

Tamim ibn Baḥr's Journey to the Uyghurs

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I. INTRODUCTION

ONE of the main and most tempting problems for a student of Arab geographers is the analysis of their excursions into the little-explored regions on the periphery of the Islamic world, such as Eastern Europe, Central Asia, China, and India. It is a well known fact that these geographers, intent on Space, are often negligent of Time. On a sixteenth century Turkish map I have found a phantom of America stretched into the shape of a new-born moon, whereas the wastes of Siberia were still marked as the haunts of the traditional Gog and Magog. Thus, too, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the classical period of Arab geography, the scholars felt no compunction in plagiarizing one another, or borrowing from some ancient source data bearing no relation to the contemporary conditions: in the tenth century King *Dahum* of "common origin" still figured among the rulers of India, although this name referred to Dharmapāla, the ruler of Bengal about A.D. 800.¹

The impression one gets from the comparative study of passages on out-lying countries is that they are based on a rather limited number of original reports. Later versions often repeat the same phrase word for word, but if the source was sufficiently long and detailed, the authors quoted different details which appealed to their imagination. In this case the reader is led astray by the hope of discovering some contemporary information, while in fact these details belong to the same old stock. In any case, only a comparative study of the texts enables us to restore original relations in more detail and to elucidate the dark points in the mercilessly abridged epitomes.

In my selection of chapters of *Sharaf al-Zamān al-Marvazī* I have tried to show that most of the data on the extreme Far East, etc., which are found in *al-Bīrūnī*, *Abul-Fidā*, etc., are based on the narratives of an embassy from the *Qitāy* (Kitan) king of Manchuria which visited the court of *Maḥmūd* of *Ghaznī* in about A.H. 418/A.D. 1027. Similarly, many stories on the Arctic North

¹ See my *Marvazi*, p. 147.

seem to be due to the ambassador of the king of the Volga Bulgars who visited Maḥmūd's dominions in A.H. 415/A.D. 1024.¹

At the time of the Arab conquest of Central Asia and Arab-Chinese struggles for supremacy, a number of Arab travellers and ambassadors must have penetrated deep into the Farther East,² but very few details of their experience have survived. In the ninth century the court of the Samanids became the observation point for Central Asia. A number of original reports have been preserved in later compilations and gradually the identity of some travellers and explorers becomes clearer.

Much spade-work in this field has been done by de Goeje, Tomaschek, V. Barthold, and J. Marquart.³ A lucky discovery of a more recent date enables us to reassess the report of another early Muslim traveller, Tamīm b. Baḥr al-Muṭṭawwi'i.

This was chiefly known through the quotations in Yāqūt's geographical dictionary.⁴ Even this abridgment rendered good services in checking a number of direct quotations from Tamīm in the earlier geographers, such as I. Khurdādhbih, Ibn al-Faḡīh, Qudāma, etc., but the complexity of the successive migrations of Turkish tribes made it difficult to ascertain the goal of Tamīm's journey and to fix its date (see below, p. 303). In 1923 A. Z. Validi (Toghan) discovered in Mashhad a MS. of Ibn al-Faḡīh's *Kitāb al-buldān*.⁵ The text of this work edited by de Goeje, *BGA.*, v, 1885, is only an abstract (*mukhtaṣar*) of the original, and in the chapter on the Turks (pp. 329-330) even the name of Tamīm does not appear. Nor is the new MS. complete; but it contains some additional passages and among them direct quotations from Tamīm, more extensive than those found in Yāqūt. However, the numerous *qāla* ("he said"), with which the text is interspersed, and which

¹ *Marvazi on China, the Turks, and India*, Royal Asiatic Society, 1942, pp. 68 and 111.

² See H. R. A. Gibb, "The Arab Invasion of Kashghar in 715", *BSOS.*, II/3, 1922, 467-474; Gibb, "Chinese Records of the Arabs in Central Asia", *ibid.*, II/4, 1922, 613-622; Gibb, *The Arab Conquest of Central Asia*, 1923, pp. 12-13.

³ The ambassador of the Caliph Hishām (A.D. 724-743), on whom see Marquart in *Festschrift für F. Hirth*, 1920, ed. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 289-293; the interpreter Sallām under Caliph Wāthiq (A.D. 842-7), see *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 225; Ibn Faḡlān in 309/921, see the Russian translation by Kovalevsky, 1939, and the latest work by A. Z. Validi-Toghan, 1940 (a new edition with commentary is being prepared in the U.S.S.R.). On the spurious report of Abū-Dulaf's journey (supposed to have taken place *circa* A.D. 941) see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 74-95. Marquart finally came to the conclusion that the existing report was falsely attributed (untergeschoben) to Abū Dulaf, whose genuine work Marquart planned to trace separately, *Festschrift f. E. Sachau*, 1915, p. 292. The most recent work on Abū Dulaf is by A. von Rohr-Sauer: *Des Abū Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestan, China und Indien* (Bonner Orientalische Studien), Stuttgart, 1939, 72 pages. I know it only through Professor H. von Mzik's review in *OLZ.*, 1942, No. 5, p. 240. The author seems to believe in the *bona fides* of Abū Dulaf, but the reviewer calls his report *mixtum compositum* and concludes that we must see in it "eine Fälschung . . . von der es nur fraglich ist, ob wir sie Abū Dulaf selbst oder einem Späteren zuschreiben sollen".

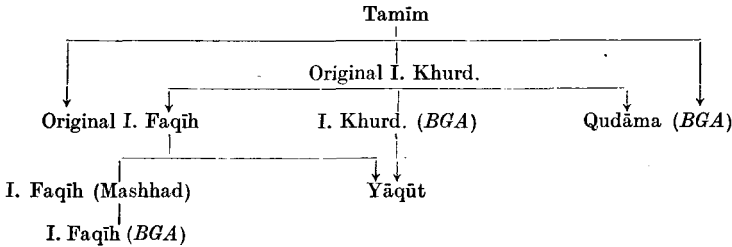
⁴ *Sub verbis: Turkestan*, i, 840. lines 1-15; *Nūshajān*, iv, 823.

⁵ On this discovery see Validov, "Meshedskaya rukopis Ibn ul-Fakiha", *Izv. Ross. Akad. Nauk*, 1924, 237-248, and A. Z. Validi Togan, "Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht", Leipzig, 1939 (edited after the same Mashhad MS.).

correspond to our inverted commas, suggest that this time again we have before us only an abridgment.

It is a well known fact that I. Faqīh owed much to I. Khurdādhbih's work,¹ and it is likely that the original I. Khurdādhbih did much more honour to Tamīm than might be suggested by his text published in *BGA*, vi, 1889, in which only isolated sentences of Tamīm are quoted, without acknowledgment. Yāqūt (i, 841; iv, 823) quotes Tamīm through I. Faqīh,² but he omits the second part of the report.

Point 11 of the new text begins: "and we asked him (and he said)". This suggests that the original of Tamīm's report may have been couched in the form of a personal interrogation conducted by a government official or a scholar. The further transmission of Tamīm's relation may be tentatively tabulated as follows:—



The interdependence of these sources is illustrated by Yāqūt's clear spelling نوشجان, instead of the correct برسخان. The same faulty spelling *Nūshajān* is found in the available earlier sources enumerated in our scheme, and only the later and independent writers, Muqaddasī, Gardīzī, the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, and Kāshgharī give *Barskhān*.

The new text of Tamīm's report gives an occasion to revise several details in the history of the ancient Turkish kingdoms of Central Asia, which is still in the making. A very concise recapitulation of the facts will be helpful to the readers of the present article.

The earliest kingdom bearing the name of the TURKS (Chinese: *T'u-küeh*) was formed towards A.D. 552 and quite soon it separated into two almost independent federations, the Eastern Turks having their headquarters on the Orkhon (in the present-day Mongolia), and the Western Turks being established between the rivers Irtysh (East) and Talas (West). The EASTERN TURKS, living nearer to the Chinese, were more often subjugated by them. The WESTERN TURKS—the Ten Tribes divided into two groups (*Tu-lu* and *Nu-shih-pi*)—became the allies first of the Sasanians and later of the Byzantines. For some time the Western Turks screened their Eastern brothers from the west, but towards 689 the Turkish unity was temporarily restored under the leader-

¹ De Goeje, *BGA.*, v, p. xii: "diligenter e libro Ibn Khurdadhibi hausisse". Cf. *al-Fihrist*, 154, on Ibn al-Faqīh: "*Kitāb al-buldān nahwa 1000 waraqa: akhadhahu min kutub al-nās wa salakha kitāb al-Jayhānī.*"

² His copy of I. Faqīh was apparently more complete than that discovered in Mashhad, cf. para. 14 of our text as compared with Yāqūt, i, 841-3.

ship of the Eastern Turks. In 744 the power of the latter was destroyed by a coalition of three tribes, of whom the UYGHURS took the leadership on the Orkhon. They retained it till 840 when, in their turn, they were expelled by the QIRGHIZ. The remnants of the Uyghur retreated mainly to the west and formed two principalities, the one in Kan-su (after 847) and the other in the region of Turfan, in the Eastern T'ien-shan (after 866).¹

Meanwhile various tribes were taking the leadership within the old federation of the Western Turks, first the TÜRGISH—since 706, then the QARLUQ—after 766.

Three points must be stressed at this occasion :—

- (1) The two distinct groupings of the T'u-küeh ;
- (2) the two distinct developments within territories of the Eastern and Western Turks ;
- (3) the two entirely different territories which the Uyghurs were occupying in 744–840 and after 840.

II. ARABIC TEXT

رحلة تميم بن بحر المطوّعي

[من نسخة كتاب البلدان لابن الفقيه الهَمْدَانِي المحفوظه في دار الكتب
بمشهد الامام عليّ الرضا رضى الله عنه]

[f. 169a] وذكر تميم بن بحر المطوّعي ¹ انّ بلادهم شديد البرد وانّما
يُسلك (فيه) ² ستة أشهر في السنة وانّه سلك الى بلاد خاقان ³ التتغزى
على بريد أنفذه خاقان وانّه كان يسير في اليوم والليلة ثلاث ⁴ سكك
باشد السير وأحّته فسار عشرين يومًا في براري ⁵ فيها عيون وكلاء
وليس فيها قرية ولا مدينة غير ⁶ اصحاب السكك وهم نزول في خيام
وانّه كان ⁷ * البريد حمل معه زادًا لعشرين يومًا وذلك انه عرف امر

¹ Both of them came into their full rights only at the beginning of the tenth century (G. Haloun).

² Added in Yāqūt.

³ After خاقان MS. has و

⁴ ثلاثة MS.

⁵ بلاد Yāq.

⁶ إلا Yāq.

⁷ Yāq. omits.

⁸ MS. البرية ; Yāq. omits.

