

# The Genesis of the Turks

An Ethno-Linguistic Inquiry into  
the Prehistory of Central Eurasia

Osman Karatay



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into the Prehistory of Central  
Eurasia*

By

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# THE PRONUNCIATION OF LETTERS

The Romanisation of Cyrillic letters was done in accordance with the ISO 9 transliteration, except for *ю*, *я* and *у*, which were written respectively as *ju*, *ja* and *šč*. This was kept for Mongolian, too, but words of Turkic languages using (still or previously) Cyrillic were written according to the Turkish Latin alphabet, except for Chuvash, having particular characteristics. Old Turkic forms were written as in Clauson's dictionary, unless particular forms of words were cited from other books or papers. Words of all other languages were written as in the cited sources. Proto-forms of words expressed by an asterisk \* were written as offered by cited authors. Turkish, Finnish, and Hungarian use Latinic letters. Their special characters or readings are given below:

## **Turkish**

*ç* like English *ch*

*ğ* non-stressed *gh*

*ı* between *a* and *i*, like Russian *byl*

*j* like the end of French *montage*

*ö* like the French *e* or *eux*

*ş* like English *sh*

*ü* like that in French *une*

## **Hungarian**

*c* like *ts*

*cs* like English *ch*

*gy* like *dy*, close to *dj*

*j* like *y*

*ly* like *y*

*ny* the same, like the end of *Bologna*

*ó* longer *o* of the English *on*

*ö* like the French *e* or *eux*

*ő* longer *ö*

*s* like *sh*

*sz* like *s*

*ú* longer *u* like the vowel of English *moon*

*ű* longer *ü* of the French *une*

*zs* like the end of French *montage*

**Finnish**

*j* like *y*

*y* like that in French *une*

*ä* like the vowel of English *cat*

*ö* like the French *e* or *eux*

## PREFACE

When Mr. Mehmet Cığerli of Bath, UK wrote to me in 2018 about his wish to translate my academic best-seller *Türklerin Kökeni* [Origins of the Turks] into English, I accepted but warned: The book was academic in nature, but its language was popular. I requested him to translate in that manner. Also, although it was not a thin book, I had not used all of my material for that book on the request of the publisher in order to not extend the space. Thus, I had to make additions, including a lot of new findings, to the translation. The result is a new book three times thicker than the Turkish original. The stylistic differences in the book are due to this. Almost two-thirds of the content was newly written by me, and the translated texts are also changed to a great degree. Mr. Cığerli read and reworked all of them, trying to unify these dispersed additions in a certain style, but the new sentences are clearly visible throughout the book. I apologise to the reader if that is the case. Consequently, this has become a new book and deserving of a new name that is not so very different from the Turkish original.

The word ‘Turk’ in the perception of the Western reader is associated with the Ottoman Empire, the mightiest Eastern power, controlling a great part of Southeast Europe which collapsed in the aftermath of WWI. Afterwards, the word was associated with the young Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923, which changed its course to the West, being consolidated with it by becoming a NATO member. However, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, there appeared five new Turkic states in 1991, and with the addition of the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus, the number of Turkic states became seven. The concerning public opinion, apart from the experts of the area, also became familiar with the great Turkic populations living in the Russian Federation, China, Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and some Balkan countries, among others. Today, about 200 million people spreading from the Balkans almost to the Pacific coasts, speak in a Turkic language or dialect, constituting the main entity in the vast Central Eurasian region.

It is an impossible mission to master the entire history of the Turks, and it is very difficult to know the linguistic features of all Turkic peoples, having at least 22 literary languages. Some historians count 118 states founded by the Turks. It is very difficult to even memorise their names. A

study on their ethnogenesis is the most challenging work among all concerning historical studies. I must remind you that only Peter B. Golden dealt with it in a long essay in 2008, though many scholars expressed their views on the origins of the Turks mostly in a few sentences. Thus, there are no proper antecedents of this study except for the paper of Prof. Golden. On the other hand, the concerning scholarship seems to have taken refuge in a simplistic way, by referring to the Altaic theory. That is, the Turkic language belongs to the Altaic family, which also contains Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, Korean and Japanese, and thus the Turkic origins should be, or rather must be sought somewhere there, for which there are not many alternatives. I would like the job to be so simple, but the Altaic theory has not yet been proven and any new scientific ideas cannot be based on facts that are not known in a sure sense. What if the Altaic theory is wrong?

A student of Turkic ethnogenesis and homeland must first of all be versed in the Old Turkic history, since it would show the course of the study. Sources of that history cannot be restricted to regional records, namely those written mainly in China and perhaps some other places in Asia. All the records of ancient and medieval times should be checked to be sure of whether there is some relevant information. We cannot *a priori* say that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* are not a source of Turkic history, if we, historiographers of the Turkic people, do not know about their content. To be able to detect the necessary information in the sources, the student should be talented in linguistic and cultural studies. Otherwise, he or she may not realise that a term occurring in an ancient text might be useful in the study.

In the very scant written sources, linguistic traces are of the utmost significance. Thus, we have to be familiar not only with the historical phases and peculiarities of Turkic, but also with its relations with other languages. If the usage of comparative linguistics remains within the predetermined borders (the so-called Altaic world, Iranian languages, Hungarian and a few other languages around), then the study would not advance beyond the known. The scope of the comparison should be as wide as possible and should regard all possibilities. A detective cannot disregard some clues or possibilities, and a student of this topic has to be like a detective, because we are in search of the unknown, and the known facts should not prevent us from extending our perspective. Therefore, not only readings on individual languages, but also Uralic and Indo-European level studies, among others, should be added to the list.

Historical and linguistic results should be checked against archaeological findings and be compatible with them; if not, they should not contradict

each other at least. Thus, we have to be familiar with the concerning literature and developments on archaeological studies. In Eurasia it is a very difficult task, since the material relics of old peoples and cultures in an immense region are very difficult to identify and to associate with other relics.

Ancient genetic studies have proved to be of utmost importance especially in the last two decades for those working in prehistory. Population genetics has developed in an unbelievable way. As solid data, we have to use this in our studies, and the results from historical sources, linguistics and archaeology also have to be compatible with the results of the genetic studies. It is more difficult to consubstantiate all of these than save a king placed in check by four rival chessmen at the same moment.

It is not possible for one person to deal with all of them, but somebody had to do it. I am not in a position to claim mastercraft in any of those scientific areas. I am relaxed, on the other hand, in having read almost all of the ancient and medieval sources from the east and west of the world, and being familiar with comparative linguistics, which is compulsory for a historian of ancient Eurasia. I believe that teaching at the university about the social history of old Eurasia for more than 15 years has provided me with a great accumulation on the cultural domain. Lastly, thanks to my earlier education, the language and logic of the physical sciences, i.e., genetics, were not incomprehensible for me, though I have used the genetic data in a tangential manner in this book so as not to make them completely incomprehensible for those readers who may have no familiarity with genetic issues.

