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NOTES ON SOME TURKISH NAMES IN ABU 'L-FADL BAYHAQĪ'S TĀRĪKH-I MAS'ŪDĪ

by

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Manchester

For Franz Rosenthal on his eighty-fifth birthday

I. Introduction

Islamic historians, at home in Arabic and Persian, have tended to ignore or to skate over Turkish linguistic and other elements which they have come across in the Arabic and Persian chronicles. Most of the early copyists of the manuscripts of such chronicles were ill-equipped to render Turkish linguistic materials in the first place. Certainly, many wrote under dynasties whose ruling strata were Turkish, since at various times, rulers who were ethnically Turkish in origin were to be found right across the Islamic world, from Algiers to Bengal, from Yemen to Siberia, but such Turkish-directed states in the Arab-Persian heartlands usually depended on an administrative and secretarial classes whose working languages would be Arabic or Persian. Not until the Ottoman sultanate developed its own Turkish cultural and literary traditions from the later fifteenth century onwards, and not until Chaghatay emerged as a flexible and expressive literary medium in the fifteenth century under the Chaghatayids and Timūrids, did Osmanlı and Chaghatay Turkish come into their own as literary media, and the secretarial class in the lands where these tongues flourished had to add to its ancient mastery of Arabic and Persian a sound knowledge of Turkish, i.e. Turkish was no longer essentially, as it had earlier been, an oral means of communication among the Turkish military and governing classes.

Before the early twentieth century, European scholars, faced with Turkish names and titles in the Arabic and Persian historical and literary texts before them, had only inadequate means for elucidating these. Outside the Ottoman Turkish realm, the two standbys for reference were M. Pavet de Courteille's *Dictionnaire turc-oriental, destiné principalement à faciliter la lecture des ouvrages de Bâber, d'Aboul-Gâzi et de Mir-Ali Chir-Nevâi* (Paris

1870) and then V.V. Radlov/W. Radloff's *Opit slovarya tyurkskikh narechii/Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* (St. Petersburg 1888-1911). Both were remarkable works for their time, but became increasingly inadequate as fresh texts in the various Turkish languages were discovered and published. Also, Inner Asia became more open to travellers and scholars after the Imperial Russian annexation from 1865 onwards of the old Islamic regions of Khwarazm and Transoxania, whilst explorers and archaeologists were able to visit Eastern Turkestan, the Chinese province of Sinkiang, in the last decades of the Manchu Imperial dynasty and to recover Turkish linguistic treasures of the past from there and to record contemporary Turkish usages. Pavet de Courteille had not used the best native dictionary for Chaghatay Turkish, the *Sanglakh* of Muḥammad Mahdī Khān (written ca. 1172-3/1759), though he knew about it and could have consulted manuscripts of it had he crossed the Channel to London and Oxford; he did, however, carefully use material from an earlier Chaghatay dictionary, the anonymous *Abushqa* (probably written in the first half of the sixteenth century; this was also used extensively by H. Vámbéry for his *Čagataische Sprachstudien* [Leipzig 1867] and by the Ottoman lexicographer Sheykh Süleymān Efendi for his *Lughat-ī chaghatay ve turki-yi 'othmāni* [Istanbul 1298/1881]). For his great work, Radloff used the earlier authorities, though not exhaustively, and added nothing extra.¹ Nor did he make any significant use of the vocabulary of the Old Turkish inscriptions, the script of those on the Orkhon river being deciphered by Vilhelm Thomsen by 1896; this vocabulary is especially important for the study of Turkish onomastic and titlature in that an array of titles and functions used by officials below the Qaghan at the top are recorded (e.g. *tégin*, *yabgu*, *tōdhun*, *tarkhān*, etc.), and these often formed part of subsequent Turkish onomastic and titlature.

The great leap forward in Turkish lexicography was, of course, the discovery and publication by Kilisli Rif'at Bey of the Arabic text of Maḥmūd Kāshghari's *Diwān lughāt al-turk* (Istanbul 1333/1917), and a great florescence of scholarship on the Turkic languages and on Mongolian has taken place in the twentieth century. For our present purposes, the milestones in Turkish lexicography of the second half of the twentieth century have been G. Doerfer's *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* (1963-75) and Sir Gerard Clauson's *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish* (1972).²

Specific studies on Turkish onomastic as it relates to the Islamic historical and literary sources are nevertheless still sparse. In 1932 the Hungarian

¹ See *Sanglax*, Introd. 10-11, 30-2.

² See, in general, *Et*² art. "Kāmūs. 3. Turkish lexicography" (J. Eckmann).

Academy of Sciences offered a prize for the compilation of an onomasticon of Turkish anthroponyms and ethonyms. The competition was won by László Rásonyi (d. 1984), who collected a large amount of data. But the calls of a busy academic life and, towards the end of his life, the onset of blindness, meant that he was never able to put into final, publishable form his collection of over 60,000 names and variants used by various Turkish-speaking peoples from the opening of Turkish known history until the first half of the twentieth century. However, pupils and colleagues have continued the work. A provisional list of entries was compiled during Rásonyi's lifetime, and has been published by Imre Baski as *A preliminary index to Rásonyi's Onomasticon Turcicum*, Budapest 1984, p. 159. It is now (2000) planned to begin publication in Budapest of the complete Onomasticon. I am grateful to Dr Benedek Péri of the Department of Turcology, Budapest University, for the above information and for a copy of Baski's book, and I am further obliged to him for reading through a draft of this article and for making several useful comments and suggestions; these are acknowledged specifically in their places.

