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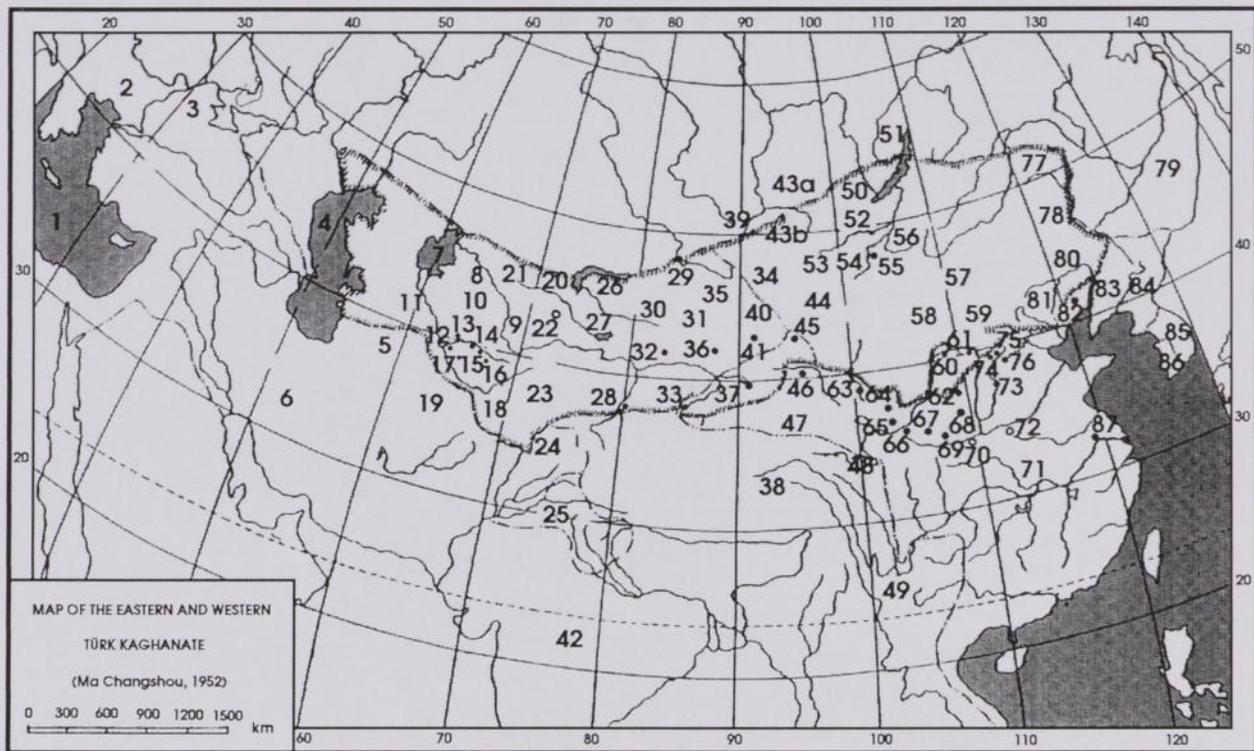
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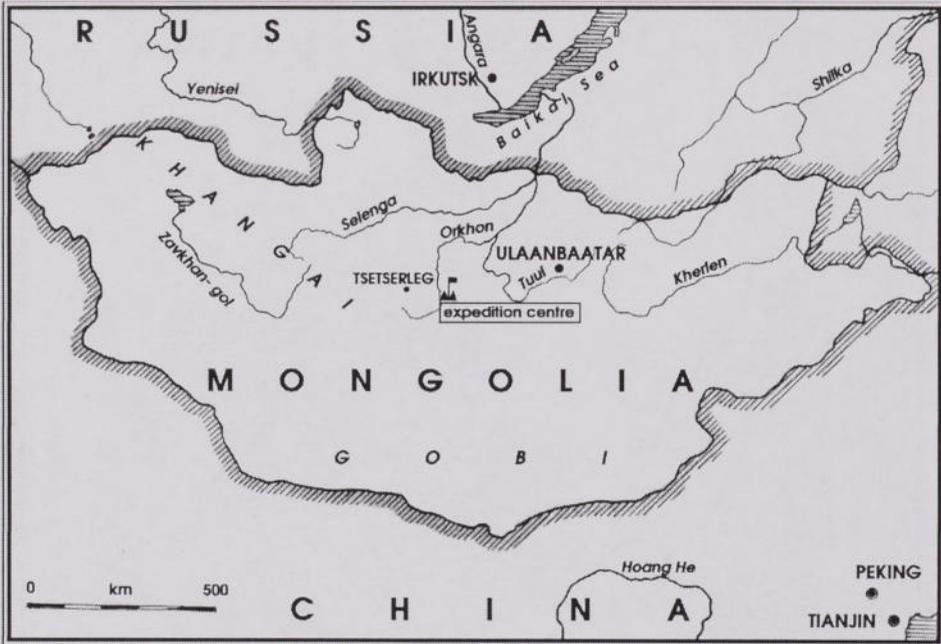
Lumír Jisl

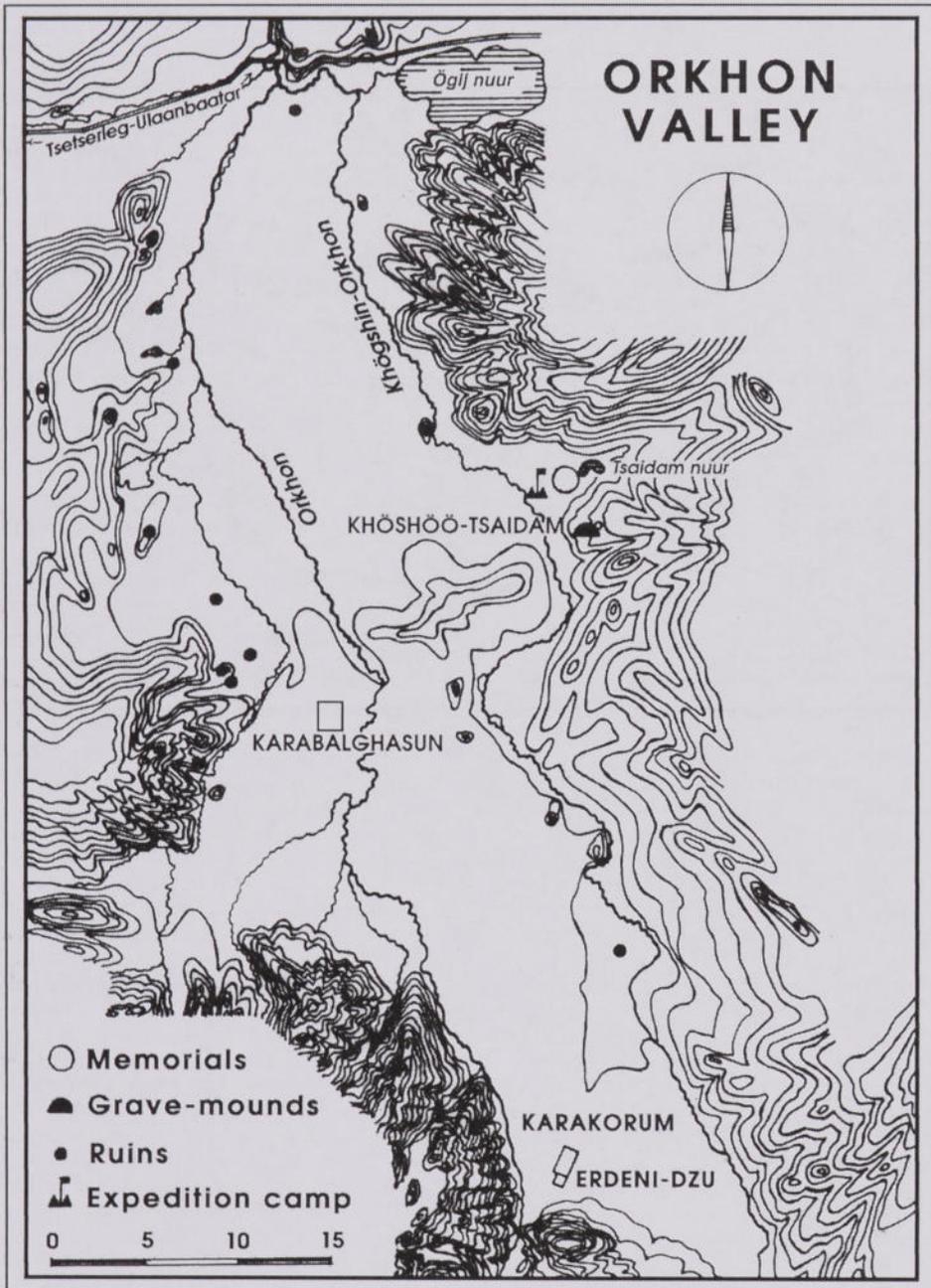
THE ORKHON TÜRK  
OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SECOND  
EASTERN TÜRK KAGHANATE





1. Mediterranean Sea; 2. Byzantine Empire; 3. Black Sea; 4. Caspian Sea; 5. Khorasan; 6. Persia (Sassanids); 7. Aral Sea; 8. Jaxartes; 9. Shi; 10. Jiuxing Zhaowu; 11. Wuhu (Oxus); 12. An (Bukhāra); 13. He (Koshānyah); 15. Kang (Samarkand); 16. Mi; 17. Western Türk Kaghanate; 18. Yidan (Hephthalites); 19. Tuholuo (Tokharistan); 20. Oekh R. (Suiye chuan); 21. Nushibi wubu; 22. Qianquan; 24. Jiashimilo (Kashmir); 25. Jieri wangchao; 27. Rehai; 28. Yutian; 29. Geluoli (Karluk); 30. Dulu wubu; 31. Xing suo; 32. Qiuci (Kucha); 33. Jumo (Calmadana); 34. Altai; 38. Fuguo; 40. Beishan; 41. Gaochang; 42. India (Tianzhu); 45. Yiwu; 46. Dunhuang; 47. Tuyuhun; 48. Dangxiang (Tangut); 49. Liu zhao; 50. Kurikan; 51. Baikal; 53. Jiuxing Tiele; 55. Yudu jing shan (Ötükän); 57. Eastern Türk Kaghanate; 58. Tuli qu; 60. Wuyuan; 62. Shuofang; 63. Zhangye; 64. Wuwei; 65. Siping; 66. Jincheng; 67. Pingliang; 68. Shangjun; 69. Beidi; 70. Daxing (Chang'an); 71. Sui; 72. Luoyang; 73. Taiyuan; 75. Maiyi; 76. Yanmen; 77. Shiwei; 79. Mohe; 80. Khitan; 81. Si; 82. Liaoxi; 83. Liaoshui R.; 84. Kokuryo; 85. Silla; 86. Pekche; 87. Jiangu





## A Word from the Editor

More than thirty years have passed since the outstanding Czech archeologist Lumír Jisl, PH.D., CSc. (1921 - 1969) wrote a four-part monograph about the ancient Türks. So far only partial results have appeared in print. The core of the monograph, its second part, is devoted to the findings of the archeological research of the first Czechoslovak-Mongolian Archeological Expedition in 1958, and they are given in confrontation with historic reports in Chinese sources. Our endeavour of long standing, to publish the work in Russia or in Hungary, in Russian and English, was, unfortunately, not crowned with success, though it had the support of colleagues in Petrograd and Budapest. Jisl's work holds a firm place in getting to know the life and the culture of the ancient Türks, being one of the fifties to sixties.

A series of important studies of the ancient Türks have been published in the world since Jisl's premature death in 1969, and further important archeological sites have been discovered. All confirm the fact that the culture of the ancient Türks, which developed in Central Asia in the 5th - 8th centuries, especially in the Altai, in Semirechie and present-day Mongolia, played a major, not yet fully assessed role in the life of the typical Nomad Asian ethnic groups as well as in the constant and mutual influences with neighbouring cultures. Thanks to their immense mobility the ancient Türks managed to provide links between important Asian and European cultures, whereby they contributed to the mutual influences and enrichment of world cultures.

The early feudal Türk state existed for only two centuries, and in the course of that time underwent several periods of florescence and decline. Its frontiers changed, with their territory growing larger or smaller, but, basically, the events took place on the vast territory between the Gobi Desert to the south, and Lake Baikal, the Minusin Basin and the Sayan Mountains to the north, from Central Asia to the West to the Argun River, the great Khingan and the Korean Peninsula to the east.

The name Türk (Chinese Tuque) appeared for the first time in the Orkhon Inscriptions, not as an ethnic but a political term, which comprised a broad spectrum of Türk, Mongolian and other nationalities. It concerned an important political coalition, a tribal confederation, in which tribes of Türk origin predominated.

Their ethnic designation was Tokuz Oghuz (the „Nine Oghuz“). The Türk tribes later formed the basis of the Uighur, the Kirghiz-Khakaz and modern Türks.

At the beginning of the history of the ancient Türks there was the Ashina tribe, which was subjugated by the Rurans and relocated from the Eastern Turkestan to the Altai. There the entire tribal union adopted the name of Türk. By the side of the ancient Türks there lived, on the Yenisei, the Kirghiz-Khaz (Chinese Jiankun, Jiegu, Mongolian Gorlos). On the Irtish were the Uighurs (given as Huihe and Tiele in Chinese sources), the Dingling on the Orkhon (which included the Kipchaks, Chinese Jueshe) and others. The Tuque and Tiele tribes paid taxes to the Rurans in the form of products of iron, which they obtained from iron ore that came from the Altai Mountains. The Tiele tribes were descendants of tribes which the Chinese called Gaoju (literally „high wag-gons“). Gradually they were overpowered by Tümen (Buman), one of the chiefs of the Türk Ashina tribe, who unified them, married a Chinese princess and tried to win also the daughter of the Rurhan kaghan. He adopted the name of the kaghan of the Yili River. His brother Ishtemi helped him strengthen his might. He was the ruler of the western part of the kaghanate, while his son Muhan took over the eastern part. Shortly after the death of Tümen the Rorans were definitively defeated. The political power of the ancient Türks gradually shifted from the Altai and to the Orkhon in the second half of the 6th century. Muhan (553 - 572) conquered the Khitans in the east and the Yenisei Kirghiz to the north. Ishtemi widened the territory as far as the frontier of the Hephthalite Empire (the Empire of the White Huns), given in Chinese sources as Yeda - „Wild Tartars“. That gave the Türkic kaghanate the possibility of controlling the Silk Road. The borders to the west went as far as Amu Dar'ya (Oxus), the Caucasus and the Aral Sea, and to the east to the Great Khingan. In the south the northern Chinese state of the Zhou and Qi were subjugated. There was an important alliance with Sassanid Persia. The ancient Türks reached the Volga and ruled over the territory of Bulgarian and Khazar tribes. The periods of alliances and friendship with neighbouring countries alternated with times of wars and enmity, both in regard to the Chinese and the Persians and Arabs. One of the main reasons was the endeavour to be master of the Silk Road. From time to time even the neighbouring countries mentioned paid the Türks taxes

in the form of silk. As late as in the second half of the 6th century China bound itself to supply the Türks with one hundred thousand pieces (skeins?) of silk. It seems to me almost certain that the Old Slavonic word for trade - market, market - place, market stall-holder (trh. tržiště, trhovec) and further derivations come from the ancient Türk and Mongolian expressions for silk - torga, torgo. Silk was the chief export article from China across the lands of the Nomads to Persia and further to Europe. The Sogdian silk merchants as well as the Türk-Mongolian Nomads traded with silk successfully. The term Seres, which, in the past, referred to the Chinese, however, had a wider meaning and tended to mean „silk merchant“. In the history of the ancient Türks we can record even numerous diplomatic delegations apart from numerous trade caravans and delegations. As examples we might cite the journey of the Sogdian envoy Maniakh to the Roman Emperor on commission of Dizibul and the reciprocal delegation of the Byzantine Zemarkhos in the years 567 and 568. Another Byzantine delegation in 576 had an escort of more than one hundred Türks.

After the ascension of the Sui Dynasty in China (581) the Chinese made use of the involved economic situation and defeated the Türks. The kaghanate in the western part (Tardush) disintegrated as well as that in the east (Tölis) with the centre in Mongolia. Chinese culture and art left important marks on the development of Türk culture. The Chinese emperors took advantage of the antagonism between the Western and the Eastern Türks and aimed at strengthening their position. This was particularly so after the ascension of the Tang Dynasty (618). Even though, from time to time, the Türks achieved military victories and success, in 630 the First Türk Kaghanate disintegrated, and the Chinese Emperor Taizong brought the Eastern Türks under his domination. The Western Türks were subdued in 659, and the Chinese occupied their territory as far as Bukhara and Samarkand. The internal contradictions and the dissatisfied moods of the population contributed in large part to the weakening of the power of the Türks.

The kaghanate was re-established under the reign of kaghan Elterish (Kutuluk, 683 - 692), known in Chinese sources as Gudulü. He availed himself of the favourable situation, led almost 50 campaigns and engaged in 20 battles, subjected 9 Uighur tribes, and he defeated the Chinese in the years 682 - 683. He was aided in gaining power and strengthening it by his famous advisor Tonyukuk (646 - 732), whom originally the Chinese had sent to suppress rebellion among the Türks and who, in the end, went over to the Türk side. The second Eastern Türk Kaghanate was officially proclaimed in 690. The power of the Türks grew strong again under the reign of Kutuluk's younger brother Mozhu (reigned 693 - 716) and especially during the reign of his son Bilge (716 - 734). Bilge received significant assistance from his younger brother Kül-tegin (685 - 731), one of the most outstanding personalities of Türk history. But the internal contradictions of the kaghanate intensified, and towards the first half of the 8th century it definitively disintegrated. The Türk tribes of the Basmal (Basimi), Karluks (Geluolu) and Uighur competed for domination of the Great Steppe. In the period that followed the Uighurs ruled over that territory for a short time. The last historic reports about the Eastern Türks date from the 10th century.

The material and written sources on the history of the Orkhon Türks are a rich well of information. Their number is not final yet. Constantly new archeological finds are being made on the territory of all Mongolian (aymaks) as well as on neighbouring lands. They were first noticed by a Gdansk scholar of German origin D. G. Messerschmidt (1685 - 1735), who was in the service of Peter I from 1716 and spent time on the Yenisei in the years 1719 - 1727. His work was published only in 1962 - 68. Another was the cartographer S. U. Remezov (c. 1663 - after 1715). A Swedish prisoner of war in Russian service, P. I. Strahlenberg (1676 - 1747) made mention of a mysterious script, which was considered to be Scythian. He spent 13 years in Siberia and published his work in Stockholm in 1730.

As early as in the middle of the 19th century the Finnish scholar M. A. Castrén studied Türk epigraphic inscriptions, being the author of the theory of affinity of the Türk, Tunguz, Manchurian, Mongolian and Ugro-Finnic languages. Parallel with archeological excavations there began to appear, from the middle of the 19th century, studies that provided access to mainly Chinese sources on the history of the Türks. The dynastic annals Tang-shu and other Chinese chronicles in the translation of the Russian Sinologist I. Bichurin presented information on political and military history, the economy, way of life, the material and spiritual culture of the Türk nations. In the last quarter of the 19th century a number of Finnish and Russian expeditions worked in the Minusin Basin and the valley of the Orkhon. A. Heikel, V. V. Radlov, N. M. Yandrinev, D. A. Klemenc, P. M. Melioranski and others published the results of the expeditions in specialist journals in Helsinki and Petrograd. In 1893 the rune script (38 characters) was first

deciphered by W. L. P. Thomsen, professor of Copenhagen University, and, independently, by V. V. Radlov. Important contributions to the study of the ancient Türks were made at that time by G. Ramstedt, N. A. Aristov, J. G. Granö, T. Chavannes, F. Hirth and others. A second stage of research into the ancient Türks covers the period of the twenties to forties of the 20th century. They were mainly Russians and Soviet scholars: V. V. Bartold, G. I. Borovka, B. Y. Vladimirtsov, B. Baradin, G. Y. Grumm-Grzhimaylo, S. I. Rudenko, A. N. Bernshtam, V. A. Kazakevich, A. N. Kononov, S. P. Tolstov, M. Y. Masson and many others. H. N. Orkun, G. Moravcsik, A. von Gabain, to name but a few.

In the course of the third stage they were joined in the fifties by S. V. Kiselev, S. Y. Malov, L. P. Potapov, A. P. Okladnikov, L. A. Yevtyukhova, K. V. Vyatkina, L. N. Gumilev, Ma Changshou, Feng Jiasheng, Liu Mau-tsai, G. Clauson, P. Aalto, L. Bazin. The Mongolian historians and philologists Kh. Perlee, N. Ser-Odjav, D. Dorj, A. Luvsandendev took an active part in the research. The work of Lumír Jisl belongs to the period.

After the premature death of Dr. Jisl research into Türk history was continued thanks to the work of other Mongolian and Soviet scholars, mainly N. Ser-Odjav, D. Navaan, C. Dorjstüren, Kh. Luvsanbaldan, B. Bazylkhan, M. Shinekhüü, L. Bold and others from Mongolia, S. G. Klyashtorny, L. N. Gumilev, L. R. Kyzlasov, A. D. Grach, Ya. A. Sher, E. Novgorodova of the Soviet Union, the Hungarian professor I. Erdélyi and others. Mention should be made at least of the monograph of L. N. Gumilev (1967), the publication of N. Ser-Odjav (1970), the works of S. G. Klyashtorny and L. Bold (1990), which set out to give a systematic survey of 40 Türk monuments. Side by side with the continuation in research there have appeared also studies of Arab and Persian sources.

Dr Lumír Jisl, Ph. D. (18 April 1921 -22 November 1969), the author of the monograph we are publishing, showed systematic interest in the culture and the art of Central Asia soon after the end of the second world war, when he was working in the Silesian Museum at Opava (Czechoslovakia). He was inspired by the research of an Opava scholar Hans Leder and his collections, and he turned his interest on the art of Tibet, China, Japan and Mongolia. On the initiative of the then Director of the Archeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Academician J. Böhm, and the assistance of the renowned Mongolian scholar B. Rinchen, L. Jisl visited Mongolia and China for the first time in 1957. He became the main organizer and leader of the Czech section of the First Czechoslovak-Mongolian Archeological Expedition in the summer of the 1958. The Czechoslovak section comprised 6 staff members of the Archeological Institute and 1 paleontologist from the National Museum in Prague. The Mongolian section was led by archeologist N. Ser-Odjav and included two other archeologists and one ethnographer. It should be mentioned that the Soviet archeologists V. V. Volkov and E. Novgorodova were part of the expedition. They discovered and described unique finds from the period of the Second Eastern Türk kaghanate. L. Jisl was greatly interested in continuing with the expedition in the following years, but for administrative measures and later his serious disease the research was not followed up. The Second Czechoslovak-Mongolian Expedition to Mongolia in 1963 worked in the northeastern part of the country.

We have selected for publication Part II (313 pages of the manuscript) from Dr. Jisl's dissertation, Part III (references and literature) and Part IV (some illustrations). For lack of space it did not prove possible to publish Part I, which comprises the description of the individual archeological localities of the ancient Türks, nor all the illustrations and tables referred to in the text. We have unified the transliteration of the names to concur with the form most commonly used in specialist literature. Chinese words have been given in the international transliteration in pinyin.

Prague, June 1994

Jiří Šíma

Where the illustrations or map has no number, they were not part of the IVth part of the original work, but are material prepared or selected by the editor.

## ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

### 1. THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF THE TÜRK<sup>S</sup> AND ITS EXPLANATION

The origin of the name Türk or T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k described in the Orkhon inscriptions and taken over into Chinese in the form of Tuque was derived by the Chinese from the fact that the T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup>, who originally lived in the southern Altai, saw a similarity between the Altai and a helmet, which they called tuque. And they began to call themselves accordingly <sup>(1)</sup>. This naive etymology may have been taken over from the T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> themselves. As this subject has been widely discussed, I shall present only a few of the opinions put forward.

B. Munkácsi rejected this explanation, upheld also by J. J. Hess. He agreed with O. Franke's scepticism and adopted H. Vambéry's explanation based on linguistic parallels. In his view the term Türk originally had the meaning „creature, being, man“ <sup>(2)</sup>. According to the V. Thomsen the term originally meant „strength“. In his view it was at first the name of one tribe or even one ruling clan <sup>(3)</sup>. That view is upheld by V. Bartold <sup>(4)</sup> and J. Németh <sup>(5)</sup>. According L. Bazin <sup>(6)</sup> it originally was Török, a form in which it was survived in Hungarian, and T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k was used among the Eastern T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> only from the 8th century. From this we get Türk, which means „strong“ <sup>(7)</sup>.

Soviet scholars headed by V. Bartold <sup>(8)</sup> point out that it is not correct, as is the case among western scholars, to regard the term Türk as the name of the people, but that it is a political term, a comprehensive term for a military union of tribes which embraced tribes of various racial and ethnic origin living on a vast territory and each having a name of their own <sup>(9)</sup>.

The T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> of Central Asia were called by scholars the Altai T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> according to their place of origin. Since they split up into two political formations. For that reason they used the names of Western T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> and Eastern (also Northern <sup>(10)</sup>) T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> introduced by the Chinese. After the discovery and decipherment of the inscriptions on the Orkhon the Eastern T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> began to be called the Orkhon T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup>.

W. Bang <sup>(11)</sup> coined the name of „Kök-Türk“ for the Orkhon T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup>, which means „blue or heavenly“ T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> since such a designation is used in the Bilge-kaghan and the Kül-tegin inscriptions. The term Kök-Türk was also used by Le Coq <sup>(12)</sup>, J. Németh <sup>(13)</sup> and J. R. Hamilton <sup>(14)</sup> and more recently by A. v. Gabain <sup>(15)</sup>. But V. V. Radlov rejected this since the term is used only once <sup>(16)</sup> in the Orkhon inscriptions. „Kök“, in his view, is not a designation for an ethnic group but an epithet <sup>(17)</sup>. Or it might only be a general description of the T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> in contrast to the other peoples. When the kaghan speaks of his own kinsmen he uses the term „Türk“ or „Türk of the Ötükän forest“. For that reason it would be more correct, in V.V. Radlov's view, to call the Eastern T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> the Ötükän T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup>. This, however, is too narrow a term as it excludes the other T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup>, writing in a language known from the Orkhon and the Yenisei inscriptions <sup>(18)</sup>. V. Thomsen expressed agreement with Radlov's rejection of the name Kök-Türk <sup>(19)</sup>.

On the basis of the two regions, the Orkhon and the Yenisei, where the Old Türk script is used the term Orkhon-Yenisei T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> has been applied to the Eastern T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup>. But this is not too happy a term either since it is shown nowadays that the Old Türk script was used over a far wider region, in Tuva and on the territory of the Western T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> <sup>(20)</sup>. Furthermore, the ethnic origin of the Kirghiz, to whom the Yenisei texts are ascribed, is different from that of the other T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup>.

In my opinion the terms „Eastern T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup>“ and „Orkhon T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup>“ should not be identified, as has been the case so far. The term „Eastern T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup>“ should be used as a general name for all Türk-speaking tribes that formed the Eastern Türk tribal union beginning at the Altai in the West. And not only for those that were permanently even if involuntarily part of this union (e. g. the Uighurs), and including the Dubo (Tupo) and the Kurikans, who mostly managed to remain independent of the Eastern Türk tribal union. But it should include the T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> that became subjects to the Chinese. On the other hand, it remains a question whether the Kirghiz are to be included among the Eastern T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> or not, since by ethnic origin they were not T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> but were turkicized and differed from the T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> in a number of customs. Furthermore, they had their own tribal union and, with the exception of a brief period, maintained their independence from the Eastern Türk kaghanate. Their dependence was always a formal one since they had a kaghan of their own.

I regard the term Eastern T<sup>u</sup>r<sup>u</sup>k<sup>s</sup> as geographical and ethnic in meaning rather than political. The more so since politically the territorial layout of the kaghanate changed very often with varying political events, and it sometimes came directly or indirectly under the control of non-Türk tribes. Only the core remained unchanged, i. e. roughly the territory of present-day Central Mongolia

(earlier People's Republic of Mongolia). This was the seat of the kaghan and the state-forming tribes and formed the core of the military and political strength of the Eastern Türk kaghanate. If we want to continue using the term Orkhon Türks I see its justification only for those tribes that lived in the basin of the river Orkhon, the two Tamirs and Central Tula. And again only for the period of what is called the Second Eastern Türk Kaghanate, for the distribution of the tribes after the disintegration of the first kaghanate changed considerably. We must take into account that a large number of Türks moved to Chinese territory and later, under Elterish they occupied the territory of the Ötükün.

Within these limitations I shall use the term Orkhon Türks in this thesis even if I am aware that it is difficult to say which tribe exactly this refers to. In Chinese and Türk sources there are numerous unclear facts, contradictions in the distribution, localization, naming and membership of various tribes and this brings with it many problems.

## 2. SURVEY OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE EASTERN TÜRK TRIBAL UNION

The origin of the Türks has not yet been fully explained nor the beginnings of their history. According to ancient Chinese authors the Türks were one of the Xiongnu (Hun) tribes<sup>(21)</sup>. It is known that a series of ethnically differing peoples and tribes unified under the leadership of the Huns were known by the name, as was the case, a few centuries earlier, of the Scythians.

The beginning of history is hidden in a myth, according to which the ancestors of the Türks with the clan name of Ashina were exterminated with the exception of one boy, who was adopted by a wolf. She bore him ten descendants, the brightest of whom was likewise Ashina. They lived for several generations in caves in the Turfan region<sup>(22)</sup>. Another source cites a different tradition, according to which the earliest chieftain of the Türks was Abangbu, one of whose brothers had likewise descended from a wolf. His grandson was elected ruler under the name of Axian-shad<sup>(23)</sup>. Tradition, in other words, agrees on the descent from the she-wolf and refers to the name of Ashina. This clan name then appears very frequently in Chinese chronicles in reference to subsequent important historical Türk personalities.

We can accept as a fully tested historical fact the mention in a Chinese chronicle that originally the Türks were subject to the Ruran (Ruanruan)<sup>(24)</sup>, for whom they worked mainly as blacksmiths<sup>(25)</sup>. This specialization is confirmed also elsewhere: In 568 Emperor Justinus sent a delegation to the Sogdians, whom the Türks offered iron for sale<sup>(26)</sup>. They were then living on the southern slopes of the Altai mountains<sup>(27)</sup>. Shad Axian's grandson was Tümen (Tumin, Bumin) -kaghan, already a fully authentic historical personality (died 552).

Under Tümen in 534, i. e. still during the reign of the Western Wei dynasty in China, the Türks came to the Chinese border for the first time to buy silk<sup>(28)</sup>. Their might increased quickly - their first invasion of China is recorded in 542 - and already in 545 Emperor Taizu of the Northern Zhou sent an emissary to them<sup>(29)</sup>. In 546 there is a record of an envoy of Tümen to the Western Wei with „local products“. The rise of the Türks began in 546 when they defeated Gaoju (later Tiele), the ancestors of the Uighurs and found rich loot. They took away some 50 000 families of the defeated tribe<sup>(30)</sup>. Then together they dared take on the Ruanruan. The basis of an independent state, or let us call it a tribal union, was laid with this defeat of the Ruanruan in 552<sup>(31)</sup>, and this initiated the subsequent rapid growth of their power.

During the reign of Tümen's son Sijin the power of the Türks grew to such an extent that the emperor did not dare refuse Sijin's demand that the Ruanruan who had sought refuge among the Chinese be handed over. At that time 3 000 Ruanruan were indeed handed over and then executed. In 558 and 561 there are records of another delegation to the Northern Zhou and, at the same time, there were efforts on the part of the Türks to gain rich gifts from the Chinese as the result of the marriage of Sijin's daughter to the emperor. In 563 the Türks were allies of the Northern Zhou in the fight against the Northern Qi<sup>(32)</sup>. Sijin benefitted greatly from the battles between these two dynasties. The Northern Qi were corrupted with valuable gifts to remain neutral, and he made good use of his relationship with the emperor among the Northern Zhou. Such a situation can mean no other than that China, at that time, paid tribute to the Türks.

There was no stopping the Türks in their expansion and desire to possess even more, and their attacks increased despite all tributes. Emperor Gaozu in 583 condemned the former policy of the Northern Zhou and the Northern Qi aimed at friendship with the Türks, resulting in emptying their treasure chests without attaining the aim, that is peace with the Türks. They continued to loot the Chinese borderland and killed large numbers of civilians in the process. But Gaozu's changed policy, to stand up to the Türks whenever and wherever their attacks penetrated deep into Chinese territory did not prove successful either. The scattered Chinese garrisons were killed whenever they put up resistance <sup>(33)</sup>.

Before long disunity set in among the Türks, which became the most frequent cause of their later defeats and, in the end, led to the disappearance of the Türk tribal union. Thus already in 581 there was conflict as to the succession to the throne, and this brought about the political division of the Türk into Northern <sup>(34)</sup> or Eastern <sup>(35)</sup> and Western <sup>(36)</sup>. This disintegration of Türk unity was understandably encouraged by the Chinese and was even instigated by them. The Chinese alternatively supported one of the sides against the other <sup>(37)</sup>.

That same year the Western Türks sent an envoy to the emperor of the Sui dynasty, which, four years later, sent its emissary to the Western Kaghan and thereby acknowledged the independence of the Western Türks <sup>(38)</sup>. The fate of this empire was described by E. Chavannes in a monograph in 1900 <sup>(39)</sup>, while no comprehensive study of the Eastern Türks has yet been presented.

Chinese sources generally suggest that the customs of the Western Türks were identical with those of the Eastern Türks and that merely their languages differed slightly <sup>(40)</sup>. The Western Türks kaghanate was wiped out by the Chinese in 659 <sup>(41)</sup>.

Chinese sources reveal that in 584 the Eastern Türks themselves of their own free will, became vassals of the Chinese emperor <sup>(42)</sup>, clearly for mercenary reasons, as will be shown. A temporary suppression of Eastern Türk independence occurred in 630 when, after the betrayal of several chieftains of the Türk hordes and their removal to Chinese territory <sup>(43)</sup> - allegedly for unbearable taxes <sup>(44)</sup> - they were weakened and double-crossed. Xieli-kaghan was arrested and taken away to imprisonment in the Chinese capital of Chang'an where he died in 634. More than one hundred chieftains of the Türk hordes then submitted to the Chinese emperor and, in return, were appointed commanders and staff officers <sup>(45)</sup>. Some of the hordes submitted to Xieyantuo or fled further west <sup>(46)</sup> to the Altai mountains. „Thereby the state of the Türks ceased to exist“, a Chinese chronicler reported <sup>(47)</sup>.

But the Türks do not seem to have been decimated by all these events and continued to be a highly dangerous element for China. What was broken up was their political unity and organization. We can discover between the lines of the Chinese annals that the victory of China was not so complete. It stands written there that after the victory over Xieli the emperor ordered a delegation to be sent to the barbarians (the Türks), which was to demand that they return those Chinese who had fled to Türk territory during the time of confusion accompanying the end of the Sui dynasty. In this manner „80 000 were bought back for gold and silk“ <sup>(48)</sup>. That means that not even then did the Chinese dare take back their fellow citizens by force but had to redeem them. The explanation might be taken to mean that these people had held the status of slaves.

After the fall of Xieli China enjoyed a fifty year period of calm when no attacks against Chinese territory are recorded, only punitive expeditions against the rebellious Chebi-kaghan in 650 which ended with his arrest. His defeat was brought about by the chieftains of individual hordes who abandoned him. Chebi's horde then settled at Ötükän under the administration of a military governor <sup>(49)</sup>. This was the culmination of Chinese domination of the entire Türk territory. It was divided into administrative regions, clearly a reward for treason. They held functions as military governors or prefects and bore Chinese titles <sup>(50)</sup>. What is important is that the Türk territory was not administered by Chinese officials. Sources record an almost thirty-year period of peace beginning in 650 <sup>(51)</sup>.

This period of peace ended with a major uprising, in which the Chinese army was first defeated. Over 10 000 soldiers and officers fell. The uprising was suppressed by a three hundred thousand men strong Chinese army in 680. One of the three leaders of the uprising was arrested, another was assassinated by his own subjects <sup>(52)</sup>.

Another uprising followed that year led by Ashina Funian, Xieli's nephew. This was likewise put down and in 681 Ashina was executed <sup>(53)</sup>.

But the Chinese were no longer strong enough to keep the Türks down. In 682 another member of the Xieli family, Ashina Guduolu (the Kutulug of the Türk inscriptions) rebelled. According to

Chinese sources he assembled at first only 5 000 men, but his power rapidly grew so that he proclaimed himself kaghan and founded the Eastern Türk Kaghanate. He is identified with Iltäris, Elteris or Elterish, known from the Old Türk inscriptions at Orkhon. He named his younger brother Mozhuo shad <sup>(54)</sup>.

During the reign of Guduolu a number of attacks and encounters with the Chinese army are known, and they occurred, with one exception, several times a year. The Chinese armies, as can be expected, suffered one defeat after another <sup>(55)</sup>. After the death of Kutulug Mozhuo took over the reign in place of his son, still a minor and called himself Kapakaghan. Lie Xieli before him he became the nightmare of China. He had at his disposal an army of over 400 000 soldiers, and his attacks on China lasted from 693 to 706. In 698 he undertook nine raids, in 702 he invaded Chinese territory six times <sup>(56)</sup>. Mozhuo subjected the other neighbouring nomad peoples and tribes so that he ruled over an immense territory which, according to Chinese sources, stretched from east to west over a length of more than 10 000 li <sup>(57)</sup>. By marriage he won the territory of the Western Türks, which he entrusted to his son <sup>(58)</sup>. In 698 the Türk population of the six prefectures returned to their original territory north of the Chinese Wall at Ordos and its vicinity on the basis of a request by Mozhuo to the Chinese empress demanding it as reward for suppressing the uprising of the Khitans. Thus he once again ruled over all Türks <sup>(59)</sup>.

After Mozhuo's death in 716 Kutulug's younger son Kül-tegin had all the other sons of Mozhuo assassinated together with most of the rest of the family, relatives and favourites so that the throne returned to the direct descendant of Kutulug, the elder brother Mojulian, who called himself Bijia-kaghan (Bilge-kaghan).

Towards the end of Mozhuo's rule the Türk tribal union began to disintegrate, and this continued at the beginning of the reign of Bilge-kaghan. The tribes subject to the Türks and their own individual hordes gradually defeated and submitted to China <sup>(60)</sup>. Bilge-kaghan, who according to the Chinese, was of a kindly disposition, passed the supreme leadership of the army to Kül-tegin. As adviser he had Tonyukuk, his father-in-law, who was respected among the Chinese for his wisdom and was a forerunner and successful commander, likewise in the struggle against the Chinese. Thus Bilge-kaghan slowly regained ground and his empire began to expand even though it did not reach the original size <sup>(61)</sup>. Nonetheless, the Türks were again „the most mighty among the barbarian states“, as a Chinese chronicler reported <sup>(62)</sup>.

After the assassination of Bilge-kaghan in 734 struggles for supremacy, broke out among the Türk tribes and their chiefs and this led to mutual assassinations. Individual kaghans followed one another in rapid succession. Between 740 and 742 a large number of prominent Türk personalities from the kaghan's families came to the Chinese court to submit <sup>(63)</sup>. The constant confusion was used by the Chinese and the subject non-Türk tribes, who gradually won back their independence and proclaimed independent kaghans of their own. This came to an end in 745 when the first of the Eastern Türk kaghans Bomei was killed by the Uighurs, who had long been the sworn enemies of the Altai Türks and the later Orkhon Türks. The Uighurs occupied the territory of the Orkhon Türks and set up a new tribal union. Part of the Türks submitted to China <sup>(64)</sup>.

If we read existing works dealing with the history of the Eastern Türks we get the impression that in 745, when the Uighurs overthrew their kaghanate, Türk history came to an end and that the Türks vanished as an ethnic factor. Thanks to Liu Mau-tsai, who translated new Chinese sources, we are now able to trace the fate of the Orkhon Türks after this catastrophic period. Since these are new, unknown facts I shall briefly summarize them:

In 752 the Türks headed by Abusi, who had earlier, in 742, submitted to China, invaded the border areas. That same year Abusi as ally of the Chinese joined an attack against the Khitans <sup>(65)</sup>. In 753 Abusi's horde surrendered. Abusi was captured by the Türk tribe of the Karluks (Geluolu) and was executed by the Chinese in 754 <sup>(66)</sup>.

In 764 the Türks again invaded Chinese territory and the commander of the Chinese garrison was killed <sup>(67)</sup>. After that only single attacks of lesser scope are mentioned <sup>(68)</sup>.

In 837 a small group of Türks rebelled („150 tents“) and began to loot. In 847 the Türks attacked a transport with rice and robbed the merchants <sup>(69)</sup>. But only a small group was involved.

There are reports of the Türks even at „the period of five dynasties“ (907 - 960). In 925, 927, 928, 931 the Türks sent emissaries to the emperor. In 941 four such envoys arrived. „Then nobody came any more“ <sup>(70)</sup>. So that 941 is the last date in historical reports that mentions the Eastern, respectively the Orkhon Türks, after which they definitively vanished from the scene of history as a separate ethnic unit in Mongolia and clearly were absorbed among the other peoples.

### 3. THE TERRITORIAL SCOPE OF THE SECOND KAGHANATE AND ITS CENTRE

With the interlinking and division of various Türk and non-Türk tribes the size of the territory ruled or controlled by the central kaghan of the Türks underwent considerable changes. Chinese victories played a similar role. Even though the size of the territory of the tribal confederation changed, the territory proper settled by Türks remained basically untouched by the political changes, however often the tribes inside the territory shifted. Along the Chinese frontier these changes were the consequence of the Chinese policy of settling nomads. It is, furthermore, still not quite certain which of these tribes really were Türk in the proper sense of the word and which were not.

The territory settled by the Eastern Türks can, therefore, be delimited only roughly, in the west facing the Western Türks, roughly along the Altai mountains, with the Altai Türks belonging to the Eastern Türk Kaghanate<sup>(71)</sup>; to the south the Chinese Wall, in the east present-day Manchuria and in the north the Sayan range. As to the political sphere, according to the Chinese sources, at the time when Türk might reached its greatest florescence (second half of the 6th century) and comprised nomads of different blood it stretched, in the east, to the shores of Liaodong Bay, in the west probably as far as the Caspian Sea, and from the Chinese Wall in the south as far as Lake Baikal in the north so that it practically covered all nomad peoples and tribes along the northern borders of China<sup>(72)</sup>.

Under Shibi-kaghan in the early 7th century the rule of the Eastern Türks stretched from the sea shore in the east to Turfan inclusively<sup>(73)</sup>.

After the period of decline under Mozhuo at the end of the 7th and in the early 8th century, the power of the Eastern Türks stretched from the sea-shore in the east while, in the west Mozhuo occupied the entire territory of the Western Türks<sup>(74)</sup>. We can discover from the Orkhon inscriptions that even the Kirghiz were subject people.

The texts on the Old Türk stelae many times mention a place called Ötükän as important and memorial to the Türks or as seat of the kaghan and the Türk people. On the two Orkhon stelae, that of Bilge-kaghan and of Kül-tegin, it stands written that „as long as the Türk kaghan rules in the forests of Ötükän without the present renegates, the empire will not suffer want“<sup>(75)</sup>. And the inscriptions continues: „The forest of Ötükän has no (foreign) ruler; the forest of Ötükän is the place from which the empire is held together. When I ruled here, I bore no illwill for the Chinese people“<sup>(76)</sup>. In a further text Bilge-kaghan warned the people not to abandon Ötükän or closer approach the Chinese to attain the temptations they offer: „If you go to that country, oh Türk people, you will be lost; but if you remain in the land of Ötükän and will send caravans (with goods to China), you will never suffer want. If you remain in the forest of Ötükän, you will maintain your own empire, oh Türk people, and you will be sated“<sup>(77)</sup>. In these inscriptions Ötükän is called „sacred“ place<sup>(78)</sup>.

In Chinese chronicles we can on several occasions find the place name of Ötükän or Yudu jun shan, also Wudejian shan. When Chebi-kaghan was taken prisoner in 650, „his remaining people“ were settled on Mount Yudu jun shan and a military governor was installed to rule over them<sup>(79)</sup>. Six Tölös tribes, among them the Huihe (Uighurs) lived on Mount Yudu jun shan. (Early 7th century record<sup>(80)</sup>).

Legends relating to the prophesy of the end of the Xieyantuo tribe of the Tölös relate that the god who prophesied their extinction uttered his prophesy on Mount Yudu jun shan. And the Xieyantuo were, indeed, defeated below that mountain<sup>(81)</sup>.

Yinan „set up his new tent court north of the great desert and below Mount Yudu jun shan, 6 000 li north-west of the capital city“ (Chang'an)<sup>(82)</sup>. After Xieli's defeat Yinan led his people „a little“ to the east (i.e. from Ötükän to the original home and struck camp north of Mount Duweijian shan (identical with Dujin shan) and south of the Tula river, at a distance of 3 300 li north of the capital city<sup>(83)</sup>. The two places probably lay at a distance of 500 to 600 li apart and only 3 000 li from Chang'an<sup>(84)</sup>.

This Dujin shan had previously been the seat of the Shabolüe while the deposed Anluo settled at Tula as second kaghan<sup>(85)</sup>.

On the basis of these detailed reports showing the existence of two places of similar name **simultaneously** side by side I have doubts as to whether one might identify the terms Ötükän and Dujin shan as was done V. Thomsen<sup>(86)</sup>, F. Hirth<sup>(87)</sup>, P. Melioranskii<sup>(88)</sup> and P. Pelliot<sup>(89)</sup>, even though Chinese sources likewise in one place, an overall description of the Türks<sup>(90)</sup>, speak of Dujin shan as the permanent seat of the kaghan. This record of the permanent seat of the kaghan is

valid for the period when his seat was not at Ötükän - see preceding report of Yinan moving east from Ötükän. The distance of 500-600 li between the two places is repeated a second time in the same paragraph Zhou-shu which I quoted as saying that the kaghan was living at Dujin shan. The following passage runs: „400-500 li from Dujin shan there rise high mountains round about. On these mountains grows no grass or trees. They are called Bodengningli, which translated into Chinese means „the Land Deity“. The direction where these mountains lay from Dujin shan is not given <sup>(91)</sup>. In another source, however, according to Liu Mau-tsai <sup>(92)</sup> the symbol for „four“ is replaced by another slightly differing one meaning „west“. The second text seems to be more correct, meaning „500 li to the west of Dujin shan“. Bodengningli can therefore be identified with Ötükän. The correctness of this deduction is supported by the fact that in Old Mongolian „äkä ötügän“ means „the Mother of the Land“ <sup>(93)</sup>, i.e. the same meaning as given in the Chinese source quoted.

In the Tonyukuk description stands written that Elterish and his supporters from the beginning lived at Chugai-kuzi and Kara-kum <sup>(94)</sup>. They were still settled there at the time of the coalition of China, the Khitans and the Tokuz Oghuz against Elterish. Only at the beginning of military operations against the Oghuz did they move to Ötükän <sup>(95)</sup>. In the very next sentence Tonyukuk speaks of the Oghuz coming along the Tula where a battle ensued in which Tonyukuk was the victor <sup>(96)</sup>. In this context Ötükän could not be far from Tula.

Many authors have tried to locate Ötükän. V. V. Radlov <sup>(97)</sup> places Chugai-kuzi and Kara-kum close to each other in the southern spur of the Khangai where it touches on the region of dark-coloured sand of disintegrating basalt rock. This black sand lies south of the Khara-Nidun-nuru ridge. Kara-kum means „black sand“. According to V. V. Radlov Chugai-kuzi is south of the watershed of the upper Orkhon and the Tamir where the rivers Baidrag-gol, Narijn-gol, Kharkhojir, with the Shar-gol, Aruin-gol and Ongijn-gol, run south to a plain with lakes. According to V. V. Radlov this area was highly suitable in layout (away from the enemy, the Oghuz and separated from China by a desert) and in formation (a wealth of water and pastureland) for the establishment of a new political centre of the Türks.

From there Tonyukuk moved his army against the Oghuz to the north along the Kök-Üngür. If we accept Radlov's localization the nearest route to Tula led over the Khulsai and Khökh-davaa passes, along the Urd Tamir and along the northern shores of Lake Ögij-nuur further east along the present-day road. If the army followed that route then, as Radlov concludes, Kök-Üngür would be identical with the present-day Kharkhojir <sup>(98)</sup>.

V. V. Radlov identified Ötükän with the mountainous and forest-clad landscape between the source of the Orkhon and Lake Khövsgöl <sup>(99)</sup>. G. Schlegel reached the conclusion after analyzing Chinese sources according to which the rivers Tula and Orkhon run along the right and the left side of Ötükän that Ötükän is the mountain ridge of the Burgastai-Ali <sup>(100)</sup>. P. Melioranskii <sup>(101)</sup> places Ötükän into the Orkhon basin, E. Chavannes <sup>(102)</sup> regarded it as part of the Khangai mountains where the sources of the Tamir and the Orkhon are to be found. But he incorrectly opposed identifying Yudujun shan with Ötükän <sup>(103)</sup>. Later he expressed himself in favour of the identification of Ötükän with the Örgöt range <sup>(104)</sup>.

In the work of Rashid ad-Din we can several times read Ötükän as the name of a river, probably one of the sources of the Orkhon <sup>(105)</sup>.

If we take these reports as basis it is certain that Ötükän did not lie very far to the West Tula <sup>(106)</sup>. The distance of 6 000 li from the capital, as given above, is a mistake of the scribe and more correct is 3 000 li <sup>(107)</sup>. It was not a small area, but will have been an entire range, if six Tölös tribes were settled there, as the passage in the Chinese chronicle mentions.

Liu Mau-tsai <sup>(108)</sup> places Ötükän west of the river Tamir. This corresponds to a report that the Türks met at the Tamir every year to make sacrifices to the gods of heaven <sup>(109)</sup>. It is likely that this sacred place was not too far from Ötükän. There is a possibility of identifying this place of sacrifice with a remarkable nature formation where a rock rises to the height of 15 metres in the plain of the Tamir valley and is covered with Türk inscriptions and tamgas <sup>(110)</sup>. I myself had to chance in 1957 to witness that the rock to this day serves the Mongolian shepherds as a place of sacrifice. The name of the rock in Mongolian is Taikhir-chuluu, meaning „sacrificial rock“.

In trying to find the site of Ötükän one might mention part of the Khangai south of the Selenga, somewhere west of the source of the Orkhon, in the river basin of the two Tamirs, with the centre at roughly 100° eastern longitude and 47° northern latitude.

The passage in the Tonyukuk inscription about his victory over the Oghuz is directly followed by a very interesting and important report of the importance of Ötükän among the local nomads. Tonyukuk relates: „Thereupon all the Oghuz came (and promised submission). When they heard that I am the Türk kaghan and (brought) the Türk people to Ötükän and that I myself, wise Tonyukuk, settled on the territory of Ötükän, there came the peoples living in the south, the west and the north and east“<sup>(111)</sup>. Which means that they voluntarily submitted to the Türk tribal confederation. It appears that the very act of occupying Ötükän was of certain symbolic significance for these peoples. The one who was master of Ötükän clearly held a leading position over the other tribes, acknowledged, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, by the others. „The ownership of sacred places in the steppes gave the founder of a new federations a charisma which gave his rule (and the rule of his tribe) validity“<sup>(112)</sup>.

For the reason the Uighurs, after the defeat of the Türks, settled on their former territory, at Ötükän (inscription at Karabalghasun), which is mentioned several times in Uighur inscriptions<sup>(113)</sup>. The very fact that the capital of Ordubalyk (Karabalghasun) was built between Ötükän and the Orkhon, 19 km south-west of the Türk memorials of Khöshöö-tsaidam speaks in favour of placing Ötükän on that site, west of the Orkhon<sup>(114)</sup>. Ötükän appears likewise in Turfan manuscripts as El-Ötükän, i. e. something like „national Ötükän“<sup>(115)</sup>. Which makes it clear that in the eyes of the Türk people special significance was ascribed to that place. The name Ötükän was clearly incorporated - as has been said - into the name of the Old Mongolian deity of the land „äkä-ätügän“ (Mother of the Land).

When the Türks and the Uighurs defeated the Ruanruan in 552 the centre of the newly formed state was shifted to Mongolia because the narrow valley and the Altai steppe, with poor winter pasture, could not ensure fodder for the large herds of the numerous aristocracy. Therefore as before and from that time on for larger military and administrative unions of nomads Mongolia became the seat of the ruling aristocracy, in the eastern parts of Central Asia. The broad steppe on the high plateau of Mongolia was better suited for the purpose<sup>(116)</sup>. L. R. Kyzlasov and S. I. Vainshtein carried out extensive excavations at Tuva and they are of the opinion that the Türk tribes penetrated to Tuva probably directly from the Altai and did so directly after they had defeated the Ruanruan<sup>(117)</sup>. S. I. Vainshtein further believes that after that victory the centre of the Altai Türks was moved first to Tuva and then from there later to the Orkhon<sup>(118)</sup>. But this is not confirmed in Chinese sources. It is true, as a number of scholars have stated, that we do not know when the centre of the (Eastern) Türk kaghanate was moved to the Mongolian territory and concretely to Ötükän. No archaeological sources exist for this in view of the complete lack of research in Mongolia. In the Zhou-shu we can read that the Türks made sacrifices at the Tamir every year and that the kaghan had his seat at Dujin shan; both places are on Mongolian territory. It is therefore certain that the seat of the kaghanate was by that time in Mongolia and not at Tuva.

The problem of Ötükän, however is different. On the basis of Chinese sources we should reckon on the Uighurs, respectively the Tölös still living at Ötükän in the early 7th century. According to Jiu Tang-shu and Tang-shu „the Huihe and others, a total of six tribes (Tiele)<sup>(119)</sup>, who lived on Mount Yudu jun shan submitted to Shibi (-kaghan) in the east“<sup>(120)</sup>. Shibi was the ninth kaghan after Bumin and reigned between 608 and 619. The submission of these tribes at Ötükän must have occurred relatively late in that period. But shortly after, the territory ruled by Yinan of the Xieyantuo, who rose up against the kaghan, extended from Baikal to the north as far as the Türks in the south and southward to the desert after they defeated the kaghan Xieli<sup>(121)</sup>. It means that the Türks were pushed out of Mongolian territory and did not return until the reign of Elterish. His rise to power began he robbed the Uighurs and grew rich in so doing and proclaimed himself kaghan. (Uighur, Tölös, Xieyantuo, and Huihe are names constantly used for the same ethnic group).

All these facts seem to indicate that the areas of Ötükän was probably the main seat of the kaghan only during the second kaghanate. Probably it was not far from Khöshöö-tsaidam memorials, in the place where later the Uighurs built their capital city of Ordubalyk (Karabalghasun)<sup>(122)</sup>. Another important is that the Mongols built their capital of Karakorum here in the 13th century. It lay only 38.5 km south of the Khöshöö-tsaidam memorials and not quite 27 km south-southeast of Karabalghasun. During excavations of the Ögödei palace at Karakorum S. V. Kiselev found in the foundations an older building with remnants of frescoes, of which he formed the opinion that they were remnants of a Buddhist temple from the 11th century<sup>(123)</sup> and that this territory had been the permanent centre of the local tribal unions.

The kaghan of the Western Türks had two residences, a northern and a southern one, one for summer and the other for the winter. The southern residence was somewhere near present-day Kuldja (Yining) and the northern one near Lake Ebi-nor (Aibi hu) <sup>(124)</sup>. Likewise the kaghan of the Orkhon Türks was no exception. And truly, in Chinese sources from the time of Mozhuo (y.707) there is a record of two camps: „We shall attack like lightning 10 000 li away and wipe out the two camps (of the Türks)“ <sup>(125)</sup>. There is no doubt that the summer camp was by the Orkhon, at the foot of the Ötükän-Khangai. The second, the southern winter camp, is recorded in Chinese sources in 698. At the time Empress Wu sent an embassy to Mozhuo to „the southern court (of the barbarians) at Heisha“ <sup>(126)</sup>. Heisha in Chinese means „black sand“ <sup>(127)</sup>. Which can mean no other than the Türk Kara-kum, known from the Tonyukuk inscription as the original seat of Elterish and his supporters after they left China.