Here is a new theory, or rather a new conclusion after several new theories on some concerning questions. A scientist would know that he always deals with possibilities; that is very normal, however, on the condition that he or she should regard other possibilities too. But, agnosticism should not be a *modus vivendi*. If we do not know something for certain, or it appears to be a far greater possibility compared to the others, then it should not be the base of our thesis. A defective base means an unusable building. In our case, I do not know and I cannot be sure that an Altaic family which also bounds Turkic exists. But I am or we are sure that Turkic is almost only close to the group of languages traditionally classified as Ural-Altaic, and not to another language. So, Turkic is not an isolated and independent language. Thus, it was surer and better to regard the boundaries of that greater notion, rather than to obey the Altaic theory, of which both its absence and existence wait to be proven.

I am usually careful both in writing and evaluating the data, but if there are some mistakes in this book in that regard, they belong to me entirely.

Some 30 years ago, Denis Sinor wrote that we were still at the dawn of Eurasian studies. It is a judgement of a great and avant-garde scholar of our area. We will always be grateful to the scientific accumulation of the previous generations, thanks to which we learned all the facts of Old Eurasian history that we know of. However, that should not mean the end of the story. Not only previous conclusions, but even an academic consensus can seal the debate. If we are at the dawn, there is too much to be done during the day, and I hope this book will be a humble contribution to further studies.

Indeed, further studies go on, in some ways with the help of the circumstances of especially the last decades, when people have gained endless facilities to reach knowledge thanks to the new technologies. Research, as well as communication, is now easier and cheaper. Consequently, it is not surprising that the population of 'researchers' has increased perhaps a hundred-fold in recent years. No need to underline that this process has also triggered a rise of learned illiterates. As for our working area, most of the time the results happened to be humorous and at other times jaw-dropping, as this case is left to people who are off the field and most of the times not scientific. Various inferences such as American Indians being Turkic or Proto-Turkic people who were living in Spain or Switzerland in ancient times turned the matter into a hornet's nest. These ridiculous and freaky ideas created a sceptical public opinion on this topic. Not surprisingly, the public, instead of paying attention to these illogical answers, chose to hold onto the claims which are not sufficient but which, at least have a reasonable consensus. Moreover, the claims of the conventional milieu are defending themselves by putting every new development of the second phase into the same pot with the other freaky ideas, whereas science means innovation. Both are unfavourable. The essentiality is not to find alliances on a certain matter, but instead to find sensible answers to the questions. As I will touch on this point in this book as well, there are many questions with unsatisfactory answers.

The writer of these lines, instead of reading the existing literature in many different languages and being praised by the conventional milieu by repeating the same information in a different manner, chose instead to embark on a whole new adventure because of the discomfort he has for these non-satisfactory answers. The work is tough, but the pleasant results we find take away all the tiredness. This is the beauty of science. Science is not the work of a clever man; clever men achieve their goals by following the short and easy path. A scientist, on the other hand, wastes his whole life in trying to answer the most troublesome questions.

This book is a product of a life-long accumulation. Surely, hundreds of people contributed and helped me during the collection of this content. During the writing process, Prof. Peter B. Golden and Prof. Anatoly M. Khazanov kindly and patiently replied to my endless questions. I'm lucky for having many friends to consult about Hungarian history and linguistics, including the Uralic dimension. Dr. Levent M. Yener helped me regulate especially the linguistic content in the Indo-European chapter. Denizcan Dede continuously informed me about the genetics literature. My wife was so very patient and kind as to not be angry about my working day and night. This book was brought into existence, however, by Mr. Mehmet Cığerli, who initially suggested translating it into English, and then read all that I had written again and again, not objecting to my continuous updates. Mainly Adam Rummens and Amanda Millar, among others, at CSP, I'm grateful to everybody who contributed to the appearance of this book, including the proof reader, Sue Morecroft. I must also confess that the isolated life under Corona circumstances let us find more time for our studies than is usual these days.

Izmir, June 17, 2021

# INTRODUCTION

## DEFINING THE TURKS

The year 1989 was an important turning point for the mutual destiny of humankind. In that year, socialism lost and hundreds of millions of people got their freedom back. Different nations, by taking strength from each other, started revolutions and dismantled the socialist system in their countries. Turkic people were the ones who benefited from this phenomenon the most as millions of Turks were living in captivity inside the Soviet Union. The strong majority of these people became independent.

Today, Turks are being represented by seven independent states: Turkey, Northern Cypriot Turkish Republic, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. There are also eleven self-governing regions in the name of the Turkic people (Karakalpakstan, Tatarstan, Chuvashia, Bashkortostan/Bashkiria, Karachay-Cherkessia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Tyva, Altay, Khakassia, Sakha/Yakutia and Eastern Turkistan/Xinjiang) and apart from these, there are many other regions which are not autonomous but the population is mostly Turkic. Because of the unhealthiness of the data (especially for China, Iran, Iraq and Syria) it is hard to know the exact population of the Turkic people, but we believe an estimation of 185 million people would most accurately capture the truth.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is my estimation based on the actual numbers given in <http://worldpopulationreview.com>, combined with my readings about the situation of individual Turkic groups in various countries. For an overview of this subject, see Nevzat Özkan, *Türk Dilinin Yurtları* (Ankara: Akçağ, 2002); B. Z. Avşar, F. Solak and S. Tosun, “Türklerin Demografisi (1950-2025)”, in *Türkler -I-*, eds. H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek and S. Koca (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 205-241. Turkic languages and their distribution can be found at a sufficient level in Peter B. Golden *An Introduction to the History of Turkic Peoples* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 19-25, 382-416. Hendrik Boeschoten, “The Speakers of Turkic Languages”, in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (London – New York: Routledge, 1998), 13-14, gives the number of Turkic language speaking people as 125 million in the mid-1990s however, he finds this number with highly cropped figures to be just 400,000 Turkmens in North Iraq and only 13 million



Turkey is the home of approximately one-third of the Turkic population in the world today. The interesting point is that, the homeland of the Turks is somewhere else and the area where Turkey is situated was settled by the Turks later. With the Azerbaijani and Cypriot Turks and with the minorities in the surrounding countries, whom we need to name as the Middle-Eastern and Balkan Turks, the regional population exceeds 100 million. Apart from the three independent states, those Turks who speak in the same dialect or dialectal group live in Iran, Georgia, Iraq, Syria, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Kosovo, Romania and Moldavia. Due to the dialectal unity, linguists classify them under the Western/Oghuz Turkic branch.<sup>2</sup> This sorting surely includes the Turkmenistan and Turkmen population in Khorasan (Northeast Iran) and Afghanistan as well. On the other hand, in Iran there is a Turkic group named “Khalaj” which does not speak Oghuz Turkic, although it is deeply influenced by it.

Linguistic classification is the easiest job for the Oghuz branch, but ethnic or identity names may be surprising for an outsider. For instance, of three men speaking almost in the same dialect with local variants, we call the one in Urfa (Turkey) “Turk”, the one in Kirkuk (Iraq) “Turkmen” and the one in Urmiye (Iran) “Azeri”, while the original and ancestral tribal name of all of them was “Oghuz”. This is the cumulative result of the mistakes that were not paid attention to and fixed in the course of time. From a different aspect, this case shows us an example of the possibility that people coming from the same kindred and even the same tribe, can carry different names as time goes by.

Getting away from the Turkey example, we will go to the broader and older perspective, and try to find the origin of the Turks that is in the depths of history. Even though today, the name Turkey has a constitutional background, it was naturally settled by itself. The borders were different at the time of the Saljukids and Ottomans, the places where Turks conquered and settled in masses were always known as Turkey.<sup>3</sup> Ottomans, in

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Azerbaijanis in Iran. With minimal revision and considering the population growth rate one would again find the number we suggested.