A. von Le Coq noted and explained in his "Türkische Namen und Titel in Indien" names used by the Turkish dynasties who dominated northern India for several centuries, from the Ghaznavids to the Mughals, and which were frequently rendered in deformed versions by such nineteenth century authors as Mountstuart Elphinstone in his *History of India* and Sir Henry Elliott and John Dowson in their *A history of India as told by its own historians*. He used essentially Pavet de Courteille and Radloff (Kāshghari was not used by him, although the Arabic text had been available for a decade and C. Brockelmann had used it as a basis for several of his articles; admittedly, the latter's convenient *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Mahmūd al-Kašgharis Divān luḡāt at-turk* did not appear till 1928), and added some references to the early Turkish material uncovered at Turfan and elsewhere and to contemporary material personally gathered by him in such towns of Eastern Turkestan as Kashghar, Yarkand and Khotan.

Jean Sauvaget assembled an especially valuable collection of the names of Turkish and Circassian Mamlūks, 209 in all, found in the very rich historiography of Mamlūk Egypt and Syria, making up his "Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks." He noted that Arabists had not treated the Turkish personal names which proliferate in the mediaeval Arabic chronicles in a rational fashion and, instead of attempting to render their actual pronunciation, had limited themselves to a mechanical transcription, often arbitrary, of an Arabic orthography which had rendered Turkish names and words very poorly and which, when distinguishing consonantal points were lacking, was especially difficult to interpret. Added to this the unsuitability of the Arabic script

for rendering the rich vowel phonology of Turkish, “L’identification des noms turcs se présente ainsi comme une entreprise difficile que les turcologues qualifiés pourraient seuls mener à bien, au prix de recherches délicates et de longue haleine.”³

The present writer disclaims any pretence of being a “qualified turcologist,” but is trying here to throw light on the names of some of the many Turkish commanders and courtiers which abound in the immensely detailed history of the ten years’ sultanate of the Ghaznavid Mas‘ūd b. Maḥmūd (421-32/1031-40) written by the painstaking and percipient secretary in his chancery, Abu ‘l-Faḍl Bayhaqī (wrote 451/1059). Only a few of these names have been treated by the two scholars mentioned above (thus Sebüktegin/Sebüktegin and Bilgetegin in *Le Coq*, *op. cit.*, 1, and Ayaz/Ayāz in *Sauvaget*, *op. cit.*, 39 no. 36). The article “Lughāt-i turkī, mughūlī va chīnī dar tārikh-i Bayhaqī” by the Afghan scholar Qiyām al-Dīn Rā‘ī (see below, Bibliography), lists several of these Turkish names and gets some of them right but badly misses with others (e.g. *kūtwāl* “definitely a Turkish word” (p. 193), citing Sa‘īd Nafīsī, citing Pavet de Courteille for this term, in fact purely Indian in origin, *kōtwāl*;⁴ *Le Coq*, *op. cit.*, 7, also got this wrong, assimilating it to those words denoting the bearers of official and administrative duties in Turkish and Turco-Mongol states ending in *-awul*, e.g. *bakawul*, *yasawul*; these words seem in any case to be attested only from Mongol, and not from Ghaznavid times). What Rā‘ī takes (p. 193) as a personal name, *Yüz*, from *yüz* “hundred” in Turkish (Gh 495, F 645) is in fact the Persian common noun *yüz*, “cheetah, leopard, panther,” these being included in a list of presents sent by the governor of Chaghāniyān to Mas‘ūd (hence possible, in this context, “snow leopards”). Rā‘ī includes in his bibliography Kāshgharī, but never cites him, and in the one place mentioned above, cites Pavet de Courteille at second-hand; he has clearly had no contact with Western turcological scholarship. No sources are given for any of his entries, hence nothing can be checked and the whole list is thus of very limited value.

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³ *ibid.*, 31-2.

⁴ Cf. *EL*² art. “Kōtwāl” (C.E. Bosworth), citing *inter alios* Doerfer, *op. cit.*, III, 618-21 no. 1658.

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III. The names

ASĪGHTEGIN (Gh 90 etc., F 105 etc.)

This is the personal name of the commander-in-chief of the Ghaznavid army for Sultan Mas'ūd until his downfall in Rabi' II/April 1031 (cf. Gelpke, *Sultān Mas'ūd I. von Gazna*, 82-6) and who is most frequently referred to by Bayhaqī with the epithet Ghāzi.

Bayhaqī's copyists had particular difficulties with the first component of the name, often writing it as *'s.f.*, so that Rā'ī, "Lughāt-i turki, mughūli va chīni dar Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī" 190, was misled into taking this as a "Dari" word meaning "angry, vio-

lently moved” (the word used in Persian, *asif*, is of course, in origin Arabic). The correct reading must be *ʿs.gh*, Tkish. “profit, advantage, benefit,” Ottoman and Republican Tkish. *asiğ*, *asık*. As a financial term in the Uyghur documents from Eastern Turkestan it means “interest [on a loan]” (Clauson, “A late Uyğur family archive,” 172; *ED*, 244-5). Combined with *tégin* or (?) *tégin*, in Orkhon Turkish “prince, i.e. son or grandson of the ruling Qaghan, the whole name would therefore mean something like “beneficial, profitable prince.”

BĀYTEGIN (Gh 111ff., F 132ff., etc.)

This was a common name, and several persons bearing it are mentioned by Bayhaqī, including a Bāytegin-i Zamindāwari, governor appointed by Maḥmūd over the south-eastern Afghanistan region of Zamindāwar, where the youthful princes Masʿūd, his brother Muḥammad and his uncle (but almost contemporary in age) Yūsuf b. Sebüktegin spent some time (see Gelpke, *Sultān Masʿūd I. von Gazna*, 22-3, 89). The first component is *bāy* “rich, rich man,” hence “rich prince”. See Sauvaget, “Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks,” 36 no. 11; Clauson, *ED*, 384.

BEGTUGHDIĪ (Gh 1, 82 etc., F 94 etc.)

