Kinship in the Altaic World

Proceedings of the 48th PIAC

Edited by Elena V. Boikova
and Rostislav B. Rybakov



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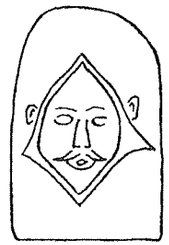
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48th Permanent International Altaistic Conference,
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The signet shows a stone sculpture from Ubsunur aimag, Mongolia.

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Preface

The 48th annual Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, the was held at the Center for International Cooperation "Olimpiets" in the outskirts of Moscow, Russia, from the 10 to the 15 of July, 2005. The first-ever PIAC Meeting in Russia was held by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Director of which Rostislav R. Rybakov was the President of the 48th Meeting.

73 specialists, who represented Canada, Czechia, China, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Romania, Russia, Turkey and the U.S.A., took part in the conference. 54 papers were read in 20 sessions. The general theme of the 48th Meeting of the PIAC was "Kinship in the Altaic World." Most papers presented at the conference, were dedicated to this theme.

The participants of the conference had an excursion by bus to Moscow where they visited the State Historical Museum of Russia and were present at the opening ceremony of the exhibition of Oriental Books in the State Library of Foreign Literature. They also had a boat trip on the Moskva River.

The Secretary General of the PIAC, Professor Denis Sinor, was awarded the rank of "Honorary Professor" presented to him by the Academic Council of the Institute of Oriental Studies, RAS.

The Indiana University Award for Altaic Studies went to Professor Sergei Klyashtorny, the head of the Department of Turkic and Mongolian Studies of the St.-Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

The organizers of the 48th Meeting of the PIAC were financially supported by the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Russian Foundation for Humanities. The conference itself was carried out thanks to the active participation of the members of the Institute of Oriental Studies – Dr. Ilya Zaitsev, Dr. Tatiana Pang, Dr. Edward Efimov, Dr. Zoya Anaiban, Galina Kuznetsova and others. We express special thanks to Dr. Zoya Shalyapina, Professor Anna Dybo, Professor Dr. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Dr. Tamara Pogibenko, Dr. Charles Carlson and Dr. Alexander Kostyrkin who helped to prepare this volume for publication.

We are thankful to Michael Langfeld and Dr. Barbara Krauss who supported our efforts to publish the Proceedings of the 48th PIAC Meeting in quite a short period of time.

Moscow, April 2006

Elena V. Boikova Rostislav R. Rybakov

Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

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Aspects of the Old Turkic Social System Based on Fictitious Kinship (the analysis of the term <kul (slave)> in the Orkhon-Yenisei epitaphs)

Takashi Osawa

Preface

As is well known, in the periods of the ancient nomadic Turkic Khaganate, there were three social classes, first, <bäg> class that consisted of high society people such as nomadic leaders like the Turkic Khagan's family or his kinfolk that had a close relationship, secondly, <bodun> class that in general, consisted of common people of the clan or tribes' people, and thirdly <kul> and <küng> classes that literally mean <male slaves> and <female slaves> according to the texts of Orkhon-Yenisei inscriptions, as shown by a Japanese historian Prof. Dr. M. Mori who analyzed the usage of the terminology of the Orkhon-Yenisei texts and many old Chinese records corresponding to the political and social classes in the periods of the ancient Turkic Khaganate (A.D. 552-744). Then M. Mori tried to quote in support of his theory a Russian archaeologist S.V. Kiselev's view on the ancient Turkic society.[1] That is, on the basis of the archaeological evidence such as the ancient Turkic burial tombs of Gorno-Altai region, S.V. Kiselev could recognize the existence of difference between the aristocrats, common peoples and slaves, and according to this view, he assumed that small tombs that were constructed close to the larger tombs or were considered as a part of larger complex tombs could be identified as ones of the slave classes that served to his master during his lifetime.[2] In spite of the possibility that this theory might be considerably influenced by the dogmatism of the Soviet periods and should be reconsidered on the basis of the records that have been newly discovered in Eurasian steppes of the ancient Turkic periods, however even now I can apply this classification. In this paper, I would like to consider the meaning of <kul> and <küng> from the historical and archaeological points of view.