<sup>2</sup> Lars Johanson, “The History of Turkic”, in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. L. Johanson and É. Á. Csató (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 82.

<sup>3</sup> Tuncer Baykara, “Türklüğün En Eski Zamanları”, in *Türkler -I-*, eds. H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek and S. Koca (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 287. For instance, even in the strongest times of the Ottoman Empire, the name of the country was Turkey. The Habsburg envoys that came to Istanbul in 1530 visited “Turkischen Keiser Soleyman” (Benedict Curipeschitz, Benedict Curipeschitz, *Yolculuk Günlüğü 1530*, trans. Ö. Nutku (Ankara: TTK, 1989), 5. According to the Polish-Russian Matvej Mehovskij who wrote in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Osman Gazi, the founder of the

particular, were named as Turks by the other people and it was an accurate name as they created the dense Turkish population living in the aforesaid region today.

The Turkification of Anatolia is a thousand-year-old process. One leg of this process was completed with the battle of Manzikert in 1071, and the other leg of the process is still ongoing. An ethnic process can never be stopped, it will either continue onwards or backwards. The onward process would mean assimilating other people that Turkic people come into contact with, and the backwards process would mean its own people would be dissolved inside different nations. While many people from different nations Turkified during the early ages of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish tribes of Southeastern Anatolia had a rapid Kurdification in the last five centuries, and a large Kurdish population appeared out of almost nowhere.<sup>4</sup>

Similarly, many immigrants of Turkic descent from the Caucasus believe they are Circassians because Anatolian natives call them that. There are even some people assuming that the Turkic Karachay-Balkar, Kumuk and Nogay languages are Circassian. Here, there is no alteration in the language, but the matching of Circassians with every person coming from the Caucasus creates a perception of ethnic identity. Also, Ossetians, Chechens, Avars, and other Caucasians are wrongly assumed to be Circassian. In reality, among the people who call themselves Circassian in Turkey, probably only one out of five are Circassian proper.<sup>5</sup>

Around the world, populations change, and one nation takes the place of another. Except for a few examples, people do not disappear with ethnic cleansing but instead change their identities in general. When a people invade another country, the civilian people, and especially villagers, are seen as captives, and they are allowed to live. Mostly within a few generations, the old and the new start to blend, and usually the language of the majority becomes the common language. In time the other language completely disappears, and these two different peoples begin to be named as one.

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Ottoman Empire, and his successors were “Turkish Kings”: Matvej Mehovskij, *Traktat o dnuh Sarmatijah*, trans. S. A. Anninskij (Ryazan: Aleksandria, 2009), 86.

<sup>4</sup> While writing “out of nowhere”, surely, I know about the Kurds who were living on the Hakkari-Diyarbakır line (southeast angle of today’s Turkey) before the Turks came, but that was all. It is not possible to talk about Kurds living in Urfa, Van or Muş at that time. Those places in the region were completely and densely populated by the Armenians when the Turks came.

<sup>5</sup> A. Tayyar Önder, *Türkiye’nin Etnik Yapısı*, 32<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Ankara: Kripto, 2007), 3, 293-302.

For instance, the Bulgars were a Turkic tribe. They came to the Balkans, defeated the Byzantines and founded a state on the lower Danube basin. The Slavic population of the region came under their hegemony. However, Bulgars were low in number, and in time they lost their language within the crowded Slavic population over which they ruled, and thus the Turkic speaking ruling minority was Slavicised. Conversely, their subjects adopted the name Bulgar which was, in reality, belonging to the Turkic people. For this reason, the (proto-) Bulgars of the distant past and the Bulgarians today are different from each other.<sup>6</sup>

The same happened in Russia as well. The Rus' were originally a Swedish tribe. They founded small states in Eastern Europe by taking under their rule the Slavs who are thousands of times more numerous than themselves. They also lost their language after a couple of generations but their name remained. While the old Rus' were Swedish, so, a Germanic tribe, the Russians today are Slavic.

The making of France is also a similar story. The old Gaul people, after they yielded to Caesar, began to quickly lose their language, and a Vulgar Latin was spread amongst them. Thus, with the influence of Latin, the language changed almost without any change in the ethnic structure of the population. Subsequently, the Franks who were a Germanic tribe became the rulers of this territory and eventually they adopted the local Vulgar Latin. Today, the people of France are Gallic descendants to a large extent, but their language came from Italy, and their name came from Germany.<sup>7</sup>

Some academics who believe that most of the examples happened in this way think that the same happened during the Turkification process of Anatolia as well, meaning that the new invading nation transformed the existing one and concentrated them all in one identity. More specifically, they claim that a significant number of Anatolian Turks are actually pre-Turkish natives.

However, the process in Anatolia actually happened differently. The Turkification of Anatolia refers not to the transformation of the existing

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<sup>6</sup> There is an abundant literature on the Bulgars. Their early history can best be read in English in Steven Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1930). Also see the parts in Golden, *Introduction*, 95-104, 244-258. We will be back to the Bulgars in the next chapter.

<sup>7</sup> M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), 1-22. Also see Jacqueline Vaissière, "From Latin to Modern French: On Diachronic Changes and Synchronic Variations", *AIPUK, Arbetisberitche, Institut für Phonetik und digitale Sprachverarbeitung* (Kiel: Universität Kiel, 1996), 62-63.

population but instead to the change in the ratio of the population with intense migrations.<sup>8</sup> First of all, there is a fact of uninterrupted wars from the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century within the Byzantine realm. Since Byzantium had lost the Balkans to the Slavs and Avars by the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, except for, what are today, Greece and neighbouring small lands, Anatolia remained as almost the unique human source for the empire, and its population was continuously eroded during the wars, first with Sassanid Iran and then with the Arabs. The powerful Bulgar state founded in 681 in the lower Danube basin also had Byzantium expend too many ‘Roman’ males, mostly from Anatolian troops. Though Byzantium started to visibly rise again from the reign of Basileios I (867-886) on, this did not mean an interruption of the erosion of the population. This can be observed in the westward spread of the Armenians in Eastern Anatolia, who were not much influenced by the Arabic conquests since they were usually comfortable with them from the first days on (the 640s). They, now being subjects of Byzantium, gradually moved towards the less populated Central and Southern Anatolia in those days.

