



HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDY ИСТОРИОГРАФИЧЕСКИЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

DOI: 10.22363/2312-8127-2024-16-1-105-118

EDN: HJSNJA


Research article / Научная статья

Description of nomadic turkic tribes of eastern Desht-i Qipchāq in Muslim Writings of the First Half of the 13th century: on the Problem of Historiographical Continuity

D.M. Timokhin¹  , V.V. Tishin² 

¹Institute of Oriental studies of the RAS,
Moscow, 107031, Russian Federation

²Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of the Siberian Branch of the RAS,
Ulan-Ude, 670047, Russian Federation

 horezm83@mail.ru

Abstract. The historical work of the first half of the 13th century “Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi‘ ul-Riwāyāt” (“A Collection of Anekdotēs and Brilliant Stories”), written by Sayyīd al-Dīn Muḥammad ‘Awfī, includes a significant section on the history of the nomadic Turkic tribes of Desht-i Qipchāq. Despite the fact that this monument is well known to researchers, this section from “Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt...” has never been fully translated into Russian. It was published in the first volume of “Turkestan in the Era of the Mongol invasion” by V.V. Barthold on the basis of several handwritten lists. The purpose of this study is, on the one hand, to acquaint researchers with the content of this section from the work of Muḥammad ‘Awfī, and on the other hand, to highlight its historiographical connection with earlier monuments of Muslim historiography. The conducted research once again demonstrated the fact that the basis for the section “Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt...”, dedicated to the nomadic Turkic tribes of Desht-i Qipchāq, was the work of the first half of the XII century. “Kitāb Ṭabā’i‘ al-Ḥayawān” (“On the Nature of Animals”) by an outstanding Muslim scientist — Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwazī. For his part, Muḥammad ‘Awfī did not fully cite the story of an earlier author: the part of the text “Ṭabā’i‘ al-Ḥayawān”, where it was about the tribal union of the Qırqız, attracted his greatest attention. Other

© Timokhin D.M., Tishin V.V., 2024



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/legalcode>

nomadic Turkic tribes in “Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt...” are described in much less detail, sometimes with obvious mistakes and distortions, which were made either by Muḥammad ‘Awfī himself, or by the copyist of his work, when transmitting toponyms and ethnonyms borrowed from the text of “Ṭabā’i‘ al-Ḥayawān”. Thus, the evolution of the narrative about the nomadic Turkic tribes of Desht-i Qipchāq in Muslim historiography of the 12th — early 13th centuries is quite clearly traced when comparing these two sections from “Ṭabā’i‘ al-Ḥayawān” by al-Marwazī and “Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt...” by Muḥammad ‘Awfī.

Keywords: Muḥammad ‘Awfī, nomadic Turkic tribes, al-Marwazī, Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt, historiographical continuity

Article history: Received: 26.07.2023 Accepted: 04.10.2023.

For citation: Timokhin D.M., Tishin V.V. Description of nomadic Turkic tribes of eastern Desht-i Kipchak in Muslim Writings of the First Half of the XIII century: on the Problem of Historiographical Continuity. *RUDN Journal of World History*. 2024;16(1):105–118. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2312-8127-2024-16-1-105-118>

Описание кочевых тюркских племен восточного Дешт-и Кыпчака в мусульманских сочинениях первой половины XIII в.: к проблеме историографической преемственности

Д.М. Тимохин¹  , В.В. Тишин² 

¹Институт востоковедения РАН,
107031, Российская Федерация, Москва

²Институт монголоведения, буддологии и тибетологии СО РАН,
670047, Российская Федерация, Улан-Удэ

 horezm83@mail.ru

Аннотация. Исторический труд первой половины XIII в. «Джавам ул-хекайат ва лаваме ур-ревайат» («Сборник анекдотов и блестящих рассказов»), принадлежащий перу Сеид ад-Дина Мухаммада ‘Ауфи, включает в себя значительный раздел по истории кочевых тюркских племен Дешт-и Кыпчака. Несмотря на то, что данный памятник хорошо известен исследователям, данный раздел из «Джавам ул-хекайат» никогда полностью не переводился на русский язык. Он был опубликован в первом томе «Туркестана в эпоху монгольского нашествия» В.В. Бартольдом на основании нескольких рукописных списков. Цель данного исследования заключается с одной стороны в том, чтобы познакомить исследователей с содержанием указанного раздела из сочинения Мухаммада ‘Ауфи, а с другой — выделить его историографическую связь с более ранними памятниками мусульманской историографии. Проведенное исследование еще раз продемонстрировало тот факт, что основой для раздела «Джавам ул-хекайат», посвященного кочевым тюркским племенам Дешт-и Кыпчака, стал труд

первой половины XII в. «Таба'и' ал-хаййаван» («О природе животных») выдающегося мусульманского ученого — Шараф ал-Заманом Тахиром ал-Марвази. Со своей стороны, Мухаммад 'Ауфи не стал полностью приводить рассказ более раннего автора: наибольшее внимание его привлекла та часть текста «Таба'и' ал-хаййаван», где речь шла о племенном союзе кыркызов. Другие кочевые тюркские племена в «Джавам ул-хекайат» описаны гораздо менее подробно иногда с очевидными ошибками и искажениями, которые допустил или сам Мухаммад 'Ауфи, или переписчик его сочинения, при передаче топонимов и этнонимов, заимствованных из текста «Таба'и' ал-хаййаван». Таким образом, эволюция нарратива о кочевых тюркских племенах Дешт-и Кыпчака в мусульманской историографии XII — начала XIII вв. достаточно четко прослеживается при сравнении двух этих разделов из «Таба'и' ал-хаййаван» ал-Марвази и «Джавам ул-хекайат» Мухаммада 'Ауфи.