تلك المدينة و* انها¹ مسافة عشرين يومًا في برارى فيها عيون وكلاء²
ثم سار³ بعد ذلك عشرين يومًا في قرى متصلة وعمارات كثيرة
اهلها كلهم او اكثرهم اتراك منهم عبدة النيران على مذهب المجوس⁴
ومنهم زنادقة⁵ وانه بعد هذه الايام وصل الى مدينة الملك

2 وذكر انها مدينة عظيمة* حصينة⁶ حولها رساتيق عامرة وقرى
متصلة ولها اثنا عشر بابًا من حديد مفرطة العظم قال وهي كثيرة الاهل
والزحام والاسواق والتجارات والغالب على اهلها مذهب الزنادقة
3 وذكر انه* حزر⁷ ما بُعدها الى بلد الصين فيّزه⁸ ثلثمائة فرسخ
قال واطنه اكثر من ذلك

4 قال وفي يمين⁹ مدينة ملك التفرغز¹⁰ بلاد الترك لا يخاطهم
غيرهم وعن يسارها بلاد كيماك وامامهم بلاد الصين
5 وذكر انه نظر قبل وصوله الى مدينة (الملك) بخمسة فراسخ
الى خيمة للملك من ذهب على سطح قصره تسع مائة رجل¹¹
6 وذكر ان خاقان ملك التفرغز كان مخاتنا للملك الصين وان
ملك الصين يحمل اليه في كل سنة خمس مائة الف فرند¹²

¹ MS. ان

³ MS. سافر. Yāq. وتم

⁵ Yāq. adds على مذهب مانى

⁷ MS. حوز

⁹ MS. عينه

² Yāq. omits words after ذلك

⁴ Yāq. واكثر اهلها عبدة النيران على مذهب المجوس

⁶ Thus Yāq.; MS. حصينة

⁸ Yāq. فسيرة

¹⁰ Yāq. بلدة التفرغز

¹¹ I. Khurd., 31, فراسخ من 5 فراسخ
Yāq., iv, 823, is also correct, but i, 840, misunderstood: وعلى رأس قصره تسعمائة رجل

¹² Paras. 6-12 omitted in Yāq.

٧ وذكر ان بين نوشجان الاعلى وبين الشاش — على طراز — اربعين
مرحلة للقوافل فمن سارها على دابة وكان منفرداً قطعها في شهر

8 قال ونوشجان الاعلى بها اربع مدن كبار واربع صغار¹ وانه حزر
المقاتلة في مدينة واحدة على شطّ بحيرة هناك فيمنهم نحو عشرين الف
فرس بالسلاح التام وليس في جميع اجناس الترك اشدّ منهم وانهم اذا
اجتمعوا مع الخزلخية لحرب كان منهم مائة رجل ومن الخزلخية الف
رجل وعلى هذا يخرجون² في جميع حروبهم

9 وذكر ان هذه البحيرة شبيهة بالحوض المربع وان حولها جبالاً³
شاهقة فيها من جميع اصناف الشجر قال وهناك رسم مدينة قديمة لم
أجد في الاتراك من يعرف خبرها ولا من بناها ولا من كان اهلها
ولا متى خربت وانه نظر فيها الى نهر يشقها لا يلحق غوره
هناك ورأيت فيه انواعا من الحيوانات البحرية مارأت مثلها وكذلك
[f. 170b] رأيت به طيوراً لم ار في شئ من البلدان مثلها قال واهل
النوشجان وغيرهم* من⁴ يقرب منهم من المدن والقرى يطوفون بها في
سنة مرة واحدة في ايام الربيع ويعملون ذلك * عمراً قال ويدخلها الماء
من ناحية التبت من مائة وخمسين نهراً* كباراً وصغاراً وكذلك من
ناحية التفرغز والكيماك

10 وذكر ان طولها مسيرة اربعين يوماً على الجمال وان الفارس
يقطعها في مدة شهر اذا جدّ في السير⁶

¹ Cf. Yāq., iv, 823.

² MS. يبحرون ; perhaps يبحرون ؟

³ MS. جبال

⁴ MS. ما

⁵ MS. عمدا

⁶ Vide supra 8 ?

11 وذكر أنه وجد ملك التفرغزحين (سافر) اليه معسكراً بالقرب من مدينته وأنه حزر جيشه الذي حول سرادقه - دون غيرهم - وكانوا * نحواً¹ من اثني عشر * ألف رجل قال وبعد هولاء سبعة عشر * قائداً مع كل قائد ثلاثة عشر ألفاً قال وبين القائد والقائد مصالح² من الخيام والقواد ومن معهم من المصالح² باجمعهم محيطون بالعسكر ولهم في احاطتهم فرجة يكون مقدارها مقدار اربعة ابواب الى ناحية العسكر قال وجميع دواب الملك ودواب * الجيش ترعى في ما بين سرادق الملك ومواضع القواد ولا تتخلص منها دابة الى خارج العسكر

12 وسألناه عن طريق كيماك من طراز فذكر ان الطريق (من) طراز الى قريتين في موضع يقال له كواكب³. عامرتين أهلتين ومسافتها من طراز * سبعة فراسخ ومن هذا الموضع (الى) مدينة ملك كيماك مسيرة ثمانين يوماً للفارس المجد يحمل معه زاده وان جميع ذلك صحارى وبرارى ومفاوز واسعة كثيرة الكلاء والعيون وفيها مراعى الكيماكية وذكر أنه سلك هذه الطريق ووجد ملك كيماك مع عسكره في خيام * بقربه قرى وعمارات وأنه ينتقل من موضع الى موضع يتبع الكلاء وان دوابه كثيرة دقيقة * الحوافر وحزر من في عسكره فوجد نحو عشرين ألف فارس

13 وذكر ابو الفضل الواشجردي⁴ ان ملك التفرغز غزا ملك الصين⁵ مرتين في ايام الرشيد وقيل ذلك في ايام المهدي [f. 171a] كانت

¹ MS. نحو

² Apparently مصالح, cf. Qudāma, 262.

³ كواكت

⁴ MS. الواشجردي

⁵ Sic.

غزوته ما بين سروشنة الى سمرقند وان عامل سمرقند* حاربه في عدة وقائع وكانت لهم حروب شديدة ثم ان صاحب سمرقند رزق النصر عليه فهزمه وقتل خلقاً من اصحابه ويقال انه كان في ستمائة الف بين فارس و راجل من اهل الصين¹ فغم المسلمون غنيمة عظيمة وأسرّوا خلقاً فاولادهم الذين بسمرقند يعملون الكاغذ الجيد وانواع السلاح والآلات التي لا تُعمل في مدن خراسان الا بسمرقند

14 ومن عجائب بلد الترك حصي عندهم يستمطرون (بها) ما شاءوا من مطرو ثلج وبرد وغير ذلك وامر هذا الحصا عندهم مشهور مستفيض لا ينكر احد من الاتراك وهو عند ملكك التفرغ خاصة ليس يوجد عند احد من ملوكهم غيره

15 وحدثني ابو عبد الله الحسين بن استاذويه حدثني ابو اسحق ابراهيم بن الحسن* حدثني هشام بن لهراسب السائب (?) الكلبي عن ابي مليح عن ابن عباس قال لم يتزوج ابراهيم عليه السلام على سارة حتى ماتت فتزوج امرأة من العرب العاربة يقال لها قنطورا بنت مقطور وخرجوا سائرين حتى نزلوا موضع خراسان فتنازلوا هناك وقهروا بذلك الاسم (?) جميع ما نواؤهم فاتصل خبرهم بالخزر وهم من ولد يافث بن نوح فصاروا اليهم وحالفوهم وتزوجوا اليهم واقام بعضهم عندهم فانصرف الباقر الى بلدهم [f. 171b]

¹ Sic.

III. TRANSLATION

1. Tamīm b. Baḥr al-Muṭṭawwi' reports that their (i.e. the Turks') country is very cold and one can travel in it (only) during six months of the year. He says that he journeyed to the country of the Toghuzghuzian khāqān on relay horses (*barīd*) which the khāqān sent him and that he was travelling three stages (*sikak*) in a-day-and-a-night, travelling as hard and as fast as he could. He journeyed twenty days in steppes (*barāri*) where there were springs and grass (*kalā'*) but no villages or towns: only the men of the relay service (*aṣḥāb al-sikak*) living in tents. And he was carrying with him twenty days' provisions. This because he knew the affairs of that country (*madīna*),¹ and that the distance was twenty days along the steppes with (only) wells and grass. And then, after that, he travelled twenty days among villages lying closely together and cultivated tracts (*'imārāt*). The people, all of them, or most of them, were Turks, and among them were fire-worshippers professing the Magian religion, and Zindiqs. After all these days he arrived at the king's town.

2. He reports that this is a great town, rich in agriculture² and surrounded by *rustāqs* full of cultivation and villages lying close together. The town has twelve iron gates of huge size. The town is populous and thickly crowded and has markets and various trades (*tijārāt*). Among its population, the Zindiq religion prevails.

3. He mentioned that he estimated how far it was (thence) to the country al-Ṣīn and he understood it was a distance of 300 farsakhs, and he added: "I think it is (even) more than that."

4. He reports: "to the right (south!) of the town¹ of the king of the Toghuzghuz are the (lands) of the Turks with whom no one else mixes; to its left, the lands of the Kimak; and straight ahead, the country al-Ṣīn."

5. He says that from (a distance of) five farsakhs before he arrived in the town (of the khaqan) he caught sight of a tent belonging to the king, (made) of gold. (It stands) on the flat top (*saṭḥ*) of his castle and can hold (*tasa'*) 100 men.

6. He records that the khāqān, king of the Toghuzghuz, is related by marriage (*mukhātin*) to the king of China (*al-Ṣīn*), and the latter is sending him yearly 500,000 (pieces of) silk (*firind* < Pers. *parand*).

7. He also reports that between Upper Nūshajān (*Barskhan) and al-Shāsh (Tashkent)—via Tarāz—there are forty stages (*marḥala*) for caravans, but he who journeys on horse-back (*'alā dābba*) and by himself, crosses that distance in a month.

8. He says that in Upper Nūshajān there are four large towns and four small. He estimated the number of warriors in *one* town lying on the bank of a lake (which is) there and put them at about 20,000 fully armed horse. There is no one stronger than they among all the Turkish tribes. When they

On the interchange of the terms *madīna* and *nāḥiya*, cf. Iṣṭ., 225, and I. Ḥauqal, 285 (but in the Kramers edition 396: *al-nāḥiya wal-madīna*).

² Better *ḥasīnatun* "fortified", as in Yāqūt.

gather for war with the Kharlukh, they are a hundred and the Kharlukh a thousand, and thus they come out (*yakhrujūna*)¹ in all their wars.

9. He reports that this lake is like a square-shaped pond and around it are high mountains, with all kinds of trees in them. He says: "and here are traces of an ancient town. I could not find among the Turks anyone knowing its story: who built it, who were its people and when it became ruined?" On the site of it he inspected a river which crosses it. One cannot reach its (*sic*) bottom here: "and I saw in it various sea-creatures (*haywānāt*) which I had not seen before. And I also saw birds the like of which I had not seen in any of the countries." He says: "The people of al-Nūshajān and others from neighbouring towns and villages circumambulate (the site) once a year in the spring and they do this as a kind of religious rite (*'umran*). He says: water enters (the lake) from the direction (*nāhiya*) of Tibet in 150 streams (*nahr*), large and small, and also from the direction of the Toghuzghuz and Kīmāk.

