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Turkic Calques in Slavic: The Legacy of the Golden Horde

Uli Schamiloglu (U. Wisconsin-Madison)

The rich cultural relations between the Turkic peoples of medieval Western Eurasia and the Eastern Slavs have not yet received the broader treatment they deserves. One aspect of these relations that has received the attention of scholars, Turkic calques (mirror translations) in Slavic, has yet to benefit from the broader context that new historical approaches can offer. In some of my work I have attempted to ask new questions concerning the basic contours of the political, social, and economic history of medieval Western Eurasia. In some cases this has had an impact on our understanding of the history of Turkic literary languages in Western Eurasia as well.[1] In this paper I will attempt to show how new approaches to the history of medieval Western Eurasia can explain a number of important calques relating to the interaction between the Turkic and Slavic worlds which have remained misunderstood. I hope this will serve as a fitting tribute for Edhem Tenishev – a fellow Kazan Tatar, friend of my teachers, and teacher of my friends – who has been one of the leading figures in Soviet and Russian Turkology.

Traditional Scholarship

The topic of Turkic loanwords and calques in medieval Slavic has attracted a significant amount of attention in international scholarship.[2] Peter B. Golden, writing about Turkic calques in the Halasi-Kun Festschrift, follows Baskakov's organization of Turkic calques in Eastern Slavic into four periods:[3]

I. pre-9th century
II. Old Rus' or Kievan period (9th-early 13th centuries)
III. so-called Tatar-Mongol period (13th-15th centuries)
IV. Imperial Russian (16th-19th centuries)

Golden offers the following five examples from the Old Rus' or Kievan period (9th-early 13th centuries), which consist mostly of translations of ethnonyms:[4]

1. *Polov'çin", Polov'tsi, Polovtsi* are considered a miror translation of the Turkic ethnonym *Quman*, generally held to mean 'pale, pallid, light-colored'.
2. *Ç'rnii kloboutsi* is viewed as a calque of the reconstructed medieval Turkic ethnonym **Qaraqalpaq* 'black hat'. I would add that while this ethnonym is well known today, it is not clear that there is any connection whatsoever between the *Ç'rnii kloboutsi* and the modern

[1] See my "The End of Volga Bulgarian", *Varia Eurasiatica. Festschrift für Professor András Róna-Tas* (Szeged, 1991), pp. 157-163; "Preliminary Remarks on the Role of Disease in the History of the Golden Horde", *Central Asian Survey* 12:4 (1993), pp. 447-457; and "Bolgar tele kaya kitkän?", *Idel* 1994:4, pp. 46-48.

[2] For a review of the contributions of V.V. Grigor'ev, A.K. Kazembek, P. Ya. Petrov, I.N. Berezin, Franz Miklosich, F.E. Korş, Friedrich von Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, P.E. Melioranskiy, S.E. Malov, A. Zajączkowski, Karl H. Menges, N.K. Dmitriev, and others see Nicholas Poppe, Jr., *Studies of Turkic Loan Words in Russian*, Asiatische Forschungen 34 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971). See also *Tyurkizmï v vostoçnoslavyanskix yazïkax*, ed. N.A. Baskakov (Moscow, 1974); N.A. Baskakov, *Russkie familii tyurkskogo proisxojdeniya* (Moscow, 1979); and N.A. Baskakov, trans. S. Kâzımoğlu, *Türk kökenli rus soyadları* (Ankara, 1997); and Peter B. Golden, "Turkic Calques in Medieval Eastern Slavic", *Turks, Hungarians and Kipchaks. A Festschrift in Honor of Tibor Halasi-Kun*, ed. P. Oberling, *Journal of Turkish Studies* 8 (1984), pp. 103-111. I have not yet seen R.A. Yunaleeva, *Tyurkizmï russkogo yazïka.Problemï poliaspektnogo issledovaniia* (Kazan, 2000).

[3] Golden, "Turkic Calques in Medieval Eastern Slavic", pp. 103-105.

[4] Golden, "Turkic Calques in Medieval Eastern Slavic", pp. 105-108.

