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CUMANICA IV:

The Tribes of the Cuman-Qıpčaqs

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From the time of their arrival on the eastern borders of Kievan Rus' in the latter half of the 11th century, until the Mongol conquests of the early 13th century which expelled some of their tribal groupings and subsumed others,the Cuman-Qıpčaq confederation was the dominant force in much of the Eurasian steppes.[1] The Cuman-Qıpčaq tribes played a significant role in the ethnogenesis of various medieval and modern Turkic peoples, the majority of whom are today found in the territories of the former Soviet Union. As a consequence of their close ties with the medieval Hungarian state, Byzantium, Kievan Rus', Georgia and Xwârazm, they exerted a great influence, both positive and negative, on the political, economic and social development of these sedentary states. Although our sources are not as plentiful as one might hope, there is enough data, albeit with some serious lacunae, to sketch, in a general way, the character of the relations of these nomads with the surrounding sedentary world.[2]

1 The present article derives from a paper, "Kıpçak Kabilelerinin Menşeine Yeni bir Bakış," delivered at the Uluslararası Türkoloji Kongresi, in 1988 in Ankara, Turkey. It is part of a larger study on the Cuman-Qıpčaqs which includes the following articles : The *Polovci Dikii*," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, III-IV (1979-80), pp.296-309; "Cumanica I : The Qıpčaqs in Georgia," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, IV (1984), pp.45-87; "Cumanica II : The Ölberli : The Fortunes and Misfortunes of an Inner Asian Nomadic Clan, " *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, VI (1986), pp.5-29; "Cumanica III : Urusoba," in D. Sinor (ed.), *Aspects of Altaic Civilization* (Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 145, Bloomington, Ind., Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1990), pp.33-46; "The Qıpčaqs of Medieval Eurasia : An Example of Stateless Adaptation on the Steppe," in G. Seaman, D. Marks (eds.), *Rulers from the Steppe : State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery* (Los Angeles, 1991), pp.132-157; "Dogs of the Medieval Qıpčaqs," *Varia Eurasiatica. Festschrift für András Róna-Tas* (Szeged, 1991), pp.45-55; "The *Codex Cumanicus*," in H.B. Paksoy (ed.), *Monuments of Central Asia* (Istanbul, 1992), pp.33-66.

2 In addition to my article "The Qıpčaqs of Medieval Eurasia," noted above, see the articles of D.A. Rasovskij, "Polovcy," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VII (1935), pp.245-262; VIII (1936), pp. 161-182; IX (1937), pp.71-85; X (1938), pp.155-177, XI (1940), pp.95-127; S.M. Axinžanov, "Kypčaki i Xorezm v kanun mongol'skogo našestvija," *Vestnik Kazaxskoj Akademii Nauk*,I (1970) and his "Iz istorii vzaimootnošenij kipčakov i Xorezma v XII-načale XIII veka," *Arxeologičeskie Issledovanija v Kazaxstane* (Alma-Ata, 1973) and his recent book *Kypčaki v istorii srednevekogo Kazaxstana* (Alma-Ata, 1989). See also the recent studies by O. Pritsak, "The Polovcians and Rus'," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, II (1982) and A. Pálóczi-Horváth,

Regrettably, such is not the situation with respect to the domestic history and socio-political organization of these tribes. Their origins and internal histories remain little-known or completely unknown. They appear to have been part of the Orxon Türk state, perhaps not under the names by which they were known in later history, and like many of their contemporary Turkic tribal unions, retained some elements of Türk political organization and titulature. Some of this, of course, may be nothing more than the retention of traditional forms of organization associated with the Steppe Imperial Tradition, however muted, that was typical of Eurasian nomadic societies since the times of the Hsiung-nu. The circumstance that the Cumano-Qıpčaqs never formed a state and do not appear to have employed any of the Turkic runic scripts or other writing systems used in Eurasia makes the task of reconstructing the internal politico-social history of this confederation all the more difficult. The causes of Cuman-Qıpčaq statelessness are to be sought in the larger political situation in the steppe in an era in which statelessness was the norm, except for those nomadic groups, such as the Qaraxanids and Seljuks, who had taken over already existing sedentary states, grafting elements of their own political structures onto them. In the Eurasian steppes, the nomads found largely ideal conditions for their pastoral economy and easy access to the goods of the sedentary world which they acquired through trade, raiding and service as professional military forces. The Cuman-Qıpčaqs were particularly successful in integrating themselves into the regional power system, forging important ties (often expressed in marital ties and alliances) with Rus' (or at least elements of the fragmenting Rjurikid principalities), Georgia, Xwârazm, Byzantium and Hungary. In the absence of any sustained, serious threat from their sedentary neighbors (although there was frequent warfare), the Cumano-Qıpčaq union lacked the necessary outside catalyst to propel it to statehood.

The origins of the Cuman-Qıpčaq tribes remain the subject of considerable controversy and have produced an erudite, if still unsatisfactory literature identifying them with a number of Turkic or Mongolic groupings in Inner Asia.[3] Most recently, S.G. Kljaštornyj has advanced the hypothesis, in a number of writings, that the Qıpčaqs are to be identi-

Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians. Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary (Budapest, 1989). A useful survey of Russian and Soviet historiography may be found in R.M. Mavrodina, *Kievskaja Rus' i kočevniki* (Leningrad, 1983).

3 The classic work is that of J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen* in W. Bang and J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien* (Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, N.F., XIII, Berlin, 1914) and the reviews of it by P. Pelliot, "A propos des Comans," *Journal Asiatique*, XV (1920), pp.125-185 and V.V. Barthold (Bartol'd), "Novyj trud o polovcax," *Russkij Istoričeskij Žurnal*, 7 (1921), pp.138-156, reprinted in his *Sočinenija* (Moskva, 1963-1977), V, pp.392-408. See also J. Németh, "Die Volksnamen *quman* und *qun*," *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum*, 3 (1940), pp.93-107; A.Zajączkowski, *Związki językowie połowiecko-słowiańskie* (Warszawa, 1949), pp.8-10; A.N. Kononov, "K étimologii étnonimov kypčak, kuman, kumyk," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, 48 (1976), pp.159-166; I.G. Dobrodomov, "O poloveckix étnonimax v drevnerusskoj liturature,"

fied with the *Sir* people noted in the Türk inscriptions.[4] Unfortunately, Cuman-Qıpčaq ethnogenesis was a very complicated affair involving a variety of Inner Asian peoples and largely taking place outside the field of vision of the sedentary world. As with any nomadic grouping that was forced to undertake a number of migrations westward, other elements joined them en route. Later, still other groups leaving Inner Asia became part of their union, some of them, such as the Ölberli, occupying positions of considerable prominence. The process, then, took place over centuries and involved an ethnically and linguistically varied cast of characters. The complexity of this process is reflected in the variety of names that we find in the Arabic, Persian, Georgian, Armenian, Latin, Mongol and Chinese sources : *Qıpčaq* : [Arabo-Pers.] قفجاق فبجاق خفجاق (Qifjâq, Qibjâq, Xifjâq), [Georg.] *Qivč'aq-i*, [Arm.] *Xbšax*, [Latin] *Capchat*, [Mong.] *Kibčaġ*, pl. *Kibča'ut*, *Kimčaġ*, pl. *Kimča'ud*, [Chin.] *Ch'in-ch'a*, (taken from Mong. *Kimčaġ*), *K'o-fu-ch'a*, *K'o-pi-chao*. In Byzantine, Latin, Syriac and Arabic (al-Idrisî) sources, they, or at least their western branch appear as *Quman* : Κούμανοι, Κόμανοι, etc. *Cumani*, *Comani*, *Chumani*, *Chomani*, *Quomani*, *Camani*, *Comanitae*, *Gummani* etc. (and thence into the Romance languages, e.g. Ital. *Comani*, *Commani* etc., French *Comains*, *Commains* etc., Rus'. Коумани, etc. [Syriac] *qoman*, [Arab.] قمانية (*Qumâniyya*), [Georg.] *Koman-i*. In Hungarian we find the form *Kun* which a number of scholars have identified with *Quman*. These forms are derived from Turk. *quba*, *quw* "pale yellow, grey, dun."[5] There are also a number of calques or translations of one or another of these names, e.g. Arm. *Xartêšk'n* "blonde, fair, light, fallow, pale," Rus'. Половци etc. "pale-yellow," Polish *Paluci*, *Plawci*, *Polowczi*, Czech. *Plavci*, deriving from the Rus' form, German *Valben*, *Valwen*, *Falwen* etc. and Germano-Latin *Falones*, *Valani* etc. Lat. *Pallidi*.[6] The eastern branch of this union was also known as the *Qangli* (Arabo-Pers. قنكلى , Lat. *Cangle*) which may derive from the ancient Iranian name for the region of Central Asia which they inhabited : *Kang*, *Kangha*.[7] Contemporary sources

Tjurkologičeskij Sbornik, 1975 (Moskva, 1978), pp.102-129; K.H. Menges, *Vostočnye élementy v "Slove o polku Igoreve"* (Russ. trans. of his 1951 study, Leningrad, 1979), p.7; Pritsak, "Polovcians," *AEMAe*, II (1982), pp.321-335. An overview of the question may be found in P.B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples* (Wiesbaden, 1992), pp.270ff.

4 See his "Kypčaki v runičeskix pamjatnikax," *Turcologica* (Leningrad,, 1986), pp.153-164 and S.G. Kljaštornyj and D.G. Savinov, *Stepnye imperii Evrazii* (Sankt Peterburg, 1994), pp.41ff.

5 Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p.581. On these etymologies, see above, n.3.

6 See discussion in Gy. Györffy, "A Kun és Komán népnév eredetének kérdéséhez," *Antiquitas Hungarica*, II (1948), pp.156ff., reprited in his *A magyarság keleti elemei* (Budapest, 1990), pp.200ff. and Golden, *Introduction*, pp.270-272.