Ключевые слова: Мухаммад 'Ауфи, кочевые тюркские племена, ал-Марвази, Джавам ул-хекайат, историографическая преемственность

История статьи: Поступила в редакцию: 26.07.2023. Принята к публикации: 04.10.2023.

Для цитирования: Тимохин Д.М., Тишин В.В. Описание кочевых тюркских племен восточного Дешт-и Кыпчака в мусульманских сочинениях первой половины XIII в.: к проблеме историографической преемственности // Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия: Всеобщая история. 2024. Т. 16. № 1. С. 105–118. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2312-8127-2024-16-1-105-118>

Introduction

Muslim works of the first half of the 13th century, both of historical and historical-geographical content, were not always appreciated by researchers: it is enough to recall the character of “Jahān-nāmeḥ” by Muḥammad b. Najīb Bakrān, which was given to this monument by the famous Russian scientist A.P. Novosel'cev. *“In one manuscript with “Hudud al-Alam” there is another geographical source in Persian. It is called “Jahan-nameh” (“Book of the World”) and written by a certain Najib Bekran in the first quarter of the 13th century. Sources are published by phototypic method together with a version of it on the Paris manuscript of the XV century. Information about the Khazars in it is brief and generally known”* [1. P. 21]. Such an attitude to individual monuments of Muslim historiography of the first half of the 13th century among the researchers, as seen in the above example, is caused by the compilation nature of many of them. In its turn, the information they contain about nomadic Turkic tribes of Desht-i Qipchāq was also not always carefully analyzed by scholars, due to their obvious borrowing from earlier Muslim historical and geographical works. However, this was not always due to the compilation of the content, as it can be seen in the case of the work of Fakhr-e Modabber, whose information about nomadic Turkic tribes was analyzed by us in an earlier study [2. P. 38–50].

In this article we would like to draw attention to a relatively well known to the researchers of Muslim work of the first half of the 13th century, This

is the work “Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi‘ ul-Riwāyāt” (“A Collection of Anekdotēs and Brilliant Stories”) by Muslim historian Sayyīd al-Dīn Muḥammad ‘Awfī, whose narrative, in this case, is obviously connected with the earlier historiographic tradition. The fact that this Muslim historian’s account of the Turks is compilation should not be a reason for not taking his information into account along with the information of other Muslim works, albeit more original in their content. Besides, it is worth noting the fact that the section about Turks from “Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt...” has never been fully translated into Russian before, so one of the tasks of this article is to familiarize the readers with the information contained in it. The historiographic continuity between this passage from the work of Sayyīd al-Dīn Muḥammad ‘Awfī and the works of earlier Muslim historians will be discussed separately: earlier scholars partially addressed this problem, but some points were analyzed by them very briefly or were left out of their attention altogether. Thus, the main purpose of this article is, on the one hand, to provide the readers with a Russian translation of a fragment from “Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt...” devoted to the nomadic Turkic tribes of Desht-i Qipchāq, to analyze the peculiarities of this description, and, on the other hand, to demonstrate once again its obvious historiographical connection with earlier works of Muslim historiography.

On the source

Regarding Muḥammad ‘Awfī work “Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi‘ ul-Riwāyāt” certain information was already reported by V.V. Barthold in the “Turkestan in the era of the Mongol invasion”. *“About 625/1228 in India was written an anthology of Mohammed Aufi ‘Collection of anecdotes and brilliant stories’. The author travelled a lot in his youth and was in Bukhara and Khorezm. Besides the anecdotes given in his book, the most important for us are quite numerous stories about the Karakhanids, especially about Tamgach-khan Ibrahim b. Nasr. In addition to the anecdotes, the book contains historical and geographical chapters; in the latter especially interesting information about East Asian and Turkic tribes; among other things, the author is the first of the Muslim writers talks about the Uyghurs”* [3. P. 83]. However, this message of the outstanding Russian orientalist is not the first mention of this work by ‘Awfī¹: it is enough to remember the second volume of the classic edition “The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians” [6], there is a detailed description of this work and the biography of its author in it. About the structure of the source the compilers of this edition report

¹ This Muslim historian is also known for his other work, “Lubābu’l-Albāb” (“The Heart of Hearts”), which is a poetic anthology. Despite the fact that this work is not a historical, it contains a lot of valuable information demanded at different times by orientalists [4. P. 230; 5. p. 404; 3.p. 441] — D.T.

the following: *“The work is divided into four Kisma or parts, each of which contains twenty-five chapters, but the first part is the longest and occupies about half of the work. The first five chapters are devoted respectively to (1) Attributes of the Creator, (2) Miracles of the prophets, (3) Miracle stories of the saints, (4) Anecdotes about the kings of Persia, and (5) Anecdotes about the caliphs. The next chapter is devoted to justice, and all the rest are similarly devoted to illustrating some moral or intellectual qualities”* [6. P. 156].