Qaraqalpaq, who have had an awkward status as an autonomous republic first within the Uzbek SSR and now within the Republic of Uzbekistan. This linkage with the past is probably the invention of modern historians.[5]
3. *Yur'i Derjikray Volodislaviç'* is seen as parallel to the attested Quman name *Eltut*, which can be explained as 'holder of the land'.
4. *Yazïk"* meaning 'tongue, language' in Slavic is considered to have developed extended meanings as 'informer' under Turkic influence. This is based on a wide range of historical and modern Turkic languages which also use *tıl, til, dil* to mean 'informer, spy'.
5. *Bosïy volk"* 'gray wolf' is considered a partial calque of *boz böri/boz qurt* 'gray wolf', which Golden thinks must have come from Quman.

Golden offers the following examples from the so-called Tatar-Mongol period (13th-15th centuries):[6]
1. *Rotu piti* meaning 'to drink an oath', i.e. 'to take an oath', is used in the sources only with respect to Turkic peoples. There is the Turkic expression *ant iç-*, which is to be derived from an ancient practice in the Altaic world. Golden suggests that this expression itself is a calque from Iranian.
2. *Çelom" biti* literally 'to beat with the forehead', is considered to derive from Quman *baş ur-*, literally 'to hit the head', i.e. 'to bow, supplicate', also attested in other Turkic languages. Golden considers that this may go back ultimately to the Chinese expression *k'ou-t'ou*.
3. *Pojalovati* 'to have compassion for' is considered to have undergone a semantic development to 'to bestow a feudal land grant' following the development of Turkic *soyurqa-, soyurğa-*, which is well known from the term *soyurğal* 'feudal land grant'.

The examples Golden has selected are illustrative of the difficulties that are inherent in the study of calques. In particular, the paucity of data is often an obstacle to establishing the presence of a mirror translation with absolute certainty. We also see these same concerns arising in Dmitriev's careful work on Turkisms in Russian.[7] Dmitriev even distinguishes categories of proposed borrowings that require further documentation or cannot be established beyond the level of hypothesis.[8] In contrast, there are many calques from the period of the Golden Horde and the Later Horde that can be studied with the benefit of a far richer historical documentation.

The Golden Horde and Turkic Calques in Slavic

Curiously very few Turkologists have expressed an interest in calques of the period of the Golden Horde (13th-14th centuries) and the Later Golden Horde (15th-16th centuries for most of the states except the Crimean xanate, which continued until the late 18th century) into Russian. This is all the more surprising since it has been suggested that important bodies of Russian diplomatic records such as the *Nogayskie dela* are very literal Russian translations of Turkic originals which appear to preserve the original Turkic syntax.[9] Such sources offer a valuable resource for future researchers of Turkic calques in medieval Russian, not to mention

[5] On the invention of such linkages with the past see my "The Formation of a Tatar Historical Consciousness: Şihabäddin Märcani and The Image of the Golden Horde", *Central Asian Survey* 9:2 (1990), pp. 39-49; and "Formirovanie istoriçeskogo soznaniya tatar: Şigabuddin Mardjani i obraz Zolotoy Ordï", *Tatarstan* 1991:10, pp. 21-29.
[6] Golden, "Turkic Calques in Medieval Eastern Slavic", pp. 108-111.
[7] N.K. Dmitriev, "Turetskie èlementï v russkix argo", *Stroy tyurkskix yazïkov* (Moscow, 1962), pp. 483-502; and "O tyurkskix èlementax russkogo slovarya", *Stroy tyurkskix yazïkov*, pp. 503-569.
[8] Dmitriev, "O tyurkskix èlementax russkogo slovarya", pp. 555-566.
[9] E.L. Keenan, Jr., "The *Jarlyk* of Axmed-Xan to Ivan III: A New Reading", *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 11 (1967), pp. 33-47.

many other topics related to Turko-Slavic cultural relations in this period.[10] Unfortunately only a limited selection of these sources has been published beginning in the late 18th century[11] and most of these records remain unpublished in the Russian archives. As a result, they remain seldom used by historians and are probably not studied by Turkologists for linguistic purposes.[12]

The terminology of the Golden Horde and the Later Golden Horde states has been studied mostly by historians.[13] The Turkologist and historian István Vásáry has published important studies of the Golden Horde officials known as *basqaq*s (the *baskaki* of the Russian chronicles) and *daruğa*s.[14] But it is generally historians who cite words in the Russian sources (such as *boyarin*, *namestnik*, *vlastel'*, *voevoda*, *çislo*, *dan'*, *slobodï*, *posol'*, *vïxod*) which clearly must refer to specific Mongol or Turkic terms.[15] A common difficulty in examining these calques, however, is in determining which specific original form the Russian word is translating. Many other common terms such as *tsar'* 'xan', *temnik* 'commander of 10,000', *tïsyatskiy* 'commander of 1,000', *sotnik* 'commander of 100', and so on are perhaps too obvious to attract special attention.