7 Chin. *K'ang-chü*, corresponding, roughly, to present day Özbekistan, see K. Czeglédy, "From East to West : The Age of Nomadic Migrations in Eurasia," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, 3 (1983), pp.45ff; A.F.P. Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia* (Leiden, 1979), pp.123ff. A Tokharian etymology for this toponym has also been suggested.

were aware of the connections between the Cumans, Qıpčaqs and Qanglı. Thus, a 12th century Georgian hagiographical work notes the "country of the Komans who are the Qivč'aqs."[8] William of Rubruck, the 13th century traveler to the Mongols, directly associates the Cumans and "Cangle" and the Cumans and "Capchat."[9]

The ethnonym *Qıpčaq* is first noted in a badly preserved fragment of the runic inscription (Šine Usu or Selega Stone Monument, N4) of the Uyğur Qağan El Etmiš Bilge [Chin. Mo-yen-ch'o](reg. 747-759) where they appear to be *Türk Qıbčaq*. The context is unclear and hence has been open to a number of interpretations.[10] The Qıpčaqs are also mentioned by Ibn Xurdâḏbih (writing in the mid-ninth century, but reporting data that was probably a century old at the time of the composition of his work) as neighbors of the Pečenegs, Türgiš and Aŏkiš (a Western Türk tribe) to their West and the Qırğız in the "Northern Lands."[11] Apparently, in this period, they are to be located in the northeastern zone of the Turkic world. This would place them in lands that subsequently were associated with the Kimek union. How early they may have been part of this union, indeed, the origins of the Kimek union itself, are unclear. The Kimek do not appear, at least not under that name, in the Türk runic inscriptions. Pritsak has hypothesized an identification with the Proto-Mongolian K'u-mo-hsi [*kuo-mâk = **Quomâġ*< Mong. *quo* "yellowish," cf. Turk. *quba* etc. above, and the Mong. denominal suffix *-mAk* + hsi (Arch. Chin. *ġiei) = Qay, who are the *Tatabı* of the Orxon inscriptions[12]], a highly problematic reconstruction. Nonetheless, a connection with the Mongolic world, already suggested by Marquart[13] is not to be ignored. The 11th century Persian author, Gardîzî, attributed to them a "Tatâr" origin and noted seven tribes as composing their confederation : 'ymy (recte : ایمر*'ymr, cf. the Oğuz Eymür), Imek (derived from *Kimek* with the loss of initial *k* known to some Qıpčaq dialects[14]), Tatâr, *Bayândur (cf. the Oğuz Bayındur), Xfčâq, Lnîqâz and 'jlâd.[15] Gardîzî's sources for this information (and much

8 B.M. Biró, "The Kipchaks in the Georgian Martyrdom of David and Constantine," *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Roland Eötvös nominate*, sectio linguistica, IV (1973), pp.161-164.

9 See A van den Wyngaert (ed.), *Sinica Franciscana. Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV* (Queracchi-Firenze,1929), I, pp.194,211,218.

10 For the text, see G.A. Ajdarov, *Jazyk orxonskix pamjatnikov drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti VIII veka* (Alma-Ata, 1971), pp.339/344; see also the comments of Kljaštornyj, "Kypčaki," *Turcologica, 1986*, pp.153ff. who places them (see above and n.4) in the ruling stratum of the Türk confederation.

11 Ibn Xurdâḏbih, *Kitâb al-Masâlik wa'l-Mamâlik*, ed. M.J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1889), p.31.

12 Pritsak, "Polovcians," *AEMAe*, II (1982), pp.331-333.

13 Marquart, *Komanen*, pp.95ff.

14 T.Halasi-Kun, "Orta Kıpçakça q-, k- > 0 meselesi" in H. Eren, T. Halasi-Kun, *Türk Dili ve Tarihi hakkında Ara tırmalar*, I (Ankara, 1950), p.120.

15 These passages from Gardîzî may be found in V.V. Bartol'd (Barthold), "Otčët o poezdke v Srednjuju Aziju s naučnoj cel'ju" in his *Sočinenija*, VIII, p.27 and A.P. Martinez, "Gardîzî's Two Chapters on the Turks," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, II (1982), p.120.

else about the Kimek) are unknown, probably deriving from travelers' tales. Muslim merchants were no strangers to these regions. A number of the names are probably garbled. Nonetheless, the account does point to a complex grouping of Turkic and Mongolic tribes. This is hardly remarkable. Many of the larger confederations, including that of the Türk state itself, contained an ethnically variegated population. Over time, other elements were added. Thus, al-Masᶜûdî, writing in the middle of the 10th century, also mentions the "Kimek Yiğur (كماك بيغور) or "Kimek Bayğur/Buyğur etc. (كماك بيغور).[16] The former name might point to an Uyğur grouping among them (cf. the metathecized form *Yuğur* noted below). The latter author places them in Western Siberia, on the Black and White Irtyš. Positing a starting point in the Turkic regions of Mongolia and Southern Siberia, it is not unreasonable to conjecture a Kimek center in Western Siberia, resulting from some displacement brought about by the all too turbulent tribal history of the nomadic imperial center in Mongolia. Having said this, one should, nonetheless, urge caution for our data is sparse at best. The appearance of the qağanal institution is certainly significant. Elsewhere, I have attempted to explain it as deriving from the Kimek involvement in the international fur trade which necessitated a more complex form of political organization than was ordinarily typical of the Eurasian nomads of that era.[17] The Kimek Qağanate, however, was not inherited by the Qıpčaq confederation, which in many other respects was its successor and heir.

As for the Qıpčaqs themselves, by the late 10th century, they are reported by the *Ḥudud al-ᶜÂlam* as among the uneasy subject tribes of the "Qağan of the Kimeks."[18] At this time, they had "separated from the Kimek" and were encroaching on the Pečeneg lands in the Volga-Ural region. In another listing of peoples, the anonymous author of the *Hudûd* appears to confirm thisVolga orientation aligning them among the "Turkic Pečenegs, the Brâdas, the Burtâs...the Oğuz, the Kimek..."[19] To the East were the Qay and Qun, two tribal groupings that played important roles in Qıpčaq history, as well as the Qırğız and the Kimek proper (noted by al-Birûnî as Kümek).[20] In the early 11th century, as a consequence of the growing instability and internecine strife taking place in the Qitan/Liao empire, the Qay, responding to these disturbances, were set into motion, touching off, in the process, a series of migrations of other steppe peoples. The Qun, their immediate neighbors, were forced out and migrated in search of new pasturages. They, in turn, expelled the Sârî or Šârî people

16 al-Masᶜûdî, *Murûj ad-Dahab wa'l-Maᶜdin al-Jawhar*, ed. C.Pellat (Beirut, 1966),

17 Golden, *Introduction*, pp.202-205.There are few studies of the Kimek. In this connection, see B.E. Kumekov, *Gosudarstvo kimakov IX-XI vv. po arabskim istočnikam* (Alma-Ata, 1972).

18 *Ḥudûd al-ᶜÂlam*, ed.M. Sotoodeh (Tehran, 1962), p.87, Eng.trans. V.F. Minorsky, *Ḥudûd al-ᶜÂlam* (London, 1937, rev. ed. 1970), p.101.

19 ed.Sotoodeh, p.59, trans. Minorsky, p.83.

20 al-Birûnî, *Kitâb at-Tafhîm*, ed. R. Wright (London,1934), p. 145, see also Yâqût, *Muᶜjam al-Buldân* (Beirut, 1957), I, p.31.

westward into the lands of the Türkmen who, according to al-Marwazî (writing in the early 12th century), our source for these events, "shifted to the eastern parts of the Ġuzz (Oğuz) country." The latter were the Western Oğuz, the Οὐζοι/Торци *and Rus'* of the Byzantine and Rus' sources. They now pushed into the Pečeneg pasturages in the Pontic steppe.[21] Confirmation of this chain of migrations is found in the Armenian historian Matthew of Edessa (Matt'eos Urhayec'i) who placed the event well before 1050 and saw in it the cause of the disasters that then befell the Byzantines.[22] These disturbances in the steppe were felt at various times and places along the Muslim frontiers. They also brought new tribal and ethnic elements into the Kimek union. In the course of this ferment, the Cuman/Qıpčaq union took on that ethno-political form by which it became best known to contemporary sources.

As we have already noted, the ethnogenesis of the Kimeks, Qıpčaqs, Qun and Qay and their interrelationships have given rise to an extensive literature.[23] It is not our purpose here to examine in detail the various hypotheses that have been put forward. Rather, we can point to one area of scholarly agreement : the Cuman/Qıpčaq tribal union, when it appears fully on the stage of history, contained many heterogeneous elements. Alongside of the Turkic element were Turkicized (or in any event bi-lingual) groupings as well as Mongolic and Iranian tribes. Indeed, the closer we examine even the "pure" Turkic groupings, the clearer it becomes that here too we can find layers of older Mongolic, Iranian and other ethnic elements. Such shifts were not unique to the Qıpčaqs. For example, the *Qay* people, whom later Muslim authors depicted as the bravest of the Turks, were of Proto-Mongolian Hsien-pi origin. In the Orxon inscriptions they appeared under the name *Tatabı*, noted as one of the subject tribes of the Türks.[24] As was noted above, Muslim sources (e.g. al-Bîrûnî) place them next to the Qun. This may point to a shared ethnic milieu as well. The Qun, who went on to become one of the core groupings within the Cuman/Qıpčaq union, were in all likelihood, Proto-Mongolic in origin.

21 *Sharaf al-Zamân Tahir Marvazî on China, the Turks and India*, ed. trans. V.F. Minorsky (London, 1942), pp. (Arabic) 18/trans. pp. 29-30. Muhammad-i ʿAwfī's version of this notice is given in Marquart, *Komanen*, pp.54-55.

22 *Urfalı Mateos Vekayi-Nâmesi (952-1136) ve Papaz Grigor'un Zeyli (1136-1162)*, Turk trans. H.D. Andreasyan (1962, reprint : Ankara, 1987), p.91. See also Marquart, *Komanen*, pp.54-55.

23 See Marquart, *Komanen*, Pelliot, "Comans," *JA*, XV (1920), pp.125-185; Rasovskij, "Polovcy," *SK*, VII (1935), pp.248-257; Németh, "Die Volksnamen," *KCsA*, 3 (1940), pp.95-109; M.F. Köprülü, "Osmanlı Imparatorluğunun etnik menşei meseleleri," *Belleten*, VII/28 (1982), pp.219-303; K. Czeglédy, "A Kunok eredetére," *Magyar Nyelv*, XLI (1949), pp.43-50; K.Š. Šanijazov, *K étničeskoj istorii uzbekskogo naroda* (Taškent, 1974), pp.42ff.; R.G. Kuzeev, *Proisxoždenie baškirskogo naroda* (Moskva, 1974); S.M. Axinžanov, "Ob étničeskom sostave kipčakov srednevekovogo Kazaxstana," in *Prošloe Kazaxstana po arxeologičeskim istočnikam* (Alma-Ata, 1976), pp.81-92; Pritsak, "Polovcians," *AEMAe* II (1982), pp.321-335.