Modern scholars have expressed similar views on the structure and content of this work by Muḥammad ‘Awfī: *“Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi‘ ul-Riwāyāt, a collection of prose anecdotes consists of four sections, each of them of 25 chapters. Compiling this very extensive work, ‘Awfī used the material from historical works, fiction, stories and reports, information available to him about poets and writers, etc. Some of the sources he used have been lost. This collection has significance not only as work of literature, but also has historical and other aspects that give it a special value”* [7. P. 117–118]. In this quotation we are most interested in the point that is related to the sources of Muḥammad ‘Awfī’s work — researchers recognize that some of them are still unknown to orientalists. The connection between this monument and some other Muslim texts has been established for a relatively long time. but this does not apply to all parts of this extensive work. *“Many different books are mentioned as the sources from which these stories were taken. Among them are Tarikh-i Yamini, Tarikh-i Nasiri, Tarikh-i Muluk-i ‘Ajam, Tarikh al-‘Abbas, Majma’ al-Amsal, ‘Ayn al-Akhbar, Sharfu-n-Nabi, Faraj ba’ad al-Shiddat, Khalq al-Insan, Fawaid-i Qutb-i Hikayati, Miftah al-Hajj, Sarr al-Dari, Shajrat al-Aql, Akhbar-i Baramika and others”* [6. P. 157]. As for the section on the Turks in Muḥammad ‘Awfī’s work and its connection with earlier monuments of Muslim historiography we will speak in detail below.

Partially the problem with the identification of historiographical connections between *“Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt”* and earlier works of Muslim historiography can be explained by the fact that there is still no complete edition of Muḥammad ‘Awfī’s text. Besides, there are several translations of separate fragments of this work, both relatively old and very modern [See: 6 P. 157–203; 8 P. 178–206, 197–230]. However, this can hardly explain the fact that V.V. Barthold published it in the first volume of *“Turkestan in the era of the Mongol invasion”* [9] on the basis of several manuscripts, a large fragment of the text of *“Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt”* has not yet practically been the object of close attention of Russian researchers [9. P. 83–101]. In the foreign historiography as a rare exception should be recognized the classic studies of J. Marquart [10. P. 25–238; 11 P. 289–300], where he gave not only a partial translation of the section of Muḥammad ‘Awfī’s work, dedicated to the nomadic Turkic tribes of Desht-i Qipchāq, but also a fragment of the Persian text of the source with very valuable, from our point of view, comments [10. P. 39–42]. Another example of reference to the fragment from *“Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt”* that

interests us should be recognized as the work of Ramazan Şeşen, where he gave a more complete translation of this fragment into Turkish [12. P. 91–96]. In this study we will give a full translation of this section into Russian, as well as try to find parallels between it and earlier Muslim historical and geographical works, as well as to give our own explanation of individual stories reported by the author of “Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt”.

Translation of an extract from the work of Muḥammad ‘Awfī

First of all, let us mention a few important, from our point of view, moments: the translation itself was made from the Persian text published by V.V. Barthold in the first volume of “Turkestan in the era of the Mongol invasion”. The Russian orientalist included only some fragments from “Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt”, among which was the story about nomadic Turkic tribes of Desht-i Qipchāq. The given text of the source was made by V.V. Barthold on the basis of five known to him at that time lists of this source, the list of which precedes the edition of the text itself [9, P. 83]. The section, we are interested in, is a part of the fourth chapter of the work of Muḥammad ‘Awfī and placed by V.V. Barthold after no less interesting for researchers fragment from “Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt”, called by the author “The story of Chin (China — D.T.) and its peoples”. We hope that in future studies we will be able to return to it and familiarize the readers with it, since it has not been translated into Russian so far. But here we will pay attention exclusively to the story of Muḥammad ‘Awfī to the Turks and it begins as follows.

*“An account of the Turks. The Turks are a great people and their number and varieties are very numerous. Their tribes and sites are innumerable and many of them are inhabitants of deserts. Most of them are nomads, but [some of them] settle in favorable lands (i.e. among settled peoples — D.T.). Among their great tribes are the Ghuzz (غزى) and they consist of twelve tribes (دوازده قبیله اند) and most of them call themselves Ghuzz (غز). And many of them (Turkic tribes — D.T.) are called Uyghurs (ایغر), and many [of them] in the lands of Khorezm found the joy of Islam in these holy lands. Then they left their lands and migrated to the cities of Islam, and they called themselves Turkmans (ترکمان), in another list Turkan, ترکان — D.T.). And many of them were strongmen, so that already in the era of Jaghari-tekīn (جغرى تکین), i.e. *Čaghri tegin — V.T.) they appeared and conquered the world and had their own padishah, and the Seljuk dynasty in ancient times in dominating and conquering countries succeeded. And among them (Turks — D.T.) there are people who call themselves Qun (قون) and they came out of the lands of Qata (قتا / قبا), where their main city was abandoned by them and for the same reason [abandoned their] meager pastures. Kinji (کنجی) who became Khorezm Shah was from among them. Then*