10. He says that its (?) length is a journey of forty days on camels, but a horseman can cover (the distance) in a month if he rides hard (*idhā jadda fil-sayr*).

11. He says that he found the king of the Toghuzghuz when (he travelled) to him encamped in the neighbourhood of his town and he estimated his army, around his tents (*sarādiq*)—to say nothing of the others (*dūna ghayrihim*)—and it was some 12,000 strong. He says: and after (besides ?) these (there are) seventeen chieftains (*qā'id*), each having 13,000, and between each two chieftains there are offices (or military posts),² consisting of tents. The chieftains jointly with those who are with them in the offices (*military posts ?) form a circle round the army (*'askar*). In this circle there is a gap (gaps ?) to the size of four gates (opening) towards the army. He says: and all the animals (horses) of the king and the army (reading: *al-jaysh* for *al-jayyid*) pasture (*tar'ā*) between the tents of the king and the places occupied by the chieftains, and not one animal escapes outside the camp (*al-'askar*).

12. And we asked him about the road to the Kīmāk (and he said): from Tārāz (one travels) to two villages called K.wāk.b³ which are flourishing and populous. Their distance from Tārāz is seven farsakhs, and from this place (to the residence) of the king of the Kīmāk a hard rider carrying his provisions travels eighty days. These deserts, steppes, and plains are vast and abound in grass and wells, and in them are the pastures of the Kīmāks. He says that he travelled that way and found the king and his army in tents, and in his neighbourhood were villages and cultivated tracts (*'imārāt*). The king travels from one place to another following the grass. His animals are numerous and with tiny hooves (**daqīqat al-ḥawāfir*). He reckoned those in the army and found they were some 20,000 horse.⁴

¹ Perhaps: **yajrūna* "they fare".

² *Maṣāliḥ*, but, more likely, this is but a vulgar spelling for *masāliḥ* "military posts": on such confusion see de Goeje, *BGA.*, iv, 282.

³ I. Kh., 28, K.wāk.t, Qudāma, 209, K.wyk.t; read both **Kuvēkat*.

⁴ Here end the quotations from Tamīm.

13. Abul-Faḍl al-Vāsīrdī [*sic*] reports that twice in the days of (Hārūn) al-Rashīd [786–809] the king of the Toghuzghuz [*sic*] led an army against the king of China (*al-Ṣīn*).¹ But it is (also) said to have been in the days of al-Mahdī [775–785]. This (?) campaign took place between Surūshana and nearer to (*ilā*) Samarqand. The governor of Samarqand fought him on several occasions and some of the fighting was heavy. (God) granted victory to the ruler (*ṣāhib*) of Samarqand over him and he defeated him and killed many of his companions. It is said that he had 600,000 (warriors), horse and foot, of people of China. The Muslims took an enormous booty and captured some people whose children are those who fabricate in Samarqand good paper and various kinds of arms and implements. These are produced only in Samarqand of all the towns of Khorasan [*sic*].

14. And of the wonders of the country of the Turks are some pebbles they have, with which they bring down rain, snow, cold, etc., as they wish. The story of these pebbles in their possession is well known and widely spread and no Turk denies it. And these (pebbles) are especially in the possession of the king of the Toghuzghuz² and no other of their kings possesses them.

15. Abū 'Abdillāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ustādhūya told me from Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan, from Hishām b. Lohrāsp al-Sā'ib (?) al-Kalbi, from Abū-Malīh, from Ibn 'Abbās [*sic*], as follows: Abraham, on him be peace, did not marry except Sarah, until she died (*Gen.* 20–1), and then he married a woman from original Arabs called Qanṭūra (*Gen.* 25, 1: Keturah) bint Maqṭūr. And they started travelling until they settled in a place in Khorasan where they multiplied and under this name (?) they subjugated all those who resisted them. Their story reached the Khazar who were descended from the son of Japhet, son of Noah. They betook themselves to them and made a pact with them and intermarried with them. Some of them stayed with them and the remainder returned to their country.

IV. COMMENTARY

§ 1. *Toghuzghuz*

Tamīm's report on his journey to the Toghuzghuz cannot be properly understood without a brief explanation of this much-discussed term.³

1. The term *Toquz-Oghuz* "Nine Oghuz" occurs in the earliest Orkhon inscriptions, but not as a name of the qaghan's own group of tribes. The two great inscriptions of the Eastern Türk qaghans and, with particular consistency, the inscription of the minister Tonyuquq (*circa* A.D. 720), apply the term *Türk* (*Türük*) to the ruler and his people (*budun*). The general situation appears from the following quotations. The qaghan says that the Türgish-qaghan (of the Western Turks) "belonged to my Turks" (*Türgish qaghan Türkim budunim arti*, E 16); he also says that the *Toghuz-Oghuz* "were his own people" (*känti budunim arti*, N 4). Yet the Türk qaghan leads his army

¹ Para. 13 is full of confusion. The Toghuzghuz king invaded Transoxiana, and not China. The record possibly refers to the events of A.D. 821 (see below, p. 302), but Abul-Faḍl must have mixed them up with the Chinese-Muslim fights in A.D. 751 when the Chinese artisans were captured, see my edition of Marvazi, p. 67.

² Para. 14 is also found in the abridgment of I.F., *BGA.*, 329₁₀, but in much more detail in Yāqūt, i, 840–2, who refers to I.F. as his authority.

³ See my previous analysis of it in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. 265–7, into which I now introduce considerable alterations.

against the Ten Arrows (i.e. the Ten clans, *On oq*), who were the people of the Türgish-qaghan, and against the Toquz-Oghuz. In Tonyuquq's version the Türgish-qaghan says "we, the Oghuz" (T 10), and then plots against the Turks, "because the Oghuz, their subjects, are in revolt" (T 22). Tonyuquq finishes his inscription eulogizing the rule of Bilgä-qaghan over "the Türk (and) the Oghuz".

These quotations show that the ethnical unity of the Turks, the Ten Arrows, the Toquz-Oghuz and the Oghuz living to the north of the Turks was felt and claimed, but that *politically* the groups were disunited or separate. It is pretty clear that the term "Nine Oghuz" did not apply to the Türk nucleus of the Eastern Türk federation, nor to the *Ten Arrows* of the Western Türk federation (led at that time by the Türgish and, somewhat later, apparently by the new group of Az).¹

2. In 840 the Türk on the Orkhon were replaced by the Uyghur. This new leading group, which originally belonged to the Tölis federation, lived on the Selenga, and was ruled by an *eltäbir*.

The Uyghur epigraphical material is in a much less satisfactory state of preservation than that of the Turks. In the very important inscription of the first Uyghur qaghan in which he speaks of his triumph over the last Türk qaghan Ozmish many lines are obliterated.² The inscription at Sūjin-dāva is a private document and possibly belongs to the time after A.D. 840.³ Of the extremely interesting inscription which was put up some time after 821 (Haloun), and in which an account is given of the conversion of the Uyghurs to Manichæism, only the Chinese translation gives a more or less connected sense. Its Soghdian version is helpful only for some details, and the Turkish side is too much obliterated to be of any use.⁴

In the Shine-usu inscription the qaghan refers to the "Ten Uyghur (and) Nine Oghuz" (N 3), and calls the latter (N 5) "his people" (*Toquz Oghuz budunim*). He speaks of the destruction of the Türk *budun* (N 10). Other references are to the "Three Qarluq" who joined the *On-oq* (N 11); to the "Eight Oghuz and Thirty Tatar" (E 1); then again to the Nine Oghuz (E 10); to the *tutuq* appointed over the Chik (S 2); to the Türgish (and) Qarluq (S 5); to the *Oghuz Tür(ii)k* in China (*Tabghach*) (S 8); to the *tutuq* of the Chigil and the Qarluq (S 11); to the Qarluq who joined the Türgish (W 1); to the "Three Qarluq" (W 2); to the defeat of the "Three Banners" (*üch tughtigh*) [of the Turks ?] (S 7).

From this list it appears that there was a distinction between the Ten

¹ Kül-tegin, E 19.

² The Shine-usu inscription, see Ramstedt, "Zwei Uigurische Runneninschriften", *Journ. de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, vol. xxx, 1913.

³ *Ibid.*, and A. N. Bernstam, *Social and Economic Organization of the Orkhon-Yenisey Turks* (in Russian), Moscow, 1946, p. 53.

⁴ See Schlegel, "Die chinesische Inschrift auf dem Uigurischen Denkmal in Kara-Balgasun" *Mem. de la Soc. Fin.-Ougr.*, ix, 1896. Cf. Chavannes-Pelliot, "Le traité manichéen", *Journ.-As.*, 1913, janvier, 177-199; O. Hansen, "Zur soghdischen Inschrift von Karabalgasun", *Journ. de la Soc. Fin.-Ougr.*, xlv/3, 1930.

Uyghur clans and the Nine Oghuz. Strangely enough the Uyghurs (at this time ?) consisted of *ten* clans, whereas in the well known Chinese enumeration ¹ only *nine* Uyghur tribes are named. We also see that the Uyghur qaghan, similarly to his Türk predecessor, claimed the Nine Oghuz as belonging to him. Consequently one might think of the Toquz-Oghuz as an intermediate group, equally claimed as their own by the Turks and the Uyghurs.

These facts suggest that the tribal organization on the Orkhon was uncertain, and that clans and federations were changing their allegiance—in accordance with the general practice of the nomads.

In the fourteenth century Rashīd al-dīn (ed. Berezine, *T.V.O.*, vii, 161) recorded the tradition that in “Üyghuristān” there were *ten* rivers along which lived the *On-Uyghur*, and *nine* rivers along which lived the *Toquz-Uyghur* [*sic*]. These must have been the two groups referred to in the inscription of Shine-usu.

We may perhaps assume that the ninefold composition of the group which formed the core of the Uyghur people has been responsible for the name of the whole federation in later times (see below). Unfortunately this hypothesis leaves unsolved the question *why* the Uyghur khan himself quotes the *On-Uyghur* at the first place, and why he makes a difference between the tenfold *Uyghur* and the ninefold *Oghuz* group? As yet there is no easy answer to it.

3. The Islamic sources speak in considerable detail of struggles in Central Asia in which the Turks, both the Eastern (after their conquest of the Western Turkish territory since about A.D. 689) and the later successors of the Western Turks (Türgish, [Az] and Qarluq), took an active part. In this connection the earliest sources use exclusively the term *Türk*. In Ṭabari's great history this name occurs in vol. i, 74 times; in vol. ii, 121 times; and in vol. iii, 111 times. Only on *one* occasion, under the year 205/820–1 Ṭabari (iii, 1044) uses the term *Toghuzghuz*. The other trustworthy historian Ya'qūbī, who was well acquainted with the situation in Khorasan and Transoxiana, mentions the *Toghuzghuz* in two passages, under 194/809–810 (ii, 479), and after 190/806 (ii, 538). We shall discuss these references in our Conclusion. At this place it will be enough to draw attention to the important fact that the term *Toghuzghuz*, whatever its origin, percolated into Muslim histories in the heyday of the Uyghur power on the Orkhon.²

In later times, the Islamic sources most definitely apply the term *Toghuzghuz* to the new kingdoms which the remnants of the Uyghurs formed in the T'ien-shan region and in Kan-chou, after their kingdom on the Orkhon had been destroyed by the Qirghiz (in 840).³

¹ F. Hirth, *Nachwort zur Inschrift von Tonjukuk*, St. Petersburg, 1899, p. 36; Chavannes, *Documents*, 34.