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[1] Mori 1967: 113-141.
[2] Kiselev 1951: 535-543.

1. The first meaning of <kul> and <küng> based on the archaeological data

At first I can point out the existence of slaves among the ancient Turkic peoples according to the information of 568 A.D. of the Byzantine Empire named Theoklates Simocatta, that is, when an ambassador named Zemarchus visited the imperial court of the Western Turkic Sizabul (Istemi Khagan), Sizabul gave him a female slave of the Kirghiz people.[3] In my view, this female must have been a captive from the Kirghiz Khaganate when Mukan Khagan (Chin. *Yantau*) campaigned against the Kirghiz Khaganate of the upper-Yenisei regions about 556 A.D. as recorded in an old Chinese source named ***ZS*** (p. 909). And another piece of information by Valentinus can support the existence of slaves around Dizaboulous that is when the Khagan died, in the funeral ceremony, his son Turksantous ordered 4 servants ride on horses and rope their body and bury alive in the earth all together with his father.[4]

Secondly from the archaeological point of view, we can also add another archaeological evidence of Kurmuchi district of Xinjian Uygur Autonomous Region of the Republic of China. 32 tombs were excavated in 1936 from this region and reported by the Chinese archaeologists in 1981 year.[5] The characteristic feature of this site is that there were some pieces of bones of human beings and domestic animals such as horses, cows and sheep from some small tombs belonging to the larger tombs in this site. Chinese reporters suppose that these small tombs can be considered as the slave people that had served their master that could be buried in the larger tomb. Furthermore, I can add the scene from the stone sarcophagus of the Sogdian tomb that was discovered in the place named Anyang not so far from Xian city of China, and is conserved in the Miho Museum of Shiga prefecture of Japan.[6]

It seems that this tomb that was constructed of several stone sarcophagus can have been made in the three-fourth period of the 6th century in the period of Bei-shu and the buried man can be identified as a Sogdian merchant having the title named <Sabao> in Chinese, of original <Sog. Sartpau>, that means "the caravan leader", according to the results of the comparative researches with other recently discovered Sogdian tombs of Stone sarcophagus and Chinese epitaphs involving partly Sogdian name, of their family's birth and the title and

[3] Blockly 1985: 121.
[4] Ibid.: 176-179.
[5] Cf. Osawa 2002: 193.
[6] Cf. Miho Museum 1997: 248-249; Miho Museum 2005: 241-244.

autobiography as Sogdian caravan leader during their lifetimes such as <An-jia> from Xian, <Tu-hong> from Taiyuan, <Shi-kun> from Xian of Shanxi.[7]

Especially from the art-historical point of view, it is also interesting that some scenes of his performances somewhere are drawn in every sarcophagus, and also in the panels of the Miho Museum, there is a scene of two nomadic Turkic warriors with their hair in some long pigtails that serve the Sogdian master and stand by the both gates of their master. In my view, these two Turkish warriors can be regarded as the guardsmen employed by their Sogdian master as Yoshida suggested. And when we consider how the <kul (slave)> or <küng (female slave)> served their master, namely having the tribal or clan leader titled <beg> among the ancient Turkish social class, we can understand the concrete figure comparing it with the Turkish warriors from the scene of a panel of the Sogdian sarcophagus of Miho Museum. So, we can consider that <kul> and <küng> mean literally <slave> or <female slave> such as the servants under the aristocrat people of the ancient Turkic Society. And they fundamentally existed as the basic social element that had composed the ancient nomadic Turkic society such as slave or female slave in the periods of ancient China or the Polis city like Athena of Old Greece, the Roman Empire etc.