they resolved to follow the tribe which called themselves *Qay* (قاي). Their number and numbers were very great. [However] they went far away from their [original] pastures — and invaded the land of the *Sari* (ساری, more correctly read as شاری, i.e., Šari — V.T.), the *Sari* people went to the land of the *Turkmen* (ترکمانیه), and the *Ghuzz* people to the land of the *Bajanaks* (بجناکیه), near the coast of the *Armenian Sea* (دریای ارمنیه)².

And next to them there is another tribe which is called *Kharkhiz* (خرخیز, i.e. *Qirgiz* — V.T.) and their number is very large. Their place of residence is between *Summer East* (مشرق صنفی / صنفی) and between *Lahak* (لحاک / کال / لحال), and *Kimak* (کیماک) to the north of them and *Yaghma* (یغما) and *Kharlukh* (خرلخ) to the west of them. One of the traditions of the *Kharkhiz* is to burn their dead. I heard that among the *Kharkhiz* there are people from the common people whom they call “beloved” (معشوق): on one day all the famous people gather together and there are also singers and musicians present. They drink wine and, when their entire gathering is drunk, that man (i.e., the “beloved” — D.T.), who is like a sufferer of epilepsy, they ask questions about what will happen at the end of the year. He answers them whether it will be a harvest year or a famine year. And they actually believe that such a deception is actually true. Knowledgeable men tell that [in the lands of] of the *Kharkhiz* there are four water streams that flow and join into a single large water stream flowing mountains and gloomy caves. They say that a certain man from the *Kharkhiz* built a ship and sailed on that river for three days in darkness, so that during those three days he saw neither the light of the sun, nor a star, nor any other light. Then he sailed into the light and open space and left his ship. When he heard the sound of animal hoofs, then he immediately climbed a tree; from there he saw three horsemen passing by, who were as tall as a spear and with them were dogs the size of an ox. When they came up to him and saw him, they took pity on him, and one of them brought him down [from the tree] and put him on his horse, hiding him from the dogs for fear that they would tear him to pieces. Then they brought him to their dwelling and treated him to their food, marveling at him because they had never seen people like him. Then one of them led him out of there and brought him to his own house, guiding him along the road until he got there. No one knows who these men were or what tribe or kind of people they were.

Another tribe of *Turks* are the *Kharlukh* (خرلخ) their residence is the *Butas* (بوتس)³ mountains and these mountains are golden mountains. They were slaves of the *Toghuzghuz* (تغزغز), but then rebelled against them and went to the lands of *Turkestan* and many of them embraced *Islam*. There are nine factions of them — three [have the name] *Jakali* / *Masaki* (جکلی / مسکی), and three [have

² Predominantly this passage of the text on migrations, first known from the work of ‘Awfī, originally also belongs to al-Marwazī, has attracted researchers (for the main reconstruction see: [13. P. 275–277], literature cited) — V.T.

³ R. Şeşen writes — برلس [12. P. 93].

the name] *Hasaki* (هسكى), and one [is called] *Nada / Badawa* (ندا / بدوا), the others [are called] *Kawalin / Kawali* (كوالين / كوالى) and *Nahastan / Nahostin* (نخستن / نخستين)» [9. P. 99–100].

Remarks on the translation of a part from Muḥammad ‘Awfī’s work

First of all, we would like to draw attention to some difficult points related to the translation of a particular fragment from “*Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt*”. The tribe “Turkman” (ترکمان), which appears several times in Muḥammad ‘Awfī’s story, is read differently in one of the manuscript lists — “Turkan” (ترکان), which reflects the plural of “Turk” (ترک) better. The first variant in our case should be considered as distorted derivative of “Turkan”, which, in its turn, is the most correct reading. Also, as it has already been noted in the text of the translation itself, in the phrase: “ [However] they went far away from their [original] pastures — and invaded the land of Sari, and the people of Sari went to the land of Turkmen (ترکمانیه) and Ghuzz — to the land of Bajanaks (بجناکیه) near the coast of the Armenian Sea (دریای ارمنیه) » [9. P. 99], the mentioned tribe Sari is nothing more than a misspelling of the Turkic tribe Šarī (شاری), well known to the researchers. It is enough to recall Peter Golden’s “An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples”, where the author pointed out in detail all the references in the sources of this tribal association, including information from the work of Muḥammad ‘Awfī [13. P. 274–276].