In addition, certain administrative terms used in the sources do not appear to be cotemporaneous with the events they purport to describe and reinforce the view that the Russian sources must be treated with great caution. One such example is the use of the term *sancakbey* in describing the officials assembled by Batu Xan.[16] Since this term clearly relates to Ottoman history, we may consider the possibility that certain terms in the sources only reflect later redactions of a given source. This topic merits a systematic treatment, which is far beyond the scope of what is possible here.

Yet, there are also other terms that have remained unconsidered by traditional scholarship on this topic. Even though some of these terms are less commonly known, they

[10] One area that should be investigated in greater depth is the calque of Çingisid diplomatic formulas in Russian, see for example Keenan, "The *Jarlyk* of Axmed-Xan to Ivan III: A New Reading"; A.P. Grigor'ev, *Mongol'skaya diplomatika XIII-XV vv. (çingizidskie jalovannïe gramotï)* (Leningrad, 1978); M.A. Usmanov, *Jalovannïe aktï Djuçieva Ulusa XIV-XVI vv.* (Kazan, 1979); and I. Vásáry, "Mongolian Impact on the Terminology of the Golden Horde", *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 48 (1995), pp. 479-485.

[11] *Prodoljenie drevney rossiyskoy vivliofiki*, vii-xi (St. Petersburg, 1791-1801); and *Pamyatniki diplomatiçeskix snoşeniy moskovskogo gosudarstva s krïmskoyu i nagayskoyu ordami i s Turtsiey*, i-ii, ed. G.O. Karpov, *Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago istoriçeskago obşçestva* 41 and 95 (St. Petersburg, 1884 and 1895).

[12] Historical scholarship based on these sources includes V.E. Sïroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego vassalï", *Uçenïe zapiski Moskovskogo ordena Lenina gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. M.V. Lomonosova* 61: *Istoriya* 2 (1940), pp. 3-71; and B.F. Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate, 1466-1532", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2 (1978), pp. 282-309. More recently István Vásáry has also been studying these sources as a Turkologist and historian.

[13] See for example I. Berezin, "Oçerk vnutrennyago ustroystva Ulusa Djuçieva", *Trudï Vostoçnago otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago arxeologiçeskago obşçestva* 8 (1864), pp. 385-494; G.A. Fedorov-Davïdov, *Obşçestvennïy stroy Zolotoy Ordï* (Moscow, 1973); V.L. Egorov, "Gosudarstvennoe i administrativnoe ustroystvo Zolotoy Ordï", *Voprosï istorii* 1972:2, pp. 12-42; and V.L. Egorov, *Istoriçeskaya geografiya Zolotoy Ordï v XIII-XIV vv.* (Moscow, 1985).

[14] I. Vásáry, "The Golden Horde Term Daruga and its Survival in Russia", *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 30 (1976), pp. 187-197; and I. Vásáry, "The Origin of the Institution of Basqaqs", *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 32 (1978), pp. 201-206.

[15] See for example C. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde. The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History* (Bloomington, 1985), pp. 33-43, 77. On the census see also T. Allsen, "Mongol Census-Taking in Rus', 1245-1275", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5 (1981-1982), pp. 32-53; and T.T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism. The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251-1259* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 116-143.