The Oghuz tribes came to (Central) Anatolia beginning in the 1070s in great numbers. The great battle between the Byzantine army and the Saljukid-led Oghuz forces was fought in 1071 in the easternmost Manzikert, and only five years later, in 1076 the westernmost city of Nicea was the capital of the newly founded Anatolian Saljukid state. So, here is a numerical reality.<sup>9</sup> Vryonis asserts that the Crusaders who came to

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<sup>8</sup> Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslam Medeniyeti*, 8th ed. (İstanbul: Ötügen, 2003), 277-280; idem, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (İstanbul: Boğaziçi, 2002), 37-44; Mehmet Şeker, “Anadolu’nun Türk Vatanı Haline Gelmesi”, in *Türkler -I-*, eds. H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek and S. Koca (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 269-282. The rise of the Saljukids in the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century was the most important event in Islamic history after four centuries, giving an end to the Arabic character and dominance in Islamic lands and starting the Turkish age in the Middle East and Mediterranean. Edmund Bosworth wrote in detail about the Great Saljukid period in *The New Cambridge History of Islam* (2010, Vol. III, 33-77). However, Gary Leiser wrote only a small chapter on the Anatolian Saljukids (Vol II, 301-312). *The Cambridge History of Islam* ed. by Holt, Lambton and Lewis in 1970 covers those items in a different way. B. Spuler tells briefly of the Great Saljukid period (Vol. IA, 149-158), and O. Turan about the Anatolian Saljukids in detail (Vol. IA, 231-262), in which the Turkification of Anatolia can best be read in English. Also see Mustafa Kafalı, “The Conquest and Turkification of Anatolia”, in *The Turks -II-*, eds. H. C. Güzel, C. C. Oğuz and O. Karatay (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 402-417.

<sup>9</sup> M. Fuat Köprülü, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşu* (Ankara: Alfa, 2003), 71-72.

Anatolia in 1096 constantly saw Turkish soldiers, but Christian civilians, thereby objecting to the claim of the numerical superiority of Turks who came to Anatolia.<sup>10</sup> Surely that should be the case if one assumes that nomadic Turkic tribes stayed where they were, like settled locals and waited for the Crusaders in their villages, especially with their women and children...

We do not have the data to calculate the populations, but it is known that the Byzantine Empire could not find troops and the human resources to defend itself even in the most vital instances. In contrast to this, even small Turkish beyliks (princelings) in Anatolia were able to muster substantial numbers of soldiers and had no problem in conquering castles, which is a tough task for nomads. For example, Tutak Bey, who came in the name of Melik Shah (Sultan of the Saljukid Empire), entered Anatolia with an army of 100,000.<sup>11</sup> This number may be exaggerated; however, we should not forget that Romanos IV Diogenes (Byzantine Emperor, 1068-1071), for the battle of Manzikert, by gathering troops from everywhere, including Balkan Turks and Armenians, only managed to muster 200,000.

The sources from that period state that the rural area was totally emptied by the 'Greek' villagers. Also, cities were not completely Greek populated places either.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, there is the issue of the inhabitants moving away to the coasts, and from there to the Aegean islands and the Balkans as well.<sup>13</sup> By the Balkans I also mean Constantinople.

Secondly, there is a difference of religion in between, which always separated people from each other especially before the era of nationalism. It is, in this manner, very important to protect the identities of different nations. Even though they newly accepted Islam, the Oghuz tribes also saw the local Christian population as religious 'others' in Anatolia. This does not exclude the fact that for about nine centuries there were countless intermarriages, but a massive Turkification or Islamisation of the natives was not the case in Anatolia. In Eastern Europe, one of the reasons for non-Muslim Turks to melt away so quickly was that they immediately blended with the natives there. The same did not happen to the Turks who came to Anatolia, and Islam has a certain role in this. As they did not so much blend in with the Greeks and Armenians, the Turks in Anatolia kept

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<sup>10</sup> Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1971), 180.

<sup>11</sup> Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 37.

<sup>12</sup> Köprülü, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşu*, 73-75; Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 165, 168.

<sup>13</sup> Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 169.

their language and identity. And, in the same way, the local Christian population kept itself for about nine centuries, by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, among the Turks.

The environment in both the Anatolian Saljukid (1076-1308) and Ottoman (1299-1922) Empires was liberal and free enough for other groups to preserve their identity, culture and language. It should be noted that the first Ottoman Parliament on March 19, 1877, was constituted of deputies from fourteen nationalities. With a population so diverse, the Ottoman Empire did not pursue a nationalist policy and instead imposed the “Ottoman” identity. The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century changed this policy as the Empire with the territories lost was left with a highly Turkish population. Hence, the Empire in its last years and its successor Turkey employed a more nationalist agenda. It was because of this that from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards some Greeks and Armenians remaining in Turkey, in view, have chosen to change their language and religion, and are still living with their covered identities. Among them, there are political leaders, ministers, influential businessmen and many more.

Another important issue when talking about Anatolia is the word “Rum”, which dates back to long ago in oriental literature, and is still used today in Turkey. The word primarily refers to the subjects of Rome, and has no ethnic meaning in it. However, today many people wrongly identify the Rums, Hellenised Anatolian natives, with the Greeks. Though they both speak the same language and have almost the same culture, the Ottoman Turks were aware of the difference, and used the two words to signify two separate peoples. Anatolia started to come under Roman rule in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Before the Romans came, there were around forty different nations there that were mostly foreigners to one another. From the carcass of the old Hittites and Hattians to the Lydians and Lykians in Western Anatolia, to the newcomer Phrygians and Galatians and to other scraps of nations which were once united under the Urartu in East Anatolia with roots belonging somewhere else, these lands were, so to speak, a salad of peoples.

The small size of all these peoples made it easy for them to unify under the Roman identity. It is not possible to say how long each of them held on to its language and culture but, at the end, the entirety of the Anatolian people became “Roman”. Turks essentially got the word “Rum” from the Arabs and Persians; that was the way they referred to “Romans”.

The language of the Roman Empire was Latin. This language has spread among a particular population in the Balkans, and thus today's Romanian language emerged, but we do not see such a spread in Anatolia. From the time of Heraclius (the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century) when Greek

became dominant as the official language in the Byzantine Empire,<sup>14</sup> also with the effect of its being the language in the church, the other regional, small languages in Anatolia disappeared in time. In the 6<sup>th</sup> century, some people in Anatolia were still speaking ancient languages such as Phrygian, Galatian and Lykian. It is believed that the complete disappearance of Phrygian took until the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>15</sup>

There were some who escaped Hellenisation, to a great degree thanks to geographical distance, and primarily because of their national Church organisation. Those were Armenians (they call themselves ‘Hay’) in Eastern Anatolia, Georgians (‘Kartvel’) to their north and Assyrian/Syriac peoples to their south. Apart from these, small ethnic groups in other parts of Anatolia accepted Greek, the official language of the Empire, to communicate with the church, with the Byzantine authorities and with the other groups of Anatolia. Thus, these “Rums” were united under one state and one language. Therefore, the Rums in Anatolia are completely different from the Greeks in Greece; no lineage is involved.

The Turks of the Oghuz branch under the Saljukids came to this land populated with “Rums”, and as written before, finding it mostly unfrequented/lowly populated, they captured the territory rather quickly. They didn’t commit massacres in the places they occupied. Everybody that remained, kept on living in the areas where they were. We can predict in the light of sources that the agricultural structure was damaged as the Turks were then nomads and also the people evacuated the villages and accumulated in cities for security purposes.<sup>16</sup> The factor that separated the Turkification of Anatolia from identity changing processes in other places around the world was precisely this. Almost everywhere the peasants stayed where they were and bowed to their new masters, however, when the Turks came, the countryside emptied, and the new peasant class was made up of Turks. Excluding the Armenian population in Eastern Anatolia and the indigenous peoples in the eastern Black Sea, which were seized very late, it is for this reason that almost all of the agricultural population in the rest of Anatolia is Turkic. Of course, we must say here, that nationality is a matter of heart and culture, not genealogy.