24 See Golden, "Cumanica II," *AEMAe*, V (1985), pp.16-18; V.S. Taskin, *Materialy po istorii drevnix kocevyx narodov gruppy dunxu* (Moskva, 1984), pp.142-153.

We cannot affirm, on the basis of the existing evidence, that the Qun spoke Mongolic at this stage in their history. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that Mongol elements are to be found in the *Codex Cumanicus* (14th century) which appear to antedate the Mongol conquest of the Cuman/Qıpčaq confederation in the 13th century. Of these we may note : Cuman *tovul a* "helmet" (with the $\tilde{g} > w$ (*v*) shift typical of Qıpčaq < Mong. *daġulġa*, Cuman *silevsün* "lynx < Mong. *silegüsün*, Cuman *bulov* "mace" < Mong. *bilaġu*, Cuman *Süten* (Сутѣнь noted in the Rus' Chronicles) "the Milky River" < Mong. *süten* (cf. Turk. *sütlü*).[25] We do not possess information indicating that there were tribes within the Cuman/Qıpčaq union that continued to speak Mongol on the eve of the Činggisid conquest of the Eurasian steppes. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that Ibn al-Aṯîr (with Rašîd al-Dîn following him) report that when the Mongol reconnaissance force, in 1222, raided the North Caucasus (prior to their confrontation with the Cuman/Qıpčaq-Rus' forces at the Battle of the Kalka (1223), they appealed to the Cuman/Qıpčaqs to break their alliance with the Iranian As, saying "we and you are of one tribe (*jins*).[26] The Arabic *jins* has a variety of meanings ("kind, sort, variety, species, class, genus, category, race, nation"[27]). The statement (which had the desired effect) may point to shared Mongol elements between the two groups. More likely, however, was its appeal to the shared Imperial Steppe Tradition dating back to the Hsiung-nu. Turkic and Mongolic peoples had participated in a number of steppe polities, including the Türk and more contemporary Qaraxanid states. Činggis Xan and the Qitan before him were acutely aware of this tradition, using and exploiting it in creating their own states.

The presence of Mongolic elements in the Cuman/Qıpčaq union, as we have seen, is confirmed by a number of tribal names in the confederation (see below). This symbiosis of a variety of ethnic elements in nomadic unions (including non-Altaic ethnic groupings, such as Iranians), a theme only infrequently explored by scholars, cannot be considered out of the ordinary. With the great emphasis, today, placed on nationality, national languages and ethnicity, scholars sometimes lose sight of the forces that drove medieval, nomadic society : the exigencies of the nomadic economy, the struggle for pasturages with other nomadic groups and the political and military needs arising from the pressures of neighboring sedentary societies.[28] We do not really know what importance, if any, was

25 See N. Poppe, "Die Mongolischen Lehnwörter im Komanischen," *Németh Armagam* (Ankara, 1962), pp.331-345; Pritsak, "Polovcians," *AEMAe*, II (1982), p.334; Golden, "The Codex Cumanicus" in Paksoy (ed.), *Central Asian Monuments*, pp.59-60.

26 Ibn al-Aṯîr, *Al-Kâmilfî 'l-Ta'rîx*, ed. S.J. Tornberg (Leiden, 1851-1876, Beirut ed. with differing pagination), XII, pp.385-386; Rašîd al-Dîn, *Jâmiʿ at-Tavârîx*, ed. B. Karîmî (Tehran, 1959), I, p.382. See T. Allsen, "Mongols and North Caucasia," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, VII (1987-1991), pp.11-17 for the dating of this campaign.

27 H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J.M. Cowan (3rd ed., Ithaca, 1976), p.141.

attached to language or linguistic unity. Was it a prerequisite for the creation of a steppe polity ? This seems unlikely. Indeed, in Cuman/Qıpčaq society, ethno-linguistic factors appear to have been of secondary importance. In studying the history of this confederation, one is impressed by the diffuseness of political power. With the exception of those instances when a united front had to be presented to a common foe, political ties were rather weak. This is underscored by the absence of statehood and state institutions.[29] We have very little evidence that might be used to gauge the importance or insignificance of ethnic differences in these polities. Occasionally, however, there are hints in our sources of old rivalries between groups of different origins. Ibn Xaldûn, for example, in a discussion of the Mamlûk groupings (his contemporaries) remarks on the ancient enmity between members of the Toqsoba clan/tribe (a "Qıpčaq" people who were of "Tatar" origin) and those of the "Qıpčaq" *Drwt* (see below).[30] It is doubtful that such hostilities were unique. We do not know, however, whether this enmity was the product of ethnic rivalry or simply the result of the mundane conflicts of nomadic life (or the deadly political rivalries within the Mamlûk elites).

As was noted above, the Cuman/Qıpčaqs did not create a state. Yet, they were not swept away as so many of their nomadic predecessors had been. Their statelelessness, in all likelihood, was, as was so often the case in nomadic Eurasia, due to the lack of outside stimuli, i.e. significant external threats that would have necessitated the creation of a more centralized system of government. They possessed rich pasturages ideal for nomadic life. Their location provided them with many opportunities to supplement their "income" from the nomadic economy with booty from raids or money/goods earned as mercenary forces in the service of one or another neighboring sedentary state. Rus', Georgia, Byzantium, Hungary and Xwârazm all were willing partners, at one time or another, in this. Moreover, most of their sedentary state neighbors lacked the military might or political unity to engage in risky ventures in the steppe. Byzantium was too distant (and after 1071 too weak) to project its power deep into the steppe. Indeed, even in its heyday, the emperors of Constantinople were not often willing to send their forces beyond the confines of their empire. The Danube was an important dividing line. Rather, they preferred to manipulate the "Barbarians" with bribes, tribute and a policy of "divide and conquer" that proved remarkably successful. The parallels with China's response to its northern "Barbarians" are all too apparent. Xwârazm was too shaky a political edifice whose ruling house was closely intertwined by maritial ties with the Eastern Qıpčaq ruling clans. When the Xwârazmšâhs sought to project their political power beyond their own borders, it was usually directed towards the Islamic lands (Iran and Iraq) whither they could lure their

28 See discussion of some of these questions in A.M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World* (Cambridge, 1983, 2nd ed. Madison, 1994), pp.228-263.

29 See Golden, "The Qıpčaqs of Medieval Eurasia," in Seaman, Marks (eds.), *Rulers from the Steppe*, pp.132-157 for a fuller discussion.

30 Ibn Xaldûn, *Kitâb al-ʿIbar* (Beirut, 1971), V, p.372.

nomadic kinsmen and allies with the prospect of booty. Medieval Hungary, although alert to the steppe world and often the recipient of refugees from conflict there, was similarly disinclined to become an active force among the nomads. Rus', then, was the only sedentary frontline state capable of exerting direct pressure on the steppe tribes. This it did on a number of occasions. It destroyed the Khazar state and eventually, in the 11th century, broke the power of the Pečenegs and Western Oğuz, driving them westwards to the Danubian frontiers of Byzantium and Hungary. The Rus', more than once, ventured into the steppe, striking deep in Cuman/Qıpčaq territory. But, this was an extremely risky business which achieved only limited strategic goals. Moreover, Rus' unity, by that time, was fragmenting. In the course of the 12th century, the Rus' state became little more than a union of frequently warring principalities. The Cuman/Qıpčaqs were able to exploit the weaknesses of their foes. Martial and military alliances between various Cuman/Qıpčaq chieftains and the fractious Rjurikids, the Xwârazmian and Georgian rulers and the Árpádids of 13th century Hungary served to integrate the nomadic ruling clans into the domestic and foreign calculations of their sedentary neighbor states. It was this protective coloration which enabled the Cuman/Qıpčaqs to survive.

This policy of the nomad chieftains, which given its ubiquity can hardly be accidental, had other consequences as well. The political and military balance thus achieved led to the political and social stagnation of the nomads. The various Cuman/Qıpčaq tribes, each under a ruling clan, formed subconfederations (e.g. the "Wild Cumans") led by powerful, charismatic ruling houses such as that of Šaruqan and Böňek (Шарукань, Бонякъ). These subconfederations often pursued mutually contradictory policies with respect to the different (warring) factions of the Rjurikids. Nonetheless, despite these potentially fatal divisions, the Cuman/Qıpčaqs did not themselves mirror their Rjurikid allies and kinsmen. Rather, they were in the early stages of movement from a tribal confederations of complex origins to becoming an ethnos. By the late 12th century, there are hints in the Rus' sources that certain clans and personalities were moving towards tighter political bonds.

One of the most important sources for the ethnic history of the Cuman/Qıpčaqs are the clan and tribal names that have come down to us in a variety of sources. The interpretation of these sources, however, is not without difficulty. As was noted above, this was a complex confederation, each grouping of which brought with it its own ethnic "baggage." Political identities and even languages changed over time. The history of the steppe provides ample evidence of the Turkicization of Iranian, Finno-Ugric and Mongol tribes. Any discussion of the Cuman/Qıpčaq tribes should bear this in mind.

THE CUMAN/QIPČAQ TRIBES AND CLANS

Altunopa : In the listing of Cuman princes killed in 1103, the Rus' sources mention the names : Altunopa (Алтунопа), Arslanopa, Kitanopa and Čenegrepa.[31] The word *opa* figures in the names of each of these Cuman/Qıpčaq clanal or tribal leaders, pointing, perhaps, to their being titles rather than actual anthroponyms. The relationship of the word *opa* to *oba* "extended family, clan, camping unit" and "tribe" seems not unlikely. It could also, conceivably, render *apa*, a term denoting a senior ancestor ("ancestor, grandfather, grandmother, father" etc.) which may have also been a title in Old Turkic for military chief.[32] In either event, this name/title may be viewed as the "head of the *Altun* (< Turk. "gold") clan.

Arslanopa (Арсланопа) : head of the *Arslan* (< Turk. "lion") clan.