To this point, I cannot agree with it, notwithstanding that there are very few descriptions that certificate as the elementary people support the ancient nomadic society, rather I can regard their <kul> and <küng> as the foreign warriors that were defeated in the battles with ancient Türks and brought to the enemy country as by the fact captives or prisoners. This can be supported by the fact that <kul> and <küng> often used in the sentence related to the scene of wars or battles, and the denominative verb <kulla-> or <küngle> that had been formed from <kul> and <küng> and means "be caught as captive" are often used in the Orkhon-Yenisei texts. So in this case, I can suppose that <kul> and <küng> should not be elementary social terms that had made and maintained their nomadic society and it seems probable that those people originated from the foreign warriors or women brought to the country from defeated groups or enemies as the result of the war or battles. So, what does <kul> and <küng> mean originally? As to this, we would like to consider it in the next part.

2. The other meaning of the <Kul> and <Küng>

Besides the general meaning of <kul> and <küng> mentioned above, we can point out that it has other meanings from the viewpoint of the relationship be-

[7] Cf. The Institute of Archaeological of Shanxi province 2001; The Institute of Archaeological of Shanxi and others, 2001; The Institute of Archaeological of Xian; MIHO museum 2005: 154-162; Yoshida & Kageyama 2002.

tween the political leaders and their subjects, or between the supernatural existence – God or Goddess and their believers.

As for the first case of the other meanings, it might be interpreted literally as if Turkic people were subjugated to the Chinese people of the Tang dynasty from the usage of <kul> such as <Tabgaç bodunka bäglik urï ogïlin kul boltï äsilik kïz ogïlin küng boltï (Your sons who are to be bägs became the slaves, and your daughters who are to be their wives became the female slaves to the people of Tang dynasty)> (Kt-E7, Bk-E20)>.

It is undoubted that Old Turkic peoples were compelled to be subjugated to the Chinese people under the Tang dynasty according to the Chinese sources and some other texts of the Orkhon inscription; however, it seems questionable that each Turkic people literally became the slave of the common Chinese people. At least as far as I investigated, there are no examples that can support this view. How should we grasp the real meaning of these words? First we know that after the 1st Turkic Khaganate was ruined in 630 during the reign of the 13th Turkic Illig Khagan, Turkic peoples could not help moving and settling down under the Chinese political and social system in several provinces of northern, northeastern or southern regions along the Huanghe (the Yellow River) inside the border of the Tang dynasty.

This governing method is well known as rule named <Jimi> by the Tang dynasty. There it is possible to be confirmable that some people of the Tongla tribe cultivated as farmers according to the Tujue, of *XTS*, however, almost all of Turkic peoples were engaged in hunting and sending the nomadic life through the ruling of their own tribal leaders, to whom titles of high-ranking officers such as <Chi. Dudu> that can be attested as <Totok> in Turkic title, <chi. Cishi> that can be attested as <Chikshi> in Turkic title or <chi. Changshi> that can be attested as <Çansï> in Turkic title that governed the counties or provinces under the Tang dynasty. To this, now I can give the existence of the Ashinas family or the Ashite family who can be considered as the aristocratic class removed from Mongolia to the border of Chinese under the Tang dynasty. One is Ashina Shemua, and another is Ashina Bilge Tegin.

After the ruin of the 1st Turkic Khaganate, Ashina Illig Khagan surrendered himself to the Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty and at the same time Ashina Shemua also was taken as the prisoner to the capital Changan with Illig Khagan. It is well known there were many discussions on the problem to where the Turkic peoples reside and how they should be controlled among the Chinese ministers in the Imperial court. According to the record of the geographical description 4 of *JTS* 39, it seems probable that the final decision was given in the periods between 633-634 years.[8] At that time Ashina's member and the attendants under the former Ashina Illig Khagan were divided on the basis of every

[8] Iwami 1998: 117.