#### 4. THE PROBLEM OF TRIBAL DIVISION

It is very difficult to make out the names of the individual tribes of the Eastern Türks as given in Türk or Chinese sources or to give them a certain order. At times they were interchanged or some were not names of tribes but collective names referring to areas, one might say, terms of an administrative character. O. Pritsak gave a general survey of the hierarchy of the tribes within the nomad tribal union which basically applied also to the Türks: The position of the individual tribes in the tribal federation and their hierarchy was such: 1. The leading tribe and aristocratic tribes, i.e. those from which the ruler had his wives. Among the Türks, according to O. Pritsak, that were the Tokuz Oghuz. 2. Racially related tribes that joined the federation voluntarily. Part of these had their own chieftains but they had governors from the ruling tribe. Elsewhere their own aristocracy was replaced by that of the ruling tribe. 3. Vassal tribes that paid tribute. 4. Enslaved tribes (Sklavenstämme), mostly leading tribes of the preceding federation after their aristocracy was wiped out and other tribes defeated in battle <sup>(128)</sup>.

The following are views on the Tokuz Oghuz (Nine Oghuz) in the works of other authors:

V. Thomsen: The Tokuz Oghuz lived north or north-east of the Türks near the Tula and the Selenga. Closer relations of the Türks, subject to them. But constant rebellions. Undoubtedly they were the tribes later known as the Uighurs. Oghuz is probably an older original name of the tribe used by the Türks while Uighur is a later term, a political one for the confederation of tribes <sup>(129)</sup>.

V. V. Radlov: Bilge-kaghan called the Tokuz Oghuz expressly his subjects, his Türks. Nonetheless, the Türks often fought the Oghuz who did not want to acknowledge the dominance of the Türk Khan. The seat of the Oghuz will have been on the Selenga and the Tula, i.e. north of the Orkhon <sup>(130)</sup>. V. V. Radlov expressed surprise that the Orkhon inscriptions never make any mention of the Uighurs, and therefore he assumed that they lived far to the north where they were beyond the sphere of interest of the Türks <sup>(131)</sup>. It did not occur to him to identify them with the Oghuz of the Orkhon inscriptions.

V. Bartold was of the opinion that the ethnographic term of the tribes that founded the Türk kaghanate was „Oghuz“. Sub-divisions of the Oghuz were the Tardush and the Tölös <sup>(132)</sup>; according to L. P. Potapov this is not confirmed in factual material <sup>(133)</sup>.

According to a comprehensive work on the peoples of the Soviet Union <sup>(134)</sup> the tribal base of the Türk kaghanate was formed by the union of the Oghuz, which included a number of other Türk tribes, the Karluk (Altai), the Kirghiz (Yenisei), the Uighurs (Semirechie). Oghuz means clan, family. In the Orkhon inscriptions this people is also called Tokuz Oghuz (9 clans).

The Oghuz indeed belonged to the tribal union of the Orkhon Türks. But I doubt that they formed its base. That Bilge-kaghan addresses them in his inscription simply shows that they came under his rule. Some authors were tempted to the opinion that the leading tribe of the Türks were the Oghuz (Tokuz Oghuz) (or even that Bilge-kaghan came from them) according to one passage in the inscription on both Khöshöö-tsaidam stelae, which W. Bang translated as follows: „**Das Volk der Tokuz Oghuz war mein eigenes Volk.** Da Himmel und Erde in Aufruhr waren, so wurden sie uns feindlich“ <sup>(135)</sup>. V. Thomsen translated in the same manner <sup>(136)</sup>. But does that really mean that Bilge-kaghan came from this „nation“ or tribe? If Bilge-kaghan wished to mark his own origin more closely he would probably have given the name of only one tribe and not the collective „Tokuz Oghuz“ since the very term indicates that it comprised nine tribes. The passage can

be taken to mean that Bilge-kaghan included the Tokuz Oghuz among the Türk tribal union, i.e. his, Bilge-kaghan's. The last heroic deed of Kül-tegin in the eulogy on him is his participation in the struggle against the Oghuz, where he saved the horde, and immediately his death is spoken of. There can be no doubt as W. Bang assumed<sup>(137)</sup> that he found his death in the battle. In the midst of describing the battles against the Tokuz Oghuz there is a passage that the Türks attacked the funeral ceremonies or memorial festivities and killed members of the Tongra tribe. Then there is again mention of the Oghuz. The Tongra tribe really was one of the Nine Oghuz. Oghuz, as shown above, was a term for the clan generally, not the name of an ethnic group. Among the Nine Oghuz, i.e. the nine clans (or tribes)<sup>(138)</sup> belonged also the Huihe (Uighurs), who are, in fact, the Old Gaoju<sup>(139)</sup> and later the Tiele of the Chinese sources<sup>(140)</sup>. In other words, we are contently dealing with the main enemies of the Orkhon Türks, the Uighurs, who finally in 745 reached the culmination of their constant endeavours to beat the Orkhon Türks and split up their tribal union to found their own, which lasted not quite one hundred years. That, too, makes it clear that the Oghuz were hardly the tribe of the Bilge-kaghan as used to be claimed.

These „Nine tribes“ are identical with the „Nine Tribes of Tiele (Tölös)“, which Chinese sources regard as a separate people<sup>(141)</sup>. Liu Mau-tsai further identified these Nine Tribes of Tiele with the Nine Tribes of Tuque<sup>(142)</sup>. But that, I think, is not possible for then the difference between the Türks and the Tiele would disappear, which Chinese sources expressly stress<sup>(143)</sup>.

This would confuse the whole, one might say, political organization of the union, as we shall see. On the basis of these facts it is clear that the Uighurs were members of the Tölös, i.e. that the term Tölös is a superior one. L.P. Potapov is also of the opinion that the term „Tiele“ like „Tuque“ is a collective and not an ethnic term<sup>(144)</sup>.

The counterpole to the term „Tölös“ in the Türk inscriptions clearly is „Tardush“. On the Bilge-kaghan and the Kül-tegin inscriptions we can read that Elterish „rallied the peoples of the Tölösh and the Tardush and gave them yabgu and shad“<sup>(145)</sup>. V.V. Radlov regarded both as Türk tribes, which were the main support of the Türk kaghan<sup>(146)</sup>. Likewise A. N. Bernshtam regarded both as tribes<sup>(147)</sup>. But V. Thomsen, in his very first work on the Orkhon inscriptions defined „Tardush“ as relating to the western part of the empire of the Eastern Türks<sup>(148)</sup> and, like the Tölösh as one of the two most important tribes or rather administrative divisions of the Eastern Türks<sup>(149)</sup>. Likewise O. Pritsak defined „Tölös“ as „wing“ composed of other tribes<sup>(150)</sup>. But it was I.A. Klyukin who presented proof of such a concept on the basis of the linguistic analysis of the Türk and Chinese names and stated that „Tardush“ was a name for the western wing of the Eastern Türk kaghanate, „Tölös“ for the eastern. So that these are not ethnic terms but geographical ones or, at most, comprehensive terms for all the tribes of the western and the eastern wings<sup>(151)</sup>.

Who then were the actual, the real Orkhon Türks? L.P. Potapov tried to answer this question even if not explicitly<sup>(152)</sup>: In the Altai Türk settlement has lasted uninterruptedly at least from the 6th century to the present. Among the names of the tribes are also the Kipchaks. On the Selenga inscription<sup>(153)</sup> there is a mention that the Türk-Kipchaks ruled over the Uighurs for 50 years. (The mention speaks of a 100-year rule over the Ten Uighurs and the Nine Oghuz and a 50-year rule of the Kipchaks, which was followed by their defeat. The 50-year period clearly refers to the second kaghanate). According to L.P. Potapov this means that Kipchaks played a considerable role in the Eastern Türk kaghanate, i.e. the state formation of the Türks, whose Altai origin can not be doubted. In shifting the centre from the Altai to the Orkhon the Altai settlement did not vanish, for it was mainly the aristocracy, the owners of vast herds, who left. It should be admitted that with the population there moved away from the Altai also part of the Kipchaks while the rest remained in the original place. According to L.P. Potapov the Altai balbals should be attributed to the Kipchaks, who played a major role among the Orkhon Türks and still in the 13th century, as Rubruk claims, built statues on the grave-mounds of the deceased, facing east and holding geblets. According to Rubruk, the Kipchak wore on their belts pouches that they called „kaptargak“. Recently such pouches were still worn by Altai hunters and also called „kaptarga“. But stone statues were built also by other Türk tribes, as L.P. Potapov admitted, and pouches were generally widespread among the nomads (see below). In support of his theory L.P. Potapov cites Rubruk as evidence that the medieval Kipchaks upheld the custom of shamanistic origin of hanging the skin of a sacrificed horse on a pole, which survived in the South Altai until the 19th century. He concludes that the Kipchaks held an important place among the Orkhon Türks and probably were part of the group of Tölös tribes.

Nobody, as far as I know, has commented on Potapov's theory, but it will have to be put to the test. Account will have to be taken of the striking evidence on the Selenga inscriptions that speak of the time of Kipchak domination, which, as I have said, cannot refer to anything other than the second Eastern Türk kaghanate founded by Elterish, i.e. the Orkhon Türks.

## 5. PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Chinese sources do not mention the anthropological habits of the Eastern Türks except for the slanderous characteristic that they were „small and ugly“, given to the emperor by one Chinese official in 685 <sup>(154)</sup>. This is deplorably little. One can at most deduce from it that they were small in stature. The characterization of the Türks as „ugly“ does not mean anything, for any non-Chinese person always looked ugly to the Chinese.

Both supporters and opponents of the theory that the balbals near the Türk memorials represent a dead enemy usually point out the mongoloid features on their faces. According to A.D. Grach the makers of these balbals shaped the faces intentionally so to stress their distinction from the Türks who, according to paleoanthropological material from Tuva, had distinct Europoid features <sup>(155)</sup>.

Only three heads of the statues undoubtedly are portraits of representatives of the Türk aristocracy of the second kaghanate (*tab. 93 and frontispiece*), and one relief (*tab. 94/2*) has features of a sinidal character <sup>(156)</sup>. The full faces are more a reflection of a good standard of living and affluence than merely anthropological features. Their eyes are mongoloid, the root of the nose is low. But it is a question whether the clear sinidal character of the expression is caused by an admixture of Chinese blood, the result of many historically proven marriages between kaghan families and Chinese princesses, or whether it is typical of the artistic manner of the Chinese sculptors accustomed to carve statues in the Chinese setting and transferring this to portraits of the Türks. For there can be no doubt that these portraits were the work of Chinese artists.

The faces of the Western Türks on the frescoes at Pyandjikent (*tab. 171, 172*) are expressly Europoid with a high root of the nose and a strong energetically projecting chin.

These observations concur with the conclusions drawn from anthropological material. According to this, the Türks from Trans-Baikal and Selenga had a Mongoloid character while europoid elements appeared among the Türks in the west <sup>(157)</sup>.

The Chinese wore their hair bound in a knot at the time <sup>(158)</sup>. By contrast to this hairstyle they said that the Türks have „beifa“, i.e. „following hair“ <sup>(159)</sup>. Liu Mau-tsai was of the opinion that „bianfa“ means „pigtail“ <sup>(160)</sup>. O. Franke's assertion that the pigtail was typical of the Türks was opposed by W. Eberhard with reference to Chinese sources <sup>(161)</sup>. This dispute is unnecessary since we must view the question historically and keep in mind to which period a relevant source refers.

In 585 kaghan Shabolüe sent the emperor a letter in which he expressed gratitude for military aid and promised him allegiance. But he added that it was not easy to change the Türks' ancient and deep-rooted customs, among them the loosening (or undoing) of their pigtails <sup>(162)</sup>. „Undoing their pigtails“ was a synonym for „changing morals“ <sup>(163)</sup>, but here it was obviously meant literally.

In 612 the ruler of the Turfan Boya, a vassal of the Türks, when forced to change the external appearance of the Turfans according to the (Western) Türks, proclaimed that the subjects were to „loosen their pigtails and remove the left half“, i.e. to change the fastening of their clothes to the opposite side <sup>(164)</sup>.

By contrast to this, the Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang, in his report of his pilgrimage to India in 630, says that all officials surrounding the Western Türk ruler (yabgu) had their hair tied up <sup>(165)</sup>.

From this one can draw only conclusion, namely that the Türks originally wore pigtails and later left their hair loose. The sculptural depiction of the indisputably Orkhon Türks show no pigtails as they clearly came from a period when the Türks no longer wore them. Likewise the Western Türks on the fresco at Pyandjikent have long loose black hair (*tab. 171, 172*). That means that the lower border for dating these frescoes, so far dated to the end of the 6th and the early 7th century <sup>(166)</sup> must be raised to the middle 7th century on the basis of Xuanzang's report.

Further, it is important that most of the balbals have a moustache or beard, but all the above-mentioned portraits of the Türks represent them smoothly shaven. That can hardly be chance.

## 6. MORAL PROFILE

In many places in Chinese annals we can find statements by important Chinese personalities speaking of the characters of the Türks. This makes it possible to reconstruct their moral profile - naturally seen through Chinese eyes. It is generally clear that the Chinese, who, for centuries, suffered from the Türk, pointed mainly to the negative features in their character even though objective voices are not absent. These bad qualities often refer to conditions among the upper strata or even the family and relatives of the kaghan.

Generally they find that the morals of the Türks are similar to those of the former Huns<sup>(167)</sup>. This similarity led to their sometimes being called „Huns“ in the texts (Xiongnu), and „Türks“ (Tuque) was used as synonyms<sup>(168)</sup>. In one place the sources regard them as „a special tribe of the Xiongnu“<sup>(169)</sup>.

Among the good qualities of the Türks there is mention of their simplicity and uncomplicated character<sup>(170)</sup>, devotion and adherence to their homeland<sup>(171)</sup>. Further, that they „value death in battle and are embarrassed to die of illness“<sup>(172)</sup>. There is a touching description by an eye witness of Bilge-kaghan's sorrow over the death of his brother Kül-tegin<sup>(173)</sup>.

Otherwise, according to the Chinese, the Türks are among „the worst“ of the barbarians<sup>(174)</sup>. By contrast to Chinese customs „they are contemptuous of old men and value the young“<sup>(175)</sup>. „They are brutal and cruel“<sup>(176)</sup>. And they were right in this. The Türks did not take prisoners other than young boys and girls. Anyone defeated and taken prisoner with weapons in hand was killed. During invasions of China they killed the population by the tens of thousands. „They lack honesty and feeling of shame. They do not know decency nor a sense of duty“<sup>(177)</sup>. „They have a human face but the heart of a beast“<sup>(178)</sup>. They are therefore, pejoratively called „wolves“<sup>(179)</sup>. „They do not know gratitude nor a sense of duty“<sup>(180)</sup>. They are „malicious and artful and barely know to remain faithful“<sup>(181)</sup>. They „drink fermented mare's milk and get drunk“<sup>(182)</sup>. „When they meet, they mate like stags, father and children with the same hind“<sup>(183)</sup>. „They are not frightened by punishment nor influenced by love for people or a sense of duty. They expect to be given clothes and food by others“<sup>(184)</sup>. „By nature they do not know any faithfulness and they are niggards“<sup>(185)</sup>. See below for many other negative features of character observed and recorded by the Chinese among the Türk soldiers.

This sharp Chinese criticism of Türk morals had a good deal of truth to it. Almost every page of Türk history provides proof of immense cruelty, perfidy, utilitarianism and betrayal. These qualities, especially among the ruling strata, had catastrophic consequences for the entire people. „Among them brother fights brother for leadership, and fathers and uncles are mutually distrustful. At home they do not even trust those closest to them, and they try to hide their discord to others“<sup>(186)</sup>. „For generations they have committed violence. Similarly their family laws are cruel and brutal... The Türks prefer to destroy each other rather than live side by side. The people in their hordes do not represent any faithful anation. They are made up of thousands, even tens of thousands of tribes (this means families) and regard one another as enemies, and they mutually destroy one another... Thus hatred and rancour grows (among them)“<sup>(187)</sup>.

The complete lack of a feeling of belonging together among the individual Türk tribes was recorded by H. Vambéry in fairly recent time<sup>(188)</sup>.

The Türk tribal union was always a „colossus on clay legs“, more so than China and was kept together only by the boundless despotism of the leading tribe over the others and, at most, by the outlook of loot in raids, which were an integral part of the Türk social and economic set-up. There are numerous examples of their mutual spite hidden to the outside world but emerging at critical moments and often leading even to treason among the leaders; others tell of the battles raging both among the tribes and within the tribes, the clan, the family and especially the family of the kaghan. Those appear in Chinese and Türk records. In fact, they form the outline of the entire history of the Türks, both the Western and the Eastern Türks. If we add the ruthless selfishness of the kaghans, their officials and the aristocracy generally, and their cruelty a generally insecure organization, we can understand those constant reversals in their history, their falls followed by new rises of power and renewed falls according to the inexorable law of identical cause and identical consequence.

Here are some concrete proofs of this: Emperor Taizong said: „According to my observations the Türk soldiers are numerous but undisciplined. All plans of their rulers and his subordinates aim only at personal profit and benefit“<sup>(189)</sup>. Elsewhere we can read: „The soldiers of the Türks

are contemptuous of values and reward and do not respect their superiors. They are numerous but do not have regard for law and order" (190).

This discord among the Türks was skilfully used by Chinese diplomacy in the interest of the empire, and they tried to foster it as much as possible with the aid of fabricated stories. More about this in a separate chapter.

The following examples show the almost tragi-comical situations that occurred for these reasons on many occasions. Before an essential attack on the Chinese all commanders and the army abandoned the kaghan, who remained alone with his family and had no choice but to flee. At another time the kaghan was taken prisoner or even killed, and his head was sent to the emperor (191). During a raid in 626 Xieli was betrayed by his commanders who submitted to Emperor Taizong so that Xieli with the army was forced to withdraw from the battlefield (192). In 649 all the chieftains abandoned Chebi-kaghan and submitted to the Chinese with their hordes. When Chebi was informed that the Chinese army was approaching, he summoned his army, but nobody came. So he fled with his wife and children but was taken prisoner, whereupon all his people surrendered (193). After the death of Bilge-kaghan, who was assassinated by his minister, struggles broke out as who was to assume the rule; mutual assassinations followed that soon brought about the fall of the Türk kaghanate and the loss of Türk independence.

## 7. CLOTHING

Chinese sources report that the Türks dressed in furs and wore garments of crude wool (194). There is also a mention of materials of *Artemisia stelleria* (a kind of wormwood) (195). Liu Mau-tsai is of the opinion that the data on garments of fur and wool refer only to the period of the first contacts with the Chinese, for later large quantities of silk and linen came to the Türks from China (196). It is certain that even in later periods the lower strata used garments of local raw materials. There exists one very interesting report to confirm this. Since it contains also a number of other very valuable pieces of information, I am giving here the substance, the more so since it was probably translated for the first time by Liu Mau-tsai. It speaks of the children's games of the son of Emperor Taizong, who played at being a Türk: „He loved speech and garments of the Türks, chose for his games those comrades who resembled the Türks and had them wear sheepskin and pigtails. Always five formed one horde. They set up tents and built five standards with wolf's heads; they handed out lances and took up battle positions; they attached banners and flags. He himself built a tent for himself and lived in it. He sent his hordes for sheep and had them roasted. Then they drew out their dagger, cut up the meat with it and ate it ...“ (197). Apart from many other details this report confirms that the Türks (probably the Eastern Türks) wore pigtails and furs and even later, in the first half of the 7th century, still.

On the basis of finds in the Altai graves S. V. Kiselev reconstructed the garments of the local Türks in this manner: Woollen or fur trousers, a long coat with long sleeves, sometimes silk with woven patterns of Iranian-Chinese origin. Members of the aristocracy wore fur coats of precious furs beside sheepskin, and also long coats (198).

It is certain that in the course of time the upper strata of the Türks who were living on Chinese territory changed their garments and used different materials (mainly silk) and cut.

The sources do not reveal what the original cut of the Türk garments was like, but they stress a very important detail whereby they differed from the Chinese. The garments were fastened on the left side, i.e. the right side over the left (199). The Türks living outside the sphere of Chinese influence retained the original cut for a long time. In 607 Qimin-kaghan, in the name of his horde, sent a written request to Emperor Gaozu „to be permitted to wear garments of the Great Empire like the Chinese“ (200). But the emperor turned down the request justifying this by saying that „the variety of dress is a (distinguishing) mark among those who live on territories far from us and among us...“ (201).

Still in 698 or a little later, the Empress' counsellor proclaimed that „if they (the Türks) want to loosen their pigtails and cut their coat obliquely, they would first have to ask the Empress' grace“ (202). But it should be remembered that these were not Türks conquered by China. The Türks living in the capital city of China Chang'an wore garments of brocade. There are said to have been many thousands (203).

What these Türk garments worn in the Chinese capital city looked like is shown clearly on figural engravings on stone panels on the sarcophagi of nobleman's graves in the suburb of Chang'an in 718 (204). The servants are dressed in long trousers going down almost to the heels of the shoes, the top garment has a large, low-cut neckline with broad triangular lapels on the collar. It is fastened with the left half over the right but is cut open from the waist and over the hips. The upper garment has a belt with numerous rectangular plaques from which straps with aglets hang. Apart from this a loaf-shaped pouch hangs from the belt (exactly the same type as on the figure at the front in the centre of the fresco depicted on *tab. 170*). These figures have on their heads tall, clearly brocade caps with flaps over the ears, one of which is lined with fur. The top of the cap is slightly dipped forward. In general shape these caps - depicted in profile - correspond to the caps on the side figures on the relief of Ikh-Asgat (*tab. 95/2*), except that they do not have such long back sections. The fastening of the garments is identical to that of the top garments of Bilge-kaghan (*tab. 71*), already according to the Chinese pattern.

Such a belt was worn at that time by all nomads of Central and Middle Asia. These belts are depicted on Turkestan murals from the 9th - 11th century representing the Uighurs (*tab. 160-161*); they existed among the Kirghiz (205), the Altai Türks (*tab. 135, 142, 145*), the Tuva Türks (206), and the Western Türks (207). They are to be found on a number of balbals in different regions - in this book e.g. in Mongolia as depicted on *tab. 96/11, 105-108*. They are to be found also on the sculptures on the Kül-tegin memorial (*tab. 41*). They have not yet been found in the grave mounds of the Orkhon Türks since they were worn only by the male members of the aristocracy and the rich tomb at Jargalant is that of a woman. The sculptures of Kül-tegin (*tab. 44/2*) and Bilge-kaghan (*tab. 72/1*) show that they were worn also by the Orkhon Türks. The figures of their woman (*tab. 46, 71/1*) show that the woman did not have such belts, as has already been said. The only archaeological exception is the grave at Cherbi in Tuva given by S. I. Vainshtein, which, in his view, is that of a woman (208). There was a fragment of a mirror and ear-rings but such objects have also been found in male graves (e.g. a mirror at Mongun-Taiga (209), ear-rings in the grave mound No.1 at Kirai IV (210), at Mingun-Taiga (211), furthermore, even the balbals have earrings (*tab. 126 A*). The skeleton was that of a juvenile so that it could not be anthropologically safely determined. But it should be admitted that in the tomb there were no weapons, which usually accompanied dead males.

At a different place I show that among the gifts of the Chinese emperors to the Türk emissaries there used to be „gold“ and „silver“ belts. There can be no doubt that this referred to belts with plaques of precious metal. A. von Gabain is of the opinion that the plaques on the belt were signs of elevated status (212). On the basis of the Yenisei inscriptions it can be assumed that these belts were of special value for members of the aristocracy whether as marks of status or merely for their value as property. On the inscriptions these belts are referred to with the word „käsh“, which for long was explained as meaning „quiver“ (213). In 1952 C. Brockelmann had little doubt that the käsh of the Yenisei meant quiver, probably as mark of princely rank („fürstlichen Ranges“) (214). Similarly A. Gabain regarded even the plaques on the quivers as marks of high rank (215).

The Altai belt from Kurai bears the words „Lord Ak-kün's ... belt“ in Türk script at the belt-ends, using the term „kushak“ (216) for belt (*tab. 142*). This word was taken over into Russian in unchanged form. Yet the entire context of the Yenisei texts speaks in favour of the belt being called by the term „käsh“. Otherwise the texts make no sense. „Käsh“ is given on the inscription as among valuable property, so it can hardly be a quiver, which even in the richest graves is merely of birch bark. In rich Kirghiz graves it had little bone plates, in Altai plates made of bronze and iron plates (belts of armour) in Tuva. In 1913 V. Thomsen in a small note in his linguistic study, which seems to have escaped attention (217), gave thought to the fact what „käsh“ or „kesh“ meant in the different meanings that this word had among contemporary tribes (quiver, belt, skin). He then decided that „belt“ was the correct translation in the Yenisei inscriptions. He simultaneously suggested that it may have been a mark of rank.

S.Y. Malov (218) translates „käsh“ as „belt“, although he hesitated between belt and quiver: „... a belt with 50 gold buckles (literally 50 gold belts) I tied to my loins“ (219). The question arises whether in tead of „buckles“ it should not be „plaques“, which would be more logical in view of what these belts looked like. The wealth of this dead man to whom the belt belonged, is further proven by his 6 000 horses (220). On another inscription we can read: „I tied my gold (quiver) to my loins... from my friends, my belt (or quiver) ... I separated“ (221). Here, too, S.Y. Malov unnecessarily wavered between „belt“ and „quiver“. Elsewhere again: „I parted with my gold belt“ (222). „My belt with 42

decorative buckles <sup>(223)</sup>. Here again it should be „plaques“. Another inscription, if correctly translated would truly show that the number of plaques on the belt reflected a certain merit or status. The inscription also says that the deceased was a „beg“ (a member of the aristocracy) and a „tutuk“ (identical with the high title of the Türk „dutong“ of Chinese sources („Since he was valiant, my beg, Aza tutuk won buckles (or belts) from his khan...“: „In the 49th year I killed 59 reks. I killed the leader of the rek Sangun“ <sup>(224)</sup>. Here again clearly „buckle“ should have been replaced by „plaque“. Sangun is the Türk adaptation of the Chinese „jiangjun“ (meaning „general“).

The belts were not merely decorative in function or marks of rank or external signs of the wealth of the owner. They served very practical purposes. In 710-711 the Chinese emperor ordered the Chinese military officials from the fifth grade upward to wear „seven things“ on their belts, clearly following the Türk pattern. E. Chavannes cites a sword, a dagger, a whet-stone, a box with poison, a pouch with flint and steel and two objects, which have not yet been identified from the terms <sup>(225)</sup>. P. Pelliot gives a knife instead of the sword <sup>(226)</sup>. To hang these objects on the belt plaques with holes were used, and they were fixed with straps. Such belts genetically are related to the Avar ones, as D. Csallány recently managed to reconstruct <sup>(227)</sup>. The character of the plaques are artistically different but otherwise like the Türk belts: fastened by buckle, with belt-ends, and plaques that had both an artistic function and served as practical aids to suspend various objects, among them a pouch with a flint-stone, knives and tweezers. The Avar belts had firm straps with belt-ends where, in case of need, heavier objects could be hung, in the first place, the quiver and a bow cover <sup>(228)</sup>. In the pouch of another Avar belt there was a bone comb, an iron flint and steel, 3 flint-stones, an iron awl and an iron hook <sup>(229)</sup>.

Among the finds from the Kudyrgé graves in the Altai - unfortunately removed from the total find - there were three belt-ends (*tab. 132/1*), which could have served as a direct prototype of Avar ones. They are quite unique among Türk belt-ends. It is easy to link them with the Ruanruan, to whom the Türks originally were subjected. This would provide a further basis for the theory that identifies the Ruanruan with the Avars.

If we turn again to the Türk belts and their accessories, we can find a further similarity to the Avars. The function of the pouch might have been different according to the personal requirements of the owner, just as among Avar belts, but mainly they served to keep objects needed to light a fire. In grave mound No. 1 at Kurai IV the pouch contained a flint <sup>(230)</sup> and two smaller silk pouches. One held three human teeth and another tooth probably that of a rodent, perhaps as talisman against toothache, and a piece of fine birch bark. In the second there were flints to light a fire and what was probably the remnant of tinder <sup>(231)</sup>. In grave mound No. 4 at Tuyakhta there was a leather bag with several flints and an iron flint and steel <sup>(232)</sup>. There were also remnants of three other silk pouches (*see tab. 136*). In the grave mound at Mongun-taiga in Tuva a felt pouch was sown to the belt with Chinese silk and decorated with embroidered spiral ornaments. There is no mention of what it contained <sup>(233)</sup>. Belt pouches are often found on the balbals - sculptures depicting enemies - and on figures depicting the dead as well as statues representing participants of funeral ceremonies (see the sculptures at the Kül-tegin memorial). These pouches were widespread in the entire nomad world of the time, as has already been pointed out. Among the Altai peoples the pouches were, until recently, called „kaptarga“, a term recorded by Rubruk among the Türk-Kipchaks in the 13th century <sup>(234)</sup>. The Mongols to this day wear pouches at their belts. They use them either for tobacco <sup>(235)</sup> or as a bag for a food dish if they are on the move.

In a different place there is a mention of knives hung from the belt and sheathed under it and of a dagger on the Kül-tegin statue. The figure of a man with a pole-shaped object on the Kül-tegin memorial has two objects suspended from the belt, apart from the pouch on long strings or straps (*tab. 38/3*). One of these, an extended triangle in shape, I would regard as tweezers on analogy with the Avar belt mentioned. This has been suggested by V.V. Radlov. In his Asian travels he found that the Kirghiz used tweezers to pluck hairs out of their beards <sup>(236)</sup>. At Kapchaly II, in a male grave from the second half of the 9th century, i.e. the period not long after the time discussed in this thesis, such tweezers were indeed found. In a book describing his travels in 921-922 Ibn Fadlan <sup>(237)</sup> wrote about the custom of plucking beards among the Türk-Ghuz. The second object on the belt of the statue mentioned is long, bent like an arch and pointed. It is almost identical to one on the Uighur frescoes from the 9th - 12th century (*tab. 160, 162*) on a picture showing member of a Central Asian people, probably of Semitic type from the 13th - 14th century (*tab. 172/1*)

and it exists in two versions to this day among the Mongols<sup>(238)</sup>. But its function has changed over the centuries. Today both these objects, made of silver, are used by the Mongols when filling their pipes. The longer, thicker object, bent only at the end, is used to stuff tobacco into pipe; the other shorter arched and pointed object helps remove ash and clean the pipe. Flints are today no longer carried in pouches but hang freely at the waist. Among the Türks these objects must have had a different function, for there is no record of their smoking. An object similar to the first Mongolian type but in bone was found at Tuva in a grave mound at Kara-Chooga. It is 18.6 cm long, with a hole for suspension at the top. According to S.I. Vainshtein, the Tuva people, who are mainly producers of leather goods, carry such a tool at their belt to this day. They use it to widen holes in the leather<sup>(239)</sup>. An iron hook with a sharp end, an arched point and a hole for suspension, similar to the second Mongolian type, was found in one stone memorial „enclosure“ in the Altai (tab. 145/11). A similar object, but with details blurred, is seen on the balbal near Mishigün in Mongolia (tab. 96/1). It is possible that one of the two Chinese terms with meaning unknown among the „seven things“ relates to this object, the second possibly to the tweezers. The whet-stone for suspension, which also belonged to the outfit of „seven things“ has so far been found only at Kudyrge (tab. 130 A/10).

This shows that the „ornaments“ on the belt were not mere decorations but each served a practical purpose, including the long straps. The same was true of the Avars.

So far I have mentioned as asides some of the fittings on the balbals. For basic reasons these balbals cannot be regarded as giving information on the garments of the Türks in a certain locality, as was proposed by L.A. Yevtyukhova<sup>(240)</sup>. For as was shown elsewhere, they represent enemies. They are, therefore members of all manner of other tribes and nationalities whom the Türks fought, that is, people from elsewhere, not the place where the given balbal stands. There can be little doubt that, mostly, they are Türks of neighbouring tribes. Their constant struggles are sufficiently shown on both Khöshöö-tsaidam inscriptions and on the Tonyukuk inscription. But it would be methodologically incorrect to take this into account since we do not know what they represent. But on the basis of great similarity in appearance of all balbals on the entire territory inhabited by the Türks, one might express the general conclusion that the garments of the nomads were very similar everywhere and were in many ways identical. Among the Orkhon Türks this can be deduced from the inventories of graves and from the statues representing the dead. But it cannot be applied to the other statues on the memorials since we do not know exactly what a certain statue of the participants in the ceremonies represents.

## 8. DWELLINGS

Chinese historical sources speak of the Türks as living in felt tents<sup>(241)</sup> which were entered from the east<sup>(242)</sup>. On the basis of two poems by the renowned Chinese poet Bo Juyi of the period of the Tang dynasty, who used such Türk dwellings in view of their advantages and who praised them in his works, they were, in fact, yurts as used in present-day Mongolia and Kirghizia. The poet's tent had a circular construction made of willow wood or osiers. It had a cone-shaped wool cover and a side entrance covered with a wool hanging that could be rolled upwards. The space inside was laid out with felt carpets. Bo Juyi praised the firmness and stability of the yurt and its warmth, as there was a fireplace inside. For that reason he lived in such a yurt in winter<sup>(243)</sup>. Felt covers are recorded also in another Chinese source<sup>(244)</sup>.

The kaghan's court also consisted of such yurts, as can be understood from historical records for the year 505 and still 710 and 720<sup>(245)</sup>. The court did not have a permanent seat but it was moved according to need dictated by natural conditions, the economic system, changes in the political situation or tactical reasons. During the reign of Mochuo in 707 there is mention of a southern and a northern camp, i.e. one for the winter, the other for summer<sup>(246)</sup>.

At the entrance to Tümen's camp court there stood a standard with a golden wolf's head on a pole<sup>(247)</sup>. It is more than likely that later kaghans did the same.

On their own territory, which was not within the political sphere of China, the Orkhon Türks did not build any solid architecture for dwellings during the second kaghanate. This can be deduced from a report that only in 718 the Bilge-kaghan showed the intention of building „a fort, walls“<sup>(248)</sup>

and Buddhist and Taoist temples". His father-in-law and adviser Tonyukuk, revered even in China for his wisdom, persuaded the kaghan not to do so. According to the Chinese chronicle his advice ran in the sense that the Türk manner of life forced the Türks to change their seats constantly. If they were to settle in fortified locations, they would not be able to retreat to the mountains in the face of an attack from a stronger enemy and their defeat and loss of independence would then be inevitable <sup>(249)</sup>. Bilge-kaghan clearly listened to this advice, for by 725 he received and entertained a Chinese emissary in his tent <sup>(250)</sup>. During the second kaghanate the Uighurs and the Western Türks had fortified towns built with the aid of the Chinese and the Sogdians <sup>(251)</sup> and they were not far from the Orkhon Türks. On the territory of Mongolia there were likewise fortified seats of other tribes, if we are to believe the Orkhon inscriptions.

The fact that the Orkhon Türks did not have seats with solid architecture deprives us of the most important sources of historical information, as gained by the archaeologists.

## 9. THE ARMY, ITS EQUIPMENT AND BATTLE TACTICS

Like all peoples leading a pastoral and nomad way of life the Türks were excellent and quick riders. This is certified even by the Chinese sources <sup>(252)</sup>. They possessed large numbers of horses and therefore their army was predominantly cavalry. This enabled them to carry out lightning attacks and withdraw rapidly in case of need.

The horses were the main war medium of the Türks and for that reason we must first clarify what horses they were. The great majority of the horses, as confirmed by osteological material in the graves, were a type of steppe horses <sup>(253)</sup>. They were small but very enduring horses, which, to this day, form the basis of the Mongolian herds. The shape of their heads in many ways recalls the Przewalski horse. These horses were the property of the rank-and-file soldiers and made up the majority in the Türk army.

There exist a number of proofs that the aristocracy and the leading commanders used horses of pedigree breed, which were rare and could be afforded only by the rich aristocracy. Those were the chargers that the Kül-tegin inscription speaks of. They will have been the horses of which Tang Huiyao says that they „had exceptional qualities and proportionate body build; they could stand long rides and were peerless at the hunt“ <sup>(254)</sup>. We can find them depicted on the Kirghiz rock carvings of riders - soldiers representing the Kirghiz (*tab. 155*) and the Kurikans (*tab. 156-157*) or the Altai Türks on the Kudyrge engravings (*tab. 133*). They are further depicted on the marble reliefs on the sarcophagus of Emperor Taizong (*tab. 166/1*), in the form of monumental stone statues on the tomb of Emperor Gaozong (*tab. 166/2*), or in the form of grave gifts of glazed faience (*tab. 165*). They are full-bloods of Western origin <sup>(255)</sup> with typical small „camel“ heads <sup>(256)</sup>, a strong body and a mane adorned with tridents. The Kurikans were famous as breeders of these horses. The horse depicted on the Taizong sarcophagus was given to the emperor by an embassy from the Kurikans and in the delight over their beauty, he dedicated a poem to them and gave each a famous name <sup>(257)</sup>.

Chinese sources give us detailed information on Türk military equipment. The Türks were not only good riders but, in the first place, excellent archers <sup>(258)</sup>. Their bows were glued <sup>(259)</sup> i. e. composed of several resilient pieces and made a very strong impact. They had horn ornaments <sup>(260)</sup>. The Türks used winged arrows <sup>(261)</sup> with „metal“ (iron) points <sup>(262)</sup>. By the side of normals arrows they shot arrows that whistled in flight <sup>(263)</sup>. The whistle of these flying arrows scared the enemy horses, brought confusion to their ranks and prevented the enemy archers from taking precise aim. When as many as several hundred thousand riders of an attacking Türk army loosened the whistling arrows at the same time the effect must have been shocking for the enemy horses and for the entire army.

Chinese sources mention long rider's lances <sup>(264)</sup> as another Türk weapon and swords <sup>(265)</sup>. The warriors wore daggers on their belts <sup>(266)</sup>. Protective equipment included helmets <sup>(267)</sup> and during attacks they were said to be wearing armourplate vests. As these will have been rather heavy, the warriors donned them just before the attack and if forced to flee after a defeat they simply cast them away <sup>(268)</sup>. In 641 a Chinese-Türk army defeated Xieyantuo of the Tölös and captured, among others, „large numbers of armoured vests“ <sup>(269)</sup>. Kaghan Shabolüe wore „gold“ armour <sup>(270)</sup> - perhaps it was gilded. The statement by Emperor Gaozu of the Tang dynasty that „armou-

red vests and helmets are their daily garments" (271) should not be taken literally but figuratively judging by what has just been said of their constant battles and warriors' manner of life. Kül-tegin also wore armour in battle as stands written on his stele (272).

The army had standards with poles that ended in golden wolf's head (273). Such a standard stood by Tümen's tent, as has been said. The Türks received these standards from the Chinese emperor. They are given as „standards“ and once even as „standard with a wolf's head“ (274). The Western Türks likewise received such gifts (275). These ornaments were symbolic and like the officers' titles, known as „böri“ (wolves), they were related to the mythical origin of the Türks as descended from a she-wolf. The army used also pennants and flags (276); the context shows that they tied them to lances, as did the Kirghiz (tab. 155/1,4).

Descriptions in Chinese historical reports and artistic works of the Türk period enable us to form a good idea of the general appearance of a Türk soldier. We know clay grave figures of several cavalymen and foot soldiers of Turkestan at Tuyuk-Mazar and Astana, which are analogical to Chinese grave figures from the Tang period. L. N. Gumilev was the first to classify them correctly as figures depicting Türk soldiers (tab. 159). All have armour composed of little rectangular plates going down to the knees and metal plates sewn on to their pointed caps, which hang down over the neck. Similar such armour is worn by a Kurikan near Taizong's horse on the relief on his sarcophagus (tab. 166/1). It can be seen on these figures that the armour was pulled on over the head. Under it they wore colourful caftans reaching to the middle of the calves. The caftan was fastened left over right, i.e. in the Chinese manner. They wore trousers of leopard skin tucked into their boots. The foot soldier is holding a lance in his hand on which he is leaning with his forehead, a position that clearly depicts sorrow.

The horseman sat on the saddle in a crouching position, i.e. the typical position of the nomads used in Mongolia to this day. On the basis of their appearance and by analysing historical events L. N. Gumilev reached the conclusion that they were either Türks - Western or Eastern - or Uighurs. He dated the figures to the second half of the 7th century when this territory already belonged to China and the Türks were subject people. For there can be no doubt that the figures came either from a Chinese grave or were made to Chinese patterns (277).

Another iconographical source are the rock carvings at Sulek (tab. 155), which depict Kirghiz people. We can see there that the Kirghiz wore the same armour as the other Türks, i.e. made of strips. Such armour is found on a kneeling figure of a soldier on the Kudyrga stone carvings (tab. 133). It is remarkable that so far no grave has been found in which the deceased wears such armour. There must be a reason for this. The existence of such armour made of little plates is proved by finds of isolated little plates. Each had several holes whereby the plates were held together. They have been found in Tuva, in memorial „enclosures“ (278) and in grave mounds - cenotaphs, where seven were put to a second use as ornaments or fittings for the quiver (279).

Chinese chronicle speaks of helmets in connection with the Türks. But no concrete find has ever been made. It seems more likely that they were referring to a pointed cap that covered the back of the neck, also made of plate armour, as can be seen on the clay figures.

Türk graves in various regions and from different periods contained remnants of bows, confirming reports in Chinese chronicles. They were bows with bone or horn plates as handles and at the end, which were pulled backwards. In most cases only the bone parts have survived, which at the back were grooved, the better to stick to the wood when glued. Such plates were found in the Altai (tab. 134 B 4-5, tab. 120 A 13-14, tab. 140/3) (280), at Tuva (281) and in Kirghiz graves (282). In the Altai even the wooden parts of the bow with incisions for the string have survived (283). The individual wooden or bone parts of the bow were glued together with fish glue, which is named among the kaghan's gifts to the Chinese emperor (284). The length of the bow in the loosened position ranged from 1.10 m to 1.46 m (285). A drawn bow is depicted among the Kirghiz on carvings at Sulek (tab. 155) and on silver applications on saddles of the Kopeny's chaatas (tab. 175), among the Altai Türks on a saddle from Kudyrga (tab. 127, 128A). The shape of the nomad bow and its complex structure including the end plates is best given on a fresco at Dunhuang from a slightly later period (tab. 163/3).

Archaeological finds in Türk graves have confirmed the Chinese data on Türks' whistling arrows and give a concrete idea of these. The points of these battle arrows were made of iron. They were heavy and made up of three flat blades often with holes in them. During flight the holes caused a whizz, but the whistle proper was given forth by little whistles with round or barrel-shaped holes

threaded on to the shaft of the arrow below the point. Such arrows were known on the entire territory settled by the Eastern Türks and the Kirghiz and have been found in almost every male grave<sup>(286)</sup>. (See *tab. 130 A 1-5, 134 B 2-3, 143*). On the territory of the Orkhon Türks these arrows were found in grave mound No. 2 at near Nayant-sum (*tab. 113/12*), in mound No. 1 at Ikh-Alag (*tab. 113/13*); in grave mound No. 4 near Nayant-sum all that remained were rusty marks and three bone bead whistles (*tab. 111/6-8*). In older Türk graves there were arrows with flat points (*tab. 130 A 6-8*).

The Old Mongols used whistling arrows in battle<sup>(287)</sup> and in hunting still in the 18th century. Even in the 19th century the people of Tuva and the Yakuts still used them for hunting. In hunting squirrels they shot whistling arrows to drive the animals to the ground. In hunting deer or elk they first stopped the fleeing animal by sending a whistling arrow just in front of it and when the frightened beast drew to a stop, they killed it with another arrow<sup>(288)</sup>. It is correct to assume that the Türks hunted in the same manner. The whistling Tuva arrows were virtually identical to those of the Türks; they had a three-bladed iron point and below it the whistle in the form of a bead of horn, into which three holes had been drilled<sup>(289)</sup>.

But the Türk were not the inventors of such whistling arrows, for they were used long before by the Huns (graves at Noin Ula in Mongolia). I believe that the frequent holes in the three-bladed Scythian bronze arrows were not faults during casting but were left there intentionally so that these arrows, too, were whistling ones. In view of the technical perfection of Scythian metal-vasting one can hardly assume that they caused such a lot of „vaste products“.

In two cases, in the Altai<sup>(290)</sup> and in Tuva<sup>(291)</sup>, it was ascertained that the ends of the Türk arrows were coloured red.

An essential part of the equipment of each archer was the quiver. There is a depiction of a Kirghiz quiver on the carvings at Sulek (*tab. 155/1,3,5*). The Kurikan on the relief with the horse on Taizong's sarcophagus has the same quiver (*tab. 166/1*). Quivers in fairly good condition have been found in a number of Türk graves. They were all made of birch bark, were flat and broadening at the bottom. The older types at Kudyrga had a straight opening at the top from which the points of the arrows projected (*tab. 132/5*). Later the upper front edge was lowered so that the arrows might not fall out of the quiver while the back wall protected the clothing and body from being injured by the sharp points (*tab. 140/1,145/9*). Two Altai quivers are depicted here and two others from Kudyrga deserve mention<sup>(292)</sup>. At Tuva a quiver was found in almost every male grave excavated<sup>(293)</sup>. V. P. Levasheva mentions quivers among Kirghiz material<sup>(294)</sup>. Some quivers were adorned with metal plates, iron armour plate<sup>(295)</sup> or bronze (*tab. 132/5*)<sup>(296)</sup>.

Among the Orkhon Türks G. I. Borovka mentions a large number of disintegrating remnants of birch bark by the skeleton of a man in grave mound No. 4 at Nayant-sum, where there also bone arrow whistles<sup>(297)</sup>. The bark will have been a remnant of a quiver.

The quiver was suspended from the belt by an iron hook (*tab. 144/6*). These hooks have been found in the Altai and at Tuva<sup>(298)</sup>.

No lances were placed into the graves of Türk warriors, though they formed part of their battle equipment. Lances are depicted in the hands of Kirghiz soldiers on the Sulek carvings (*tab. 155/1, 4*), where each has a little pennant. The clay figure of a foot soldiers at Tuyuk Mazar (*tab. 159/4*) holds a lance. S. V. Kiselev cites isolated finds of lances in the Altai. They were made of iron and had a sharp and narrow blade. There is a good depiction of such a lance on an engraving at Sulek (*tab. 155/4*). It was a type adapted for piercing armour<sup>(299)</sup>. On the territory of the Orkhon Türks one lance was found in a „sarcophagus“ at Bayandavaan-Aman.

Swords were recorded in Chinese sources, but there are very few finds in graves; they will have been the property of outstanding persons. In the Altai one sword was found at Kudyrga. It is double-edged with a straight crosspiece bent downwards at the end and a wooden sheath (*tab. 132/7*). There is a mention of a straight sword at Katanda<sup>(300)</sup> in a grave in which remnants of Chinese silk fabric with a woven pattern survived (*tab. 134/A*).

L. R. Kyzlasov mentions remnants of a single-edged sabre in one grave at Tuva<sup>(301)</sup>. According to S. V. Kiselev<sup>(302)</sup> the origin of the bent sabre on some of the Altai balbals (see *tab. 124/A*) is not clear yet. He assumed that they may have been widespread among the Altai Türks. But since he incorrectly assumed that the balbals represent the deceased, as I have shown elsewhere, the Altai balbals are not proof that the Altai Türks used such sabres. Similar sabres can be seen on Mongolian balbals (*tab. 105/1, 106/1*).

Strangely enough even daggers are rare in the graves. Only two straight iron daggers have been found, in the Altai (*tab. 145/5*) and another at Tuva (148A). The surviving length of the blade of the first one is roughly 15 cm, the second 20 cm. The Orkhon Türks also carried daggers, as shown by one dagger lying on the pedestal on the left side of the Kül-tegin statue (*tab. 44/2,3*). The type of dagger on the Tuva balbals (*tab. 124/B 1*) with a bent handle was found in one single sample in a Kirghiz grave (*tab. 124/B 2*). Other analogies given on the *tab. 124B*, are of more westerly origin. Both S. V. Kiselev, in case of the sabre, and L.R. Kyzlasov for the bent daggers, regarded these types as widespread in Tuva <sup>(303)</sup> after identifying the balbals as portraits of the deceased, yet so far no such dagger has been found.

What is frequent in the graves are knives. They had wooden handles, in Kudyrga one had a bone handle with a twisted ornament (*tab. 128/B 3*). The sheath of the knife tended to be of wood. In one case it was wrapped in birch bark <sup>(304)</sup>. Such knives were carried suspended from the belt and inserted under it at the back by all nomads of the time, as shown by a detail on the stone statue of a man with a pole-shaped object on the Kül-tegin stele (*tab. 38/2*), and they are still carried in this manner by the Mongols today <sup>(305)</sup>.

W. Kotwicz expressed the view <sup>(306)</sup> that the statue of the man on the Kül-tegin stela, who holds the pole-shaped object on his chest, represents one of the two envoys of the Chinese emperor, who were given the task of expressing the emperor's condolences and organize the raising of the monument. This idea occurred to him and J. Jaworski <sup>(307)</sup> since the officers of the Bird Guard (one of the envoys was a general of the Bird Guard <sup>(308)</sup>) carried as badge of their status canes gilded at both ends. But this proposition was rejected by P. Pelliot, who pointed out that the relevant report refers only to the period of the Han dynasty (206 B. C. - A. D. 220) and the time of the Tang dynasty the very name of Bird Guard was outdated and therefore canes were no longer carried <sup>(309)</sup>. Yet W. Kotwicz did not abandon this tempting idea <sup>(310)</sup>. In a detailed report on the Bird Guard and its insignia <sup>(311)</sup> he says that the shape of the relevant cane could be compared to the axis of a wheel. From this it may be deduced that it had not only smooth and straight ends but was probably finished with a shape like button or the like. Otherwise, with straight ends it would hardly have roused the idea of the axis of a wheel. The cane in the hand of the statue, however, bears marks of a broken off short bar only at the top end. The lower end did not have such a bar. Even this detail runs counter to Kotwicz's view, for the cane in the hands of the statue would have to be identical at both ends.

There is another possibility, namely that it may have been a sword. If we assume that the statue was the work of Chinese artists, whose task in China was to make more or less canonized funeral statues on which, over the centuries, merely the garments changed while the posture remained identical until fairly recently, then we cannot agree to the assumption. The Chinese figures hold the sword with both hands with the handle on the chest and the point planted on the ground. In addition the sword was always far broader than on the Kül-tegin statue. The width and roundness truly speaks in favour of a cane or haft. Canes are recorded among the Türks and probably represent insignia of office. E.g. on a stone carving at Bichigt-Bulan (*tab. 163/1*) a fragment of a wooden cane with a runic inscription <sup>(312)</sup>; in a grave mound at Tuva there are two wooden canes with buttons <sup>(313)</sup>; in another grave mound at Tuva <sup>(314)</sup> a stick with a bone button; a button from a cane was found in the Altai <sup>(315)</sup>. All these are long sticks as shown on the carving while in the case of the statue the cane was a short one.

Chinese statues hold only the bulawa in such a pose as the figure mentioned, as I myself had occasion to see on a large number of imperial tombs from various periods, or they hold axes and war hammers, e.g. the statue on the tomb of Emperor Renzong who died in 1063 (*tab. 163/2*). On the rocks at Sulek (*tab. 155/4*) there is a carving of a Kirghiz warrior on horseback. The rider's outfit includes a double-edged ax or hammer. Axes are held by two warriors on a silver-gilt dish of Sogdian origin from the late 1th century <sup>(316)</sup>.

Let us now return to our figure. It cannot represent a Chinese official to judge by the clothing. The garments are clearly nomad used by men on horses, with a slit at the back. The Kül-tegin stele names important guests of the ceremonies <sup>(317)</sup>, envoys from subject and friendly peoples. Apart from two Chinese legates the ceremony was attended Udar-Sängün, representing the Khitans and Tatabi there was one bölon representing the Tibetan kaghan, the Sogdians, Persians and Bukhars were represented by Näng-sängün and Ogul-tarkan, the „ten arrows and the Türgesh-kaghan“ (i.e. the Western Türks) by the Guardian of the Seal Makrach and the Guardian of the Seal Oguz Bilge, the Kirghiz kaghan by Tardush Inanchu-chur. The statue certainly represents one

of these representatives. Taking the analogy of the axe it might be a Sogdian, but with a view to the nomad garments perhaps a Kirghiz, the envoy Tardush Inanchu-chur, or taking into account the name it will have been an official appointed by the Türks.

An essential part of the outfit of a Türk soldier was his belt. On it were suspended his weapons, the sword, sabre, dagger as well as other objects enumerated elsewhere.

Now let us turn to the tackle of battle horses. We know what the saddle looked like from several period depictions (*tab. 128A, 133, 155, 175*). The saddle had a large wooden arch, sometimes inlaid with bone (*tab. 128 B 1*). In graves of aristocrats ornamented arches were found. The bone lining of Kudyrgé saddles had hunting scenes engraved (*tab. 128A*), the arch of a Kirghiz saddle from Kopeny's chaatas was adorned with hammered decorations that formed a similar scene (*tab. 175*). Shabracks formed part of every saddle, as can be seen on these pictures. A few wooden fragments of a saddle is all that survives in the fourth grave mound at Nayant-sum, including an iron buckle of the girth<sup>(318)</sup>. One of the two horses found in a female grave at Jargalant was also saddled. Fragments of the wooden parts survived and remnants of the shabrack in the form of shreds of leather and felt. Bits of Iranian silk fabric with a woven pattern survived of the shabrack cover<sup>(319)</sup> (*tab. 120*).

Suspended from the saddle on leather straps were iron stirrups, which could be adjusted with the aid of buckles. The Türks used three kinds of stirrups. The first type was found at Kudyrgé. The bracket of the stirrup is flat at the top like a plate. In this there is a rectangular opening for the strap (*tab. 129 B 4*). It dates back to the Tashtyk period<sup>(320)</sup>. Another type is in the shape of an eight, i.e. the arch of the stirrup is flattened on both sides and forms a hole for the strap (*tab. 129 B2, 138/8*).

The origin of this type likewise goes back to the Tashtyk period<sup>(321)</sup>. It was widespread throughout the territory of the Türk tribes<sup>(322)</sup>. The third type is a stirrup where the strap is pulled through a hole on a flat plate, which is joined with a more or less long piece of stick to the arch (*tab. 115/ 1,2, 129B 1,3,5,144/15,148g*). This type was also widely used in all regions in the Türk period<sup>(323)</sup>. The foot-rest of the stirrup was broad. The last two types, the eight-shaped one and the other with the little plate, came to Europe with the Avars. Sometime a pair of stirrups had one of each sort, probably the result of the loss of the original one and its replacement by another type of stirrup.

These two types were found in the graves of Orkhon Türks. One pair in grave mound No. 4 at Nayant sum with little plates, another is of the mixed type (*tab. 111/38-39,36-37*). The saddled horse in the grave mound at Jargalant likewise had stirrups with plates but of a different type (*tab. 115/1, 2, 119/2*).

The oldest type of curb is of two parts with holes at each end, into which the curved the psalia with strap holes were fitted (*tab. 129/6, 7, 9*). Later loose circles were attached to these holes (*tab. 134/1,137/3*). The most widely used type of curb were those with long axial psalia (*tab. 148 e*)<sup>(324)</sup>. This type was found on the two horses in the grave mound at Jargalant (*tab. 115/3, 4, 119/1*). In mound No. 4 at Nayant sum one horse had a curb of this type, the other had simple curbs with holes at each end (*tab. 111/35, 34*).

On horses belonging to the aristocracy the straps were decorated with bronze, silver or gold rosettes or curved oval plaquettes<sup>(325)</sup> (*tab. 130 B*). In grave mound No. 4 at Nayant sum there were oval-shaped gilt bronze rosettes (*tab. 111/9-17*). Such plaquettes were used also to decorate other straps (*tab. 135/3, 4*), those that encircled the body of the horse across the chest in front and below the tail at the back, as can be seen on *tab. 155/1, 175/1,159/3, 165*. The gold plaquettes on *tab. 149/1* come from such a strap, the bronze ones on *tab. 117* and *116/4, 5* were found at Jargalant. The collection of massive gold plaquettes with relief chasing and punched ornaments come from the Tonyukuk stele. One of them is depicted on *tab. 86/2*.

Sometimes plaquettes of metal foil were suspended from the straps as ornaments; in shape they resembled smooth linder leaves or with serrated edges. Such ornaments were found on the tail strap of the horse given as hammered application on the saddle of the Kopeny's chaatas (*tab. 175*) and the clay funerary figure of a horse (*tab. 165*). They were also used by the Orkhon Türks. Among the set of gold horse ornaments found on the Tonyukuk memorial there was a set of large leaves adorned with plastic tendrils and flowers on a punched background. They were wrought of two separate thin plates and linked with rivets. The lower one is smooth (*tab. 86/L*). The smooth bronze sheets from the grave mound at Jargalant were also fitted to the reins in similar manner (*tab. 117, 116/1, 3, 7*). Similar large silver leaf ornaments (*tab. 116/2*) adorned the forehead of the horse. Leaf ornaments for the reins were widespread among the Kirghiz<sup>(326)</sup>.