He was commander of the élite force of palace ghuḷāms when Masʿūd ascended the throne, and subsequently active – without much success – commanding the Ghaznavid army in Khurasan against Turkmen incursions (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 181, 242, 247-9). As with Bektegin above, there is ambiguity regarding the first component: either “a chief (*bēg*) has been born/arisen” (perhaps the more likely meaning here), or “a firm, strong one (*bek*) ...”. The second component, from *tugh-* “to be born”, Ottoman and Republican Turkish *doğmak*, is frequent as a second component in onomastic, e.g. Aydughdī, Aydughmish “the moon/a moon has arisen” (see Sauvaget, “Noms et surnoms,” 40 nos. 40-1; Clauson, *ED*, 465-6.

BEKTEGIN (Gh 3 etc., F 3 etc.)

Several bearers of this name are mentioned by Bayhaqī, including the *ḥājib* who guarded the fortress where the deposed Amir Muḥammad was imprisoned and who was prominent in events leading to the arrest and downfall of the Chief Ḥājib Eryaruq (see Gelpke, *op. cit.*, 38-9, 78-82), and another general called Bektegin Chawgānī or Chawgāndār (superintendent of polo-playing?) described as a *Pidari*, i.e. a former commander of Maḥmūd (Gh 342 etc., F 436 etc.). The first component is more likely *bek* “strong firm, solid” than *bēg* “chief of a tribe, prince” (see Sauvaget, “Noms et surnoms,” 42 no. 58; Clauson, *ED*, 322-3), hence “strong, solid prince.”

BÖRI (Gh 342 etc., F 436 etc.)

Bōri was *ākhur-sālār* or Master of the Sultan’s Stables under Masʿūd, and described as one of the *Masʿūdiyān*, i.e. early partisans of Masʿūd before he achieved the throne. It is somewhat strange that the orthography for this name of *p.y.r.y.* established itself early in the Ghaznavid and early Qarakhanid contexts. Cf. the *P.y.r.y.t.k.y.n./Bōritegin* who was one of Sebüktegin’s predecessors as head of the group of Turkish ghuḷāms in Ghazna (Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 38-9), and also the *P.w.r.t.k.y.n.pisar-i İlik* in Bayhaqī for the Qarakhanid Bōritegin Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr, the later Tamghach Khān (Gh 547 etc., and F 724 etc., who writes the name *B.w.r.t.k.y.n*) (see on this Khān, Pritsak, “Die Karachaniden,” 36). By Seljuq times, the usual orthography was the more phonetically exact *b.w.r.y.*, cf. the Bōri b. Tuğtegin of the short-lived line of Atabegs in early sixth/twelfth century Damascus, the Bōrids or Būrids. The origin of the name is *bōri* “wolf”, familiar in onomastic from Orkhon Turkish times; see Clauson, *ED*, 356. Moravcsik thought that *bōri* was the first component in the name or title of a Bulgar-Turkish chief at Belgrade ca. 853-8, *Boritakanos* in Byzantine sources (< *bōri-tarkhan*, *bōri-tégin*?); see his *Byzantinoturcica. II*, 97.

BUGHRĀTEGIN (Gh 197 etc., F 246 etc.), BUGHRĀ KHĀN (Gh 199 etc., F 251 etc.)

Bughrātegin is here the *onghun* or totemistic name of the son Sulaymān of the Qarakhanid ally of Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd, Qadīr Khān Yūsuf, to whose (sc. Sulaymān's) daughter Mas'ūd purposed to marry his own son Mawdūd, whilst Bughrā Khān was the *onghun* of the Qarakhanid who fatally weakened the Sāmānid amirate in 382/992, Hārūn or Ḥasan b. Sulaymān b. Satuq (see Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," 26-7, 33-4).

Bughrā (camel stallion) was a much favoured component of Qarakhanid onomastic; see Clauson, *ED*, 317-18.

BUQĀ (Gh 68 etc., F 77 etc.)

Bayhaqī writes this *B.w.q.h.*, as the name of one of the chiefs of the so-called "Irāqī" Turkmens whom Maḥmūd ill-advisedly admitted to Khurasan as frontier auxiliary troops but who by the early years of Mas'ūd's reign had turned to harrying the settled peoples of the Khurasanian fringes and despoiling their agricultural land (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 225, 250). It is *buqā* "bull", with its connotations of toughness and solidness, familiar in the onomastic of the Turkish troops of the 'Abbāsids in the mid-third/ninth century, e.g. the generals Bughā al-Kabīr and Bughā al-Ṣaḡhīr or al-Sharābī, and very frequent subsequently, e.g. amongst the Mongols and the Mamlūks. See Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks," 36 no. 8, etc.; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 300, 305; Clauson, *ED*, 312.

(?)CHABĪQ (Gh 133, F 159)

Like Qāyī Oghlan [*q.v.*], this man was one of Mas'ūd's *hājibs*, originally from amongst Maḥmūd's palace ghlāms. Bayhaqī writes the name as *ch. 'b.k.*, so that an obvious etymology would be from Persian *chābuk* "swift"; but one might conceivably take this name (since the indication of back vowels by the use of *qāf* and front ones by the use of *kāf* was probably not a fixed rule in Bayhaqī's time) as stemming from Turkish *chapīq* "moving with a swift, strenuous action, such as galloping." See Clauson, *ED*, 394; Baski, *A preliminary index*, 34 (the name Chabīq), 39 (Jabīq). The basic sense in the two languages would be more or less the same; but on the whole, Dr Péri avers, a Persian etymology seems more likely.

ERYARUQ (Gh 83 etc., F 96 etc.)

Eryaruq was the commander of the Ghaznavid army in India at Mas'ūd's accession. The Sultan procured his fall, regarding him as one of the *Maḥmūdiyān* or *Pidariyān*, representatives of the ancien régime, in 422/1031 (see Gelpke, *Sultān Mas'ūd I. von Gazna*, 78-82). Gardīzī, ed. Nazim, 97, ed. Ḥabībī, 197, spells his name Elyaruq. This is a compound of *er* "man" (i.e. not female, *vir*, *anēr*) (Clauson, *op. cit.*, 192 (or if Gardīzī's *il* be followed, of *él* "realm", Clauson, *ED*, 121-2), and *yaruq* "brightness, light; bright, shining, gleaming" (Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms," 56 no. 205; Clauson, *ED*, 962-3), hence "bright, shining man". Cf. the name of the Great Seljuq sultan Berkyaruq "firm, unwavering light."