² According to Maqrizi, *Khitaṭ*, i, 313₃₅, Tulun, the father of the founder of the Tulunid dynasty in Egypt, was a *Toghuzghuz*. Among other tribute, he was sent to Ma'mūn by the Samanid ruler of Bukhara, Nūh. b. Asad, in 200/815–16. More exactly this must have happened after 204/819 when Ma'mūn gave Samarqand to Nūh.

³ Mas'ūdī, i, 288 (on his confusion under i, 305, see below); Iṣṭ., 10 (the *Toghuzghuz* between Tibet, the Kharlukh, the Khirkhiz, and China); Gardīzi, in Barthold's *Ōtchot*, pp. 90–2; *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, § 12; Marvazi, p. 78.

4. Of great interest for our problem are two passages in Mas'ūdī's *Murūj*, i, 288, and i, 312-17. In the first Mas'ūdī enumerates among the descendants of Japhet "the Turks, the Kharlukh, and the Toghuzghuz. These (latter) are the masters of the town كوشان **Kaushan* [i.e. Kao-ch'ang = Khocho, near Turfan]. This kingdom lies between Khorasan and China. In our time, i.e. in the year 332/943-4, among the tribes and classes of the Turks there is no one more valiant than the Toghuzghuz, nor more powerful, nor possessing a more solid state. Their king is *Uyghurkhan (ابغرخان read **Uyghurkhan*) and their religion is Manichæan (*al-manā'iya*). There are no other Turks, beside them, who profess this religion. And the (other) Turks are the Kimāk, the Barskhānians, al-B.diya,¹ and al-J.gh.riya.² Of these the strongest are the Ghuz, while the Kharlukh have the best shape, the tallest stature, and the finest faces; they live in the region of Farghāna and Shāsh (Tashkent) and in its neighbourhood. And they [rather 'these Turks' than the Qarluq!] had a kingdom, and of them was the khaqan of the khaqans, who united (under him) the other Turkish kingdoms and the kings used to obey him. Of these khaqans was Afrāsiyāb the Turk who triumphed over the Persian kingdom; of them was *Shāba,³ but in our time there is no khaqan of the Turks whom the (other) kings obey. This has happened since the destruction of the town called عماث (**Sūyāb* ?) which lay in the steppes of Samarqand.⁴ We have mentioned the passing away of the kingdom from that town and the reason for that in our book *al-Awsat*."

With some misunderstandings, inevitable in such obscure matters, Mas'ūdī refers to the former Turkish kingdom (the Western *On-og*). In his own time he enumerates the Toghuzghuz (= Uyghurs of the T'ien-shan), the Qarluq, and the "Turks". Among the latter the strongest tribe were the Ghuz and, in any case, the Toghuzghuz stand apart from the Ghuz.

Mas'ūdī's second passage (i. 302-7) has been a source of considerable confusion. Mas'ūdī speaks of the revolt of Huang Ch'ao (under 264/877-8), and of the aid which the Emperor received from the "king of the Turks" [*sic*!] *Uyghur-khan. The restorer of the Imperial authority was the Sha-t'o prince Li K'o-yung. His identity is well established, and in the wake of his exploits three Sha-t'o dynasties ruled in China in 923-936, 936-946, and 947-950. But Li K'o-yung belonged to a federation entirely different from the Uyghurs and had his headquarters within the loop of the Yellow river.⁵

¹ Possibly **Adhkish*, I. Kh. 31.

² Perhaps **Majghari*, the Bashqirs?

³ One of the "Turkish" opponents of Bahrām Chōbēn, see Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser*, 269. In point of fact Shāva (Shāvagh) was a Hephthalite, Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 83-4.

⁴ Bernstam now places Sūyāb to the east of the Chu, but there may have been some confusion between two towns, for I. Kh., 28, and Qudāma, 200, mention the "town (or village) of the Turkish khaqan" to the west (?) of the Chu river."

⁵ The Sha-t'o were descended from the Ch'u-yüeh tribe which was incorporated by the West Turks, but seemingly did not belong to their inner federation. The original territory of the Ch'u-yüeh in the early seventh century was round Guchen, to the east of the tribe Ch'u-mi

By dubbing him ایرخان, i.e. ایغرخان *Uyghur-khan (see i, 288), Mas'ūdī committed an error. He evidently thought that the hero Li K'o-yung could only belong to the group which he (i, 288) considered as the strongest group of his time (Toghuzghuz = the Uyghurs of Turfan). The report must have reached Mas'ūdī through Arab seafarers,¹ and from the south, the differences between the "northern frontagers" of China could not have been clearly realized. Barthold was one of the victims of Mas'ūdī's terminology.²

5. On the origin of the term Toghuzghuz the late great scholars Marquart and Barthold held divergent views. The former,³ following Reinaud, de Goeje, Thomsen, and Schlegel,⁴ equated Toghuzghuz ("The Nine Oghuz") with the Uyghurs, whose federation, according to the Chinese sources, consisted of nine clans. Barthold, on many occasions, expressed the view that the Arabs transferred to the Uyghurs the name *Toghuzghuz* which properly belonged to their predecessors in the region of Bish-baliq, the Turks Sha-t'o, who "according to the Chinese" were issued from the "Orkhon Turks". This is inexact (see above, p. 288, n. 5), and in the course of the present article we shall see that Barthold's theory has numerous weak points and cannot be defended.⁵ Marquart's views in practice prove correct, but we have seen what the remaining difficulties are.

With regard to Tamīm's journey neither Marquart nor Barthold could draw any definite conclusion from Yāqūt's abridgment. Marquart first said that Ibn Khurdādhbih (based on Tamīm) referred to the Toghuzghuz on the Orkhon; then changing his mind he decided that the capital of the Toghuzghuz visited by Tamīm was Kao-ch'ang (Turfan).⁶

Barthold first (1897) said that Tamīm's journey was not later than the ninth century and, on the strength of the descriptions of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (A.D. 986) and Idrīsī (A.D. 1154), he surmised that the capital of the Toghuzghuz should be looked for near the Eastern T'ien-shan. Later (1926) he thought that the journey could not have taken place before 760 (when the Qarluq

(Chumil), who lived on the River Manas (west of Urumchi). When P'ei-ting was founded by the Chinese in 654, the Ch'u-yüeh shifted to Bar-kul. There a part (?) of them became known as Sha-t'o "the sand(-desert) Turks". In 794 the Sha-t'o were subdued by the Tibetans and transferred to Kan-chou. In 809 the Sha-t'o submitted to the Chinese and were settled in Northern Ordos, see Hyacinth, i/2, 452-7; Chavannes, 31, 96-9.

¹ Through Abū Zayd, the author of the appendix to the so-called Sulaymān-the-Merchant? Mas'ūdī (i, 353-6) met him in Basra in 303/915.

² Still later, when the Uyghurs became known under their own name, the identity of the Toghuzghuz and Uyghurs was no more recognized and the Toghuzghuz of the past were treated as a vague, separate group, still extant, see Marvazi, p. 29.

³ WZKM., 1898, xii, 170. See also Komanen, 201.

⁴ See also F. Hirth, *Nachwort*, pp. 34, 37 ("vielleicht").

⁵ Articles "Ghuz" and "Toghuzghuz" in *Enc. of Islam*; 12 *Vorlesungen*, 54. Western Turks definitely had 10 clans (*on-og*) and could not have been called *Toquz-Oghuz*.

⁶ *Streifzüge*, 80: "hier (am Orkhon) kennt sie noch Ibn Churdādhbih, 30"; but later, *ibid.*, 390: "Wie an anderer Stelle näher dargelegt werden soll, zeigt eine eingehende Analyse dieses Berichtes (i.e. of Tamīm), von welchem I. Churdādhbih abhängig ist, dass unter der Hauptstadt der *Toyz oyuz* hier unzweifelhaft bereits Kau-Č'ang (beim heutigem Turfan) zu verstehen ist."

established their power in the Semirechye and in the western part of Chinese Turkestan), or later than the beginning of the ninth century (when the Sha-t'o had to abandon Bish-baliq). In the *Enc. of Islam* Barthold briefly admitted that the time of Tamīm's journey was uncertain.¹

In my commentary on the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 268, I analysed Yaquṭ's quotations from Tamīm's report as compared with the echoes found in I. Khurdādhbih, Qudāma, and (pseudo-)Abū Dulaf. With some doubts (p. 269, n. 4), I placed the capital visited by Tamīm at Bish-baliq (to the north of Turfan) (p. 272). At the last moment I had the privilege of examining the photograph of the MS. of Ibn al-Faḡīh discovered by A. Z. Validi and I was immediately struck by the importance of the additional detail on the matrimonial ties of the Toghuzghuz ruler with the court of China. So in my Appendix (p. 431) I said that my previous explanations should be altered accordingly. This I am proceeding to do in the present article.

§ 2. *The Three Towns*

In analysing Tamīm's report we have to do with three distinct towns: Lower and Upper "Nushajan" and the capital of the Toghuzghuz. We can now positively state that نوشجان *Nūshajān* is only an ancient clerical error for *برسخان *Bars-khān*. This correct reading, found in Muqaddasi, 263, is confirmed by the famous *Divān lughat al-Turk* of Maḥmūd Kāshghari in which the Turkish words and names come in alphabetical order and are vocalized. Kāshghari, iii, 308, 14, whose father was from Upper Barskhān, spells out: *Bars(a)ghān*. Besides, one of the affluents of Lake Issik-kul on which the town stood is still called Ton (**Tong*) and it is very likely that in this connection the names *Bars-khan* and *Tong* refer to the sons of Türk, the mythical eponym of the Turks.²

1. "Lower" (i.e. Nearer) Barskhan lay at only three farsakhs' distance to the east of Taraz (I. Kh., 28₉), or at 60–65 farsakhs east of Samarqand (Qudāma, 262, lines 2 and 15). The latter author describes it as "the first of the outposts (*masālih*) of (or rather, *against*) the Khallukhs, in the direction of the Kīmāk". This suggests that Lower Barskhan was a door through which travellers from the west penetrated into the world of the nomads.

2. "Upper" (i.e. Farther) Barskhan was situated at least 500 km. to the east of its "Lower" namesake. The confusion of the two is fatal to the understanding of our text. Upper Barskhan lay on Lake Issik-kul, as unequivocally confirmed by M. Kāshghari (iii, 99₁).

According to Tamīm, Upper Barskhan consisted of four larger and five smaller towns. Recent archaeological expeditions, directed by A. N. Bernstam, have considerably increased our knowledge of the environs of the Issik-kul. The complex of the Barskhan settlements has been located in the south-eastern

¹ *Otchet*, 34; 12 *Vorlesungen*, 54; *EI.*, s.v. *Toghuzghuz*.

