

<sup>97</sup> Tuguševa, 1991, p.109.

<sup>98</sup> Kašgari, 1985, p.549.

*Lingwuzhou* 靈武州 (southwest of present Lingwu 靈武 of Ningxia). *Huile feng* occurs in the poem of Liyi 李益 (748–829) as *Huile feng* 回樂峰:

回樂峰前沙似雪, 受降城外月如霜。不知何處吹蘆管? 一夜征人盡望鄉 (The desert sand in front of Hui-le Ridge looks like pure white snow under the moonlight. Looking out from the city of Shou-xiang, the great expanse of land is immersed in silvery moonlight and seems to have been covered with a layer of frost. Suddenly out of nowhere, the distant strains out on campaign. The men in the camp tonight are all thinking of home).

### **Bamī qayan = Baimei kehan 白眉可汗**

Bamī qayan occurs in the Ongin inscription (O 1). When Radloff first read this name, he transliterated it as *Ymi (Yami)*. Clauson read *istemi*, Marquart, followed by Malov reads *bumīn*. V. Rybatzki considered that this name can be read as *Yoluy*<sup>99</sup>. Takashi Ōsawa, followed by Rui Chuanming, read this word as *Yama Qayan*, and identify him with *Shemo hehan* 射摩可汗 from an Old Chinese source and *Zhama* of the Old Tibetan document<sup>100</sup>.

In my opinion, first letter of *y* as *b* is possible as only the upper left part is connecting. The form of the *b*, coming very close to *y*. Perhaps, however, the name mentioned here should be read as Bamī qayan, and compared with the name Baimei kehan. According to the *Tangshu*, Baimei kehan (?-745), the last ruler of the second Turkic Qayanate, was the younger brother of Ōzmiš qayan. In 745 the Uiyurs killed the last Turkic qayan, Baimei, and sent his head to the Chinese court. The Turkic empire was at an end. Ongin inscription indicated the historical situation in which the Second Turkic Qayanate was defeated by the Uiyurs. Accordingly, Ongin inscription was built after 745. The Chinese annals called Baimei kehan as *Baimei teqin hulong fu* 白眉特勒隴匐 (Bamī teqin Ürüñ bek).

### **Qumuq baliq = Shazhou 沙州**

Qumuq baliq occurs in the Ongin inscription (O-S 1). Clauson, Tekin and Geng Shimin read *Qamul* and identification it with Qumul<sup>101</sup>. Malov read Qamuq and translated as ‘я напал на многие города’<sup>102</sup>, because according to Clauson *qamuq* is variant of *kamay* ‘all’<sup>103</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> Rybatzki, 2000, p.209.

<sup>100</sup> Takashi Ōsawa, “Revisiting the Ongi inscription of Mongolia from the Second Turkic Qayanate on the basis of rubbings by G. J. Ramstedt”, in *JSFOu* 93, 2011, p.176.

<sup>101</sup> Clauson, 1972, pp.182, 186; T. Tekin, *Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington, 1968, p.245; Geng Shimin, *op.cit.*, p.189.

<sup>102</sup> Malov, 1951, pp.8–10.

<sup>103</sup> Clauson, 1972, p.627.

According to Takashi Ōsawa, from Ramstedt's rubbing and Jadrincev's original rubbing can read the word as *Q m uq*<sup>104</sup>.

In my opinion this word should be read *qumuq* as a variant of *qumaq*, in Turkic means 'sandy place, sandy hill'. The form of *qumaq* mentioned in Wuti Qing wenjian dictionary: *Shagang* 沙岡=Qumaq yer (sandy place)<sup>105</sup>.

I may observe that Qumuq is the Turkic name for Shazhou. According to the Ming Shi, in 1479 the Ming court established the *Handong zuowei* 罕東左衛 (the Left Handong Garrison) at the ancient city of Shazhou. The *Ming Shilu* says that the city of *Humuge* 虎木哥 was founded in twenty first year of Chenghua (1485) in the territory of The Left Handong Garrison [Ming Xianzong shilu j.266]. The toponym Humuge can be explained on a Turkic basis can be compared with OT *qumuq*. Qumuq could be divided into a stem *qum* 'sand' and a suffix *-uq*. As to this sentence, I can assume that it can be considered as a historical fact that Turkic peoples went on warring campaigns against enemies in Gansu.

### **Igdär=Yida** 愾怛

The tribe name of Igdär occurs in the Terx inscription [TX 27]. According to Mahmud al-Kashghari Igdär is one of the oldest Oyuz tribes<sup>106</sup>. Tang Huiyao says that in twenty third year of Tianbao rule (763) for two tribes, Ge-lo-lu (Qarluqs) and Yida is founded the *Geluo* 葛邏 district (THY j. 73.1315).

### **Abbreviations**

AOH: Acta Orientalia Hungarica

BQ: Bilge Qayan inscription

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies

CAJ: Central Asiatic Journal

CFYG: Cefu yuangui: Wang Qinruo 王欽若 1989

DTS: *Drevnetjurkskij Slovar'*. Leningrad. 1969.

JTS: Jiu Tangshu: Liu Xu 劉煦 1975.

J: Juan = volume

JSFOu: Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne

KT: Kül Tegin inscription

LS: Liangshu: Yao Silian 姚思廉 1973.

MChin: Middle Chinese

Mong: Mongolian

<sup>104</sup> Ōsawa, 2011, p.188.

<sup>105</sup> *Wuti Qing wenjian* 五体清文, Vol. I, Beijing, 1957, p.173.

<sup>106</sup> Bartold, 2002, t.II/I, pp.574–575.

SS: Suishu: Wei Zheng 魏征 1973.

SU: Šine Usu inscription

T: TONUQUQ inscription

TX: Terx

TBYJ : Tai bai yinjing (Shenji zhidi Taibai yinjing): Li Quan 李筌 1985.

TD: Tongdian: Du You 杜佑 1988

THY: Tang Huiyao: Wang Pu 王溥 1955

O: Ongin inscription

OT: Old Turkic

WS: Weishu: Weishou 魏收 1974

WXTK: Wenxian tongkao: Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 1986.

XTS: Xin Tangshu: Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 1975