tribal system and removed to reside into four provinces of inner China named Ordus district while the other Turkic tribes were controlled by the two administrated districts named <Dingxiang dudufu> and <Yunchou dudufu> where the minister was appointed one of the members of the Ashite clan in the place between the north of the Hunghua River and the south of the Yinshan Mountains. But in 639 a Turkic general named Ashina Ketsusharitu rose in rebellion against the Tang dynasty near Ordus district, so the Tang dynasty compelled Ashina's family and the attendants to Dinjyang district. As far as I research the Chinese sources on this matter, I cannot help recognizing that Ashina's family and attendants were once controlled under the two administrative district named <Dingxiang dudufu> and <Yunchou dudufu> under the Ashina Shemua. We can state that until this year two administrative districts named <Dingxiang> and <Yunchou> in Chinese can be attested as two administrative regions composed of Tölis and Tardush controlled by the political and military leader named <Shad> in Turkic as Japanese historian Prof. Dr. K. Iwami analyzed. Afterward these administrative districts were divided each into every two administrative districts.[9]

Another case is one of the Ashina Bilge Tegin. According to his autobiography that was discovered from the Chinese epitaphs archives of Xian city of China, it is clear that Ashina Bilge Tegin was born in 682 years A.D as the son of Kapghan Khagan who was the second khagan of the second Eastern Turkic Khaganate. But in the last reign of Kapghan Khagan, he escaped from Mongolia to the Tang dynasty and was appointed the General and the superior administrative officer. At the time of the political confusion in 716 after the death of his father and the enthronement of Bilge Khagan, he served to campaign to Mongolia and took some groups of the Turkic peoples named Jiu Sheng Teilei (Toguz Oghuz) to the Tang dynasty as captives. Furthermore in 717 the Tang government appointed the minister of the Youshang Sad that is Tardus Sad who controlled the Turkic and other tribal peoples. After he also served the Tang dynasty as an administrative officer, and he died at 43 years old.[10] And some other Chinese stone epitaphs of Turkic aristocratic leaders were recently discovered in the tombs belonging to the tomb of Taizong named <Zhaolian>, and the contents are also analyzed in details not only from the Chinese historical point of view, but also from Old Turkic historical point of view in China and Japan.

From two cases of the two members of Ashina's family quoted above, we cannot assume that those Turkic people behaved as literally <slaves> or <female salves> under the Tang dynasty, rather we can consider that they behaved only through their leaders under the tribal system. In these cases, <kul> and <küng>

[9] Iwami 1998: 126-134.
[10] Ibid.: 226-278.

that were used and expressed at this state of the Turkic peoples should be interpreted as the other meaning, that is, <servant> or <follower>. Thus, from the viewpoint of the social standing, they can be regarded as followers of <Tabgaç Khagan (The Tang Emperor)> as well as riders under their lords of the Middle Feudal society. So, the term <kul> has not only the meaning of literally <slave>, but can also mean <followers or servants> under their masters based on the tribal system.

And as for other meanings besides the usage of <kul> mentioned above, we can take examples from Orkhon-Yenisei epitaphs such as <Tängri kulu bitidim (lit. The slave of Tängri-God inscribed)> in Gulbarjin Rock carving, Bolgan Aymak of Mongolia[11] and <Tängri kulu bitimis (lit. it is said that the slave of Tängri-God inscribed)> in Kayabash rock carving of Tuva.[12] However, <kul> cannot be regarded as one belonging to the slave class that in general could not read and write by themselves. We call these writers <bitigçi> and we know that these people can be high-ranking officers such as <Yollug Tigin> who was the inscriber of Orkhon inscription and a cousin of Köl Tigin and Bilgä Kagan, that is, belonged to the Turkic royal family of the Ashina. An example of the Old Uyghur documents from Tunhuang regions can support this interpretation in the following phrase such as <bitigeçi isiz yavız kul bitidim> (I, the scribe, the wretched, worthless slave wrote this).[13] Then how can we analyze this term? From the viewpoint of word formation, I can compare this word with some proper names such as <Vag-vandak (lit. slave of God-Ahuramazda)>, <Mah-vandak (lit. slave of Moon God)>, <Drymt-vandak (slave of Drymt-God)> and <Nanay-vandak (slave of Nanay-God)> attested as Sogdian traders or officers in Chinese documents of the Turfan basin or the Chinese stone epitaphs from the Northern China etc. These names of Gods are related to Zoroastrianism, therefore it is evident that these people prayed or were believers of Zoroastrian Gods, while it does not always imply that they all were believers of Zoroastrian. Based on this analysis, <Tängri kulu> can be interpreted that this person was a prayer or believer of Tängri-God as shamanist. From this, we can consider that <kul> in this case can be understood as meaning that this inscriber identified himself with one who serves Tängri-God. From my analysis, <kul> has not only the literal and superficial meaning of people belonging to the slave class among Old Turkic social stratum, but also an essential meaning of people who serve their tribal leaders or the political high-ranking officer or the supernatural existence such as Tängri-God.