² See *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, ed. Bahār, 1318/1939, p. 99, on the Issik-kul as the original home of Türk's family. Cf. *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 292.

part of the lake. From the west it was protected by a massive wall (near the village Koltsovka). The latter stretched from north-west to south-east between the Tong creek and the mountains (Terskey) which in the south form the watershed between the basin of the Issik-kul and the head-waters of the Sir-darya. The settlements stretched down to the eastern corner of the lake (ruins near the estuary of the River Tüp). At least six archæological sites have been discovered on this stretch of territory and several others must have been washed away by the waters of the lake.¹

Tamīm's description of the shape of the lake (§ 9) is wrong, and in general it compares unfavourably with the account which Hsüan-tsang gives of the Issik-kul.

"Il a environ 1000 li (*circa* 500 km.) de tour. Il est allongé de l'est à l'ouest et resserré du sud au nord. De tous côtés il est entouré de montagnes; une multitude de rivières viennent s'y jeter et s'y confondre. La couleur de l'eau est d'un noir verdâtre et sa saveur est à la fois salée et amère. Tantôt ses vastes flots s'étendent en nappes immenses, tantôt ils s'enflent et roulent avec impétuosité. Les dragons et les poissons y habitent ensemble et, de temps en temps, on en voit surgir des monstres extraordinaires. C'est pourquoi les voyageurs qui vont et viennent adressent leurs prières (au Ciel) pour obtenir le bonheur. Quoique les hôtes du lac soient fort nombreux, personne n'ose les pêcher."²

It is not clear what Tamīm means (§ 10) by saying that the *length* (of the lake?) is 40 (or eventually, 30) days. Perhaps by some mistake the distances have been reproduced from 7, for they are exaggerated even if we take them to represent the *circuit* of the Issik-kul. In Gardizī's estimation (Barthold, *Otchot*, 90) the lake is seven days long and has seventy affluents (instead of Tamīm's 150). Thus it appears that Gardizī had a source independent from Tamīm (possibly Jayhānī?).

According to Russian measurements the length of the lake is 200–210 km.; its depth varies, in the south to north direction, from *circa* 80 to 400 metres; it never freezes and it has forty tributaries. It is very rich in fish.³

3. The capital of the "Toghuzghuz" king lay much further to the east. In 744–840 the Uyghur capital was at Khara-balghasun on the Orkhon; after 840, when a part of the Uyghurs migrated to the T'ien-shan, their summer capital was at Bish-baliq (on the northern side of the range) and their winter capital at Khocho (Turfan) on the southern side of the range. We shall specially consider the problem of the capital visited by Tamīm (see below, § 4) after we have studied the indications on distances, but it is useful at once to denounce a confusion between Upper Barskhan and the Toghuzghuz capital which has crept into the text of Qudāma, 262. Line 7: de Goeje accepted the reading *wa min madīnat al-Tughuzghuz buhayratun*, although instead of a lake (*buhayra*)

¹ A. N. Bernstam, "Archæological Survey of Northern Kirghizia" (in Russian), Frunze, 1941, pp. 80–2.

² Hiouen-Tsang, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, tr. par S. Julien, ii, 11–12.

³ *Cyprinus carpio*, *Squalius Schmidtii*, *Schizothorax argentatus*, but neither Hsüan-tsang's traditional "dragons" nor even Tamīm's "sea-animals".

the MS. gives the variant “a steppe” (*barriya*). The reason for this choice was apparently the passage that follows (line 13): “the lake on which the town of the Toghuzghuz (is situated) is at some distance surrounded by mountains (*min bu'd(?) yahuffu bihā al-jibāl*).” But this detail in Tamīm's text belongs explicitly to Upper Barskhan.

§ 3. Distances

We now come to the problem of routes and distances, and we shall begin with Qudāma's itineraries, which contain the major number of difficulties. Qudāma wrote after 316/928, over half a century later than Ibn Khurdādhbih, and it is assumed that he used the latter's work. However, in our case he quotes one of Tamīm's itineraries in *marḥalas* and *sikkas*, as in Tamīm's original, and not in the system of days adopted by I. Kh. This detail suggests that some other original details may be found in Qudāma's text, although the latter is in a very bad state.

First of all, p. 205, Qudāma describes stage by stage the road (*A*) from Tarāz¹ to the Chu valley, up to the town of Navākat (**Navēkat*)—a distance of 53 farsakhs.² After this the road ran for another 3 farsakhs to Sāghūr K. bāl (which I am tempted to equate with the later Balasaghun); thence, the distance to Upper Barskhan was fifteen days for caravans travelling along pastures and springs, but only three days for Turkish couriers. The latter may have been using a road along the northern or the southern bank of the lake. In any case the roads beyond Navēkat are not clear.

On p. 208, Qudāma describes the road (*B*) leading from Farghāna to Upper Barskhan along the headwaters of the Sīr-daryā and across the mountains to the southern shore of the Issik-kul.

There is no certainty about these itineraries (*A* and *B*) being a part of Tamīm's reconnaissance,³ but the following passages, undoubtedly based on Tamīm, present special difficulties. On p. 262 Qudāma's text is out of order: “the greatest of the Turks on the frontier (*thaghr*), which is in Khorasan (?) . . . ,⁴ is called Nūshajān—and it lies beyond Samarqand at about 60 farsakhs, in the direction of Shāsh and Farghāna—and this is the first outpost (*maslah*) of the Kharlukh in the direction of the Kimak. From this frontier point (*thaghr*) to the town of the Toghuzghuz it is a journey of 45 (var. 40) days: 20 days in the steppes in which springs and grass are found, and 25 days along large villages. . . .” As the text stands, the distance of 45 days (route *C*) is meant to be that separating Lower Barskhan from the Toghuzghuz capital, without any specification of the mode of travelling.

After this (line 9) Qudāma gives the distance (*D*) between Upper Barskhan

¹ Now ruins of Talas, *circa* 280 km. to the north-east of Tashkent.

² Bernstam places Navēkat near the village Orlovka, to the west of the Chu. But cf. *Hudūd*, 290-1, 298.

³ See *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 273 (§ 12, 3) and p. 293 (§ 15, 13).

⁴ Here we would expect some such words as: “[are the Toghuzghuz. And the frontier-point of the Turks] is called (Lower) Nūshajān.”

and *balad al-Shāsh* (Tashkent) as being forty stages (*marhala*) for caravans and thirty days for those travelling fast (*mughidd al-sayr*). This distance has been borrowed directly from Tamīm 7 and the fact that it is given in the east-to-west direction might suggest that this was the road which he followed on his return journey.

For the distance (*E*) from Upper Barskhan to the place (*mauḍi'*) of the Toghuzghuz khaqan, Qudāma (p. 209) counts only six days, in which he is followed by Muqaddasī, 341.¹ This distance looks like a later interpretation of the time when the Uyghurs had already migrated to the T'ien-shan. Even so, the distance from Upper Barskhan to Bish-baliq or Turfan is approximately 1,000 km., which is more than six days' travelling. The only explanation I can see is that on the road from Upper Barskhan to Khocho (Turfan) the sources depending on Jayhānī (who wrote in the early tenth century) name six points.² Later authors may have taken them for *stages*, whereas, in point of fact, they are only some of the important places lying on the road.

I. Khurdadbeh's published text lacks a few of Qudāma's details, but in some points it is in a better state. The itinerary (*A*), pp. 28-9, counts 59 farsakhs from Tarāz to K.bāl, and then, similarly to Qudāma, fifteen—or (for Turks) three—days to Upper Barskhan. Route (*B*), p. 30, is also similar to that of Qudāma. (*C*) and (*D*) are omitted in I. Kh. Finally he estimates (p. 30₁₂) the distance between Upper Barskhan and the Toghuzghuz capital (*E*) at "three months along large and flourishing villages".³

Neither the Mashhad MS., nor the abridged quotation in Yāqūt, i, 840, indicates the starting-point of Tamīm's ride, but they state that Tamīm travelled to the Toghuzghuz capital twenty days along the steppes and twenty days along flourishing villages, making three *sikkas* in a day and a night.

A *sikka* (or *barīd*) represented the distance between two stages: according to some authorities it was equal to 2 farsakhs, but a glossator raises the correct distance to 4 farsakhs.⁴ Travelling $2 \times 3 = 6$ farsakhs (30-5 km.) in twenty-four hours would be no "hard riding" and a double distance would seem more likely. This in forty days would give a total of 480 farsakhs (2,400-2,880 km.), or in forty-five days 540 farsakhs (2,700-3,240 km.).

We have every reason to believe that the reckoning in *sikkas* belonged to Tamīm's original. Nor is there any doubt about I. Kh.'s passage being borrowed from Tamīm. Only the substitution of "3 months" for "20 + 20 days"

¹ The latter or his scribe, thinking of the situation in the tenth century, has mis-spelt *موضع معرا خان* into *موضع معرا خان* having in mind *Boghra-khan, the ancestor of the Qarakhanids, whose home was Kashghar, see *Hudūd*, 278, but even so the distance indicated is too short.

² See *Hudūd*, p. 273 (§ 12, 3) and p. 293 (§ 15, 13). Qudāma has many points in common with Gardizī.

³ Reproduced verbatim in I. Faqih, *BGA.*, 328, and in Yāqūt, iv, 823 (under the heading Nūshajān).

⁴ See Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, *Vocabulary*, 52; Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 666; Lane, p. 1387. In analysing Arab itineraries, east of Taraz, Bernstam comes to the conclusion that 1 farsakh = 6 km.

must be imputed to I. Kh. himself. As an expert postmaster (*sāhib al-barūd*), I. Kh. has apparently converted the less common *sikkas* of an exceptionally fast ride into easier stages of the official post service. Three months equal ninety days, and it is likely that the basis of I. Kh.'s conversion was the rate of two days = "1 day of 3 *sikkas*", and probable that, like Qudāma, he read in Tamīm's text $20 + 25 = 45$ days. Taking the average rate of daily travelling for 6 farsakhs (35–40 km.) per day, this would give 270 farsakhs, or 1,620–1,800 km. All we can say is that even this distance (in I. Kh.'s formulation) would exceed the 1,000 km. which separate Upper Barskhan from Turfan or Bish-baliq. In any case we have to prefer Tamīm's original explanation of his way of travelling, and a distance of *circa* 3,000 km. (see above) is in the order of magnitude of the stretch Lower Barskhan–Khara-balghasun, rather than Lower Barskhan–Turfan, or Upper-Barskhan–Khara-balghasun.

We cannot squeeze more precision out of Tamīm's distances, and the only hints we can derive from his indications are: (a) that he started on his ride from Lower Barskhan, (b) that he visited Khara-balghasun, and (c) that he travelled via Upper Barskhan at least on his return journey. Gardīzī knows a road from Chīnānjath to the Qirghiz on the Upper Yenisey (see *Hudūd*, p. 282), but Tamīm must have followed a straighter road to the Orkhon, for he does not mention the Qirghiz.