Ethnic processes in Anatolia among the Turks did not include much mingling of the various peoples, but a change of ethnonyms. The tribal name “Oghuz” was forgotten in the early generations of the conquerors;

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<sup>14</sup> George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. Hussey (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1968), 106.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Charanis, “Ethnic Changes in the Byzantine Empire in the Seventh Century”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959), 25-27.

<sup>16</sup> Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 40.

the synonymous word “Turkmen” got narrower in meaning, and the superior ethnonym “Turk” spread instead. This is almost a unique case in Eurasian history. We can associate this with the Arabs, Persians and Byzantines calling these newcomers Turks, but a judgement of these people not being aware of the name “Turk” would not be right either. The ethnic organisation of the Turks in a traditional structure contains such a scheme: *Uruk* (clan) > *boy* (tribe) > *bodun* (tribal union). The historical peoples, Oghuz, Kipchak and Bulgar, and the contemporary Kazakh, Kyrgyz, etc., are indeed *boduns*. The name ‘Türk’, coming from the so-called ‘Kök (celestial) Türk’ *bodun* that had united most of the Eurasian steppes under its domination in the 6-8<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, was later used by other people to denote all *boduns*, namely, the union of tribal unions.<sup>17</sup> Thus, every people had four ethnic names, apart from their family names. The name of the tribal union ranked first. From that point of view, the replacement of the *bodun* name ‘Oghuz’ with the ethnonym ‘Turk’ is very exceptional in Turkic history, compared to the long-enduring trends.

Today, the word Turk has a twofold meaning. With the adjective ‘Turkish’ it signifies people of Turkey and their relatives in the surrounding countries. With the adjective ‘Turkic’, one means those 185 million people belonging to the same linguistic family and having common historical and genealogical roots. ‘Non-Turkish’ Turks call themselves by their own national or *bodun* names, each having its own story and history: Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Uyghur, Tatar, Bashkir, etc. Except for the Turkic peoples having adopted a sedentary life earlier (Turks of Turkey, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, etc., Tatars, Uyghurs and Uzbeks), those maintaining a nomadic way of life by the New Ages (Turkmens of Turkmenistan, Karakalpaks, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, etc.) keep even today their clan and tribal names as sub-national identities. By the way, I have employed in this book the word ‘Türk’ for the tribe or tribal union before the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and used ‘Kök Türk’ for their imperial ages between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries.

So, the common name of this 185 million who speak the same language and have the same roots could have easily been something else, if the medieval adventure of the word ‘Turk’ had been different. For example, it could have been Tatar. This book’s name would have been “Genesis of the Tatars”, and with this, we could have defined a wide world from Kosovo to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. The common name could

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<sup>17</sup> Vladimir V. Bartol’d, *Tyurki. Dvenadcat’ lekcii po istorii tureckih narodov Srednej Azii* (Almaty: Žalyn, 1998), 24; Peter B. Golden, “Ethnogenesis in the Tribal Zone: The Shaping of the Türks”, *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 16 (2008-2009), 111.



have remained as Saka (Scythian), Hun or something else, and the name Turk may have only been known from history, just like many tribal names that have been lost throughout history.<sup>18</sup> It is evident here that, the existence of ethnicities is not tied to ethnic names. That is why the search for the origins of these people in history is not principally a search for the word “Turk”.

However, as we said earlier, in the last 1500 years, the tribe which had the name “Turk” and was probably low in number played a crucial and decisive role in history and that is why this name gained prominence. Old and new findings showed that this definition had a meaning and frequency far beyond the establishment of the Kök Türk state and its 200 years of lifespan. This not only refers to a prevalence between the eastern and western extremities of the Eurasian continent but also to a presence in the depths of history.

That is why, I will dwell on this name, and as it will be noticed throughout this book, the word “Turk” will be a pathfinder in this research, besides some other ethnic names. The careful following of this word may lead us to some other names of the same origin in previous times.

The academics who worked on the ancient times of Turks always referred to Chinese sources. Thus they believed that the word appears first in the 530s AD. In Iranian sources, Turk is known as a tribal name from the 420s onwards.<sup>19</sup> There are explanations such as helmet, power, and force in the old sources related to the meaning of the word “Turk”. Contemporary scholars are coming up with some propositions leaning on these explanations or to their own ideas, such as *törük* ‘created’, from the verb *törü-* “to be created”.<sup>20</sup> These are all assumptions, and we do not have the data in our hand to give the exact truth.

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<sup>18</sup> Historical practices in ethnic nomenclature and patterns, and their historical applications among the Turks can be found in Zakiev, which I do not completely agree with: *Proishozhdenie Tjurkov i Tatar* (Moskva: Insan, 2003), 48 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Tuncer Baykara, *Türk Adının Anlamı* (Ankara: AKM, 1998), 34-36; Golden, *Introduction*, 116-117.

<sup>20</sup> Baykara, *Türk Adının Anlamı*, 49-51; Golden, *Introduction*, 117; Golden, “Ethnogenesis in the Tribal Zone”, 99-100.

# CHAPTER 1

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE TURKS

Before getting into the topic, a couple of sentences are needed on the geopolitical structure of Eurasia, the place where the old history of the Turkic people has been staged. Usually, it is believed that this word expresses Europe and Asia together, and the area where the Turkic people were for a long time in history is called Inner Eurasia.<sup>21</sup> For a historian of Eurasia, however, it would correspond to the area from the Hungarian plains to Manchuria. In this book, I will accord with this definition.

This 'inner' Eurasia should be divided into three sections, both geographically and geopolitically: 1) The Eastern steppes containing Mongolia with its north and south which are situated to the east of the line between the Altay and Tien-Shan mountains, including Eastern Turkistan. 2) From there to the Caspian Sea, the Middle steppes, or Western Turkistan. 3) Starting from the Caspian plains including the Hungarian plains and stretching to the foothills of the Austrian Alps, are the Western steppes. To the north of this area, there is a forest belt. The south is closed, sometimes with desserts and sometimes mountains, thus it is separated physically from the south of Asia. In the western parts of this internal continent, the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus, the Black Sea and the Danube River are natural borders with the south.

The history of the Turkic peoples is usually commenced with the East Asian Xiong-nu/Hun Empire. However, it is understood today, that there is nothing wrong in starting to talk about Turkic history and culture with the Saka (also referred to as Scythian) Empire. The ethnic and linguistic identity of the Sakas is subject to great debates. We'll spend a chapter on them. The Sakas, a key nation in the midst of the first millennium BC, had established dominance in a large area starting from the Chinese borders and stretching to the Carpathians. They were the people who founded the first known Eurasian state. In the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, they went to the Middle East and kept the area in their hands for as long as 28 years. After being

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<sup>21</sup> Denis Sinor, *Inner Asia: History, Civilization, Languages*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, 1987), 1.

defeated by the Medeans with trickery, while retreating, some of their subjects took refuge in the area which is today the Hakkari Province of Turkey. After preserving their culture for centuries, they mixed with the local people, but we can still see today the marks of Sakas in Hakkari.<sup>22</sup>

*Oğuzname*, which is the saga on the origins of the Oghuz Turks, seems to be based on the events of the Saka period. Oghuz Khan, the eponymous ancestor of the Oghuz union, is indeed not the name of a person. It means the Khan of the Oghuz tribes, so, it points to the founding father. As the Oghuz were a nation of Western Turkistan, the events in the saga are also set in the area around the Caspian Sea. The conquest of the Middle East by Oghuz Khan in the legend corresponds perfectly with the Saka conquests of the Middle East in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup>