Ay-apa/Ay-opa : The Rus' sources mention two tribal or clan leaders with this name : Аеїа, the son of Асѣнь and Аепа the son of Гиргень.[33] This name would appear to be derived from Turkic *ay* "moon" + *apa* or *opa* (see above) = the head of the Ay clan (if it is not actually an anthroponym). Rásonyi and Pritsak, however, have conjectured that *Ay-opa* is a later form of *Qay-opa*[34] (with loss of initial *q-* noted in some Qıpčaq dialects, see above). The latter, as was noted above, were, like the Shih-wei and Qitans, part of the Proto-Mongolian Hsien-pi union. Why they acquired the name *Tatabı* (used in the Orxon inscriptions) is unclear. In the first quarter of the 10th century, they had become subjects of the Qitan who had formed a state in Northern China, Manchuria and Mongolia known in Chinese dynastic history as the Liao. In the early 11th century, as we have seen, they drove out the Quns from Inner Asia with the result that some of the Qay clans, probably fleeing turbulence in the Liao state, migrated westward as well. Mahmûd al-Kâšġarî (writing in the 1070's) knew them as one of the Turkicizing peoples living near the Qaraxanid Qağanate.[35] As the Qitan/Liao Empire began to weaken, some of the other Qay clans now moved into Central Asia as well. Here, they subsequently gained reknown as highly effective warriors.[36] Some of these clans apparently moved westward, to the borderlands of the Rus' state where they became part of the borderguard units of

31 *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (Moskva-SPb./Leningrad, 1840-), I, c. 279, II, c. 255.

32 Clauson, *ED*, pp.4-5; É.V. Sevortjan, *Étimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov* (Moskva, 1974-), I, pp.54-58,400-401.

33 *PSRL*, II, cc. 259,285.

34 L. Rásonyi, "Kuman Özel Adları," *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, III-IV (1966-1969), p.111; Pritsak, "Polovcians," *AEMAe*, II (1982), pp.333,335.

35 Mahmûd al-Kâšgarî, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dîwân Lu γat at-Turk)*, ed. trans. R. Dankoff in collaboration with J. Kelley (Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures, 7, Cambridge, Mass., 1982, 1984, 1985), I, pp.82, 83.

36 W. Eberhard, "Sinologische Bemerkungen über den Stamm der Kay," *Monumenta Serica*, 12 (1947), pp.202-212; M.F. Köprülü, "Kay Kabilesi hakkında Yeni Notlar," *Belleten*, VIII (1944), pp.421-452; Golden, "Cumanica II," *AEMAe*, VI (1986).

the Kievan princes drawn from Oğuz, Pečeneg and other Turko-nomadic fragments called the "Black Hats" (Rus. *Черныи Клобоуци* noted in Rašîd al-Dîn as *qaum-i kulâh-i siyâhân*). This formation is first mentioned in the Rus' sources in 1146.[37] Here, they were termed in Slavic *Каепичи*= Qay-opa.[38] The status of this name, i.e. *Ay-epa/Ay-opa*, then, is not entirely clear. It is most probably of ethnonymic origin, but we have it attested only as an anthroponym. It may stand for the leader of the Ay clan or tribal grouping among the Cuman/Qıpčaqs or it may simply be an ethnonym (perhaps even deriving from *Qay*) used as a personal name.

Badač(?) : Rašîd al-Dîn, in his description of the Mongol incursion of 1242 into Western Eurasia, mentions the Qıpčaq tribe بداج [bdâj].[39] Our source does not provide precise data as to the location of their encounter with this tribe, but it appears to be somewhere in the North Caucasian steppe region. As this is the only notice we have on this grouping, we cannot consider this form as absolutely certain. The 16th century author, Sayf al-Dîn Axsikentî, in his *Majmūʿ al-Tavârîx* mentions a tribe called بادای (*Bâdây*) or بادان (*Bâdân*).[40] Our forms may be a corruption of one and the same tribal name.

*Barat/Beret/*Baraq* (?) : This name is recorded only in a listing of Qıpčaq tribes given in the geographical work of al-Dimašqî : برت [brt]. They appear to be a subgrouping of the Qanglı who lived in the steppelands around Xwârazm.[41] In Axsikentî's work, the form appears as بوراث [bwrt] : *burat, böret* ? As the form given by al-Dimašqî is without vocalization, it may be read as *barat*, *beret*, *burat*, *böret* or even *bürüt* etc. It should also be noted that in Arabic-script manuscripts, the confusion of ت [t] and ق [q] is not uncommon. As a consequence, we may also be dealing here with برق *baraq* or بوراق *buraq*, *boraq* etc. *Baraq* is a Cuman/Qıpčaq name found in Hungary and Rumania as well as in Turkic folklore where it appears as the name of a legendary, shaggy-haired dog.[42]

37 On the Černii Klobouci, see T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, *Czarni K obucy* (Warszawa, 1985) and P.B. Golden, "The *Černii Klobouci*," in *Symbolae Turcologicae. Studies in Honor of Lars Johanson*, eds. A. Berta et al., (Uppsala, 1996), pp. 97-107.

38 In view of the fact that the Oğuz constituted, it would appear, the most important element in the Černii Klobouci, the *Kaepići* have been interpreted as the the *Qayı-opa*, i.e. deriving from the famous Qayı clan/tribe of the Oğuz from whom the house of Osman claimed descent. This thesis was roundly attacked and laid to rest by M.F. Köprülü in his "Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nun etnik menşei," *Belleten*, VII/28 (1943), pp.219-303.

39 *Jâmiʿ al-Tavârîx*, ed. Karîmî, I, p.483.

40 See T.I. Sultanov, *Kočevye plemena Priaral'ja v XV-XVIIvv.* (Moskva, 1982), p.32.

41 al-Dimašqî, *Nuxbat al-Dahr fî ʿAjâ'ib al-Barr wa'l-Bahr*, ed. F. Mehren (SPb., 1886), p.264.

42 Sultanov, *Kočevye plemena*, p.30; L. Rásonyi, "Contribution à l'histoire des premieres cristallisations d'État des Roumains. L'origin des Basaraba," *Archivum Centro-Orientalis*, I (1935), pp.231-232; R. Dankoff, "Baraq and Burâq," *Central Asiatic Journal*, XV (1971), pp.102-117.

Bayawut : Nasawî : بايا (و)ت [bâyâ(w)t],[43] Rašîd al-Dîn : بایاوت [bâyâwt],[44] Ibn Xaldûn : بیاووت [byâwwt],[45] the *Yüan-Shih* : *Pai-ya-wu*[46] = *Bayawut*. Two groupings, in our sources, bear this name : the "forest" Mongol *Keherin/Keherün Baya'ut*, *Jede-yin Bayawut*,[47] and the *Bayawut*, one of the ruling clans, tribes or subconfederations of the Qanglı. Terken/Tergen Xatun, the wife of the Xwârazmšâh Tekiš (1170-1200) and mother of the ill-fated Muhammad, was of Bayawut origin.[48] Although the presence of a Mongol branch of this grouping might point to the Mongol origin of this clan/tribe/subconfederation among the Cuman/Qıpčaqs (or more precisely their Qanglı branch), the word *bayawut* (with the ğ> *w* shift, typical of Qıpčaq) is clearly Turkic in origin : cf. Turk. *bayağut* "rich merchant."[49]

Burčoğlı : In the Rus' sources : *Боурчевичи* [burčeviči],[50] Dimašqî[51] : برج اغلوا [brj ' lw'] = *burčoğlu*, al-Nuwairî,[52] Ibn Xaldûn[53] : اغلا برج = * اغلی برج : *burčoğlı*. In Hungaro-Latin sources we find the form *Borchol*.[54] Pritsak located their camplands between the Dnepr and Orel'.[55] Al-Dimašqî, however, associates this grouping with the Xwârazmian steppes. We still lack a convincing etymology of *burč*.[56] The latter part, *oğ lu* (< Turk. *oğul* "son") corresponds to the Slavic patronymic suffix (given in plural form in our texts) *-evič*.

B.zânkî/B.zângî (?) : noted only in al-Dimašqî : بزانکی (var. lect. انرانکة ['nrânkh]). Rásonyi saw in this form a corruption of براندی [brândy] = Berändi/Берендей/

43 *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankbirti*, ed. O. Houdas (Paris, 1891), p.32; *An-Nasavi, Žizneopisanie Sultana Dželal-ad-Din Mangburny*, trans. Z.M. Bunijatov (Baku, 1973), p.70.

44 Fadlallâh Rašîd al-Dîn, *Jâmi' at-Tavârîx*, ed. A.A. Alizade et al., (Baku-Moskva, 1957, 1965, 1980), II/1, pp.347,657.

45 Ibn Xaldûn, V, p.235.

46 P. Pelliot, L. Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Genghis Khan* (Leiden, 1961), I, pp.82-112.

47 Rašîd al-Dîn, ed. Alizade, I/1, pp.657-658; Pelliot, Hambis, *Campagnes*, pp.82-83.

48 In contrast to the notices in Nasawî and Ibn Xaldûn, Juvainî, *Ta'rîx-i Jahân-Gušâ*, ed. M. Qazvînî (London-Leiden, 1912, 1916, 1937), II, p.109, connects her with the clan or tribe *Uran/Ören*.

49 Clauson, *ED*, p.385; L. Bese, "Néhány etnikai elnevezésről a Mongolok Titkos Történetében, II." *Keletkutatás* (1988, tavasz), p.25.

50 *PSRL*, I, c.250; II, c. 644.

51 ed. Mehren, p.264.

52 In V. Tizengauzen (Tiesenhausen), *Sbornik materialov otnosjašcixsja k istorii Zolotoj Ordy* (SPb.,, 1884, Moskva-Leningrad, 1941), I, p.539.

53 Ibn Xaldûn, V, p.371.

54 Rásonyi, "Kuman," *TKA*, III-IV (1966-1969), p.96.

55 O. Pritsak, "The Non-'Wild' Polovtsians," *To Honor Roman Jakobson* (The Hague-Paris, 1967), II, p.1623.

56 See Rásonyi, "Kuman," *TKA*, III-IV (1966-1969), p.96; B.A.Baskakov, *Tjurkskaja leksika v "Slove o polku Igoreve"* (Moskva, 1985), p.78.