Much more questionable is the part of the fragment cited by V.V. Barthold. Barthold’s fragment from “*Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi‘ ul-Riwāyāt*”. There the Muslim author localizes the residence of the Qīrqīz tribe. “*Their place of residence is between the Summer East (مشرق صنفی) and between Lahak (لحاک / كال / لحاك) and Kimak (کیماک) to the north of them and Yaghma (یغما) and Kharlukh (خرلخ) to the west of them*”. In this phrase, the expression مشرق صنفی / صنفی, is initially unclear, like the indication that the Qīrqīz live between “Lahak and Kimak”. Regarding the first expression, it should be noted that V.V. Barthold himself does not give any explanations about it neither in the text nor in the commentaries. In the translation of this fragment from “*Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi‘ ul-Riwāyāt*”, which was carried out by J. Marquart, this phrase is translated as follows: “as for their residence: between the East this clan and between Kimak” [10. P. 42]. From our point of view, this variant of translation does not explain the presence in the text after the mentioning of “East” of the addition in the form of “صنفی / صنفی”. In this regard, much closer to the truth is the variant given in the Turkish translation in the work of R. Şeşen, where this place is recognized as “Meşrik-i Sayfî (Yazlık Doğu)”, i.e. ‘summer East’ [12. P. 92]. Such translation of this expression, which was used by us, indicates that صنفی / صنفی — is nothing more than a distorted Arabic word صیف, i.e. ‘summer’.

As another and the most important argument, we should cite the relevant quotation from the work “*Taba’i‘ al-hayyawan*” (“On the Nature of Animals”) written by Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwazī: the historiographical connection between this text and “*Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt*” will be discussed in detail next. Here we will also note that an earlier author of the 12th century, i.e. al-Marwazī, localized the place of residence of the Qırqız in the following way. “To them also belong the Khirkhiz, a numerous people living between the summer East and the North, the Kimaks live to the north [of them]...” [14. P. 30]. In the Arabic text, which is given in the same edition of this source, this phrase looks like this: *و منهم خرخيز و خم أمة كثيرة و مساكنهم بين المشرق الصيفي و بين الشمال و كيماك في شمالهم* [14. P. *18] (Arabic. Thus, we can state the fact that the expression *صنقى / صنقى* in the text of “*Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt*” is a distorted version of al-Marwazī’s message about “summer East” or *المشرق الصيفي*. As for the toponym or ethnonym “Lahak (لحاك / كال / لحال)» mentioned by Muḥammad ‘Awfī, from our point of view the very phrase *است و ميان لخاك* is a distorted spelling of the original *و بين الشمال* and from that part of the text “*Taba’i‘ al-hayyawan*”.

Historiographical tradition

J. Marquart in his comments on his translation of the above mentioned fragment from the work of Muḥammad ‘Awfī points out the connection between this narrative and earlier works of Muslim historiography, mentioning, in particular, the connection between “*Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi‘ ul-Riwāyāt*” and Abū Sa‘īd al-Gardīzī’s work “*Zayn al-akhbār*” (“Ornament of histories”) [10. P. 42. Comm. 2]. However, from our point of view, the main source of information in this case was not this work, but the work of the first half of the 12th century. “*Taba’i‘ al-hayyawan*”, written by Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwazī, which ‘Awfī repeatedly quotes and, in fact, gives the name of the author of this work [14. P. 10–11; 12. P. 17, 60 (with additional references)]. Al-Marwazī himself really based his work on the information from “*Zayn al-akhbār*” [15. P. 105; 16 P. 87–88; 3. P. 17], but some episodes, including those related to nomadic Turkic tribes of Desht-i Qipchāq, differ significantly from al-Gardīzī’s reports [See: 17. P. 60–65; 18 P. 95–103]. It should be noted that V.V. Bartholdi and J. Marquart only assumed historiographical connection between “*Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt*” and “*Taba’i‘ al-hayyawan*”, but at the time of writing their works the work of al-Marwazī was considered lost: its text and translation into English was published by V.V. Minorsky only in 1942 [14]. Actually V.V. Barthold reported about this source the following: “Ibn Muhanna, concerning the twelve-year animal cycle, refers to the not survived to us work of the doctor Sharaf al-Zaman Marwezi ‘On the Nature of Animals’” [19. P. 81]. We will try to demonstrate once again that it was on the work of al-Marwazī that Muḥammad ‘Awfī based his story about nomadic Turkic tribes of Desht-i Qipchāq.

To start with, the beginning of the story about the Turks in the latter's work coincides, almost completely, with the beginning of the chapter "Of the Turks" in "Taba'i' al-hayyawan". "The Turks are a great people and consist of many kinds and varieties, many tribes and clans. Some of them dwell in cities and towns, and some of them live in wastelands and deserts" [14. P. 29]. Muḥammad 'Awfī fully follows the logic of enumeration of Turkic tribes, which is present in the mentioned chapter of "Taba'i' al-hayyawan": the first mentioned are the Ghuzz, as al-Marwazī does. The later author obviously shortened the first line from the earlier work, which allowed him to link the Ghuzz and the Uyghurs in a way that is not as obvious as al-Marwazī writes. "Of their great tribes are the Ghuzz, who comprehend twelve tribes, and of those some are called *Toghuzghuz, some Ūy-ghur, and some Ūch-ghur (?)" [14. P. 29]. Another marker that speaks in favor of the connection of the text "Jawāmi' ul-Hikāyāt" and exactly with "Taba'i' al-hayyawan" is the mention in both works when describing the tribe of Qun of Khorezmshah Ikinji b. Qoçqar (Kinji at 'Awfī — *D.T.*), which is not reported in his story about the Turks by al-Gardīzī [20. P. 109–219].