Various types of metal or bone buckles formed part of the harness. They were used to fix the straps. They had adjustable tongues (*tab. 148d, 134B8, 144/2, 138/2*). This type was first found in the Tashtyk graves <sup>(327)</sup> and not, as A. N. Bernshtam assumed <sup>(328)</sup> only among the Türks. Characteristic are bone or horn buckles with tongues (*tab. 129A 1-4, 144/11, 111/33*), and they were widespread over the entire Türk nomad world. This includes strap ends (*tab. 116/6, 144/5, 117, 111/18, 20*) and aglets (*tab. 116/9, 117, 111/21-24*).

Horses were placed in the graves with fetters on their legs. To this day the Mongols immediately tie the legs of the horse as soon as they climb down to prevent it escaping. The loss of a horse might mean death in the empty spaces nowadays as in those times. For that reason this important part of the nomad's life was placed even in the grave. The fetters were joined together with typical bone buckles on one side, broadening in the middle and held in the hole with a stick (*tab. 148 ž, 134B6, 129/6* <sup>(329)</sup>). During the ride the fetter was rolled up and hung on the saddle. The buckle in grave mound No. 4 at Nayant sum is of somewhat different shape (*tab. 111/32*).

The horses were goaded on with a riding whip - a knout twisted of straps, as shown by a find in a grave mound at Tuva <sup>(330)</sup>. The short handle was of wood or bone in the form of a highly artistically carved and stylized wild beast with an open snout (*tab. 140/2* <sup>(331)</sup>). Similar to this Altai find are those on the territory of the Western Türks <sup>(332)</sup>. In form these handles were based on objects of the Scythian period when they were made of boar tusk and then copied in bronze <sup>(333)</sup> but were used for a different purpose. Such objects may have been taken from robbed graves of the Scythian period since their stylization differs entirely from Türk art. A very similar bone object was found near Kiev in a Slavic cremation grave that included a horse harness dated to the 10th century and early 11th century <sup>(334)</sup>.

K. V. Trever drew attention to a very important object in the Hermitage collections <sup>(335)</sup>. It is a 30 cm long, hollow head of a fantastic beast, hammered of sheet silver and then gilded. The head will originally have been on a pole. It has raised ears, an open muzzle, the eyes were once inlaid with coloured paste. The nozzle is elongated almost like a Buddhist „makara“. K. V. Trever assumed that it was the end of a Sassanid military standard that was probably used in the north-eastern region of Iran in the 6th-7th century <sup>(336)</sup>. She sees the head as the mythical dog-bird „Senmurv“, which is a frequent motive of Sassanid art <sup>(337)</sup>. It is regarded as a royal insignia or coat-of-arms. There are written records that show that the flag of the Sassanids was decorated with a picture of Senmurv.

I do not want to claim that this figure represents Senmurv. It might well be the wolf head of the Türk standards. I have shown above that the Türks received standards with a wolf's head from the Chinese emperor. Despite very bad photography in the publication mentioned it is clear that the animal head has much in common with Chinese art of the Tang dynasty, the time when Türk might flourished. The author herself acknowledges that some details recall Chinese art of that period <sup>(339)</sup>. That was the period when, in Eastern, Central and Middle Asia there was a frequent interchange of cultural goods, techniques, motives and styles among individual regions until a complete syncretism set in. The influence of Iranian art on the art of the Chinese in the Tang period has not yet been fully appreciated. In motives and styles were great changes from flatness and geometrical patterns to realistic, almost naturalistic relief. We can find the phoenix in Sassanid, in Chinese and also Nomad art (*tab. 174*); everywhere there were plant tendrils; in wrought metal technique there was smooth silhouette drawing on a punched or grooved background - in all three regions; Chinese silk fabrics took over Sassanid patterns, etc. Even Senmurv reached far north to Lake Baikal and to the Türk Kurikans, as shown on a rock drawing at Shishkino on the Lena (*tab. 157/5*). It is difficult to decide whether the standard end mentioned is the head of a wolf or that of Senmurv, for iconographically they were very similar. The Sassanid standard with Senmurv and the Türk one with the wolf - both historically proven - are only two poles of the same phenomenon, bound by external appearance, internally and in time.

Pennants with the wolf's head were later used by the Uighurs <sup>(340)</sup>, whose culture is a continuation of Türk culture.

In their raids the Türks relied mainly on lightning attacks. In case of failure they vanished immediately so that it was difficult to pursue them. They kept no regular formations in their attacks. The tactics of the Chinese army in several punitive expeditions were, by contrast, entirely of defensive character.

„The strength of the artful barbarians (the Türks) depended on their approaching with the speed of arrows and vanishing again like a broken string“; when we want to pursue them they are diffi-

cult to catch... For that reason it is best to attack them from an ambush on their return trip" (i.e. attack them with fresh forces when they are tired from their ride). That is how Chinese sources characterize Türk tactics <sup>(341)</sup>. Elsewhere: „If they see a favourable situation, they advance; if they observe danger, they withdraw at once. They rush forth like thunder and lightning and know no fixed battle order... Their squads do not advance in rows and files, and they do not camp at one fixed (selected) spot. They settle where they find water and grass, and their sheep and horses are their battle rations. In victory they seek only treasures and in defeat no shame is to be seen on them. At night they do not make efforts to place guards and by day they keep no look out; they waste no efforts on fortification work or provisions. In battle array the Chinese army does the very opposite and can, therefore, rarely achieve success" <sup>(342)</sup>.

Bilge-kaghan's old counsellor Tonyukuk himself, according to the Chinese, characterized the Türk tactics as follows: „All our people are trained in the art of war. If we are strong, we let our soldiers undertake looting raids; on the other hand, if we are weak, we escape to the mountains and forests and hide.“ And he continues: „If Yang Jingshu hardheadedly defends a fort, I shall conclude peace with him. But if he sends soldiers in a counter-attack, I have to wage a decisive battle with him“ <sup>(343)</sup>.

Once before in their history the Chinese had been forced to change their manner of battle to that of the nomads and adapt to it. They abolished their battle chariots and introduced horses in the struggle against the Huns. Only then did they come out victorious. Something similar took place in 598 in the struggle against the Türks. The Chinese abandoned their existing defence and wait-and-see tactics and went over to the attack <sup>(344)</sup>.

It has just been said that the Orkhon Türks did not expend any efforts on fortifications, this means stable fortifications in the shape of fortresses or walled towns. Several records exist that show that the Türks, forced into a defensive position and especially during retreat, fortified themselves near rivers <sup>(345)</sup> or on hill tops <sup>(346)</sup>. Shabolüe, in his letter of submission to the emperor in 585, assured him: „How could I have dared my soldiers to fortify in strategic positions ...“ <sup>(347)</sup>, which proves that Türks did fortify in certain cases.

From the description of Kül-tegin's struggles, as given on his stele, it can be deduced that the army first shot arrows from the distance, but when the two armies met in the encounter, man fought man with lances. Kül-tegin used both these weapons in battle <sup>(348)</sup> and, in addition, had a sword <sup>(349)</sup>. Tonyukuk's inscription also provides proof of battling with lances <sup>(350)</sup>.

The Orkhon Türks would assault their enemies at night when the enemy camp lay a sleep. This is proved on the inscriptions of Kül-tegin, Bilge-kaghan and Tonyukuk where the assault on and battle against the Kirghiz and Türgesh are described <sup>(351)</sup>. According to the evidence given on the Bilge-kaghan inscription, under the leadership of Kül-tegin they did not even hesitate to attack the neighbouring Tongra tribe and kill its members in the midst of a funeral and memorial celebration <sup>(352)</sup>.

The Khöshhö-*tsaidam* inscription and that of Tonyukuk include detailed descriptions of campaigns and clashes against their own kinsmen and related tribes rather than the Chinese. These internal struggles were of greater importance. That is understandable, for on them depended who held power and ruled. That is the reason why they built balbals only in the form of other Türk and never of Chinese commanders.

By contrast Chinese sources contain detailed records of Türk raids on Chinese territory so that they can serve as a complementary chronicle to historical events.

The quick, well equipped and numerically strong Türk army posed a constant threat to the Chinese empire over the centuries. Speedy operations and long rides from their own territory enabled the Türks to acquire ample supplies from the herds of sheep that the army drove before them. Among the Türks every physically fit male was automatically a soldier, as Tonyukuk states clearly. That alone can explain the immense number of Türk soldiers, even when taking into account some exaggeration, in their raids on Chinese territory as recorded in Chinese annals.

These armies **on the march** in individual raids involved the following number of men: <sup>(353)</sup>

Year	Number	Year	Number
564	over 100 000	622	several thousand
c. 581	several 10 000	622	150 000
582	400 000	622	10 000
a second raid		622	150 000
582	400 000		

599	over 100 000	622	several 10 000
615	several 100 000	622	several 100 000
616	several 10 000	624	over 10 000
617	several 10 000	625	over 100 000
619	several thousand	a second time 625	over 100 000
620	several 10 000	626	over 100 000
621	10 000	629	several thousand
622	several 10 000	696	several 10 000
622	50 000	698	over 100 000

These are numbers relating to the army that attacked China. Other data are available for different occasions: In fighting and defeating the Ruanruan the Türks used several hundred thousand archers (354). In 653 Sijin helped the Northern Zhou with an army of 100 000 riders (355). Tabo had at his disposal several hundred thousand soldiers (356). In around 615 Shibi-kaghan had over million archers and the Chinese author added that „it has never happened before that a barbarian was so strong“ (357). Likewise Duojishi had over a million shooters (358). Around 640 there were 100 000 men among the tribes subject to Simo, of these 40 000 were soldiers experienced in battle (359). Mochuo had at his disposal over 400 000 crack shots (360).

A clear idea of the strength of the Türk raids and China's fear of these is given by the figures that reveal the numerical strength of the border garrisons against the Türks and the size of the Chinese army to battle in defence operations or attacks.

During the Tang dynasty (618-907), Liu Mau-tsai reckoned that the permanent garrison in the borderlands facing the Türks in the north-east, north and north-west amounted to 200 000 men while some 50 000 men sufficed on the rest of the territory of China. In defence of the capital cities of Chang'an and Luoyang some 380 000 men were available for an emergency, again mainly as defence against an attack from the north. Some 600 000 soldiers were constantly under arms, including the Imperial Guard in the capital that numbered 80 000 men, again mainly to keep off the Türks (361). In Jiu Tang-shu (362) there is expressly stated that on **the frontier alone** was a permanent garrison of more than 600 000 men until about 720. Later than number was reduced by 200 000.

These were permanent garrisons which were naturally spread out along the entire frontier and inland, and they could not suddenly be sent in full numbers in case of emergency. When an unexpected raid occurred only the units in close vicinity could be sent to battle. It cost the emperor enormous funds to keep up such an army, and he was forced to introduce austerity measures and limit expenditure on other purposes.

A large army needed to be deployed if it was to achieve success in reprisal raids or offensive against the Türks and to prepare defence measures. Here a major role was played by Chinese spies and traitors among the ranks of the Türks. In 582, for instance, a field army of 70 000 cavalry and foot soldiers was prepared as defence against the Türks (363). In 586 an army of 150 000 foot soldiers and riders was sent against them (364). In 629 more than 100 000 soldiers were sent to battle against Xieli (365). In 698 an army of 300 000 men and 150 000 reserve (366) were sent „against Mozhuo's 100 000 soldiers and more“. Nonetheless Mozhuo conquered one city after another, one Chinese army numbering 5 000 surrendered (367) and „all generals looked on from afar and did not dare give battle“ (368).

That same year a Chinese army of 100 000 pursued the returning Türks „but could not catch them“ (369). The phrase that Chinese soldiers could not catch the Türks is repeated in Chinese sources over and over again, and we cannot be far from the truth when we link it with the generals passively looking on. The question arises whether the commanders of the Chinese armies ever dared to battle with the Türks. Moreover, there are direct proofs of this: „Whenever the Türks attacked Chinese territory (i.e. until 582) the tactics of the generals was to spare their own units and they did not fight for life of death. For that reason the Türks had more victories than defeats. The result was that they had no respect for the Chinese armies“ (370).

Had the Türks pursued their victories to all consequences and had they not been satisfied with looting and robbery, they could have put an end to the Chinese empire on many occasions. To confirm this here is a survey of all defeats recorded in Chinese sources. This does not take into account the conquest of individual towns or the defeat and surrender of smaller units:

In 578 the Chinese army was defeated in a Türk attack and its commander was killed (371).

In around 581 several tens of thousands of Türk cavalrymen defeated a numerically weaker Chinese army. Several thousand Chinese fell in battle <sup>(372)</sup>.

In 582 Shabolüe attacked with 400 000 archers and defeated the joint Chinese armies <sup>(373)</sup>.

In 599 the Chinese army was „heavily defeated“ during a raid by more than 100 000 Türks <sup>(374)</sup>.

In 601 the Chinese army was defeated during an attack by the Western Türks; half the Chinese soldiers were killed <sup>(375)</sup>.

In 622 the commander and several thousand soldiers fell during a defeat of the Chinese army <sup>(376)</sup>.

In 622 over 100 000 Türks defeated the Chinese. „General Zhang Jin lost all his army, but saved himself“ <sup>(378)</sup>. That same year the renegade and anti-king Liu Heida used the Türk army and led it to defeat the Chinese army <sup>(379)</sup>.

In 625 the Chinese army was likewise defeated in defensive battles and the commander's adjutant was taken prisoner <sup>(380)</sup>.

In 679 the Chinese army was defeated during a Türk uprising. Over 10 000 soldiers and officers were killed or taken prisoner <sup>(381)</sup>. The rebellion was put down a new expedition of the immense strength of 300 000 soldiers <sup>(382)</sup>.

In 681 „the Chinese army suffered a heavy defeat“ <sup>(383)</sup>.

In 683 another defeat during a Chinese attack on the Türks <sup>(384)</sup>.

In 684 or 685 a Türk raid on Chinese territory the Chinese army suffered „a heavy defeat“, during which more than 5 000 men were killed <sup>(385)</sup>.

In 687 an elite army numbering 13 000 men was defeated and completely destroyed in pursuit of the Türks <sup>(386)</sup>.

In 705 the army that was sent to oppose a Türk raid „could not achieve any victory“. Almost 10 000 men fell on the battlefield <sup>(387)</sup>.

In 706 during a Türk raid the Chinese imperial army was defeated after a long battle, losing more than 6 000 men <sup>(388)</sup>, other sources give 30 000 men <sup>(389)</sup>.

In 720 the Chinese army suffered „a heavy defeat“ since, as they state, frost caused the bows and arrows to fall from the soldiers hand <sup>(390)</sup>. This was clearly an excuse, for the Türks will have battled under the same conditions.

In 615 the Türks led Shibi-kaghan besieged the Emperor Yangdi, who was on a tour of inspection in the northern borderland, in his residence, and the emperor escaped only just and with difficulties from the siege <sup>(391)</sup>. The emperor felt very frightened and escaped from the capital of Luoyang further to the south <sup>(392)</sup>. In 624 there was a proposal to move the capital city further inland in fear of the Türks <sup>(393)</sup>.

The Türks were helped in their victories by a further circumstance, as can be seen from an eye witness report describing the conditions of the border garrison in 720: „The army generals think only of their own defence and the army commissars in the forts and garrisons covet only their own profit ...“ <sup>(394)</sup>.

Immense costs were involved in keeping such an army. With few exceptions China was constantly on the defence against the Türks. For that reason great importance was attributed to the defence of China and to the Great Wall of China - at least to begin with. The Wall had been built as a protection against the raids by northern nomads. The mighty Wall was therefore maintained, extended and strengthened by building further sections. This was a major burden on the state budget and on the people. Work on the Wall proceeded throughout the Türk period and the upkeep of numerous armies, of forts and other expensive facilities give an idea of what efforts and costs were involved by the constant threat of Türk raids.

In 555 some 1800 000 workers were engaged on extending the Wall over a length of more than 900 li <sup>(395)</sup>. 1 li is slightly over half a kilometre.

In 556 the Wall was renovated over a length of 3000 li, beginning at the ocean in the east. Each 60 li a fort was built and at strategically important points 25 garrisons were stationed <sup>(396)</sup>.

In 557 a further line was built inside the territory, extending 400 li in length <sup>(397)</sup>.

In 563 some 20 000 men built a fortress, prolonged the Wall by 200 li and set up 13 small garrisons. At the same time further defence lines were set up over a length of 2 000 li with fortifications and guards <sup>(398)</sup>.

In 579 citizens of Hebei province from various prefectures were sent to build the Wall <sup>(399)</sup>.

In 581 the emperor ordered the Wall to be repaired as a protection against the Türks <sup>(400)</sup>.

In 586 110 000 men were called up to build the Wall, but after 20 days all work was stopped <sup>(401)</sup>.

In 607 over a million men were called up to build a new section of the Wall, but work was stop-

ped after ten day when five or six workers of every ten lost their lives <sup>(402)</sup>.

In 608 work on this section was renewed with participation of 200 000 men <sup>(403)</sup>.

In 626 Emperor Gaozu of the Tang dynasty ordered fortresses and defence walls to be built against the Türks <sup>(404)</sup>. And in 624 he set up a navy on the Yellow River to face the Türks and had strategic roads built along the frontier <sup>(405)</sup>.

But the Chinese Wall was of little avail against the Türks who had no difficulty in penetrating it. The immense cost of its construction, maintenance and widening was unprofitable and the loss of life linked with it was so great that the second emperor of the Tang dynasty Taizong regarded his predecessors of the Sui dynasty as foolish when instead of seeking able men in defence of the border they constructed the Chinese Wall <sup>(406)</sup>.

For a full two hundred years the Chinese suffered Türk raids almost every year and sometimes several times that same year, with occasional longer intervals.

The first historically recorded raids date from 542. Other raids are given in the following table: <sup>(407)</sup>

Year	
564	3x
578	3x
579	1x
c.581	1x
582	5x
583	1x
599	2x
600	1x
601	1x
615	1x
616	1x
617	1x
619	4x
620	1x
621	4x
622	12x
623	11x
624	12x
625	15x
626	11x
629	1x
680	1x
681	4x
682	1x
700	1x
702	6x
706	4x
714	1x
720	4x
764	4x
683	5x
684	1x
686	2x
687	2x
693	1x
696	3x
698	9x

## 10. CHINESE POLICY TOWARDS THE TÜRKIS

As can be gathered from Chinese and Türk sources the Chinese used the good and bad qualities of the Türks to their own benefit. The greatest ally of the Chinese was mutual jealousy and hatred among the Türk tribes, between the tribe and the kaghan, among the chiefs of the tribes and even within the families of the chiefs and the kaghans as well as the class distinctions between the people and the aristocracy. Hand in hand with this went treason, when, at a decisive moment, the person enjoying weight and power did not obey the kaghan's orders or when even part of the Türks joined the Chinese against their own fellow tribesmen. The Chinese emperors skilfully used the well tested policy of „divide et impera“. They had false reports circulated, encouraged jealousy, in exaggerated manner gave preference to one dignitary or member of the kaghan's family against another, did not spare rich gifts and correctly counted on Türk greed. Entire hordes voluntarily surrendered to the Chinese, tempted by gifts or disgruntled on account of the ruthless policies of the aristocracy and the kaghan, who did nothing to spare the people.

The disastrous consequences of this policy and the bad qualities of parts of the Türks are described in Bilge-kaghan's proclamation to the Türk people of the Kül-tegin and the Bilge-kaghan stelae: „The Chinese nation who supplied a surfeit of gold, silver, millet (?) and silk (?) always spoke in a flattering tongue and disposed of softening wealth. Since they enwrapped them with their flattering tongue and softening wealth, they attracted people living afar. And when they settled in their vicinity, then felt their guile ... Since you have your minds confused with their flattering tongue and their softening wealth, many of you, oh Türk nation, found your death“ <sup>(408)</sup>. As a result of the conflicts between the begs and the people and in consequence of the craftiness of the Chinese nation and their intrigues and since they incited the younger and the elder brothers one against the other, plotted intrigues and sowed discord between the begs and the people, it brought

the hereditary realm of the Türk nation to its extinction and brought annihilation to their careworn kaghans. The sons of the noblemen became slaves of the Chinese, their pure daughters were turned into slave girls. The Türk begs set aside their Türk titles and wore the titles of Chinese begs, listened to the Chinese emperor and served him for fifty years" (409).

The Chinese army had little chance against the Türks in open battle unless aided by one or more of these circumstances. A major role was played by the Chinese envoys to the Türks, mainly persons of military character and, at the same time, spies. It was easy work for them among the Türks in view of their generally guileless, almost naive character. „The Türks are truly simple and uncomplicated, and it is easy to stir up quarrels among them" (410) - as the Chinese annals report. Cases are recorded when the relevant high Türk personality believed very thinly disguised snares and fabrications. The Chinese sources in no ways hid this fractionalist and cunning policy.

If we take account of some concrete cases recorded by the Chinese we can fully believe what Bilge-kaghan recorded for all times about Chinese policies and their consequences:

„The emperor wished to sow discord among the northern neighbours (the Türks) and therefore gave especially rich gifts to Tuli-kaghan" (411). The year was 597.

The emperor began to be afraid of the growing power of Shibi-kaghan. He therefore wanted to divide the Türks. He offered the kaghan's younger brother one of the imperial princesses for wife. But in fear of the kaghan he did not dare accept the offer. For that reason the emperor turned to a different plan of how to lessen the influence of the Sogdians who „taught and led" the Türks. An envoy was therefore sent to the most popular of the Sogdians with a message that the emperor intended to trade with the nomads. The first to come would have the chance to select the best things. He believed the message, set out with his entire horde to the Chinese border where he was taken prisoner and executed. Whereupon the emperor sent a letter to the kaghan in which he claimed that the Sogdian in question had come to the emperor with his horde of his own accord proclaiming that he had abandoned the kaghan and had demanded to be accepted into the realm. But this time the kaghan understood the true state of things. When in 615 the emperor was on a tour of inspection in the north he was encircled by several hundred thousand horsemen. However, the emperor was saved from defeat and imprisonment by the following subterfuge: He relied on the fact that the kaghan's wife was a Chinese princess. He sent a messenger to her with the request for help. The kaghan sent a fictitious message to the kaghan saying that there was danger from the north, probably a rebellion, and requested his help. For that reason the siege was immediately lifted, and the Türks withdrew (412).

Chuluohou, Shabolüe's younger brother, was very popular among the people and therefore hated by the kaghan. He secretly made contact with a Chinese emissary to the kaghan. During a hunting expedition the emissary „cultivated detailed information on strategic conditions and the strength and weaknesses of the Türks" (413).

The following is the complete political and strategic plan of the same emissary aimed at breaking up the unity of the Eastern and the Western Türks: „Jianjue (Datou) has more soldiers than Shetu (Shabolüe), but in rank stands below him. To the outside world they pose together, but there is discord between them. If their passion is incited, they will fight against one another! Then there is Chuluohou, Shetu's younger brother. He is cunning but holds a weaker position. He knows how skilfully to win the hearts' of the people. His fellow countrymen love him. For that reason Shetu hates him. He feels dissatisfied and holds distrust and is afraid even if he tries to hid his indignation. Then there is Abo, who shifts from one to the other. He is greatly afraid of Shetu and is under his rule. He is fickle and leans towards the stronger. Let us link up with those who live further from us and attack the weaker! We ought to send an envoy to Jianjue and make him contact Abo. Then Shetu must withdraw his soldiers from the frontier to protect his western side. Then we shall join Chuluohou with Hi and Si. Shetu will then divide his forces and retreat to cover his eastern side. Thus there arises distrust and hatred between the ruler and the ruled, and their most intimate friends will abandon them. If ten years later we attack them at an unexpected moment, we shall, in one blow, destroy their entire country!" (414). Whereupon the envoy „drew [for the emperor] the mountains and river and showed the strong and weak positions of the Türks" (415). Later the emperor gave to Jianjue „a standard with a wolf's head to pretend respect. He treated him in especially kind manner. When Jianjue's envoy came, the emperor had him take a more honourable place than the envoys of Shetu. This was an attempt to sow strife between the two kaghans, and they truly turned enemies!" (416). When in 582 Shetu (Shabolüe) attacked with 400 000 horsemen and defeated the Chinese army, the author of this strategic plan persuaded Qimin to send a false

report to Shabolüe that „Tiele and others had rebelled and are intending to attack our camp.“ Shabolüe took fright and retreated <sup>(417)</sup>.

In this campaign Shetu was victorious and Abo suffered defeat. This again was used by the Chinese to their advantage. They sent to Abo a messenger to attract him to their side. They frightened him that Shetu would blame Abo for the defeat so that he might be destroyed. It was therefore more advantageous to submit to the emperor and join Datou. Abo succumbed and submitted. When Shabolüe heard of this he attacked his camp, took all his relatives prisoners and killed his mother. Abo escaped to Jianjue (Datou), whom he requested for more than 100 000 soldiers and with them he attacked Shetu and conquered his lands back. Such raids occurred on several more occasions <sup>(418)</sup>.

Under Xieli Chinese spies were sent to sow strife among the Türk hordes <sup>(419)</sup>. They managed to upset Xieli's confidence and made him submit <sup>(420)</sup>. In 681 the „agents“ managed to cause strife among the hordes. Ashina Funian took Wenfu prisoner and turned him over to the Chinese. But both were executed <sup>(421)</sup>. It is likewise said that after the death of Mochuo the Chinese incited strife among the Türks <sup>(422)</sup>, and this is fully confirmed in Bilge-kaghan's proclamation.

The emperor promised the title of prince, the office of the Grand General of the Guard and, in addition, a gift of 2 000 skeins of silk to whoever killed Mochuo or took him prisoner <sup>(423)</sup>. And Mochuo was, indeed, assassinated and his head was sent to the emperor. All these facts are examples of the truth of the motto that „the most foresighted plan for China was to stir up barbarian against barbarian“ <sup>(424)</sup>.

As allies in the struggle against the Orkhon Türks, the Chinese used the Türk hordes settled in the Chinese borderland since they had become subjects of the Chinese. e.g. in 600.

At that time the Chinese used dishonest means to destroy the Türk army which was about to cross the Yellow River. Both people and animals drank from the water in the river and so the Chinese poisoned it. The Türks explained the death of so many people and animals as an omen from heaven and quickly withdrew. Only then did the imperial army attack from the back <sup>(425)</sup>.

In corrupting the Türks the Chinese emperors counted on their being satisfied with gifts so that they would not attack Chinese territory. And their plans went even further. Here is concrete example, the details of a strategic plan by Emperor Taizong of the year 626: „...If the barbarians suffer only one defeat it would probably stir their morale out of fear and would intensify their hatred. Then this would be no small evil for us! If, however, I have armour vests made and lances collected and bribe the barbarians with jade and silk, the savage barbarians will become conceited and licentious and that undoubtedly will be the beginning of their early end. The saying remains valid: If you want to take, you must also give!“ <sup>(426)</sup>.

After the split between Tuli and Xieli and the link between Tuli and the Chinese, the period of Xieli's famous victories came to an end. He was taken prisoner in 630 and died an early death in 634 <sup>(427)</sup>. The Chinese statesmen then worried about what to do with the more than one hundred Türk chieftains who, after Xieli's defeat submitted to the emperor. Most of the emperor's counselors realized that the Türks had submitted only since they had no other choice at the time. For that reason they did not trust them and felt it would be best to divide them, scatter them to sparsely inhabited inland regions and employ them in agriculture or weaving and to assimilate them. They would thus be turned into Chinese citizens, the population would increase and the territory north of China - which had presented a threat to the empire - would remain empty. Another counselor advised the the Türk hordes as an undivided unit be used as guardians of the frontier <sup>(428)</sup>. Yet another warned the emperor not to settle the Türks inside the realm. Their numbers now amounted to almost one hundred thousand. Within a few years there would be a hundred times more, and they would represent a constant threat to the capital city <sup>(429)</sup>.

The second proposal was in the end accepted and some tens of thousands of families settled in the capital <sup>(430)</sup>. Soon the fears of how the Türks would behave proved true. After a rebellion in 639 they moved back to their own territory <sup>(431)</sup>.

Chinese policy rightly reckoned on the greed of the kaghans and their selfishness towards their fellow tribesmen. When in 622 several hundred thousand elite cavalymen invaded China, the emperor sent an envoy to Xieli with this message: Since all looted objects belong to the commanders and the soldiers and the kaghan will not get any of this, it would be best to stop the advance, conclude friendship with the emperor and accept a wealth of gifts. They shall all belong to the kaghan, who will have the benefit of them without any effort. And Xieli truly followed this advice <sup>(432)</sup>.

It has been mentioned that the Chinese emperors made good use of conflicts among the Türks, that caused such conflicts, encouraged and directed them and used rich gifts to pursue their own policies. And there was one other means. They tried to bind the Türk kaghans to them by giving them the daughters of the harem ladies as wives. Sometimes they availed themselves of this to stir up strife among the Türk chieftains, or the wives were expected to provide information or spread false reports among the Türks. This has already been explained. In the Chinese annals such marriages are given as means of Chinese policy:

„We must make plans for the distant future in order to subdue them (the Türks) and make them compliant by means of marriages ...“ (433), stands written on the proclamation of Emperor Li Yuan (Gaozu). These marriages of imperial princesses to barbarian chieftains usually took place at times that were uncertain for Chinese emperors. When the position of China was stronger the emperors rejected requests for Chinese princesses (434). There were even cases when the emperor aimed at a reverse relationship with the kaghan giving his daughter in marriage to the Chinese emperor or prince (435).

## 11. TÜRK INTERVENTION IN CHINESE AFFAIRS AND MILITARY AID TO CHINA

Although, on the one hand, the Chinese emperors did everything in their power to weaken the kaghans and set the individual chieftains of tribes, or even members of the kaghan's family against one another, in emergencies they did not hesitate to use the military might of the Türks, to their own advantage. They made them their allies in struggles for the throne or at least demanded their neutrality. They further used them as tools against other barbarians in the north who wished to rid themselves of Chinese power. There are plenty of examples for this in Chinese sources:

In 563 Sijin sent 100 000 to the Northern Zhou in the struggle against the Northern Qi (436). Another joint campaign took place the following year (437).

In the Tang Uprising against the imperial House of the Sui in 617 Türk aid played an important role. A personal letter from the later Emperor Gaozu to the Türks of 617 included the following: „If you follow me and do not attack our people (in so doing), you shall have the loot of boys and girls, jade and silk from our (joint) lethal battles.“ Elsewhere stands: „looted money, silk, gold, gems, boys and girls all to belong to the kaghan“ (438). „If unconditionally you believe that the way is too distant for you and you cannot penetrate thus far, it suffices if you merely look on and be in friendship with us; then you shall receive treasures without as much as moving a finger, and you will not need to engage your forces“ (439). Apart from equestrian units the Türks lent the Tang also horses for their cavalry (440).

To subdue the Khitans, who had invaded Chinese territory in 605, Qimin-kaghan lent 20 000 cavalrymen (441). As the Chinese text frankly describes, it was betrayal on the part of the Türks since the Khitans were their subjects at the time. These events are worth a more detailed description since they show clearly how ruthless greed drove the nomads living to the north of China one against the other, and how they did not shrink from any means to win loot anywhere and in any manner. At that time the Khitans allowed the Türk army to approach, not expecting any evil intent, since the Chinese emissaries remained in hiding. The Türks pretended that they were moving east in the direction of Korea to do trade. At night they secretly turned back and moved close to the Khitan camp. In the morning they carried out a surprise attack on the unsuspecting Khitans and took 40 000 persons prisoner. Half of the looted cattle and the girls were sent to the imperial court. All adult men were executed, as usual (442).

In 736 the Chinese emperor invited Bilge-kaghan's son and successor to join the Chinese army in an attack on the subject people of the Tuqishi (Türgesh), who had turned hostile. He wished to make him angry by informing him that the emissaries of the Türgesh to the Chinese court had refused to take part in the funeral celebrations for the deceased Bilge-kaghan. In case of victory he promised for his support all the looted sheep, horses, the territory as well as the boys and girls, jade and silk. By way of a deposit Xuanzong sent gifts (443).

In 696 Mochuo himself requested agreement to be able to attack the Khitans in the name of the emperor. As reward he was given the Türks living on Chinese territory, agricultural tools, iron and corn (444).

Sometimes the emperors entrusted the Türks with punitive expeditions, particularly if some of the more remote vassal states refused to acknowledge Chinese supremacy. They made use of the Türks where their own power did not reach so far.

In 607 the emperor sent a message by the Korean envoys to the King of Korea requesting that he come at the earliest possible date to pay his tribute or else he would invade his country together with Türks<sup>(445)</sup>.

In the Imperial Edict of 608 stands written: „Qimin, kaghan of the Türks, is protecting our frontier with his hordes“<sup>(446)</sup>.

At the time of confusion towards the end of the reign of the Sui dynasty in 617 several dissenters, anti-emperors and founders of independent little short-term states kept their places only with the support of the Türk kaghans and their military might<sup>(447)</sup>. In 582 a similar case occurred when a remote relative of the imperial House of the Northern Qi rose up against the Emperor Gaozu and joined up with the Türks<sup>(448)</sup>.

When it was to the advantage of the Chinese emperors they, in turn, helped the Türks militarily. For example in 585 the Chinese army helped Shabolüe to defeat the rebellious Abo tribes. All loot remained with the Türks<sup>(449)</sup>. In 645 the Chinese gave aid to the Türks in destroying the Türk Xieyantuo<sup>(450)</sup>.

With the growing might of the Türks and the decline of Chinese prestige there occurred even isolated Türk intervention in Chinese affairs of state<sup>(451)</sup>. Among this there is the request that the Ruanruan, who had taken refuge with the Chinese emperor be surrendered. The result: 3 000 Ruanruan handed over by the emperor were executed by the Türks.

The following is a further example of the weakness of Emperor Gaozu: Chuluo, the kaghan of the Western Türks, took refuge at the emperor's court. Shibi, the kaghan of the Eastern Türks, requested that he be handed over. The emperor betrayed Chuluo though he was his guest and surrendered him the emissaries of the Eastern Türks, who executed him in 619<sup>(452)</sup>.

## 12. TRADE, GIFTS AND TRIBUTES; FOREIGN INFLUENCES

If we were to take the Chinese sources literally and were not able to decipher the true meaning of their formulations, it would seem that the Türks had been part of the Chinese empire since time immemorial. Many authors have understood reports on the tribute that the Türks sent annually to the Chinese emperors in this sense. But these gifts were immediately returned by the Chinese and Türk side counted on this counter-value in the form either of Chinese goods, military aid or a bride from the imperial house. It was trade rather than tribute. The constant Türk invasions in themselves rectify the no longer tenable view of Türk tributary relations with China.

The Türks supplied to China goods that are largely non specified and generally marked as „products of the land“, „home products“, „products of their country“<sup>(453)</sup>.

Named products include „fabrics of Artemisia stelleriana“ (a type wormwood) as the kaghan's gift to the emperor<sup>(454)</sup>, fish glue, likewise a gift from the kaghan<sup>(455)</sup>, which once expressly symbolized the kaghan's wish that friendship between the two countries should resemble this glue, i.e. be that strong<sup>(456)</sup>. At other times it was a „case of jade“ from Hotan<sup>(457)</sup>, a „dish inlaid with precious stones“<sup>(458)</sup>. Among „products of the land“ probably were sable furs. In 647 they were promised by the Türk chieftains to cover the costs of building the north-south road link with China<sup>(459)</sup>. But mostly it was domestic animals and especially horses. In 594 the chieftains of the Türk hordes sent 10 000 horses, 20 000 sheep and 500 each of camels and cattle to the Chinese court with emissaries and requested permission to set up markets for trade with China along the frontier<sup>(460)</sup>. Sources mention as „tribute from the Türks“ the following number of animals: „several thousand, even tens of thousand heads of beef cattle, sheep, camels and horses“<sup>(461)</sup>, 3 000 horses and 10 000 sheep<sup>(462)</sup>, 200 horses as gifts on the death of Emperor Wendi<sup>(463)</sup>, 50 000 horses<sup>(464)</sup>, 1 000 horses<sup>(465)</sup>, 3 000 horses<sup>(466)</sup>, 30 outstanding horses<sup>(467)</sup>, 100 horses and sheep<sup>(468)</sup>, 1 000 horses<sup>(469)</sup>. Further: horses, no numbers given<sup>(470)</sup>, and „famous horses“<sup>(471)</sup>.

Sometimes „gift“ or „tribute“ is mentioned without any details<sup>(472)</sup>. Under various kaghans there at times appeared the formula „from that time on they sent regular tribute“<sup>(473)</sup>. This can be found for the years 553, 565, 585, 588, 619. But every time this „regularity“ was interrupted, and there were Türk invasions to China.

The first report of the appearance of the Türks on the Chinese frontier dates from c. 534 and is related to trade. At that time they came for the first time to buy silk <sup>(474)</sup>. In 594 there is another report that they had sent messengers that requested permission to set up markets for mutual trade along the border of the Chinese territory and that this was granted by the emperor <sup>(475)</sup>. In 624 was permitted to trade as on a request by Xieli <sup>(476)</sup>. In 727 there is again mention of permission to trade in the military district of Suofang <sup>(477)</sup>.

It is highly likely that the emperor held the monopoly on trade. This seems clear from a report of the year 607 when the emperor had the vice-president „of the office for coaches and horses“ and his brother sent to prison for doing prohibited trade with Türks, after having originally wished to execute both of them <sup>(478)</sup>. The continuation of this report, in referring to the year 727, speaks in the same sense. It says that after granting permission for mutual trading the emperor „had several hundred thousand skeins of silk transported to the frontier every year and had presented them (to the Türks)“ <sup>(479)</sup>.

The Chinese speak of trade, but whereas Türk goods are characterized as „tribute“ the Chinese (the emperor's) were „gifts“. This is a euphemism to hide the true state of things. This trade was often imposed by the Türks in their favour and at periods of growing Türk might, even the Chinese „gifts“ cannot be explained other than as tribute to the Türks. To regard gifts as a form of subjugation has always been part of the mentality of the Chinese emperors, who considered themselves as rulers of the greatest empire in the world.

Among Chinese products the Türks were most interested in silk <sup>(480)</sup>, which was for them a symbol of higher cultural standard of China. Sometimes the emperor sent considerable quantities of skeins to the Türks, marked either as gifts or as exchange goods. In various years the numbers amounted to 5 000 <sup>(481)</sup>, 3 000 <sup>(482)</sup>, 13 000 <sup>(483)</sup>, 200 000 <sup>(484)</sup>, 5 000 <sup>(485)</sup>, 500 000 <sup>(486)</sup>, and, in addition, 100 000 pieces of cotton, wool and silk <sup>(487)</sup>.

In 626 Emperor Taizong accused the Türk emissaries that they had again invaded China although in preceding years he had sent the „customary quantity of jade and silk“ <sup>(488)</sup>.

Personal gifts to the kaghans on ascending the throne included: „clothing, food, carriages, costumes, drums and brass instrument“ <sup>(489)</sup>, „drums, brass instruments and flags“ <sup>(490)</sup>, „travel coach, horses(!), drums, brass instruments and flags“ <sup>(491)</sup>, „drums and standards“ <sup>(492)</sup>, „a standard with a wolf's head“ <sup>(493)</sup>, „tens of thousands of pieces of linen and silk“ <sup>(494)</sup>, „gold and silk“ <sup>(495)</sup>.

In 608 the emperor ordered Qimin-kaghan to build a castle and supply it with „hangings, bedding and other objects according to need, all to be as rich as possible“ <sup>(496)</sup>. Gifts to the same kaghan included: gold vase, clothing, bedding, brocade and bright silk <sup>(497)</sup>.

Chinese sources mention a complaint by Mochuo-kaghan to the Chinese emissary that the gold saddle with engraved ornaments given to him by the emperor was only silver-gilt <sup>(498)</sup>.

On the occasion a kaghan's funeral the emperor would send an envoy with condolences and rich gifts. In 588 on one such occasion he sent „valuables“ <sup>(499)</sup>, in 619 „30 000 skeins of silk“ <sup>(500)</sup>. The Türk inscription on the Kül-tegin stele states that the emperor's legates brought to the funeral ceremonies of Kül-tegin „an immense amount of valuables, gold and silver“ <sup>(501)</sup>. The same stands written on the Bilge-kaghan stele <sup>(502)</sup>. At the height of Türk power when an army hundreds of thousands of men strong represented a permanent threat on the border or even invaded Chinese territory. Chinese chronicles no longer pretended that silk and other articles sent by the emperor to the kaghan were commercial goods or gifts of friendship but were true bribes, even ransom. The following passages in the annals prove this:

Under Tabo „both dynasties of the Northern Zhou and the Northern Qi competed in efforts to form link with the (Türk) ruler's family by marriage. They emptied their treasure chests to be of service to them“ <sup>(503)</sup>. „Again and again the emperor sent emissaries to Xieli to bribe him. Furthermore he promised links with the imperial house by marriage“ <sup>(504)</sup>. „Since the emperor had ruled over the empire but for a short time, he humbled himself and put up with a great deal and showered (Xieli) with innumerable gifts, but the wishes (of Xieli) knew no bounds and had no limits“ <sup>(505)</sup>. „The Türks (under Xieli) often undertook looting raids, for that reason the Emperor Gaozu had tens of thousands of pieces of linen and silk taken (to them) and concluded friendship with them“ <sup>(506)</sup>. Taizong, the second emperor of the Tang dynasty, himself defined his father's relationship with the Türks as vassal „with regard to the interests of the people“ <sup>(507)</sup>.

There is a typical story relating to the year 618 when the emperor sent gifts to Shibi-kaghan (silk and gold is mentioned). But before the envoys arrived the kaghan died. The emperor thereupon gave orders that the gifts were to be withheld and deposited in treasure chests on the territory

of China. When the Türks were informed of this „they grew very irate and set out to the south to cross (Yellow River)“. In view of this threat the emperor ordered that the gifts be taken across the frontier and „to be present ceremoniously as a gift of state“. Only then did the Türks withdraw <sup>(508)</sup>.

The purchase of Türk horses was mostly enforced by the constant threat of looting raids, which the Chinese army could stand up to only with difficulties. But there was one case when the emperor lacked horses for a campaign and ordered them direct from the Türk kaghan by way of barter <sup>(509)</sup>, but there can be no doubt that the Türks were interested in China taking as many horses as possible in exchange for silk, for the nomads had a surplus of horses. As time passed and China's might grew while that of the Türks declined, the purchases of horses decreased. This becomes clear from a personal letter by Emperor Xuanzong to the son of Bilge-kaghan in 735. The emperor says that in recent years there had been restrictions on his part in trade between the two countries. As before so even now the number of horses given in exchange for silk should not exceed several thousand animals. But that year the Türks sent too many (14 000) and the emperor had paid the Türks and the Kirghiz 20 000 skeins of silk. Bilge-kaghan, he claimed had never sent more than 3 - 4 thousand horses a year. As this was not a large number it was easy to obtain silk in return. But since Bilge-kaghan's son had only recently ascended the throne and the emperor regarded him as his son, he wished to show good will and had kept all the horses. But he now requested that he be patient until he could obtain the necessary 500 000 skein of silk. He says expressly that it is a matter of „barter trade“ (that is, not tribute) „between the two countries“ <sup>(510)</sup>. There is no question that the Orkhon Türks at that time belonged to China even though the kaghan is regarded as the emperor's son.

These two letters by the emperor are important in giving us an idea of the ratio between the horse and number of skeins of silk at the time. According to the emperor 14 000 horses equalled „500 000 skeins of silk“ <sup>(511)</sup>, which means that a horse at that time had the value of almost 36 skeins. Half a century earlier, (in 607) the emperor gave 13 000 skeins of silk „in return for a gift“ of 3 000 horses <sup>(512)</sup> i.e. 4.3 skeins per horse, which was a great disparity. But in this case there is no guarantee that the values were mutually reckoned on the same level according to the number of pieces while in the first case the emperor expressly states so, we would call it a matter of accountability. The length of the skeins and their quality were not identical and changed in the course of time, as can be deduced from Türk complaints of worsening quality of the silk and the content of the skeins. In a further letter to the son of Bilge-kaghan the emperor states that the silk is this time better than before, but that the horses were worse, with weak and ill animals among them that could not be used for riding or as draught animals and that, furthermore, they were all of small growth <sup>(513)</sup>.

These letters show clear what I have asserted before, namely that the emperor complied with the pressure of the Türks and that it was not a matter of tribute on the part of the Türks but truly trade, where the two sides found fault with the opposing side and praised their own goods and haggled over the bargain.

In another place there is a request from Mochuo in 698 for 100 000 hu seeds for sowing, 3 000 agricultural tools and several tens of thousands of pounds of iron. That was likewise a certain form of trade - reward for military aid given to the Chinese empress <sup>(514)</sup>.

Liu Mau-tsai drew up a survey of Chinese and Türk envoys <sup>(515)</sup>. It shows that during the two hundred years of mutual contacts Chinese civil envoys were sent to Türk territory thirty times and military envoys forty-five times as well as four unspecified ones, which makes a total of seventy-nine Chinese missions.

For the sake of completeness are the gifts that the Chinese emperors gave to the Western Türks, to envoys, generals etc. They always included several objects in combination, among them gold or silver belts, robes (red, purple, embroidered garments), caskets for medals in the shape of a fish; „seven things“ <sup>(516)</sup>. On the appointment of a kaghan the emperor sent as gift in 638 4 banners with wolf's heads and 4 drums <sup>(517)</sup>, in 641 a drum and a standard <sup>(518)</sup>, at other times again a drum, a standard and ten thousand pieces of silk with flowers <sup>(519)</sup>.

These reports of goods that came to the territory of the Eastern Türks are partly reflected in archaeological finds in graves. Remnants of fabrics of silk have been found in large numbers. Here are a few examples when the silk was of the best quality and highly artistic: In the first place material for upper garments (caftan, long coat) with Iranian patterns composed of circles and lined with a double astragal and inside mostly fantastic animals. The areas between the circles were filled with plant rosaries again revealing the Iranian influence (*tab. 112, 134*). These precious types

of silk include material for pouches (*tab. 136*) and protective covers for mirrors (*tab. 118*). As to belts, it is so far difficult to distinguish which are the work of Türk craftsmen and which are Chinese, for even the Chinese will have worked to Türk taste.

Among the Chinese object given in Chinese sources as gifts of articles of trade there are no mirrors. But they have been found in Türk graves, or at least fragments of such (*tab. 119, 138, 150*). If they are old mirrors from the period of the Han dynasty (206 B.C. - A.D. 220) and particularly such fragments (*tab. 111*) then we probably have proof that the Türks robbed the ancient graves.

Chinese sources also make no mention of the export of Chinese pottery, which has been found in one exceptional case in one grave (Jargalant, *tab. 116/15*). It is strange that contemporary first class Chinese ceramic products, including porcelain, have not been found in larger numbers in Türk graves. Did the Türks show no interest or did they not put such things in graves?

A lacquer dish in a grave mound at Jargalant was an import from China, and a similar one has been found in one Kirghiz cremation tomb (*tab. 154/3*).

As to trade relations between the Orkhon Türks and other areas, mainly the territory of the Western Türks including the Sogdians, or with Iran, we have to rely only on archaeological finds. In the Kurikan culture there are many proofs of such lively contacts with Central Asia<sup>(520)</sup>, but as yet far fewer for the territory of the Orkhon Türks.

A fragment of Iranian fabric with a woven pattern<sup>(521)</sup> (*tab. 120*) was found in a female grave at Jargalant together with numerous other products. It also included apricot and plum stones (*tab. 116/13*). Such trees did not grow in the cold inland climate in Mongolia, and even less produce fruit. Since even part of the skin of the plum is preserved on the stone, they did not place only the stones into the grave but the entire fruit. It must therefore be assumed that the fruit was imported either from China or from Middle Asia in dried form.

Sogdian products included pottery, especially jugs. (See the following chapter).

The constant contact with China, in peacetime and at war, led to the imitation and adoption of many Chinese customs. This is particularly true of the Türks who became subjected to China. An additional circumstance was the fact that many family members of the kaghan were educated at the Chinese court together with members of other nationalities. There they enjoyed all the cultural facilities of the empire and at the same time used their stay for espionage, for they would return home always for the summer<sup>(522)</sup>.

This is characterized fittingly and in detail by a record of the years 690-1: „At that time many sons of barbarians of (all) four corners of the world lived as hostages in the capital city. During their stay they all learnt the laws and regulations and when they returned home, it was a threat to our borderland... I saw that the Türks, Tibetans and Khitans were indulged during their stay at the court; they held military posts and were educated in the imperial school; they put aside their felt garments and learnt to dress the Chinese manner; they investigated successes and failures in maps and historical works and became acquainted with places in the mountains and along the rivers that were accessible with ease or with difficulties...“<sup>(523)</sup>.

These conditioned were lasting one and the advice that new „kowtowing sons“ should not be accepted or should they be at court, should not allowed to return was not followed<sup>(524)</sup>.

Numerous members of the Türk aristocracy also at times lived in the Chinese capital city. In the second half of the 6th century „the Türks living in the capital city were treated with great kindness; often there were thousands of them and they received garments of brocade and were supplied with meat“<sup>(525)</sup>. After the defeat of Xieli in 630 „some ten thousand families came to Chang'an and settled there“<sup>(526)</sup>. That means that in the capital of China alone there lived some tens of thousands of Türks (even 100 000 are mentioned). Their contacts and that of the other Türks settled elsewhere on Chinese territory with China will have resulted in changes in their cultural life and morals.

It has already been mentioned that the kaghans longed to equal the Chinese in their external appearance and that they received official permission for this in 608. A major role in the kaghans' adopting Chinese culture was played by the Chinese princesses who were given to them in marriage.

Then there was an influence of Chinese Buddhism. In the sphere of the arts a role was played by all gifts and by loot. Insofar as architecture existed among the Türks, it was likewise Chinese both in form and in building technique. The building of funeral monuments including sculptural and painted decorations by Chinese artists has already been spoken of. Buddhist art forms will be discussed in the section dealing with Buddhism.

Then there was secular architecture. As was said in 608 the Emperor Qimin granted the kaghan's constantly repeated request for „the same houses with beams and rooms“ as the Chinese have, „since he considered the felt walls and hanging (i.e. the yurts) as primitive.“ For that reason the emperor had a castle and houses built for him in the great bend of the Yellow River near the northern frontier of Shenxi province (or Shanxi) <sup>(527)</sup>, and they were fully furnished <sup>(528)</sup>.

In 600 the town of Dali was built for Yangan and his horde south of the Chinese Wall, east of the upper eastern bend in the Yellow River <sup>(529)</sup>. That same year two towns were built for Qiminkaghan <sup>(530)</sup>.

In 647 the chieftains requested Tiele that a north-south road be built from the Uighurs in the south to the Türks in the north with 68 post stations where horses were at the disposal and wine and meat for travelling envoys that provided links with the court. Their request was granted <sup>(531)</sup>. But there are records that „post routes to the court of the barbarians“ are recorded already for the year 627 or a little later <sup>(532)</sup>.

Not only did many Türks live on Chinese territory but many Chinese lived among the Türks, either as prisoners or refugees, and in both cases they were welcome and skilful craftsmen and peasants.

A large number of Chinese escaped to the Türks during the time of confusion preceding the fall of the Sui dynasty. The assumption by the officials that the Türks do not know (Chinese) script was rejected by Emperor Taizong when he proclaimed that there were numerous men of letters among the Chinese who had taken refuge with the Türks and that therefore the barbarians knew all Chinese ceremonial <sup>(533)</sup>. The letter by Shabolüe that was mentioned, dated 584, is proof that he had mastered Chinese style. Kaghan Xieli had in his entourage a Chinese scholar whom he respected for his talent and whom he gave his confidence so that before long he took charge of policies of state <sup>(535)</sup>. The kaghans, furthermore, adopted certain forms of court etiquette. Mochuo, for instance, personally conferred upon the Chinese emissaries purple and violet garments of the 5th and 3rd degree, following the Chinese example <sup>(536)</sup> - he will have received such himself earlier on from the Chinese court. The members of the Türk aristocracy adopted Chinese titles in large numbers, as proved by the Orkhon inscriptions.

Among others, the Türks will have become acquainted with Chinese medicine. There is only one single occasional mention to prove this: „Chuluo fell ill and the princess (of the Sui dynasty) made him use a powder composed of five stones“ (i.e. vermilion, sulphur, saltpeter, azurite and magnetite <sup>(537)</sup>).

Apart from the Chinese scholar mentioned Xieli gave preference to the Sogdians for offices rather than his own relatives <sup>(538)</sup>. But under Shibi (+619) already there were among the Türks „many Sogdians who are malicious and wily, and they give advice to them and control them“ <sup>(539)</sup>.

### 13. THE ARTS AND CRAFTS

E. Chavannes spoke of the art of the Türks with little respect. He said that the same inability to create something permanent in the political sphere can be found among the (nomad) Türks also in the arts and in literature. While China and Persia achieved a high level of culture the Türks living between these two sources of light were not enlightened by them. Even though they worked precious metal, their art remained always the art of barbarians where the value of the material was more important than the manner of treatment <sup>(540)</sup>.

This is, of course, a purely unhistoric and idealistic standpoint. Yes, the art of the Türks was barbarian art - for the very fact that they were barbarians, or, to be more precise, nomads. We cannot expect nomads to create what is known as higher art, monumental art like their two neighbours. We cannot expect them to build architecture, to make sculptures or even carve temples or rock reliefs as they did in Sassanid Iran and Wei or Tang China. The very economic conditions and way of life was so entirely different and so were their religious ideas. That must be kept in mind. The art of the nomad Türks was applied art, decorative art adorning mainly only valuable and important requirements of life, either parts of garments, harness decorations and those on saddles.

Years ago H. Glück<sup>(541)</sup> attempted a rehabilitation of Türk art, but he was not very successful. He regarded as Türk art mainly the animal style of the Hun period. Even though Chinese sources regard the nomads of Central Asia at the time we are speaking about as successors of the Huns, Glück's efforts can only be regarded as a useless confusion of terms. He was entirely off the mark as regards the art of the Türks proper as historically proven at the time we are dealing with. It is the work of a dilettant to view ancient Scythian grave mounds and Orkhon „graves“ (which were not graves but stelae<sup>(542)</sup>) as signs of the parallel forms of ancient Türk customs. The same is true of the assertion that the animal style was turned into monumental sculpture.

Nothing has remained in the art of the Türks of the animal style of the Hun period. (The knout handle, as has been said, is a doubtful proof). The hunting scenes such as the engraving on a bone-inlaid saddle from Kudyrge or composed of metal applications on the curve of a Kirghiz saddle from Kopeny's chaatas are not continuations of scenes on plaques of the animal style but are based on the royal hunting scenes on rock reliefs and dishes in Sassanid Iran. Compared with them they have none of the official art and show more lifelikeness.

The Kudyrge engravings on stone and Kirghiz and Kurikan rock engravings have been mentioned elsewhere. Similar engravings on rocks or objects of daily use have so far not been found among the Orkhon Türks.

### Goldsmith's work

The great majority of objects of Türk arts and crafts is formed by small decorations of bronze or precious metals. They are decorated with plant ornaments, either palmettes, rosettes, tendrils, flowers of a combination of these. Palmettes can be found e.g. on parts of a silver belt from the grave mound No. 1 at Kurai (*tab. 142*), gold plaques on a belt from grave mound No. 3 at Tuyakhta (*tab. 135/1-5*), we can find simple and more complex plant ornaments on a buckle of this belt (*tab. 135/2*), on pendants from the Tonyukuk stela (*tab. 86/1*), rosettes appear on the ornaments of straps from the grave mound No. 4 at Nayantsum (*tab. 111/9-20*), the Tonyukuk stela (*tab. 86/2*), on plaques on Bilge-kaghan's belt (*72/L*). Later they appeared in the Altai as ornaments in the form of insects such as bees on *tab. 144/12*.

A favourite shape of ornaments was the „heart“. This is to be found on plaques from grave mound No. 4 at Nayantsum (*tab. 111/2-4*), heart-shaped holes are seen on pendants, either as such or as decorations on the belts of certain balbaes (*tab. 126B*). There are relief hearts on the plaques of belts of other balbaes, too (*tab. 125A 1-2*).