Берендичи (who formed part of the Černii Klobouci.[57] There are many difficulties in accepting this identification both from the historical and philological perspectives. Another possibility would be to emend this to برانلی [brânly] : **Buranlı* < Turk. *buran* "buran, kratkovremennyj grozovoj leven', burja, tuman" etc.[58] also an anthroponym. This would belong to that grouping of Turkic ethnonyms denoting powers of nature, e.g. *Qarluq*.[59]

Čağraq/Čagrat/Čoğraq/Čograt/Čoqrat : found only in Baihaqî[60] : جغراق [jġrâq]/ جغرات [jġrât], perhaps جقراق [jqrâq] etc. usually noted together with the clan/tribe called *Küčet*.[61] It is unclear which of these forms is correct. *Čoğrat* may derive from *čoğrat-* "to boil."[62]

Čenegrepa : *Ченегрепа* (noted above), perhaps rendering : **Čenegir-apa*, **Čengir-apa*, **Čengir-pa* < Mong. *cengkir*, cenggir, *cengkeger*, *cengker*, *cengkiger* "light blue, bluish"[63]

**Čitey (oğlı)* : the *Читѣевичи* are mentioned in the Rus' chronicles.[64] They are presented here, in Volodimir Monomax's *Testament*, as among the nomadic forces allied with Monomax, consisting of "Polovci and Čiteeviči" who assisted in his capture of Minsk. Subsequently, they are depicted, paired with the Torks (Western Oğuz), as among the Polovcian troops which came out to war against him in the Sula river region. Thus, it is unclear from the context whether this was a grouping from among the Cuman/Qıpčaqs or one of the non-Cuman, allied Turkic peoples. We are equally uncertain as to the connection of this name with the form *Chydbe* (*Čit-beğ) noted in Hungaro-Latin documents.[65]

57 al-Dimašqî, ed. Mehren, p. 264; L. Rásonyi, "Les Turcs non-islamisés en Occident (Péçénegues, Ouzes et Qıptchaqs, et leurs rapports avec les Hongrois," *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, III (Wiesbaden, 1970), p.24.

58 Sevortjan, *Étim. slov.*, II, pp.189-192.

59 See Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* (Budapest, 1930), p.50.

60 *Ta'rîx-i Baihaqî*, ed. A.A. Fayyaz (Tehran, 1971), pp.99, 411, 933.

61 C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghazanvids* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 209, 233, 238; Köprülü, "Kay Kabilesi," *Belleten*, VIII (1948), pp. 435ff.

62 Clauson, *ED*, p. 411.

63 Lessing, p.172. Rásonyi, "Kuman," *TKA*, III-IV (1966-1969), p.99 derives it from *Čenger* which he notes as figuring in some of the toponymy of Magna Hungaria (Baškiria), citing also a Baškir *tarxan* recorded s.a. 1735 bearing the name Čingerček. A similar type of name is to be found, perhaps, in the Pečeneg tribal name **Kü(w)er i* (Κουᾰρτζ-τζουρ) < *kügerči* (< *kök* "blue"), see J. Németh, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy Szent-Miklós* (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, II, Budapest, 1932), p. 50; L. Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolataia honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban* (Budapest, 1986), p.507.

64 *PSRL*, I, cc. 248-249.

65 Rásonyi, "Kuman," *TKA*, III-IV (1966-1969), p.110; Baskakov, *Tjurk. leksika*, p.91. The anthroponym *Čit* is found among the Qazaqs (Kazakhs).

*Čırtan/Čortan/*Ozur Čortan*: al-Dimašqî[66]: ازو خربان = *ازور جربان ['zwr jrtân] = *Ozur Čortan*, Mubârakšâh[67]: دور جرتان = *ازور جرتان = *Ozur Čortan*, Nuwairî,[68] Ibn Xaldûn[69]: جرتان = *Čortan*. The forms *Čortan* and *Čortan* match *Chortan* and *Chertan* found in Hungaro-Latin sources.[70] Rásonyi compares *Čortan* with Qumuq *Cortan balıq* "pike" (cf. Trkm. *čortan*, Qoyb., Sağ . *sortan*, Tat. *čurtan*). The first element, *Ozur*, may be derived from Turk. *oz-* "to outstrip, to escape, to surpass," "obgonjat', peregonjat', operežat', vyigrivat', proxodit' mimo."[71]

Durut,/Dört/Dürüt/Dörüt (?): Nuwayrî[72]: دروت [drwt], Ibn Xaldûn[73]: دورت [dwrt] = *Durut, Dorut, Dürüt, Dörüt, Dört* (?). In the absence of other comparative data (the Rus' chronicles make no mention of such a tribe[74]), we cannot give a definitive reading. If the form given by Ibn Xaldûn is correct, we may have Turk. *dört* "four," but this would seem to be an Oğuz form (cf. Qıpčaq *tört*). The use of numerals in tribal confederations, often designating the number of constituent tribes, is a well-known phenomenon in the nomadic steppe (cf. Toquz Oğuz, Naiman etc.).[75] The *at-Tuhfah*, a Qıpčaq glossary of the 15th century records the interlinear gloss on the Turkic *yaratı* "he created": درتي *dürüti* (< *türü-* "to create").[76] This, however, also appears to be an Oğuz form (cf. Old Osm. *dörüt-* etc.). Although the presence of an Oğuz grouping among the Cuman/Qıpčaqs poses no great problems, the semantics of this name does.

**Encoğlı/*Ilancuqlı* (?): mentioned only in Nuwayrî[77]: انجغلي ['njġly] = *Encoğlı* deriving, perhaps, from *enč* "tranquil, at peace, at rest."[78] Such a name would fall into the category of Turkic tribal names denoting peacefulness and obedience.[79] Another possibility would be to read it as النجغلي ['lnjġly] or perhaps even النجقلي ['lnjqly] = *Ilancuğ*

66 ed. Mehren, p.264.

67 *Ta'ríkh-i Fakhru'd Dín Mubárakshán*, ed. E.D. Ross (London, 1927), p.47; A.Z.V. Togan, "On Mubarakshah Ghuri," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VI (1932-1933), pp.847-848.

68 Tizengauzen, *Sbornik*, I, p.539.

69 Beirut ed., V, p.372.

70 Rásonyi, "Kuman," *TKA*, III-IV (1966-1969), p.101.

71 Clauson, *ED*, p. 279; Sevortjan, *Étim. slov.*, I, p. 425.

72 Tizengauzen, *Sbornik*, I, p.539.

73 ed. Beirut ed., V, p.372.

74 Pritsak, "Polovcians" *AEMAe*, II (1982), p.338n.106, suggests their identity with the Terteroba noted in the Rus' chronicles (see below), explaining the Arabic as a broken plural form of *Dert[er]*. This, however, is a conjecture that requires further substantiation.

75 I. Kafesoğlu, *Türk Bozkır Kültürü* (Ankara, 1987), p. 18.

76 *Ettuhfet-üz-Zekiyye fil-Lûgat-it-Türkiyye*, ed. Turk. trans. B. Atalay (Istanbul, 1945), facs., p.14b, Turk. trans. p.38; Clauson, *ED*, p.536.

77 Tizengauzen, *Sbornik*, I, p.539.

78 Clauson, *ED*, pp. 171-172; *Tarama Sözlüğü*, III (Ankara, 1967), p. 1466 *en* "rahat, huzur, asayiş," cf. also *Codex Cumanicus/Komanisches Wörterbuch*, ed. K. Grønbech (Kopenhagen, 1942), p.88.

79 Németh, *HMK*, pp. 35-36.

lı or *Ilancuqlı* : **Yılancuqlı* (< Turk. *yılan*"snake). Cf. also the personal name *Ilonchuk* mentioned in the Hungaro-Latin sources.[80]

It-oba : Mubârakšâh[81] : اتبا ['tbâ], al-Dimašqî[82]: ايتبا ['ytbâ], Nuwayrî[83] : ايبا [ytâ] for ايتبا ['ytbâ], Ibn Xaldûn[84] : ستا [stâ] for *ايتبا = *It-oba* < Turk. *it* (cf. Cuman *it* "Hund"[85]). The forms noted in Nuwayrî and Ibn Xaldûn, however, may also be read as يتبا [ytbâ] = *Yete)-oba* which may be compared with the Етебичи of the Rus' chronicles. Such a name could derive from Turk. *yeti* "seven"[86] + *oba*.

Ibn Xaldûn[87] also notes the form اوغلي ['wġly] which is customarily corrected to ات اوغلي ['t 'wġly] = *It-oğlı* "son of the dog." This is the name, also, of a Cuman prince (Итоглый) noted on several occasions in the Rus Chronicles as an ally of the Kievan princes.[88] This term, then, may be viewed as the totem of this clan and perhaps even the princely designation of the clan leader, *It-oba*.[89]

Kitanopa/Qitanopa : *Китанопа* is noted among the Cuman/Qıpčaq princes who were killed in the Rus' campaign of 1103 (see above).[90] Here again, as noted previously, we may well be dealing with the title of the clan or tribal grouping called *Kitan/Qitan*.[91] The latter, as we have seen were part of the Hsien-pi union. In the 10th century, having driven the Qırğız out of Mongolia, the Qitan (in Turkic *Qıtañ*, later *Qıtay*) took possession of Northern China, Manchuria and Mongolia, founding the Liao Empire. After the collapse of their state in 1124 at the hands of the Jurćens, some of the Qitan tribes fled to Central Asia where they brought into being the Qara Qitay (i.e. Northern Qitan) state in Turkistan. Even prior to this, however, Qitan groupings, or peoples from the Qitan state, had begun to move into the now largely Turkic steppes of Central Asia. Here, apparently, they were incorporated into the Qıpčaq union.