IL MENGÜ (Gh 207-8, F 261-3)

This commander, apparently from the Sāmānids' Turkish troops, was a *hājib* of the rebellious general Abū 'Alī Chaghānī, and was defeated and captured in Khurasan in 386/996 by Maḥmūd and Sebüktegin (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 263-4). The name is composed of *él* "realm" basically, in Clauson's definition, "a political unit organized and ruled by an independent ruler," becoming applied also to the people or community composing that unit (*ED*, 121-2), and *benggü/menggü* "eternal, everlasting" > "heaven, sky." It occurs also as a single-component name, cf. the *Mankousēs*

(*Mankousos?*), Tatar father-in-law of the Bulgar Tsar Svetoslav (late thirteenth century), of Byzantine sources (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. II*, 179). Hence something like “everlasting one of the realm” or “everlasting realm” (cf. Il Arslan “lion-realm,” Il-tutmîsh “he who upholds the realm”).

However, concerning the basic meaning of *él/il*, Dr Péri has cited for the present author an article by Professor István Vásáry, “Nép és ország a türköknél” (“Nation and country in the Türk Empire”), in Ferenc Tökei, *Nomád társadalmak és államalakulatok*, Budapest 1983, 189-215, cf. 202, in which the author proposes that *él/il* does not imply a settled land or realm in which a certain amount of order and stability exists but, rather, a land born out of military conquest and maintained through further territorial expansion. On this analysis, one should translate the name Il-tutmîsh as “he who maintains and extends the land of conquest.”

İNĀLTEGIN (Gh 267 etc., F 349 etc.)

Here in Bayhaqī this is the second component of the name of the man nominated in 422/1031 to be Mas‘ūd’s commander-in-chief of the Ghaznavid forces in India, but it is unclear whether this is the Turkish name accompanying his Islamic one, Aḥmad, or whether one should read, with *idāfa*, “Aḥmad son of İnāltegin.”

Bayhaqī writes the first element, as do many of the mediaeval Islamic sources, with an initial *y*, sc. *yināl*. It would appear to be from *ināl*, which Clauson describes as a deverbal form from an unattested basic stem *inā-* “to trust, rely upon,” hence meaning “trustworthy,” but speedily becoming almost exclusively a title. From the time of the Uyghur texts from Turfan it appears as a high title, and figures thereafter in the tribal hierarchies of peoples like the Qipchaq and Oghuz. Kāshghārī had obviously lost sight of the original meaning when he defined *ināl* as “a noun for any youth whose mother is a princess (*khātūn*) and his father a commoner (*sūqa*)” (tr. Atalay, I, 122, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, I, 147). Dr Péri has, however, noted that, *pace* Clauson, the stem *in-* is not in fact unattested but is part of the basic vocabulary of a small Turkic group, the Sagay, with the meaning “to speak, talk,” and he cites Gyula Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* (“The formation of the Hungarian people as settlers”), Budapest 1930. repr. Budapest 1991, 206, and he also notes that the vowels can change from velar to palatal ones, making a reading *Ināl* possible for the name.

Whatever the origin of this first nominal component, it appears in personal names in the Islamic world at least from Būyid times, when the historian Miskawayh mentions a Muḥammad b. Yināl al-Tarjumān, apparently an interpreter or liaison officer amongst the Būyid Amīrs’ Turkish troops. See in general on the term, Sauvaget, “Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks,” 40 no. 44; Bosworth and Clauson, “Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia,” 10; Clauson, *ED*, 184-5, 188. A group amongst the Turkmens coming into the eastern Islamic world in the latter part of Maḥmūd’s reign and that of Mas‘ūd was that of the followers of a member of the wider Seljuq family, Ibrāhīm Ināl, the *Yināliyān* of the sources. Bayhaqī, who mentions them on several occasions, at Gh 470, F 611, places them as a parallel group to the *Seljuqiyān*, sc. the bands led by Toḡhrīl and his close kin; see on these *Yināliyān*, Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 226.

KHUMĀRTĀSH (Gh 68, 678, F 77, 924), KHUMĀRTEGIN-I (?) TERSHEK (Gh 435, F 561)

The first component of these two names is *khumāru* “legacy, memento, keepsake,” thus defined by Kāshghārī, tr. Atalay, I, 445-6, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, I, 335: *tadhkira*, *mirāth*. He says that it can be either a male or a female personal name. See Clauson, *ED*, 628, who thought that the word was probably a loan from Iranian. Hence Khumārtegin would be “well-remembered prince,” and Khumārtāsh most probably

"well-remembered, permanent stone" (*tāsh* "stone", Clauson, *ED*, 557), reminiscent of the oft-recurring, set phrase *benggū tāsh* "everlasting stone, monument" of the Kültégin and Bilge Qaghan inscriptions of the Orkhon, cf. the occurrences listed by Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 312, 376. Two commanders with the name Khumārtegin are mentioned by Bayhaqī, one of them a *hājib* of Mas'ūd's whom he appointed as commander of the Turkmen bands, who had come into Ghaznavid Khurasan, in the hope of controlling them (Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 224-5); and a Khumārtegin-i Sharābī, possibly in origin cup-bearer to the Ma'mūnid Khwārazmshāhs, who opposed Maḥmūd's invasion of Khwārazm in 406/1017 (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 278-9).