In great likelihood round stone vessels with a broadening spout (broken off) and low stand formed part of the Kül-tegin sculpture, and it was decorated with engraved flowers and bears marks of gilding (*tab. 48/1-2*). It probably represents a gold vessel that Kül-tegin will have owned. It is basically the same type of vessel that some balbaes hold (*tab. 125C I-III, V*). They are jugs that will have been widely used by the Türks. Though no toreutic articles have as yet been found in archaeological material of the Orkhon Türks, this stone vessel is proof of their having been used there. Otherwise these jugs are known from the rest of the territory of the Türks. Most of them are wrought in silver and have a small handle on the broadest curve, occasions even a small loop (*tab. 173, 135/6-7, 141*). Luxury examples of gold have been found in Kirghiz graves with rich relief decorations (*tab. 174*). In origin this is a typical nomad form of vessel, for it is not found among the numerous contemporary iconographic material from China or Iran, where its origin might otherwise be sought. But the matter of the producer is another thing. I. A. Orbeli and K. V. Trever described as Sassanid metal-work two elongated vessels on *tab. 173/3, 4*, part of the Pereshchepin Treasure, which was buried in the 7th century. Of Sassanid origin is the shape of the handle, particularly when it has a horizontally decorated little plate as the top (*tab. 173/2, 4*) and the base in the shape of a rosette or palmette whereby it is attached to the body of the vessel. Such handles are common on Sassanid cups. They can be found also on similar cups found in China, but they were imported Iranian products or copied in China. We cannot give an answer to the question whether these - at least the non-decorated-vessels were made by the Türks themselves or were exported to them until we can prove that they were locally produced, even though that is likely. But there is no justification in calling the luxurious vessel and dish mentioned Kirghiz products, (*tab. 174*), as S. V. Kiselev did<sup>(545)</sup>. Here the situation is more complicated. The dish on *tab. 174/2* is typically Chinese in shape, characteristic of the Tang period in the shaping of the edge to

look like lotus flowers. Similarly Chinese is the gold dish with finely engraved ornaments in the shape of tendrils and with facing phoenixes (S.V. Kiselev, 9, *tab.LVI/3*). In theme the ornaments are very like those on a jug on *tab. 174/1*. The dish shows that it is Chinese work that was entirely under Iranian influence at the time. This brings us to the same point that was made in the analysis of the hammered animal head with a standard. It can be said that Sassanid works of art were in fashion in Tang China (in regards to the arts and crafts), and this basically changed the direction of development of Chinese art. This is a fact that historians of Chinese art go very careful on, but which needs to be taken into account. Chinese silk fabrics are often decorated with the „Sassanid circle“ even though with a Chinese infill but with the field between them filled with palmettes (*tab.134A,112*) entirely according to the patterns of Iranian fabrics which reached Türk territory also from the other side (*tab. 120*). Even ceramics adopted Iranian shapes as did gold and silver vessels. Realistic and naturalistic elements became the fashion in ornaments, which until that time had been alien to the trends of Chinese art and its substance. This can be seen even on Chinese mirrors, e.g. that at Jargalant (*tab. 119*), where even grapes appear among the tendrils, a western decorative element. Via Iranian art one can even detect Hellenistic roots.

Plant ornaments appear in China often on stelae - see the framing of the Chinese inscription on the Kül-tegin stele (*tab. 30/2*) and its close analogy in China on *tab. 151*. The Chinese, however, did not adopt things passively but added features of their own. In technique of wrought-metal work and metal engraving we can find common features in the small hatching and punching of the background, from which the drawing itself stands out sharply with its smooth and flat silhouette. This technique is visible also on Türk products and on objects of Kirghiz origin.

In this connection a closer look should be taken at a find in a grave mound on the territory of the Orkhon Türks, a silver „hook“ taken from grave mound No. 1 at Nayantsum (*tab. 109/2*). G. I. Borovka calls this object ending in a small animal head a hook and sees in it features of the Scythian-Sarmatian style. He raised the question - but gave no answer - whether it is a object close in style and time to Scythian culture or if we are to regard it as a survival or renaissance of the old Scythian motive from a later period <sup>(546)</sup>.

I have my doubts as to survival or renaissance. There are two other possibilities: it may be an ancient object - from the Hun, not the Scythian period - which, like the mirror, came into the possession of the Türks from a robbed grave and then again into the ground with their own dead. Or there is the second possibility, which I prefer, that it is part of an object of Iranian origin. What I have in mind are those angular cups, as given by I. A. Orbeli - K. V. Trever on *tab. 56*. I regard the „hook“ from Nayantsum as the handle of just such a cup. G. I. Borovka, in giving its similarity to the animal style, must have seen in it a depiction, in animal style, of the common „gryph“ even if he does not say so directly. But it may not be a gryph but the head of a phoenix, which has the same beak like a bird of prey and a plume on its head. (See the phoenix on the vessel from the Kopeny's chaatas, *tab. 174*). This phoenix, which, incidentally, is no fabulous creature as all literature tends to say, but a slightly stylized „Manchurian“ or „Sichuan“ pheasant, which is still extant, this phoenix is a common and popular decorative element of Sassanid and Chinese metal works of the Tang dynasty. The hexagonal conically running silver strip (*tab. 109/1*) can be no other than the edge of such a cup. G. I. Borovka regards it as the remnant of the edge of a leather pouch, traces of which were found closeby. But says that there is no opening for attachment <sup>(547)</sup>. These two objects were found next to each other in the grave mound but that does not mean anything, for G. I. Borovka writes that the grave had been disturbed by marmots <sup>(548)</sup>. And, in fact, even the cup will have disintegrated since the silver, as G. I. Borovka writes, was of bad quality with a green patina <sup>(549)</sup>.

## Pottery

On the territory of the Eastern Türk kaghanate the pottery that has been found is of two origins - local and imported. Let us pay attention mainly to the imported articles. In a female grave at Jargalant there was a small round dish with a raised edge made of reddish clay (*tab. 116/15*) which, according to L. A. Yevtyukhova, has no analogy in southern Siberia and in form resembles the Chinese Tang dishes, which, however, were made of porcelain <sup>(550)</sup>. L. A. Yevtyukhova is right in referring to resemblance to Chinese dishes, but she is not right in asserting that they are of porcelain. These dishes are of faience, often partly covered with „tiger glaze“. There can be no doubt of the Chinese origin of this dish.

In the same grave, rich in imported articles, there was a tall and simple jug with traces of a running glaze in the upper part and an oval edge with a „spout“ (tab. 115/6). L. A. Yevtyukhova claims that this jug has no analogy in Mongolia nor in southern Siberia, in the Altai or among the Kirghiz. The closest analogy, she claims, is from Semirechie<sup>(551)</sup>. But not long ago L. R. Kyzlasov published a jug from Tuva that is of similar shape, only egg-shaped with a lower neck.<sup>(552)</sup> He likewise places the origin of the jug into Central Asia, to Sogdia<sup>(553)</sup>. The closest analogy to these jugs is one of the „Karluk type“ 8th -10th century, depicted by A. N. Bernshtam<sup>(554)</sup>.

The local pottery is of two kinds - made by hand and turned on a wheel. In the Jargalant grave there was a rough handleless pot of barrel shape with a slightly opening indented edge and an engraved meander on the widest part (tab. 115/5, 119/3). L. A. Yevtyukhova sees in it an analogy to those in Kirghiz graves of Khakassia, the Türk graves in the Altai and Kurikan ones in the Baikal area<sup>(555)</sup>. G. I. Borovka presents the pottery from grave mound No. 2 at Nayantsum as made by hand<sup>(556)</sup>. But the vessels with the oval edge, smooth surface and engraved meander dividing the roughened lower part (tab. 113/1-9) shows clear marks of the potter's wheel on the bottom. There is so far nothing like it in the archaeological material of the Orkhon Türks, which, in any case, is very rare.

The second vessel from the same grave mound is likewise turned on the potter's wheel, which can be seen even from a badly reproduced photograph (tab. 113/11). It is a bowl-shaped vase with an almost round body, a tall neck and oval edge. Two horizontal grooves are along the broad part, which in themselves point to the potter's wheel. There is no exact analogy to these vases, which were widespread both among the Orkhon Türks, and the Uighurs and Kirghiz. In Kirghizian archaeology they were given the name of „Kirghizian vases“. They were made on the wheel with neck and bottom made separately and attached to the body of the vessel. They have stamped decorations around the broadest parts or even more intricate patterns; the edge is of oval shape (tab. 154/2,4)<sup>(557)</sup>. They are found in large numbers in the grave mounds investigated. On the basis of this numerous appearance L. A. Yevtyukhova assumes that they were not imported but are locally made<sup>(558)</sup>. A. N. Bernshtam expressed the view that these vases were made by the Chinese - by prisoners of war<sup>(559)</sup>. In the Türk graves at Tuva such pottery did not appear with the exception of the Sogdian jug mentions, which did not come out of a grave. This is the view of L.R. Kyzlasov<sup>(560)</sup>. In the Uighur graves at Tuva there was pottery of the type of „Uighur vases“<sup>(561)</sup> which do not greatly differ from the Kirghiz ones, except that their ornaments were more restrained (tab. 154/1). These „Uighur vases“ were found by S. V. Kiselev during excavations of the old capital of the Uighurs Ordubalyk (Karakorum) that lies not far from the Khöshöö-tsaidam monuments. In form they resemble Kirghizian vases, but the ornaments were impressed with a punch, and the clay was identical. Only the patterns and their placing differed<sup>(562)</sup>. Since the terms „Kirghizian vases“ and „Uighur vases“ have become accepted a third term should be added „Eastern Türk“ or rather „Orkhon vases“. These are represented by a vase with a pear-shaped body found in the grave mound at Nayantsum (tab. 109/3). It differs from the preceding with its long neck, ornaments (likewise punched) cover almost the entire lower part of the vessel and it has a plastic ring at the bottom of the neck.

The Czechoslovak-Mongolian expedition found identical pottery in research on the Kül-tegin stela (tab. 54-57) and on the Türk grave mound on the top of Chuluut at Khöshöö-tsaidam. Technically it is more advanced with a smooth surface, thin walls, a profiled edge. Along the ornamental strip there are, in one case, wart-like dots (tab.54/1-2). The body of one vase is more cylindrical (tab. 55/2). This pottery is linked to the Kirghizian and Uighur by the identical production technique, in the case of the Kirghizian, for instance the separate production of the bottom and the neck. We can see clearly on the bottom of the vase from the Kül-tegin stela (tab. 55/3) that it was attached to the body and easily fell off when it was broken. The plastic ring on the „Orkhon“ vases probably, apart from its decorative effect, has its origin in the endeavour to strengthen and hide the link between body and the separately attached neck. A striking identity in shape, production technique and ornamentation of all territorially and ethnically differing regions suggest the correctness of the assumption on the part of A. N. Bernshtam that this is the work of Chinese craftsmen - be they war prisoners among the Türks or free craftsmen mainly among the Uighurs and Kirghiz.

This is the more likely if we realize the high standard of ceramic production of China of the time, where apart from potter with soft sherds and earthenware was already making porcelain proper. The shapes of all these vases likewise correspond basically to double-handled Chinese vases

as do the profiled edges with the one difference that the necks of the Chinese vases were slimmer and taller and the material of higher quality. But there was no such clay on Türk territory and so it was replaced by worse, more sandy material that did not make it possible to produce such technically and decoratively more perfect vessels as in China. The firing of the Türk vases is also of worse quality. I would call this pottery Orkhon vases since there was not anything of the kind among the other Türk tribes, apart from the Uighur and Kirghiz variants that I mentioned. In the Altai there was only rough pottery at the time, made by hand of bad quality clay <sup>(563)</sup> and at Tuva, as was said, there is also no pottery of Türk tribes.

### Stone-mason's work

The compulsory ornament that adorned the granite slabs of the „sarcophagi“ in the monuments of the Orkhon Türks (*tab. 77, 76, 83, 87, 91, 100*) was again the rosette. Framed in the shape of a simple spiral tendril on an ornamental pipe at Kudyrga (*tab. 132/2*) it represents a pattern worked in the flat, and this appears again on the framing of the „sarcophagus“ (*tab. 92/3, 100/1, 94/1*). Another ornamental motive taken from metal object, in the shape of a heart, is likewise found on works of earthenware (*tab. 94/2, 87/2*). This ornamental feature, where it appears alone, is clearly a part that is, one petal of the original rosette, as found on the „sarcophagus“ on *tab. 83/2*.

As to the stonemasons' work on the monuments, the question again is whether the Türks themselves carved these „sarcophagi“ and decorated them or left this work to Chinese prisoners-of-war or craftsmen living among the Türks. There is little doubt that it is the work of Chinese masons when we are dealing with portraits of the deceased, rams or lions, which clearly show the contemporary style of crude tomb sculpture of the Tang period. This is likewise true of statues that represent participants of funeral ceremonies if made in the manner. But I would not hesitate to regard the balbals as truly Türk, made by Türk hands. This can be proved by the differing concept, different technical treatment, difficult mastery of the material and their artistic canon and content. And, in the first place, their existence on the Khöshöö-tsaidam kaghan monuments both that of Kül-tegin and the northern one. There is a striking difference between truly Chinese statues and those balbals so that no other explanation is possible. If it had not mattered to the Türks for some - clearly cult - reasons that the balbals should be made by the Türks themselves, we would expect that they would have the Chinese stonemasons present among them to carve these sculptures, which depict their enemies. And then the sculptures would have looked quite different like all the other figures on the memorials.

## 14. SECULAR CUSTOMS AND ENTERTAINMENTS

The Türks used funeral ceremonies also for courting and the conclusion of marriages: „That day men and women gathered in fine garments and with many jewels around the grave. If one of the men took a liking to one of the girls, he returned home and immediately sent somebody with an offer of marriage to the parents of the girl, most of whom gave their consent“ <sup>(564)</sup>.

We must bear in mind that, as in present-day Mongolia, the people were scattered over large territory often dozens of miles apart, and there were few opportunities when they found a chance to meet their fellow tribesmen. The gathering of people for a funeral will have been a welcome opportunity to make an acquaintance.

According to Chinese sources the Türk men liked to play dice and the women football <sup>(565)</sup>. It is my opinion that it was not dice in our meaning of the word, with marked cubes, but in the original meaning of the Czech term, meaning „bone“. Among the Türks they were sheep astragals, bones of the foot, which the Mongols use to this day. This will have been the purpose of astragals found in Türk or other contemporary graves (*e.g. tab. 132/1*). Sometimes marks were carved into them <sup>(566)</sup>.

A feature that is general for all nomads, including the present-day Mongols, is that the Türks drank fermented mare's milk (kumiss), and with this was linked singing and boisterous noise <sup>(567)</sup>.

We must reckon on the men finding entertainment in hunting, the more so that we have, in the true sense of the word, illustrations for this in the form of Kurikan and Kirghiz rock carvings (*tab. 155, 157*) as well as hunting scenes on Altai and Kirghiz saddles (*tab. 127, 128A, 175*). We possess proof of wrestling on Hun plaques from the Ordos region <sup>(568)</sup>, and the same manner of

wrestling is used by present-day Mongolian wrestlers even with certain accompanying attributes (the symbolism of birds or predators) during national festivities. We must, therefore, assume an uninterrupted tradition of wrestling even during the Türk period.

## 15. SPIRITUAL CULTURE

### Tamgas

Various figures called „tamgas“<sup>(571)</sup> are to be found on Türk epitaphs, balbals (*tab. 80*), and on such object of daily use as silver dishes (*tab. 135/6, 141/2*), pottery (*tab 154/2*)<sup>(569)</sup>, Türk coins<sup>(570)</sup>. The word „tamga“ has survived into present-day Mongolian where it means seal, stamp, mark.<sup>(572)</sup> Originally it also meant brand, was a sign of ownership<sup>(573)</sup> branded into the skin of cattle<sup>(574)</sup>. In Türk inscriptions it appears in the form „tamka“; on the Kül-tegin stele it means „writing“<sup>(575)</sup>. The verb „tamkalyg“ - provide with a tamga-appeared in the structure „tamkalyg jylyky“ - a horse branded with a tamga-in the epitaph from Achura on the left bank of the Abakan<sup>(576)</sup>. The branding of cattle with tamgas is expressly mentioned among the Uighurs in the Chinese source of Wei-shu<sup>(577)</sup>. The verb „tamgala“ is further given in later Old Türk texts found at Turfan, where it likewise means imprint, brand with a mark of ownership. In the relevant text there is mention of the sale of slave-girls and their being marked (branded?) with a tamga<sup>(578)</sup>. The term „tamgan“ appeared as status on several occasions: Sabra Tamgan Tarkan and Sabra Tamgan Chur in the Ongin inscription<sup>(579)</sup> and Altun-Tamgan-Tarkan in the epitaph at Ikh-Asgat<sup>(580)</sup>.

The root „tamga-“ appears in the word „tamgachy“ - the custodian of the seal - twice in the Kül-tegin inscription, where tamgachy Makrach is given as Custodian of the Seal of the Türgesh-kaghan and Custodian of the Seal of the Oghuz<sup>(581)</sup>. V. V. Radlov - clearly correctly - explains this term in this manner<sup>(582)</sup>.

The tamgas are either in the form of a letter of the Türk alphabet or as geometrical figures, sometimes clearly derived from reality, e.g. from a predator's claw, or a stylized figure of a human being or animal. These marks served the Türks and related nomads as family emblems and only secondarily as marks of ownership. E. R. Rygdylon analysed the tamgas on the epitaphs with Yenisei script, mainly in the Tuva area<sup>(583)</sup>. The very fact that the marks are to be found on the stelae is a proof for him that they were family emblems<sup>(584)</sup>. At that time the tamgas will have been used in both senses, as emblems and signs of ownership. A proof of this is the stele at Achura where there is mention that the deceased owned vast herds of tamga branded horses<sup>(585)</sup>.

In E. R. Rygdylon's view a distinction can be made between regions where the same or similar tamgas occurred<sup>(586)</sup>. On the tamgas compiled according to relationship<sup>(587)</sup> one remarkable thing can be seen, which the author himself may not have realized, namely that certain tamgas take over minor details of the drawing on the basis of an identical developing order, with the base remaining or a number of small features, directions of lines, etc. changing. Yet the overall optical impression remains unchanged. In principle this phenomenon recalls something similar to the marks of our castle pottery and its typological order from simple to more complex. It is my opinion that they were individual families of one clan. And further, that the basic tamga in the course of time was handed from generation to generation and simultaneously became more complicated or at least changed in the details as compared with the original one as it was inherited by the direct successor who took over the leadership of the clan from the father. I see a justification for this hypothesis on the tamgas of stelae, etc. of the kaghan's family and members of the side lines at Orkhon and in other places of Central Mongolia where they had their pastureland.

V. V. Radlov in 1892 classified the identical mark on the escutcheon above the inscription on Kül-tegin stele (*tab. 80/1*) and that of Bilge-kaghan (depicted on *tab. 32* of the work *Inscriptions de l' Orkhon*) as tamga of the Türk khans<sup>(588)</sup>. According to D. Dorj<sup>(589)</sup> it is the symbol of the kaghan's rule. A. D. Grach<sup>(590)</sup> explains the identity of the tamga of Bilge-kaghan and Kül-tegin in this manner: the tamga of the capricorn, which is the symbol of the reign of the kaghan (i.e. his tamga), was ordered by Bilge-kaghan on the Kül-tegin stele as he wished to indicate how much he owed his brother for becoming kaghan himself, for originally Kül-tegin was to have been kaghan on the basis of his energetic intervention against the son of Mochuo and his family. For that

reason his stele bears the symbol of the kaghan. It is likely that the father of the two Elterish had already selected a capricorn of this shape as his emblem and that the two inherited it from him. If this assumption is correct, then Elterish's stele should have the same tamga - if once found - but a slightly simpler one.

Far more tamgas in the form of a capricorn have survived than those on the stelae mentioned. The same tamga is to be found on one balbal on the Kül-tegin memorial (*tab. 32/1 and 80/5*) - here with slightly imprecise drawing as compared with the photograph on the preceding figure - and further on a stone (perhaps the torso of a balbal) on the second northern memorial at Khöshöö-tsaidam (*tab. 80/4*).

A tamga of a capricorn in identical artistic treatment exist on the stele of the Ongin memorial (*tab. 80/2*) on a balbal on the second northern Khö shöö-tsaidam memorial discovered by the Czechoslovak expedition (*tab. 80/6*). But there is a difference in that the front leg does not have the short „paw“ like the Bilge-kaghan and the Kül-tegin tamgas. In addition, the capricorn on the Ongin memorial has, by its side, two shapes like a „J“ and by the balbal there is one such shape. But it is possible that the shape like a J is not part of the tamga on the Ongin stele, for then the entire tamga would be placed excentrically, but that the tamga proper is merely the capricorn and the J and the shape of a J on the left are separate tamgas of another person.

Since no other than members of the kaghan's family could afford to build such expensive memorials (this includes Tonyukuk as father-in-law of Bilge-kaghan) it is my view that these memorials with complex tamgas will have belonged to close relatives of Kül-tegin and Bilge-kaghan, i.e. even to Elterish.

A third type of capricorn, close to the Bilge-kaghan tamga, is that which is plastically carved on the side of the tortoise on the monument at Ulkhin Bulan (*tab. 92/1*) and on the rock at Ulaan-khad (*tab. 80/3*). It differs from Bilge-kaghan's capricorn by not having a „paw“, by having a short tail and a more complicated neck and head close in shape to a lozenge.

There is a certain link between these three types of tamgas both in artistic treatment and, I believe, internally. But this is a hypothesis that should be mentioned so that it might be put to the test. If we start from the premise that the capricorn of the Kül-tegin and Bilge-kaghan type was that of Elterish, it is easy to conclude that one of two similar tamgas might belong to one of Mochuo's brothers and the other to Duoxifu. This leads to the conclusion that the tamga on *tab. 80/1* and *80/4* is that of Bilge-kaghan; in the hypothetical tamga of Elterish there would be the same capricorn but without a „paw“ on the front leg. The tamgas on *tab. 80/2* and *80/3* are those of Elterish's brothers.

L. R. Kyzlasov made an analysis of the tamgas from the Kirghizian period of Tuva, with which E. R. Rygdylon has already dealt. He reached the same conclusions as to graphic changes of tamgas and their relationship to the succession of a further generation of the family<sup>(591)</sup>.

A. N. Bernshtam<sup>(592)</sup> does not regard the tamgas as family emblems but as signs of the social and class status of the owner of the tamga. In his view, the more complex the tamga, the higher the social status of the deceased. This turned everything upside down. Accordingly Bilge-kaghan would have been on a very low status, for among all similar tamgas his is the simplest, even compared with the relatively very small northern Khöshöö-tsaidam memorial. It is not possible to seek an explanation of phenomenon only by way of the social and economic conditions and relations, and do so at all cost.

Carvings in the shape of a capricorn dating from the Türk period can be found on rocks in large numbers and in different places. Only the above, however, can be related to the kaghans and their families.

Another type of capricorn is represented on a tamga in the right-hand top corner of a relief at Ikh-Asgat (*tab. 94*), which seems to be based on the kaghan's capricorn. But here the horns are linked with the tail in one line. On the Ongin memorial there is a balbal among the sculptures and on it a capricorn of the Bilge-kaghan type tamga is engraved<sup>(593)</sup>.

This leads us to two cases where there are on the same memorial two tamgas of the same artistic type but with changed additions. The motives for this cannot be clearly explained, but I shall try and give two possible explanations. This fact does not stand in contradiction to the view that has been expressed on the close blood relationship of the owners of these tamgas, on the contrary, it further confirms the correctness of such an assumption.

First two „blood related“ tamgas might be merged in the case of a marriage on the basis of a brother of a deceased taking his wife in marriage. The property of the two would then be merged. When he himself died, the two tamgas, his own and that of the brother's family, might appear on his memorial. The second version might be that in case that there were no direct descendants,

brothers, sisters or children, the memorial was built by relatives of another line, and they themselves added their tamga.

This ends my thoughts in this sphere, and they will be followed up elsewhere when I deal with the problem for whom the Ongin memorial was built. (See separate chapter).

## Script

Sui-shu says that the Türks had no script<sup>(594)</sup>. Bei-shi affirmed the same<sup>(595)</sup>. But Zhou-shu states that the script of the Türks resembled that of the barbarian Hu (the Sogdians)<sup>(596)</sup>. This apparent contradiction can be explained, according to Liu Mau-tsai<sup>(597)</sup> by the first sources referring to an older period while the latter to later times, when a script had been introduced. Sui-shu speaks in the present tense (finished 656, but probably used information taken over from Zhou-shu, finished (629)<sup>(598)</sup>. Bei-shi speaks in the past tense (finished 659).

The question in whether the continuation in Sui-shu „...so that they express their agreements by cuts into pieces of wood“<sup>(599)</sup> does not mean that typical Old Türk script, often in form formerly compared to runes and known from many epigraphic monuments mainly in Mongolia and Siberia. The character of that script (see *tab. 31*) indicates that originally it was intended to be carved into wood. Such a Türk inscription carved into wood has been found on the remnants of a stick in Talas valley on the territory of the Western Türks<sup>(600)</sup>. The counted out condition was recorded on the wood. In Zhou-shu stands written: „When they recruited soldiers and horses or requisitioned cattle they carved the number of pieces into wood. This piece of wood was then covered in wax together with an arrow with a metal point; this was valid as documents“<sup>(601)</sup>.

L. P. Potapov explains Sui-shu's report that the Türks had no script as meaning that they did not use the Chinese script<sup>(602)</sup>.

The Türks, however, must have had a script already in the second half of the 6th century. For the Emperor of the dynasty of the Northern Qi, at the end of the period 570 - 576, entrusted Liu Shiqing with a translation of the Nirvāna-sūtra „into the language of the Türks so that he might send it to the kaghan<sup>(603)</sup>. A translation into the language of the Türks would make no sense if it was not written down. I therefore regard this report as the most important proof that Türk script already existed at that time or that it was being created for that purpose. But at that time the Türks were not in the habit of building stelae. This began later under the influence of China.

A number of assumptions have been expressed as to the origin of the Old Türk alphabet, which I shall try to sum up if possible in sequence of time. I shall omit the older views of V. Thomsen, for which there is no real basis.

V. Thomsen<sup>(604)</sup> devoted a good deal of attention to this matter. He reached the conclusion that there only seemed to be such a thing as an Old Türk script. In his view it could hardly have been used by the Eastern Türks before they came to power and began to play an important role in Central Asia, i.e. before the middle of the 6th century. He seeks the origin of the script in Aramaic script, but does not dare say with certainty whether it was taken over directly or by way of the later Iranian script, which likewise derived from the Aramaic writing<sup>(605)</sup>.

The Aramaic origin of the Türk script was taken over by O. Donner<sup>(606)</sup> and R. Grousset<sup>(607)</sup>.

The Turkish scholar A. C. Emre expressed the view that the Old Türk script had much in common with Sumerian script, and therefore that they had a common basis<sup>(608)</sup>. But his theory has been rejected as nationalistically motivated<sup>(609)</sup>.

The missing link between the Aramaic script and that of the Old Türks was discovered by S. P. Tolstov on minces of the Khārizm shah, where there are inscriptions of a transitional character between the Aramaic and the Old Türk script<sup>(610)</sup>.

V. Bartold was the first to express the view that the Türks did not take over a ready script passively but that at least some symbols of the Türk script are of local origin<sup>(611)</sup>. Even certain tamgas of the Tahstyk period have parallels in letters of the Old Türk alphabet, as S. V. Kiselev showed. From that he deduces the local origin of at least part of the Old Türk letters<sup>(612)</sup>. This would confirm the assumption of the greater age of the Yenisei inscriptions (at least those in the Minusin area) than the Orkhon ones, and there is even the possibility that this script was used by the Kirghiz earlier than the Türks. The Tahstyk culture, as S. V. Kiselev showed, is the base out of which the later Kirghiz culture developed<sup>(613)</sup>. The Yenisei inscriptions in the river basin of the middle Yenisei in the vicinity of Minusinsk are generally regarded as Kirghizian and mostly as older than the Orkhon ones<sup>(614)</sup>.

According to S. I. Vainshtein the inscriptions written in the Yenisei version of Türk script on Tuva territory did not belong, as was generally judged, to the Kirghiz but the Old Türk inhabitants of Tuva. Other inscriptions might be younger than generally assumed, i.e. from the period when the Kirghiz penetrated to Tuva together with the displaced Uighur tribal union. Sometimes these stelae are in the immediate vicinity of cremation grave mounds, which have been ascribed to the 9th - 10th centuries according to the inventory. Their contents are close to Kirghizian of that period <sup>(615)</sup>.

L. R. Kyzlasov, on the other hand, assumed that all Tuva stelae inscribed in the Yenisei alphabet date from the period when the Kirghiz invaded Tuva after breaking up the Uighur kaghanate in 840. In his view they date from the 9th - 10th century <sup>(616)</sup>.

No epitaphs have been found in the Altai. There are Türk inscriptions only on objects of daily use (see *tab. 135/6, 141/2, 142*).

A number of special publications deal with the Old Türk inscriptions, the most important of which are undeniably the „Orkhon inscriptions“ and those of Tonyukuk. These publications are included in the bibliography. They were used as historic sources and as evidence of the social system of the Türks.

### Music, Dance, Theatre

When Xieli was taken prisoner and settled with family members in the Chinese capital city they would occasionally sit together „and sing sad songs and weep“ <sup>(617)</sup>. They must have been their own Türk songs. Apart from songs there are records of dance: „Wu Yanxiu lived long among the barbarians, and he understood the Türk tongue. He often sang Türk songs in the house of the princess and danced the twisting dance of the barbarians“ <sup>(618)</sup>. There is another mention of this dance: „Lushan danced before Emperor Xuanzong the twisting dance of the barbarians as quickly as the wind“ <sup>(619)</sup>. Elsewhere the principle of this dance is explained: „The dancer stood (balanced) on a sphere (a ball) and turned like the wind“. It was brought to China by this Wu Yanxiu in 705 <sup>(620)</sup>. According to Tang-shu this dance came originally from Samarkand <sup>(621)</sup>.

Under the Sui dynasty the music of many nations was played at the imperial court, among them that of the Türks. This system of „music of seven sections“ was taken over by the Tang. What should be understood under the term „Türk music“ can be seen from a further report: „When the Emperor (Wudi of the Northern Zhou) took to wife the empress (Ashina) from the northern barbarians (i.e. the Türks), he obtained (at the same time) the music they had looted in the countries of Samarkand, Kucha, etc.“ Elsewhere there is added: „The Emperor Wudi of the Northern Zhou made the daughter of the barbarians his empress and people from the western countries came as companions of the bride. From that time on (i.e. from the year 568) there existed (at the court) music from Kucha, Kashgar, Bukhara and Samarkand“ <sup>(662)</sup>. In the other words, the Türks are given as mediators, and it also shows their inclination towards music.

The knowledge of musical instruments should be assumed among the Türks, at least those imported from China. In 585 the Chinese emperor gave Shabolüe among other things „drums and wind instruments“ <sup>(623)</sup>. It was likewise Shabolüe who, in a letter to the emperor that or the following year, used the comparison that now, that he has taken over the Chinese empire the Türks should follow the Chinese in external appearance and morals „just as musical instruments should be tuned to the tuning instrument lü“ <sup>(624)</sup>. This quotation shows that at least at the court of the kaghan music was fostered.

In the chapter on trade I gave quotations that show that the emperor's gifts to the kaghans included drums and wind instruments. Wei-shu records playing musical instruments among the old Uighurs <sup>(625)</sup>.

In the year 754 a Türk woman was taken to the imperial harem, the wife of the executed chieftain Abusi, a skilful actress and she was put in charge of all the imperial musicians <sup>(626)</sup>.

### The Calendar, Astronomy

The question of the calendar belongs to the cultural profile of a nation. Liu Mau-tsai <sup>(627)</sup> sums up all related mentions. The following passages from various Chinese sources prove that originally the Türks did not know the calendar: „The time for funerals is determined by the withering or growing of plants“ <sup>(628)</sup>. „They did not know any annual calendar, and the growing of grass served

them as a sign" (629). But according to other quotations they used the Chinese cycle of twelve animals. At least the kaghan used it to date letters to the emperor. But that might have been the result of the presence of officials of Chinese origin who were at the kaghan's court. The oldest such letter is from Shabolüe, dated 584, and it bears as date „the year of the dragon, 9th month, 10th day" (630). The very fact that the letter was in Chinese shows that a Chinese scribe was present who used the common form of dating. But shortly after - in 586 - the emperor granted to the Türks the official imperial calendar as a sign of subjection and appurtenance (631).

Some time ago there was a broad discussion, not yet concluded, about the origin of marking the years in twelve-year cycles in which every year was named for some animal: rat, bull, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, sheep, cock, dog, pig. This was the calendar used by the Chinese, and it was also used in Old Türk inscriptions, and the Orkhon and Yenisei ones.

In F. Hirth's view (632) this calendar reached the Türks from the Chinese and was used even before the official introduction in 586. But it differs from the Chinese by being shifted two months ahead. That, in F. Hirth's view, is the only explanation between the discrepancies between data on the Orkhon inscriptions and Chinese sources that he found (633).

E. Chavannes expressed the hypothesis that this animal cycle was not a Chinese invention, but that it was taken over by the Chinese from the Türk nations at the beginning of the Christian era, and he considered them as the true inventors of this calendar (634). The objection that the monkey is not an animal, which appeared on the territory settled by the Türk nations, which E. Chavannes himself put forward, rejects the second hypothesis that the Türk nations once lived in that territory (635). His theory of the Türk origin was disproved by J. Halévy, who pointed out that there is no record of the cycle among the older Türk nations, for whom a number of historic sources exist and that it was not used either by other Türk tribes such as the Khazars, Avars or Mumans. Furthermore, the dragon is not Türk but Chinese. He concludes that the Türks adopted the cycle from the Chinese even though the cycle itself may not be of Chinese origin (636). According to J. Halévy the beginning of the cycle must be sought in Egypt around the onset of the Christian era (637).

Despite these serious objections B. Laufer regarded the Türk origin of the Cycle as proved by Chavannes (638). F. Boll in his work gave a number of reasons that seemed indicative of the origin of the cycle in Hellenistic Egypt from where it probably reached the Chinese via Türkistan (639). V. Bartold rejected the theory of the Türk origin of the cycle the more so since the nations that E. Chavannes regarded as Türk (in connection with adopting the monkey into the cycle) were nothing of the kind. In his view the cycle was probably of Indian origin, from where the Chinese adopted it. From there it soon came to the Türks (640). P. Pelliot likewise rejected Chavannes' theory and expressed a novel assumption that the Türks used the cycle before its official introduction in 586, which does not mean that they took it over from the Chinese but already from the Ruanruan (641). I would add my assumption that the date of the letter quoted, which is regarded as the oldest document for the cycle, might come from a Chinese scribe, and that it does not mean that the cycle was generally in use.

The above survey shows that there are as many views as there are authors. None of them have yet been proved. The last word has not yet been said, and we have to rest content with the statement that the Türks used the animal cycle, whatever its origin.

In another of Shabolüe's letters of the year 585 we might assume rudimentary knowledge of astronomy from the words „all (people) whom the heavens cover, are borne by the Earth and lit up by seven planets..." (Liu Mau-tsai adds Sun, Moon, Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars and Saturn (642), if again there were not the question to what extent this was the stylization of the Chinese scribe. These two facts are mutually complementary in that direction.

## 16. RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND FUNERAL RITES

### Religious Ideas

Unfortunately the Chinese chronicles did not include in their reports a more comprehensive treatment of the religious ideas of the Türks. There are only fragmentary and scattered remarks that make it possible to reconstruct at least the main features.

In these Chinese sources names are given of the temples that were built above the memorials to the deceased Kül-tegin and Bilge-kaghan, which were clearly of the character of a „temple of the ancestors“ set aside for worship of their memory by the descendants. Even before that there will have been similar shrines, and sacrifices were made in them. In 630 the emperor reprimanded the imprisoned Xieli for lack of respect for his ancestors: „It went so far that your ancestors did not receive any sacrificial gifts“ (643). Elsewhere: „(The father’s) memorial temple did not receive any sacrificial gifts“ (644).

There are other customs confirmed in written records in addition to this worship of ancestors (or rather lack of respect, which was a negative reflection of other customary worship): „Every year (this refers at least to the oldest period) the kaghan led the members of the nobility to the cave of ancestors (where they lived according to the traditions of the Türks), to make sacrifices“ (645).

Related to the cult of ancestors and totemism is the legend that the ancestors of the Türks were descended from a she-wolf (646). The totem animal of the Uighurs was likewise a wolf, which appears as the father in the myth of the origin of the Uighurs (647). The Türk standards with the golden wolf’s heads on flag-staffs (648) and the naming of officers as „böri“ - wolf point to the same totemistic ideas or what survived of them (649). This includes the mythical story of the god with a human body and wolf’s head that appeared as a prophet of death of ‘Xieyantuo’s tribe among the tribal union of the Türks (650). Similar survivals of totemism survived into the Mongolian period. The Secret History of Mongols gives a „grey wolf“ as the ancestor of Chingis khan associated with a „white marali hind“ (651).

Many records, not only Chinese but also Türk, show that the Türks worshipped the heaven „ten-gri“ in the first place. Here are some Chinese reports:

„...In the middle decade of the fifth month they gathered by the river Tamir to make sacrifices to the god of heaven“ (652). It is likely that this place of sacrifice was close to the large Taikhir rock that rises out of the plain on the right bank of the Khoit Tamir north of present - day Tsetserleg, which, as I myself had occasion in 1957 to witness, serves as place of sacrifice to this day and is regarded as sacred. Several Old Türk inscriptions are to be found on it (653). This act is referred to in another place: „In the fifth month the Türks kill sheep and horses to sacrifice them to the heavens“ (654).

The following report likewise refers to the worship of heaven: „Around the year 622 the later Emperor Taizong used a bow and arrows twice as large as those normally used at the time. In pursuing the Türks they gathered up the arrows he had shot as they thought they were of divine origin. Later they laid hands on the large bow and five long arrows. They kept them in their armoury and from generation to generation regarded them as treasures. Whenever they made rich gifts as sacrifices to heaven on the high plain, they always placed them at the head of other sacrifices to show off their military successes“ (655).

Like the Chinese emperors the Türk kaghans proclaimed themselves as „sons of heaven“, „born of heaven“. According to Liu Mau-tsai this was an imitation of the influence and an endeavour to stress their equality to the Chinese emperor (656). But in connection with this worship of heaven these ideas might well have arisen from their own basis and run parallel with the Chinese. Shabolüe in a letter sent to the Chinese emperor in 584, called himself „born of Heaven, a wise and sacred son of the Heaven of the empire of the Great Türks“ (657). In the same letter he calls heaven as witness to his promise (658).

Mochuo in a letter of 714 labelled himself as „the divinely good, eternally pure and highest son-in-law of the emperor; the son of Heaven reaching toward Heaven by maturing (vipaka); the sacred heavenly Kutuolu-kaghan“ (659).

The kaghans considered that their status and power was given them by heaven: in a memorial inscription on the founding of the Türk temple in the then capital of China Chang’an in 752 it is said of Mukhan-kaghan that „he was placed by the Heavens“ (660).

Sijin regarded a ten-day long storm that destroyed the Türk tents as punishment from heaven for having broken the word given to the emperor and not keeping the promised vow of marriage with his daughter. He immediately after sent his daughter to the emperor (661).

When in 600 many Türk soldiers and their horses died after drinking water from the Yellow River, which the Chinese had poisoned, Datou believed that the heaven had sent bad water to destroy them, and he retreated with his army (662).

By contrast the same kaghan, after receiving good news, „spoke with joy ‘This is a gift of Heaven!’ Thereupon he jumped off his horse, looked up to Heaven and bowed“ (663).

The Türks were created by the Heavens (letter by Shabolüe of 585) (664).

Now let us turn to the texts on the Türk stelae to see that they are in full concord with the Chinese data:

The initial parallel text of the small inscriptions on the Bilge-kaghan and Kül-tegin stelae begin with the words: „I divine, born of Heaven, the Wise Türk (Bilge-kaghan)...“ (656). Similarly at the beginning of the main text of the Bilge-kaghan stele there stands written: „I, divine, placed by the Heavens,“ etc. (666). On the Bilge-kaghan stele we further read: „On ascending the throne I myself with the grace of the Heavens have ordered and organized the nations...“ (667). This is a sign of the kaghan's efforts to protect himself and his deed with supernatural power in front of the aristocracy and the people. And not only successful deeds but particularly where it was a matter of disclaiming his own responsibility for failure.

In the Tonyukuk inscription heaven is personified and speaks: „The Heaven thus spoke: 'I gave thee, (oh nation) a kaghan. Abandoning the kaghan thou hast returned to serfdom (under the Chinese)'. As they returned to serfdom, the Heaven spoke: 'Thou shalt die!'“ (668). This quotation best proves that the heaven was the highest god, the creator of fate and the lever. And not only of the nation as in this case but of the individual whose destiny is fulfilled by heaven. Thus in the Kül-tegin inscription: „All people are born to die when Heaven determines the time“ (669).

Heaven placed the kaghan on the throne: „According to the will of heaven... I became kaghan“ (Bilge-kaghan and Kül-tegin inscription (670). Before that, Bilge-kaghan had become shad by the will of heaven (671).

Heaven gave the heroes strength: „Since Heaven gave them strength, the army of my father, the kaghan, was like wolves, and his enemies were like sheep.“ (Bilge-kaghan and Kül-tegin inscription), (672) and granted them victory: „From the will of Heaven we took the realm from those who had a realm and those who had a kaghan we deprived of their kaghan“ (*ditto*) (673). „Since Heaven gave us strength, we defeated them there and scattered them.“ (Bilge-kaghan inscription) (674).

Further to the placing of the kaghan on the throne: „The Heavens that raised up my father, the kaghan, and my mother, the katun, so that the name and fame of the Türk nation should not perish, the Heaven that gave them a realm, the same Heaven now placed me on the throne as kaghan“ (675).

Tonyukuk, who calls himself wise, regards his wisdom as a gift of Heaven: „Since Heaven gave me wisdom, I forced him (Elterish) to become kaghan“ (Tonyukuk inscription) (676).

Tonyukuk defeated the Oghuz with the favour of Heaven (Tonyukuk inscription) (677). With the aid of Heaven Tonyukuk and the kaghan managed to keep the enemies far from the territory of the Türks (Tonyukuk inscription) (678).

Apart from heaven the Türks also regarded the Earth as sacred, as is shown from the following evidence: „450 - 500 li from the seat of the kaghan there were high mountains on which grew neither grass nor trees. They were called Bodengningli, which translated into Chinese means „gods of the Earth“ (679).

In Türk sources the Earth is given by the side of heaven as a sign of the highest cosmic will and shaper of destiny as its counterpole, but only occasionally: „With the favour of Heaven above and Earth below, my nation, which (before) could not be seen with eyes nor heard with ears have I led ... (Bilge-kaghan inscription) (680).

The very fact that the Heaven and Earth were disturbed was caused by the rebellion of the TokuzOghuz: „Since Heaven and Earth were in confusion (or mixed up), and since their minds (that of the TokuzOghuz) was swept with disfavour, they rebelled.“ (Bilge-kaghan and Kül-tegin inscription) (681).

Heaven and Earth are the highest powers in the world: „Unless the Heaven above collapsed or the Earth below opened up, oh, Türk nation, who could destroy thy realm and thy power? „Bilge-kaghan called pathetically when he reproached his nation that it voluntarily adopted Chinese bondage and caused its own national catastrophe (682).

A holy foursome (or trinity) - the Heaven, Umäi and the Sacred Earth-Water - gave confidence to Tonyukuk in his victory since the Eastern Türks faced the greatly superior forces of the Türgesh (the Western Türks) (683).

The term Earth as a counterpole to that of Heaven is given in Türk texts in the dual term „yer-Sub“, i.e. Earth-Water (684). The Türk Heaven and the Sacred Türk Yer-Sub mediated thus: „That the Türk nation might not vanish but be a nation, they raised my father Elterish-kaghan and my

mother Elbigé-katun and supported them from the height of Heaven." (Kül-tegin and Bilge-kaghan inscription) <sup>(685)</sup>. The name of the god of nature in the form of Yer-su has survived among the shamanistic nomads of the Altai to this day <sup>(686)</sup>.

There are even records that the Türks worshipped the Sun. The east, i.e. the place where the Sun appears in the morning, played a role in their etiquette and was important for siting the memorials. „The kaghan was in the habit of turning his face to the East“ <sup>(687)</sup>. „The tent of his residence was open to the East, for he worshipped the direction from which the sun rose“ <sup>(688)</sup>. They fixed the cardinal points accordingly. „Forward“ meant east (the sun), „on the right“ midday, south, „at the back“ west (sun), and „on the left“ midnight, north <sup>(689)</sup>. Part of the ceremony of electing a kaghan was turning him in the direction of the sun's movement <sup>(690)</sup>.

At the beginning of the main inscription of the Kül-tegin stele there is some primitive indication of the Türk idea of genesis, linked to Heaven and Earth: „When above the blue heavens were created and below the dark earth, the people were created between them.“ And in the mind of the author of this text the creation of the world either took place in the very distant past or, on the contrary, the Türks had existed since time immemorial, for the preceding sentence is immediately followed by: „My ancestors Bumin-kaghan and Istemi-kaghan stood above the people (as rulers)“ <sup>(691)</sup>. It is interesting that here, in the case of the first Türk rulers, it is not said that they were placed there by heaven as was the case of all those named later.

Heaven, Earth and the Sun were the main gods of the Mongols even later. Chingis khan also claimed to have been placed by heaven and earth, and gained his strength from them and was protected by them <sup>(692)</sup>.

There is a report that the Türks „waited for the moon to be just before full moon to carry out looting raids“ <sup>(693)</sup> but it is not as clearcut and conclusive that we can decide whether this was related to a certain cult of the moon. This may be possible but there might also have been purely practical causes for this. For it made night rides possible and raids during good visibility. More about these night raids can be found in the chapter on the army.

Before 708 a „cloud dissipating temple“ stood on a hill on the border between China and the Türk territory, which Liu Mau-tsai <sup>(694)</sup> located at present-day Wuyuan-xian on the northern bank of the Yellow River. „When the Türks were preparing an attack on the empire they first sought out the temple to make sacrifices of wine and pray for luck. Then they grazed their horses (i.e. to make them strong and enduring), massed the soldiers and crossed the Yellow River“ <sup>(695)</sup>. It remains open to question whether it may have been the same temple that served the same purpose or whether the reason for its construction was another: In 684 the emperor, on the basis of slander, had a general executed that the Türks greatly feared and from whom they kept a respectful distance. When they found out about his death „they held carouses to celebrate. Then they built a temple for him. Everytime before sending their army into battle they prayed there“ <sup>(696)</sup>. Here we have an interesting document that the temple was not built for the worship of ancestors but for an event that was joyful to the Türks.

The ceremony of electing a new kaghan is very specific and in Chinese annals it is described in detail in the following manner: „When a new ruler was elected he was borne in a felt blanket by high dignitaries among his closest entourage, and they turned him nine times according to the sun (i.e. in the direction of the sun's movement). At each turn all his subjects bowed to him. (After turning) and bowing they helped the great chieftain on to his horse and let him ride. Then they strangled him with a silk scarf until he was barely alive. Then they loosened the sling and hurriedly questioned him: 'How many years wilt thou be kaghan?' Since the kaghan was greatly faint, he could not clearly say the period of duration. From the words that he managed to express they judged the length of his reign“ <sup>(697)</sup>.

The new katun, that is the wife of the kaghan, was, in similar manner as among the Uighurs, turned nine times in the opposite direction, that is to the right.

By being strangled the kaghan became semi-conscious and into a kind of trance. This, according to Liu Mau-tsai, was a survival of Shamanist magic ceremonies. It included extasy, incantation of spirits and prophesies <sup>(699)</sup>. Liu Mau-tsai goes even further in his explanation of the ceremony and sees in it a proof that the kaghan was simultaneously the high priest of the country <sup>(700)</sup>, which would correspond to conditions in China, but which is not documented among the Türks in any way.

Chinese reports record that the Türks „worshipped gods and spirits and believed in exorcism and exorcists“ <sup>(701)</sup>. There is a record dating to 620 that prophesies were demanded for important

enterprises: Chuluo preparing for an invasion of China. „Since the prophesy prophesied evil, his closest entourage warned him against it. Chuluo spoke: ... When the prophesy turned out unfavourable does that mean that the gods are ignorant? I myself wish to make a decision!“ As a consequence of his not listening to the prophesy blood-red rain is said to have fallen, at night invisible dogs barked and Chuluo shortly after died <sup>(702)</sup>. This report shows that Liu Mau-tsai's assumption that the kaghan was the high priest is not confirmed. Otherwise the kaghan would certainly have arranged the prophesy to be favourable to himself, and his decision.

Prophesying must have been a vocation among the Türks, as shown by the following report showing, at the same time, the existence of a god of war among them: „Yalaoshan's mother, born Ashide, was an enchantress of the Türks and lived by prophesy. Among the Türks battle was called 'Yalaoshan', and she thus named her son“ <sup>(703)</sup>. Another source gives more details of this history: „The mother prayed before Yalaoshan, called the god of war of the barbarians, for a son. Soon after she was with child...“ She was to be killed by the commanding Chinese commissar but she hid and thus saved herself. „She believed that the god caused (her salvation) and called the child Yalaoshan“ <sup>(704)</sup>.

Chinese chronicles further describe the worship of natural forces among the barbarians of Central Asia and the possibility of influencing them in the form of the annual popular custom of praying for cold associated with drumming, dancing, unclotting and throwing cold water. These festivities were held even among the barbarians settled in the capital city of Luoyang in the present of the Chinese emperor. It can therefore be assumed with Liu Mau-tsai that the Türks living there participated and that it was a widespread custom among the Türks, particularly the Western Türks <sup>(705)</sup>.

J. P. Roux <sup>(706)</sup> enumerates signs of shamanism. The following have been recorded among the Türks: the trance as a precondition of prophesy (the ceremony with the kaghan), the ability of the shaman to turn into an animal (the prophet of death of the Xieyantuo tribe with a wolf's head). Further, in the view of J. P. Roux, there is the way of the head of the tribe to heaven. He explains part of the Orkhon inscriptions, already quoted, in this manner, where it deal with the exaltation of Elterish and his katun and gives it that meaning, which differ's from Thomsen's translation <sup>(707)</sup>. He further gives the pretended shaman's „flight“ of the kaghan's son to heaven and his return to the Ruanruan <sup>(708)</sup>. But the name of a shaman has not been found on Türk inscriptions <sup>(709)</sup>. J. P. Roux is of the opinion that his name was taboo and could not be pronounced or written, as was the case among the later Mongols <sup>(710)</sup>.

Chinese metal mirrors have been found in graves on the territory of the Türk tribes, not only in female but even male graves. One of the statues, probably representing a Chinese, on the Kültegin memorial holds a mirror as gift to the deceased.

Their plastic ornaments prove that mirrors were made in China not only for secular use but had a more profound significance. In the period of the Han dynasty (206 B.C. - A.D. 220) sometimes geometrical figures were depicted on them, the same that later appeared on pictures <sup>(711)</sup>, in the form of hammered boxes <sup>(712)</sup> or on a large scale on altars in Lamaist temples in Central Asia and Northern China and were known as mandala. These figures were depictions of the cosmos. Symbolical animals on mirrors from the time of the Tang dynasty support this assumption of their primary cult significance. To this day circular metal mirrors stand on the little altars of Lamaist temples and form part of the dancing garments known as „cham“ during religious mysteries <sup>(713)</sup>. It is generally known that the northern Mahayana form of Buddhism (Lamaism) adopted a large number of shamanistic elements into their rites so as to be accepted by the local people.

There can be no doubt than in the Türk graves that have been excavated they form toilet requirements (this is true of the grave at Jargalant where the mirror was found together with a comb). J. P. Roux showed that in his analysis of the text of the Book of Happiness <sup>(714)</sup> from c. the 10th century, written in Türk runes, which came from the famous find of old texts walled into the sides of the Dunhuang caves <sup>(715)</sup>. He rejected the existing view that it was a Manichaean text. It has been regarded as such and was incomprehensible in its symbolism. J. P. Roux pointed out, in this connection <sup>(716)</sup> the inscription on the stele of Achura where there is mention of eight bronze and ten iron mirrors <sup>(717)</sup>, whereby he wished to prove the actual existence of mirrors among the Türks. But the text of the inscription is fragmentary and there is no proof that it referred to the property of the deceased as far as the mirrors are concerned. However the existence of mirrors among the Türks has been sufficiently proved by excavations.

A photograph of a Mongolian shaman in my archive clearly shows that these shamans wore shiny metal targets in front and the back and on their caps in large numbers. It is therefore my duty to point out that the mirrors in the mentioned text may have referred to the shaman's garment<sup>(718)</sup>.

L.R. Kyzlasov<sup>(719)</sup> attempted a more detailed analysis and explanation of the scene engraved in stone found in the grave of a baby at Kudyrga (*tab. 133*). For a better understanding of the engraving a description of it is required since only then can we realize some of its important details, which might otherwise be overlooked.

The engraving is to be found on an elongated boulder, about 40 cm in length. On one broad area there is a large face or mask with a beard, a moustache and slanting eyes, from the corners of which broad hatched lines run slantingly upwards and outwards in the form of bent ears or horns. On the narrow neighbouring area there is a group of horses and peoples. All horses are of a pure breed with a mighty body, small and narrow („camel“) head and mane, either set or cut into three pointed bulges. All have saddles and decorated shabraks. The horses are identical in race and form of mane to those on the engravings at Sulek (*tab. 155*) and at Shishkino (*tab. 156, 157*), and the horses on the reliefs on the sarcophagus of emperor Taizong (*tab. 166/1*), and the horse on the grave of Emperor Gaozong (*tab. 166/2*), the clay horse on the Chinese Tang tombs in the then capital city of Chang'an (*tab. 165*) and in the older period the horse of the Iranian King Bahrām Gūr (*tab. 158/2*). Furthermore, the upper horse wears a tassel around the head and neck, similar to that on the horses on the analogies given. From which it can be seen that the Kudyrga horses represent the property of the highest aristocracy, since they alone could afford them.

The most ostentatiously adorned horses are held by their reins by a kneeling or sitting figure with a three-pointed ornament on the head. The upper kneeling figure clearly represents a soldier, to judge by the quiver and holder with a bow illustrated by the side. The detail of his garment clearly shows a linked belt. He may have a mask on his face, from which long fringes or ribbons fall over his back (unless it is his hair). The lower figure is wearing armour and a pointed helmet with a back protection and may also have a mask on his face.

The third part of the scene on the opposite large area of the stone is made up of the depiction of two figures in richly patterned, clearly silk top garments. The larger figure in front is depicted sitting with legs supported, with ear-rings and again a three-pointed ornament on the head. The position of the figure at the back is not quite so clear for us to say with certainty whether it is sitting or kneeling. But it is certainly not standing. It likewise wears ear-rings and along the side, or rather in the background, there is again a quiver and a holder with a bow. It should be said that ear-rings are not decisive for stipulating whether we are dealing with a man or woman, for they were worn by both sexes among the Türks.

The authors of the first publication of these engravings were S. Rudenko and A. Glukhov<sup>(720)</sup>, followed by S.V. Kiselev and L.P. Potapov<sup>(722)</sup>. They regarded the larger figure as that of a woman, the smaller as a child. S.I. Rudenko and A.N. Glukhov pointed out that the two figures near the horses in the central part may be wearing masks<sup>(721)</sup>. None of these authors, however, tried to make a more detailed analysis of the scene or give an explanation. L.P. Potapov<sup>(724)</sup> regarded the bearded face as that of a noble man, and it reminded him of the face of a balbal. In his view the scene is a reflection of the relations between the ruling and the subject class. But if the entire engraving had only this illustrative function why would it be found in a grave? It must have a more profound significance, connected with the cult. L.R. Kyzlasov turned the explanation of the engraving in that direction. He sees in the large figure with the three-pointed head ornament („tiara“) the goddess Umai, protectress of children. The ornament is identified with similar head ornaments of priests on Sassanid coins and of shamans. The smaller figure behind „Umai“ is regarded by L.R. Kyzlasov as a depiction of the dead child, which is depicted in the other world under the protection of Umai, who is separated from the living people with the horses. L.R. Kyzlasov regards the small figure with the horse and equal head ornament as a shaman. All here are praying to Umai to be gracious towards the dead child. L.R. Kyzlasov judges from the bow and quiver by the figure of the child, that it was a boy for whom the pony at the bottom was intended. The author gives some analogies with the ethnography of the neighbouring Altai nomads, which would support his view that it is a scene linked to the religious ideas of the Türks based on shamanism.