[11] Klyashtornyi 2003: 274-275, plate.
[12] Klyashtornyi 2003: 274; Kyzlasov, L.R. & Kyzlasov, I.L. 1995: 40-45.
[13] Tun. IV, 10, 11; Cf. Clauson 1972: 615a, b.

3. The relationship between Sogdian warriors and the Turkish Khagan at the period of the Second Eastern Turkic Khaganate

We know that in 682 A.D. Ashina Kutlug rose in rebellion against the Tang dynasty and could succeed to be independent from the rule of Tang. He ascended the throne as Ilteri Khagan in the southern plain of the Yinshan Mountains and in 688 he could establish his own country in Mongolia and campaigned agains the Turkic tribes named Toguz Oghuz. After the death of Iltäris, his little brother Mochuo ascended the throne as Kapgan (Beg çör) Khagan and began to campaign to the Nomadic tribes and the Oasis countries of Central Asia around his country. Especially in 713 and 714, he ordered his first son named Inel Khagaan, the second son named Donga tegin and his nephew, Tardus Shad (*Mujilian*, later, Bilgä Khagan) to campaign the Besbalik (chi. Beitung). On the one hand, Beshbalik city was governed by the Tang government and this city was regarded as a strategic foothold of the Tang's political influence in the Chinese Western Regions. On the other hand, this is also an important area for controlling the Central Asian areas for the Turkic Khaganate. So the battle occurred between them. In 713 Kapghan Khagan sent the Turkic military to make surrender Besbalik, however, as the result of the agreement of the marriage between the third son of Kapghan Khagan and a Chinese princess of the Tang dynasty, the Turkic military came back to Mongolia. Then Kapghan Khagan ordered his Sogdian follower of Tashkent birth named *Shi* (Tashkentli) *Ashibi* (*Sog. Ashipir) iltäbir. Then when the Tang's Commander-in-chief named *Guoqianguan* battled with the Turkic soldiers, he gave information that Tonge Tegin had been caught by the gate of Besbalik castle and murdered by the Turkish soldiers. At once the Turkish people tried to get back their leader, Tonge Tegin alive from the Tang military. When the Turkish soldiers heard of that information, they began to come back to Mongolia. Then one of the Turkish leaders, Sogdian Iltaber named Ashipir (A-Shipir) of Tashkent did not like to go back to Mongolia, so he took the side of the Tang government with his wife. The Tang government appointed him the Grand General of the Left Wing of the Tang corps, later – the governor of the *Yanbei* county. His wife was appointed to *<Jinshan kunçuy>* and they gave him a house, ten slaves, ten horses and 1000 pieces of goods.[14] The latter records can be found in ZZTJ-211 (p. 6696) and in the Tujue of JTS 103. According to the Chinese source named Yuan-he Xingzuan 10, A-Shipir first was a Sogdian soldier in Turkish tribes, then he attributed to the 2nd Eastern Turkic Khaganate (Cen 2004: 383). In my view, he must have been a soldier who belonged to Eastern Turkic khagans after the Turkish Khaganate was defeated by the Turkic campaign in 711 A.D., as it is inscribed in the Orkon inscriptions (Kt-E17-20, E36-39, Bk-E15-17, E26-27, Tonyukuk inscription I, E6-S). This case