[16] C. Halperin, *The Tatar Yoke* (Columbus, 1986), p. 40.

refer to fundamental issues in the history of the Golden Horde and the Later Golden Horde. The first of two groups I would like to examine is the terminology surrounding what I have called the "four-bey system". As I have argued elsewhere, certain tribal structures were present in the successor states to the Golden Horde in the 15th-18th centuries and these same tribal structures can be reconstructed for the 13th-14th centuries as well. In the "four-bey system", the leaders of four specific high-status tribes, the so-called *qaraçı* beys of the Later Golden Horde, have a special role in the selection of the xan, the administration of the state, and even the removal of the xan.[17] Although the tribal organization of the Golden Horde and the Later Golden Horde has not been studied in depth (except for my own work), it turns out that there are many terms in the Russian sources that are actually calques of Golden Horde and Later Golden Horde terminology that are also known from sources in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, and other languages. I might add that the same word *qaraçı* also forms the basis of the Russian name *Karaçinskiy*.[18]

To begin with the *qaraçı* beys themselves (Turkic *qaraçı beyleri*), they are often known by the Russian term *knyaz'*, which is usually translated into English as 'prince' but which is more accurately translated as 'duke'. For example, in connection with the xanate of Kazan four individuals named Kel Ahmed, Urak, Sadïr, and Agïş are referred to as 'dukes' (*knyaz'*) in the sources in connection with their support for the Şeybanid ruler Mamuq's attempt to wrest Kazan away from Muhammed Emin in 1496.[19] Once Mamuq took the city, however, he imprisoned the four dukes of the Kazan land who had defected to him and confiscated the property of the merchants and of all the *zemskie lyudi* 'people of the land'.[20] The term *zemskie lyudi* which appears in the Russian chronicles refers in all probability to the four *qaraçı* beys (representing the "land") and their tribes, since other sources refer to the very same "princes [i.e., dukes] of the land" Kel Ahmed, Örek, Sadır, and Ağış.[21] Sources for the 13th-14th centuries refer to the predecessors of the *qaraçı* beys in Arabic as *amīr al-ulūs* 'emir of the *ulus*', which must be a calque of *ulus bek(i)*. We might conclude, then, that the *zemlya* or 'land' would probably be a calque of the earlier term *ulus* or corresponding later terms such as *yurt* or *el*.

Another feature of the four-bey system in the Later Golden Horde is that one of the four *qaraçı* beys was a *primus inter pares* or 'first among equals'. This was the leader of the chief among the four ruling tribes, which in the Later Golden Horde was usually of the Şirin tribe. This leader had special ex officio authority as the chief spokesman for the land. He was known in this capacity in the Russian sources as *knyaz' knyazey* 'duke of dukes', which is clearly a

[17] See my "The Qaraçı Beys of the Later Golden Horde: Notes on the Organization of the Mongol World Empire", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984), pp. 283-297; "Tribal Politics and Social Organization in the Golden Horde", Ph.D. dissertation (Columbia University, 1986); "The *Umdet ül-ahbar* and the Turkic Sources of the Golden Horde and the Later Golden Horde", *Central Asian Monuments*, ed. H.B. Paksoy (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1992), pp. 81-93; trans. A. Arslanova and I. Izmaylov, "'Karaçi bei' pozdney Zolotoy Ordï: Zametki po organizatsii mongol'skoy mirovoy istorii", *Iz istorii Zolotoy Ordï* (Kazan, 1993), pp. 44-60; and *The Golden Horde: Economy, Society, and Civilization in Western Eurasia, Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries* (Madison: Turko-Tatar Press, in press), chapters 5 and 6.

[18] See N.A. Baskakov, "Russkie familii tyurkskogo proisxojdeniya (X)", *Tyurkizmï v vostoçnoslavyanskix yazïkax*, pp. 238-285, especially pp. 263-264, 270 (see the index to this volume for similar forms with other meanings); *Russkie familii tyurkskogo proisxojdeniya* and *Türk kökenli rus soyadları*, #117, 123.

[19] J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan. Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438-1560s)* (The Hague-Paris, 1974), p. 30.

[20] See also V.V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o kasimovskix tsaryax i tsareviçax,* i-ii, Trudï Vostoçnago otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago arxeologiçeskago obşçestva 9-10 (St. Petersburg, 1864), i, p. 421; and M. Xudyakov, *Oçerki po istorii Kazanskogo xanstva* (Kazan, 1923), p. 183. This title and its variants referring to the head of the four *qaraçı* beys are discussed below.