80 Rásonyi, *PhTF*, III, p.20.
81 ed. Ross, p.47; Togan, "Mubarakshah," p.850.
82 ed. Mehren, p.264.
83 Tizengauzen, *Sbornik*, I, p.539.
84 Beirut ed. V, p. 372.
85 *Codex Cum.* ed. Grønbech, p. 108.
86 Clauson, *ED*, p. 886 (*yetti*). The *Cod. Cuman.*, ed. Grønbech, p. 123 notes *yete* "Kommunion." This usage is uncertain. If it is, indeed, our term, it may refer to Cuman groupings that had converted to Christianity.
87 Beirut ed., V, p. 372.
88 *PSRL*, I, cc. 361, 396, II, cc. 632, 668, 672, 675..
89 Pritsak, "Non-'Wild' Polovtsians," pp. 1616-1619, 1621, who locates them in the Pontic and Bug river regions.
90 *PSRL*, I, 278-279, II, c. 255.
91 Ethnonyms are also found as personal names, e.g. in 1159, the leader of the "Wild Cumans" bears the name Baškord "Baškir" (*PSRL*, II, c. 501). The *Qıtay*, *Qatay* may still be found among the tribal and clan names of the Baškirs, Özbeks, Qara Qalpaqs, Qazaqs, Qırğız and Crimean Tatars, see Kuzeev, *Proisxoždenie*, pp. 466-467.

Knn (?) : Nuwayrî, Ibn Xaldûn[92] : كنن [knn]. A number of "corrected" readings are possible : كتن [ktn], cf. *Köten* (Rus. Котянъ, Hung. *Kötöny*),[93] the name of the famous chieftain of the Western Cumans who, in the aftermath of the Mongol conquest of the Western Eurasian steppes migrated to Hungary.[94] In the pre-Činggisid era, however, anthroponyms do not, as a rule, appear as ethnonyms among the Turkic peoples.[95] Another reading may be : كين [kyt] = *Keyit*. This tribal name is found in the list of Turkic tribes given by Axsikentî.[96] *Keyit* may derive from Turk. (Qazaq, Qırğız) *keyit-* "to irritate, annoy."[97]

Kučeba/Kučoba : The Rus' chronicles mention Соудимиръ Коучебичъ[98] who had converted to Christianity and taken service with the Rus' princes. In 1147, he was placed in charge of the Cuman allied troops of Svjatoslav Ol'govič, prince of Novgorod-Seversk. His patronymic points to a tribal or clan name : Turk. *küč* (Mong. *kücü-n)* "strength"[99] + *oba*.

Kučet : Mahmûd al-Kâšġarî[100] : كجت [kjt] = *Kučet*, Bayhaqî[101] : كجات [kjât] = *Kučät*, Mubârakšâh[102] : التي كجات ['lty kjât] = *Altı Kučät*. Together with the Čoğrat tribe (see above), they played an important role in the history of 11th century Xwârazm. They appear to have been part of the Qanglı subconfederation of the

92 Tizengauzen, *Sbornik*, I, p.539; Ibn Xaldûn, Beirut ed., V, p.372.

93 *Köten* derives from Turk. *köt* "backside, buttocks" (Clauson, *ED*, p. 700; Sevortjan, *Étim. slov.*, I, pp. 84-86) with numerous derivatives covering a wide range of meanings. In the *at-Tuhfah*, Atalay reads the Arabic [sarm] as "ham deri" (*Ettuhfet*, Arab facs. 22a, line 4, pp.42, 209), while the Russian translation and edition of the text (É.I. Fazylov and M.T. Zijaeva, *Izyskannyj dar tjurkskomu jazyku*, Taškent, 1978, p. 144) renders *sarm* as "prjamaja kiška." This Arabic word can also mean "courage" (see R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leyde, 1881, I, p.830) and perhaps should be understood in that sense here. Rásonyi, "Kuman," *TKA*, III-IV (1966-1969), p. 118, cites the Qazaq name *Kötübar* "götü var" which points to one's endurance in the saddle and manly courage.

94 In Hungary, he had an unhappy end. Köten was blamed for the Tatar invasion of 1241 and perished there, see Gy. Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt* (Budapest, 1899), II, p.157. The Cumans withdrew from Hungary, but later returned and settled there, see Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*, p.54 for Cuman patterns of settlement.

95 Németh, *HMK*, pp.59-65.

96 Sultanov, *Kočevye plemena*, p. 31.

97 B.N. Shnitnikov, *Kazakh-English Dictionary* (London-The Hague-Paris, 1966), p. 122; K.K. Judaxin, *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar'* (Moskva, 1965), p. 367.

98 *PSRL*, II, c. 342.

99 Clauson, *ED*, p. 693.

100 ed. trans. Dankoff, I, p. 277 (see also facsimile ediction of B. Atalay, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk*, Ankara, 1941, p. 180) : "a tribe of Turks, who have been settled in Khwarizm."

101 ed. Fayyaz, pp. 99, 402, 407, 411, 429, 933.

102 ed. Ross, p. 47.

Eastern Cuman/Qıpčaqs. This tribal name is probably to be derived from Turk. *kücet-* "to urge to seize."[103]

Kor or *Qor* (?) - perhaps *Kol/Qol* : In the Hungaro-Latin documents we find *Kool* (*Kól*) and *Koor* (*Kór*).[104] Györffy views *Kol* as the original form and compares it with the name *Qoloba/Quloba* (see below).[105] Rásonyi suggested a derivation from Turk. (Uyğ.) *qoğur/qoqur* "pustoj, nictoznyj, maloznacitel'nyj,"[106] but this seems unlikely as does an etymology from Turk. *qor* (*qôr*) "loss, damage" and (*qor*) "the residue of sour milk used to make *yogurt* and baker's yeast, leaven."[107]

Qara Börklü : al-Dimašqî[108] : قرا برکلو [qrâ brklw'] = *Qara Börklü*, Ibn Xaldûn[109] : قدکا برکلي recte: قرا برکلي [qrâ brkly] = *Qara Börkli* : Turk. "having or wearing a black hat." Although attempts have been made to connect this grouping with the Černii Klobouci of the Rus' sources (see above), this seems most unlikely since the latter, servitors of the Rus' princes of Kiev, were the long-standing enemies of the Cumans. Semantically, this name, like that of the Černii Klobouci, may point to a feature of their clothing or perhaps, as I have suggested elsewhere with regard to the Černii Klobouci (see n. 37), it may have been symbolic of a dependent relationship.

Qol-oba/Qul-oba : In the Rus' chronicles, we find mention of the Колобичи/Кулобичи and a certain *Съдвакъ Коулобичкий*[110] Nuwayrî[111] : قلابا [qlâbâ] = *Qulaba, Quloba, Qolaba, Qoloba*,Ibn Xaldûn[112] : قلابا اغلي [qlâbâ 'gly] + *Qulaba/Quloba/Qolaba/Qoloba ogl*ı the "Son(s) of Qulaba < Turk. *qul* "a (male) slave."[113]

*Qmngû/*Qumanlu* (?)/**Qanglu* (?) : al-Dimašqî[114] has the form قمنکو [qmnkw'] = *قمنلو [qmnlw'] **Qumanlu* < Quman (?) or perhaps قنکلو [qnklw'] = **Qanglu*.

*Qongur-oğl*ı : Nuwayrî[115] : قنغو, recte : *قنغر [qnġr] = *Qongur*, Ibn Xaldûn[116] : اغلي قنغر [qnġr 'ġly] = *Qongur-oğl*ı, Ibn Doqmaq[117] : قنغر اوغلي [qnġr 'wġly] = *Qongur-*

103 Clauson, *ED*, pp. 695-696.
104 A. Pálóczi-Horváth, "L'immigration et l'établissement des Comans en Hongrie," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, 29 (1975), p. 320; Rásonyi, "Kuman," *TKA*, III-IV (1966-1969), p. 115.
105 Gy. Györffy, "A magyarországi kun társadalom a XIII-XIV században" in Gy. Székely (ed.), *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14. században* (Budapest, 1953), reprinted in his *A magyarság keleti elemei* (Budapest, 1990), p. 275.
106 See V.M. Nadljaev et al., *Drevnetjurkskijslovar'* (Leningrad, 1969), pp. 452-457.
107 Clauson, *ED*, pp. 641-642.
108 ed. Mehren, p. 264.
109 Beirut ed., V, p. 372.
110 *PSRL*, II, cc. 632, 641.
111 Tizengauzen, *Sbornik*, I, p. 539.
112 Beirut ed., V, p. 372.
113 Clauson, *ED*, p. 615. An etymology from Turk. *qol* "upper arm" (p. 614) is very unlikely.
114 ed. Mehren, p. 264.
115 Tizengauzen, *Sbornik*, I, p. 539.
116 Beirut ed., V, p. 372.
117 Rásonyi, "Kuman," *TKA*, III-IV (1966-1969), p. 115.

oğl. The name *Qonġur* is found in Hungary as a family name and as a toponym in Nagy Kunság (Greater Cumania).[118] This name is most probably to be derived from Turk. *qonġur* "dark chestnut." The Mong. *qonġur* is an early borrowing from Turkic.[119] Horse colors, it should be noted, figure in the tribal names of the Pečenegs. Pelliot rejected any connection of the Mongol tribal name (pl.) *Qonggirad/Onggrad* with the Turkic form. The latter (Qonġrat) subsequently appear as an important constituent tribal element in a number of Turkic tribal confederations.[120]

Mekrüti/Mekrüte/Mekürti/Mekürte or *Bekrüti/Bekrüte/Bekürti/Bekürte*: Rašîd al-Dîn[121]: مكروتي [mkrwty] = *Mekrüti/Mekrüte*, var. lect. بكروتي [bkrwty] *Bekrüti/Bekrüte*. Either of these forms could also be corruptions of مكورتي [mkwrty], i.e. **Mekürti/Mekürte* or بكورتي [bkwrty] **Bekürti/Bekürte*. According to our source, in 635/1237-38, the Mongol armies under the command of Berke defeated this tribe. Their camping grounds were in the area between the Crimea and the North Caucasian steppes. Rašîd al-Dîn also gives the names of three of their clan chieftains : Er Čomaq, Quranmas and Qıran. In the form **Bekürte* this name can be derived from Turk. *bekürt-* "zastavljat' ukrepit', usilit'."[122]

Mingüz-oğlu : al-Dimašqî [123] has the form منكور اغلوا which should be restored as *منكوز اغلوا [mnkwz ' lw'] = *Mingüz-oğlu*, cf. Qırğ. *mingiz-* "posadit' na lošad'."[124]

Orungqut: Rašîd al-Dîn notes the اورونكقوت ['wrwnkqwt] *Orungqut* as the neighbors of the Badač(see above). This appears to be a Mongol plural form (*-t/-d*) of Mong. *orungġu* "a kind of small dark antelope with long flat horns."[125]

Ölberli(g)/Ölperli(g) : Noted in the Chinese sources (the biography of T'u-t'u-ha, *Yüan-shih*) in the forms : *Yü-li-pai-li*, *Yü-li-pei-li*,[126] in the Rus' chronicles as : Ѿперлюєве = * Олперлюєве = *Ölperlü* and in the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* in the form : Олбѣры/Ольберы = *Ölber*,[127] Mubârakšâh[128] : برتلك = برليك = * البرليك ['lbrlyk] =

118 Rásonyi, "Kuman," *TKA*, III-IV (1966-1969), p. 115.

119 Clauson, *ED*, p. 639; *DTSl.*, p. 456; F. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982), p.962.

120 Pelliot, Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes*, pp. 405-407.

121 ed. Alizade, II/1, p. 137.