[14] JTS-194: 5172.

of the Sogdian soldier named A-Shipir informed us that he had a relationship by marriage with the little sister of the Turkic Khagaan, so he can be regarded as a kinsman of the Turkic royal family. From that, we can understand the kind of the relationship between the foreign soldiers and the Turkic royal family. In the background of establishing the relationship like this one, there must be the desire that the Turkic Khagan would like to gain information and commercial benefit by means of having a relationship with a Sogdian Ashipir, who is a free soldier (Sog, azatkar), not being (Sog. *Chakar) and having the strong connection with Sogdian merchants in the colonies that were established in the vast areas of Eurasia. When he escaped to the Tang dynasty, the Tang dynasty also desired to gain information of the Central Asia and the commercial benefit. In my view, that is why the Tang dynasty also gave him a warm reception. In this connection, I can remember that there are Sogdian peoples named <Altı Çub Sogdak> (Kt-E31) in the Ordus regions after the ruin of the 1st Turkic Khaganate.

Conclusion: The usage of Sogdian term of <*Chakar>

As the final part, I will also touch another problem of the Sogdian term <*Chakar> (lit. slave, servant)>, Old Persian <Chakar> and Arabic <Chakir>, <Shakiriyyah> through the analysis of the concrete instances of Old Chinese and the Islamic sources. For example this is recorded in Buhara country on the Western regions of XTS 221 (p. 6244), <Zhejie> composed of two Chinese letters that can be reconstructed as <Sog. *Chakar> means <brave warriors recruited, and means warriors in China>.[15] And it is known according to the autobiography of the famous Chinese Buddhist monk *Xuanzhuang*, there are in Samarkand <Zhejie> of two Chinese letters> that can be reconstructed as <Sog. Chakar>, they are <brave warriors whose character is brave and who are likely to struggle to death, so there are no enemy that can fight with them in front them>.[16] This word cannot be attested even now in Sogdian documents, however, it seems that in the period of the Sassanid dynasty, this term was used as the name of a kind of remarriage. In the assumption of Japanese Sogdian philologist Y. Yoshida, this can be a reflection of the custom that the brother-in law and first sons of the wife were obliged to serve the sons of the second husband.[17] As a subsequent derivation from this original meaning, it seems probable that in historical sources this term can mean intimate followers of the Sogdian kings or rulers that were composed of the sons or brothers as W. Barthold explained that <in the Arabic sources of personal guard of the rulers, the Shakir or Chakir (literary "servants"); but from Narshakhi's account of the court of the Queen of Bukhara it is evident that this guard was only in the nature of a guard of honor, and was formed by the youthful members of the aristocracy, who fulfilled this obligation by turns at the court of their rulers, like the sons of European knights at the court of their kings and dukes> (Barthold 1977: 180: cf. De la Vaissiere 2002: 282, n. 82). And this usage must be expanded also to the relationship between <Sogdian mercenary soldiers> and <Turkish Khagans> or <the Tang Emperor>. From this viewpoint, we can remember that <*Chakar> was used to Sogdian warriors that served Turkish Khagan named *Xie-li* (Turk. * Illig) of the Ashina's royal family of the 1st Turkic Khaganate. In these chronicles, they didn't dare to attribute to the Tang Dynasty abandoning the loyalty to the Turkish Khagan while many Turkic people close to the Turkic Illig Khagan were removed to the border or the Ordus district.[18] In this case, I think that <*Chakar> of this case means <Sogdian guardian soldiers> on the basis of the relationship of <servant; followers> that served the ruler such as the Turkic Khagan or the Tang Emperor. This usage of <Chakar> can be also confirmed in the texts concerning the rebellion of the Anlushan against the Tang dynasty in 751 A.D.[19] He was a famous political figure and warrior, and a son of a Sogdian father, a Sogdian of Samarkand and a Turkish female shaman of the Ashite clan.[20] There <*Chakar> can be meant as <the followers> of *Anlushan* or *Shisiming*. Furthermore, in the Uyghur of the Tien Shang regions there is a description that there were brave soldiers named <Chakar> around the Uyghur king in the Islamic geographical source named <Zayn al-Akhbar> of Gardizi, edited in 1049-1052.[21] In the Russian translation of this sourse, made by V. Barthold, the term <Chakar> was translated as <Rus. prisluzhnikov>; <servants>, however, Japanese Philologist Prof. Dr. Mizutani and the Old Uyghur historian Prof. Dr. Moriyasu regarded this term not as lit. <servants> or <slaves>, but as <ones who serve their ruler as warriors> and should be compared with Mongolian <nökör> or Arabic <mamluk> referring to analysis on this term of Beckwith.[22]