[21] Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o kasimovskix tsaryax i tsareviçax*, i, p. 426; and Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, p. 29.

calque of the Turkic *beylerbeyi* and related forms (literally 'bey of beys'). In sources for the 13th-14th century, this Turkic title is rendered in the Arabic source as *baklārī bak*.[22] This would be comparable to Arabic *amīr al-umarā'* 'emir of emirs' and *mir-i miran* in the later Turkish sources.[23]

Additional titles have a less precise origin. The term *bol'şoy karaçi*[24] or 'great *qaraçı*' certainly corresponds to the Turkic *ulu(ğ) qaraçı* , 'great or elder *qaraçı*'.[25] Another title in the Crimean sources referring to the chief of the four *qaraçı*s is *baş karaçı*, or 'head *qaraçı*'. It is not clear, however, if this term referred to the head of the four beys or to each of the *qaraçı* beys.

One additional point that can be made about the role of the four *qaraçı* beys in the Later Golden Horde is the apparent existence of a parallel group of religious officials in these states who are also known as *qaraçı*s.[26] Much less is known about this second category. According to a passage in Prince Kurbskiy's *History of Ivan IV*, "the khan of Kazan' shut himself up in the city with his thirty thousand picked warriors and with all their spiritual and secular *karaçi* (*so vsemi karaçi duxovnïmï ix i mirskimi*) and with his bodyguard".[27] While the later Ottoman sources have explanations of the specific role of religious leaders who were connected with each tribe, I am not familiar with a specific earlier term that would form the basis of such a translation.

The second group I would like to consider consists of perhaps the most fundamental calques of all, the terms "Golden Horde", "White Horde", and "Blue Horde". Since in my other work I have questioned many other misleading stereotypes surrounding the history of the Golden Horde, one should not be surprised that the state known today as the "Golden Horde"[28] may never have existed under that particular name. One likely view holds that the term "Golden Horde" was first used in the 16th century or later in the controversial and possibly unreliable Russian source known as the *Kazanskaya istoriya* 'History of Kazan'.[29] In that work the xanate of Kazan is described as the direct successor to the Çingisid state of the 13th-14th centuries known as the *Zlataya orda* 'Golden Horde'.[30] This is, in fact, a problematic view, since one of the chronicles from Novgorod does indicate that Yaroslav Vsevolodiviç began to pay tribute (*dan'*)

[22] See for example Qalqaşandī in V.G. Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov otnosyaşçixsya k istorii Zolotoy ordï,* i: *Izvleçeniya iz soçineniy arabskix* (St. Petersburg, 1884), pp. 412-413.
[23] See my "Tribal Politics and Social Organization in the Golden Horde"; and *The Golden Horde: Economy, Society, and Civilization in Western Eurasia, Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries*, chapter 5.
[24] Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o kasimovskix tsaryax i tsareviçax*, i, pp. 428-429. According to E.L. Keenan, Jr. "Muscovy and Kazan' 1445-1552: A Study in Steppe Politics", Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard University, 1965), p. 93 the term *bol'oy karaçi* referred to the head of the Şirins.
[25] Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o kasimovskix tsaryax i tsareviçax*, i, p. 420. Pelenski (*Russia and Kazan*, p. 29) cites additional sources referring to the very same "princes [i.e., dukes] of the land" Kel Ahmed, Örek, Sadır, and Ağış.
[26] See H. Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy: The Crimean Khanate under Sahib Giray I", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3-4/i (1979-1980), pp. 445-466, especially pp. 447-451; but cf. Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate, 1466-1532", pp. 294-295. See also Sïroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego vassalï", p. 37. Abdülgaffar Kırımi, ed. N. Asım, *Umdet üt-tevarih, Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası,* İlave (Istanbul, A.H. 1343), p. 194.
[27] A.M. Kurbskiy, ed.-trans. J.L.I. Fennell, *Prince A.M. Kurbsky's History of Ivan IV* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 40-41.
[28] Modern Turkic *Altın orda* (Kazan Tatar *Altın urda*).
[29] E.L. Keenan, Jr., "Coming to Grips with the Kazanskaya Istoriya: Some Observations on Old Answers and New Questions", *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States* 31-32 (1967), pp. 143-183.
[30] G.A. Bogatova, "Zolotaya Orda", *Russkaya reç'* 1970:1, p. 76; V.P. Yudin, "Ordï: Belaya, Sinyaya, Seraya, Zolotaya", *Kazaxstan, Srednyaya i Tsentral'naya Aziya v XVI-XVIII vv.,* ed. B.A. Tulepbaev (Alma-Ata, 1983), pp. 106-165; and Halperin, *The Tatar Yoke*, p. 162.