And to conclude: the statement that "straight ahead" of the Toghuzghuz capital lay the town (*balad*) of China, at a distance of 300 farsakhs (*circa* 1,800 km.), "or more," suggests that Tamīm did not visit China and that here he spoke from hearsay. Strictly speaking this distance might apply to both Uyghur capitals. In fact Gardīzī describes a road from Chīnānjath (Khocho, Turfan) to the T'ang capital, Khumdān, i.e. Ch'ang-an-fu, the distance being sixty-six days (see *Hudūd*, p. 229), or *circa* 2,000 km. On the other hand, the distance between the Orkhon capital and Ch'ang-an-fu is about 1,650–1,700 km., as the crow flies, and fits into Tamīm's scheme.¹

§ 4. The Toghuzghuz Capital

The mention of a lake in the neighbourhood of the Toghuzghuz capital being apparently a misunderstanding on the part of Qudāma (*vide supra*, p. 291),² there remains only the detail of the "golden" tent on the king's castle which has some characteristic individuality.³ In my commentary on the *Hudūd*

¹ According to the Chinese sources the distance from Khara-balghasun via Chung shou-chiang ch'eng (on the Yellow River, in the Ordos bend) to Ch'ang-an (the capital) was under 4,000 li = 2,450 km. (Haloun).

² The lake which the Chinese envoy Wang Yen-tê (see *Journ. As.*, 1847, ix, 62) mentions near Bish-baliq, was apparently in the nature of a pond serving for the purposes of amusement. Cf. *Hudūd*, 269.

³ "Capable of holding (*tasa'*) 100 men." Thus in the Mashhad MS., in I. Kh., 31, and in Yāqūt, iv, 823. In Yāqūt, i, 840, the statement has been wrongly read: "The king's tent is of gold and on the top of his castle (there are) nine (*tis'*) hundred men." The passage on the tent has been also incorporated in Abū-Dulaf's spurious report (see Qazwīnī's quotation from Abū-Dulaf, *Āthār al-bilād*, 391: "the tent contains 1,000 men"), and the additional passage from

al-'Ālam, p. 269, I tentatively identified this unusual landmark with the Buddhist stupa which according to the Chinese authors stood in Bish-baliq.¹ This surmise would hold water only if we knew for certain that the **Qaghan-stupa* was gilded! On the other hand, as I now see, the *T'ang-shu* (under *Qirghiz*) contains a direct reference to the "golden tent" of the last Uyghur khagan in his capital on the Orkhon.²

The struggle between the Qirghiz ruler and the Uyghur khagan went on for twenty years and trusting in his victory A-jê exclaimed: "Your fate is sealed! I shall get your golden tent (*chin-chang*) and in front of your tent I shall exercise my horses and plant my own pennons." Finally, in A.D. 840, the Uyghur khagan was killed and his princes (*tegin*) dispersed. A-jê in person burnt down the Uyghur camp, "(as well as) the golden tent in which the Uyghur khagan used to sit". He seized all the treasures and the Princess T'ai-ho and after this transferred his camp to the south of the mountain Lao.

In our conclusions (see below) we shall make full use of this important detail. For the rest we have Tamīm's indication that the capital possessed twelve iron gates³ and a castle, and that it lay within a vast tract of cultivated lands.

The ancient Uyghur capital on the Orkhon was founded by the first qaghan at the confluence of the rivers Orkhon and Baliqligh (Shine-usu inscription, S 10). The ruins occupy an area of *circa* 7×2.5 km., and the royal castle, at its northern side, has *circa* 450×200 metres.⁴ The traces of several gates are distinguishable and their number seems to have been upwards of ten.

As already explained, in the region occupied by the *later* Uyghur kingdom there were two capitals: (a) Bish-baliq (P'ei-ting), situated on the northern slope of the T'ien-shan, at a short distance to the west of the present-day Guchen, and (b) Khocho (Īdīqut-shahri, Kao-ch'ang) on the opposite side of the mountains.

The square-shaped area within the outer walls of Bish-baliq is equal to $2,160 \times 1,260$ yards (or 1.965×1.146 km.), with an inner enclosure against the east wall. The ruins of Khocho have an irregular shape with an area of $2,000 \times 2,000$ yards (1.820×1.820 km.); in the centre of the town stood a citadel (*khan-tura*). Both capitals lie in fertile and populous regions, but the existing plans give no idea of the number of gates they formerly possessed.⁵

an aberrant version of Qazwini (Gotha, Cod. No. 231) which Wüstenfeld translated in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Erdkunde*, ii, 1842, p. 212: "(the khagan) has a golden tent on the summit of his castle; it contains 100 men and can be seen from a distance of 5 farsakhs. Their banners are black. We[sic] travelled among them twenty days in great fear." Even the number of days may be an echo of Tamīm!

¹ See Chavannes, *Documents*, 305.

² I found it in the Russian translation of Hyacinth, i/2, 449-450, but my friend Professor G. Haloun has kindly retranslated for me the whole passage, ch. 217/ii, fol. 20a, which I have summarized.

³ Repeated in I. Khurdadbih, 31; Qudama, 262; and Yāqūt twice: i, 840, and iv, 843.

⁴ Radloff, *Atlas der Altertümer der Mongolei*, pl. xxvii.

⁵ According to Dolbezhev, "V poiskakh Bish-balika", *ZVO.*, xxiii, 1915, p. 14, the town had three gates (?); Sir A. Stein, "Innermost Asia", iii, plates 23 and 24 (nothing conclusive on this point).

Very puzzling is Tamīm's statement that for twenty (or twenty-five) days before arriving in the capital he travelled among "villages lying close together". In the Turfan area there were numerous towns and agricultural centres, but nothing much is known on the amount of cultivation on the Orkhon. It is likely that some cultivation was carried on by the Soghdian and Chinese subjects of the qaghans.¹ Tamīm may also refer to some settlements attached to the post stages.²

§ 5. Religions

Tamīm's indications concerning the religions are vague. The population on the final twenty days' stretch of his journey were partly "fire-worshippers professing the Magian religion" and partly *Zindiq*. In the capital the Zindiqs were in the majority. The presence of Zoroastrians among the subjects of the Toghuzghuz is unlikely; by some aberration Tamīm's designation might refer to Buddhists or to the natural religion of the Turkish tribes.³ With the Zindiqs we are on firm ground, as this is the usual Muslim term for Manichæans. This religion was probably preached among Turkish populations a long time before the Uyghur khan was converted to it (after his stay in Lo-yang in A.D. 763). After the conversion the "images of demons painted or carved" were destroyed and a crowd of disciples of the Manichæan teacher (**mūchak*) crossed the country in all directions. The successors of the qaghan in question (A.D. 759-780), who are enumerated in the great Khara-balghasun trilingual inscription (erected in honour of the qaghan who ruled A.D. 808-821), were certainly ardent Manichæans, but one cannot imagine that, even at that time, all the inhabitants of the far-flung Uyghur dominions could have professed Manichæism, especially outside the capital (Khara-balghasun).

The conversion of the khan in 763, combined with the dependence of the Chinese Emperor on the Uyghur help, accounted for some progress of Manichæism even in China proper.⁴ Only after the destruction of the Uyghur kingdom on the Orkhon by the Qirghiz was Manichæism banned in China (843). For the spread of Manichæism among the later Uyghurs of Turfan, Gardīzī's account is interesting and graphic.⁵

¹ The Shine-usu inscription (W 5) refers to the town of Bay-baliq which the qaghan let the Soghdians and the Chinese build on the Selenga.

² I am grateful to Professor Haloun for a reminder that in Inner Mongolia, in former Önggüt territory, there are traces of considerable medieval sites of agriculture (O. Lattimore, D. Martin), and the same applies to the ancient Qirghiz area (on the Yenisey). Unfortunately we know nothing on the exact route followed by Tamīm.

³ According both to the *T'ang-shu* (Hyacinth, i/2, 446) and to Gardīzī, in Barthold, *Otchot*, 87 (transl. 111), the Qirghiz burnt their dead, which in the eyes of the Muslims was a symbol of fire-worshipping. Thus the Rūs (ancient Norsemen) were also called *majūs* ("Magians"), see Minorsky, "Rūs", in *EI*.

⁴ See Chavannes-Pelliot, "Un traité Manichéen", *Journ. As.*, 1913/1, pp. 261-303. Cf. below the story of *al-Fihrist*, 377.

⁵ Barthold, *Otchot*, 90-2 (transl. 114-16).

§ 6. *Tribal Matters*

Tamīm's statement on the superiority of the people of Upper Barskhan in their clashes with the Qarluq is characteristic. The position of Upper Barskhan, sheltered by mountains and the lake, was very strong. It is possible that its early population belonged to one of the ancient waves of migrations (e.g. the Wu-sun ?) and Tamīm's reference 9 to an ancient city in the region of Barskhan is a useful pointer to future explorers. Later the basin of the Issik-kul was incorporated by the Western Turks, but we do not know the name of the tribe paramount in this region. Mas'ūdī, i, 288, speaks of the Barskhānians as a special group. After A.D. 766 the Qarluq became the successors of the Western Turks (Türkish) and stubborn struggles must have begun in the hilly region of the Issik-kul. The *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (§ 15, 11) reflects the situation in Upper Barskhan in the ninth or tenth century¹: "Barskhan is a town on the bank of a lake, prosperous and pleasant. Its *dihqān* is a Khallukh, but the (inhabitants) are devoted to the Toghuzghuz." In the *Hudūd* this latter term applies definitely to the later Uyghur principality of Turfan. We are given to understand that the people of Barskhan were friendly to the Uyghurs of Turfan, but had succumbed to the Qarluq expansion.²

Tamīm, however, refers to an earlier stage when Barskhan was still victorious in the struggles with the Qarluqs. When Jāhīz (who died in 253/868) says that "the Toghuzghuz used to excel the Kharlukh, even if the latter were twice as numerous" his statement may be an echo of Tamīm's record.³

A very interesting detail is that the khaqan sent Tamīm horses (*barīd*) for his journey of 20 + 20 (25) days. If by the khaqan we have to understand the Uyghur ruler of Bish-baliq, it looks improbable that he could have run a *barīd* service as far as Lower Barskhan, whereas Upper Barskhan would be too near for the distance indicated. During the period of the Uyghur supremacy on the Orkhon, Lower Barskhan was controlled by the Qarluqs (since 766), but Tamīm says not a word of the Qarluq, except for their tribal struggles with the Barskhanians. This may be the fault of the Mashhad abridgment, or it may be a pointer for dating Tamīm's journey. We shall use it below in our final conclusions.

As neighbours of the Toghuzghuz, Tamīm names 4: to the *right*, i.e. to the south, or south-west, some Turks with whom no one mixes. This is a formula covering ignorance. Eventually it might refer to the Sha-t'o⁴ and their associates. To the *left*, i.e. to the north, the neighbours were the Kimak. This

¹ The *Hudūd* was written in A.D. 982; the source of the passage is probably Jayhānī, who wrote in the earlier part of the tenth century.

² For another indication of the Qarluq-Uyghur struggles see *Hudūd*, § 15, 12.