He regards the large face on the left as a depiction of another Old Türk god from the shamanist pantheon, Yer-Sub, the spirit of the Earth and Waters, the personification of deified nature.

According to L.R. Kyzlasov <sup>(725)</sup> and S.V. Kiselev <sup>(726)</sup>, together with shamanism this engraving is a proof of the ideology and distinctions of property and social status since it clearly was not a child of a simple nomad.

This ingenious explanation by Kyzlasov need not be the only one - even if in many ways supported by proof and does not sound incredible. I would object, in the first place, that the anthropomorphic depiction of gods has never been demonstrated among the Türks and that it is unlikely in view of the general level of their religious ideas. It can further be objected that in the analogy of the head ornaments there should not be a preference to those on the heads of Sassanid priests, on the one hand - as L.R. Kyzlasov suggests - and the shamans on the other. In the first case they are Zoroastrian priests <sup>(727)</sup> which are always depicted in profile and their crown - like that of the Sassanid kings - is not, in fact, three-pointed <sup>(728)</sup>. The true shamanist head ornament is a treble one, as can be seen on the depiction of very schematic figures of spirits of the Buriat shamanistic Ongons. There are three short lines, perhaps originally feathers. On the Kudyrga engraving there may be a shamanistic element, and then it cannot be a crown as suggested by the Sassanid analogy, or it may be a crown (with more points of which only the frontal one that is visible is depicted) but then it has nothing in common with the shamans but is a sign of ruler.

The artists successfully dealt even with perspective on the Kudyrga engraving, which is by no means primitive. If he wished to depict the scene of the kneeling subject persons in front of those of higher social status and do so with artistic means to make it quite clear to everybody, he could not depict the entire scene in profile nor en faces so that no persons should have the back turn to the spectator. The artist, therefore, gave in profile those figures where the posture of kneeling is clear in profile and left en face the main figures to whom respect is shown, a position which, in various regions is used to depict rulers or highly placed persons. (See the depiction of the king on the Sogdian dish from the 7th century on *tab. 158*). And so it seems to me that the little figure with the tiara holding the horse is part of the group of elevated persons and not a representative of the lower strata. For I have no doubt that even this figure is given en face and not in profile as a soldier. By contrast to these it has both arms and a round head marked. Even though the lower part of drawing is missing, it is my opinion that this little figure is not kneeling but sitting. After the discovery of the head of the Kül-tegin statue with a crown or tiara I would propose this explanation: The large sitting figure with the tiara is either a kaghan or other highly placed dignitary on his level (*shad*, *yabgu*) if the work of art dates from the time before the Türk kaghanate was established, or it is a member of his family. The smaller figure behind him is his wife, and the bow and quiver does not belong to her directly but forms only the background to the scene as property of the „kaghan“ or the dead child. The small figure with the tiara is then the dead child belonging to this couple. It, therefore, has the most richly decorated horse. The kneeling figures are people of lower status than the couple and the child, perhaps members of the „retinue“. Whether they are wearing masks or not is left an open question.

In Kyzlasov's explanation there is a disproportion between the depiction of „Umai“ and „Yer-sub“, the first in full figure which „Yer-sub“ is merely a mask, considerably out of proportion to the other figures. I think the mask played a similar function here as those on the Tonyukuk memorial (*tab. 85*) or the dragon heads on that of Kül-tegin (*tab. 52 - 53*). This mask is very similar to the head of the „guardian of the gate“ on a fresco in a tomb from the Han dynasty at Port Arthur <sup>(730)</sup>. This creature of demonic appearance was to keep the evil powers away from the dead with his horrible appearance. It has a beard, a sharp thin moustache, broad nostrils, evil eyes, the pupils turned to the root of the nose, flowing long brows drawn upwards and probably horns. The only difference is that it had snarling teeth and a three-pointed shamanist headgear.

The mask on the Kudyrga boulder will have had the same magic meaning as those on the stelae of the Karasuk period. And it is important that these masks on the stelae and the „guardians of the gate“ from Port Arthur are linked by what one might call a centripetal shape. The „guardian“ holds it in his hand, on the stelae it is to be found either above the face of the mask or on the side of the stele <sup>(731)</sup>.

To the mentioned shamanistic elements surviving in writing - even if coded - and in material documents one should add two important proofs which conclusively speak of the shamanistic character of the Old Türk religious ideas. The Fragments of Menander the Protector contain a report of the travels of a Byzantine embassy that, headed by Zemarkhos, was sent in 568 by Emperor Justinian II to the Western Türk ruler Dizabul (identical with *yabgu Istemi* <sup>(732)</sup>). (The aim of their

negotiations was a coalition against Iran, particularly in relation to direct trade in silk). In the welcoming ceremony the entire Byzantine embassy including their baggage was subjected to purification by fire to the sounds of bells and drums <sup>(733)</sup>. Bells and drums had, since time immemorial, been part of the apparel of Mongolian shamans and the purification by fire is documented in 13th century Mongolia by Plano Carpini <sup>(734)</sup>.

W. Eberhard gives a source from the Tang dynasty that Liu Mau-tsai did not include in his translations, according to which the Türks cut shapes of their gods out of felt and kept these in a leather pouch, which they covered in grease (as sacrifice). They would hang these pouches on poles and sacrifice to it in each season <sup>(735)</sup>. Those are the typical shamanistic „ongons“. In 1957 still I saw such a figure hang in one Mongolian home together with other protective talismans, said to be in protection of the children.

Elements of the shamanistic cult, such as sacrificing sheep and horses and hanging up the heads and skin of the sacrificed animals survived in the southern Altai until not long ago. Until the revolution they were worshipped even under the old Türk names, including the old Türk gods „kok tengri“ (blue sky) and „yer-su“ (earth and water) <sup>(736)</sup>.

Some of these religious ideas, the cult of ancestors and features of shamanism, are identical with old Chinese religions and were adopted also by Taoism. Among the Türks the religion was not elaborated into a fixed system and there probably were no priests as a privileged caste. Prophets and exorcists cannot be counted in this category.

Bilge-kaghan's attempt to build Taoist temples was not carried out on Tonyukuk's advice <sup>(737)</sup>.

Of far greater significance, it seems, was the adoption of Buddhism at least among the aristocracy, at least for a time. Liu Mau-tsai <sup>(738)</sup> assumed that the Türks came into contact with it very early at the time when they were still subject to the Ruanruan and gives proofs of the existence of Buddhism among the Ruanruan.

The first historically documented active contact of the Türks with Buddhism dates from 572 when the Chinese state of the Northern Zhou practically became vassal of the Türks when the construction of the temple for the Türk kaghan was, in all likelihood, completed in the Chinese capital of Chang'an. At least Liu Mau-tsai takes this temple for a Buddhist one <sup>(739)</sup>.

The Buddhist monk Huilin abducted by the Türks <sup>(740)</sup> converted the kaghan Tabo to Buddhism (572 - 580). Tabo is said to have become a fervent Buddhist, built monasteries and pagodas, renounced meat as food and walked around the pagoda and the statue of Buddha in the Buddhist manner. He also sent an envoy to the Northern Qi to request them to send Buddhist sūtras <sup>(741)</sup>. The emperor had a translation of the Nirvāna sūtra into Türk made and gave it to the kaghan <sup>(742)</sup>. But Tabo may have become a fervent Buddhist out self-interest, for Huilin presented Buddhism as the main source of wealth and power of the Chinese <sup>(743)</sup>.

After the prohibition of Buddhism in China, in the state of the Northern Zhou a group of monks moved west across the territory of the Türks. The teacher as time passed died and all his disciples with the exception of the Indian monk Jinagupta, who on request of kaghan Tabo remained with him for ten years and spread the faith among the Türks. At that time a group of eleven monks were returning to China from their long pilgrimage to the west. Among the Türks they discovered that they were not allowed to return to China. They therefore remained among the Türks, joined Jinagupta and together they read 260 Sanscrit sūtras that they had acquired on their travels. When the Sui dynasty came to power in China in 581 they again supported Buddhism and the monks were able to return, but Jinagupta remained among the Türks until 585 when he likewise returned to China on the emperor's request <sup>(744)</sup>.

We know nothing of the further history of Buddhism among the Türks. It is clear that it vanished again without leaving any marks <sup>(745)</sup>. Bilge-kaghan wanted to reintroduce it again together with Taoism, and build temples, but on Tonyukuk's insistence he abandoned this intention. What is interesting are Tonyukuk's words used on this occasion, which were recorded by a Chinese chronicler, words where in clairvoyant manner he characterized the influence of Buddhism on the militant nations, the fate to which far later even the Mongols succumbed: „Furthermore the teaching of Buddhist and Taoist temples imbues the people with goodness and submissiveness. That is not the way to wage war and gain power. For that reason we must not build (temples)! <sup>(746)</sup>.

## Funeral Rites

### Written Sources

Graves are of basic significance in excavations because they give an idea of the material culture. The manner of burial is frequently an important criterion for stipulating the social structure of the population. It will therefore be useful if we give a word for word translation of all the passages in Chinese sources that refer to the burial customs of the Eastern Türks. These sources are very detailed even if they do not record all that might be of interest to us and which we still need to reconstruct with the aid of archaeological sources.

Generally the burial rites of the Eastern Türks and the ceremonies relating to death and burial are given identically in Zhou-shu and Sui-shu with but a few differences. We shall keep to the text of Zhou-shu, which is original. (It was probably finished in 629). Certain more important divergencies in Sui-shu are given in brackets.

If one of them dies, his body is laid out in the tent. Each of the children and grandchildren, male and female relatives of the deceased killed a sheep and a horse (cattle and horses) and placed these in front of the tent as sacrifice. Then they rode seven times around the tent on their horses, crying and ululating. And they cut their face with a knife. They wept till tears mixed with the blood ran down their faces. They did this seven times and (only) then ceased. They chose the day, took the horse and the garments and objects of daily use of the deceased and burnt them with the corpse (placed the corpse on the horse and burnt it). Then they gathered up the ashes to bury them at a fitting time: If somebody died in the spring or the summer, they waited till the grass and the leaves on the trees grow yellow; if somebody dies in the autumn or in winter, they waited until the plants burst into bud and flowered. They dug a grave and buried (the ashes). On the day of the funeral the relatives again brought sacrificial gifts, rode their horses and cut their faces. The entire ceremony was the same as on the day of death. After the funeral they piled up stones and set up a pole; the number of stones depended on the number of people that the dead had killed during his lifetime (if the deceased had ever killed a man, they placed one stone), (i.e. for each man killed they erected one stone). The number of stones sometimes amounted to hundred or thousands (identical in Bei-shu <sup>(749)</sup>). Then they placed the heads of the sacrificed sheep and horses on the pole. That day men and women in fine clothes and with many jewels gathered. (In the grave they made a space <sup>(750)</sup> in which they painted the portrait of the deceased and battle scenes in which the deceased had participated)." (Identical in Bei-shu <sup>(751)</sup>).

We should once more go back to the description of the children's games of the Tang prince, the son of Emperor Taizong. The continuation of this is historically unimportant but has not been fully evaluated for its documentary value. There stands written: Chengqian imitated the death of a kaghan. All his people had to weep loudly and cut their faces. Then they galloped increasingly close to him..." <sup>(752)</sup>.

The custom of cutting the face as a sign of mourning is documented in two concrete cases: The Türks forced aliens that took part in the funeral rites for a kaghan to this act. In 565 an imperial envoy happened to be among the Türks when the kaghan died. When he refused to submit to this barbarian custom the Türks told him: „Hitherto all envoys that came to us and were present at a burial cut their faces just like we do to express their sorrow. Now when our two nations are linked by marriage, how can you not participate?" <sup>(753)</sup>. The Türks seem to have retained this custom permanently: A Khitan taken prisoner during a battle with the Türks in 735 related after escaping that „each day he truly saw how all generals of the Türks wept in front of the tent and cut their faces..." It can be deduced from this that 'the little kaghan' (the kaghan's son) must have been mortally wounded. If it had not been so, they would not have behaved in this manner" <sup>(754)</sup>.

There are two important reports that relate to the Chinese participation in constructing two grandiose memorials, that of Kül-tegin and of Bilge-kaghan: „In 732 (Jiu Tang-shu; elsewhere correctly 731 - 755) Que Tele (Kül-tegin) died. The emperor issued an edict to the general of the „Bird Guard" Zhang Quyí and the head of the department for the condemned at the ministry of justice Lü Xiang requesting them to go to the barbarians with the emperor's letter of condolences. Simultaneously the emperor had a stele erected for the deceased and himself composed the inscription on it. Then he had a funeral shrine built, a statue carved out of stone and on its four sides had battle scenes painted in which the deceased had participated" <sup>(756)</sup>.

In another source (Tang-shu) the second part of the text runs: „The emperor had a funeral inscription carved into a grave stone and had a shrine and a temple built and on its four walls battle scenes were painted; for that purpose the emperor sent 6 famous painters; they painted the pictures with such skill and natural manner that (the Türks) thought they had never seen the like. When Mojilian (Bilge-kaghan) looked at him he was always sad“ (757).

The second report refers to the death of Kül-tegin's brother Mojilian (Bilge-kaghan): „In 732 (it should correctly be 734) (758) the „little shad“ was poisoned by his dignitary Meiluchuo. The emperor had the president of the Office for Family Affairs of the dynasty Li Quan go to (the successor) Yiyan with condolences... For the deceased the emperor had a gravestone and a temple set up; for that purpose he ordered the chronicler Li Rong to compose a tomb inscription“ (759).

These general descriptions of the burial rites contain the statement that the body of the dead was cremated. Several other data confirm the correctness of these reports: After the battle with the Chinese army in 582 the Türks „burnt the corpses on the battlefield; they wept and moaned and then withdrew“ (760). There exists another proof of cremation for the period of the Sui dynasty (581-618) where the customs of the Tiele (Tölös) are compared with those of the Türks: „Their customs were roughly such as among the Türks. Only ... they buried their dead (that means not cremated). Those are the differences!“ (761).

In 634 the kaghan Xieli died in Chinese captivity. „The emperor ordered his fellow-countrymen to bury him. Following their customs, they burnt the corpse (added in Tang-shu: and set up a grave mound (762). His commander committed suicide to be buried together (with him). They buried him next to the grave of Xieli and in his memory a grave stele was erected“ (763).

Little attention has been drawn to the fact in the course of time the Türks abandoned the original ceremony of cremation. Since the reports on this were valid for the older period it was generally projected into their entire history while they played a major role in Central Asia and the explanations of archaeological finds led to misunderstanding and polemics (764), which were based on false premises and therefore unnecessary. Emperor Taizong, in 628, showed the Türks as shocking their behaviour against their own traditions and respect for their ancestry, which had always had deep roots in China: „The very fact that they now bury their dead, which according to their customs used to be burnt, and set up graves shows that they are acting counter to the stipulations of their ancestors, and they offend the gods and the spirits“ (765).

Comparison of individual proofs of burial rites show that the change from cremation to burial of the unburnt bodies must have occurred sometime early in the 7th century and that the last kaghan who was cremated will have been Xieli. Liu Mau-tsai, who was the first to draw attention to this important fact, rightly assumes that the change in rites was influenced either by the Tiele tribe or the Chinese (766).

Customs that Chinese sources speak of can be found also in writing in Old Türk inscriptions and iconographic documents.

An inscription from Achura on the left bank of the Abakan is badly damaged in parts and V.V. Radlov deciphered it as follows: „The faces of a hundred heroes, the faces of the begs, the lashes of the rulers...sixty heroes your contemporaries, fifty heroes your good comrades, with you, you old ones (and young) brothers (relatives)...Ten girls with a seeing eye did you see no more (or : did not see the girls - object?)... the hair (torn out?)“. Even if the exact meaning cannot be reconstructed these fragments show that it refers to customs related to funerals and mourning rites. But the followers of Radlov give this part a different meaning (768). Even if we regard this example as doubtful there is another safely Türk source that proves this custom in 735 during the consecration of the Bilge-kaghan memorial. On his stele stands written in a Türk inscription that all participants of the funeral celebrations „shaved off their hair, cut their ears and faces“ (769).

This custom is shown even in a western source: When a Roman embassy led by Valentinus came to the Türk demesne ruler, whose name is Menander written in the form of Turxanthos, they were asked that their members should cut their faces like the Türks as a sign of mourning, for Turxanthos' father, the kaghan Dilzibil, had just died (770).

On Sogdian frescoes at Pyandjikent this custom is iconographically recorded for the Western Türks in the 7th century. In the scene of mourning Xiavush we can see a group of people in front of his corpse tearing their hair, cutting their ear-lobes and their faces. Five of the figures have brick-red faces with protruding cheekbones and black haircut straight in front and falling in long strands at the back and shoulders. The other persons have long oval faces and a light skin (*tab. 171*). A. Y. Yakubovski regards the persons with the dark skin as Türks and the others as

Sogdians<sup>(771)</sup>. I saw a similar scene and photographed it at Dunhuang on the border of Chinese Turkestan in one of the many Buddhist caves. On a mural painting from the time of the Tang dynasty there stand at the foot of a colossal statue of the dead Buddha a group of representatives of various Asian nationalities, some of whom show pain at Buddha's death by way of the Türk costumes. They punch their sword into their breasts, cut off the end of the nose or ear-lobes or their chests are cut with knives (*tab. 170*).

## Archaeological Sources

### Cremation Graves

As far as I know only one cremation grave from the Türk period of the settlement of the Altai has been published, which confirmed the Chinese report that the original burial rite of the Türk involved cremation. All others are skeleton burials, including those at Kudyrgé, which S.V. Kiselev regards as the oldest graves of the Altai Türks from the period before they threw off the yoke of the Ruanruan, i.e. the 5th - 6th century<sup>(772)</sup>. Either the Kudyrgé ones are less old than S.V. Kiselev assumes (I would regard the silver headband - *tab. 132/4* - as younger, already Tang,) or they are truly from the 5th - 6th century but would then not belong to the Eastern Türks in the classical sense of that term but to tribes that likewise spoke Türk but are labelled in Chinese sources generally as the Tölös. They had no permanent seats, were partly subject to the Eastern, partly the Western Türks, and they buried their dead uncremated<sup>(773)</sup>. It was under their influence, not that of the Chinese, in Liu Mau-tsai's view, that the Eastern Türks abandoned the cremation rites, as has been said. During the dynasty of the Northern Wei (386 - 534) they were called Gaoche<sup>(774)</sup>.

Kyzlasov's assumption<sup>(775)</sup> that only members of the aristocracy were cremated and common men buried uncremated does not stand the test for there are a series of very rich skeleton graves on the entire territory occupied by the Türks, which belonged to the aristocracy.

M.P. Gryaznov investigated the cremation grave mentioned above<sup>(776)</sup>; it was situated in a steppe valley at the confluence of the rivers Yakonur, Burgasty and Imegen in the Altai. It was a large stone mound 23 m in diameter. In the centre, at a depth of 30 cm below the level of the ground, was a small pit containing a hollowed box with burnt bones and objects of iron: a single-bladed sword, 23 arrow points, a knife, 3 curbs, 3 pairs of stirrups. From this it can be deduced that the dead person was cremated with three horses. Unfortunately the author does not speak of an analysis of the bones whether they truly included those of horses, which, once and for all, might have put an end to the dispute as to the correct translation of a relevant part in Chinese reports which has been going on for long, whether, in fact, only the dead body was cremated or horses with it.

Under the mound there were two similar pits. In the first there was a pair of stirrups and a curb, in the second a hollowed wooden log containing the burnt bones of a man. Into the pit had been laid, together with the ashes and burnt clay, an iron curb and 8 iron points of arrows. M.P. Gryaznov dates the grave mound into the 8th - 10th centuries. The question remains whether this dating is correct or whether it is not a grave from that older period than the middle of the 7th century when we possess records that they abandoned the older custom of cremation. Unfortunately the material cannot provide dating as it has not been published. Or it might be a burial of a member of the lower ranks of the aristocracy (no luxury objects have been found), who, compared with the higher aristocracy that soon adopted Chinese morals, retained the older ceremonial. The very contrary to what Kyzlasov assumed. In any case, this grave mound provides evidence that the servant, serf or slave followed his master either voluntarily or by force to the other world and was buried with him. It is an illustration that complements the report of the burial of the kaghan Xieli in 634. It cannot have been a common soldier in the central grave as M.P. Gryaznov assumed<sup>(777)</sup>; this is contradicted by the sword, which was very rare.

L.P. Potapov says quite generally that the excavations in the Altai confirm the evidence of Chinese chronicles about cremation burials among the (Eastern) Türks. Unfortunately he does not give details<sup>(778)</sup>. A.N. Bernshtam cites graves of unbaked bricks on the territory of the Western Türks at Semirechie. They were cremation graves in boxes or clay containers<sup>(779)</sup>. The question remains as to whether they really belong to the Türks.

As to Türk cremation grave mounds on the territory of Mongolia, it is very difficult to draw final conclusions for lack of documentation and publications dealing with graves that have been investigated. Grave mound No. 2 at Nayantsum is not, as G.I. Borovka assumed, from the period around the turn of the era, but is Türk. Here alone it is said that it contained fragments of burnt bones. Beside them were fragments of pottery that came from at least two containers. Since below the pile of stones 10 m in diameter there was a burnt layer  $\varnothing$  3 m on the original level, it can be assumed that the corpse was burnt there and then. Another grave mound - No. 3 - in the same locality, likewise had a burnt mark under the pile of stones. But there is no mention of human bones, only those of animals and an iron nail. Nor is there any mention of burnt bones in the description of mound No. 1 at Ikh-Alyk, only a burnt spot and an iron treble-edged point of an arrow.

There is one more problem about these cremation graves, if they truly are graves. If, in the case of grave mound No. 2 at Nayantsum, the burnt layer under the mound might be the remnant of the pyre on which the dead was burnt this would run counter to the descriptions of funerals in Chinese sources, according to which the ashes of the burnt body were kept for a longer period, about half a year. There may be yet another explanation for this burnt layer under the mound, that it is the remnants of a fire on which sacrificial animals were roasted, parts of which were consumed by participants of the funeral.

### Skeleton graves

As we said, from the early 7th century we must reckon on skeleton burials among the Eastern Türks. The material of this work includes skeleton graves that were discovered in those few grave mounds that have so far been investigated on the territory of Mongolia and were published. A typical one is grave mound No.4 at Nayantsum showing the burial rites of the 7th-8th century. Characteristic for that phase were burials with a horse or several horses with the bones of the horse placed parallel with the skeleton of the deceased, but heads in the opposite direction<sup>(780)</sup>. Grave mound No.4 with its two skeletons of horses and full harness and original inventory of a human skeleton fully corresponds to other contemporary graves in the Altai and Tuva (*tab. 110-112*). Fragments of a Chinese bronze mirror do not belong chronologically to the set found, for it dates from the Han dynasty (206 B.C. - A.D. 220)<sup>(781)</sup>. It probably is proof that the old graves of the Türks were robbed.

Grave mound No. 2 at Ikh-Alyk was, unfortunately, entirely upset and provides no basis for a characteristic kind of burial, less so even for dating.

The description of grave mound No. 1 at Nayantsum, alas, did not include a drawing. But if we reconstruct the position of the bones according to the description, with all likelihood we get the same position of the skeleton of the horse and the man as in mound No. 4 (*cp. tab.110*) they lay with heads in the opposite direction. The very orientation of the pit suggests that it will be a grave from a later phase, the second half of the 8th century under the Uighur kaghanate when e.g. in Tuva the orientation of the Türk graves from East-West changed to North-South<sup>(782)</sup>.

The grave mound with the female skeleton and two horses laying in the opposite direction (one saddled, the other with curb and rein) at Jargalant corresponds fully to what we know of the burial rites of the Türks from e.g. the graves in the Altai. Analogies given by L.A. Yevtyukhova to individual objects range from the 6th - 9th century. According to the coins she dates the grave to the 9th century<sup>(783)</sup>. I do not know what led her to do so, for this type of coin appeared for the first time in 621 and was later issued by various emperors of the Tang dynasty with identical inscriptions and the only thing that can be said about those coins is that they date from the Tang dynasty (621-907). They only rarely have a mark on the reverse that makes more precise dating possible<sup>(784)</sup>. But L.A. Yevtyukhova says nothing about that.

The second media of dating, the Chinese mirror is of the type that was in frequent use during the Tang dynasty. It was included in the treasure in the temple at Nara in Japan, which was completed in c. the middle of the 8th century and contains generally older objects from the preceding time<sup>(785)</sup>. (So the grave might date from the 8th century, perhaps the second half). At that time the Uighurs were here. But we know that the Orkhon Türks were not wiped out but continued to exist. In any case this grave by its overall character is that of a Türk woman, though it might have been an Uighur one. The luxurious Chinese and Iranian imports show that she was a member of the aristocracy. Even if in all likelihood the Türk aristocracy was killed, the women went to the victors. That happened to the wife of the last Türk kaghan Ozmysh, whom the Uighur kaghan

Moyunchur took to himself, and all girls and women of the Orkhon Türks, as stands written on a stele built in his memory <sup>(786)</sup>. The orientation of the skeleton is in the East-West direction, which would suggest a greater age of this grave mound than L. A. Yevtyukhova assumes. I want to point out that neither this mound nor mound No. 4 at Nayantsum are Uighur graves but guaranteed Türk ones. Uighur grave mounds are surrounded on the top by stones outlined by a rectangular circular area and have additional shapes <sup>(787)</sup>. The Uighur graves excavated at Tuva did not contain buried horses <sup>(788)</sup> nor is there any mention of the burial of horses in the description of the burial rites of the ancient Uighurs in Wei-shu <sup>(789)</sup>.

In the description of Mongolian skeleton burials there is no mention of a wooden partition that tends to be between the horse and the deceased in the Altai graves (*see tab.139/1*) and at Tuva <sup>(790)</sup>. That is the only distinction between the graves of the Orkhon Türks from those in the Altai and at Tuva. But no final conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the few graves that have so far been investigated.

In the Old Türk graves there are very often the bones of sacrificial animals, mainly sheep and rams. But they are not entire skeletons, only bones of certain parts, showing that only parts were placed in the graves, usually the less valuable ones. The rest was clearly consumed during the funeral feast <sup>(791)</sup>.

### Memorials

The first to attribute the memorials correctly to the Türks was N.M. Yadrinsev, but he regarded them as graves <sup>(792)</sup>. V. V. Radlov assumed on the basis of entirely insufficient archaeological research into the Bilge-kaghan memorial, that the memorials to deceased members of the Türk aristocracy were not built on their graves but that the Türks built special memorials for memorial festivities in places other than the graves <sup>(793)</sup>. But he regarded the two smaller northern Khöshöö-tsaidam memorials as the graves of Kül-tegin and Bilge-kaghan <sup>(794)</sup>. It should at once be said on this occasion that this possibility was definitively excluded with the find of another, a third small memorial at Khöshöö-tsaidam, in close vicinity of the Kül-tegin memorial (discovery by the Czechoslovak expedition in 1958), so that the larger and the smaller objects do not mutually correspond in numbers. V. Thomsen was of the opinion that the Kül-tegin memorial was on the site of a grave or that the grave was in close vicinity <sup>(795)</sup>. W. Kotwicz saw confirmation of the Chinese report on the cremation burial rites of the Türks in the result of his investigations of the „sarcophagus“ of the smaller northern Khöshöö-tsaidam memorial <sup>(796)</sup>. The stone enclosures, i.e. the memorials, were regarded as graves by J.G. Granö <sup>(797)</sup>. Even after excavations of Altai, Tuvin and Mongolian „enclosures“ certain archaeologists insisted that they were graves <sup>(798)</sup>. Even though L.A. Yevtyukhova and S.V. Kiselev discovered the true substance of the „stone enclosures“ (see below), they themselves continued to regard at least the Khöshöö-tsaidam memorials and those with stone „sarcophagi“ as graves of the Türk aristocracy. They did so on the basis of the assumption that these were true sarcophagi <sup>(799)</sup>. Even L.P. Potapov considered the memorials on the Orkhon as graves <sup>(800)</sup>.

The excavations by L. A. Yevtyukhova and S. V. Kiselev showed that the „enclosures“ and balsals were of ritual not of funeral function <sup>(801)</sup>. L.A. Yevtyukhova excavated one memorial in the northern Altai composed of massive stone panels perpendicularly set into the ground in the form of a square. The sides were oriented towards the cardinal points. The entire space was covered with panels and filled with stones, to form a massive 30 cm mound. Two rows of stones were embedded in the ground side by side and parallel leading from the eastern side of the object towards the east. The northern row had five, the southern eight stones. The distance between the stones was 3 - 3.5 m apart.

During excavations a round pit emerged below the stone mound in the very centre on the original level. Its diameter was 75 cm, depth 80 cm, and it was filled with burnt boulders and a single piece of highly rotten wood and carbons. No bones were found <sup>(802)</sup>.

L. A. Yevtyukhova investigated similar square objects in the Kurai steppe with the one difference that it would not be enclosed by slabs. From them rows of stones amounting from 5-21 stretched towards the east. Below the stone mounds she always found a circular pit with a diameter of 40-80 cm, filled in with various large stones similar to those that formed the mound. The stones in the pit were mixed with soil and carbon and ashes, and closer to the bottom there were pieces of rotten wood, or a wooden stick of pointed log with a diameter of 30 cm was fixed into the bottom.

In each pit the vertebra of a ram was found on the bottom or (in three cases) part of the lower jaw of a horse or ram and charcoal with ashes, sometimes a larger quantity. L.A. Yevtyukhova expressly pointed out that they never found any burnt or complete human bones<sup>(803)</sup>.

S. V. Kiselev and L.A. Yevtyukhova presented their comprehensive results of excavations of similar Altai enclosures with balbals, during which they found in the centre of the enclosures pits with a diameter 40-50 cm, 60 cm in depth, filled with ashes, charcoal and blackened stones. Sometimes there was the end of an embedded stake<sup>(804)</sup>. For instance in excavations of such an enclosure 4x4 m with a balbal in the Tötö steppe near Kurai in the Altai, which was set according to the cardinal points, he found below the stone mound a circular pit with a diameter of 75 cm, in which, at depth of 12 cm, there was charcoal and below it a thick log of wood, Ø 70 cm, pointed at the end. A similar result was found during excavations of enclosures where there were no balbals and from which a row of stones stretched to the east. In all cases in the centre below the mound there was a pit filled with charcoal and ashes. Sometimes one single object was found below the mound, e.g. an iron axe, a curb, a hook<sup>(805)</sup>.

A similar memorial was investigated in the Altai by M. P. Gryaznov. It was made up of two stone enclosures, filled inside with stones. The smaller one on the northern side had a stone pillar and by the larger one on the same side a row of eighteen similar prism-shaped stones. Even though excavations found no grave, M.P.Gryaznov regarded it as grave<sup>(806)</sup>.

A. D. Grach gives the results of several excavations of „enclosures“ in Tuva. The first is in the area of the large tumulus in the Boom-Üstü valley on the right bank of the River Karga, 17 km from Mogur-Aksy. It was an almost square stone enclosure (4.20 x 4.3 m) made of boulders, one of a group of four enclosures stretching from the north to the south and oriented to the cardinal points. On the eastern edge there was a balbal in the form of a stone slab with a schematically carved human face that took up the entire area of the slab. An irregular ash-like spot with charcoal was found in the centre of the enclosure directly below the stones<sup>(807)</sup>.

Another investigated enclosure of the same tumulus was 4-20 by 4.30 m in size, was oriented to the cardinal points, had the same balbal at the eastern side in the shape of a boulder cut into the shape of a large human head. Here, too, below the stones there was a longish ash-like spot with charcoal and three flat fragments of iron, each with two holes side by side, which A. D. Grach classified as fragments of „the ends of a bow“. I regard this as little plates of iron armour<sup>(808)</sup>.

Another enclosure was investigated in the valley of the River Biche-Shui near Bai-Tala. It was almost square, slightly deltoid. The outer wall was made up of larger flat stones, inside it was filled with smaller stones. The sides were oriented at an angle of about 45° from the cardinal points, i.e. according to the cardinal sides the diagonals had been set. The size 3.80 x 3.90 m. Along the northern side was a balbal of stone slabs, on which the head with details of a face was marked. To the north-east of the balbal stretched a row of stones fixed into the ground, of which 10 survived. The original level was 16 - 17 cm below a mighty layer of stones. In the midst they found a 79 cm deep cylindrical pit after a wooden post, fragments of which survived. The pit has a conical end, Ø about 125 cm, with a diameter of about 80 cm at the bottom<sup>(809)</sup>.

In the same place an enclosure of similar shape was investigated, equal in construction and orientation. Here, too, was a balbal, which did not stand on the original site but analogically according to the preceding one it can be assumed that it used to stand on the north-eastern side of the enclosure from which, in a north-easterly direction there lay a row of stones (of which 19 survived). The balbal was made of a flat slab, on which only a face was marked. The size of the enclosure: 4.50 x 4.90 m. The edge was formed by flat stones, placed close one to the other, the inside was filled with small fragments of stones. In the centre there was a group of flat stones placed perpendicularly. As was further shown, a wooden post was fixed with these stones which had been set into an irregular pit pointed at the bottom, 74 cm deep and about 80 x 90 cm in diameter at the top. The remnants of the post were still inside the pit<sup>(810)</sup>.

Another enclosure was excavated in the Közélig-Khov valley on the right bank of the Alash near Tspa-Aksy. It was made up of large stone slabs set vertically in the ground and forming the edge of a space of square ground plan. It was oriented like the last mentioned. On the south-eastern side stood a balbal in the shape of a fully plastic figure, holding a jug at the chest in the right hand and with a sword or dagger suspended on the belt. The inside of the enclosure was without stones. Below a secondarily formed layer of soil a dark oval mark was found, from which a wooden post rose in the middle. A further excavation showed that the post was set in a cylindrical pit almost 80 cm deep. The surviving height of the post was 78 cm. To the south-east of the balbal

there stretched a 100 m long row of stones, of which 70 survived. Judging by the one-metre distance between the surviving stones altogether there will have been 100 originally <sup>(811)</sup>.

In the same district as the preceding one (somon Kara-Khol) a further enclosure was excavated, composed of large stone slabs. The size of the enclosure was 5 x 5 m, oriented again according to the cardinal points. Two stone slabs were set into the ground (stelae) at the south-eastern side, on one of which turned towards the south-east there was a schematically carved face with a moustache. Rows of stones stretched from the two slabs. Between the two slabs lay three flat slabs, forming a sort of approach to the enclosure. The inside was filled with stones and stone plates. In the midst on the south-west to north-west axis there were two fireplaces, surrounded by stones, placed in correspondence to the stelae. They contained tiny fragments of charcoal. At the north-eastern side of the enclosure, close to the stelae, were two other places surrounded by stones, resembling fireplaces. The description does not say whether the inside of the „fireplaces“ were investigated. The attached photographs show the state of investigation after the secondarily heaped soil had been removed. The drawn documentation shows only the original level. I assumed that the „content of the „fireplaces“ was not investigated and had it been done they would have found pits as in the preceding cases, in which originally posts had been set <sup>(812)</sup>.

L. R. Kyzlasov gives the results of excavations of other Tuvian „enclosures“. In none of them were remnants of burial found, neither skeleton or cremation ones. Under the stone mound of three nothing at all was found, in two others small patches of ashes and an iron knife were found on the original surface, in the sixth small charcoal pieces lay on the original surface, rotten pieces of wood and fragments of a wooden post, set into the northern wall. In three others there appeared small pits covered with stone in the centre. In each of them they found animal bones, one phalanx of a horse, elsewhere a sheep bone.

The tenth enclosure described by Kyzlasov was complicated. On the southern and eastern side further configurations were attached in the form of semi-oval mounds of stone. Inside was an oval pit, 1.2 x 0.7 m deep, in which they found among the stones the ankle-bone and tooth of a horse, iron plates of armour and fragments of two three-bladed iron arrow points. On the original level there were further piles of charcoal and two horse teeth in three places. An analogical pattern emerged below the additional mounds. Below the southern one there was a pit, Ø 30 cm, 40 cm deep strewn with silicious schist and charcoal and fragments of a sheep jaw. In addition, there was a horse's tooth. In the eastern mound they found individual pieces of charcoal, fragments of a horse's jaw and the ankle-bone of a horse. Nowhere was there any burnt soil, which means that the charcoal and remnants of a fire were taken from another place and thrown here. The bones were fragments of animals that had been eaten during celebrations. Elsewhere they sacrificed even used or damaged pieces or armour <sup>(813)</sup>.

All this means that these small „enclosures“ in the Altai and Tuva had an identical function to objects in Mongolia, which in this work I call „memorials“. In Mongolia they are of larger size and therefore built for persons of a still higher social status, chiefly the kaghans and their closest relatives. They are more complex, more ostentatious but identical at core. In place of the „enclosure“ proper these memorials have the stone „sarcophagus“ which served the same function. Even among the enclosures given above there are cases when they were built of large stone slabs. Decisive will have been the fact whether suitable stone was available in the vicinity, especially granite. Near the large Mongolian memorials were small temples. But there were also small objects that correspond to the Altai or Tuvian „enclosures“. So that this type of enclosure is not to be found solely in the Altai or in Tuva but on the entire territory that the Türks inhabited. The same is true of the balbals that go with these objects. On the other hand, large memorials exist also outside the territory of Mongolia. L.R. Kyzlasov investigated a memorial of large size near Saryg-bulun in Tuva. It was a rectangle 36 x 29 m with rounded corners, oriented to the cardinal points with a small deviation, and with a wall and moat. Inside the area was a rectangular mound of sand 16 x 15 m, 77 cm high. On its top robbers had dug a pit 3 m deep. The wall was made of sand and gravel. On the eastern side of the mound and in the moat were stone figures of people sitting on their bent legs and 2 figures of lions.

The excavations showed no signs of burial and proved the memorial purpose of the object. A „temple“ was found on the western side where sacrifices were brought, and it had the shape of an octagonal wooden yurt. The roof was made to be held down by boulders, which were found, and it was held up by 13 deep-set columns. In the centre a post had been set in the ground beside which lay a pile of charcoal, and around it lay scattered fragments of a horse's jaw, cattle teeth and deer

horn. And there was an iron plate. On the eastern side of the yurt, opposite the entrance, below the tumulus-shaped mound a jug turned on a potter's wheel was found, probably Sogdian in origin, standing beside the wooden post to which it probably had originally been tied <sup>(814)</sup>.

Excavations of these small memorials or enclosures in Mongolia brought the same results: The „sarcophagus“ in the most northerly Khöshöö-tsaidam memorial was investigated by W. Kotwicz. The interior was raised by 15 cm over the surrounding terrain. 90 cm below the former level of the terrain W. Kotwicz came across a compact block of charcoal exactly in the centre of the „sarcophagus“ area, in a circular pit, Ø 65 - 70 cm. The greatest depth in the middle was 10 cm. The pit was completely filled with charcoal. There was nothing else among them. Further digging to the depth of 2.05 m brought no other results. But suddenly the author speaks of ashes instead of charcoal <sup>(815)</sup>. But there is no mention that any bones were found among the coal or ashes even though he regards his find as a confirmation of the Chinese reports on the cremation of the dead among the Türks. But he was not sure whether the „ashes“ that he found were from the corpse of the dead person or only his horse, since that part was translated in different manner in the translations of the Chinese texts. Though he was no archaeologist, he would have noticed the burnt bones, had there been any. Since he was a layman, he identified „ashes“, though not containing bones with „ashes from a burnt body, for that would be the conclusion offered to a layman with a view to the Chinese texts. In the additional note he acknowledges that his find of „ashes“ remained unique even after the excavations by Vladimirtsov and Borovka <sup>(816)</sup>.

Vladimirtsov's excavation of a „sarcophagus“ at Bayandavaan likewise brought no confirmation that a grave was placed in the sarcophagus. Though he dug to the depth of several feet to the level of the ground water, he found nothing except an iron point of a spear <sup>(817)</sup>.

His excavations of the larger „tomb“, i.e. the stone box of the Tonyukuk memorial likewise remained negative. He did not find bones nor remnants of a cremated body <sup>(818)</sup>.

We should take into account the results of the detailed excavations of the Tonyukuk memorial by the Mongolian Scientific Council in 1957 and those of the Kül-tegin memorial by the Czechoslovak - Mongolian expedition in 1958 and we reach the only possible conclusion: The object, called „enclosures“, „plohchadki“ or „memorials“ of all types and sizes are places set aside to the memory of the deceased and for annual sacrifices, signs of the cult of ancestors, which is an expression both of Taoistic and shamanistic ideas. It is further my opinion that the areas, enclosed by stones or stone slabs, i.e. the enclosures of „plohchadki“ or the „sarcophagus“ were intended by the survivors as seat of the shadow-soul of the dead person. In 1926 W. Kotwicz correctly comprehended that these memorials (which he himself regarded as graves) were set up as seat for one of the souls of the deceased that remained after death in close vicinity of the body as invisible but continuing the existence of the dead person <sup>(819)</sup>. The view that W. Kotwicz put forward escaped attention. It was recently pointed out by K. Jettmar <sup>(820)</sup>. According to animistic-shamanistic ideas, there existed, apart from the body soul that does not leave the body and vanishes with it, a shadow soul, which separates from the person during his life and can lead a separate existence. (This is the way that they explained dreams, or how a soul left a man when he went into his dwelling, etc.) <sup>(821)</sup>. For that reason clearly the balbals, which symbolized killed enemies, were not set up by the grave, the mound where the body of the deceased was laid to rest (the body soul vanished with death!) but here where the shadow-soul had moved, which was capable of a separate existence and in a manner continued the invisible existence of the deceased. And here the balbals - the dead enemies - were to serve it by bringing sacrifices, mainly food so that it might not harm the living.

It is, therefore, quite wrong to regard these objects as cenotaphs, as is sometimes done, for a cenotaph has a different significance. It is some fictitious substitute grave of the deceased, whose body remained somewhere else. Who may have died far away on the road or fallen in battle and could not be buried at home. It is a cenotaph of the burial of the body, even if fictitious, but not the soul - according to the ideas I have just given. That these memorials were not cenotaphs can be proved by the very fact that true cenotaphs are known in Tuva <sup>(822)</sup>, where they imitated the burial below the mound in every respect as to equipment and where there sometimes were figurines in the place of the deceased, dressed in garments and given all the usual accessories of fittings. In Tuva are not only true burials in grave mounds but objects of the type of enclosure. We must draw the conclusion that the dead Türks were buried only under grave mounds and that the memorials were built for outstanding personalities buried under a grave mound elsewhere, mostly in a none-too-distant place. Sometimes these „enclosures“ were direct parts of the mounds, which formed

rows from north to south. The theoretical objection that in the case of the large memorials (such as that at Khöshöö-tsaidam, etc.) we are dealing with the grave of an outstanding personality, as some authors assumed (who otherwise did not regard the „enclosures“ or „ploshchadki“ as graves <sup>(823)</sup> does not hold that where there are memorials there were also grave mounds with very rich equipment.

The excavations of the Kül-tegin memorial showed that these memorials in purpose do not differ from others. They are distinct only by their monumental size, great expense and original magnificence. The enclosure or incorrectly sarcophagus was replaced in the Kül-tegin and the Bilge-kaghan memorials by a large „sacrifice“ stone. A pit with pieces of charcoal and sooty stones of non-local origin prove that this is so. Such a pit was found directly below the end of cylindrical opening of the sacrifice stone in the Kül-tegin memorial. And such an opening is found in different form in the Tonyukuk memorial where it corresponds to the circular opening in the top panel of the larger of the „sarcophagi“.

In most cases there is a pit with charcoal, ashes, animal bones, a wooden log, post, etc. in the middle of the „enclosure“ or the part that substitutes for it. The question arises whether it was not here that they placed that pole mentioned in Chinese sources on which skulls or the skin of sacrificed animals were placed. In that case, at the Tonyukuk memorial it will have protruded from the circular hole in the ceiling above the „sarcophagus“ and in the memorial to Bilge-kaghan and Kül-tegin it was placed into the „sacrifice stone“, which first was burnt with a sacrificial fire from which remained the pieces of charcoal and the smoke-blackened stone. In the other „enclosures“, too, the „post“ (remnants of a pole) was clearly fitted additionally after sacrificial fire, for in the opposite case it would carbonified, but there is no mention of this in the above reports, which only speak of rotten wood.

As Chinese reports and the Türk inscriptions on the Khöshöö-tsaidam inscriptions show, these memorials were built in the second phase of the burial for memorial ceremonies. It is clear from both reports that the participants of the ceremonial brought gifts for the dead person <sup>(824)</sup>. The accidental find of a gold horse's harness at the foot of one of the sculptures with the hands clasped on the chest on the Tonyukuk memorial suggests that such gifts were perhaps regularly buried at the foot of this statue, which represented the relevant donor. This question was to be put to the test in the second phase of excavation of the Kül-tegin memorial, which, unfortunately, did not take place.

In conclusion we might sum up that the question of the memorials, i.e. whether they are graves or objects associated with the cult of ancestors, can be regarded as definitively solved in favour of the latter explanation.

### The problem of the balbals, „Stone babas“ and other Sculpture

A final solution has been found to the question, discussed over long years as to what nationality the people belonged who put up balbals in Siberia, Mongolia and Central Asia. For the purpose of this paper there is no point in dealing with the entire history of this problem, which has been dealt with in a large number of papers <sup>(825)</sup>. A survey is given in the bibliography. The first probably was H. Vambéry, who in 1885 already, that is, before the Khöshöö-tsaidam memorial was discovered, which definitively ended all disputes, rightly attributed the balbals to the Türks <sup>(826)</sup>. The oldest balbals genetically linked with the Türks are those regarded as Tashtyk (*tab. 152-153*). At least that is the opinion of M. P. Gryaznov, Y. R. Shneider <sup>(827)</sup>, L. R. Kyzlasov <sup>(828)</sup> and A. N. Bernshtam <sup>(829)</sup>. But how can it be explained that the Kirghiz, who are considered the heirs of the Tashtyk culture, did not build balbals in the Türk period and that there are only a few in the entire Minusin basin - their home territory, and where they do exist, they are regarded as foreign - Türk ? <sup>(831)</sup>. That is a question that has not so far occurred to anybody. I have put the question but do not intend to deal with it as it is outside the theme of this paper.

But so far the cardinal questions of Türk archaeology have not yet been unanimously solved, where they are related to the balbals, namely that they represent dead or killed enemies. Chinese sources are completely silent about the balbals. A number of authors <sup>(832)</sup> use the term balbals found in Türk inscriptions and usually identify them with the depiction of the most mighty, strongest or most noble enemy, defeated or killed by the deceased in battle during his lifetime.

But there are opponents to this view. They believe that the balbals represent the deceased. One of the opponents was S. V. Kiselev <sup>(833)</sup>, who regarded the balbals as sources from which to learn the external appearance, including clothes and accessories, of the tribe that built the balbals in the

given territory. They thought of the balbals from the Altai as depiction of the ancient Altai Türks. <sup>(834)</sup> According to S. I. Vainshtein such balbals in Tuva represent the dead Tuvin people of long ago <sup>(835)</sup>. Both L. N. Gumilev <sup>(836)</sup> and L. R. Kyzlasov <sup>(837)</sup> consider the balbals as depictions of the deceased.

Some scholars hold a third compromising view, saying that the balbals sometimes represent a killed enemy, elsewhere the deceased. This obviously goes counter to all logic. If we take a closer look at their views and trace the way that they took to reach this conclusion, we can find the faults in logic. V. Bartold <sup>(838)</sup> reached this conclusion by the incorrect assumption that all known balbals belonged to the ancient Türks from the period of the Old Türk inscriptions. He included among them also south Russian statues that are much later, medieval and often represent a woman. This fact led him to the idea that it could not be an enemy but the portrait of the deceased and that, therefore, statues representing men were portraits of the deceased man.

A. N. Bernshtam by identifying balbals that clearly symbolized the deceased made one mistake after another when he linked them with a quotation from Chinese annals that speak of the drawn picture of the deceased. He regarded them as portraits of the deceased and the construction by which they were placed (enclosures, memorials) as graves <sup>(839)</sup>. But that was not the end of the pyramid of contradictions, false assumptions and conclusions in the work of A. N. Bernshtam. In his comprehensive work on the social and economic set up of the Türks <sup>(840)</sup> he again identified the male and female balbals. In his view the posture of the balbals with clasped hands expresses obedience, servitude, the goblet in the hand, the presentation of gifts and all of this reflects the feudal relations in Türk society. This typical posture and the attributes have nothing to do with feudalism. Since they represent members of the aristocracy of other defeated tribes or commanders of enemy squads, they cannot be a sign of feudal relations inside a given tribe. Nor is there any foundation to Bernshtam's assertion that the balbals are proof of the existence of separate parts of the land as property of the feudal strata. Since his assumptions are wrong, namely that the memorials are graves of members of the aristocracy and he draws conclusions from their location within the territory of a tribal union and within smaller territories there is no foundation for further conclusions as to the social and economic system. As S. V. Kiselev pointed out <sup>(841)</sup> the fact that there are only is dated balbals on the former territory of the Kirghiz, in the Minusin basin, is due to entirely different reasons than put forward by A. N. Bernshtam.

M. Y. Masson <sup>(842)</sup> regards the balbals as pictures of killed enemies, but he admits that certain balbals are depictions of the deceased <sup>(843)</sup>. What is not quite clear is whether those authors who expressed similar views did not include under the term balbal all other stone figures on the memorials, which sometimes truly represent the deceased, his wife and persons who took part in the ceremonial. They were right here since among the figure the deceased was indeed to be found, but as a sitting figure. But this brought confusion to the customary terminology, even if it was not a fixed one.

L. A. Yevtyukhova formed her views in similar manner, even if not as strikingly, even if she, too, considered the balbals worked fully plastically and with all details as portraits of the deceased with the endeavour to depict their individual and personal features <sup>(844)</sup>. She reached this conclusion after an analysis of the details shown on the balbals, such as garments, head covers, etc., in which she saw parallels to the contemporary ethnography of the Altai people. Much of this, however, was identical among all the Türks. L. A. Yevtyukhova and A. D. Grach added tables to their analyses of the external features of the balbals <sup>(845)</sup>. There it can be seen that not each balbal that holds a vessel, has a sword. But each that has a sword has a vessel. This is true of the Altai, Tuva and Mongolia and the Minusin basin. Not every balbal that has a belt marked has a sabre. In all regions (Tuva, Altai, Mongolia) there are balbals with a moustache and a beard, and also only with a moustache. There is no connection if the balbal has a moustache or both and a sword or vessel. There are pigtailed on the Tuvin, Altai and Minusin balbals. None are so far known in Mongolia. There is no law in the ratio between them and the moustache or beard. Mostly with the pigtailed go „lyre-shaped“ trinkets at the belt dated to the 8th - 9th century <sup>(846)</sup>. There were no enclosures by such a balbals. The orientation of the graves that contained such trinkets from Tuva, was in the north-south direction <sup>(847)</sup>.

There is likewise no ratio between the belts with plaques and whether the balbal had a sword or not. Nor between the pouches and belts with plaques marked or without this, or between pouches and sabres. Nor can the ear-rings provide a guiding line. But in Mongolia there is a far great number of balbals with moustaches than those with beards and moustache, in the Altai the ratio is the

very opposite. In Tuva there is a striking number of caps with earflaps, which are absent in the Altai, but they exist also in Mongolia. About 50 per cent of the vessels in Mongolia are goblets, which are absent in Tuva, where there are far more of the type depicted on tables 174/2-4. Daggers as well as sabres appear in the Altai, in Tuva once, they are absent in Mongolia. The results of these analyses and statistics are very meager.

It is a mistake methodologically to start with the assumption that the balbals represent the local population and from that to reproduce their physical type, dress, outfit, etc. On the contrary, they represent killed enemies as will be shown. But the question remains which, for there are many possibilities. Take the description of battles in the Kül-tegin, Bilge-kaghan and Tonyukuk inscriptions. They include names from the Khitans and Tatabs far to the east, the Chinese in the south, the Kurikans and Kirghiz in the north, the Western Türks and there is even mention of Arabs (Tonyukuk inscriptions), and in addition battles against rebels among their own fellow tribesmen. There is no solution to the problem. If we take into account the archaeological finds we reach the conclusion that the external appearance of nomads was basically identical at the time. In other words, the balbals probably are a certain type, scheme for depicting an enemy, whom a certain function is given in the religious ideas. It will also have depended on the sculptor's workshop in individual area and imitations of their work elsewhere. Only occasionally can we find details that make the ethnic adherence of a person more closely identifiable, for example there is the balbal from Tokmak, which, to judge by the typical position of the fingers holding the goblet, represents a Hephtalite<sup>(848)</sup>.

L. A. Yevtyukhova's conclusion is illogical: „Суммируя данные о погребальном обряде орхонских тюрок, можно сказать, что все каменные изваяния подразделяются на две группы: изображения самого умершего, его близких и, обычно, гораздо грубее сделанные изваяния или просто камни, стоящие в вереницах, обозначающие сраженных врагов покойного.“

So far she is right even if she did not exhaust all possibilities that the stone sculptures might represent, as W. Kotwicz correctly found (see below). But she continues: „Каменные изваяния обозначают самих умерших. Об этом свидетельствует ясно обнаруживающееся стремление к передаче индивидуальных портретных черт лица“<sup>(849)</sup>.

But she does not explain how the change of function of these sculptures occurred, if placed identically. According to the context she regards the rough balbals as enemies and the more carefully worked ones as portraits of the deceased, who is given individual features. But it is also a matter of chronology, or the pocket of the one who commissioned it, and the skill of the producer whether the balbal is only a flat slab, whether the details are engraved on the surface or carried out in relief, or whether the figure is given full dimensions. Nor is it correct to assert that the balbals show an endeavour to depict individual portraiture features. Anyone who knows some of the laws of artistic work must recognize that, on the contrary, there is a typization of faces and postures.

The only thing we can go by in characterizing outfit, general appearance and the accessories of the local population in a given area are the statues of sitting persons, who always represent the deceased; even here naturally they are solely members of the aristocracy.

L. R. Kyzlasov follows the line of L. A. Yevtyukhova, and he deals with the problem for Tuva in connection with the chronological development of settlement. The schematic figures, in his view, belong to the 6th - 8th century and represent enemies. At the time of Uighur domination there appeared those fully plastic figures mentioned by L. A. Yevtyukhova which are memorials to outstanding heroes. They were erected without enclosures and other additional structures. They likewise face east and are genetically related to the preceding. These figures have characteristic caps or pig-tails, relief vessels - nearly always jugs - which they hold in both hands, belts with a multitude or heart-shaped object suspended from it („lyre-shaped“ as some authors described them) and, with but a few exceptions, they have neither sabre, dagger or pouches<sup>(850)</sup>. But how such a change in ideas occurred in the minds of the Türks is not explained either by L. A. Yevtyukhova nor L. R. Kyzlasov. It goes counter to the verbal tradition that survives in the Tuvan heroic epos among the Tuvins, among whom there is a general assumption of a smooth development from the Türk population of the period of the oldest written records. The epos, in L. V. Grebnev's view<sup>(851)</sup> has roots that date back to the period of the Orkhon-Yenisei inscriptions. In it there is a passage in which the hero kills an enemy and, „so as not to interrupt the family of the good soldier, built a stone figure to be a memorial to future generations“<sup>(852)</sup>. The figure clearly represented to killed opponent. If a change had occurred in the function of those statues, it would have been projected into the wording of the epos.

There is one other surprising circumstance in Kyzlasov's explanation. As was said, these allegedly late figures, from the Uighur period, face east. But the orientation of burials in Old Türk tumuli and the cenotaphs of Tuva from this period (8th - 9th century) show a characteristic change from the old east-west direction to north-south<sup>(853)</sup>. So are these figures as late?

As the preceding shows, there sometimes is a confusion of terms. This brings us to the necessity to fix certain terms so as to prevent lack of clarity in future by what a given author understands under the term „balbal“, „izvayaniye“, etc. The term „balbal“ which has become accepted also in non-Slavonic literature, should be linked only with those more or less rough figures with attributes such as a vessel in the hands, a sabre or dagger at the belt, etc. which stand outside the memorial, at the head of a row of stones. This term should not refer to the sitting figures, standing figures, etc. simply all figures that are inside the enclosed memorial.

Chinese sources inform us of the significance of the rows of stones set into the ground and running east from the memorial, according to which one stone was placed for every enemy killed.