to the "Golden Horde" in 1246.[31] It is likely that this term was introduced in a later redaction of this particular chronicle, since it is perhaps the only contemporary reference to the term "Golden Horde" in the Russian sources for the 13th-14th centuries. Otherwise the Russian sources usually refer simply to *orda* 'the Horde'.

Western travelers in the 13th-century such as John of Plano Carpini and Benedict the Pole did use the term *Sira orda* or *Syra orda* 'yellow camp'[32] to describe the traveling court of the supreme Mongol ruler. This court was located near the capital city Karakorum in present-day Mongolia, but 'yellow camp' did not refer to the name of any state. This usage is repeated in the 14th century by the North African Arab traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the court of the ruler of the patrimony of Coçi. He describes a decorated tent made of wooden rods and covered with gold leaf into which the ruler of the patrimony of Coçi, Özbek Xan, entered every Friday after prayers.[33] Elsewhere the traveler describes the court of the same xan in the capital Saray as being named the 'Golden Head', which can clearly be a reference to the ruler's tent as well.[34] Since subject rulers often had to go to the 'golden camp' in order to pay their respects to the xan, this custom may have led to the creation of the much later foreign appellation "Golden Horde" (assuming, as I think is fair, that the Russian usage of "Golden Horde' dates only from a later period).

To complicate matters further, the patrimony which Çingis Xan assigned to his son Coçi actually consisted of two distinct parts, each of which was identified by distinct names in the sources. What we know today as the "Golden Horde" can refer to one or both of the two patrimonies into which the patrimony (Mongolian *ulus*) of Coçi, eldest son of Çingis Xan, was divided upon his premature death in 1227. The most common name for these two parts, especially in the official histories written in Persian commissioned by the Mongols themselves, was "patrimony of Orda" for the eastern patrimony, and "patrimony of Batu" for the western patrimony, with "patrimony of Coçi" generally referring to the entire territory of the two combined. The sources indicate that even though Orda was older, the western patrimony of Coçi (ruled by Batu) had a higher status.[35] Depending on the interpretation that one chooses, these were either two divisions of the same state, or else each one represented an independent state.

In addition to the term "patrimony of Batu" already mentioned, many other names are also used in the contemporary sources for the western division of the patrimony of Coçi. An outstanding Arab writer of the 14th century, ᶜUmarī, calls this territory "Xwarezm and Qıpçaq" in one work.[36] In another he writes that the state of the ruler of Saray, Xwarezm, the Crimea, and the "Kipchak Steppe" (*Deşt-i Qıpçaq*) is well known as the "House of Berke", based on the name of the 13th-century xan of the patrimony of Coçi.[37] Later on the term "House of

[31] *Pol'noe sobranie russkix letopisey* 3, p. 220, *s.a.* 6754: *Yaroslav Vsevolodovi naçal dan' davat' v Zlatuyu ordu*.
[32] John of Plano Carpini, *Mission to Asia,* trans. A Nun of Stanbrook Abbey, ed. C. Dawson (London, 1955/Toronto, 1980), pp. 5, 62-63; Benedict the Pole, *Mission to Asia,* pp. 81-82.
[33] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla,* ed.-trans. C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* i-iii (Paris, 1949), ii, pp. 381-387; and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Tizengauzen, p. 290.
[34] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, 444-450; and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Tizengauzen, p. 306. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa derives the term he uses, *altuntaş*, from *altun* 'gold' and *taş* 'head'. Anyone with elementary knowledge of a Turkic language, however, will immediately recognize that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has confused *taş* 'stone' with *baş* 'head'. This error is easily understood, since in Arabic script *tā'* is written with two dots above the line, while *bā'* is written with one dot below.
[35] Raşīd ad-Dīn, trans. J.A. Boyle, *The Successors of Genghis Khan* (New York, 1971), pp. 99-100 and elsewhere.
[36] ᶜUmarī/Tizengauzen, p. 250.
[37] ᶜUmarī /Tizengauzen, p. 229.