Some of the legendary motives transferred to the Oghuz people<sup>24</sup> through Sakas were also probably transmitted to Iran by the Parthians who, coming from Western Turkistan, routed the last Macedonians in Iran and founded a state from 250 BC onwards. These elements were later adopted by the Persians and included in their *Khodanamağ* (Book of the Kings) books. The Persian books have not survived, but their content is known primarily thanks to Tabari and Ferdowsi of the Islamic period, who wrote voluminous books on the mythological and legendary past of the Iranians. It is because of this that some activities of the legendary sublime emperor Faridûn of the golden age of Iran resemble those of Oghuz Khan, the legendary sublime emperor of the Turks. Isn't it interesting? Not only

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<sup>22</sup> Veli Sevin who excavated in the region, first wrote an article about his findings (V. Sevin and A. Özfırat, "Hakkari Stelleri: Doğu Anadolu'da Savaşçı Çobanlar – ilk not" *Bellekten* 65, 243 (August 2001), 301-330), and then turned it into a book.

<sup>23</sup> Contrary to the claims identifying Oghuz Khan with the Xiong-nu ruler Mo-tun (209-174 BC), I suggested looking for him in the Saka world, following some previous proposals (Osman Karatay, *İran ile Turan: Eskiçağda Avrasya ve Ortadoğu'yu Hayal Etmek*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2019), 257-272; idem, "Oğuz Han'ın Kimliği ve Tarihi Kişiliği Üzerine", in *Çağdaş Bilimler Işığında Oğuz Kağan Destanı*, ed. A. R. Özdemir (Ankara: Kripto, 2014), 21-36). The legend with various versions contains a bulk of events that can be traced in real history, and a great many of them are accumulated in the Saga age developments. I'll touch briefly on this topic in the Saka chapter.

<sup>24</sup> According to the Chinese chronicle *Chou-shu*, written in the 620s, ancestors of the (Kök) Türks descend from the So state located to the north of the Xiong-nu (Liu Mau-Tsai, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Doğu Türkleri*, trans. E. Kayaoğlu and D. Banoğlu (İstanbul: Selenge, 2006), 14; Peter B. Golden, "The Ethnogenic Tales of the Türks", *The Medieval History Journal* 21, 2 (2018), 10). János Harmatta, "A türkök eredetmondája", *Magyar Nyelv* 95, 4 (December 1999), 391, identifies this So people with the Saka.

the stories but also the personage of the great ruler of the Iranian golden age are associated with the Turks.

The Great Saka confederation collapsed in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Other tribes and confederations arose to take its place. The most important one amongst them was the Sarmatians who, from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, spread from today's Bashkiria to the west, and became an important people in East European history. Below, we will talk about them in detail in a separate chapter.

Probably at the same time as the Sarmatians, in the eastern steppes which the Saka never ruled over, the Xiong-nu arose. Even though Chinese sources refer to them as early as the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC, their history that we know of starts around the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and even then, it is dark. Around 209 BC, the famous Mo-tun became their ruler and took control of today's Mongolia along with its north and south. He carried his nation to the area west of the Altaic ranges. Various tribes in the South Siberian belt that we can see as ancestors of the Kyrgyz, Suvar and Ogur people came under the Xiong-nu rule.<sup>25</sup>

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, the Xiong-nu power was gone. The eastern steppes were largely emptied. While many of the defeated Huns accumulated in the western parts of Central Asia, those who had surrendered to the Chinese took control of Northern China in time, and founded many states. Thereby, the Chinese who terminated the Xiong-nu Empire, in the end, came under the rule of the Huns who had once yielded to them. However, as time went by, these Huns would eventually be assimilated under Chinese culture.

Some of the Huns who slid to the west founded the White Hun Empire on the land which is now Uzbekistan and Afghanistan. Because of the ruling dynasty, they are also called the "Ephthalites". The course which was

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<sup>25</sup> The most fundamental books on the Great Xiong-nu/Hun Empire belong to Ögel in Turkish, see Bahaeddin Ögel, *Büyük Hun İmparatorluğu Tarihi* (Ankara: MEB Yayınları, 1981), which is a detailed work of political history, and to Kradin in Russian, see Nikolaj N. Kradin, *Imperija Hunnu*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Moskva: Logos, 2001), which is a new book not ignoring social history as well. In English, more than half of the book of Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies. The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), 161-312, deals with the Xiong-nu, with less political history and more analysis of the Chinese policies of the north. Turkish historiography unhesitatingly combines the Xiong-nu with the later Central Asian and European Huns. There are, however, objections on the identification of the two. Recently, Étienne de la Vaissière recollected the material and debated the Xiong-nu–Hun relation ("Huns et Xiong-nu", *Central Asiatic Journal* 49, 1 (2005), 3-26). He confirms that the later Huns are only a continuation and branch of the once Xiong-nu.

conceptualised as the Iran-Turan rivalry is best fit for the Sassanid-Ephtalite contention. It is observed that these Huns were often involved in Iranian affairs. The existence of the White Hun Empire was ended by the Kök Türks around 557 AD. Some of the Huns on the other hand, passed through northern Aral to Europe (375 AD); their power increased with the additional Turkic and foreigner tribes that joined them on their journey. They gained control of the Black Sea steppes by defeating the Alans and the Goths there. They continuously shifted to the west and made today's Hungarian plains the centre of their empire. They exercised their power over the whole of Europe by repressing the East and West Roman Empires and the non-allied Germanic tribes. The Empire was at its zenith around the 440s when Atilla was the ruler. After his death in 453, the Empire started to lose its power, and finally collapsed in the year 469, when its remnants retreated to easternmost Europe.<sup>26</sup>

Irnek, the youngest son of Atilla, was the ruler of the retreating Huns. They seemed to continue their polity in the Northern Caucasus, by exercising their power over the local Turkic and non-Turkic populations. Amongst them, the most important one was the Bulgars, and it is for this reason, it seems, that even though the ruling dynasty stayed the same, its name changed from Hun to Bulgar in the course of time. In earlier generations, sources use both names simultaneously for the same people.<sup>27</sup> This Hun-Bulgar union did not evolve into a big state in the first generations, and during this time, Eastern Europe turned into a playground for many independent Turkic tribes. This situation lasted until 558 when firstly the Avars, and then the Kök Türks who were chasing them, came. The former took control all over Central Europe, while the latter were spreading their hegemony over the Caucasus.

From the fall of the Xiong-nu in 216 AD to the foundation or rather proclamation of independence of the Kök Türk Empire in the year 551, there was no great empire in the Eastern Steppes, except for some transient

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<sup>26</sup> There are countless studies on the European Huns in Western languages, the two eminent monographs in English being those of Otto J. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns. Studies in Their History and Culture* (Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1973) and Thompson, *A History of Atilla and the Huns* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1948).