³ See Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 91. Jāhīz explains the deterioration of the Toghuzghuz valour by their conversion to Manichæism. I am inclined to think that the events have got telescoped in Jāhīz's mind. He had in view the eclipse of the Uyghur power on the Orkhon (A.D. 840), and he seems to quote the Barskhan-Qarluq struggles to which Tamīm referred *en passant* while travelling to the Toghuzghuz capital (perhaps circa 821).

⁴ After 809 settled in Northern Ordos, see above, p. 288, n. 5.

federation, which included the future Qpchaq, was centred on the Irtysh. Marquart, *Komanen*, 95, thought that the federation might have been in existence already by the beginning of the eighth century. The Uyghurs, both those of the Orkhon and those of Turfan, were separated from the Kimak by other tribes.¹ Tamīm's indication may be only an echo of the fact that, when he was travelling on his mission to the Toghuzghuz khaqan, he passed through the district of Tārāz (Talas), whence ² in fact a road branched off to the left (i.e. northwards), and along it he himself travelled to the ruler of the Kimak, see 12. But here again we may look for a hint at some temporary eclipse of the Qarluq (see below, p. 301).

In the report of the ambassador to the Turks at the time of Caliph Hishām (A.D. 724–743) Marquart stressed the detail that the king had *ten* banners unfurled to collect his army, and he correctly connected this number with that of the clans depending on the king (the *On-oq* of the Western Turks). In Tamīm's description, the khaqan's camp outside his town was surrounded by the circle of separate camps of his *seventeen* generals (*qā'id*). This (unlucky!) number is queer for we know of no Turkish federation which might have been called *On-yiti*, or, if we consider the khaqan's own camp as an additional eighteenth unit, *On-sākiz* (see above, 11). The only explanation I can think of is as follows. After having enumerated the nine Uyghur tribes the *T'ang-shu* adds that "they are racially related to the six Families (*liu-chung*), namely P'u-ku, Hun, Pa-ye-ku (*Bayırqu), Tung-lo (*Tongra), Se-kie, and K'i-pi, but the barbarians do *not* reckon them (to the Uyghurs)".³ It is possible that at the heyday of their power the Uyghurs controlled all these cognate tribes, and, with the addition of the conquered and incorporated Qarluq and Basmil, the number would amount to seventeen.⁴

In describing Lake Issik-kul, Tamīm says that its tributaries come from the "side" of Tibet, and from that of the Toghuzghuz and Kimak. These indications, which are approximate and inexact, can only be equivalent to south, east, and north. The reference to Tibet, similar to the terminology of Gardīzī and the *Hudūd* (§§ 13, 15), has in view not Tibet proper but the territories lying immediately south of the T'ien-shan, where the Tibetans ruled from 670 to 692 and from 790 to *circa* 850 (?).

§ 6. *Relations with China*

The most important new detail found in the Mashhad MS. is that the khaqan was related by marriage (*mukhātin*) to the Emperor of China, and that the latter annually sent him a present of silk. It definitely points to the time when the Uyghurs acquired a powerful influence over the affairs of the T'ang

¹ In the first case by the Qirghiz (still on the Yenisey); in the second by the Qarluq and the remnants of the Türgish federation.

² More exactly from the villages *Kuvēkat, see 12.

³ Hirth, "Nachwort", 36.

⁴ A similar result might be obtained by adding up the original fifteen tribes of the Tölis federation (one of which were the Uyghurs themselves, Hyacinth, i/2, 426–442; Chavannes, 87–8), with the Qarluq and Basmil.

dynasty. They seized the territory of the Orkhon in A.D. 744 and in 757 *Bayan-chur-khaqan rendered the Emperor a great service against the rebel An Lu-shan. For this exploit he received the hand of the Emperor's daughter Ning-ho who, after her husband's death (759), returned to China. Another princess, Ning-ho (daughter of Prince Yung-wang), who was in the suite of her namesake, stayed on in the horde and became the wife of the qaghan *Idigān (No. 3). She died in 790 (under the qaghan No. 6). In 788 the Princess Hsien-an was married to the qaghan No. 4 and later became the wife of three of his successors (Nos. 5, 6, 7). She spent twenty-one years in the horde and died in 808. In 821 the qaghan No. 10 was given the hand of the Princess T'ai-ho (daughter of the Emperor Hsien-tsung), who survived the period of troubles and destruction of the Uyghurs in 840 and, after numerous adventures, returned to China in 843.¹

Thus the matrimonial links between the Orkhon Uyghurs and China were almost uninterrupted.

The offerings of silk to the Uyghurs were also regular. In 762 the Chinese ambassadors reminded the khaqan that "the T'ang Emperors have been giving silk textiles to the Uyghurs year after year". In 758-760 the Uyghurs made a profitable business by bringing every year great numbers of poor horses and claiming forty pieces of silk per head. In 758 they brought 10,000 horses, to the embarrassment of the Emperor, who paid only for 6,000. In 827 Ch'ao-li qaghan (No. 11) received from the Emperor Wên-tsung 500,000 pieces of silk for the horses.²

This latter record corresponds exactly to Tamīm's indication 6, but the round number of pieces of silk is rather suspicious as a pointer to exact chronology.³ Its importance, however, is undeniable for it confirms the general truthfulness of Tamīm's statements.

On the other hand, the later Uyghurs, both of Turfan and Kan-chou, politically had only a local and limited importance, and were ruled by new dynasties. There seems to be no record of their matrimonial connection with the Middle Kingdom. At a later date (in 996), the embassy sent by the ruler of Turfan, Arslan, to the court of the Liao dynasty to solicit the favour of a marriage alliance met with no success.⁴

V. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of all the arguments *pro* and *contra* brings us to the conclusion that Tamīm must be the only Muslim traveller who has left a record of his visit to the Uyghur capital on the Orkhon, i.e. to Khara-balghasun in the present-day Mongolia.

¹ Hyacinth, i/2, 382-426; Chavannes-Pelliot, op. cit., 286.

² Hyacinth, i/2, 403, 418; Chavannes-Pelliot, op. cit., 277. According to Wang Yen-tê, who visited the Uyghurs of Turfan in 981-3, *Journ. As.*, 1847, ix, 64, the price of a good horse was only one piece of silk; that of a common horse 1 ch'ang (3 metres of silk).

³ In any case, in 827 Princess T'ai-ho, a very young widow, was still in the horde, see below, p. 303.

⁴ Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, i, 242.

The distances indicated in Tamīm's report are vague, but 40–5 days of forced marches (Tamīm, Qudāma), or 90 days of more normal stages (I. Khurdādhbih), represent a very considerable journey.¹ This distance is by far superior to that separating Bish-baliq even from *Lower Barskhan*; from Khara-balghasun, it would be sufficient for reaching not only Upper but also Lower Barskhan.

As regards the time of the journey the decisive argument is that of the khaqan's connections with China (see 6). Tamīm says that Manichæism was prevalent in the Uyghur capital, but, as he does not refer to the extraordinary event of the Uyghur conversion in A.D. 763, we must allow for some time to have passed before the situation could have been taken for granted by the Arab traveller.

A secondary detail of outstanding importance is the "golden" tent belonging to the khaqan (see above, p. 295). Most luckily the confirmation of this colourful fact is found in the section of the *T'ang-shu* devoted to the Qirghiz. The last Uyghur qaghan who was killed in it in A.D. 840 was a young boy and he ruled only in 839–840, but the *T'ang-shu* avers that the war with the Qirghiz lasted twenty years and, in the same breath, quotes the threat of the Qirghiz ruler to capture "the golden tent". Thus the beginning of the war falls in the reign of the qaghan Ch'ung-tê (No. 10), who ruled in 821–4. As this is the qaghan who, with extraordinary pomp and circumstance, was given the hand of the Princess T'ai-ho, the golden tent, probably of Chinese workmanship, may have been brought on that occasion. An important detail is that the promise of an Imperial bride had been secured already by the qaghan No. 9 before he died in 821. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the qaghan Ch'ao-li (No. 11), who ruled in 824–832, may have inherited from his predecessor both the princess and the tent. In this case, the detail of 500,000 pieces of silk sent to him by the Emperor Wên-Tsung in 827 might be in favour of his having been the host of Tamīm, were it not for other reasons which support the date of A.D. 821.

One more fact may prove of considerable importance for the solution of our problem. Professor Haloun has most kindly checked the text of the famous Chinese inscription of Khara-balghasun and has discovered many inaccuracies in Schlegel's translation (1898).² He has come to the conclusion that the monument erected after 821 represents a funerary commemoration of the qaghan No. 9 (A.D. 808–821).

Even the strange silence of Tamīm on the Qarluq would find some explanation in the details to which my Chinese guide draws my attention in the Khara-balghasun inscription. According to his new interpretation, the qaghan No. 9 (A.D. 808–821) reached in his conquests the Upper Sir-darya and Farghana ;

¹ Even at a low rate of 30 km. a day, the traveller would have covered 2,700 km. in ninety days.

² It was already known that Schlegel wrongly took the "heavenly qaghan" for the Emperor of China! See Chavannes-Pelliot, "Le traité manichéen", *J.A.*, 1913, p. 198.

he subdued the Qarluq and appointed a new *yabghu* over them.¹ This subjugation, which could not have survived the beginning of Qirghiz troubles, may be the reason why *circa* 821 Tamīm described the Kimak as the northern neighbours of the Toghuzghuz, and why the Uyghur khaqan could have run a relay service even up to *Lower Barskhan*.

The evidence of the Chinese sources, though slender, is not negligible, but our position will be much stronger if we can connect Tamīm's journey with some facts recorded in Muslim histories. Here our guiding thread must be the name *Toghuzghuz* which had some definite connotation in the minds of the early historians (Ya'qūbī and Ṭabarī), for they used it only on some few special occasions.

(a) The earliest reference to the Toghuzghuz is found in Ya'qūbī, ii, 568. Soon after 161/777 the Caliph Maḥdi sent envoys to invite the eastern rulers to submission. Among them are mentioned "the king of the Kharlukh, *yabghu*, . . . the king of the Turks, *tarkhan*; the king of Tibet, *jahrūn*,² . . . the king of China, **baghpūr*, . . . the king of the Toghuzghuz, *khāqān*". The distinction between the Kharlukh, the Turks, and the Toghuzghuz³ is as noteworthy as the difference in their titles, the Toghuzghuz ruler enjoying the supreme title *khāqān*, by far superior to the ranks of *yabghu* and *tarkhan*. If not a mere Arab boast, the reference is surely to the Uyghur ruler on the Orkhon. Maḥdi's request acquires more poignancy if we remember that the Uyghur rulers were only recently converted to Manichæism (in 763), whereas Maḥdi persecuted the Manichæans and in 169/785 appointed a special inquisitor *ṣāhib al-zanādiqa*. In 759-780 the famous Mou-yü-khan Idigān (?) was ruling on the Orkhon and he was married to an imperial princess. Nothing would oppose the hypothesis that Tamīm travelled as one of Maḥdi's envoys, and his visit to the Kimak might have been motivated by a similar commission. This hypothesis would, however, sacrifice such an important detail as the "golden tent". Moreover, in 763 the Türgish were still the accredited successors to the lands of the Western Turks, though on the eve of being overthrown by the Qarluqs.