The *t.r.sh.k* which forms the second part of the name of Khumārtegin, a ghlām from Maḥmūd's time who, during Mas'ūd's reign, was *hājib* of the royal palace, is obscure. Forms like *tirse* occur in the later Turkic languages (Chaghatay *tirse*, Ottoman and Republican Tkish. *dirsek* "elbow joint"), so that the reference here may be to a physical disability or oddity, "Khumārtegin with a damaged elbow joint". Le Coq, "Türkische Namen und Titel in Indien," 3-4, noted that bodily features, including unusual ones, are often found in names, e.g. Qaraköz "having black eyes," Mengli begim "woman with beauty spots." Dr Péri suggests that *t.r.sh.k* could, on the other hand, be a copyist's error and that one might conceivably read *t.r.k.sh* for Türkesh, the well-known Western Türk confederation whom the early Muslim invaders of Transoxania encountered in Central Asia and mentioned on various occasions in the Orkhon inscriptions (see Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 387; if this is so, the use of it as part of Khumārtegin's name would be very much an archaism, since mention of the Türgesh as such drops out of at least the Islamic sources after the eighth century, and Kāshgharī does not register this ethonym).

KÖKTĀSH (Gh 68 etc., F 77 etc.)

This man was one of the leaders of the so-called "Irāqī" Turkmens (see above, s.v. Buqā); Bayhaqī spells his name *k.w.k.t.'sh*. The first component is clearly *kök* or *kōk*, but Clauson, *ED*, 708, notes how difficult it is to determine the quality of the vowels and final consonants of words of this form *kVk*. Most probable, suggests Dr Péri, is *kök* "sky," hence "sky-coloured, blue/green," plus *tāsh* "stone," cf. Baski, *A preliminary index*, 72. In connection with the whole name, he makes the point that the early Turks held such blue and green semi-precious stones as turquoise and jade in high esteem.

MENGÜTIREK (Gh 1, 4, etc., F 4 etc.)

This Turkish commander was the brother of the Chief Hājib 'Alī-yi Qarīb or Khwishāwand, related in some unknown degree to Sultan Maḥmūd, and mentioned in the events surrounding Muḥammad's short sultanate in 421/1030. Both 'Alī and Mengütirek deserted Muhammad, but when Mas'ūd achieved full power, Mengütirek fell with his brother from grace, and thereafter disappears from historical mention (see Gelpke, *Sultān Mas'ūd I. von Gazna*, 44-5, 48-53).

The correct rendering of this name (written *m.n.k.y.t.r-'k*) has until now defeated modern historians of the Ghaznavids. But it is most likely a compound of *menggū/benggū* (see above, s.v. Il-mengü) and *tirek* "support, column," Ottoman and Republican Tkish. *direk*, appearing in Uyghur texts as an official title, perhaps something like "support [of the realm]" (see Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms," 56 nos. 201-3; Doerfer, *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, II, 655 no. 997; Clauson, *ED*, 350-1, 543). Hence the whole would mean "eternal, firm support [of the realm]". This second element is also found, virtually contemporaneous with this Ghaznavid commander, in the Byzantine Greek rendering for a commander of the Pechenegs, *Turach*, ca.

1050 (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. II*, 330) and as the name of the Qipchaq tribal chief in the lower Syr Darya region, Alpdirek “hero, warrior, support,” mentioned as an opponent of the Khwārazmshāh Tekish in the late sixth/twelfth century (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 343-4).

MONCHUQ (Gh 317 etc., F 402 etc. [erroneously writes the name as *m.l.n.j.w.q*])

This man was the commander or leader (*qā'id, mihtar*) of the Küjet auxiliary troops recruited by the Khwārazmshāh Altuntāsh to defend the frontiers of his governorate; Sultan Mas'ūd suborned him to make an assassination attempt, in fact unsuccessful, on the Shāh (Gelpke, *Sultān Mas'ūd I. von Gazna*, 120-1).

Dr Péri opines that the name is from *bonchuq/monchuq* “bead, e.g. of clay which can be pierced” > “a necklace of beads,” perhaps in some early instances, “jewel” in general. The Persian-Chaghatay dictionary of Muḥammad Mahdī Khān, the *Sanglakh*, fol. 141v, l. 20, defines *b.w.n.j.w.q* as *khar-i muhra* “a pierced bead made from clay.” Moravcsik saw the origin of the name of the Hunnic ruler and father of Asttila, given by the Byzantine historian Priscus as *Moundiochos*, in Turkish *munjuq*. See L.Z. Budagov, *Sravitel'nyi slovar' turecko-tatarskikh narechii*, St. Petersburg 1869-71, I, 293; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. II*, 194; Clauson, *ED*, 349.

NÜSHTEGIN (Gh 122 etc., F 146 etc.)

Bayhaqī mentions on several occasions three bearers of this name. Nüshtegin Khāṣṣa (Gh 122 etc., F 146 etc.) was a eunuch of Maḥmūd's household. Nüshtegin Nawbatī (Gh 409 etc., F 527 etc.) was a ghulām brought back as a boy by Maḥmūd from his meeting at the gate of Samarqand with Qadīr Khān Yūsuf in 416/1025, later appointed governor of Güzgān by Mas'ūd. Nüshtegin Walwālījī (if this is the correct reading of the *nisba*) (Gh 454 etc., F 588 etc.) was a *hājib* in Mas'ūd's army. (A)nüshtegin is a well-known name among the Turkish troops of the Fātimids and Seljuqs, cf. the Fātimid governor on Syria Anüshtegin Dizbarī and the governor of Khwārazm for Malik Shāh, Anüshtegin Gharcha'ī. The first element is obviously un-Turkish, and must be from Middle Persian *anōshag* “immortal.” Hence the whole name would be “immortal prince.”