<sup>27</sup> The Hunno-Bulgar affiliation represented in sources is due to the aforesaid political situation. Though both are Turkic peoples, the Bulgars were not a tribe of the Hunnic union, but an independent *budun* (tribal union). They came to the northern slopes of the Caucasus likely from the South of Central Asia, visibly from Transoxiana. See O. Karatay, "The Bulgars in Transoxiana: Some Inferences from Early Islamic Sources", *Migracijske i Etničke Teme* 35, 1-2 (2009), 69-88.

polities like the Xian-bei and Juan-juan, just as there weren't any in China, which was divided by several states founded mostly by foreigners from the north. Even though sometimes the rising powers were spread over a large area, their dominance was short-lived. One of these powers was the folk who were called Apar/Avar by the Kök Türks, and Juan-juan by the Chinese. These people, whose rulers were called 'qagan' (Old Turkic word for 'emperor'), were believed to be Mongolic, but this is not certain. At least we can say that the European Avars having the same name, fleeing from the Kök Türks in the 550s, were not Mongolic, since the linguistic material that they left, though not in a satisfactory amount, points to them being Turkic.<sup>28</sup>

Another issue is the relationship of the Avars/Juan-juan in the east with the Ephtalites or White Huns. The latter were defeated by the Kök Türks in the mid-550s and escaped to Eastern Europe, where they appeared in 558 with the name Avar. A Kök Türk ruler informed the Byzantine envoys that those Avars fleeing to Europe were 'pseudo-Avars'; the real Avars were in the east and crushed to their death by the Kök Türks. This has been much debated in academic studies. Czeglédy showed that the Juan-juan, White Huns and Europeans Avars shared the dual ethnonym Avar-Hun and were thus of the same stock.<sup>29</sup> Pohl, the author of a brilliant monograph on the European Avars, separates them from those in Mongolia, underlining that the latter could not have migrated to Europe in the light of the events recorded; and associates the former with the White Hun fugitives in Europe.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, it seems more correct to see the Avars in the east as folk sharing the ancient Hunnic cultural and ethnic heritage. The before-mentioned people of the Türk tribe or tribal union living in the Altay Mountains were their subjects before their independence in 551. They routed the eastern Avars; and the survivors ran away from them and sheltered in China and Korea. A couple of years after

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<sup>28</sup> Gyula Németh, *A Honfoglaló Magyarság Kialakulása* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1930), 103-104, believes this with certainty. Golden, *Introduction*, 110, accepts the recorded words are mostly Turkic, but warns that the Avars were indeed a confederal entity, thus also containing many other elements.

<sup>29</sup> Károly Czeglédy, "From East to West: The Age of Nomadic Migrations in Eurasia," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 3 (1983), 117-120. Golden, who translated this essay from Hungarian to English, shares his stance: *Introduction*, 109. See the discussion in Walter Pohl, who objects to some details of the debate: *The Avars. A Steppe Empire in Central Europe, 567-822* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2018), 38-46.

<sup>30</sup> Pohl, *The Avars*, 36-37.

this, the Kök Türks attacked the White Huns/Ephtalites/Western Avars as well, and took control of West Turkistan by the year 557.

Envoys of the fugitive Avars appeared in the Byzantine court in 558, having defeated the peoples to the north of the Caucasus. Not being sure of the Kök Türks chasing them, they moved further west and settled in what is today Hungary by 562. They took control of a considerable part of Central Europe, deported the Germanic tribes, Gepids and Langobards from there, and established their own empire, which would continue, by the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, as a mighty player of international affairs in Europe. Avars were responsible for the making of today's Balkans. As they were low in numbers, they used the crowded Slavic population of the region as a human source against the Byzantine Empire. Thus, Avar-led or mostly independent Slavic gangs<sup>31</sup> destroyed the Balkan provinces of the Empire, and killed or wiped out the native inhabitants in the last decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Since the Empire could not stop them, they eventually settled in the Balkans.<sup>32</sup> Thus not only was most of the Balkans Slavicised, but also several peoples like the Thracians, Illyrians and Dardans disappeared from history.

Even though the Kök Türk Empire in a short time ruled over a large area from Korea to the Black Sea, its existence was not stable or long. It was not only frequent revolts that weakened the state, but also in the year 576, after just 25 years, the trans-Eurasian empire was split into two political entities as the east and west wings. In the year 630, both entities were dissolved because of the internal rivalries mostly provoked by the Chinese. The East Kök Türks came directly under the control of China. After an interregnum of 50 years, the state was founded again in the east in 682, but it remained within the borders of the eastern steppes and could not control West Turkistan, except for a few punitive expeditions. The famous Orhon runic inscriptions are from this period. Eventually, this second Kök Türk state was also collapsed in the year 744 with the revolt of three other Turkic tribal unions (Uyghur, Karluk and Basmil), which were under its rule.

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<sup>31</sup> Florin Curta concludes that Slavs had no 'chiefs' before c. 560 (*The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c.500-700* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), 332). This coincides with the coming of the Avars and supports the idea that the latter organised, used and 'abused' the Slavs in their imperial exertions. However, they were unable to control all Slavs pouring into the Balkans, and thus sometimes we see Byzantium and Avars together against the Slavs, especially against those entering the peninsula from the northeast.

<sup>32</sup> Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 81.

In the eastern steppes, Uyghurs took the place of the Kök Türks and founded a strong and stable state which lasted a hundred years. The first thing they did was to banish the allied Karluks. The latter, while westwardly migrating, bumped into the battle of Talas between the Chinese and the Arabs in the year 751. They chose to fight on the side of the Arabs and expelled the Chinese from Central Asia for good. Even though the Uyghurs in the east did not control a vast area except for the eastern steppes, they draw attention by always being superior to the Chinese and meddling in their internal affairs. They mostly 'saved' China from their internal and external enemies and problems. The An-lu-shan rebellion, the greatest one in the long Chinese history, was subdued by them. However, internal strife weakened the state in the 830s, and a Kyrgyz army guided by rival Uyghurs suddenly attacked them in the year 840 to destroy their roots.<sup>33</sup>

The majority of the surviving Uyghurs migrated to the southwest, to what is today Eastern Turkistan (now the Chinese province of Xinjiang), and some of them took refuge with their eastern neighbours, the Mongolic Qitans. Eastern Turkistan is nothing more than the huge Taklamakan desert with its extensions. To the north is the Jungarian pass between the Altaic and Tian-Shan (Turkic 'Tanrı') ranges, connecting the Eastern and Middle Eurasian steppes. There are, however, many great oases where there have been cities and villages on the historical Silk Route, subsisting on trade and agriculture. Therefore, the Uyghurs had to leave behind their nomadic lifestyle in the new environment and they adopted a sedentary life. There appeared a glorious civilisation. One of the richest medieval written collections and archives, not only in Turkic but also in almost all written languages of the age was left by them. The Uyghurs became allies of the Mongols of Genghis Khan at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and thus were not harmed by their invasions. Instead, they provided the Genghisids with the core of state bureaucracy, and became the 'brain' of the huge empire as enlightened officials.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> A basic monograph in English to read about the 'imperial' Uyghurs is the book of Colin Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories: A Study in Sino-Uighur Relations, 744-840* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973).

<sup>34</sup> Eastern Turkistan was the last discovered land on the Earth by the Westerners at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Scientific expeditions by the beginning of the First World War of British (Hungarian), French, German, Russian and Japanese teams are indeed real and marvellous stories in search of a lost world. Lajos Ligeti in his famous book *Az ismeretlen Belső-Ázsia* (Budapest: Athenaeum Kiadás, 1940) tells of those expeditions.