And in my view, it can be interpreted as a soldier who is a servant of Old Turkic khagans or Uyghur khagans with loyalty and the relationship of **fictitious kinship** as well as the second meaning of <kul>. Thus we can consider that Old Turkic society was composed of human relations based on fictitious kinship expressed by the Old Turkic term <kul> or Sogdian term <*Chakar>, which originally means slave, servant. This research should be cautiously continued in future analyzing the difference from other kinship terminology such as <nökör>

[15] Cf. Pulleyblank 1952: 319.
[16] Dai Tang Xi Yuji 1; Mizutani 1971: 27, n. 5.
[17] Yoshida 1999: 48-49; Yoshida 2003: 187-189.
[18] DD 197, Tujue: 5413; TPZS 285: 654.
[19] XTS 117: 4581; De la Vaissiere 2005: 258.
[20] XTS 225: 6411; Cf. Pulleyblank 1955.
[21] Barthold 1996: 533; Martinez 1983: 134.
[22] Mizutani 1971: 27-28, n. 5; Moriyasu 1991: 163, n. 103-104; cf. Beckwith 1984.

ture analyzing the difference from other kinship terminology such as <nökör> in the Mongol Empire or <gulam>, <mamluk>, <Kapikulu> of the Islamic periods from the philological and historical points of views. Furthermore we should reconsider the other kinship terms such as <ogul>, <oglan>, <kız>, <kunçuy> or <ini>, <eçi> etc. of the Royal family of the ancient Turkic Khaganate not only from the viewpoint of the class system as in Bernshtam's analysis,[23] but also as terms corresponding to the relationship from the viewpoint of the political and military context of the Eurasian Steppe as I pointed out and discussed here.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

JTS: *JiuTang shu* (Old Chronicle of the Tang dynasty, 618-907), 200 juan, by Liu Xu (887-946), completed in 945, Zhong hua shu ju, Beijing 1975.

TD: *Tong Dien* (Comprehensive History of Regulations) 200 juan by Do You (735-812), 5 vols., Zhonhua shu ju, Beijing 1988.

TPZS: *Tai ping huan zhu ji* (Comprehensive Historical Geography), 200 juan, compiled by Le shi (930-1007), completed in the early North Song period. 5 vol., Wenhai shu pan she, Taipei 1992.

XTS: *Xin Tang shu* (New Chronicle of the Tang dynasty, 618-907), 225 juan, compiled by Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072), Song Qi (998-1061 and others in 1043-1060), Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 1975.

ZS: *Zhou-shu* (Chronicle of the Zhou dynasty, 557-581), 50 juan, by Ling hu de fen (583-666) and others, completed in 628, Zhong hua shu ju, Beijing 1971.

ZZTJ: *Zhi zhi tong jian* (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government), 294 juan, by Sima Gang (1019-86) and others, presented to the throne in 1084, Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 1956.

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