Özbek", based on the name of a 14th-century xan, is also used in the sources.[38] Much less is written in the sources about the eastern "patrimony of Orda", so not only is its history obscured by the many gaps in our knowledge, it is also known by fewer names in the sources. Since its rulers were also known as the "princes of the left hand", this indicates that the rulers of the patrimony of Batu were the princes of the right hand.[39]

There is quite a bit of disagreement in the historiography over the correct identification of another set of names for these two halves of the patrimony of Coçi, namely Russian *Belaya orda* 'White Horde' referring to the western patrimony of Batu and Russian *Sinyaya orda* 'Blue Horde' referring to the eastern patrimony of Orda. It is clear that these names which appear frequently in the sources go back to a Turkic origin. Russian *Belaya orda* 'White Horde' clearly goes back to Turkic *Aq orda,* and Russian *Sinyaya orda* 'Blue Horde' clearly goes back to Turkic *Kök orda*. In the 20th century, however, many scholars have written – following Grekov and Yakubovskiy,[40] who based themselves on a misleading Persian source – that the Blue Horde was located in the west and the White Horde was located in the east, which is the opposite of what the Russian sources indicated. It seemed that this controversy surrounding which of names referred to which part of the state could not be resolved.

In this regard I would like to introduce one important fact that has been overlooked in the traditional historiography, namely that there exists a reference in one of the literary works of the Golden Horde that solves this question. In Qutb's *Xusrev ü Şirin*, written in the Golden Horde and dedicated to Tınıbek Xan, there is a reference to Melike, wife of Tınıbek Xan:[41]

cemīle-xan melik ol baxt örki
aq ordu devleti ol taxt körki

The second line of this couplet refers to her as "the beauty of the throne of the White Horde state". This simple fact alone should permit us to put to rest so great an error in much of the literature (even though this controversy has not always been prominently highlighted in the historiography).

Was "White Horde", then, the real contemporary name of this state? If so, it lends new significance to the Latin term *Albus Imperator* 'white emperor' (Russian *belïy tsar'*) used by the Muscovite rulers.[42] The political entity which we call today the "Golden Horde" may not have had an official name, at least none that we can be certain of today. Certainly the overwhelming weight of the evidence suggests that the name "Golden Horde" was not a calque from the 13th-14th centuries, nor is it clear how it came to be used in the 16th-17th centuries for the first time in the *Kazanskaya istoriya*. It does indicate, however, that we must be very careful in how we choose and reconstruct the original forms of calques.

I have chosen these illustrations to show that the situation of calques and lexical borrowings in the 13th-18th centuries is far richer and far more complex than has been assumed until now. It is not enough to choose a few phrases that sound odd and analyze them without a critical approach to sources and a sensitivity to the historical context. At the same time, I think that the study of calques and other aspects of cultural relations in this period has yet to begin in earnest given the large corpus of texts that have yet to be studied adequately.

[38] Muḥibbī/Tizengauzen, pp. 338/348.
[39] T. Allsen, "The Princes of the Left Hand: An Introduction to the History of the Ulus of Orda in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 5 (1985 [1987]), pp. 5-40.
[40] A long list of scholars have followed the erroneous lead of B.D. Grekov and A.Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda i ee padenie* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950) in considering the so-called *Iskandar Anonymous* as authoritative on this issue.
[41] M.N. Hacıeminoğlu, *Kutb'un Husrev ü Şirin'i ve dil hususiyetleri* (Istanbul, 1968), p. 193.
[42] Edward L. Keenan, Jr., "Muscovy and Kazan: Some Introductory Remarks on the Patterns of Steppe Diplomacy", *Slavic Review* 26 (1967), pp. 548-558, especially p. 558.

Finally, the more we learn about the history of this area the more we realize that the language used by medieval Russian chroniclers reflected a very accurate understanding of many aspects of the administration of the Golden Horde and the states of the Later Golden Horde (but only after the 13th century!). In many cases it is not the sources, but the understanding of later historians that has created a great deal of confusion through uncritical approaches to this historical and lexical material.