QARĀKHĀN (Gh 284, F 377)

The “sons of Qarākhān” are described, on the occasion of a review at Kabul of the war elephants of the Ghaznavid army in mid-Shawwāl 422/early October 1031 as being under the commander of the war elephants (*muqaddam-pilbānān*) Bu 'l-Nadr/Nasr. The lower echelons of the elephant keepers must have been entirely composed of Indians, but Bu 'l-Nadr/Nasr was a *hājib* or general officer, frequently mentioned in Bayhaqī's pages, hence almost certainly a Turk, and the “sons of Qarākhān” must have held a rank just below him, with the mass of Indians coming below them these Turks. Dr Péri has drawn the writer's attention to the fact that, under the Mughals of India, we know the names of at least three Turks who held an office similar to that held by Bu 'l-Nadr/Nasr, that of *darūghā-yi pilkhāna*, during the reigns of Shāhjahān and Awrangzīb, sc. Ghaḍanfar, son of Ilāhverdi Khān, in 1058/1648; Muḥammad Qulī Mu'taqad Khān, in 1065-6/1655-6; and Mun'im Khān Barlās in 1113/1701-2.

Gh 284 has for this name the ductus *q.r.q.m.y.n* whereas F 377, and also the recent, uncritical edition of Bayhaqī's History by Khalid Khaṭīb Rahbar, Tehran 1376/1997, II, 436, have *q.r.y.kh.y.a*. Fayyād thus rejected *q.r.q.m.y.n*, and it is indeed hard to see any obvious justification in Turkish for this latter reading, since there is e.g. no attested form from *qorq-* “to fear” which would yield a meaning, apart from the difficulty of the suffix *-man/men*, which Clauson thought was probably a cor-

ruption of the Persian suffix *-mand* "resembling, like" (see *ED*, p. xlii). The obvious reading is the Qarākhān of Fayyād and Rahbar, with *qarā* either in its literal sense "black" or in one of its various transferred and figurative meanings; see Clauson, *ED*, 643-4.

QĀYĪ OGHLAN (Gh 133, F 159)

Like Chabīq (*q.v.*), this man was originally one of Maḥmūd's palace ghuḷāms, becoming a *hājib* under Mas'ūd.

Rā'ī, "Lughāt-i turki, mughūli va chīni dar Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī," 192, fancifully takes *qāyī* to equal *qoyun* "sheep," with *oghlān* ("boy," originally a pl. of *oghul* "child," later particularised as a sing. in this sense, see Clauson, *ED*, 83-4), hence "sheep youth" (!). The first element must, in fact, be the tribal name Qāy, a tribe of Inner Asia which Kāshgharī, tr. Atalay, I, 28, 30, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, I, 82, 83, places between the Bashghirt and Basmil on the west and the Yabaqu and Tatar on the east. Members of the Qāy served in the Ghaznavid forces all through the dynasty's history. See M.F. Köprülü, "Kay kabilesi hakkında yeni notlar," *Belleten*, VIII (1944), 421-52; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 109. Hence the whole name would mean "youth from the Qāy."

QUTLUGH TEGIN (Gh 123ff., F 147ff.)

Qutlughtegin Bihishtī was Prince Mas'ūd's *hājib* or doorkeeper when he was governing Herat for his father (the origin of the *nisba* of *bihishtī* "heavenly" is unknown). The noun *qut* "happiness, fortune, auspiciousness" and the adjective *qutluḡ/qutluḡ* "happy, fortunate, auspicious" are frequent components of Turkish names from Egypt to India (Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms," 45 no. 80; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. II*, 170; Clauson, *ED*, 594). The line of local rulers in Kirmān during the seventh/thirteenth century, the Qutluḡkhānids, stemmed from a founder called Qutluḡ Sultāni. Hence Qutlughtegin = "fortunate prince."

SATĪLMĪSH (Gh 519, F 681)

This former ghuḷām of Maḥmūd was *shihna* or military governor of Bādghis under Mas'ūd. He bears a version of the common descriptive name for slaves, "sold," "he was sold," from the verbal stem *sat-* "to sell" (Clauson, *ED*, 798-9). Related names of this type are Alfi (this was the *nisba* of the Mamlūk Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, 678-89/1279-90) and Hazāri "[sold for] 1,000" (but Le Coq, "Turkische Namen und Titel," 1, was misled by the wildly erroneous rendering in Mountstuart Elphinstone's *History of India* for the name of the Delhi Sultan Shams al-Dīn Il-tutmīsh, 607-33/1211-36, as Altamsh, Altamish, which Le Coq not unnaturally took to mean "sold for 60, *altmīsh*").

SĀWTEGIN KHĀNĪ (Gh 678, F 924)

This man was one of the Khwārazmian commanders who opposed the Ghaznavid forces when they invaded Khwārazm in 408/1017.

The name was read – there being varying ms. readings – by Ghani and Fayyād as Shādtegin, as if the first component were Persian *shād* "joy, happiness," hence "joyful prince," cf. the Shād beg of Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms," 48 no. 111, but as Sāwtegin by Fayyād. *Sāw* is in fact well attested as a component of names. It means "speech, statement," apparently with the nuance of a speech or utterance or report of some length or importance, as opposed to *sōz* "word, brief utterance;" Kāshgharī defines it as "proverb, message," so that *sāwchī* is the conveyor of *rasā'il* and can mean "divine messenger," *nabī*. Hence Sāwtegin = "prince bearing an important word, a message." See Kāshgharī, tr. Atalay, III, 154-5, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, II, 227; Clauson,

ED, 782-3. 785. One of the best known bearers of this name was the eunuch commander of the Seljuq Sultans Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh, ‘Imād al-Din Sāwtegin, active in overrunning the eastern Caucasus region for Alp Arslān and subsequently governor in Ganja over Arrān.

S.N.K.W.Y (Gh 164 etc., F 202 etc.)

This man was steward or head of Sultan Mas‘ūd’s palace household (*wakīl-i dar*) and presumably a Turkish ghulām in origin. The name remains mysterious, but could it be connected with *sūngük* “bone” (Clauson, *ED*, 838-9), with the idea of “firmness. hardness”? Procopius mentions a *Sounikas*, member of the imperial guard of the Byzantine army, described as of Massagete (Hunnish or Alan?) origin; see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. II*, 289.