The conviction that the term „balbal“ of the Old Türk inscriptions refers to these stones took a long time to accept. V. V. Radlov at first did not know what the word balbal means and translated it with a question mark as „sad news“ to whoever is named on the inscription<sup>(854)</sup>, then as „mournful marshal“ during the ceremony, in honour of whom a stone pillar was placed<sup>(855)</sup>, or „a stone pillar placed in honour of the mournful marshal functioning during the funeral celebrations“<sup>(856)</sup>. He was led to this by the find of stones at the head of a row of others, on which there was written in Old Türk script that they are balbals of a certain personality.

W. Bang did not agree with Radlov's formulation and pointed out that the names that appeared in connection with the term balbal always represented a dead enemy; so that it is not likely that they would place a memorial stele in honour of enemies<sup>(857)</sup>. Further to this question<sup>(858)</sup> he explained „balbal“ as „Schandmal, Fluchmal“, whereby he came closer to the true meaning of the word. Likewise V. Bartold in 1897 defined the balbals as stone statues of killed enemies<sup>(859)</sup>, and this view has prevailed ever since. It should be said on this occasion that to this day the correct translation of „balbal“ has not been ascertained, for it has not survived in any living Türk language. There is not even a guaranteed vocalization of the word (in the original texts there is „bbl“), it is only the likely one. V. V. Radlov preferred not to translate the word in further translations of the Orkhon inscriptions<sup>(860)</sup>. In the vocabulary to these translations he explained „balbal“ as „Steinbild, Bild der getöteten Feinde“<sup>(861)</sup>.

The following are the main passages in the Old Türk inscriptions of the Orkhon Türks that speak of balbals:

1) „Kuk-Sengün came at the head of an army of 40 000 men; I met him on Mount Tüngkär and defeated him and cut down 3 000 men... When my eldest son died of an illness, I had Kuk-Sengün built as balbal.“ (Bilge-kaghan inscription)<sup>(862)</sup>.

2) „Having killed the warriors, I prepared balbals.“ (Bilge-kaghan inscription)<sup>(863)</sup>.

3) „My father...died. For my father, the kaghan, they built Baz-kaghan at the head as balbal“<sup>(864)</sup>. V. Thomsen translated: „we built“<sup>(865)</sup>. The further context shows that Baz-kaghan was the enemy. (Bilge-kaghan and Kül-tegin inscription).

4) „...my uncle, the kaghan, died. At the head I placed the Kirghiz kaghan as balbal“<sup>(866)</sup>. (Kül-tegin and Bilge-kaghan inscription).

5) „their warriors (the Türks) built (the enemies) as balbals“<sup>(867)</sup>. Or according to S. Y. Malov: „Their warriors, the men, he placed as balbals“<sup>(868)</sup>. - to be understood as: the enemy (Orkhon inscription).

Further inscriptions were found on stone pillars that stand at the beginning as the first of a row of stones running east from the memorial:

6) „The stone balbal of the shad of the Tölös“<sup>(869)</sup>. (Bilge-kaghan inscription).

7) „The balbal of Sabra Tarkan“<sup>(870)</sup>. (Ongin memorial).

All five excerpts of the first group show clearly that balbal means enemy, which was either put up after death (as a stone) at the head of a row of stones, or that by the killing the enemies became balbals. The corresponds fully to the Chinese text.

A. D. Grach gives quite a different meaning to excerpt No. 1. In his view it was not a matter of putting up a balbal for the son but it is thought of as a data of time in the sence: when my son died, I built **myself** a balbal. A. D. Grach assumed that in the translations the little word „him (the son) was explained as addition, in brackets, and that it is not in the original<sup>(871)</sup>. But that is a mistaken explanation, for there are similar data about balbals also in other places and they are always

linked to the death of some other person (Elterish, Mochuo) so that there can be no doubt that the balbal was always built for the given deceased person and not „for himself“. There is nowhere any proof when he lived. They were always put up by the survivors with the entire memorial. For that there is historical proof. The sentence in the Bilge-kaghan inscription (excerpt No. 2) clearly has the meaning that by killing the enemies they became his future servants (the balbals) when he dies. Where would Bilge-kaghan have put up that Kuk-Sengün balbal when his memorial did not as yet exist? And finally, he himself had on his memorial „the balbal shad of the Tölös“.

There are still new possibilities of explaining the customs associated with balbals, which have not so far been pointed out. In excerpt No. 1. Bilge-kaghan speaks of the defeat of Kuk-Sengün in the first person, which means that he himself killed Kuk-Sengün. Immediately after, however, he says that he put it up as balbal for the dead son. Which would mean that outstanding defeated enemies could be transferred, given to somebody else as balbal<sup>(872)</sup>. The same meaning can be gathered from the data on the Bilge-kaghan stele where it is said that Bilge-kaghan himself killed the Kirghiz kaghan<sup>(873)</sup> and then put him up as first balbal for his uncle Mochuo (excerpt 4).

This casts better light on that part of the inscription on the third memorial at Uibat which I shall discuss in connection with the problem of the Ongin memorial. It confirms Radlov's assumption that this memorial belongs to the former Tacham's (in my view Mochuo) co-warrior. After his death the Türk kaghan (in my view: Mochuo) set up a memorial<sup>(874)</sup>. The inscription says that the dead was a tarkan. Accordingly he will have been an „Orkhon“ Türk and was made tarkan „of the Ilchur“ nation. That is the meaning of the relevant passage in the inscription. It is the following part of Radlov's translation: „Wegen der Arbeit des Balbals, des Türken Chans (in the original: türk-kan balbaly) hat man unter dem Volk neun Männer, die Söhne Kunstreicher (?) Männer herbeigerufen und auserwählt für meinen trefflichen Fürsten (original: beg)“<sup>(875)</sup>. We can see that Radlov hesitated how to translate and explain this part. For the punctuation at the beginning of the sentence gives it a different meaning than given in the commentary. The meaning that the balbal represents the Türk kaghan. If Tacham means kaghan, it is not possible that there is a balbal on the memorial that represents the kaghan, then this dead tarkan, the kaghan's friend, would have to kill him. Or another Türk kaghan. But which? In the vocabulary V. V. Radlov explains Türk-kan balbaly as „der Gedenkstein des türk-Chans“<sup>(876)</sup>, which may mean - even in the original - both the balbal representing the Türk kaghan and the balbal (from) the Türk kaghan. It is my opinion that the second version may be correct. The kaghan may not have set up the whole memorial but given only the balbal, and may have done so symbolically rather than in fact sending a stone.

These ideas may be pursued further. On the Bilge-kaghan memorial there is a stone pillar with the inscription announcing that it is „a balbal of the Shad of the Tölös“. In the original according to V. V. Radlov: „Tölös shadyñ tash balbaly bolmysh“. On the stone only the word „bol“ survives, which V. V. Radlov completed as: Bolmysh“<sup>(877)</sup>. „Tash“ means „stone“<sup>(879)</sup>, „bol“ means „to be“. „Shadyñ“ is the genitive of „shad“. Examples of the genitive as given by V. V. Radlov<sup>(880)</sup> often mean not only the simple genitive but the property of a person. So in our case we may understand this not as generally accepted as „the balbal of the Shad of the Tölös“ in the sense of „representing the shad of the Tölös“ but in the sense of ownership, which means „the balbal belonging to the shad of the Tölös“, in other words, „the balbal from the shad of the Tölös“. The entire inscription can therefore be understood as a dedication giving the name of the person who did give it. Not being an expert I do not wish to interfere in linguistic problem of the Old Türk language, but I would like to put forwards this conclusion for discussion. My assumption that the given phrase can grammatically be understood in both senses, for both possibilities would sound the same in Old Türk, was confirmed by word of mouth by a staff member of the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences L. Hřebíček.

The shads, as shown elsewhere, usually were close relatives of the kaghans. If we read the entire Bilge-kaghan inscription and that of Kül-tegin, we cannot find anywhere a mention that some shad of the Tölös was an enemy. On the contrary, in describing the beginnings of Bilge-kaghan's rule on his stele we can read: „Zusammen mit meinem jüngeren Bruder Kül-tegin und mit den beiden šad habe ich bis zum Tode gewirkt“<sup>(882)</sup>, i.e. made earnest efforts to care for the nation. May the inscription on the balbal, therefore, not mean that it is a gift of the shads to the deceased kaghan? That of their retinue of balbals - enemies - they give him one, perhaps as sign of respect?

Even if we do not know the exact meaning of the word „balbal“ in the role that it symbolizes it must mean something like „servant in post-moral life“. According to the Türk texts the term balbal should be understood not only as applying concretely to the stones symbolizing enemies but,

to some extent, abstractly so, that every enemy soldier becomes a balbal as soon as he was killed. The depiction either in the form of an ordinary stone or a stone with an inscription, or even as a figure was given only after the death of the victor during a memorial ceremony (respectively in preparation for this).

The texts of this part on the balbals and stone figures show that I regard myself as a supporter of the view that they were figures of killed enemies. Below I shall give other people's and my own views in support of this conclusion.

The contribution that L. I. Albaum<sup>(883)</sup> made seems to me to be very important in this discussion. The figure in the vicinity of Tokmak, i. e. the territory of the Western Türks, which holds the goblet in the same characteristic manner including the position of the fingers as depicted on the aristocratic feasting men on the mural paintings of Balalyk-tepe. Furthermore these figures have at the belt the same knife and bent sword<sup>(884)</sup>. L. I. Albaum has no doubts that this similarity is intentional with the aim of depicting members of the aristocracy of the Hepthalites, who are shown on the Balalyk-tepe frescoes destroyed by the Türks in 567. The memorial with the figure and others was built here for the Türks who probably died during this raid<sup>(885)</sup>.

The balbals cannot depict the dead for the simple reason that on the Kül-tegin memorial there were, beside the two balbals, two guaranteed portraits of Kül-tegin and his wife, and on the Bilge-kaghan memorial again a portrait of the kaghan and his wife, in the second northern memorial the torso of a sitting statue - a portrait of the deceased - and again at least one balbal. Portraits of the deceased - as was the etiquette of the time - were only given on sitting figures and so it is impossible for the deceased to be depicted in a standing position. That was the manner of depicting only persons of lower status, either envoys or participants of the ceremony. This etiquette will have been strictly adhered to, numerous reports exist in Chinese sources on how the individual Türk envoys wrangled over the priority position during audiences with the Emperor and how this was used to stir up strife among the Türks. There are several reports in Old Türk texts that they used the term „kneel and bend the head“ as an expression for the subjugation of other nations<sup>(886)</sup>. So it is possible that the kneeling figures marked representatives of the defeated nations, slave nations in the hierarchy of tribes (more about this elsewhere), the standing statues the envoys of independent or coalition nations, Chinese legates, etc.<sup>(887)</sup>. I am speaking of the statue inside the memorials.

W. Kotwicz already put the question that at first sight does not seem particularly important, who it was who destroyed or damaged the statues at the memorials. He answered correctly that it can only have been the Uighurs, the sworn enemies of the Orkhon Türks<sup>(888)</sup>. But he did not pursue these thoughts to the end, namely that here is one of the circumstances that make it possible to solve the problem as to whether the balbals are portraits of the deceased or defeated enemies. It is my opinion that it cannot be an accidental phenomenon that at all known memorials of the Orkhon Türks all statues that depict the deceased, servants, foreign legates, etc., that is all participants of the funeral, are without heads and that they further bear marks of intentional disfigurement. And that, by contrast, the crude sculptures are headless, in proportion to that only in small numbers. How can it be explained that all the statues are mutilated and that there are balbals on the memorials that have remained intact? If we turn to the memorial where both types of statues are present, i.e. the Kül-tegin memorial, all statues of the first group are without heads, some are broken to small pieces, the breaks bear marks of roughening, that is marks of furious and intense destruction, which can be found likewise on the architecture. Yet two figures were left completely intact. The same phenomenon is repeated on one more northerly memorial, where the Czechoslovak expedition discovered an intact balbal lying on the surface, while the rest of the figures, including the rams had the heads torn off. The same is repeated at the memorial at Tamir (*tab. 97*) where the balbal is undamaged while the figure with the hands placed on the chest is without head. We have every right to assume that the Uighurs were well acquainted with the true meaning of the memorials, the individual statues and the balbals. They, therefore, took their revenge on the statues depicting the kaghan and his family (a matter of *damnatio memoriae*) and participants of the ceremonies - in their eyes „quislings“. But they did not touch the balbals since they knew that they depicted the enemies of the Türks, i.e. in many cases their own fellow-countrymen or at least allies in the fight against the common enemy - the Orkhon Türks. Insofar as certain balbals are headless, we know from the example of those on the Kül-tegin memorial that this occurred much later, in fairly recent times. As to me, I saw in these circumstances the strongest reason for the conclusion that the balbals are truly a depiction of the defeated enemy.

Now let us turn to the question whether the term „balbal“ relates also to the other figures. To tell the truth there never has been any proof that this was so. W. Kotwicz already pointed this out<sup>(889)</sup>. The two cases of descriptions that refer to balbals relate only to the irregular prism-shaped pillars standing first in the row of other balbals. According to W. Kotwicz we are not justified in transferring the term balbal to the stone figures which probably had a different meaning and were called differently by a term that cannot be ascertained<sup>(890)</sup>. It is possible to believe that these pillars with inscriptions originally were such figures with the top now lost, but this assumption cannot be proved<sup>(891)</sup>. L.A. Yevtyukhova also put forward the view that the stone with the inscription by the Bilge-kaghan memorial was originally such a figure<sup>(892)</sup>.

The same view can also be expressed about the stone pillars with tamgas. There is such a pillar by the Ongin memorial, but, unfortunately, it is not clear from the description whether the tamga is on another stone than the inscription that marks the stone as a balbal. Then there is the pillar in front of the entrance to the second northern Khöshöö-tsaidam memorial (*tab. 73-74*) and one by the memorial at Urd-Tamir<sup>(893)</sup>. The discovery by the Czechoslovak expedition of a stone figure marked with a tamga (*tab. 75*) makes it possible to assume that these pillars might originally have been balbals, and makes this quite possible and no longer hypothetical. The bottom part of the figure from the tamga down was not worked and if its top had been torn off, nobody would have looked for such a figure on the torso. But one stone with a tamga on the Urd-Tamir memorial is a flat slab, rounded at the top and with a notch below the top and along the narrow sides whereby a schematic head is created<sup>(894)</sup>. It is clearly a primitive form of balbal, some transitional shape between a simple pillar and a fully worked stone figure.

Let us return to the figure on *tab. 75*. It, too, has the head separated by wedge-shaped notches, but compared with the Urd-Tamir one it has crude and superficially worked details. And if we carefully study the pillar with the tamga on *tab. 73/1* we can find the same wedge-shaped notch at the top left-hand side. And there is a start to an opposite notch from which the top of the stone may have been taken off. Here, too, may have been the face, which is now missing. And even if this were not so and the stone was in the same form as it was set up, it is clear that the notches were made intentionally with the aim of indicating a head.

A. D. Grach recalls that in Tuva at certain enclosures there are stone stelae at the front of the balbals, some resembling human figures. He regards them as synonyms of the stone figures with the identical function<sup>(895)</sup>.

I want to mention two stone pillars that have survived standing by the Kül-tegin memorial, one its close vicinity (*tab. 2/1*), the other more distant, on the bank where the Tsaidam Lake flows out (*tab. 2/3-4*). To this day I am in doubts as to whether these are ordinary stones or disintegrating torsos of a highly schematically shaped crude figure, such as I spoke of. In the case of the first this is highly likely.

That leads us to the question of the balbals, pillars and stone figures, which involves such a confusion of a problems that it is difficult to bring some order into it and find a way out. From what has been said it can be deduced that by the side of the simple balbals (the common enemy soldiers) we have larger „stelae“ or stones marked with inscriptions, that they are balbals with some important name or function, then stones with the tamgas, probably primitive figures. Since the stone with the tamga at the second northern memorial at Khöshöö-tsaidam still stands on its original site, it is striking that its siting is asymmetrical, outside the axis. By its side a figure with a tamga was found. The only possible conclusion is that both were figures marked with tamgas and stood symmetrically in front of the entrance to the memorial, close to the statues of rams. Their siting in front of the memorial, outside its grounds, shows, to judge by analogies, that they were not statues nor deceased (they exist there in the form of sitting torsos) nor participants of the ceremonies but belong to the group of persons forced to stand in front of the memorial, just like the balbals.

From all this I draw the conclusion: the term balbal relates both to individual stones of the row (proved by excerpt No. 2 with the plural on the Bilge-kaghan inscription and Chinese evidence of the number of stones equaling the number of killed enemies) and it relates to the pillars (Tuva) at their front (also at the head of the balbals at the first northern Khöshöö-tsaidam memorial there is a pillar which might have been originally a stone figure (marks of a belt?) as well as to the stone figure themselves. It is not decisive whether the pillar with the inscription was a balbal or a stone figure in the true sense of the term, or only by implication. Both the sketchy and the fully plastic figures are killed enemies, important ones and, in addition, such as were „given“ as balbals. The

gift was marked on it either with an inscription or the tamga of the donor. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain the existence of two different tamgas on the figure discovered by the Czechoslovak expedition and the pillar-figure on the second northern Khöshöö- tsaïdam memorial and Bilge-kaghan's tamga on the pillar of the Ongin memorial. If my assumption is confirmed at a later stage, that, on the Ongin memorial, a tamga was on one pillar and the inscription balbal on the other, it would speak in favour of my theory about giving balbals. In that case the balbal with the tamga would mean the Kirghiz kaghan whom Bilge-kaghan put up for Mochuo and the second gift a certain „Sabra Tarkan“. This is further proof that the balbal on the memorial need not always have been killed by the person's own hand, for Mochuo himself did not participate in the attacks on the Kirghiz during which the Kirghiz kaghan was killed. For how else can we explain the existence of three flat stelae on the same memorial (Urd-Tamir), each of which has a different tamga.

I would add as a further proof of the likelihood of this theory that I photographed a tamga in the shape of a capricorn on a tumbled down balbal close to the Bilge-kaghan memorial in 1957. But it was of an entirely different iconographic type than the Bilge-kaghan had. It must have belonged to somebody else, and not to a relative but perhaps to a different „donor“ of this balbal. (X)

These tamgas on the pillars or stone figures cannot be those of the killed enemies; we realize this since on the second northern Khöshöö-tsaïdam memorial the pillar-figure holds Bilge-kaghan's tamga.

The stone pillars, the balbals, and clearly also the stone figures, were part of the Türk funerary rites, which had the aim of providing the deceased with servants after death. This idea is closely connected with the original customs, proved in writing among the Western Türks and archaeologically among the Kirghiz and Altai Türks, where the funeral of an important person was accompanied by human sacrifices. The Roman embassy of 576 took part in funeral ceremonies for the dead kaghan Dilzibil (Istemi). In the course of it, as I stated, they had to cut their faces according to the Türk custom. During the ceremony Turxanthos, Dilzibil's son sacrificed to the father's soul the steed which his father had ridden during his lifetime, and four prisoners<sup>(896)</sup>. The funeral rites included cremation, to judge by Chinese sources. In the chaatas of the 6th - 8th century there truly were cremation graves. But only free Kirghiz were cremated, servants and slaves were buried uncremated, without accompanying finds. It is highly likely that they were killed to accompany their master during the funeral<sup>(897)</sup>. I do not want to touch on later analogies since the first evidence about Dilzibil's burial is sufficient. But it is more than likely that this custom existed likewise among the Eastern Türks, at least some of the tribes and at least in the oldest period. Later it was abandoned - perhaps under the influence of China where in the earliest periods there is likewise proof of human sacrifices during funerals, and this was later replaced by clay figures. Among the Türks they may have turned to the balbals as a stand-in, which represented killed enemies. This would correspond to the statement on the Bilge-kaghan stele: „Having killed their warriors, I prepared (for myself) balbals.“ So it seems to have been possible, so to speak „to lay in a store of post-humous servants for when I die“. There is another possibility, that the actual killing took place only during the funeral, while they set up balbals near the memorials.

There is no proof of the custom of accompanying burials among the Orkhon Türks for lack of excavations. But Chinese sources of the year 634 report the voluntary death during a kaghan's funeral among the Eastern Türks. At that time the dignitary and foster-father of Xieli killed himself to be buried with him<sup>(898)</sup>.

In the Türk 6th - 8th century tumulis in the Altai the archaeological situation is proof of accompanying burials of persons placed there in great likelihood together with the deceased in the central grave. There were several small grave mounds with poorly furnished graves surrounding the rich tumulus. (S. V. Kiselev draws attention to the fact that the men buried there did not have iron fighting arrows, only those made of bone used for hunting). Or they were partially under the mound; or it may have been the burial of the groom in the grave of the buried aristocrat or that of a man lying on the coffin lid with the main deceased, with the purpose of drawing away the attention of potential grave robbers. S. V. Kiselev regards all these additional burials as pointing to persons that during lifetime stood on a lower level of the social ranks of the Altai Türk society of the 6th - 8th century, perhaps including slaves<sup>(899)</sup>.

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(X) I would like to add that it is the same balbal, on the side of which inscription No. 6 is to be found. See V. V. Radlov - P. M. Melioranski 7; V. V. Radlov, 2, tab. XI/11. This is further proof of the likelihood of my hypothesis.

How then can one explain that there is only one statue, a stone figure, by the small memorials if we regard it not as a depiction of the deceased but a killed enemy? Why was an enemy statue carved and not a state of the deceased, why was one preferred? This may perhaps be explained by the fact that in any case they reckoned on the presence of the soul of the dead man in the area of the memorial. That was there in their minds. But it was necessary to affix to the memorial the soul of enemies killed by the deceased during his lifetime in effigy in the form of balbals and stone figures. So they carved and set up stone figures which represented the main servant in posthumous life - the chief of the other balbals; and this was more important than carving statues portraying the deceased. Where this is to be found on the memorials, it is there to some extent „in addition“. Otherwise the deceased was probably depicted only on perishable material. If we take into account Chinese evidence, it was „an outline picture-portrait“ of the deceased. This passage once caused a great deal of misunderstanding, for it was explained as if it referred to a statue. P. F. Its tested this passage in various historical works and editions. In his view there is no mention anywhere of a statue, but only of flat depiction even if the precise expression of the term cannot nowadays be reconstructed<sup>(900)</sup>. Such a portrait was replaced in exceptional cases, clearly only among the highest representatives of the aristocracy, mainly the kaghans and their relatives with a fully plastic figure, or at Ikh-Asgat, a relief.

Part of the inscription at Ikh-Asgat runs, in Radlov's translation: „Da wir der Begräbnisfeier des jüngeren Bruders des Kül-Tudun des Altun-Tamgan-Tarkan in Trauer gedenken (haben wir das Denkmal errichtet). Wir sind von ihm getrennt und müssen zurückbleiben... Seine zurückgebliebenen zwei Söhne Torgul und Jälgäk im Alkazyn-Jahre seid ihr fortgegangen“<sup>(901)</sup>. S. Y. Malov translates: „Так как мы не могли быть на похоронах Алтун Тамган-тархана, младшего брата Кюл-тудуна (мы сделали этот памятник). Мы разлучились, мы остаемся (на сей земле)...Оставшиеся два сына его, Торгул и Елгек, в год Свиньи вы умерли“<sup>(902)</sup>.

The sense of the inscription shows clearly that the deceased had two sons. Three persons are depicted on the relief, with the middle one, the tallest, sitting on his legs. By analogy this is the deceased. It is easy to assume that the other two figures who are linked to the deceased in the common act of ritual drinking, are his two sons. Unfortunately the not very clear drawing in Radlov's Atlas (*tab. 94/2*) does not show clearly whether they are sitting or kneeling. They are linked to the central figure by the same head cover. Here we have a case where the elsewhere customary figure representing the sitting deceased is substituted for by a relief, on which even his closest descendants are given.

In conclusion two more remarks: The stone enclosures with the stone figures and larger memorials were built only for members of the aristocracy, not the common people „budun“. Or far more would have survived on the territory settled by the Türks.

In the inscription on the Kül-tegin stele we can read a list of battles in which he fought and the number of enemies that he killed in the course of them. But this list is far smaller than the number of balbals by his memorial. Either the list does not include all enemies (even though they are given individually) or the number of stones includes prisoners-of-war that Kül-tegin killed with his own hand after the battle, i.e. executed. Sufficient proof of the killing of prisoners-of-war exist in Chinese sources.

All that remains to be done is to explain one phenomenon associated with the balbals. Their rows, leading from the memorials to the east run in a straight line over a certain distance and then deviate in an arch or sharp angle from the easterly direction. This was noticed by J. G. Granö<sup>(903)</sup>, W. Kotwicz<sup>(904)</sup> and A. D. Grach<sup>(905)</sup>. At the Kül-tegin memorial the Czechoslovak expedition measured the double angle, and found that during the second turn the row went back to the original direction. At the Tonyukuk memorial on *tab. 82/2* one can likewise state a deviation of the balbals from the original direction. In view of the very frequent occurrence the authors do not regard this phenomenon as accidental. W. Kotwicz explain the deviation by saying that during the erection of the memorial time passed so that the point on the horizon where the sun rose shifted, which had been a guiding line during the stipulation of the easterly direction<sup>(906)</sup>.

But the curving of the row of balbals need not have been of a purely mechanical character. There might have been a certain intention, part of the Türk religious ideas. I will take as starting point Kotwicz's interpretation of the rows of balbals, which was remarkable in its time. In his view they guarded the line that linked the seat of the deceased (or more correctly, as we showed, the seat of the soul, for it was no grave) with the region of the highest gods, the sun and the heaven<sup>(907)</sup>. It was a sort of „umbilical cord“ between the seat of the soul and heaven.

Elsewhere attention has been drawn to the similarity between the Türk memorials and the Chinese temples of ancestors in combination with graves. This similarity is not only formal but ideological. The surrounding wall and moat were not so much to protect the memorial from outsiders, for there was easy approach through the normal entrance as against the penetration of evil powers. Entrances to temples, and even to houses, were protected in China by a „wall of spirits“, i.e. against the spirits. It was a short wall in the form of a screen placed in front of the entrance and covering the entrance<sup>(908)</sup>. This protection against evil spirits rested on the idea that they advance in a direct line. For that reason even the corridors in tombs were bent and for that reason, not for aesthetic reasons - arched bridges were built. No such wall has been found at the Kül-tegin memorial, but right in front of the entrance there was a water cistern, which, I have no doubt, served the same purpose. It is, therefore, my opinion that the most likely explanation why the rows of balbals are curved is that this was motivated likewise as protection against the penetration of evil powers. According to Chinese ideas such an evil spirit was always stupid and if it collided with the end of the row of balbals that linked the soul and heaven it would advance in the opposite direction towards the memorial, the seat of the soul. And it would do so in the direction that it set out on at the beginning of the row. If it reached the curved place it would continue along the original direction and miss the memorial. But if it did manage to penetrate further, it would encounter a second „line“ of defence, further obstacles in the form of the moat, the wall, if it came to the entrance, the water cistern and finally in the form of the magic masks on the architecture.

Are the Chinese sources incorrect in speaking about the placing of a line of stones by the **grave** of the deceased? Do they confuse the grave with the memorial? Or do they not distort it in the general report that speaks of burying by the cremation rite the true state of things, namely that the consecration of the memorial may be regarded as the funeral following a half-year period after death while the real funeral took place shortly after it and the cremation of the corpse?

If we read the text from the more original Zhou-shu more attentively, we find the following: In the text it stands written that the burial into the ground was after a half-year period. That day the ceremony of cutting faces was repeated and the relatives brought sacrificial gifts. After the funeral they piled up stones and raised a pole. But there is no express mention that it was „on the grave“. The formulation is a general one determining the time as „after the funeral“. The grave is mentioned later. „On that day (i.e. after the sacrifice of sheep and horses and hanging their heads on a pole“ men and women gathered at the grave...“ The question is whether the author meant grave or memorial. It is likely that on the day of the memorial ceremonies the actual grave was not entirely ignored and that the author might have meant the grave mound of the deceased, if he speaks of grave. Real and undoubted confusion between grave and memorial occurs in a further appendix in Bei-shu and Sui-shu, where it says: „In the **grave** (or by the grave) they arranged a space in which the portrait of the deceased was painted and scenes from the battles that the deceased had taken part in before his death.“ We know from a concrete case - the Kül-tegin memorial - both from Chinese sources and the text of the stele, that these scenes were painted in the sanctuary of the memorial. Would that not tempt the Chinese authors to identify the memorial with the grave so striking in external appearance like the tombs of Chinese emperors? And may not the formulation of the report in Zhou-shu be under the suggestive influence of the idea that they were tombs?

If we regard the Chinese data on keeping the ashes of the deceased and their burial half a year later as corresponding to reality, then it was not possible to maintain the principle of keeping the remains and burying them half a year later once the cremation rites were changed to skeleton burials. A change had to take place and the deceased was buried shortly after death and of the original true burial, i.e. placing the remains in the ground, there remained only the memorial ceremony, which directly preceded the building of the memorial, if it was of the small type of „enclosures“; in case of the large ones, surrounded by a wall and with architecture and sculpture, the consecration took place even later. During burial only objects of daily use belonging to the deceased were placed into the grave - as excavations have shown. During the memorial ceremonies gifts were brought for the deceased. These ceremonies became pompous occasions for the aristocracy, to which representatives of foreign countries or other tribes were invited, when it was a case of relatives of the kaghan 's family or the kaghan himself.

L. A. Yevtyukhova correctly classified the enclosures as objects set aside for memorial sacrifices and memorials to persons buried in neighbouring grave mounds. L. N. Gumilev was greatly mistaken when he regards the Altai Türk skeleton graves as non-Türk and those „enclosures“ as Türk burials corresponding to „cremation burial“ given in Chinese sources. He regards the ashes

found in them as remnants of the cremated corpse even though no human bones were ever found. He argues that the bones were not found since „труп в продолжении полугода высушился и сгорание, очевидно, было полным“ (909).

L. N. Gumilev's absurd view that the corpse was kept half a year and the bones dried out and that they therefore burnt perfectly has no basis even as to the assumed burning of dry bones without leaving any remnants; nor is there any support for such a view in the Chinese sources that he refers to. There it is clearly said that the body was cremated at once, soon after death and that the ashes - not the dried body - was kept until the actual burial in the ground (910). Jaworski published this already in 1927. Gumilev does not know about the change of rites.

The comparison of data given in the Türk and Chinese inscription on the Kül-tegin stele, together with data given in Chinese annals confirms that it really concerned the phase of burial and memorial ceremonies described above. According to Thomsen's translation these data are given in the Türk text on the Kül-tegin stele: Kül-tegin died in the year of the sheep on the 17th (day). In the 9th month on the 27th (day) we carried out the funeral (the original text has: jog). In the year of the monkey in the 7th month, on the 27th we all consecrated his sanctuary, works of art and the stele“ (912). V. Thomsen translates the data as follows:

Death: 30 March 731 (913)

Funeral: 6 October 731 (914)

Consecration of memorial: 21 August 732 (915).

G. Schlegel gives the date that appears on the Chinese inscription of the stele as 28 January 733 (916) with the proviso that he read it correctly. V. P. Vasilev read it as „November 732 (917). V. Thomsen (918) identically to E. H. Parker but each independently, stipulated the date as 1 August 732. As far as I know no objections have been raised to this.

Mention should be made of a passage in Xin Tang-shu that shows that the six Chinese painters entrusted with the decorations on the architecture of the Kül-tegin memorial did not return to the capital until between the 11 December 733 and the 9 January 734. P. Pelliot believes that the work on the memorial lasted until the end of 733 (920).

It should be said that the word „jog“, that V. Thomsen (respectively the translator of his Danish work Schaefer) translates as „Leichenbegängnis“, i.e. funeral, is translated by V. V. Radlov as „Trauer, Leichenfeierlichkeit“, the verb „jogla“ as „trauern, eine Todtenklage halten“ (921), which has an entirely different factual content. V. V. Radlov enlarged on his view and formulated it like this: „Можно заключить, что слово йог... не обозначает собственно 'похоронный праздник', но 'первые поминки', при этих поминках воздвигался памятник в честь умершаго“ (922). Radlov's view is clearly correct and the date given by V. Thomsen as that of the funeral relates (as was shown above) to the memorial ceremony. There seem to have been more such „memorial days“ and they were held probably every year, as can be assumed from a separate addition on the Bilge-kaghan stele: „...were ich, wenn es Frühling wird, wenn die Pauken (des Himmels?).... (erschallen?)... wenn der Hirsch auf die Berge flieht, wieder trauern“ (923). This mourning does not refer to the ceremony during which the stele was raised but in meaning refers to the future, when the new kaghan, who is speaking here, will return on a visit and mourn for his father and make sacrifices.

### The Significance of Kül-tegin's Tiara as part of the Cult?

Despite several years of endeavours I have not so far been able to find an exact analogy to the Kül-tegin tiara or crown. Its shape excludes its origin as being Eastern Asian. If we turn to the nearest contemporary or preceding forms of western crowns, i.e. the crowns of the Sassanid kings, as they appear on Sassanid coins and dishes with royal portraits, there is no analogy even there. The only thing that it has in common with these is a small detail, the flowing ribbon on the lower rim of the crown above the back of the portrait. The Kül-tegin crown has such a ribbon. The depiction of the bird at the front of the crown has an analogy on the Sassanid crown. Most of them have highly plastic wings protruding to the sides. The crown of King Hormizd II (303 - 309) has a complete flying bird of prey, but its shape was quite different (924).

An entire figure of a bird with a long stretched neck and slanting wings stretched away from the body, though not unfolded, is depicted on the crown on the portrait of King Artashir II (379 - 383) on his coins (925). The relief of the bird is on the right side of the crown, but taking into account that the wings of the other crowns are en face while the head of the king is given in profile, it can

be judged that there was not a pair of birds, one on each side of the crown. That it was a bird at the front on the basis of a normal manner of holding the head in profile, the crown en face.

But these are analogies remote in time even if we bear in mind that traditions survived over centuries in Middle and Central Asia.

Very close in time is the analogy of a bird depicted on a head cover that I found in Chinese iconographical material among the tomb sculpture of the Tang dynasty. By the tomb of Emperor Ruizong (died 712) there stands in the avenue of statues of dignitaries, a sculpture, probably representing a general, who on his head wears a tall mitre-shaped cap with a relief of a bird flying with its head downwards. There are no written reports but it is my belief that it might be a general, or possibly the commander-in-chief of the „Bird Guard“, whose task it was to march in front of the emperor and guard him. The symbol here is the „jinwu“ bird, which - sources prove - put evil forces to rout (926). The objection may be raised that the head found during the excavations of the Kül-tegin memorial might have been part of a statue of a general of this guard sent by the emperor to participate in the mourning ceremonies of Kül-tegin and did not belong to Kül-tegin himself. To that I would give the following answer: That is not possible for the very fact that the form of the crown mentioned was a sign of rank for which we can find no analogy in Chinese nor in all Eastern Asian art.

The question remains as to whether the bird on the Kül-tegin crown is a sign of rank or if it has a symbolical meaning. Either totemistic or that of the jinwu bird, if we take into account all that the Eastern Türks took over from the Chinese. I think that is not true in this case. There is a further possibility: Despite the great stylization it appears that the bird on the Kül-tegin crown is a bird of prey, probably a hunting falcon with a cap over its head to cover the eyes. According to V. Bartold the Türks in the west used the phrase „became a falcon“ as an expression for somebody's death (927). In Old Türk inscriptions the word „died“ is often replaced by the expression „fly away“. Can the falcon on Kül-tegin's crown be a symbol of death? On the relief at Ikh-Asgat a falcon is depicted above the tamga by the portrait of the deceased (*tab. 94/2*). A. N. Bernshtam speaks (but unfortunately does not depict) of a Türk figure of stone in the Chui valley where a bird sits on the right hand while the left holds a vessel. He deduces that the statue does not represent a hunter but that the bird is probably a symbol of the soul of the deceased (928). Another stone statue of a man sitting on his legs (i.e. a statue of a deceased person) comes from Semirechie i.e. the territory of the Western Türks. The figure has the left hand on the belt and holds a bird in the right hand. The statue is now in the museum at Tomsk (929).

There are then two possible explanations of the depiction of the bird on Kül-tegin's crown. Either it is a sign of rank perhaps associated with surviving elements of totemism or it is the symbol of death. It is difficult to decide which explanation is the more likely. The crown itself (and there was one on the statue of Kül-tegin's wife, surviving only in fragment) is undoubtedly a sign of a rank, membership of the family of the kaghan.

## 17. THE PROBLEM OF THE ONGIN MEMORIAL

A. v. Gabain (930) expressed the view that no memorial inscription was built for Mochuo to hide his evil deeds. Is that premise correct? If we take into account the facts that Old Türk inscriptions provide Gabain's view has no concrete base, on the contrary, is entirely in contradiction to historical sources. I shall show not only that a memorial was built for Mochuo and will try and identify it.

A. v. Gabain came to his conclusion on the basis only of Chinese sources which she did not confront with Türk ones. Chinese sources truly speak of Mochuo as a cruel man who treated his subjects badly (931), did not dare enter the Kingdom of the Middle (932) and in old age became even more hard-headed and cruel, which led to the slow disintegration of his tribal union (933).

Chinese sources also inform us that Kül-tegin helped Bilge-kaghan to the rule by assassinating almost the entire family of Mochuo and his supporters (934). But on Kül-tegin's and Bilge-kaghan's stelae we do not read the least reproof or reproach for Mochuo. (Yet we must assume that particularly the text on the Kül-tegin stela was approved and authorized by Bilge-kaghan for it was written during his lifetime). On the contrary, Bilge-kaghan speaks of the beginning of his rule in superlatives: „When my uncle, the kaghan, ascended the throne he gave order to the Türk nation and lifted it up; the poor were made rich, the few became numerous“ (935).

Bilge-kaghan does not pass over Mochuo's deed in silence and he speaks of him as kaghan where he relates joint actions („Together with my uncle, the kaghan, I went to battle in the east as far as the Green River...“etc. <sup>(936)</sup>. What the Chinese sources attribute to Mochuo as the consequence of his cruelty, i.e. the disintegration of the empire, Bilge-kaghan holds against the people. He is on the side of Mochuo against the people whom he accuses of treason against Mochuo, and he concludes the description of this section of history of the Türk nation with the words: „For your foolishness and cowardice my uncle, the kaghan, found his death“ <sup>(937)</sup>.

When Bilge-kaghan comes to the time when he himself ascended the throne, he does not leave his uncle out of the history, although he could well have done so: „So that the name and fame gained for the nation by my father and my uncle may not be lost sight of...“ <sup>(938)</sup>. It is not important whether a role was played in these quotations by the passing of time (15 years passed from the death of Mochuo to that of Kül-tegin). In that time Bilge-kaghan will have had occasion enough to taste the bitter fruit of strige and internal contradictions among the Türks and those ruled by the Türks with the qualities that the Chinese so clearly described.

There is further evidence - by far the most important - of Bilge-kaghan's positive attitude to Mochuo relating directly to his death. On the Kül-tegin and Bilge-kaghan stele there is a very important statement immediately after the mention of Mochuo's death, which one hundred per cent disproves Gabain's view. Here is the complete continuous quotation from the inscription on the stele: „For your foolishness and cowardice my uncle, the kaghan, found his death. As a first I had the Kirghiz kaghan set up as a balbal“ <sup>(939)</sup>. The connection between the balbal and the death of Mochuo is not to be doubted here, and it is confirmed in the continuation of the text about Bilge-kaghan ascending the throne. The meaning of balbal and its part in Türk memorials was explained above. In other words, a memorial for Mochuo was erected with the active participation of Bilge-kaghan. He was not concerned, as the quotation shows, with any „damnatio memoriae“ of his uncle. The two brothers' hatred was vented only on Mochuo's son who became kaghan (and in this connection on his family) though they were pretenders coming from the direct line of Elterish.

In the Tonyukuk inscription Mochuo's deeds and Mochuo are given with him named kapaghan; <sup>(940)</sup> and not only that but his sons and their deeds are named <sup>(941)</sup>. The Kül-tegin and Bilge-kaghan inscription says about the Kirghiz kaghan: „...Bars beg; we gave him the title of kaghan and gave him a princess by younger sister as wife. But he was a traitor, the kaghan was assassinated and the nation became men and women slaves (of the Türks)“ <sup>(942)</sup>. Apart from the general formulation of the assassination of the Kirghiz kaghan in the Kül-tegin <sup>(943)</sup> and Tonyukuk inscription <sup>(944)</sup>. In the Bilge-kaghan inscription stands: „I killed“ <sup>(945)</sup>. Bilge-kaghan in other words, transferred, presented this balbal of the Kirghiz kaghan to Mochuo.

Which of the known but anonymous memorials might belong to Mochuo? Or has it not been found? Let us turn our attention to the Ongin memorial, which on the basis of its inscription - however fragmentary and at times incomprehensible - undoubtedly dates from the time when Mochuo lived. In the text there appears the name of Elterish <sup>(946)</sup> and kapaghan (Mochuo) <sup>(947)</sup>, which are the first guiding lines.

Elsewhere I said that V. V. Radlov regarded the Ongin memorial as that of Elterish <sup>(948)</sup>. S. Y. Malov <sup>(949)</sup> and A. v. Gabain <sup>(950)</sup> were of the same opinion. But V. V. Radlov suddenly abandoned his earlier view, which his successors entirely overlooked; but he rejected the possibility that it might refer to Mochuo. He concluded that it was some Türk prince closely related to Elterish <sup>(951)</sup>. A. N. Bernshtam <sup>(952)</sup> regarded Mochuo as the „author“ of the inscription. As he believed that Elterish died in 693 (instead of the correct 693) the nearest year corresponding to the year of the dragon was 704. In his view the memorial was built for Elterish but not until 704. This is a very strained explanation which in many respects goes counter to historical facts and Türk customs.

G. Clauson, who was the last to deal with the problem of the Ongin inscription, reached the conclusion that the deceased was not Elterish. The reason being that the inscription states that Elterish named him shad. He dealt with one problematic part of the inscription where proper names appear and found that it referred to El-etmish of the confederation of tribes of Bilge Ishvar Tamgan Tarkan. On the basis of the tamga he believes that this El-etmish belonged to the same tribe as Kül-tegin but not directly to his family <sup>(953)</sup>. But it should be said that nothing else is known about this person, to whom, according to Clauson this memorial belongs, anywhere.

Now let us turn to those places on the Ongin inscription that might provide support for our own conclusions. This involves a note on methodology before we analyze the texts proper.

Problems with translations of Old Türk texts derive from their fragmentary existence. It then depends on how the damaged places are filled in. Some of them are very brief and thirdly it depends on how a debatable group of consonants is divided up and vocalized. It is, therefore, not surprising that different authors submit translations that differ in certain places both in details as in the general sense.

It is only in places that several authors translate in identical manner from the inscriptions that we have objective guarantee that the place is, in all likelihood, translated correctly. But if each of the authors presents a translation that differs from the other diametrically even in general meaning, we do not know who is correct and are even justified in expressing distrust. We have no guarantee of objectivity anywhere. And if the Turkologues - linguists are not united, one cannot reproach the historians for selecting from the variants offered the one that seems to him to corresponds best to the historical interrelations. Further, as experience has shown, we do not always know that a later translation is a more correct one. On the contrary, despite all reproaches and objections to Radlov's translations it is sometimes necessary to turn back to them.

Unfortunately, certain parts of the Ongin inscription that contain names are explained and translated differently by V. V. Radlov, and in different manner by S. Y. Malov and both differ from G. Clauson. Let us begin with the later: He translates: „I grew up for (i.e. as a subject of) the realm of Kapagan an Elteris. My name is (Alp?) El-etmish of the tribal confederation of Bilge Ishvara Tamgan Tarkan, the son of El-etmish, Yabgu and the younger brother of Ishvara Tamgan Chor Yabgu. (My dear father?) was one of Elterish, kagan's first followers“ (954).

Radlov's translation of the same place runs: „(Kap-g-n) Ältäräs-kaghan deinem Volk bin ich geworden, die das Volk gebildet haben, der Sohn des Jabgu, der Sabra Tamgantschur, der jüngere Bruder des Joga der weise Sabra Tamgan Tarkan, im ganzen 75 meine älteren und jüngeren verwandten...“ (955). Later V. V. Radlov completed the Kap-g-n that was not clear to him (956) to Kapagan and translated: „Dem Staatswesen des Kapagan Chagan und Elteres Chagan habe ich mich angeschlossen“ (957). But he admits the possibility of a different reading: „Ich, Kapagan, habe mich dem Staatswesen des Elteres angepasst (eingefügt)“ (958) or: (Ich, Kapagan, haben das Staatswesen des Elteres übernommen“ (959) although he himself regards this second version as unlikely, if it was to express ascension of the throne. At the same time he says that the view according to which „Kapagan Ältäräs kaghan“ in the original might be one title, is out of the question (960). S. Y. Malov translates in conformity with Radlov's later view: „Я, Капаган, был воспыган в преданности государству Элтерес-кагана. Государство было устроено, сын Ябгу Сабра Тамганчур, младший брат Йера Сабра таркана, в общем шестьдесят пять моих предков...“ (961).

The title or name „Kapagan“ stands at the beginning of the line of the Ongin inscription as a nominative. It can, therefore, not be given the context suggested by G. Clauson. Malov's „I, Kapagan“ is correct. G. Clauson points out that the fourth line of the Ongin inscription is written according to the beginning of the Tonyukuk inscription, that the latter inscription was a pattern for the author of the Ongin inscription: He is correct in saying that the beginnings of the two inscriptions are entirely identical in composition: In transcription the Ongin inscription reads: „Kapagan Ältäräs kaghan ällingä kylyntym“ (962). The Tonyukuk inscription has: „Bilgä Tonyukuk bän özüм Tabgach ällingä lylyntym“ (963). Since „Bilgä Tonyuk“ clearly means „I, wise Tonyukuk“ (and Clauson agrees here) „Kapagan“ must mean „I, Kapagan“, as S. Y. Malov translates. Clauson, in contradiction to his thesis, places „Kapagan“ into the middle of the sentence and into a different context.

Kapagan was a title that Mochuo, Elterish's brother, had as his fellow warrior and aid in setting up Türk independence anew and founding and spreading the second kaghanate (964). On Türk memorials it was the custom that the person spoke about himself and so the person here is Kapagan Mochuo.

We can understand the meaning of this paragraph if we realize that it follows immediately after the description of the profound decline of the Türk nation (during the period of subjugation to China) entirely in the sense described on the Kül-tegin and Bilge-kaghan memorial. Secondly, if we turn again to those two memorials, there follows a part of how Elterish began the resistance to the Chinese (965). The corresponding subsequent line on the Ongin inscription has this meaning: there is an enumeration of who joined Elterish apart from Kapagan, whatever the reading of their

names might be. What is important is that at the end the total number of members is given (Malov: 65), referring to Elterish's first retinue. That again corresponds in general to the Kül-tegin and Bilge-kaghan inscription where there is a mention of the 70 men who gathered around Elterish<sup>(966)</sup>. In the Ongin inscription - to judge by Radlov's translation - it referred to older and younger relatives, one might say, in the first case, Elterish's kaghan.

One of those named as participant of the funeral ceremonies for the deceased Elterish was, apart from Tonyukuk, a Taman Tarkan. May it not be a mistake for Tamgan Tarkan and then it would refer to Tamgan Tarkan of the Ongin inscription?

G. Clauson uses the stylistic similarity between the Kül-tegin inscription, on the one hand, and the Ongin one, on the other, to confirm his theory about the later dating of the Ongin memorial and gives this memorial as pattern for the text of the Ongin one, which is to be alike in content or paraphrase<sup>(967)</sup>. This undeniable parallelity of texts is, however, different in time, as V. V. Radlov pointed out<sup>(968)</sup> who apart from stylistic similarities recognized the older character of certain symbols of the script in the Ongin memorial, which formed a link between the Yenisei script and that of the Orkhon<sup>(969)</sup>.

Let us deal further with the text of the Ongin memorial to see what would confirm the conclusion that it is a memorial built for Mochuo or if there should be something, on the contrary, that would present a reason precluding such identification.

The text gives the date of the death of the person to whom the memorial was erected. V. V. Radlov translates: „Im Drachen-Jahre im 7. Monate seid ihr o starker Helden-Chan euch trennend fortgegangen“<sup>(970)</sup>. S. Y. Malov: „В год дракона в седьмой месяц вы (ушли) отделились от сильного геройского кагана“<sup>(971)</sup>.

Clauson's translation: „You parted from my mighty (brave kaghan) in the seventh month of the Sheep Year and went away“<sup>(972)</sup>.

As to the translation of dates, S. Y. Malov and V. V. Radlov agree. If we turn to a rubbing of the Ongin stele<sup>(973)</sup> we can see the word „lüi“ (-read from the end), which is „dragon“ (from the Chinese). This word appears a second time in the form „lü“ (on the stele in the note at the top<sup>(974)</sup>).

It cannot be a substitution in the reading of individual letters for „sheep - as Clauson translates - is Türk „koi“ and in Old Türk was written<sup>(975)</sup>. Clauson's change of date is, therefore, quite deliberate, provoked a priori by the assumption that the Ongin inscription is younger than Kül-tegin's and older than the end of the rule of Bilge-kaghan, i.e. from the period between the years 732 and the end of 734. The deceased given on the Ongin inscription, in other words, died before Kül-tegin and the author of the inscription had the idea of building a similar memorial to his father when he took part in the ceremonies consecrating the Kül-tegin memorial. Since the closest preceding year of the dragon was 728, which is too long a period and the memorial was built soon after the death, the only possible year was 731. The man of the Ongin memorial, therefore, died in 731, which is the year of the sheep<sup>(976)</sup>. Those are the harebrained considerations of Clauson, which entirely evade historical work.

One should insist on Radlov's and Malov's reading of „the year of the dragon“. According to the twelve-year animal cycle the following years of the era can be taking into consideration 680, 692 (the year of the death of Elterish), 704, 716, 728. According to Chinese sources Mochuo died in the year of the dragon, in 716<sup>(977)</sup>.

Several times the title „shad“ appears in the text. V.V. Radlov: „Den<sup>(978)</sup> Tengriken hast du Sinn und Kraft gegeben, sagend war er ihm gnädig ind gab ihm dort den Titel Schad“<sup>(979)</sup>. S. Y. Malov: „Говоря: ты на божественного (августейшего) трудился, он был милостив и тогда дал звание шада“<sup>(980)</sup>.

G. Clauson: „Deigned to say: 'You have given services to my Sacred Majesty' and there and then gave him the title of shad“<sup>(981)</sup>. (Tengriken - divine- Sacred Majesty - is an epitaph for Elterish). And it continues: „Мой отец-шад так взмолился, говоря...“<sup>(982)</sup>.

„Mein Vater, der Schad, bat ihn in solcher Weise...“<sup>(983)</sup> - „This is what my father, shad, humbly submitted...“<sup>(984)</sup>.

We know from other memorials - particularly those on the Yenisei - how they alternate the speaking person in direct speech, which for a while is the deceased and immediately after without any transition the survivor who had the memorial erected or composed the inscription. The case is no different on the Ongin inscription. Once it is Mochuo who is speaking, elsewhere his son. The meaning of these excerpts is that the deceased, not his father, was the shad.

Shad and yabgu were highest titles among the Türks after the kaghan, which the kaghan granted to his closest relatives, brothers or sons<sup>(985)</sup>. In the case of Mochuo - Mojilian it was the relationship of uncle and nephew, clearly as compensation, for Mojilian was to have been the „little kaghan“, i.e. Mochuo's successor in place of his son. Before Mochuo became kaghan in 692 after the death of Elterish, he was shad (Bilge-kaghan at that time was only 8 years old)<sup>(986)</sup>: „(Elterish) brought order to the nations of Tölish and Tardush and gave them a shad and yabgu.“<sup>(987)</sup> (Bilge-kaghan inscription). In the Chinese chronicle stands written: „Thus Guduolu (Elterish) gradually became strong until in the end he made himself kaghan. He named his younger brother Mochuo shad and Duoxifu yehu (yabgu)“<sup>(988)</sup>.

The tamga on the stele shows the close relationship of the person to whom the Ongin memorial was consecrated to Kül-tegin and Bilge-kaghan (see the part on tamgas). G. Clauson himself on the basis of the similarity of the two tamgas admits that the person to whom the Ongin memorial is dedicated was a member of the same „tribe“ as Kül-tegin, but did not belong directly to his family<sup>(989)</sup>.

I have already mentioned in connection with the balbal of the Kirghiz kaghan that the Mochuo memorial is recorded in writing and that Bilge-kaghan participated in its erection. We have proof of this directly on the Ongin memorial in the form of the Bilge-kaghan tamga in the shape of a capricorn on one of the first balbals<sup>(990)</sup>.

In the inscription there is a younger brother (brothers?) of the deceased „... habe ich für meinen jüngeren Bruder und für meine Söhne gelebt(?)“<sup>(991)</sup> (V. V. Radlov). „...моим младшим братьям и сыновьям я так делал наставления...“<sup>(992)</sup> (S. Y. Malov).

„...I advised my sons and younger brothers ...“<sup>(993)</sup> (G. Clauson). It has just been said that Mochuo's brother Duoxifu was named yabgu<sup>(994)</sup>.

But three mentions of Bilge-kaghan do not historically fit into this context, where the deceased speaks of him in the inscription: „An den Tengri Bilgä Chan denkend, hatte ich meinen Sinn und meiner Kraft geweiht...“ „...habe ich für meinen jüngeren Bruder und für meine Söhne gelebt(?). Wie wir im Zorn von Elterest-Chan uns nicht getrennt hatten, gegen ihn nicht aufgestanden waren, so wollten wir auch nicht von Bilgä-Chan uns trennen und treulos sein. Deshalb habe ich für sie so lange gelebt. Zurück ist er nun gegangen; des Bilgä-Chan Volk ... ist gestorben.“<sup>(995)</sup> (V. V. Radlov). Radlov's second quotation was altered by L. K. Katona to „Meine jüngeren Brüder und meine Söhne habe ich so gebeten: 'Zurückbleiben (?) wollen wir, die wir uns vom Itäris-Chan nicht getrennt, uns gegen ihn nicht vergangen haben, von göttlichen Bilgä-Chan nicht trennen und die Irre gehen. „So habe ich es gebeten““<sup>(996)</sup>. S. Y. Malov<sup>(997)</sup> translates both passages thus: „Беспокоясь о божественном Билге-кагане, я старался всемерно трудиться (т.е. давать свои труды и силы)“ „...моим младшим братьям и сыновьям я так делал наставления: рассердившись, мы не отделились от Эльтерес-кагана и не погрешили (против него), говоря (теперь): да не отделимся мы от божественного Билге-кагана и не совратимся, так я поучал. Он (народ) пошел назад. Народ Билге-кагана...пошел.“

G. Clauson: „I had a wish to give my services to the sacred Bilge kaghan...“ „...I advised my sons and younger brothers as follows just as father marched and would be not parted from, or betray Elterish kaghan, so let us not be parted from the sacred Bilge kaghan or go astray'. This is what I advised. Those that meant to go back went (back). (The people of) Bilge kaghan went (forward) and ...“<sup>(998)</sup>.

Everywhere the names of Elterish and Bilge-kaghan are given in sequence of time on the basis of historical experience that Bilge-kaghan is the title of Elterish's son Moju on ascending the throne. But is he truly the one? „Bilge“ means „wise“. Even Elterish might be labelled wise and then it would not be a name but a quality just as Tonyukuk himself used „wise Tonyukuk“ (Bilgä Tonyukuk) in his inscription. The appearance of the name of Elterish-kaghan and Bilge-kaghan (written with small letters) in one sentence might even here be literary ornamentation, so frequent in Türk inscriptions so that the same event, the same sentence is repeated twice with certain variations as a synonym. Here Elterish-kaghan and Bilge-kaghan might be synonyms. Bilge might not be a motto according to the pattern of the Chinese emperors who adopted a new name on ascending the throne, but a quality. I do not wish to touch on grammatical matters of Old Türk but the above quotations show that even the experts were not at one over this matter. This assumption may be put forward that in translating they may have been influenced by taking Elterish and bilge (that is Bilge-) kaghan as two historically sequential personalities. But how can it be explained that here in this historical sequence of kaghans Mochuo was omitted, being the one who ruled between the two?

Katona's translation fully concurs with my idea of the identity of the two terms, for his sentence makes no difference between two historical epochs. At most there is a difference in time in the sense that the subject (in my view Mochuo) appeals to the members who, in the past, stood by Elterish should not later, in future, turn away from him, the wise kaghan and should not be lost.