122 *DTSl.* p. 93.

123 ed. Mehren, p. 264.

124 V.V. Radlov (Radloff), *Opyt slovarja tjurkskix narečij* (SPb., 1893-1911), IV,/2, c. 2150.

125 Lessing, p. 623; N. Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Altaischen Sprachen* (Wiesbaden, 1960), I, p. 99 : mong. *oronggo* "Hirsch," ev. lam. go. *oron* "Rentier;" J. Norman, *A Concise Manchu-English Lexicon* (Seattle, 1978), p. 225 : *oron* "domesticated reindeer," *oronggo* "Przewalski's gazelle."

126 Pelliot, Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes*, pp. 97, 104-105, 107-108.

127 *PSRL*, II, c. 435; D.S. Lixacëv (ed.), *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (Moskva, 1982), p. 135.

128 ed. Ross, p. 47.

Ölberlig. The Latin Letter of Hülegü Xan has the *reges uilperitorum* ("kings of the *uilper*, the *it* is the Mong. pl.) = *Ölper(i)*,[129] Juzjânî[130] : البري ['lbry] = *Ölberi/Ölperi*; Abu Hayyân,[131] Nuwayrî[132] Ibn Xaldûn[133] : البرلي ['lbrly] = *Ölberli/Ölperli*; Rašîd al-Dîn[134] : اولبرليك ['wlbrlyk]=*Ölberlig/Ölperlig*. In the first quarter of the 12th century, the Ölberlig tribe, having migrated from its habitat in the Jehol region in Manchuria, moved into Central Asia and thence into the Ukrainian steppes. There, they joined the "Wild Cuman" (*Dikii Polovci*) confederation, becoming one of its most important subgroupings. Later, in the 13th century, *ġulâm*s of Ölberli origin came to constitute the ruling elite of the Delhi Sultanate in India. In China of the Yüan era, individuals who claimed descent from the former ruling house of the Ölberli held important posts in the Mongol administration.[135]

Ölberli(g) may be derived from Mong. *ölöbür/ölübür* "weak, having poor health"[136] + the Turkic (and Mongolic) adjective-forming suffix *-lig*. The Ölberli(g) camped in the steppes that extended from the Donec River to Xwârazm. Yüan era Chinese sources place them in the Volga-Ural mesopotamia.[137]

Ören/Uran : Mubârakšâh,[138] Juwaynî[139] : اوران ['wrân] = *Ören* or *Uran*. This was one of the leading clans of the Qanglı. Our understanding of the internal structure and interrelationships of the Yimek-Bayawut-Ören/Uran grouping, only fragmentarily illuminated by our sources, remains rather vague. It cannot be doubted that they played an important, at times, disruptive and negative role in the internal affairs of the Xwârazmšâh state.[140] The etymology is less than certain. Kâšġarî[141] mentions the

129 P. Mayvaert, "An Unknown Letter of Hulagu, Il-Khan of Persia to King Louis IV of France," *Viator*, II (1980), p. 254.

130 *Ṭabaqât-i Nâṣirî*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabîbî (Kabul, 1963-64), I, p. 440.

131 *Kitâb al-Idrâk li Lisân al-Atrâk*, ed. A. Cafero lu (Istanbul, 1937), Arabic text, p. 29.

132 Tizengauzen, *Sbornik*, I, p.539.

133 Beirut ed., V, p. 37

134 ed. Alizade, II/1, p.129.

135 See Golden, "Cumanica II," *AEMAe*, 6 (1986).

136 Lessing, p. 634; cf. also the forms : *ölber-/ölmer-/ölmür-*, Tung. *ulbu-ni* "verhungern, vor Hunger sterben," (cf. also Turk. *öl-* "to die"); P.M. Melioranskij, "Tureckie élementy v jazyke "Slova o polku Igoreve," *Izvestija otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovestnosti Akademii Nauk*, VII/2 (1902), p. 287; G.J. Ramstedt, *Einführung in die Altaische Sprachwissenschaft* (Helsinki, 1952, 1955, 1957, 1966), I, p. 146, II, p. 105; Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, I, pp. 108, 125.

137 See Th. Allsen, "Prelude to the Western Campaigns : Mongol Military Operations in the Volga-Ural Region, 1217-1237," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, 3 (1983), p. 7.

138 ed. Ross, p. 47; Togan, "Mubarakshah," p. 480.

139 ed. Qazwînî, II, pp. 35, 36.

140 See M.F. Köprülü, "Uran Kabilesi," *Belleten*, VII/26 (1943), pp. 222-243; İ. Kafesoğlu, *Harezmşahlar Devleti Tarihi* (Ankara, 1956), pp. 93-95, 129-130, 146, 221, 278; Z.M. Bunijatov, *Gosudarstvo xorezmšaxov-anušteginov 1097-1231* (Moskva, 1986), p. 62.

141 ed. trans. Dankoff, I, p. 115.

Oğuz word *ören* "bad" (in the sense of "wicked, base, evil" etc., Arab. *radî*) which he considers an Oğuz borrowing from Persian *wîrân* "ruined" and an example of the impact of Iranian on the Oğuz. The Persian *wîrân*, *wayrân* also denotes "desert, desolate, depopulated," and is found in some Modern Eastern Qıpčaq languages (Qazaq, Qırğız and Noğay) in the form *oyran*, *oyron*,[142] in the sense "destroyed." We have no evidence to indicate that the Ören/Uran were Oğuz, the only Turkic language in which this word is found in a form corresponding to our sources. Oğuz groupings were, undoubtedly, incorporated into the Qıpčaq union as were Pečenegs (see below), but we must have more concrete data before such an identification can be made here. A possible Qıpčaq provenance based on this borrowing can be put forward only if we emend our form to اویران ['wyrân] *Oyran*. A Mongol origin for this grouping is also not impossible, cf. Mong. *uran* "artist, craftsman,"[143] but this would imply certain crafts associated with this high-ranking clan for which, again, we have no evidence.

Pečene : al-Dimašqî[144] : بجنه [bjnh] = *Pečene* < *Pečeneg*. The Pečene were remnants of the Pečenegs that were joined to the Cuman/Qıpčaq union. The bulk of the Pečeneg tribes migrated to the western regions of the Western Eurasian steppes, concentrating, after their defeat at the hands of the Rus' in 1036, in the Danubian borderlands of Byzantium. In 1091, they suffered a devastating defeat inflicted on them by the Byzantines, who were aided by the Cumans, from which their already weakened military might never recovered.[145]

Shan-mieh ku-ma-li : Noted in the *Yüan-shih*, c. 136, in a discussion of the career of Aša or Asan Buqa (A-sha Pu-hua), a Qanglı in Yüan service in China. The phrasing of the passage is ambiguous. According to Bretschneider's interpretation, this was the name of the tribe (*shih*, actually "clan name") from which Aša/Asan Buqa's grandmother, the widow of the Qanglı ruler, stemmed. Kadyrbaev, however, says that this was the name of the grandmother.[146] The passage should, perhaps, be under-

142 F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (1892, reprint : Beirut, 1970), p. 1483; Clauson, *ED*, p. 233; Shnitnikov, *Kazakh-English Dictionary*, p. 152; Judaxin, *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar'*, p. 563; N.A. Baskakov, *Nogajsko-russkij slovar'* (Moskva, 1963), p. 242. In Qazaq and Noğay it means "destruction."

143 Lessing, p. 879.

144 ed. Mehren, p. 264.

145 On the Pecenegs, see A.N. Kurat, *Peçenek Tarihi* (Istanbul, 1937); E. Tryjarski et al., *Hunowie Europejscy, Protobutgarzy, Chazarowie, Pieczyngowie* (Warszawa, 1975); O. Pritsak, "The Pečenegs : A Case of Social and Economic Transformation," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, I (1975), pp. 211-235.

146 E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (1888, reprint : New York, 1967), I, p. 302; A. Š. Kadyrbaev, *Tjurki i Irancy v Kitae i Central'noj Azii XIII-XIV vv.* (Alma-Ata, 1990), p. 30; I. de Rachewiltz, "Turks in China under the Mongols : A Preliminary Investigation of Turco-Mongol Relations in the 13th and 14th Centuries," in M. Rossabi (ed.), *China Among Equals* (Berkeley, 1983), pp. 289-290, 306. Bretschneider notes that the Qanglı had diplomatic relations with the Chin dynasty.

stood as referring to "Shan-mieh" of the "Ku-ma-li" clan. The tribal or clan name hidden here is unclear.

Tarew (?) : The Rus' sources[147] mention, s.a. 1086, a Cuman "prince" named *Азгулуй Тарьевскыи* who was killed by the forces of Volodimir Monomax. The form from which this name derives, if it is not a toponym (unidentified), may point to a tribe or clan = Azguluy[148] of the *Tarew* (?).

Tarğl : The name of the tribe which took the ill-fated Prince Igor' of Novgorod-Seversk into captivity in 1185 is noted in the Rus' chronicles[149] : *Тарголове = Tarğl* < Turk. *tarğl* "of cattle or other animals 'striped'."[150] In this connection, we might note that Axsikentî mentions in his list of Turkic tribes the name تارغيل.[151]

Terter/Teriter-oba : The Rus' chronicles mention among the Cuman tribes that campaigned against Prince Igor' in 1185 the grouping : *Терьтробичи = Terter/ Teriter-oba*.[152] In the 13th century, Georgij Terter (Τερτερῆς), a Bulgarian noble of Cuman origin, founded the short-lived Terter dynasty in Bulgaria.[153] It would appear that he was a descendant of this grouping. The name may be derived from Turk. *terter* < *teriter* < *terit-* "to sweat."[154]

Toqsoba/Toğsoba : In the Rus' chronicles : *Токсобичи*,[155] *al-Dimašqî*[156] : طقسبا [tqsbâ], Nuwayrî,[157] Abu Hayyân[158] : طقصبا [tqsbâ] = *Toqsoba*, Ibn Xaldûn[159] : طغصبا [tğsbâ] = *Toğsoba*. The Toqsoba, under their ruling house, the Šaruqanids, appear to have been one of the paramount clans/tribes of the subconfederation called the "Wild Cumans" by the Rus'. Their lands extended from the Don and Donec rivers to the Xwârazmian steppes.[160] Clans bearing this name are still found among the Baškirs

147 *PSRL*, I, c. 250.