Though, it is al-Gardīzī that al-Marwazī borrows most of his story about the Qırqız: especially the mention of cremation of the dead and soothsayers of the future, whom he, like al-Gardīzī, calls *fag̃nūn* (فغینون) (?) [21. C. 30 (Pers. text), 48 (Russian transl.); 20. P. 128 (English transl.), 189 (Pers. text); 14. P. 30 (Eng. transl.), 43, *19 (Arabic text)]⁴. Muḥammad 'Awfī calls these same predictors of the future differently: "I have heard that among the Kharkhiz there are people from the common people whom they call "beloved" (معشوق)..." [9. P. 100]. Here, from our point of view, we again encounter a trivial distortion of the original spelling in the text of "Jawāmi' ul-Hikāyāt", as we have demonstrated in the examples above.

However, the information about them in "Jawāmi' ul-Hikāyāt" does not differ from the data from "Zayn al-akhbār" and "Taba'i' al-hayyawan" [9, C. 100]. At the same time, al-Gardīzī in his reports about the Qırqız does not give the story about the journey of one of them to the borders of his own region of residence and his meeting with "giants" [20 P. 126–128]. Such a message is found only in al-Marwazī, which once again emphasizes the fact that Muḥammad 'Awfī was familiar only

⁴ V. Minorsky, who read *fagh̃nūn* after V.V. Barthold, argued that it is unambiguously a word of East Iranian origin, which can be compared with Old Persian *βagh* 'God' (compare: *fagh̃fūr*) [14. P. 104–105]. A. İnan proposed to correct the spelling فغینون given in Gardīzī to قمینون, while deciphering it as *kam-oyun* [22. P. 74]. According to A. İnan, in the first part of the combination we should see the well-known term *qam* 'shaman', in the second part — the name of the shaman known among the Sakha Turks (Yakuts), *oy̆n*. I. Gershevitch suggested that here the original Sogd. **vaghvēwan* (< *vagh* 'God' + *vēwan* 'prophet'), due to metathesis transformed into **vaghēvwan*, which in the Arabic spelling should have been transmitted as **faghēfwan*, but erroneously written *fagh̃nūn* (*faghēnūn*) [23. P. 180, Comm. 17]. A.P. Martinez prefers the transcription *foğitūn*, noting the possibility of a double reading in the manuscript: *FĠYNWN* or *VĠYNWN*; he assumes that this is a two-element term, the first word in the composition of which he compares with anc.-Türkic *bögü* 'wise, sage', Mong. *böge/büge* 'shaman, wizard' [20. P. 128, note 20] — *V.T.*

with his work, and not with the earlier text of “Zayn al-akhbār”. “In the territory of the Khirikhīz there are four watercourses which flow and pour into a single great watercourse running between mountains and dark caverns. It is related that a certain man of the Khirikhīz took a boat and sailed along this watercourse for three days, in darkness, during which time he saw neither sun nor star nor light of any kind. Then he emerged into light and open air and left his boat. Hearing the sound of the hoofs of beasts, he climbed into a tree to watch; three horsemen came along, each as tall as a long spear, and with them were dogs the size of oxen. When they came up to him and saw him they took pity on him, and one of them fetched him down [from the tree] and mounted him on his beast, hiding him from the dogs for fear that they should tear him to pieces. They took him to their encampment, set him on top of a tent, and gave him their food to eat, marvelling at him, as if they had never seen his like before. Then one of them carried him and brought him near his own place, guiding him on the road until he arrived there. No one knows who these people were or to what race of mankind they belonged” [14. P. 30]. The comparison of this story with the one we have cited above, as well as the absence of such a message in al-Gardīzī leaves no doubt that when describing the nomadic Turkic tribes of Desht-i Qipchāq, the main, and perhaps the only source for Muḥammad ‘Awfī, was the text “Taba’i’ al-hayyawan”.