In a careful study of Radlov's translation it should be noticed that in the introduction <sup>(999)</sup> he gives the quotation I had rendered in slightly differing wording than in the continuous translation: „Wir, die wir uns nicht getrennt haben und gegen den Ältäräs-kagan nicht vergangen haben, wollen uns (auch) vom himmlischen Bilgä-kagan nicht trennen und nicht in die Irre geraten.“ Here he gives the important word „auch“, which is of such importance to the change of the overall meaning of the sentence, in brackets; that means as is customary with him, that this word is not to be found in the original and he inserted it „for better understanding“ <sup>(1000)</sup>. If we leave out the inserted word „auch“ we reach the same meaning as in L. K. Katona.

How can one further explain the contradiction between the text on the memorial that speaks of the deceased as father and the historical fact that all members of Mochuo's family were assassinated after his death? How could the son erect a memorial to the father when he was assassinated by Kül-tegin?

It should be said that none of the records give the precise date of Mochuo's assassination nor when his family was murdered, headed by the „little kaghan“ Fuju. We only know that both happened in 716 <sup>(1001)</sup>. The same year Mojilian ascended the throne as Bilge-kaghan <sup>(1002)</sup>. Possibly a longer period passed between the death of Mochuo and hecatomb within the year 716. Even though we cannot assume that the memorial was finished in that period, the memorial inscription might have existed, that is its original which was later carved by stonemasons into the stele and preparations for the erection of the memorial might have been carried out. The text of the inscription might sound as an address about the father given by the son and partly as a speech by the deceased himself.

The memorial certainly belonged to a kaghan. That can be deduced from the text of the attribution that the deceased was a kaghan <sup>(1003)</sup>. The beginning of the inscription: „Our ancestor Yamyn-kaghan“ <sup>(1004)</sup> is generally taken as meaning Bumyn-kaghan <sup>(1005)</sup> and speaks in support of the view that it was an inscription dedicated to a kaghan, for Bumyn-kaghan is thought of as the founder of the dynasty of Türk kaghans, i.e. the kaghans' ancestor, not the ancestor of the Türks generally. Such a formulation could be used only by a kaghan. It has a parallel in the Orkhon memorials: „My ancestors (i.e. Bilge-kaghan), Bumin-kaghan and Istemi-kaghan settled (as rulers) over mankind...“ <sup>(1006)</sup>.

Even the formulation „I attacked many towns“, „I defeated their nation“ etc. <sup>(1007)</sup> could only be used by a kaghan, not by a commander of the army. He might have spoken of defeating, scattering etc. not of subjugating a nation.

But it seems that the text as a whole says little that is concrete about certain events and describes historical events only in general terms during the period of Elterish and Mochuo, and more so of the first period when Mochuo was shad. And it stresses allegiance to Elterish. It is possible that Bilge-kaghan may have acted as censor to ensure that the concrete merits of Mochuo should not stand out too much. A change in his thinking occurred only fifteen years later (*see above*).

One further contradiction needs to be removed: In Malov's translation we read: „... вы (ушли) отделились от сильного геройского кагана“ <sup>(1008)</sup>.

In the sense that the deceased by his death abandoned his kaghan. G. Clauson translates the same meaning <sup>(1009)</sup>. That goes counter the assumption that the deceased himself was kaghan. The meaning of other parts of Malov's translation is that the deceased was kaghan. Radlov translates: „...seid ihr, o starker Helden-Chan euch trennends fortgegen“ <sup>(1010)</sup>. Both these authors transliterate this part of the inscription identically, <sup>(1011)</sup> but each translates in a different sense. We are again faced with the question who was right. The entire meaning of the text on the memorial corresponds to Radlov's reading.

The situation of the Ongin memorial and its inscription suggests that the memorial was perhaps built by Bilge-kaghan himself using the adapted text for epitaph speaking as if it were Mochuo's son but composed by another person. We know that even if Bilge-kaghan speaks in the first person, i.e. as author of the text, on the Kül-tegin and Bilge-kaghan stele, the true author was Yollygtigin, as he himself recorded on both stelae in subsequent inscriptions. Such a subsequent inscription where the true author of the text speaks, is to be found high up on the side of the stele on the Ongin inscription. V. V. Radlov interprets it as follows: „Dem Tatscham einen Schiftstein habe

ich gemacht, einen Gedenkstein, Mein Fürst Tatscham der weise Tatscham im Drachen Jahre, der weise, der berühmte Held, der Gute Chan Tatscham ist gestorben“ (1012).

S. Y. Malov has the same reading as Radlov and translate in almost identical manner: „Тачаму надпись на камне (сделал для памяти Мой каган Тачам, Мудрый Тачам; в дракона год, мудрый славный муж, благодарный хан Тачам умер“ (1013).

G. Clauson translates only the first two lines: „I have erected the inscription and placed (here) the memorial for my dear father...“ In his view the rest does not make sense and he takes Radlov's reconstruction as incorrect (1014).

If, with all objections, on the part of Clauson, we take this inscription into consideration, it shows anew that the deceased was kaghan and is here, too, called wise (bilge) without that word being regarded as name here.

There arises a further problem, that is the name or title „Tacham“. It appeared in the main inscription as addressing the deceased (1015). G. Clauson translates tacham as „dear father“ (1016). V. V. Radlov and S. Y. Malov leave it untranslated. They could not explain it in the Türk language.

I would suggest worth considering whether we should not seek that expression in the Chinese language, as well as other titles that appear in Türk in corrupted form. One might take into consideration the honourable title gianshan-kagan (good converted kaghan), which Empress Wu conferred upon Mochuo for his assistance in fighting the rebel Khitans (1017). Another possibility is a title that the empress conferred on him in 696 (1018), i.e. zuwei dajiangjun (Grand-General of the Left Guard). This title might have been used in the abbreviated form of dajiangjun (Grand General) or even as dajiang, which might be transposed into Türk as Tacham. The term dajiang (grand chef) appeared also in Tang official organization of the empire and every district had at its head a dajiang (1019). But it should be said that jiangjun was taken over into Türk as sängün, in which case, according to my explanation, the Türks would have taken over the same part of the word in different sound in each case.

„Tacham“ appears also on the third epitaph at Uibat (1020). V. V. Radlov: „... von einem trefflichen, dem Tatscham habe ich mich getrennt...“ (1021). S. Y. Malov similarly: „один я теперь от Тачама отделился“ (1022).

According to the context of the entire text the deceased was a tarkan, and there is a mention of the balbal of the Türk kaghan. The entire text can be understood, with V. V. Radlov, as the dead being the Tacham's fellow warrior (Radlov had Elterish in mind), who, as kaghan, then had the memorial built for him (1023). It will have been a Türk, who, for his merits, was named tarkan among the Kirghiz after their defeat during the reign of Mochuo (see report on the killing of the Kirghiz kaghan and the settling of conditions among the Kirghiz on the Bilge-kaghan memorial). In other words, even that interpretation does not go counter historical fact and makes it possible to identify Tacham with Mochuo.

Another source where the word Tacham appears is the inscription on the Taikhir rock on the Tamir, which has been mentioned. The inscription has „bilgä beg Tacham“ (1024). Again in connection with „bilge“. In several other inscriptions on the same rock there are several mentions of a campaign to Beshbalyk, one in the year of the monkey, i.e. 696, 708, or 720 (Tonyukuk marched there in 720) (1025), a second time in the year of the serpent (693, 705, 717). In Chinese annals there is a record for the year 714 when Mochuo sent his sons Yinie-kaghan and Tong-o Tiele to Beshbalyk (1026). The inscriptions on the Taikhir rock are, therefore, either from the time of Mochuo or the beginning of the reign of Bilge-kaghan, and the Chinese data are not complete or the expeditions mentioned on the Taikhir rock were not military marches.

Another mysterious term „baga“ appears on the Ongin inscription in connection with the person of the deceased. It also appears several times elsewhere as part of the name or rather title. The enthronement of Bilge-kaghan was attended, according to Radlov's first version, by one Boila-Baga-Tarkan (1027) apart from Tonyukuk and others. According to the second version „baga“ was part of the title of Tonyukuk: „Tonyukuk Boila-Baga-Tarkan“ (1028). In his vocabulary to the translations V. V. Radlov gives: Baga - eine Würde (1029). On the memorial by the River Kemchik-Jirgac the deceased speaks of himself: Baga bänär (1030), which word by word means „I man baga“. S. Y. Malov translates: „I man of high rank“ (1031). In the Uighur inscription at Suji there is also „Kutlug-Baga-Tarkan“ (1032). This term, meaning dignitary or function, can hardly be explained on the basis of Türk. There once again is the possibility that it might have been taken over from Chinese, then in sound it is very close to the term „baoguo“, which means „state things, affairs“.

V.V. Radlov translate the relevant part of the Ongin inscription: „Mein Vater Baga-Tengriken sagend...“, or „Meines Vaters Volksabtheilung sich den Tengriken anwendend“<sup>(1033)</sup>.

S. Y. Malov basically keeps to the first version of Radlov and translates: „Другая часть называя (т.е. признавая) моего отца божественным „бага“...“<sup>(1034)</sup>.

G. Clauson, by contrast, keeps to the second version: „My father ...thereupon marched behind his Sacred Majesty“<sup>(1035)</sup>.

The term „baga“, which stands here as epithet or title - if referring to Mochuo, might have its origin in the Chinese title *ligongbaoguo*, which Empress Wu bestowed upon Mochuo in 698 or later<sup>(1036)</sup>. If we regard it as a combination of two separate parts, that is „*ligong*“ and „*baoguo*“ the meaning of the title would be „the kaghan whose merit it is that he gave forces to things, matters of state“ (i.e. to the Chinese empire). „Baga“ might then be a corruption of the second part „*baoguo*“, too long for Türk and therefore shortened as a title.

This interpretation of the term „baga“ would not contradict the cases cited from the Ongin inscription.

## 18. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THE ECONOMY

### Animal Rearing - Hunting

Numerous places in Chinese sources record the typical nomad way of life as do the Türks themselves; this is associated with the rearing of animals, with hunting and constant changes of encampment.

„They moved here and there in search of water and grass. Their main employment was animal rearing and hunting“<sup>(1037)</sup>. „We move here and there searching for water and grass, we have no permanent abode and live from hunting“<sup>(1038)</sup>. „They are usually engaged in cattle-rearing. They move where there is water and grass and do not live permanently in the same place...They eat meat and drink fermented milk“<sup>(1039)</sup>. Elsewhere this milk is specified as fermented mare's milk (*kumiss*)<sup>(1040)</sup>. The Byzantine mission to the Türks in 568, led by Zemarkhos, was offered a drink called „*kosmos*“ - clearly *kumiss*<sup>(1041)</sup>. There is also a record of wine<sup>(1042)</sup>, probably made from milk, as is still done in Mongolia. As to the kinds of animals kept, Chinese sources say that „the fate of the Türks is dependent solely on sheep and horses“<sup>(1043)</sup>. Horses were the chief export article to China. The Kurikan rock engravings on the R. Lena also include camels (*tab. 156/1*), that is relatively very high to the north.

Türk animal rearing has been proved by excavations where bones of horses and sheep (as sacrificial animals) were found as well as goats, camels and yaks<sup>(1044)</sup>. Among hunting animals bone and antlers have been found of maral-stag, capricorn, elk (in the northern areas) and fur animals<sup>(1045)</sup>. The manner of hunting with the aid of dogs or nets and the hunted animals are very clearly depicted on the art works of the Altai Türks, the Kirghiz and Kurikans (see *tab. 127, 128, 157, 175*). In one Altai Türk grave the skeleton of a dog lay across the back of a horse<sup>(1046)</sup>. According to Chinese sources the Türks served the Ruanruan as smiths before they set up their own tribal union<sup>(1047)</sup>. When Bumin requested the chief of the Ruanruan for the hand of his daughter, he received the reply: „But you are an ordinary blacksmith!“<sup>(1048)</sup> The blacksmith's trade continued to remain on a high level among the Türks as shown by archaeological finds and Chinese reports for the year 698, when Mochuo requested, among others, 40 thousand pounds of iron as reward for the defeat of the Khitans<sup>(1049)</sup>.

### The Question of Agriculture

The question of agriculture and its possible share in the economic base of the Eastern Türks is much discussed and not yet fully clarified. Often, however, this question is not put precisely and unambiguously, and it is not surprising that there can be misunderstanding. There is a difference whether we ask if agriculture existed on the territory of the Eastern Türk kaghanate or whether the Eastern Türks were engaged in agriculture by the side of cattle-keeping. The answer differs accordingly. Such a division of the question is not of importance for the final result as to possible ove-

rall agricultural production; but there is a qualitative difference.

Generally T. A. Zhdanko dealt with the question of agriculture among the nomads; he placed a third element of semi-nomads between agriculturalists and animal rearers. They were people who kept animals and to a limited extent were engaged in agriculture with artificial irrigation and sometimes fishing<sup>(1050)</sup>. At the time of the Eastern Türk kaghanate the Altai Türks, the Kirghiz and the Türks in Tuva were such semi-nomads; this was found on the basis of contemporary irrigation channels and finds of agricultural tools. (The occasional finds of grinders in graves need not by themselves be a proof of agriculture among the nomads, they simply show that their food included flour products for which they ground grain, whatever the manner of acquisition, perhaps from loot). For at the time there is proof of agriculture around the Orkhon Türks. It can be easily concluded, therefore, that agriculture was widespread even among them, as A. N. Bernshtam does<sup>(1051)</sup> and so does S. V. Kiselev<sup>(1052)</sup>. Both formulate their views quite generally, but Liu Mau-tsai is of the opinion that „the Türks themselves were partly engaged in agriculture“<sup>(1053)</sup>. All three authors based their view mainly on a report in Chinese annals according to which Mochuo, in 698, obtained from the Tang on his request over 40 000 shi of seeds for sowing ( millet), another source quotes even 100.000 shi<sup>(1054)</sup> and 3 000 agricultural tools<sup>(1055)</sup>. It was a matter of seeds and not millet for consumption; this is clear from Mochuo's accusation in his letter to Empress Wu where beside other „misdeeds“ he reproached her for „having obtained as a gift cooked seeds that did not germinate after being sown“<sup>(1056)</sup>.

Mochuo at that time stood at the peak of his might and at the same time requested, and was granted, the return of all Türks that had been subjected to the Chinese and were living on Chinese territory, who now came under his domination. These subjected families, numbering several thousand tents had been living inside the big bend of the Yellow River (Ordos) and elsewhere<sup>(1057)</sup>, and they now moved away from Chinese territory<sup>(1058)</sup>. Since in the text the freeing of the Türks and the gift of seeds and agricultural tools stand side by side it is possible that the corn and the tools were intended for these Türks who had for a longer time been living among the Chinese along the southern border and there had been engaged in animal rearing and agriculture. They will have learnt this from the Chinese. On departure to their original homeland they may have received all that was required for them to continue in agriculture. It is my view that the meaning of „partly“ engaged in agriculture till the time of Mochuo does not mean that every Türk family had a small patch of field as a subsidiary source of subsistence<sup>(1059)</sup>. This goes counter the very description of the mobile life of the Türks and the absence of the least mention of agriculture in Chinese sources and in regard to the territory. It means that the Türks, mainly those on the Chinese-Türk borderland, who were partly settled, were engaged in agriculture.

My explanation is supported by the following report: In 630 Toujing, the military governor of the borderland, in his report to the emperor, says that the Türks „are not engaged in agriculture and do not grow mulberries.“ This evidence should be taken very seriously for the author as military governor of the borderland was in constant touch with the Türks and knew the conditions among them well, and before he had been president of the Office for Public Granaries, that is the very „field“<sup>(1060)</sup>.

Within the framework of the Chinese policy of assimilation of the nomads they encouraged the Türks in the borderland to turn up agriculture. There is evidence of this in the case of Sijie's horde, who after the defeat of the Türks in 630 was settled at Daizhou<sup>(1061)</sup> and, on advice of the local military governor turned to agriculture. Each year they had a good harvest which the state purchased from them for the public granaries<sup>(1062)</sup>. It appears that the year 630 was a turning-point in the development of agriculture among the borderland Türks.

There is evidence in Chinese sources that tens of thousands of Chinese lived on the territory of the Türks, who after the defeat of Xieli in 630 were redeemed back by the Chinese emperor. It is said that they were (free) Chinese who had fled to the Türks during the wars and confusion which accompanied the end of the Sui dynasty, but they might also have been slaves taken prison by the Türks during raids and prisoners from among the ranks of soldiers. It can be assumed that these Chinese, whether free of serfs, worked mainly as agriculturalists, apart from a smaller number who were craftsmen.

The conclusion might be this: It is open to discussion whether the Orkhon Türks were semi-nomads (this would go counter Tonyukuk's advice not to settle - and settlement is an essential prerequisite of agriculture) and partly tilled fields. There is proof of this only for the Türks settled on Chinese territory. But it is certain that there was agriculture on Türk territory but probably mainly

carried out by the hands of Chinese, and after 698 by the Türks who had moved from China.

## THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

### Slavery

Slaves were part of the Türks' military loot. Adult men and sometimes even women were mostly mercilessly killed. After 555 the emperor handed over to the Türks the captured chieftain of the Ruanruan and his adherents, more than 3 000 persons. All were executed, only adolescent boys (i.e. to 18 years) were spared and given to the princes and counts of the Northern Wei as slaves<sup>(1063)</sup>. In 564 the Türks „penetrated inside across the Great Wall, looted and dragged off the population“<sup>(1064)</sup>. In 617 Emperor Gaoju promised Shibi-kaghan for aid against the Sui „gold, silk and all boys and girls“ from the conquered territory<sup>(1065)</sup>. In return for aid during the campaign against the Khitans in 605 the Türks received half the captured girls and all looted cattle (at that time they captured some 40 000 Khitans). All men were killed<sup>(1066)</sup>. In 622 Xieli kidnapped over 500 men and women in China<sup>(1067)</sup>. „The barbarians keep invading China because they have their eyes on our treasure, boys and girls“<sup>(1068)</sup>. „Wherever Mochuo moved, all people and animals were dragged off, gild, silk, boys and girls“<sup>(1069)</sup>.

The series of these concrete written records for the existence of slavery among the Eastern Türks can be enlarged, for the period of the second kaghanate, even from Türk sources. We can read on the Bilge-kaghan stele: „I have destroyed the nation of the Tangut, I brought away their young men“<sup>(1070)</sup>. After the defeat of the Oghuz Bilge-kaghan relates that „he captured their sons and daughters“<sup>(1071)</sup>. On the Bilge-kaghan and the Kül-tegin stele there further stands written that after the defeat of the Kirghiz „the nation became men and women slaves“<sup>(1072)</sup>. When the two stelae describe the period of affluence of the Türks during the second kaghanate it is characterized that „the slaves themselves had slaves and the slave-girls had slave-girls themselves“<sup>(1073)</sup>.

Tonyukuk in his inscription writes what loot the Türk army returned with from an expedition to the west as far as the Iron Gates. This includes „girls and women“<sup>(1074)</sup>, that is, slave-girls.

These quotations show that slaves were recruited both from the ranks of foreign defeated tribes and nations and from neighbour subject tribes that spoke Türk.

I have already spoken of the poor grave mounds that accompany the grave mounds of rich graves of the Altai Türks and containing probably the burials of violently killed slaves, human burial sacrifices.

It is certain that the slaves and their work played a considerable role in the Türk social and economic system. The aim of the raids was both the loot wealth of all kind and slaves. According to S. V. Kiselev the development of the Türk aristocracy was possibly only with the use of the labour of slaves<sup>(1075)</sup>.

On the other hand, L.P. Potapov is of the opinion that the slaves did not participate in guarding the herds, for they would have had to be equipped with a horse and weapons and there would have been the danger that they might escape. In his view they were used mainly in agriculture<sup>(1076)</sup>. There are still other uses of slaves as labour force. That includes work in processing milk products, animal fur, wool, collection of animal dung as fuel, dewing garments, all craftwork.

### Feudal Relations

L.P. Potapov is of the opinion that the aristocracy needed their own kinsmen for work with the herds. That, he judges, led to the development of class relations among the Türks in the form of patriarchal feudal relations<sup>(1077)</sup>. These efforts on the part of the aristocracy to limit the freedom of their own kinsmen, rank-and-file nomads - in their own favour met with sharp resistance, as can be proved from Chinese annals and from the Khöshöö-tsaidam inscriptions<sup>(1078)</sup>.

A. N. Bernshtam, who dealt most with the social system of the Eastern Türks, reached this conclusion: „Общество орхоно-енисейских тюрков является ранней формой сложения примитивных феодальных отношений. Они вырастают на основе сложного переплетания патриархально-родовых и рабовладельческих отношений“<sup>(1079)</sup>.

Elsewhere I showed that Bernshtam's conclusion of the roots of feudalism among the Türks have not factual support in archaeological material, at least not when based on phenomena associated with ideas surrounding the funeral rites. But even for his assertions about the feudal character of society at the time his prerequisites are not based on documentary evident or can be explained

in different manner. For instance, the report on Mochuo's request for Chinese agricultural tools is taken as proof that, at that time, class distinctions had gone so far that the community had changed from a nomad one to a settled one <sup>(1080)</sup>. He calls the period of the reign of Mochuo a period of intense feudalization <sup>(1081)</sup>.

I have already pointed out how this report can be explained in different ways as well as Tonyukuk's evidence that under Mochuo's successor the Orkhon Türks were not yet settled. S. V. Kiselev already viewed Bernshtam's views critically <sup>(1082)</sup>. Bernshtam's tendency to turn the aristocracy into feudals is regarded as mistaken and a number of other Soviet authors regard Bernshtam's proofs as insufficient <sup>(1083)</sup>. S. P. Tolstov is certainly right when he says that „türk budun“ (the Türk nation) is a nation of free soldiers <sup>(1084)</sup>. But it is true that this was not one hundred per cent valid until the end of the Eastern Türk kaghanate.:

A reason for the looting raids of the Türks was the inevitability of compromise with the unenslaved masses of free men. The takings of such expeditions temporarily drowned the internal struggle, for thereby the aristocracy and the soldiers gained rich loot <sup>(1085)</sup>. There is important evidence in Chinese sources that show that the entire loot did not always belong to the kaghan but to the commanders and the army. The Chinese faced the kaghan with this saying that it would be far more advantageous for him to accept gifts from the emperor which would be his own than to undertake raids from which he personally had little benefit <sup>(1086)</sup>. There must have been strong motives not involving the kaghan that brought about further raids.

As S. P. Tolstov goes on to show, after the defeat of Xieli, in the fifteen-year period of peace between the Türks and the Chinese, the Türk aristocracy could not exploit the agricultural population of China with looting raids and turned, by way of compensation, to their own people, the small herders, who were greatly affected by the failure of war and the contemporary dying of their animals, described in Chinese sources. By granting loans in the form of animals, which they often could not repay, they turned the herders into dependent clients, in fact, slaves of the aristocracy. Apart from this enslavement of the shepherds, another consequence was the large-scale emigration to China and to the west, to the Sogdians <sup>(1087)</sup>. S. P. Tolstov <sup>(1088)</sup> regards the term „ogush“, which is unclear to many authors, as applying to these clients. The term appears in the Yenisei inscriptions in enumerating the survivors and follows immediately after the family members of the deceased. These „ogush“ were impoverished shepherds, who had become dependent on the aristocracy as slaves in place of the unpaid loan.

L.P. Potapov sums up Türk society in the following manner: The basis of the Türk economy was extensive animal rearing and grazing without the provision of stocks of winter fodder. The social and economic base was the community with common pastureland and cattle in private ownership, under the leadership of a chieftain, usually a rich owner of herds <sup>(1089)</sup>. Probably from the beginning each family, not the kith and kin, ran its own economic affairs <sup>(1090)</sup>.

The political power of the aristocracy rested in wealth, as shown in Chinese sources <sup>(1091)</sup>. From the Yenisei inscriptions one can get an idea of the property of members of the local aristocracy, which are enumerated there. For the Orkhon Türks we can refer to the evidence of rich graves and give one concrete datum that gives an idea of the property of the aristocracy. The inscription on the Kül-tegin stele (Türk) confirms that he owned 4 000 stud horses <sup>(1092)</sup>.

### Legal Customs. Levirate

Certain legal customs should be cited to give an all-round idea of the social system of the Türks. These were recorded by the Chinese:

Rebels, traitors, murderers were sentenced to death, as were those who raped a married woman, and anyone who stole horses' harnesses. (It should be taken into account that among members of the aristocracy these had ornaments of pure gold and great weight). Heavy punishment in money and kind was imposed on anyone who raped a girl. In addition, the malefactor had to marry the victim. Punishment in kind was imposed on anyone who injured somebody during a quarrel varying according to the degree of injury. A thief of horses and other objects had to provide a substitute amounting to more than ten times the value of the stolen things <sup>(1093)</sup>. Lewd persons were emasculated and then torn into two pieces. If anyone injured somebody's eye, he had to give his daughter as substitute. If he had no daughter, he had to give his wife and make payment in addition. Anyone who broke another's limb had to give him a horse by way of indemnification <sup>(1094)</sup>.

There existed clearly defined private property which was protected by strict punishment. These

legal norms show that certain offences were paid for with female members of the family, which, to say the least, means that these women became secondary wives of the transferee, or, as S. V. Kiselev judges, <sup>(1095)</sup> not enjoying full right they became the property of the transferee, his slaves.

The death of male members of the family resulted in measures that are known as levirate, obviously motivated by economic reasons, i.e. to ensure that the property of the deceased should remain with his kin. Thus „after the death of the father or father's brother the sons, brothers or nephews married their step-mothers, aunts or sisters-in-law. But men of the older generation were not allowed to have intercourse with women of the younger generation“ <sup>(1096)</sup>. Similarly in another source we can read: „If the father or older brother dies, the son, or in the second case, the younger brother takes to wife his step-mother or sister-in-law“ <sup>(1097)</sup>.

A concrete case of this custom is known: Shibi-kaghan, after his father's death requested the emperor in writing that he be allowed to marry the Chinese princess. The emperor replied that he should „act according to their own customs“ <sup>(1098)</sup>, which means that he agreed to the marriage with the widow of Qimin-kaghan, i.e. Shibi-kaghan's step-mother who was a Chinese princess. Similarly one princess was married to even three kaghans <sup>(1099)</sup>. The levirate is recorded among the Türks-Ghuz still in 921-922 in a very detailed and unambiguous report by IbnFadlan <sup>(1100)</sup>. A. N. Bernshtam <sup>(1101)</sup> regards the levirate as a proof that the Türks had a kin system. In his view the elder brothers moved away from the family on marriage and the younger ones remained to inherit the property of the family. But there is no proof of this.

The man brought his bride with him <sup>(1102)</sup>.

These quotations which are proof of the levirate are, at the same time, proofs of polygamy. It is said that after the father's death the son married his step-mother. This does not mean the mother of the father's second marriage after the death of his first wife, but that there were at least two mothers in the family, two wives of the father side by side. After the father's death one of the male descendents of mother 1 married mother 2, and vice versa to prevent incest. This excluded the possibility that the widow might marry a strange man and would lead to the drain of part of the father's, that is the family's property.

Chinese sources give concrete proof of polygamy among the kaghans. For instance Sulu, the kaghan of the Western Türks, had three wives: a Chinese princess, a daughter of the Tibetan king and the daughter of Bilge-kaghan. (The Bilge-kaghan stele speaks of the marriage of the daughter with the Western Türk kaghan <sup>(1103)</sup>. All three had the title of katun <sup>(1104)</sup>.

### **Military and Administrative Organization. Titles.**

I spoke about the hierarchy of tribes within the Türk tribal organization in the chapter on the Türk tribes. Now let us turn to the administrative organization of the tribal union. As in all nomad tribal unions on the territory of Altai and Mongolia this was hidden under the military organization. The tribe was simultaneously a military unit <sup>(1105)</sup>.

Chinese sources in several places <sup>(1106)</sup> give an enumeration of Türk titles, offices and functions, partly according to their hierarchy. Generally it is said that all offices were hereditary from the father to the son and from the eldest brother to the younger <sup>(1107)</sup>. To begin with there are said to have been only 10 classes of officials, later there were as many as 28 <sup>(1109)</sup>. The number of officials was not strictly fixed <sup>(1110)</sup>.

At the head of the tribal union stood the kaghan who was also the supreme commander of the army. The only exception was the situation under Bilge-kaghan who entrusted the supreme command of the army to his younger brother Kül-tegin as an expression of gratitude for having helped him ascend the throne <sup>(1111)</sup>. The kaghan's wife was the katun <sup>(1112)</sup>, who accompanied him sometimes even on military campaigns <sup>(1113)</sup>. The sons and brothers of the kaghan had the title of tegin <sup>(1114)</sup>, an equivalent perhaps of the European prince. The successor to the throne was called „little kaghan“. He was directly subordinate to the kaghan and also commanded one army. Beside him there were four other military commanders, so that they made up a total of five, as is clearly written in one place of the Chinese sources <sup>(1115)</sup>. It was the „left“ and the „right“ yabgu and the „left“ and the „right“ shad, or „yabgu of the left wing“ (left for east, right for west), who were elected from among the sons or brothers of the kaghan. Each of them administered a certain territory and commanded the individual army. The „little kaghan“ stood a rank above those commanders <sup>(1116)</sup>. Under Mochuo the „little kaghan“ commanded over 40 000 soldiers and both the shads

had each more than 20 000 <sup>(1117)</sup>.

For the year 683 there is a record of another title *apatarkan*, related to the assignment of dealing with all military affairs <sup>(1118)</sup>. Liu Mau-tsai regards this title as equal to minister of war <sup>(1119)</sup>, elsewhere <sup>(1120)</sup> gives it as „commander-in-chief over the army“. From all that was said above it seems more likely that the first explanation corresponds to the Chinese text. But elsewhere it is stated to the year 744 that there were two *apatarkans*, a left and right one <sup>(1121)</sup>.

Chinese sources give other high titles: *Qulüchuo* <sup>(1122)</sup> - the *kulichur* of Türk inscriptions -, *abo* <sup>(1123)</sup>, *xielifa* <sup>(1124)</sup> (perhaps identical with the following as the initial Chinese characters are very similar, a scribe's mistake? (*xilifa*, *tutun(-fa)* <sup>(1126)</sup> (Türk *tudun*), *sijin* <sup>(1127)</sup>, *yanhongda* <sup>(1128)</sup>, *tarkan* <sup>(1129)</sup>. In the enumeration of these titles the order is not identical everywhere so that it is not possible to compose a table of ranks. Nor do the Chinese sources speak about their content.

According to S. P. Tolstov <sup>(1130)</sup> the *begs* of the Türk inscriptions were leaders of tribes and the *tarkans* were the *patriciate* standing lower than the *begs*. Below the *kaghan* there was the *yabgu* and the *shad* as his representatives in subject areas. The *tudun* was the representative in less important subject area, not a relative of the *kaghan*. His main function was to collect taxes and check on the local ruler. The rulers of the subject tribes had the title *elteber* and *ydykut* <sup>(1131)</sup>, e.g. there was an *elteber* among the Uighurs (*Bilge-kaghan* inscription) <sup>(1132)</sup>. A. N. Bernshtam gives a different explanation of these terms: <sup>(1133)</sup> *tarkans* are collectors of taxes in the form of products. The *stratas* of the foreign nations that had voluntarily become subjugated had their own *kaghan*, the tribes that were a direct part of the Türk tribal union had at their head an *elteber*.

There is an interesting paragraph in the Chinese annals that states that originally the names of the officials were partly similar to the names derives from physical characteristic (growth, colour of skin, beard, hair) or according to food (meat, wine) or animals (wolf, wild ass). But when they were names associated with a certain office they were not given according to physical characteristics of a certain person but belonged to all who held a certain office <sup>(1134)</sup>.

The context shows that the *kaghan* had a body guard - his *retinue* - whose officers bore the title *böri* (wolf) <sup>(1135)</sup>.

### Explanation of the terms „äl“ and „budun“ and their mutual relationship

The terms „äl“ (or „el“) and „budun“ appear in several places on the *Khöshöö-tsaidam* inscriptions and clearly stand in antithesis. According to the context in which these terms appear on the inscriptions a number of authors have tried to find a solution to their meaning. Some give it a political, other a social content.

The first to deal with this question was V. V. Radlov and V. Thomsen. V. V. Radlov explains *budun* as „nation“ in relation to the *kaghan*. Türk *budun* means, according to him, the Türk dynasty. But *budun* is not nation as a social unit. In that sense the nation is called *äl* (tribes) or *kaghanlyg* (*khandom*) <sup>(1136)</sup>. V. Thomsen understood *budun* likewise as nation generally, in contrast to the ruler, the *kaghan*, but also to the *begs* <sup>(1137)</sup>, i.e. generally in contrast to the aristocracy. *El* he understands as nation (people) or union of nations (what he has in mind are clearly tribes) and he regards „empire“ as the best translation of the term <sup>(1138)</sup>.

S. P. Tolstov formulated the content of the two terms similarly but more precisely. He regarded „state“ in the ancient concept as the most adequate translation of the term „el“, that is, in a political not a territorial meaning. The most adequate term for „budun“, he thinks, is the people, „populus“ <sup>(1139)</sup>. According to A. N. Bernshtam the term „el“ can have more meanings. At the time of *Elterish* and after it, the period to which the *Orkhon* inscriptions relate in which the *kaghan* speaks to his fellow tribesmen, „el“ meant only the aristocracy of all tribes of the union, i.e. the union of *begs* with the *kaghan* standing against the people (*budun*) <sup>(1140)</sup>. Bernshtam's view was taken over by S. V. Kiselev, though in a slightly different formulation in various places, but identical in content <sup>(1141)</sup>.

If we turn to the text of the *Khöshöö-tsaidam* inscriptions, then the sentence „the *kaghan* took the *el* from those who had the *el* and removed the *kaghans* from those who had *kaghans*“ means that *el* here is identified with the state organization, that is again the aristocracy. By removing the *el* and the *kaghan* from a foreign tribe the state organization (or that of the tribe) was upset. But the *budun* remained. In this manner subject tribes were incorporated into the tribal union of the Türks.

Entirely in contrast to this one of the most recent authors to deal with the social system of the Türks, O. Pritsak, regarded el as federation of tribes and budun as tribal union, nation<sup>(1142)</sup>.

## 19. CONCLUSION

Conclusions tend to be general repetitions of the main facts that we encountered in the most important chapters of this study. Mainly those that are a contribution to the existing state of the art, or which by putting the confusion of contradictory assumptions to the test and assembling further reasons help turn the scales in favour of one or other view.

Not everywhere has it been possible to find a final solution and not always do I reach agreement.

The basis for conclusions were always historical texts and archaeological sources. Where I dared into the for me alien field of linguistics I based by views on material of experts giving quotations. I do not insist on them as it is my opinion that they do not represent the most important proofs and that we might do without them.

Liu Mau-tsai in the conclusion of his publication turned upside down the existing ideas of the tributary relationship of the Türks to China. His arguments have been broadened in this study so that today there can be no doubt that, with the exception of the period following the defeat of Xieli, conditions were the very opposite and it simply due to the special mentality of the Türks that they did not make use of their superiority even politically as later the Mongols and Manchurians, and were satisfied merely with the existing state through looting.

Many Türk kaghans were glad to accept the title of vassal of the Chinese emperor or even his son. But to deduce true vassalhood to the Chinese emperor would be a mistake. It was purely self-interest, for it ensured them a rich and regular supply of gifts, particularly silk. The kaghan continued to be entirely independent, received Chinese ambassadors and sometimes dealt with them rudely if he did not like their behaviour or the message they were to deliver or even the gifts they brought. The constant sorties by the „sons“ against the „father“ are a clear proof that they did not in any way feel bound by this union. Even if the Chinese sources describe the Türk products for barter trade as „tributes“, this does not change the matter. Each of the two sides regarded these products as something different. The Chinese as symbols of subjugation. As late as in the 18 century, following Chinese tradition and mentality, the emperor regarded the gifts brought by an embassy of the King of England as a sign of voluntary subjugation and in his letter of reply he gave him orders and threats in case of disobedience. Today this may sound like an anecdote, but it is historical fact.

The territory did not belong to China as is clear from the fact that no Chinese officials were appointed there. When for a transitional period the Türks were subjugated and split up so that they ceased to be dangerous as a whole, their territory was divided into individual prefectures under Chinese administration. Only then can one speak of their subjugation to China. By stages only the hordes along the Yellow River submitted to China, while the Orkhon Türks as such remained independent and attacked the breakway hordes. As late as in 736, that is shortly before the ultimate disaster of the Türks, Emperor Xuanzong, in a letter to Bilge-kaghan's son, labelled the Orkhon Türks as „state“, even though he names him his son in the letter, just like his father Bilge-kaghan.

Ransom from the Chinese side took the form of silk, further gold, gems, luxury articles, symbolical gifts (garments of officials, belts, standards, etc.), and also slaves and finally princesses from the imperial court as bridges for the kaghan.

The Türks willingly adopted certain cultural achievements of the Chinese, but we have stated also the influence of the Türks on the Chinese, mainly their clothing.

It was shown with ultimate validity that the „Orkhon memorials“ and other similar ones are true memorials, not graves of the kaghans and their relatives, as we judged before.

We pointed out similarities between the Türk memorials and Chinese grave objects, but we did not deal with the question who imitated whom. Prime place must be reserved for China, for human and animals figures in graves existed already during the Han dynasty. The Türks kept as form of the grave the stone grave mound, first by cremation, later skeleton burials with the typical burial of a horse. They adopted the form of the Chinese graves with sculpture for other purposes, for the memorials. They acted as seats of the soul of the deceased and for proclaiming his famous deeds, and in the case of the two largest, the memorials of Khöshöö-tsaidam, for political proclamations. These memorials (or at least temples of ancestors) are historically proven for at least the

first half of the 7th in the emperor's reprimand for Xieli that he no longer makes sacrifices in his father's memorial temple.

A separate chapter of this study gave a detailed analysis of the identification of the Ongin memorial with proofs that it is a memorial, in the history of the Orkhon Türks, and therewith China of a very important person, the kaghan Mochuo. The connection between tamgas and the genealogy of the Eastern Türk kaghans of the second kaghanate was outlined with a pointer towards the direction in which further research into the identification of other memorials should be carried out.

It was further shown that the roughly uniform statues by the memorials, the figural balbals, are not portraits of the deceased but symbolical depictions of their most outstanding enemies. We further expressed the theory and presented a number of proofs for it, that the balbals and the figural balbals represent important enemies killed and might thus be given, handed over to deceased.

The study further corrected the dating of several archaeological objects on the basis of changes in dating individual finds, especially pottery, mirrors and coins.

The „Orkhon or Eastern Türk vases“, the characteristic type of pottery belonging to the aristocratic strata, was stipulated as a variant of the basic form of contemporary pottery, which was widespread over a larger area.

In material culture strong signs of a syncretic Iranian-Chinese are were ascertained.

A problem for the archaeology of the Orkhon Türks remains that of the graves of simple nomads and also of the kaghans. Including the subsidiary graves as proofs of human sacrifice, found also elsewhere at the time.

In the religious ideas of the Eastern Türks certain aspects were found that they have in common with primitive Chinese religions. The following are characteristic expressions of Türk religious ideas: worship of nature, cult of ancestors based on animism and the idea of two souls, and shamanism.

In economic life the incorrect over-estimation of the role of agriculture among the Orkhon Türks was pointed out. In the social system the role of slavery and the mistaken interpretation of certain archaeological phenomena and historical facts in support of the groundless hypothesis about the feudal character of advanced Türk society.

It was shown on the basis of archaeological and historical data that the existence of the Orkhon Türks in Mongolia did not come to an end with their defeat and the victory of the Uighurs in 745. A number of traditions from the Türk period were still extant in Mongolia in the Middle Ages and among the Türk tribes of Central Asia and southern Siberia they survived until a recent period.

## 20. ANNOTATIONS AND NOTES

1. Zhou-shu and Sui-shu; Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 5, 40.
2. Munkácsi 1921-1925.
3. Thomsen 1924, 122.
4. Bartold 1935, 33.
5. Németh 1926-1932 b.
6. Bazin 1953.
7. Bazin 1953, 319-322.
8. Bartold 1935, 33.
9. Tolstov 1938 b, 81; Potapov 1952, 22, 25; Kiselev 1951, 501; Kononov 1949.
10. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 519.
11. In all his writings given in the bibliography.
12. Le Coq 1909.
13. Németh 1926-1932 a.
14. Hamilton 1955.
15. Gabain 1953.
16. On the Kül-tegin and Bilge-kaghan inscriptions; See Thomsen 1924, 145.
17. Radlov 1909, 1213.
18. Radlov 1897, III.
19. Thomsen 1916, 20.
20. See the map of the extent of the Türk „rune“ script in Bernshtam, 10.
21. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 5, 181.
22. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 5.
23. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 5-6.
24. Some scholars regard the Rouran or Ruanruan as Avars, the „true“ Avars, who after the defeat escaped to the Chinese by contrast to the „Pseudo-Avars“, who moved in a westerly direction as far as south-eastern Europe. See Chavannes on this matter, 1903, 229-233 and Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 488-489.
25. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 5.
26. Chavannes 1903, 235.
27. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 5, 40.
28. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 6.
29. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 6.
30. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 7.
31. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 7.
32. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 10-11.
33. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 45-46.
34. Source of the Jiu Tang-shu; Chavannes 1903, 217.
35. Source Tang-shu; Chavannes 1903, 217.
36. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 358, 519; Chavannes 1903, 13, 49.
37. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 358-359.
38. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 1.
39. Chavannes 1903 and 1904.
40. Chavannes 1903, 21, 47; Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 358.
41. Chavannes 1903, 37, 67, 268.
42. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 119-120.
43. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 143.
44. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 194.
45. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 151.
46. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 148.
47. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 195-196.
48. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 196-197.
49. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 155-156.
50. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 156.
51. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 157.
52. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 157, 210.
53. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 157.
54. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 158.
55. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 159, 250, 594, 251.
56. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 169, 438-439.
57. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 169.
58. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 163, 605.
59. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 161, 599-601.
60. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 171.
61. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 171-175.
62. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 300.
63. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 231, 373, 383.
64. No quotation.
65. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 261.
66. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 262.
67. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 262.
68. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 671.
69. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 262, 672.
70. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 390-391.
71. Potapov 1953, 83.
72. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 8.
73. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 132.
74. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 163, 605.
75. Thomsen 1924, 141.
76. Thomsen 1924, 141.
77. Thomsen 1924, 142.
78. Thomsen 1924, 149.
79. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 156, 209.
80. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 354.
81. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 460, 585.
82. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 355.
83. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 722-723, 355.
84. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 723.
85. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 44.
86. Thomsen 1896, 152.
87. Hirth 1899, 34.
88. Melioranskii 1898, 270.
89. Pelliot 1929 b, 217.
90. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 10.
91. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 10.
92. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 501.
93. Poucha 1956, 182.
94. Thomsen 1924, 163; Radlov 1899, 5.
95. Thomsen 1924, 164.
96. Thomsen 1924, 164.
97. Radlov 1899, 36.
98. Radlov 1899, 44.
99. Radlov 1895, 211, 432.
100. Schlegel 1896, 112-113.
101. Melioranskii 1898, 270.
102. Chavannes 1903, 14.
103. Chavannes 1903, 96.
104. Chavannes 1913, 790.
105. Radlov 1895, 211; Melioranskii 1898, 270.
106. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 722.
107. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 722.
108. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 586.
109. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 10.
110. The inscriptions were last translated by Malov 1951, 46-53.
111. Thomsen 1924, 164.
112. Pritsak 1952, 51.
113. Ramstedt 1914 b, 40, 43, 44; Malov 1959, 30-44.
114. Thomsen 1896, 152.
115. Pelliot 1929 b, 218.
116. Potapov 1952, 19.
117. Kyzlasov 1960 b, 147; Vainshtein 1957 a, 183.
118. Vainshtein 1957 a, 183.
119. Tang-shu enumerates these tribes: Huihe, Bayegu, Axie, Tongluo, Pugu and Boxi (Xi) - Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 721.
120. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 354.
121. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 355.
122. See Jisl 1961a, 54-56; 1960 c, tab. 12-14; 1961 b, tab. 12-14.
123. Kiselev 1957, 97-98; Iz istorii kitaiskoi cherepicy, Sovetskaya arkhologiiya 1959/3, 159-178, 173.
124. Chavannes 1903, 21, 47.

125. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 168.  
 126. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 161-162.  
 127. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 602.  
 128. Pritsak 1952, 52-53.  
 129. Thomsen 1896, 147-148.  
 130. Radlov 1895, 425.  
 131. Radlov 1895, 427-428.  
 132. Bartold 1935, 34.  
 133. Potapov 1952, 25.  
 134. Geschichte der Völker.... 1945-1946, 97-98.  
 135. Bang 1898 a, 53.  
 136. Thomsen 1924, 154.  
 137. Bang 1898 a, 43.  
 138. According to Pritsak, the term „oq-ship“ was used in the Türk inscriptions to designate the tribe. Pritsak 1952, 53.  
 139. Hamilton 1955, 1; Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 491.  
 140. Hamilton 1955, 61.  
 141. See Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 127.  
 142. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 591-592.  
 143. See in Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 128.  
 144. Potapov 1952, 19, 24.  
 145. Thomsen 1924, 147.  
 146. Radlov 1895, 426.  
 147. Bernshtam 1946 a, 79, 80.  
 148. Thomsen 1896, 146-147.  
 149. Thomsen 1924, 174.  
 150. Pritsak 1952, 57.  
 151. Klyukin 1932, passim, esp. 97.  
 152. Potapov 1952, 27-32.  
 153. Ramstedt 1914 b, 40.  
 154. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 371.  
 155. Grach 1961, 79.  
 156. According to the characterization of Vlček.  
 157. Ginzburg 1960, esp. 9-10.  
 158. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 528.  
 159. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 8, 41; Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1947, 695; beifa - „the hair hanging dishevelled down the back“.  
 160. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 495.  
 161. Eberhard 1942, 57.  
 162. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 53, 528-529.  
 163. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 315.  
 164. Bichurin 1950, II, 254.  
 165. Chavannes 1903, 194.  
 166. Zhivopis drevnego Pyandjikenta 1954, 120, 121.  
 167. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 8, 42, 502.  
 168. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 165, 369.  
 169. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 5.  
 170. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 87, 194.  
 171. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 318.  
 172. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 42, 502.  
 173. Pelliot 1929 b, 246-248.  
 174. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 388.  
 175. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 8, 41.  
 176. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 41, 499.  
 177. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 8.  
 178. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 149.  
 179. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 309.  
 180. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 149.  
 181. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 382.  
 182. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 502.  
 183. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 318.  
 184. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 318.  
 185. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 112.  
 186. One concrete example: „Shetu, Datou, Abo, Tuli and others, who are related as uncle, nephews and brothers... were very suspicious and jealous among one another, yet outwardly they presented a joint front. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 98.  
 187. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 47.  
 188. Vambéry 1899, 6.  
 189. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 140-141.  
 190. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 12.  
 191. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 258.  
 192. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 139-141.  
 193. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 155-156.  
 194. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 496, 41.  
 195. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 56.  
 196. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 452.  
 197. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 283.  
 198. Kiselev 1951, 527.  
 199. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 8, 41, 62.  
 200. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 62.  
 201. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 62.  
 202. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 315.  
 203. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 13.  
 204. Wang Ziyun 1957, tab. 20/1-14.  
 205. Kiselev 1951, tab. LVIII/8.  
 206. Kyzlasov 1960 a, tab. 1/20; Vainshtein 1954, tab. VIII/9; Grach 1960 b, 125, fig. 66; 141, fig. 98, 99.  
 207. Kibirov 1957, fig. 4.  
 208. Vainshtein 1958, 218-219.  
 209. Grach 1960 b, 121.  
 210. Yevtyukhova - Kiselev 1941, 110, fig. 51.  
 211. Grach 1960 b, 125.  
 212. Gabain 1953, 554.  
 213. Radlov 1895, passim.  
 214. Brockelmann 1952, 140-141.  
 215. Gabain 1953, 554.  
 216. Kiselev 1951, 536.  
 217. Thomsen 1913-1918, 8.  
 218. Malov 1952.  
 219. Malov 1952, 17.  
 220. Malov 1952, 17.  
 221. Malov 1952, 26-27.  
 222. Malov 1952, 46.  
 223. Malov 1952, 97.  
 224. Malov 1952, 95.  
 225. Chavannes 1904, 36.  
 226. Pelliot 1929 a, 145-146.  
 227. Csallány 1968, esp. fig. 2 and 3.  
 228. Csallány 1968, 459-460.  
 229. Csallány 1968, 460.  
 230. In the oldest period a fire was started by rubbing two pieces of wood together in a small pit. (Vainshtein - Dyakonova 1960, 197; Rudenko-Glukhov 1927, 44, fig. 11); See tab. 131 A.  
 231. Yevtyukhova-Kiselev 1941, 105 f.  
 232. Yevtyukhova-Kiselev 1941, 114.  
 233. Grach 1960 b, 125, fig. 67, 68.  
 234. Grach 1961, 66.  
 235. See Jisl 1960 c, tab. 102, 135.  
 236. Radlov-Melioranskii 1897, 9.  
 237. Kovalevskii 1956, 128.  
 238. Jisl 1960 c, tab. 114, 102, 103.  
 239. Vainshtein 1954, 151-152, tab. VIII/1.  
 240. Yevtyukhova 1952, passim.  
 241. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 8, 41.  
 242. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 10.  
 243. Both poems were translated by Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 471-472.  
 244. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 8.  
 245. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 181, 168, 269, 173.  
 246. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 168.  
 247. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 181.  
 248. Here it means fortified town; in the Tang-shu (Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 224) the text of this passage is

- changed in the following sense: „When Mojilian wanted to enclose his residence with a wall and build Buddhist and Taoist temples there...“
249. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 173, 224.
  250. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 176.
  251. Chavannes 1903, *passim*.
  252. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 41, 384, 499, 130.
  253. Tsalkin 1952.
  254. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 453.
  255. Okladnikov 1948, 11; 1951 b; 1959, 112; Okladnikov-Zaporozhskaya 1959, 113-114.
  256. Bichurin 1950, I, 348.
  257. Bichurin 1950, I, 349.
  258. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 499, 41, 130.
  259. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 39.
  260. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 39, 41.
  261. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 39.
  262. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9.
  263. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 41.
  264. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 41, 283, 513.
  265. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 41.
  266. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9.
  267. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 130.
  268. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 41, 269, 276, 278, 383.
  269. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 356-357.
  270. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 81.
  271. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 130, 430.
  272. Thomsen 1924, 151; Malov 1951, 40.
  273. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 40, 283.
  274. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 153, 99.
  275. Chavannes 1904, 6, 8.
  276. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 283.
  277. Gumilev 1949.
  278. Kyzlasov 1960 a, 62; Grach-Nechayeva 1960, 191, tab. III/5; Grach 1961, 20-21, fig. 7-10.
  279. Grach 1960 b, 130, fig. 77.
  280. Further also Gryaznov 1940, fig. 5, 6.
  281. Kyzlasov 1960 a, tab. I/11; Vainshtein 1954, 148, tab. VIII/8; Grach 1960 b, 121, 125, 137, 141, fig. 86, 97.
  282. Levasheva 1952, 133.
  284. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 56, 136, 185.
  285. Tuva, Kok-El: 1, 46 m (Vainshtein-Dyakonova 1960, 197); Mongun-Taiga: 1, 40 m (Grach 1960 b, 125). Altai, Kurai IV: 1, 10 m (Yevtyukhova-Kiselev 1941, 110), generally for the Altai Kiselev gives the length of the bow as 1.25 m, in another place as 1.35 m. (Kiselev 1951, 511, 534).
  286. For example Kyzlasov 1960 a, 54; Grach 1960 b, 125, fig. 65, 141, fig. 96; Levasheva 1952, 133; Kiselev 1951, tab. LIX/21, 25, 28.
  287. Poucha 1956, 142.
  288. Vainshtein 1961, 48-50.
  289. Vainshtein, fig. 16.
  290. Kurai IV/1-Yevtyukhova-Kiselev 1941, 110; Kiselev 1951, 540.
  291. Kara-Chooga - Vainshtein 1954, 152.
  292. Rudenko-Glukhov 1927, 45.
  293. Vainshtein-Dyakonova 1960, 197; Vainshtein 1954, 148, tab. VIII/4; Grach 1960 b, fig. 64.
  294. Levasheva 1952, 133.
  295. Grach 1960 b, 130, fig. 76.
  296. Rudenko-Glukhov 1927, 45.
  297. Borovka 1927, 45.
  298. Grach-Nechayeva 1960, 191, tab. III/8; Vainshtein-Dyakonova 1960, 197; Vainshtein 1958, 219, tab. IV/126.
  299. Kiselev 1951, 521.
  300. Zakharov 1926, 100.
  301. Kyzlasov 1960 a, 54.
  302. Kiselev 1951, 520-521.
  303. Kyzlasov 1960 a, 64.
  304. Kurai IV/1 - Kiselev 1951, 538.
  305. Jisl 1960 c, tab. 102.
  306. Kotwicz 1928, 265.
  307. Jaworski 1928.
  308. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 228.
  309. Pelliot 1929 b, 235.
  310. Kotwicz 1938, 163.
  311. Des Rotours 1947-1948, 530-531.
  312. Malov 1959, 63-68, fig. 14. Kiselev regards the stick as Kirghizian - Kiselev 1949, 41.
  313. Vainshtein-Dyakonova 1960, 197.
  314. Grach 1960 b, 139, fig. 86.
  315. Yevtyukhova-Kiselev 1941, 113.
  316. Orbeli-Treuer 1935, tab. 21; Dyakonov 1954, 137.
  317. Thomsen 1924, 156.
  318. Borovka 1927, 74.
  319. Yevtyukhova 1957, 212-214.
  320. Kiselev 1951, 518.
  321. Kiselev 1951, 518.
  322. For example Kyzlasov 1960 a, tab. I/12; Grach 1960 b, 123, 141, 129, fig. 59, 95; Levasheva 1952.
  323. Apart from the samples depicted on the tables see also for example Kyzlasov 1960 a, tab. I/10; Levasheva 1952.
  324. See Kyzlasov 1960 a, tab. I/4; Yevtyukhova-Kiselev 1941, 100; Grach-Nechayeva 1960, 191; Grach 1960 b, 125, 139, fig. 89.
  325. Yevtyukhova-Kiselev 1941, fig. 41.
  326. Kiselev 1951, tab. LIX/30, LVII/9; Levasheva 1952.
  327. Kiselev 1951, 439.
  328. Bernshtam 1930, 77.
  329. Further for example Kyzlasov 1960 a, tab. I/9; Vainshtein 1958, tab. IV/124; Kiselev 1951, tab. XLVIII/2.
  330. Kyzlasov 1960 a, 54; Vainshtein 1954, 148.
  331. On this see Kyzlasov 1951 b.
  332. Bernshtam 1930, tab. XXIX/1.
  333. Grakov B., *Monuments de la culture scythique entre le Volga et les monts Oural. Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua III*, 1928, 25-62.
  334. Stankevich, Ya. V., *Shestovitskoye poseleniye i mogilnik po materialam raspokop 1946 goda. Kratkie soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniyakh Instituta materialnoi kultury 87*, 1962, 6-30, fig. 8/1.
  335. Treuer 1940 a.
  336. Treuer 1940 a, 19.
  337. See for example Orbeli-Treuer 1935, tab. 23, 35, 40, 43, 48.
  338. Treuer 1940 a, 18.
  339. Treuer 1940 a, 19.