SÜBĀSHĪ (Gh 443 etc., F 573 etc.), SÜBĀSHĪ-TEGIN (Gh 551, F 729)

Bayhaqī writes the name Sübāshī as a single word *s.b. ’sh.y*, but it is really two words, *sū* “army” and *bāshī* “its head”, hence “army commander”. It is frequent in mediaeval Islamic historical texts as a common noun, but here in Bayhaqī appears to be a personal name, that of Mas‘ūd’s commander-in-chief in Khurasan 426-9/1035-8 against the Turkmens (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 249); the usual term for “commander-in-chief” in Bayhaqī is *hājib-i buzurg* or *sipah-sālār*.

Sübāshī-tegin appears in Bayhaqī as the commander of the Qarakhanid army sent by the Ilig Naşr b. ‘Alī in 996/1006 against the Ghaznavids’ towns of Nishapur and Tūs (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 272-3), again, clearly a personal name.

SUNQUR (Gh 603, F 802)

This Sunqur mentioned by Bayhaqī was a commander in the army which left Herat in Safar 431/November 1039 under the Sultan’s personal leadership for Nishapur and operations against the Turkmens. As noted below s.v. the name Toghrīl, birds of prey are common in Turkish onomastic, and Sunqur/Şunqur particularly so, being frequent amongst the names of the Seljuqs’ commanders and their Atabegs.

The original form, according to Clauson, was *şingqur*, found thus as a personal name in Uyghur, which became, by retrogressive vowel assimilation, *şungqur* in Qarakhanid times. In modern times, and probably always, it denotes the gerfalcon, *Falco rusticolus*. Le Coq, “Bemerkungen über türkische Falkneri,” in *BA*, IV (1914), 9, noted that in Eastern Turkestan in the early part of the twentieth century the *şunqur*/gerfalcon was highly prized for hunting purposes and scarce in that region. It seems always to have been scarce within the Islamic lands from mediaeval times onwards, for this falcon had to be imported, at considerable expense, from Inner Asia and Siberia; in the early seventeenth century, the Russian Tsars laid tight restrictions on the trade in, and especially the export of, Siberian gerfalcons, and in 1623 the voivode of Tobol’sk was ordered to inflict the death penalty on anyone even catching gerfalcons and keeping them for his own use, let alone trying to traffic in them (see Audrey Burton, *The Bukharans, a dynastic, diplomatic and commercial history 1550-1702*, London 1997, 43, 60, 147-8, 508-9). See in general on the *şunqur*, Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. II*, 283-4 (name *Songour*); Doerfer, *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, III, 272-9 no. 1273; Clauson, *ED*, 837-8.

T.K.L.Y (Gh 223, F 285)

Ahmad T.k.l.y was adjutant (*kadkhudā*) to the Chief Hājib Bilgetegin in the early part of Mas‘ūd’s reign. The second element would appear to be more probably a *laqab* or nickname than a *nisba*; the Teke clan of the Oghuz, installed in western Anatolia, appears comparatively late in historical mention (see G. Leiser, *EI²* art. “Teke-oghullari”) and we know nothing about their existence in the early fifth/eleventh

century. In several Turkic languages, the verb *tüke-* means “to be finished completed,” causative *tüket-* “to complete, finish,” and *tükel* means “all, whole,” hence *tükelli* “complete, entire,” cf. Clauson, *ED*, 479-80. Dr Péri would, however, incline towards deriving the name from the word later attested in Eastern Turkish/Chaghatay, *tük* “body hair,” hence *tükli* “hairy, shaggy one, and he adduces the *Sanglakh*, fol. 188r, l. 15: *müy* “hair”; Budagov, *Sravitel'nyi slovar' turecko-tatarskikh narechii*, I, 400: *volosī na tele* “hair on the body”; and A.K. Borovkov, *Uzbeksko-russkii slovar'*, Moscow 1959, 451: *volosok* “hair” (dimin.). Devin DeWeese has recently brought into prominence the role of a certain Sufi saint, Baba Tükles, in stories of the conversion to Islam of the Golden Horde Khān Muḥammad Özbek (*regn.* 713-42/1313-41), and the second component of this name may likewise mean “hairy-bodied” (see DeWeese's philological discussion of *tükles* in his *Islamization and native religion in the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and conversion to Islam in historical and epic tradition*, University Park, Penn. 1994, 323-8).

Whether the mysterious name *d.k.l.h.*, conventionally read as something like Degele or Tekele, found as the name of one of the Salghurid Turkmen Atabegs of Fārs in the later sixth/twelfth century (see Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties, a chronological and genealogical manual*, Edinburgh 1996, 207 no. 103), has anything to do with this early Ghaznavid T.k.l.y, is unclear.

TOGHAN KHAN (Gh 91,526, F 106, 693)

This is the name of the Qarakhanid Aḥmad b. Hārūr or Hasan Bughrā Khān, brother of Qadīr Khān Jūsuf and 'Alitegin (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 274, 279; Pritsak, “Die Karachaniden,” 32). *Toghan* is, in fact, frequent in Qarakhanid onomastic. The orthography in the Islamic sources (including some mss. of Bayhaqī) often elides the final nasal consonant, especially in compound names, e.g. *Toghā [tegin]* for *Toghān [tegin]*.

This is another of the names for birds of prey beloved of early Turkish onomastic (see below, s.v. *Ṭoghrīl*), with *toghan/doghan* denoting “falcon” (in Turkish of the eighth century we find *ürüng esri toghan* “a white dappled falcon”; in Ottoman Turkish it could likewise refer to the undifferentiated family of Falconidae but, according to Redhouse, was often used specifically for the lanner, *Falco lanarius*). It does not seem that one can be more specific for the word's meaning during Ghaznavid times. See Doerfer, *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, III, 351-2 no. 1351; Clauson, *ED*, 470-1. In the Eastern Turkestan of Le Coq's time, the apparently associated names *tayghün/tighün* denoted a white-coloured hawk; Le Coq cites Col. D.C. Phillott that it denoted “the white goshawk”, the latter also noting that Afghan falconers called any albino variant of any species of raptor *tayghün/tighün* (“Bemerkungen über türkische Falkneri”, *BA*, IV [1914], 10-11, VI [1922], 115).