(b) The second quotation from Ya'qūbī, ii, 568, refers to the revolt of Rāfi' ibn-Layth in Samarqand (*circa* A.D. 806-810). When Hārūn al-Rashīd (who died in 809) sent Harthama against the rebel, the latter had secured aid from many sides as, for example, from "the Turks, the Kharlukhs, the Toghuzghuz and the armies of Tibet". In this eventuality, Tamīm might have visited the court of the qaghan No. 8 Chū-lu Bilgā khan (805-8)—married to the Princess Hsien-an—on behalf of Rāfi'. The latter, who had his headquarters in Samarqand, had good chances to interest the qaghan in the fate

¹ Chinese face, lines 17-21; cf. Soghdian face, lines 19-20 (fragments only).

² My friend, Dr. G. Roerich (letter 2. vii. 1947) suggests that *J.h.rūn* may represent the first half of the name of the Tibetan king *Khri-sron lde-btsan* (755-797), the initial *kh* having a palatal pronunciation in some Tibetan dialects (Amdo).

³ See above, p. 288: Mas'ūdi, i, 288.

of the local Manichæans (see below, p. 303). However, in this case again we should have to give up the argument of the "golden tent", and it is characteristic that Ya'qūbī insists particularly on the association of Rāfi' with the *jabghu* at the Kharlugh (who had made profession of Islam under Mahdi).

(c) Still more interesting is the only reference to the Toghuzghuz in Ṭabari, iii, 1044, under A.H. 205: "In Dhul-qa'da of this year (April, 821) Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn set out for Khorasan where he remained two months, when the news reached him of the rising of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Nishāpūrī *al-Muṭṭawwi'ī* in Nishāpūr. And the Toghuzghuz arrived in Ushrūsana." Ṭāhir mentioned in this passage is the famous founder of the Ṭāhirid dynasty whom the Caliph Ma'mūn had appointed *wālī* of Khorasan. On the revolt of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Ammār we know only that he intended to fight the *hurūbiya*, without the government's orders, and that immediately after he was made prisoner by Faraj al-Rukhkhajī. His surname *al-muṭṭawwi'ī* points to his appurtenance to the class of "volunteers" who went to occupy the forward posts against the Turks and other infidels. Muqaddasi, p. 273, says that along the frontier of Ispijāb, there were as many as 1,700 *ribāṭs* built for these fighters for the faith. According to Barthold, they were recruited territorially and supported by their rich countrymen.¹ They were mostly turbulent adventurers² and often rose in arms against the Abbasid administration. It is not clear who were the *hurūbiya* against whom 'Abd al-Raḥmān wished to act: perhaps that numerous "Abbasid corps" in Khorasan which Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā (794-5) recruited from among non-Arabs (*al-'ajam*)?³ At that time revolts in Khorasan were daily occurrences and those who led them constantly appealed to Turkish tribes.

The principality of Ushrūsana (between Samarqand and the Jaxartes) was noted for its stubborn opposition to the Arabs. When Ma'mūn sent an expedition against its King Kāvus, the latter dispatched his son Faḍl to invite the "Turks". These allies arrived in great numbers, but Faḍl abandoned them in a desert where they all perished. The revolts of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muṭṭawwi'ī and Kāvus occurred in the same year, and, despite the distance separating the rebels, some understanding between the leaders is likely. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was most obviously interested in a diversion being carried out in the rear of the Abbasid troops in Transoxiana.⁴ Thence one might imagine that the ride of Tamīm ibn Baḥr, described also as a *muṭṭawwi'ī*, might have

¹ Barthold, *Turkestan*, 176.

² To this element belonged the famous founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty Ya'qūb ibn Layth.

³ Ṭabari, iii, 631 (year A.H. 178): 20,000 of the *Abbāsiya* were sent to Baghdad where they were surnamed *al-Karanbiya* "cabbage-(eaters)"; the others were left in Khorasan on their own registers. The verse of Marwān ibn Abī-Ḥaṣa suggests that the numbers of the original corps were somewhat exaggerated.

⁴ Incidentally, the very mutilated para. 13 in the Mashhad MS. may have some relation to this very series of events in Ushrūsana, although the "Toghuzghuz" incident seems to be different from the incident of "Faḍl and the Turks" described in Ṭabari.

been connected with the same event. That Tamīm journeyed on some important mission is clear from the fact that the khaqan sent him his relay-horses and that Tamīm was travelling post-haste (to the detriment of his observations!). Quite apart from the direct interest in reconnaissance and expansion towards the west, the khaqan may have been animated by the desire to protect his co-religionists, the Manichæans, against the threat of conversion to Islam.¹

The author of *al-Fihrist*, 337, quotes an example of such intervention on behalf of the Manichæans. The number of adepts of this religion in Samarqand having reached 500, the ruler of Khorasan plotted to exterminate them, but the king of China (*al-Ṣīn*)—"but I take him for the ruler of the Toghuzghuz", adds the author—sent an ambassador to give him warning with a hint at a much larger number of Muslims in his dominions. The confusion of "China" with the Toghuzghuz suggests the time before A.D. 840 when the Uyghurs were still on the Orkhon.

If we accept version (c), Tamīm's journey must have taken place early in A.D. 821, under Ch'ung-tê qaghan (No. 10, A.D. 821-4), married to the Princess T'ai-ho, or even towards the end of the rule of his predecessor Pao-i (No. 9, A.D. 808-821), who died before his Imperial bride arrived at the horde.

Tamīm ibn-Baḥr's name² suggests Arab descent, but probably, like 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Ammār, he belonged to a family long settled in Khorasan. His other great ride to the Kimaks is an indication of his far-flung diplomatic activities among the Turkish tribes. The Kimaks whom he visited lived on the Irtysh and the axis of their activities was in a more northerly zone.³ There is no record of their intervention in the affairs of Transoxiana, except for the fact that there existed military posts (*thaghr*) in the direction of the Kimak.

I am inclined to consider version (c) more satisfactory than the others because it finds a likely explanation in the affairs of Transoxiana, and in the meantime tallies with the points concerning the khaqan's ties with the Chinese court, the "golden tent", and the situation in the Qarluq area.

Our explanation of Tamīm's ride, based on the more complete text of the Mashhad MS., will entail a revision of some theories still debated by scholars.

1. Concerning the dating of I. Khurdādhbih's important work its editor, de Goeje, maintained that there were two versions of it, the one of *circa* 232/846-7 (MS. B), and the other of *circa* 272/885-6 (MS. A). To this Marquart retorted that as quotations from Tamīm are found in both, and as Tamīm visited the *later* Uyghurs of Turfan who settled there only in A.D. 866, there must have been only *one* version of the book. By moving Tamīm's journey up to A.D. 821, we restore the force of de Goeje's arguments.

¹ Marquart, *WZKM.*, 1898, 163; Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, 55.

² The name Tamīm occurs in the family of Naṣr ibn Sayyār, whose grandson Rāfi' ibn Layth raised a revolt in 806-810 and sought help from various Turkish tribes. Even before 775, Layth (ibn Naṣr?) was charged with a mission to the ruler of Farghana who lived in Kāshghar.

³ On them see my commentary on the *Hudūd*, pp. 304-310.

2. Another by-product of our analysis is the strengthening of Marquart's argument that Toghuzghuz = Uyghur (see *Streifzüge*, Index), as against Barthold's theory that the term *Toghuzghuz* was connected with the Sha-t'o "the sand-desert people", etc. (see above, p. 289). There are still difficulties about the exact origin of the term *Toghuzghuz*, but the term applied equally to the Uyghurs on the Orkhon and to their *epigoni* in the T'ien-shan. [We may add that in the Khara-balghasun inscription the Orkhon qaghan No. 9 is said to have captured Bish-baliq from the Tibetans, but we do not know (Haloun) whether he was able to hold it for any time.]

3. Our new explanation of Tamīm's journey might tempt someone to revert to the now forgotten question of how to read the name *عرعر* *Toghuzghuz* (the Nine Oghuz) or *Toghuzghur* (the Nine *Uyghur).¹ This problem had been settled by Nöldeke who referred to a Pahlavi text in which a clear *z* stands at the end of this term,² and now we have the spelling *Toquz-Oghuz* in the authentic Turk and Uyghur inscriptions. Originally this term seems to have covered some special group of tribes, but it may have been transferred to the Uyghurs in view of the traditional idea (confirmed by Chinese sources) that there were "nine" (*toquz*) clans in the Uyghur federation.

4. I hope that, once again, this article will show how dangerous it is to assume that the names of Arab geographers cover the contents of their compilations, as a flag covers a cargo. Similarly to a customs' officer in time of war, an Orientalist should discriminate between the components of the cargo. A comparative study of all the available sources may look long and tedious, but it is the only sure method of finding one's way through the maze of traditional lore.

APPENDIX

On the contents of the paragraph on the Turks in the Mashhad MS. (fol. 168a-173a), see A. Z. Validov (Validi) in *Izv. Ross. Ak. Nauk.*, 1924, pp. 240-3. Apart from the additional paras. 13-15, of which I have given a translation, I do not possess the complete text of the passages which precede and follow Tamīm's report. My notes allow me to make only the following remarks.

In the Mashhad MS. Tamīm's report comes immediately after the sentence: *wa fī bilādi-him al-khutū al-jayyid wa huwa jabhatu dabbatin tuṣādu fī baladīhim*. In the printed abridgment of Ibn al-Faḳīh this passage is found on p. 329, where it is followed by the sentence: *wa al-ghālib 'alā al-atrāk madhhab al-zanādiqa*, which is the only trace of Tamīm's report to have survived in the abridgment. After this the text in *BGA*, v, has: *wa min 'ajā'ib al-Turk ḥaṣātun yastamīrūna bihā mā shā'ū*, which is the abridgment of para. 14 in the Mashhad text. The authority for this paragraph is, however, Abul-'Abbās (see below) and not Tamīm.

¹ See above, p. 287, the quotation from Rashīd al-Dīn.

² De Goeje, *BGA.*, vii, p. viii. [This conclusion, valid for the time of our documents, leaves aside the question of the possible alternance *r/z*, which is a characteristic feature of Turkish phonetics. Originally, and tribally, 'Oγωρ, Oghuz, and perhaps (?) Uyghur may be variations of the same name.]

In Yāqūt, i, 840, the quotation from Tamīm follows the report on the marriage customs of the Turks. The quotation breaks off half-way but under *Nūshajān*, iv, 823, Yāqūt again quotes Tamīm's description of *Barskhan; this time Yāqūt names as his authority Ibn al-Faqīh, failing to explain that this latter only reproduces Tamīm's data. After the direct quotation from Tamīm (i, 840), Yāqūt cites long stories on the rain-stones from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī (= Ibn al-Faqīh), who in his turn names as his authority Abul-'Abbās 'Isā ibn Muḥammad al-Marvazī, who lived in the time of the Samanid Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad (A.D. 892-907). Of these stories only very few traces have survived in the printed abridgment of I. Faqīh, *BGA*, v, 329₁₀-330₂ (*vide supra*).