340. Okladnikov 1951 b, 150 (according Bichurin).
341. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 122.
342. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 130.
343. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 173, 224; 174.
344. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 117.
345. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 274, 508.
346. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 285, 298, 508.
347. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 52.
348. See the Kül-tegin inscription, Thomsen 1924, 152.
349. Thomsen 1924, 154.
350. Giraud 1961, 60, 62, 63, 64.
351. Thomsen 1924, 152, 166.
352. Thomsen 1924, 155.
353. According to the table in: Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 433-439 - my addition.
354. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 19.
355. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 11.
356. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 43.
357. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 181.
358. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 132.
359. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 154.
360. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 169.
361. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 442-443.
362. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 329.
363. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 116.
364. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 117.
365. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 194.
366. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 217, 162.
367. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 162.
368. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 163, 217-218.
369. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 163, 312.
370. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 80-81.
371. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 13.
372. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 74.
373. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 45, 100.
374. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 111.
375. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 75.
376. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 136.
377. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 138, 189, 236.
378. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 284.
379. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 291.
380. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 343.
381. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 157, 210.
382. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 157, 247, 297.
383. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 249.
384. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 250.
385. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 159, 594, 251.
386. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 159,
- 251.
387. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 219.
388. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 164.
389. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 256.
390. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 175.
391. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 65, 129.
392. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 129.
393. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 188, 235.
394. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 329.
395. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 17, 447.
396. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 18, 447.
397. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 18, 448.
398. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 30, 31, 448.
399. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 16, 448.
400. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 97-98.
401. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 67, 448.
402. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 70, 448.
403. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 70, 448.
404. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 237, 448.
405. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 188.
406. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 280, 448.
407. Elaborated according to the table compiled by Liu Mau-tsai 1958, on the basis of historical reports (pp. 433-439) and a map of the assaulted places. Thomsen 1924, 141.
408. Thomsen 1924, 145-146.
409. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 87.
410. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 87.
411. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 57-58.
412. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 87-88, 91, 552.
413. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 97.
414. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 98-99.
415. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 99.
416. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 99.
417. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 100.
418. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 100-101.
419. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 293.
420. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 285-286.
421. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 298-299.
422. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 339.
423. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 165.
424. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 166.
425. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 107.
426. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 141, 192.
427. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 144,
428. Let us call to mind similar problems and similar solutions in the Roman provinces in the early Roman period!
429. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 149-151, 198-199, 344-345.
430. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 151, 200.
431. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 151, 203.
432. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 332.
433. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 129.
434. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 7, 14, 44, 57, 85, 103-104, 175, 165, 169.
435. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 11, 12, 20, 161, 164.
436. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 11, 15, 25.
437. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 12, 15, 20.
438. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 84, 548-549.
439. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 363.
440. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 73, 84, 181, 132-133.
441. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 113.
442. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 114.
443. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 377-378.
444. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 160-161, 215.
445. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 70, 87.
446. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 70.
447. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 82-83, 85, 92.
448. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 118-119.
449. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 51.
450. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 336, 355-356.
451. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 44-45, 134, 162-163, 602.
452. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 358.
453. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 7, 11, 14, 15, 16, 93, 123, 155, 164, 66, 68, 69, 208, 229.
454. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 56.
455. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 56.
456. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 136, 185.
457. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 56.
458. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 68.
459. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 245.
460. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 56.
461. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 538.
462. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 141, 238.
463. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 7.
464. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 7.
465. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 51.
466. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 61.
467. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 178.

468. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 78.  
469. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 164, 219.  
470. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 13, 15, 16.  
471. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 277.  
472. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 12, 14, 17, 19, 31, 101, 93, 71, 152, 239, 176, 218.  
473. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 17, 31, 54, 55, 134.  
474. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 490.  
475. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 56.  
476. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 188-189.  
477. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 179.  
478. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 121.  
479. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 179.  
480. To this day silk is an object of lively interest among the Mongols, who use it to make garments for men and women. Materials with specially woven patterns, all in circular shape, are made for the Mongols in China (and also in Russia). It would be interesting to trace whether this liking for circular patterns dates back to the Türk period, when such patterns, then adopted from Iran, were also popular among the Türk nomads.  
481. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 54.  
482. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 55.  
483. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 61.  
484. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 63; another source gives 20 000 - Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 538.  
485. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 160.  
486. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 380.  
487. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 123.  
488. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 139, 190.  
489. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 51.  
490. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 55.  
491. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 64. It should be recorded here that there are several mentions that during the Türk invasions they stole horses from the imperial stud-farms.  
492. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 153.  
493. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 99.  
494. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 277.  
495. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 701.  
496. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 70.  
497. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 64.  
498. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 270.  
499. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 102.  
500. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 134, 182.  
501. Thomsen 1924, 156.  
502. Thomsen 1924, 158.  
503. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 43.  
504. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 574.  
505. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 184.  
506. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 277.  
507. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 195, 286.  
508. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 326, 701.  
509. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 365-367.  
510. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 378-380.  
511. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 380.  
512. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 61.  
513. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 381.  
514. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 161, 601, 216, 603.  
515. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 402-417.  
516. Chavannes 1903, 154, 165; 1904, 48, 49, 29, 36, 46, 48, 66, 42, 32, 45, 85, 92.  
517. Chavannes 1904, 6.  
518. Chavannes 1904, 8.  
519. Chavannes 1903, 39, 55.  
520. Okladnikov-Zaporozhskaya 1959, 127-128; Okladnikov 1959, 152.  
521. From the 3rd century raw material supplied from China was worked in Iran, but from the 4th century there existed already independent local production of silk from their own silkworms. (Rebel 1927, 55-56).  
522. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 467.  
523. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 308-309.  
524. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 310.  
525. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 13.  
526. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 151, 200, 344.  
527. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 544.  
528. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 70.  
529. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 106.  
530. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 111.  
531. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 244.  
532. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 312.  
533. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 363.  
534. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 50.  
535. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 194.  
536. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 603.  
537. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 183, 633.  
538. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 142, 194.  
539. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 87.  
540. Chavannes 1903, 300.  
541. Glück 1927.  
542. Glück 1927, 30.  
543. Glück 1927, 30.  
544. Orbeli-Trever 1935, XIII.  
545. Kiselev 1951, 603.  
546. Borovka 1927, 65-66.  
547. Borovka 1927, 65.  
548. Borovka 1927, 67.  
549. Borovka 1927, 65.  
550. Yevtyukhova 1957, 212.  
551. Yevtyukhova 1957, 212.  
552. Kyzlasov 1960 a, fig. 7.  
553. Kyzlasov 1960 a, 67.  
554. Bernshtam 1930, tab. LXVI/4.  
555. Yevtyukhova 1957, 211-212.  
556. Borovka 1927, 66.  
557. Further depiction in: Heikel 1912, fig. Tallgren A. M., Collection Tovostine, fig. 80.  
558. Yevtyukhova 1938, 115.  
559. Bernshtam 1946 a, 120.  
560. Kyzlasov 1960 a, 54.  
561. Kyzlasov 1953, 71; 1960 a, 150.  
562. Yevtyukhova 1957, 222.  
563. Kiselev 1951, 526.  
564. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 10.  
565. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 501-502.  
566. Kiselev 1951, tab. LIII/14. Animal astragals, sometimes with characters similar to the Old Türk alphabet, were found already in the Tashkit graves on the Yenisei. Kiselev 1951, 463, tab. XXXVIII/14-18.  
567. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 501-502.  
568. Gryaznov 1961.  
569. Baruzdin 1962, 12; Kiselev 1951, 9, tab. LIII/13, LIV/9.  
570. Bernshtam 1940.  
571. Tamgas from the Hun-Sarmatian period were depicted by Kiselev, 1951, tab. XLV.  
572. Luvsandendev A., Mongol-oros tol, Moskva 1957, 388.  
573. Luvsandendev A., Mongol-oros tol, Moskva 1957, 388.  
574. Poucha depicted a whole series of Mongolian tamgas on the skin of cattle (1957, 122). It is interesting and it is a further proof of the continuity of

- tradition dating back to the Türk period that among them are several Old Türk characters, e. g. no. 33, 34, 54, 58, 59, 66, 67, 70, 88.
575. Radlov 1895, 38-39.  
576. Radlov 1895, 330.  
577. Bichurin 1950, I, 215.  
578. Radlov 1909, I, 1216.  
579. Radlov 1895, 248.  
580. Radlov 1895, 257.  
581. Radlov 1895, 30.  
582. Radlov 1895, 125, 394; 1897, 53, 175.  
583. Rygdylon 1954.  
584. Rygdylon 1954, 65.  
585. Radlov 1895, 330.  
586. Rygdylon 1954, 72.  
587. Rygdylon 1954, fig. 2.  
588. Radlov 1892, 8.  
589. Dorj 1962, 53.  
590. Grach 1957, 410.  
591. Kyzlasov 1960 c, esp. 106 ff.  
592. Bernshtam 1946 a, 74-75.  
593. Radlov 1892-1899, tab. XIV/3.  
594. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 41.  
595. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 49.  
596. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 10.  
597. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 520.  
598. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 473-474.  
599. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 41.  
600. Malov 1959, 63-68, fig. 14.  
601. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9.  
602. Potapov 1952, 22.  
603. Hirth 1899, 115; Gabain 1954, 164; Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 34.  
604. Thomsen 1896, 44-54.  
605. Thomsen 1896, 49.  
606. Donner 1896, drew attention to the fact that the Türk script was based on still older patterns than on the Aramean-Arshakidean coins and that its basis was a still older Aramean form than the Arshakidean alphabet. Donner 1896, 44.  
607. Grousset 1929, 255.  
608. Emre 1938, 40.  
609. T'oung-pao XXXV; Räsänen 1946-1947, 7.  
610. Tolstov 1938 c, 191.  
611. Bartold 1935, 15.  
612. Kiselev 1951, 463, 507.  
613. Kiselev 1951, 467-468.  
614. A summary of views as to dating in: Kyzlasov 1960 c, 94-96; he himself dates the oldest to the 7th century. Kyzlasov 1960 c, 96.  
615. Vainshtein 1957 b, 217.  
616. Kyzlasov 1960 c, esp. 97, 117.  
617. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 144.  
618. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 345.  
619. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 267.  
620. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 714.  
621. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 714.  
622. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 466-467.  
623. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 51.  
624. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 53.  
625. Bichurin 1950, I, 216.  
626. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 704, 467.  
627. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 463.  
628. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 463.  
629. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 10, 463.  
630. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 50, 463.  
631. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 67, 463.  
632. Hirth 1899, 122.  
633. Hirth 1899, 125.  
634. Chavannes 1906, esp. 117, 122.  
635. Chavannes 1906, 122.  
636. Halévy 1906, *passim*.  
637. Halévy 1906, 295.  
638. Laufer 1909, esp. 71.  
639. Boll 1912.  
640. Bartold 1935, 32.  
641. Pelliot 1929 b, 204-212.  
642. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 528.  
643. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 640.  
644. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 644.  
645. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 10.  
646. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 5, 6, 40.  
647. Bichurin 1950, I, 215.  
648. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 83, 85, 40, 238.  
649. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 181, 460.  
650. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 460.  
651. Poucha 1956, 37-39.  
652. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 10.  
653. Translations of the inscriptions in: Radlov 1895, 260-268; Malov 1959, 46-54.  
654. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 42.  
655. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 686.  
656. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 458.  
657. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 50, 458, 751.  
658. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 50.  
659. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 656, 752, 458.  
660. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 38.  
661. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 20, 458.  
662. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 107, 458.  
663. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 117, 459.  
664. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 52.  
665. Thomsen 1924, 140; Radlov 1897, 150.  
666. Thomsen 1924, 144.  
667. Thomsen 1924, 143.  
668. Giraud 1961, 59.  
669. Thomsen 1924, 156.  
670. Thomsen 1924, 142.  
671. Thomsen 1924, 148.  
672. Thomsen 1924, 147.  
673. Thomsen 1924, 147.  
674. Thomsen 1924, 156.  
675. Thomsen 1924, 149 (The Bilge-kaghan inscriptions).  
676. Thomsen 1924, 163.  
677. Thomsen 1924, 164; Giraud 1961, 60.  
678. Thomsen 1924, 170; Giraud 1961, 64.  
679. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 10, 459.  
680. Thomsen 1924, 143.  
681. Thomsen 1924, 154.  
682. Thomsen 1924, 149.  
683. The Tonyukuk inscription. Thomsen 1924, 168; Giraud 1961, 63.  
684. Thomsen 1924, 157.  
685. Thomsen 1924, 146.  
686. Radlov 1895, 240; Kyzlasov 1949, 53.  
687. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 181.  
688. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 10.  
689. The Bilge-kaghan inscription. Thomsen 1924, 143.  
690. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 8, 496.  
691. Thomsen 1924, 144-145.  
692. Poucha 1956, 178-179.  
693. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 499.  
694. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 610, 697.  
695. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 320.  
696. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 335.  
697. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 8.  
698. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 460.  
699. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 459-460.  
700. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 462.  
701. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 42, 502.  
702. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 183.  
703. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 267.  
704. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 677.  
705. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 506-507.  
706. Roux 1958 b.  
707. See Thomsen 1924, 146.  
708. Roux 1958 b, 444.  
709. Bartold 1935, 17; Roux 1958 a, 136.

710. Roux 1958 a, 142.
711. For example Jisl, *Sbírka tibetského umění Slezského musea v Opavě I. Časopis Slezského musea v Opavě III*, 1953, 25-31, 28-29, tab. IV.
712. For example Poucha 1957, fig. 75 centre.
713. See for example Jisl 1961 b, tab. 89.
714. First published by Thomsen 1912, 190-196.
715. Roux 1958 a, 137. Thomsen 1912, 195 dates it to the early 9th century.
716. Roux 1958 a, 137.
717. See Thomsen 1912, 69-70; Malov 1952, 50.
718. Radlov 1895, 330 reads the part mentioned in a quite different sense. Radlov 1895, 330.
719. Kyzlasov 1949.
720. Rudenko-Glukhov 1957, 51.
721. Kiselev 1951, 499.
722. Potapov 1953, 92.
723. Rudenko-Glukhov 1927, 52.
724. Potapov 1953, 92.
725. Kyzlasov 1949, 53-54.
726. Kiselev 1938, 241; 1951, 499.
727. See Trever 1939, 266.
728. See for example Orbeli-Trever 1935, tab. I.
729. Depicted in: Ivanov 1957.
730. Kiselev 1951, tab. XLV/3.
731. Appelgren-Kivalo 1931, fig. 145, 151, 178, 284, 311; Gryaznov-Shneider 1929, tab. II/15, 19, III/27, IV/32, 33, 36, V/38.
732. Chavannes 1903, 227.
733. Vambéry 1885, 13; Chavannes 1903, 235.
734. Chavannes 1903, 235.
735. Eberhard 1942, 53.
736. Potapov 1952, 24.
737. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 173, 224.
738. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 462.
739. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 38-39, 518-519, 462. Liu Mau-tsai (p. 518) stipulated the year 572 as the date when the temple was finished, basing himself on surviving texts of the inscription on the stele once located in the temple. Historical Chinese sources give an even earlier period between the years 553-556; that date is also given by Gabain 1954, 163. It was, in every case, for gaghan Muhan (553-572).
740. About him Chavannes 1905 b, 345.
741. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 43.
742. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 34.
743. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 43.
744. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 36-38; Chavannes 1905 b; Gabain 1954.
745. The same history repeated later among the Mongols. Buddhist temples were already standing in the Karakorum, Buddhism was even proclaimed the official religion under Khubilai; after the fall Mongolian dynasty, however, it vanished entirely and was reintroduced only in 1586. Jisl 1961 b, 14-15. It can be seen in both cases that Buddhism was clearly adopted only by the upper strata and did not assert itself against shamanism among the common people.
746. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 173, 224.
747. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9-10.
748. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 42.
749. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 500.
750. Its 1958 a, 102 translates here: „He is building a house of timber by the grave.“
751. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 500.
752. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 283.
753. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 25.
754. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 387-388.
755. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 228, 620.
756. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 179.
757. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 228-229.
758. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 260.
759. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 179; the same with only stylistic deviations also in Tangshu, Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 229.
760. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 95.
761. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 128.
762. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 197.
763. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 145.
764. For example Gumilev contra Yevtyukhova, see below.
765. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 193.
766. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 464.
767. Radlov 1895, 330.
768. Thomsen 1916, 69-70; Malov 1952, 50.
769. Thomsen 1924, 158.
770. Chavannes 1903, 240-241.
771. *Zhivopis drevnego Pyandjikenta 111-112*, tab. XIX-XXII.
772. Kiselev 1951, 472, 493, 497.
773. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 128.
774. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 491.
775. Kyzlasov 1960 a, 53.
776. Gryaznov 1940, 18-19.
777. Gryaznov 1940, 19.
778. Potapov 1953, 87.
779. Bernshtam 1930, 80.
780. Burials with horses a characteristic features for the Altai and Tuvian Türks, see the following works: Kyzlasov 1960 a, esp. p. 51, 53; 1960 c, 99; Vainshtein 1958, 233; Kiselev 1936, esp. p. 282; 1951, 9, 530; Kibirov 1957, 86. See about it tab. 137-139, 147.
781. Similarly see Swallow R. W., *Ancient Chinese Bronze Mirrors*, Peiping 1937, fig. 28.
782. Grach 1961.
783. Yevtyukhova 1957, 212, 216.
784. August B., *Čínské mincovnictví*, Praha 1939, 14-15.
785. Münsterberg O., *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte II*, Esslingen a. N., 1912, 162, fig. 272-273.
786. The text of the stele in: Malov 1959, 39.
787. Okladnikov 1956, 98; 1951 a, 449.
788. Kyzlasov 1960 b, 147-149.
789. Bichurin 1950, 1, 216.
790. Kyzlasov 1960 a, 54; Vainshtein 1954, 148.
791. Tuva: Kyzlasov 1960 a, 54; Vainshtein 1958, 218; Altai: Yevtyukhova-Kiselev 1941, 95, 97, 101, 110; Gryaznov 1940, 19; likewise among the Kirghiz, where no skull was ever found as it will have been hung up on a pole: Yevtyukhova 1938, 111; Kiselev 1946, 72. See tab. 154/3.

792. Yadrintsev, 1901.
793. Radlov-Melioranskii 1897, 7.
794. Radlov-Melioranskii 1897, 13.
795. Thomsen 1924, 138.
796. Kotwicz 1928, 262.
797. Granö 1912-1913 b, 48.
798. Bernshtam 1946 a, passim; esp. 66-67, 77; 1954, 282. Gumilev 1959, 114; Gabain 1953, 540.
799. Yevtyukhova 1941, 233; 1952, 509; Kiselev 1951, 509.
800. Potapov 1953, 86.
801. Yevtyukhova-Kiselev 1941, esp. 114-117.
802. Yevtyukhova 1941, 130-131.
803. Yevtyukhova 1952, 114; 1941, 131-132.
804. Yevtyukhova-Kiselev 1941, 114; Kiselev 1951, 545.
805. Yevtyukhova-Kiselev 1941, 114-116; Kiselev 1951, 545.
806. Gryaznov 1940, 19, fig. 4.
807. Grach 1961, 19-20, fig. 5-6.
808. Grach 1961, 20-21, fig. 7-10.
809. Grach 1961, 32-33, fig. 45, 46.
810. Grach 1961, 33-34, fig. 47, 48.
811. Grach 1961, 35-36, fig. 51-55.
812. Grach 1961, 37, fig. 57-62.
813. Kyzlasov 1960 a, 62.
814. Kyzlasov 1960 a, 64-68.
815. Kotwicz 1915, p. VI; Kotwicz-Samoilovitch 1928, 83-84.
816. Kotwicz-Samoilovitch 1928, 85, note 38 a.
817. Vladimirtsov 1927, 40.
818. Vladimirtsov 1927, 41-42.
819. Kotwicz-Samoilovitch 1928, 91.
820. Paulson-Hultkranz-Jettmar 1962, 334.
821. See the definition of Paulson-Hultkranz-Jettmar 1962, 257.
822. Cenotaphs- grave mounds at Tuva: Grach described the grave mounds - cenotaphs at Mongun-Taiga in Tuva. In one of them a horse was buried lying in the north-south direction, the head to the north, and beside it lay a pile of objects covered with a piece of cloth. It contained a quiver of birch bark with seven armour-plate, inside the quiver 18 treble-winged iron arrow-points with whistling bullets. On top of the quiver lay a Chinese coin of the Tang dynasty. Further, there were garments of sheepskin and marmot fur sown to a felt base with a lining of Chinese silk. Then there was a belt with bronze plaques, two knives, a bow with bone plates on the handle and a wooden stick with a bone top. A further group of objects comprised remnants of a wooden dish with bones of a sheep's foot, a jug with an alloy of silver, 2 harness buckles and a curb. By the skeleton of the horse two iron stirrups. (Grach 1960 b, 129-139).
- In another grave mound the skeleton of the horse had the head to the north and by it there again was a pile of objects: bones of a ram's foot, 2 stirrups, a pile of triple-bladed arrow points, some whistling bullets, 3 iron buckles, a curb, all wrapped in felt. On top there was a knife in a wooden sheath, 2 bone plates from the handle of a bow, etc. No remnants of the corpse were found. When the pile of objects was analyzed, it was found that they were placed on a figurine, which had a „body“ of a bundle of grass and was wrapped in Chinese silk. The whole was covered in felt and girdled with a belt. In the grave - the cenotaph - this figure clearly took the place of the body of the dead person. (Grach 1960 b, 141).
- In another Tuva cenotaph in the valley of the River Khemchik there was an imitation burial on the north-south axis. In it a quiver of birch bark, an iron knife and a curb were found. (Grach-Nechayeva, 1960, 191). A ritual grave mound in the same place, oriented in a northwest to southeast direction, contained 4 vessels, armour-plate, 2 iron knives, 2 triple-bladed arrow points, a curb, a buckle and a hook to hang the quiver. (Grach 1960 b, 191, tab. III).
823. See note 798-800.
824. Kül-tegin stele: „Vom chinesischen Kaiser kamen İsiyi und Likäng. Sie brachten in unermesslicher Menge Kostbarkeiten, Gold und Silber (im Werte von) einem tūmān“ (10 000) - Thomsen 1924, 156. Bilge-kaghan stele: „Listün tai-sängün kam an der Spitze von 500 Mann, sie brachten Wohlgerüche... Gold und Silber in unermesslicher Menge.“.... (the others) „brachten ihre guten Reitpferde, ihre schwarzen Zobel, ihre blauen Eichhörnchen in unzähliger Menge und dies alles opfer-ten sie.“ (Thomsen 1924, 158).
825. Stone babas on the territory of the Western Türks: Huang Wenbi 1960; Wang Ziyun (on this see Its 1958 a); Kyzlasov 1951 a; Bernshtam 1952. The following dealt in detail with the analysis of the stone babas in Siberia and Mongolia: Yevtyukhova 1941; 1952; Grach 1955; 1961. Babas in the Altai and Tuva also in: Appelgren-Kivalo 1931; Granö 1909. For the enclosures see work quoted in relation to the stone babas.
826. Vambéry 1885, 45.
827. Gryaznov-Shneider 1929, 88; Gryaznov 1950, 145-146.
828. Kyzlasov 1955.
829. Bernshtam 1952, 144.
830. Kiselev 1951, 467-468; Yevtyukhova 1938, 113-114.
831. Gryaznov 1950, 148-151; Gryaznov-Shneider 1926, 101; 1929, 86-88; Kiselev 1947 b, 86.
832. Bartold 1921, 55-56; Bernshtam 1946 a, 73-74;

- 1954, 282; 1952, 143; Yevtyukhova 1941, 132-133; Masson 1949, 51; Albaum 1960, 192; Grach 1958 b, 155; 1961, 56, 92; 1955, 428; Vyatkina 1959, 94.
833. Kiselev 1951, 528, 546.  
834. Kiselev 1951, 528.  
835. Vainshtein 1954, 153.  
836. Gumilev 1959, 114.  
837. Kyzlasov 1960 a, 57-60.  
838. Bartold 1921, 55-56.  
839. Bernshtam 1954, 282.  
840. Bernshtam 1946 a, 73-74.  
841. Kiselev 1947 b, 86.  
842. Masson 1949, 51.  
843. Masson 1949, 52.  
844. Yevtyukhova 1941, 133-134; 1952, 116.  
845. Yevtyukhova 1952; Grach 1961.  
846. Grach 1961, 61.  
847. Grach 1961, 67, 68.  
848. Albaum 1960, fig. 150.  
849. Yevtyukhova 1952, 116.  
850. Kyzlasov 1960 b, 153. It refers to figures in: Yevtyukhova 1952, marked with numbers 36, 37, 40, 42-44, 50-53, 56, 57, 61-63.
851. Grebnev 1957, 220.  
852. Grebnev 1957, 222.  
853. Grach 1961; 1960 b; Grach - Nechayeva 1960.  
854. Radlov 1895, 51, 55, 69, 129.  
855. Radlov 1895, 200, 433.  
856. Radlov 1895, 234-235.  
857. Bang 1896 b, 611; 1898 b, 352.  
858. Bang 1897, 200.  
859. Bartold 1897, 11.  
860. Radlov 1897, 134, 136, 147.  
861. Radlov 1897, 179.  
862. Thomsen 1924, 158.  
863. Radlov 1897, 146; Malov 1959, 23.  
864. Radlov 1897, 134.  
865. Thomsen 1924, 147.  
866. Radlov 1897; Thomsen 1924, 149.  
867. Radlov 1895, 247-248.  
868. Malov 1959, 10.  
869. Radlov 1897, 157.  
870. Radlov 1895, 252; Malov 1959, 11.  
871. Grach 1961, 74-75.  
872. Melioranskii himself was of the opinion that Bilge-kaghan's son killed Kug-Sängün (Melioranskii 1898, 288), but the text of the inscription does not confirm this.
873. Thomsen 1924, 152.  
874. Radlov 1895, 302-303.  
875. Radlov 1895, 340.  
876. Radlov 1895, 374.  
877. Radlov 1895, 243.  
878. Radlov 1897, 157.  
879. Radlov 1899, 98.  
880. Radlov 1897, 180.  
881. Radlov 1895, 402.  
882. Thomsen 1924, 150.  
883. Albaum 1960, 192, fig. 150.  
884. Albaum 1960, 192, 194.  
885. Albaum 1960, 196.  
886. For example on the Bilge-kaghan inscription: Thomsen 1924, 145, 147, 148.  
887. A similar opinion was put forward by W. Kotwicz 1929 c, 76.  
888. Kotwicz 1938, 179-180.  
889. Kotwicz-Samoilovitch 1928, 79-80.  
890. Kotwicz 1929b, 2, 4; 1929 c, 76; Kotwicz-Samoilovitch 1928, 88.  
891. Kotwicz-Samoilovitch 1928, 79-88.  
892. Yevtyukhova 1941, 133; 1952, 115.  
893. Granö 1912-1913 a, tab. XX/4-6.  
894. Granö 1912-1913 a, tab. XX/4.  
895. Grach 1961, 55; 1955, 429-430.  
896. Chavannes 1903, 241.  
897. Kiselev 1946.  
898. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 145.  
899. Kiselev 1951, 530.  
900. Its 1958 a, 103; see also Grach 1961, 77.  
901. Radlov 1895, 257.  
902. Malov 1959, 45.  
903. Granö 1912-1913 a, 61, tab. XX/3.  
904. Kotwicz-Samoilovitch 1928, 78.  
905. Grach 1961, 54.  
906. Kotwicz 1929 a, 76.  
907. Kotwicz-Samoilovitch 1928, 91.  
908. See for example Jisl 1961, tab. 44.  
909. Gumilev 1959, 108-110.  
910. See Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9.  
911. Yaworski 1928, 257-258.  
912. Thomsen 1924, 157-158.  
913. Thomsen 1896, 176-177.  
914. Thomsen 1896, 176-177.
915. Thomsen 1924, 157-158.  
916. Schlegel 1892, 45.  
917. Vasilyev 1895, 169.  
918. Thomsen 1896, 83, 175.  
919. Parker 1896; ?  
920. Pelliot 1929 b, 246-248.  
921. Radlov 1895, 120; 1897, 173.  
922. Radlov-Melioranskii 1897, 7.  
923. Thomsen 1924, 159.  
924. Porada, Alt-Iran Baden-Baden 1962, fig. 106.  
925. Trever 1939, tab. II/3.  
926. Des Rotours 1947-1948, 530.  
927. Bartold 1935, 20-21.  
928. Bernshtam 1952, 145.  
929. Appelgren-Kivalo 1931, fig. 344.  
930. Gabain 1954, 555.  
931. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 169.  
932. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 218.  
933. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 221.  
934. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 171, 233.  
935. Thomsen 1924, 147.  
936. Thomsen 1924, 148.  
937. Thomsen 1924, 149.  
938. Thomsen 1924, 150.  
939. Thomsen 1924, 149.  
940. Thomsen 1924, 170.  
941. Thomsen 1924, 167-169. Their correct identification was carried out by Thomsen 1916, 96-98.  
942. Thomsen 1924, 148. On the identification of Barsbeg as Kirghiz kaghan see Bartold 1897, 23.  
943. Thomsen 1924, 152.  
944. Thomsen 1924, 166.  
945. Thomsen 1924, 152.  
946. Radlov 1895, 250.  
947. Radlov 1895, 248.  
948. Radlov 1895, 246-247.  
949. Malov 1959, 7.  
950. Gabain 1953, 542.  
951. Radlov 1899, VIII-IX.  
952. Bernshtam 1946 a, 39-40.  
953. Clauson 1957, 189, 188, 177.  
954. Clauson 1957, 188.  
955. Radlov 1895, 248.  
956. See Radlov 1895, 254.  
957. Radlov 1899, IX.  
958. Radlov 1899, IX.  
959. Radlov 1899, X.  
960. Radlov 1899, X.  
961. Malov 1959, 10.  
962. Malov 1959, 9.  
963. Radlov 1899, 3.  
964. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 597.  
965. Thomsen 1924, 147.

966. Thomsen 1924, 147.  
 967. Clauson 1957, 183-184, 192.  
 968. Radlov 1895, 245.  
 969. Radlov 1895, 245.  
 970. Radlov 1895, 54.  
 971. Malov 1959, 10.  
 972. Clauson 1957, 189.  
 973. In: Malov 1959, fig. 2.  
 974. See also Malov 1959, 8, 9, 11.  
 975. Cp. Radlov 1895, glossary 155 and the date of the death of Kül-tegin on the inscription on the edge of the stele, Radlov 1895, 38, K III, 1st line, 2nd word.  
 976. Clauson 1957, 191-192.  
 977. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 170-171.  
 978. Probably a printing error instead of „dem“.  
 979. Radlov 1895, 249.  
 980. Malov 1959, 10.  
 981. Clauson 1957, 188.  
 982. Malov 1959, 10.  
 983. Radlov 1895, 249.  
 984. Clauson 1957, 189.  
 985. Hirth 1899, 45.  
 986. The Bilge-kaghan inscription - Thomsen 1924, 147.  
 987. Thomsen 1924, 147.  
 988. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 158.  
 989. Clauson 1957, 177.  
 990. Radlov 1892-1899, tab. XIV/3. Yadrintsev 1901, 43 speak even of two bals with tamgas on the stele.  
 991. Radlov 1895, 250.  
 992. Malov 1959, 10.  
 993. Clauson 1957, 189.  
 994. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 158.  
 995. Radlov 1895, 250-251.  
 996. Katona 1921-1925.  
 997. Malov 1959, 10.  
 998. Clauson 1957, 189.  
 999. Radlov 1895, 246.  
 1000. See Radlov 1895, 4, note 1; 1897, 130.  
 1001. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 170-171.  
 1002. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 171.  
 1003. Radlov 1895, 252; Malov 1959, 11.  
 1004. Malov 1959, 9.  
 1005. Clauson's reading of Istämi (Clauson 1957, 184) is artificially constructed and is not supported on the inscription. It is clear that the written Yamyn arose by interchanging the first symbol with the almost identical inverted symbol for b/u/: In other words, by interchanging one single symbol for a quite similar character we come to read Bumyn, which is the name of the first Türk kaghan. If it were to be Istämi, we would have to change all the characters of that word for quite different ones.
1006. Thomsen 1924, 145.  
 1007. Malov 1959, 10.  
 1008. Malov 1959, 10.  
 1009. Clauson 1957, 189.  
 1010. Radlov 1895, 251.  
 1011. Malov 1959, 9; Radlov 1895, 251.  
 1012. Radlov 1895, 252.  
 1013. Malov 1959, 11.  
 1014. Clauson 1957, 190-191.  
 1015. Malov 1959, 10; Radlov 1895, 251.  
 1016. Clauson 1957, 189, 190.  
 1017. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 160, 598, 215, 651.  
 1018. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 160, 215, 651.  
 1019. Des Rotours 1947-1948, 1009, 820.  
 1020. For the inscription an old stele with a magic face and ram's head was used, see Appellgren-Kivalo 1931, fig. 156.  
 1021. Radlov 1895, 341.  
 1022. Malov 1952, 63.  
 1023. Radlov 1895, 434; see also Gryaznov-Shneider 1929, 76.  
 1024. Radlov 1895, 267; Malov 1959, 53.  
 1025. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 174, 225.  
 1026. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 169, 220.  
 1027. The Bilge-kaghan inscription: Radlov 1895, 71.  
 1028. Radlov 1897, 149.  
 1029. Radlov 1899, 101.  
 1030. Malov 1952, 73.  
 1031. Malov 1952, 74.  
 1032. Ramstedt 1913-1918, 5.  
 1033. Radlov 1895, 248.  
 1034. Malov 1959, 10.  
 1035. Clauson 1957, 188.  
 1036. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 161, 215, 315, 696.  
 1037. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 8.  
 1038. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 173.  
 1039. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 41, 496.  
 1040. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 502.  
 1041. Vambéry 1885, 13.  
 1042. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 320.  
 1043. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 333.  
 1044. Potapov 1952, 23.  
 1045. Potapov 1952, 23.  
 1046. Yevtyukhova-Kiselev 1941, 97.  
 1047. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 5, 40.  
 1048. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 7.  
 1049. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 216, 652.  
 1050. Zhdanko 1960.  
 1051. Bernshtam 1946 a.  
 1052. Kiselev 1951, 506.  
 1053. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 456.  
 1054. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 601, 751.  
 1055. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 161, 216.  
 1056. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 603.  
 1057. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 599.  
 1058. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 161, 599, 216.  
 1059. Kiselev 1951, 506, assumes the tilling of fields in the winter camps.  
 1060. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 318.  
 1061. Today Daixian Country is in Shanxi province. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 529.  
 1062. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 622-623.  
 1063. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 36.  
 1064. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 18.  
 1065. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 363, 548-549.  
 1066. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 114.  
 1067. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 137, 185.  
 1068. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 188.  
 1069. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 217.  
 1070. Thomsen 1924, 150.  
 1071. Malov 1959, 22.  
 1072. Thomsen 1924, 148.  
 1073. Thomsen 1924, 149.  
 1074. Giraud 1961, 64; Aalto 1958, 45.  
 1075. Kiselev 1947 b, 88.  
 1076. Potapov 1953, 92-94.  
 1077. Potapov 1953, 92-94.  
 1078. Kiselev 1951, 502; Potapov 1953, 92-94.  
 1079. Bernshtam 1946 a, 145.  
 1080. Bernshtam 1946 a, 181.  
 1081. Bernshtam 1946 a, 182.  
 1082. Kiselev 1947 b, 85.  
 1083. Kiselev 1947 b, 86-87; Tolstov 1938 a, 44; Potapov 1953, 94.  
 1084. Tolstov 1938 a, 44.  
 1085. Kiselev 1947 b, 89; 1951, 505.  
 1086. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 332.  
 1087. Tolstov 1938 a, 19-23.  
 1088. Tolstov 1938 a, 52.

1089. Potapov 1952, 19.  
 1090. Kiselev 1951, 515.  
 1091. Potapov 1952, 21.  
 1092. Thomsen 1924, 159.  
 1093. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 41.  
 1094. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 499-500.  
 1095. Kiselev 1951, 562.  
 1096. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 10.  
 1097. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 42.  
 1098. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 65, 541.  
 1099. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 549.  
 1100. Kovalevskii 1956, 126.  
 1101. Bernshtam 1946 a, 88.  
 1102. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 128.  
 1103. Thomsen 1896, 131.  
 1104. Thomsen 1896, 185.  
 1105. Pritsak 1952, 59.  
 1106. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 8, 41, 132, 181, 498, 556.  
 1107. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 41, 132, 181.  
 1108. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 498.  
 1109. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 41, 181.  
 1110. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 132, 181.  
 1111. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 171.  
 1112. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 132, 493.  
 1113. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 91.  
 1114. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 132, 181, 498.  
 1115. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 46.  
 1116. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 163, 179, 429-430.  
 1117. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 163-164, 429.  
 1118. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 158, 213.  
 1119. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 430.  
 1120. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 593, 595.  
 1121. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 230.  
 1122. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 498, 556, 132, 181.  
 1123. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 498, 556, 132, 181.  
 1124. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 132, 181, 498, 556.  
 1125. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 41, 181, 556.  
 1126. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 498, 41, 556, 132, 181.  
 1127. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 498, 556, 132, 181.  
 1128. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 556, 181.  
 1129. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 556, 181.  
 1130. Tolstov 1938 a, 43.  
 1131. Tolstov 1938 a, 44.  
 1132. Thomsen 1924, 157.  
 1133. Bernshtam 1946 a, 113.  
 1134. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 498-499.  
 1135. Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9, 181.  
 1136. Radlov 1895, 239, 240.  
 1137. Thomsen 1896, 136.  
 1138. Thomsen 1896, 135.  
 1139. Tolstov 1938 a, 42.  
 1140. Bernshtam 1946 a, 142-143.  
 1141. Kiselev 1947 b, 89; 1951, 503, 504.  
 1142. Pritsak 1952, 52-53.

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### Abbreviations:

- AOH - Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae  
 BSOS - Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies  
 EAZ - Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift  
 JRAS - The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland  
 JSFOu - Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne  
 MSFOu - Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne  
 OLZ - Orientalistische Literaturzeitung  
 STOE - Sbornik trudov Orkhonskoi ekspedicii  
 TP - T'oung Pao  
 UAJb - Ural-Altaysche Jahrbücher  
 VDI - Vestnik drevnei istorii  
 WZKM - Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes  
 ZDMG - Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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The Kül-tegin memorial

General plan of the excavation (research ?)

Orkhon valley: memorials - grave-mound - ruins - Expedition camp. Lake

- Frontispiece: Kül-teginův památník, hlava Kül-teginova portrétu.  
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(popisky: Russia, Yenisei, Irkutk, Shilka, Selenga, Khangai, Zavkhan-gol, Cecerleg, Orkho, Ulaanbataar, Tola, Kherlen, Gobi, Mongolía, Hoang He, Tijanjin, Peking, Mongolía, China).
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- 156/1-3 Skalní rytiny. Sulek, Pisanaya gora. Appelgren-Kivalo 1931, 81,80,79.
- 157/1,2 Skalní rytiny. Shishkino na řece Lena. Okladnikov 1959, fig. na s. 110. Okladnikov-Zaporozhskaya 1959, fig. 49.
- 159 Hrobové figury vojáků z období dynastie Tang (618-907), Tůrkestán: 1. Tuyuk-Mazar. Gumilev 1949, fig. 3.
- 2. Tuyuk-Mazar. Gumilev 1949, fig. 4.
- 3. Astana. Gumilev 1949, fig. 6.4. Tuyuk-Mazar. Gumilev 1949, fig. 1.
- 160 Závěsný obraz s ujurským donátorem. Khocho, 8-10. stol. Le Coq 1924, tab. 17.
- 161. Příslušníci ujurské aristokracie, nástěnná malba v bezeklik, 9.-10. stol. Le Coq 1924, tab. 14.
- 163/3 Lučičník z nástěnné malby jeskyně č. 114 v Dunhoang, doba Pěti dynastií (907-960). Pan Xiezi, Dunhoang Mogaokuyishu, Shanghai 1957, fig. na s. 104.
- (506) - Vedoucí československé části expedice Lumír Jisl
- (509) - antropolog Emanuel Vlček

- (513) - Vedoucí mongolské části expedice N. Ser-Odjav
- (514) - archeolog Kh. Perlee
- (516) - etnograf S. Badamkhatan
- (667) - Společně při práci i odpočinku
- 2 záběry (bez čísel) Küil-teginův památník (foto)
- Přehledný pláněk výykumu (legenda)
- Údolí Orkhon - legenda: Byzanc, Western Sea, Pontus Euxinus, Caspic Sea, Khorasan, Persia, Aralské moře, Jaxartes, Ruosha-Shui, Syr-darja, Yaosha-Shui, Amu-darja, Gui-Shui, Jiuxing, Zhaowu, An, Shi, Tokharistan, He, Shi, Mi, Nuishibi Wubu, Ganquan, Wubu, Chuluo Wubu, Yutian, Yiwu, Gaochang, Beishan, Jumo (Calmadana), India, Baikal Sea, Kurikans, Selenga, Orkhon, Yudujingshan, Jiuxing Tiele, Tuli qu, Tuyuhun, Zhangya, Dangxiang, Taiyuan, Muohe, Mukuiri, Altai, Shiwei, Jiangdu, Luoyang, Wuyuan, Si, Qidan, Kokurjo, Silla, Xinluo.

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Lumír. Jisl (1921-1969)



Namsrain Ser-Odjav  
(1924-1990)



Emanuel Vlček (\*1925)



Khödöogiin Perlee  
(1911-1982)



Sandagsürengiin  
Badamkhatan  
(\* 1934)

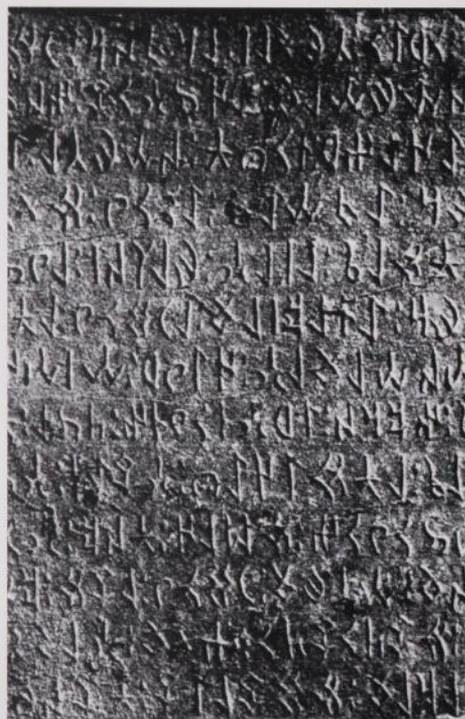
*Leaders and some members of Czechoslovak-Mongolian Expedition*



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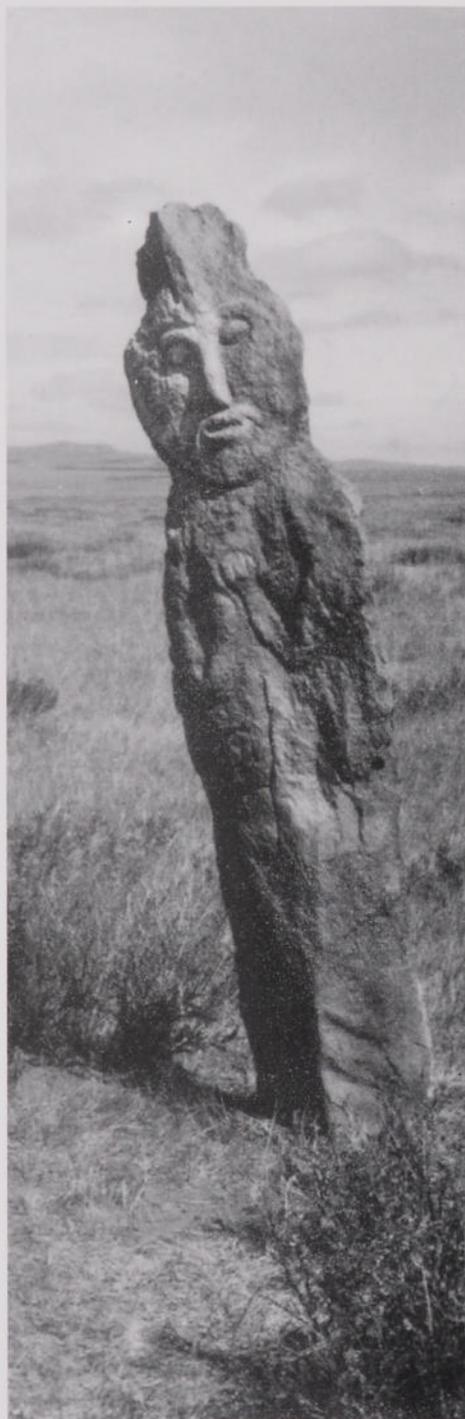
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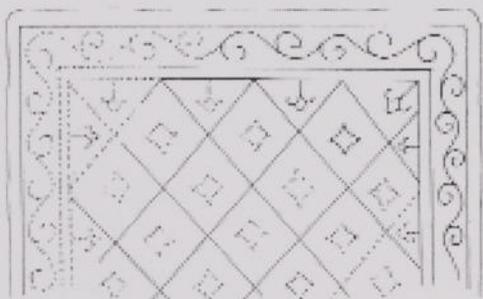
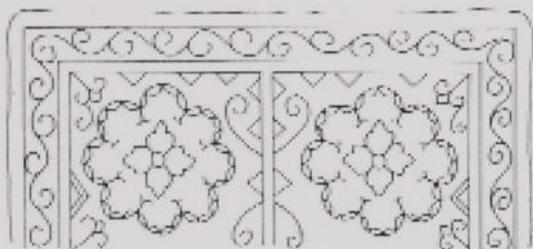
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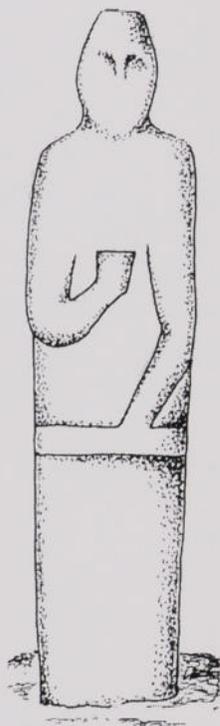
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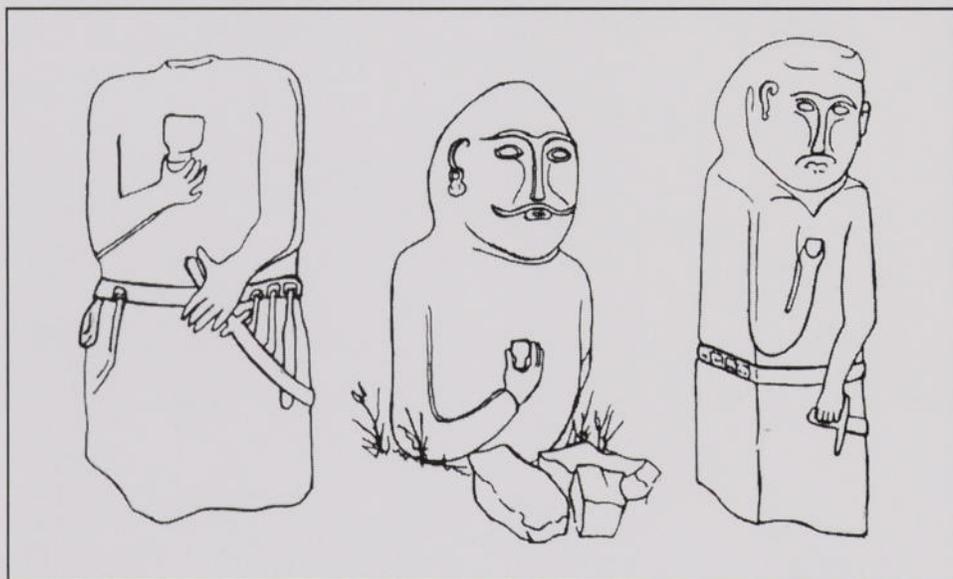
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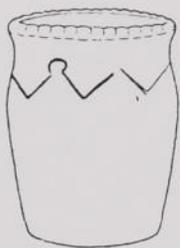
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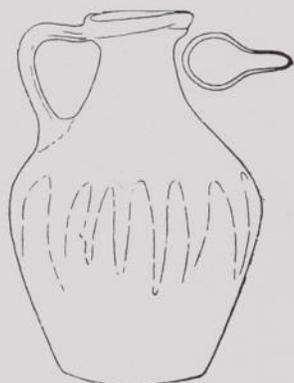
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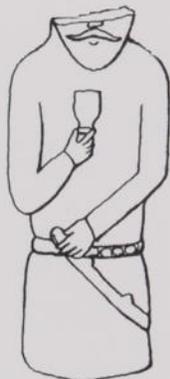
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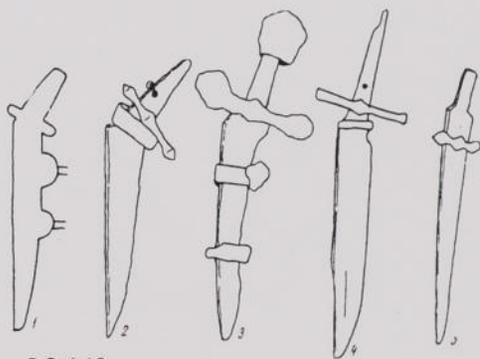
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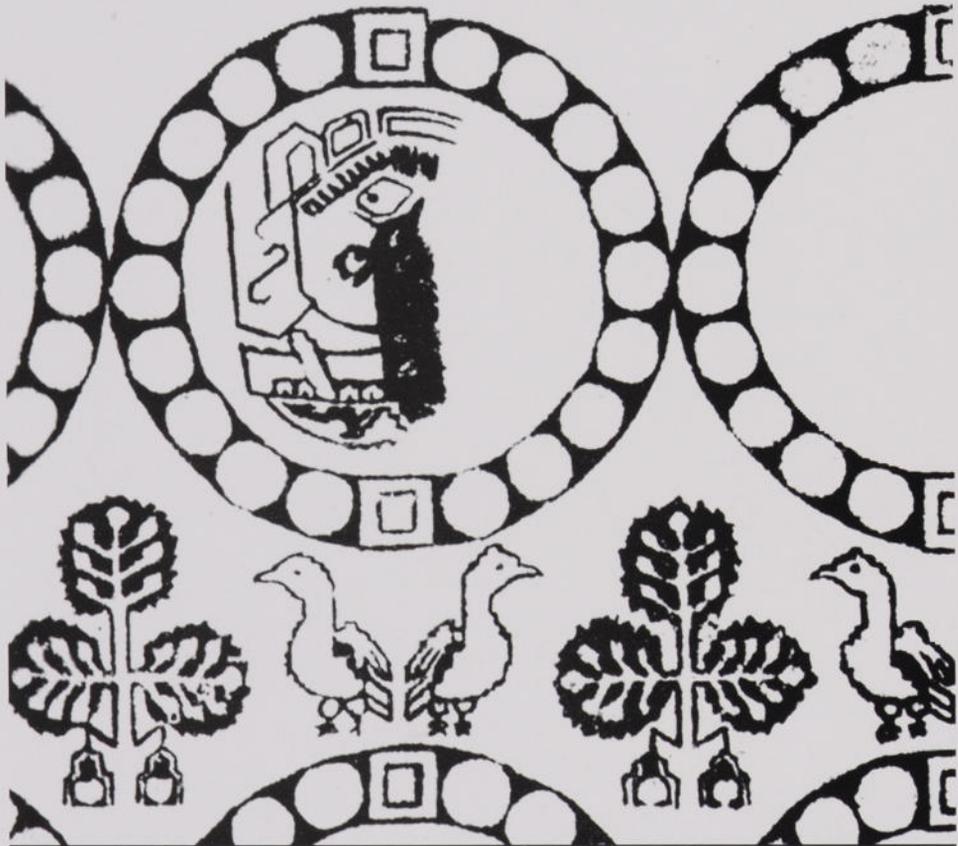
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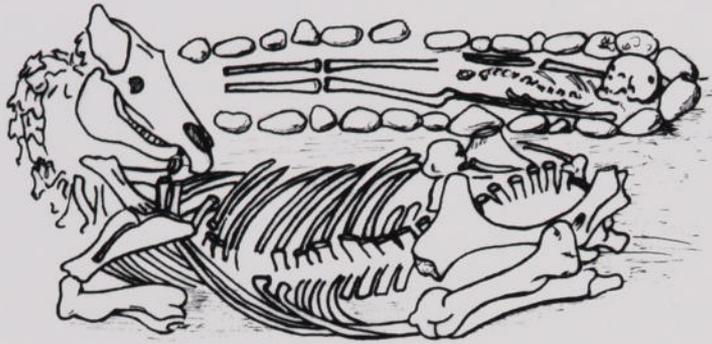
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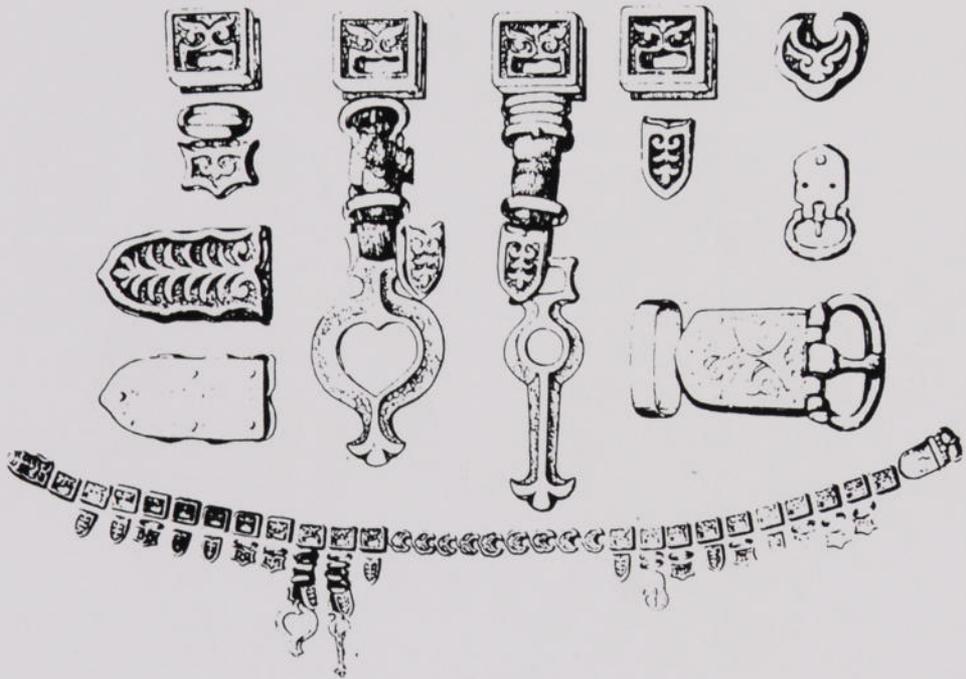


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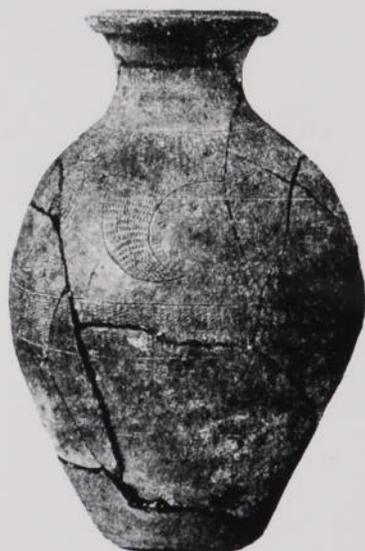
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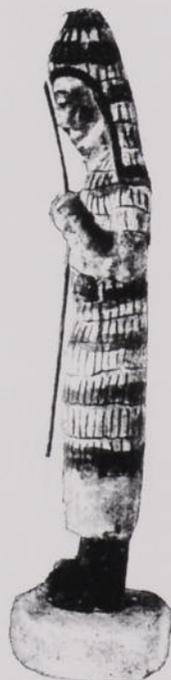
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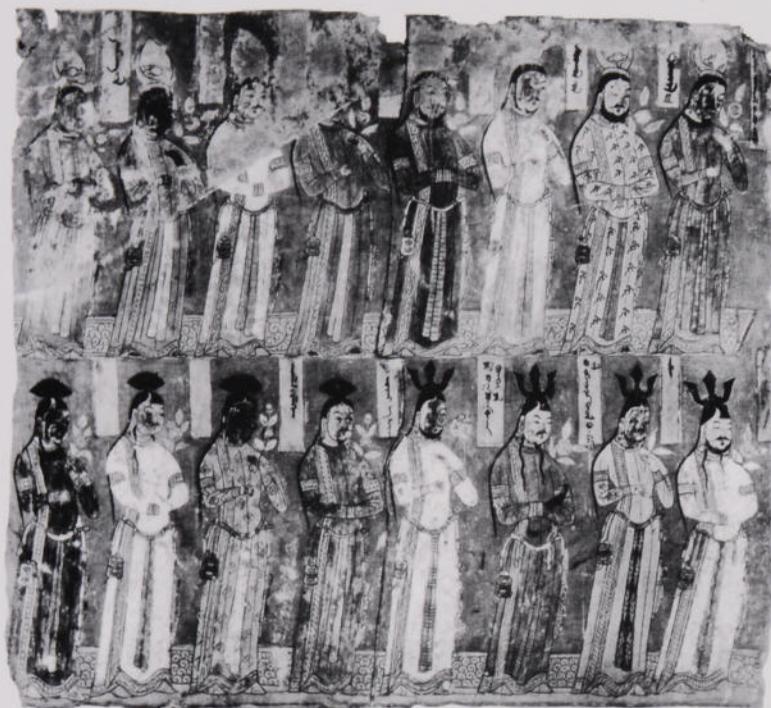
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