It is also worth paying attention to the end of the story about the Turks in Muḥammad ‘Awfī’s text: “Another tribe of Turks are the Kharlukh (خرلخ) their residence is the Butas (بوتس) mountains and these mountains are golden mountains. They were slaves of the Toghuzghuzz (تغزغز), but then rebelled against them and went to the lands of Turkestan and many of them embraced Islam. There are nine factions of them — three [have the name] Jakali / Masaki (مسكى / جكلى), and three [have the name] Hasaki (هسكى), and one [is called] Nada / Badawa (نداء/بدوا), the others [are called] Kawalin / Kawali (كوالى / كوالين) and Nakhastan / Nakhastin (نخستين / نخستن)» [9. P. 99–100]. At al-Marwazī the name of the mountain, where the residence of the Qarluqs is located, is given as تونس (* توليس). To the names of the nine subdivisions of the Qarluq given by Muḥammad ‘Awfī, al-Marwazī has the following names: three each of Čigil’ (جكلىة) and بعسكلىة, the other three are — بلاق (*Bulaq), كوكركين (*kök-erkin? *köl-erkin?), تخسى (*tuhsy) [14. P. 31 (English translation), 106 (comment.), *19 (Arabic text)]. As can be seen, these orthographic forms can without much difficulty turn into the distorted spellings given in Muḥammad ‘Awfī (for more details on the identifications see, e.g., [13. P. 197, Comm. 42])

Conclusion

The comparison of the account of the nomadic Turkic tribes of Desht-i Qipchāq from Muḥammad ‘Awfī’s “Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi‘ ul-Riwāyāt” with the corresponding section from “Taba’i’ al-hayyawan” leaves no doubt that it was al-

Marwazī's text that became the main source of information about the Turks for the later author. The author's account of the first half of the 13th century is a brief retelling of selected fragments from an earlier work, where, obviously, Muḥammad 'Awfī paid the most attention to the Qırqız: thus, about some Turkic tribes he gives only the name and approximate localization of the nomads, but only about the Qırqız we find very detailed information. In particular, the "Jawāmi' ul-Hikāyāt" includes a story about cremation of the dead, which is carried out by this tribe, as well as a message about "seers" to whom the Qırqız turn in order to know whether the next year will be generous or not. Undoubtedly, it was al-Marwazī who became the source of information about the journey of one of the representatives of this tribe to learn the borders of his own region of residence and about his meeting with giants — other early texts, in particular al-Gardīzī, simply do not contain this story. It is also worth noting that certain "difficult" to translate passages from "Ṭabā'i' al-Ḥayawān" are easily translated when we correlate them with the corresponding sections from "Ṭabā'i' al-Ḥayawān", as it was the case with the localisation of the residence of the Qırqız.

Despite the fact that the extract from Muḥammad 'Awfī's work is a partial compilation of the text "Ṭabā'i' al-Ḥayawān", its translation into Russian has a certain scientific value. First of all, we have before us a clear demonstration of historiographical continuity in the description of nomadic Turkic tribes of Desht-i Qipchāq among the Muslim monuments of the 12th and the first half of the 13th centuries. It is also important to understand what exactly interested later authors in the texts of their predecessors and on which descriptions they focused their greatest attention. On the example of Muḥammad 'Awfī, one can ascertain the interest of later historians in the customs and traditions of nomadic peoples, as well as their retelling of the most interesting legends that were given by their predecessors. Undoubtedly, the toponyms and ethnonyms mentioned by Muḥammad 'Awfī deserve special attention, some of them are transmitted by him with obvious mistakes, which may testify to his own inattention, as well as to the mistakes made by the scribes of the manuscript. From our point of view, the recording of such distortions is also valuable because it allows us to record the evolution of certain toponyms and ethnonyms within the framework of Muslim historiography over a fairly long period of time.

References

1. Novosel'cev A.P. *Hazarskoe gosudarstvo i ego rol' v istorii Vostochnoj Evropy i Kavkaza* [The Khazar State and its role in the history of Eastern Europe and the Caucasus]. M.: Nauka; 1990. (In Rus.)
2. Timokhin D.M., Tishin V.V. Spisok tyurkskih plemen v sochinenii Fahr-e Modabbera [List of Turkic tribes in the composition of Fakhr-e Modabber] // *Zolotoordynskoe nasledie. Materialy VII Mezhdunarodnogo Zolotoordynskogo Forumu «Civilizacionnoe znachenie prinyatiya Islama Volzhskoj Bulgarij i Zolotoj Ordoj: integracionnye processy*