ṬOĞHRİL (Gh 69 etc., F 78 etc.)

As well as frequently mentioning the Seljuq leader *Ṭoghrīl* Beg, whose name recurs in the story of Turkmen raids into the Ghaznavid lands during Mas'ūd's reign, Bayhaqī mentions the *hājib* *Ṭoghrīl*, originally a ghlām presented to Maḥmūd by the wife of the Qarakhanid Arslān Khān Mansūr b. 'Alī, who functioned as a *mushrif* or spy over his master Yūsuf b. Sebüktegin during the Quṣḍār expedition of 422/1031 (see Gelpke, *Sultān Mas'ūd I von Gazna*, 90-2); and, very briefly (Gh 685, F 936), as *Ṭoghrīl-i maghrūr-i makhdhül*, the ghlām commander prominent under Mawdūd b. Mas'ūd who was in 443/1052 to overthrow Sultan 'Abd al-Rashīd b. Maḥmūd and temporarily to usurp the throne in Ghazna (see Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, 41-7).

Names of birds of prey of various kinds are frequent in early Turkish onomastic, cf. e.g. *chaq/ghir*, *lachīn*, *sunqur*; two sons of Mikā'il b. Seljuq b. Duqāq were named

thus (Toğhril, the future sultan, and Chaq/ghir/Chaghri; also their kinsman Bighu), and three subsequent sultans of the Great Seljuq line were also named Toğhril (see Le Coq, "Bemerkungen über türkische Falkneri," *BA*, IV (1914), 2). The *toghril* (Hungarian *turul*) also plays a crucial role in the mythology surrounding Magyar origins as the progenitor of the first kings of Hungary in Central Europe, the Árpáds. Dr Péri mentions that, amongst various Hungarian scholars who have attempted to identify this bird, an ornithologist, Jakab Schenk, wrote an extensive article, "Magyar solymászmadárnevek" ("On the Hungarian names used in falconry"), *Aquile* (1935-8), 267-348; Schenk concluded that the *toghril* was *Falco rusticolus altaicus* and the *sonqur* (see above) *Falco rusticolus uraliensis*.

The personal name Toğhril was to have a long life in mediaeval Islam; thus among the early Ottomans, 'Othmān's father was Ertoghril, now known through his mention on coins to be a fully historical, and not a mythical, figure. Among the pre-Islamic Turks, it figures in the Uyghur texts from Turfan; and cf. the Toğhril and Basa Toğhril of the documents studied by Clauson in "A late Uyğur family archive," 183-4, 194-6. However, by the time of Le Coq's visits to Eastern Turkestan it had disappeared from usage as a personal name (*op. cit.*, 11).

Despite such attempts as that of Schenk, exact identification of the *toghril* amongst the various raptors remains unsure. Kāshghari, tr. Atalay III, 381, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, II, 345, says that it was bigger than the *singqur/sunqur* (for which, see above). In later Persian works on falconry and hawking, the *bāz-nāma* genre, the *toghril* seems to be considered as a species of eagle, one of the Aquilidae; see *Elr* art. "Bāzdāri" (Hūšang A'lam). Le Coq, *ibid.*, however, noted Phillott's identification of the *toghril* with the Crested Goshawk, *Astur trivirgatus*, as quite probable. See in general on the linguistic evidence for the name, Doerfer, *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, III, 346-8 no. 1345; Clauson, *ED*, 472.

YAGHMUR (Gh 266 etc., F 348 etc.)

This man was one of the chiefs – apparently with a certain primacy – of the "Irāqī" Turkmens (see above, s.v. Buqā) until Mas'ūd sent a punitive force which put him to death. The name means "rain", as it does in virtually all modern Turkic languages, from the verbal stem *yagh-* "to pour down upon, rain," with the connotation of "the violence, impetuosity of a sudden violent rainstorm" and the idea that a man bearing such a name is the equal of the forceful natural elements. P.B. Golden cites, among various tribal names implying power, forcefulness and aggression, such ones as Qarluq (< *qār* "snow"), Qīnīq (< *qīn-* "to long for, strive, seek out eagerly") Salghur (< *sal-* "to move, with the implication of violent motion") and, in parallel with the personal name Yaghmur, Yaghmā (Clauson, *ED*, 632, 641, 824, 903-4; Golden, "I will give the people unto thee": the Činggisid conquests and their aftermath in the Turkic world," *JRAS*, 3rd ser., vol. X [2000], 39). One might contrast the connotations of *yaghmur* in early Turkish with the ones familiar from early Arabic *ghawth/ghayth*, also used as personal names, with their associations of "welcome, life-giving rain," for though rainstorms in the Arabian Desert might be violent and cause sudden, dangerous floods, the resultant growth of herbage was a blessing for the Bedouins' herds (cf. H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam. L'Arabie occidentale à la veille de l'Hégire. I. Le climat – les Bédouins*, Rome 1914, 149ff.).

YARUQ TUGHMĪSH (Gh 240 etc., F 311 etc.)

This *hājib* was Mas'ūd's *jāma-dār* or Keeper of the Wardrobe. The name means "a bright light has arisen," see s.vv. Begtughdī and Eryaruq.

ADDENDUM TO I. INTRODUCTION

One should note, in regard to earlier studies on Turkish onomastic, the pioneering section on personal names, still of value, in M.Th. Houtsma's *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden 1894, Erster Theil. 2. Zur Etymologie, 25-35. In the course of amassing material for his Turkish onomasticon (see above, pp. 300-301), Rásonyi wrote his article "Sur quelques catégories de noms de personnes en turc," *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*, III (1953), 323-51, cf. also D. Sinor, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie centrale*, Wiesbaden 1963, 116.