148 N.A. Baskakov, *Tjurkskaja leksika v "slove o polku Igoreve"* (Moskva, 1985), p.67, who considers Azguluy a prince of the Černii Klobouci, derives this name from a metathecized form of Osm. *azıqlı* which he translates as "ščedryj, dobryj." This is a secondary meaning, however, the primary deriving from *azuq* (Clauson, *ED*, pp. 283, 284) "food for a journey" or "a stray arrow, that is one shot by a person unknown." These and other suggestions remain doubtful.

149 *PSRL*, II, c. 644.

150 Clauson, *ED*, p. 539.

151 Sultanov, *Kočevye plemena*, p. 33.

152 *PSRL*, II, c. 641.

153 Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1958), II, p. 306; J.V. Fine, Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor, 1987), p. 198; Rásonyi, "Kuman," *TKA* (1966-1969), p. 130.

154 Clauson, *ED*, p. 536.

155 *PSRL*, II, cc. 342, 455, 641.

156 ed. Mehren, p. 264.

157 Tizengauzen, *Sbornik*, I, p.539.

158 *Kitâb al-Idrâk*, ed. Turk. trans. Caferoğlu, p. 95.

159 Beirut, ed., V, p. 372.

160 Golden, "*Polovci Dikii*," *HUS*, III-IV (1979-80), p. 306.

and Qazaqs.[161] According to Ibn Xaldûn they were of "Tatar" origin. The name may be derived from a number of forms : 1) *tuxs(ı)-oba* from the Western Türk tribe Tuxsı which was later closely associated with the Čigil[162] 2) *toqs* < Turk. *toqus/toquz* "nine" = *Toqus-oba* "the union of nine clans" 3) Mong. *toġusu(n)* "dust" = the "tribe/clan of the dusty steppe." Rásonyi's proferred etymology < Turk. *toq* "sated, full" + *saba* "tulum, kırba" (a hide fashioned into a waterbag) does not seem very likely.[163]

Tğ Yšqût (* *Tağ Bašqurt* ?) : Noted only in al-Dimašqî[164] : طغ يشقوط = * طغ بشقرط [tġ bšqrt] = **Tağ Bašqurt* : Turk. *tağ* "mountain" + *Bašqurt* "Baškir" (ethnonym), the Turkic (or Turko-Ugrian) tribal confederation that had been, in all likelihood, incorporated into the Qıpčaq union.[165] We might note here that the tribe/clan name *tawlı* (older *tağlı*) is still found among the Baškir today.[166] Another possibility would be to read our form as **Tuğ Bašqurt* "the standard (-bearing) Baškirs" < Turk. *tuğ* "a royal emblem."[167]

Ulaš-oğlı : In the Rus' chronicles[168] noted as : *Улашевичи*, in the Hungaro-Latin documents : *Olaas* (read *Olaš*).[169] The Slavic plural ending *-evičі* probably points to **Ulaš-oğlı* i.e. the "Sons of Ulaš < Turk. *ulaš-* "to be joined together" or "to reach, come to."[170] According to Pritsak, their camping grounds were along the Samara river.[171]

Urus-oba : A chieftain named *Оурусоба* is mentioned among the Cuman "princes" killed by the Rus' in 1103.[172] This *Urus-oba*, in all likelihood, is not a personal name, but designates the chieftain of this clan or tribe. The Muslim authors are also familiar with this name. Al-Dimašqî[173] mentions : الارس ['l'rs] = *al-Urus* (with the Arabic article *al-*). There is a variant reading, الاش ['lâš] *Ulaš* which may point to a contamination with the preceding entry. Mubârakšâh[174] has : اوروس ['wrws] = *Urus*. According to al-Dimašqî, they nomadized in the Xwârazmian steppes. The name Urus-oba, it should be pointed out, has nothing to do with the Turkic designation for the Rus'

161 Kuzeev, *Proisxoždenie*, p. 178; V.V. Vostrov, M.S. Mukanov, *Rodoplemennoj sostav i rasselenija Kazaxov* (Alma-Ata, 1986), pp. 94-95.

162 F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar* (Istanbul, 3rd ed., 1980), p. 27; Minorsky, *Hudûd*, pp. 300-301.

163 Rásonyi, "Kuman," *TKA*, III-IV (1966-1969), p. 132.

164 ed. Mehren, p. 264.

165 On the complexities of Baškir ethnogenesis, see Kuzeev, *Proisxoždenie* and his more recent *Narody Srednego Povolžja i Južnogo Urala* (Moskva, 1992).

166 Kuzeev, *Proisxoždenie*, pp. 454-457. The 14th century *Codex Cumanicus*, ed. Grønbech, p. 232 has both *tağ* and *taw* in keeping with the shift in Qıpčaq of *ğ* > *w*.

167 Clauson, *ED*, p.464.

168 *PSRL*, II, c. 644.

169 Rásonyi, "Kuman," *TKA*, III-IV (1966-1969), p. 135.

170 Clauson, *ED*, p. 154; Radloff, *Opyt slovarja*, I/1, cc. 1684-1685.

171 Pritsak, "Non-Wild Polovtsians," p. 1623.

172 *PSRL*, I, c. 250; II, cc. 253,255.

173 ed. Mehren, p. 264.

174 ed. Ross, p. 47.

and Russians, *Urus*. Indeed, the roots of this name go very deep into the past of the Eurasian steppes. Al-Masᶜûdî[175] mentions a group of Muslim Xwârazmians who served as the personal guard of the Khazar Qağans called : الارسية ['l'rsyh] = *al-Orsiyya/al-Ursiyya*.[176] The ethnonym *Ors/Urs* goes back to the ancient Sarmatian tribal name noted in the Greek sources as Ἀορσοι (= Iran. *auruša* "white"). In the Scytho-Osetin grouping of Iranian, the diphthong *au/ao* becomes *u/o*.[177] Thus, *Auruša* > *Ors/Urs*. The Alano-As tribes that migrated into the Pontic steppes incorporated the Ἀορσοι into their union. The Turkicization of this tribe, or elements of it, was undoubtedly connected with their service with the Khazar Qağans. A number of sources testify to the close ties of the Alano-As with the Khazars and later with the Pečenegs and Cuman/Qıpčaqs. In Turkic *Ors/Urs* became *Urus*. Although we cannot point to an unbroken chain of evidence connecting the Urus with the Ἀορσοι, such a connection, certainly attenuated over the centuries, seems not improbable.[178] In any event, the presence of a Qıpčaq tribe or clan bearing this name is beyond doubt. Moreover, the name is still found among the Qazaqs as a clan name : Oıs.[179]

Yemek/Yimek : mentioned in the Rus' sources as *Половци Ємакове* "the Cumans called Yemäk,"[180] al-Dimašqî and Abu Ḥayyân[181] note the tribe as : يمك [ymk] = *Yemek/Yimek*. This is the well-known variant of the ethnonym *Kimek* (see above). They are noted here as one of the tribes oriented towards Xwârazm, ie. the Qanglı subconfederation. They also had ties with Volga Bulğaria and Rus.'

Yete-oba, see *It-oba* above.

Yuğur : Noted in *at-Tawassul ilâ't-Tarassul* of Bahâ ad-Dîn al-Baġdâdî (late 12th century) : يوغور [ywġwr] *Yuğur*.[182] This word appears to be a metathecized form of the ethnonym *Uyğur*. The Yuğurs of Central Asia may be viewed as descendants of Uyğur groups that fled after the destruction of their state in Mongolia in 840 by the Qırğız. Axsikentî mentions them in his listing of Turkic tribes.[183]

175 *Murûj*, ed. Pellat, I, p.213.

176 For this vocalization, see T. Lewicki, "Un peuple iranien peu connu : les *Arsîya ou *Orsîya," *Hungaro-Turcica. Studies in Honour of Julius Németh*, ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy (Budapest, 1976), pp. 31-33.

177 D.I. Edel'man, *Sravnitel'naja grammatika vostočnoiranskix jazykov* (Moskva, 1986), p. 73.

178 Golden, "Cumanica III," *Aspects of Altaic Civilization*, III, ed. Sinor, pp. 33-46.

179 Vostrov, Mukanov, *Rodoplemenoj sostav*, p. 83.

180 *PSRL*, I, c. 389.

181 ed. Mehren, p. 264; *Kitâb al-Idrâk*, ed. Cafero lu, p. 98.

182 V.V. Bartol'd (Barthold), *Turkestan v époxu mongol'skogo našestvija* in his *Socinenija*, I, p. 404, suggests that *yuğur* "was used in the land of the Qıpčaqs as a title as well." See also Kafesoğlu, *Harezmsahlar*, pp. 41, 93; Axinzanov, "Kipčaki i Xorezm," pp. 46, 48 and Bunijatov, *Gosudarstvo*, p. 46.

183 Sultanov, *Kočevye plemena*, pp. 33, 44.

The ethnic affiliations of the tribes or clans noted in the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, the Могуты, Татраны, Ревугы, Шельбиры, Топчаки remain a subject of controversy. Baskakov has suggested that these "microethnonyms" are to be considered as belonging to the Černii Klobouci.[184]

This brief review of the Cuman/Qıpčaq clan and tribal names, despite the relative paucity of our sources, underscores, nonetheless, the complex ethno-dynamics, going on over centuries, that went into the making of the Cuman/Qıpčaq union. Turkic, Mongolic, Iranian and perhaps other elements took an active part in this process. The Cuman/Qıpčaq union was, in many respects, a microcosm of nomadic Eurasia.

184 Lixačëv, *Slovo*, p. 135; Baskakov, *Tjurkskaja leksika*, pp. 131-137.