- v srednevekovoj istorii Rossii», Kazan', 14–16 dekabrya 2022 g. Vypusk 5. Kazan': Institutistoriim. SH. Mardzhani AN RT; 2023, p. 38–50. (In Rus.)
3. Bartol'd VV. Sochineniya. T. I: Turkestan v epohu mongol'skognashestviya [Turkestan during the Mongol invasion]. M.: Nauka; 1963. (In Russ.).
 4. Lubābū'l-Albāb of Muhammad 'Awfi / Edited in the original Persian. Pt I, with indices, Persian and English prefaces, and notes, critical and historical, in Persian, by E.G. Browne and Mirza Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu 'l-Wahhab-i-Qazwini. Leyden: E.J. Brill; London, Luzac & Co.; 1906. (In Pers.)
 5. Bartol'd VV. *Turkestan v epohu mongol'skogo nashestviya*. Chast 2. Issledovanie [Turkestan in the era of the Mongol invasion. Part 2. Research]. SPb.: Tip. V. Kirshbauma; 1900. (In Russ.).
 6. Elliot HM. *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians*. Vol. II, Muhammadan period. Ed. by J. Dowson. London: Trübner & Co.; 1869.
 7. Matīnī J. 'Awfī Saḍīd-al-Dīn. In: *The Encyclopaedia Iranica*. London: Brill, 1989 Vol. III, Fasc. 2. P. 117–118.
 8. Bejsembiev TK. Izvestiya «Dzhavami' al-hikajat» al-'Awfi o Samanidah, Karahanidah, Sel'dzhukidah i Horezmshahah [News of «Javami' al-hikayat» al-'Awfi about Samanids, Karakhanis, Seljukids and Khorezmshahs]. *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie*. 2015;(1–2):178–206, 197–230. (In Russ.).
 9. Bartol'd VV. *Turkestan v epohu mongol'skogo nashestviya*. Chast I. Teksty [Turkestan in the era of the Mongol invasion. Part one. Texts]. SPb.: Tipografiya Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk; 1898. (In Pers. and Arab.)
 10. Marquart J. Über das Volkstum der Komanen. In: Bang W., Marquart J. *Ostturkische Dialektstudien*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1914, p. 25–238.
 11. Marquart J. Skizzen zur geschichtlichen Völkerkunde von Mittelasiien und Sibirien. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*. 1919–1920. Bd. VIII. Festschrift für Friedrich Hirthzuseinem 75. geburtstag 16. april 1920. P. 289–299.
 12. Şeşen R. *İslam Coğrafyacılarına Göre Türkler ve Türk Ülkeleri*. 2. baskı. Ankara: TürkTarihKurumuBasimevi; 2001. (In Turk.)
 13. Golden PB. *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*. –Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz; 1992.
 14. Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī. On China, Turks and India. Arabic Text (circa A.D. 1120) with the English translation and commentary by V. Minorsky. London: The Royal Asiatic Society; 1942.
 15. Gardīzī Abu Sa'id. Zajn al-ahbar. *Ukrashenie izvestij*. Razdel ob istorii Horasana [Zayn al-akhbār. Decoration of the news. Section about the history of Khorasan]. Tashkent: Fan; 1991. (In Rus.)
 16. Kitab Zainu'l-Akhbar. Composed by Abu Sa'id 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy B. aḍ-Ḍahhak B. Maḥmud Gardīzī about A.H. 440. Edited by Muhammad Nazim. Berlin: Orientalischer Zeitschriftenverlag Inranchär; 1928. (In Pers.)
 17. Timohin DM. Upominaniya titulatury tyurkskih pravitelej pri opisanii istorii Gaznevidov v «Taba'i' al-Hajjavan» al-Marvazi [Referenceto the titles of the Turkic rulers when describing the history of the Ghaznavids in «Taba'i' al-Hajjavan» by al-Marwazi] // Rossijsko-aziatskij pravovoj zhurnal. 2021;(3):60–65. (In Rus.)
 18. Timohin DM. Svedeniya o sultane Mahmude Gaznevi v sochinenii Al-Marvazi «Taba'i' al-Hajjavan» [Information about Sultan Mahmud Ghaznevi in al-Marwazi's work «Taba'i' al-Hajjavan»]. *Vestnik Buryatskogo nauchnogo centra SO RAN*. 2022;1(45):95–103. (In Rus.). <https://doi.org/10.31554/2222-9175-2022-45-95-102>
 19. Bartol'd VV. *Dvenadcat' lekcij po istorii tyurkskih narodov Srednej Azii* [Twelve lectures on the history of the Turkish peoples of Central Asia]. In: Bartol'd VV. Sochineniya. T. 5. Raboty po istorii i filologii tyurkskih i mongol'skih narodov. M.: Glavnaya redakciya vostochnoj literatury; 1968, p. 19–195. (In Rus.)

20. Martinez AP. Gardīzī's Two Chapters on the Turks. *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*. 1982;(II):109–217.
21. Bartol'd V.V. *Iz vlechenie iz sochineniya Gardīzī Zajn al-ahbār*. Prilozhenie k «Otchetu o poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu s nauchnoyu cel'yu. 1893–1894 gg.» [Extract from the work of Gardīzī Zajn al-akhbār> Appendix to the «Report on a trip to Central Asia with a scientific purpose. 1893–1894.». In: Bartol'd V.V. *Sochineniya*: v 9 t. M.: Nauka, 1973. T. VIII. *Raboty po istochnikovedeniyu*. P. 23–62. (In Rus.)
22. İnan A. *Tarih ve Bugün Şamanizm: Materyaller ve Araştırmalar*. 3. baskı. Ankara: TürkTarihKurumu; 1986. (In Turk.)
23. Boyle JA. Turkish and Mongol Shamanism in the Middle Ages. *Folklore*. 1972;83(3):177–193.

Information about authors:

Timokhin Dmitriy — Phd in History, Senior Researcher, Department of Oriental History, Institute of Oriental studies of the RAS, e-mail: horezm83@mail.ru. ORCID: 0000-0002-9093-5269

Tishin Vladimir — Phd in History, Senior Researcher, Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of the Siberian Branch of the RAS, Ulan-Ude, Russian Federation, e-mail: tihij-511@mail.ru. ORCID: 0000-0001-7344-0996