The Kyrgyz who banished the Uyghurs from the eastern steppes in 840 did not themselves settle there either. These empty plains were then settled by the Mongols who came from the east. From this time onwards, no Turkic people ever lived in today's Central Mongolia.

After the collapse of the Western Kōk Türk Empire (from 630 on, there was a great upheaval, and in 659, the death of the last qagan) no strong state was founded in Western Turkistan either. For a time, the Türgish Qaganate had arisen. This was the time when Islam armies reached the borders of Turkistan. There were some battles between these two sides. The Türgish polity dismembered in 738 and there started a stateless era of Central Asian Turks. The warlike Umayyad dynasty replaced the relatively peaceful Abbasids in the Islamic realm (750), and almost all warfare in the region ceased. Instead, commercial relations between the Turkic peoples (in what is today roughly Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Eastern Turkistan) and Islamic lands (what are today Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Afghanistan) were accelerated in the course of time. This was indeed the classical pattern of nomadic-sedentary relations, which was now represented by a more religious structure, compared to the earlier Iran, Transoxiana or China. These relations resulted in the acquaintance and rapprochement of the Turks to Islam with an increasing momentum.<sup>35</sup> Massive conversions in Central Asia took place in the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century, while conversion was almost half a century earlier in the Volga basin, among the Bulgars.

The conversion of the Turks to Islam is as important as the rise of Islam, since the dynamism provided by the Turks gave Islam the necessary stimulus in its 4<sup>th</sup> century for the resurgence that ended in the almost twofold expansion of Muslims both in area and population. Before that, there was an observable stagnation under the Abbasids, who, on the other hand, succeeded in civilisational developments. The Caliphal Empire had even started to retreat before Byzantium, advancing step by step on its eastern borders against the Muslims from the reign of the aforesaid Basileios I on, in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

Scholars suggested various ideas explaining the motivation of the Turks in entering Islam. It is certainly a complex process with a lot of factors. Among them, the roles of mysticism (*Tasavvuf*) and educational institutions of Islamic Central Asia (*madrasah*) are overcharged in our opinion. Arabic military activities had almost no effect, as shown by the chronology: the Turko-Arabic wars ended in 737 in a true sense, and

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<sup>35</sup> It was Golden who put this subject which was highly debated, into its proper historical framework: *Introduction*, 211-212.

massive Islamisation came two centuries later. Our theory explains the Islamic revival in the 10<sup>th</sup> century together with the simultaneous spread of Christianity within the same political climate, since in the 10<sup>th</sup> century the latter also expanded almost or more than twofold to the north and east of Europe. Before the 860s, both Islam and Christianity were religions of empires: the Frankish (not officially but virtually Rome-German), the Byzantine and the Islamic. Except for the omissible tiny states like the Georgian or Abkhaz kingdoms, there were no independent states in either religion. Vice versa, accepting either of the two religions meant coming under the rule of the concerning empires. This was likely a great motivation for the Khazars to reject the two religions and to convert to Judaism.

However, the two Turkic states, both of them being Bulgaric, disrupted this image equating the state and religion. The Danube Bulgars took the eastern Christianity in 864 under constrained conditions, but rejected the religious authority of Byzantium. Moreover, they maintained rivalry and enmity with Constantinople, thus breaking down the equation of Byzantium and Orthodoxy in minds. After that, independent Slavic peoples around here started to be interested in that religion. The same happened among the Nordic peoples, too, who listened to Catholic missionaries mostly through the Hamburg Church.

The eastern or Volga Bulgar state, in what are today Tatarstan and its surroundings, entered Islam c. 900.<sup>36</sup> Between this and the closest Islamic borders there was a distance of 1000 km. None of the Turkic tribes between them was Muslim in those days. This surely happened via trade caravans, which transported not only goods, but also ideas and cultures. The Bulgar land was not tied to the Caliphal state, and remained independent. Before that, propagators of Islam used to invite the rulers of other countries both to Islam and Caliphal authority, or to direct subordination at the same moment, since a state in another way was not imaginable. Therefore, the Volga Bulgars showed that an Islamic state independent of the Baghdad rulers was possible.

Before that, Turkic mercenaries working in Baghdad and other great centres had taken military and political control in their hands. From the year 861 they directly started to kill and replace caliphs in accordance with their wishes. The Arabo-Islamic state was already by no means a thread to the Turks, but vice versa. Besides, almost independent Muslim dynasties started to emerge in the 9<sup>th</sup> century in various parts of the Caliphal lands,

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<sup>36</sup> See for a short and perfect evaluation of the theme, István Zimonyi, “Volga Bulgars and Islam”, in *Medieval Nomads in Eastern Europe. Collected Studies*, ed. V. Spinei (București and Braila: Editura Academiei Române, 2014), 35-40.

the most prominent among them being the Samanids of Transoxiana. Thus, non-Muslim steppe Turks conceived that Islam did not pose a threat to their independence any more. This political atmosphere eased the spread of Islam among those, who were familiar with it for about three centuries and especially via commercial relations.<sup>37</sup>

Among the impulses leading the Turks to Islam, the resemblance of the latter with the traditional religion or confessional system of the Turks is given the first rank by many scholars, adding that Islam was suited to the Turkic nature. This is not indeed a contemporary explanation. The Syriac Michael, an author of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, writes that the Turks easily accepted Islam, for their old religion was similar to Islam.<sup>38</sup> The case, however, does not support Michael and his modern followers. The Turks did not easily and immediately accept Islam, but only after an examination lasting for three centuries. The resemblance of religions is hard to ease the passing through from one to another, as seen in Judeo-Christian-Islamic relations. On the other hand, the Turks easily and voluntarily accepted some religions like Buddhism and Manichaeism that had no resemblance to the original Turkic beliefs and 'nature'. So, this does not seem to provide a proper explanation for the Islamisation process.

The old Turkic religion or belief deserves a separate chapter in this book, but our aim is not to write a detailed political and social history of the ancient Turks. Thus, not being able to get into much detail, we need to deal with it in a few words.

The word "Shamanism" is used to define the religion of the Old Turkic people in a common understanding, but this is very wrong to say. Shamanism is not the name of the faith of ancient Turks. It is an inclusive name for the religious and social practices of tribal magicians who were seen in almost all of the communities in the northern hemisphere or even in the south according to some comments. They are all different from one another, but they seem to be alike from a superficial view. Eliade accepts an almost universal popularity of shamanism (in the movies of *Asterix and Obelix* in ancient Gaul, in fictions such as *Lord of the Rings*, and even in sci-fi movies, we may see shamans), but warns not to equate the word "shaman" with "magician" or "sorcerer". Besides being a magician and medicine man, a shaman is also a "psychologist, priest, mystic, and poet." In the strict sense, shamanism is a religious phenomenon of Siberia and

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<sup>37</sup> See my conceptualisation in *Türklerin İslamı Kabulü*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Ankara: Kripto, 2019), esp. 165-180.

<sup>38</sup> Michel le Syrien, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche -III-*, ed. J. B. Chabot (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905), 156-157.

Central Asia.<sup>39</sup> Almost no Turkic people in the old confessional system have remained to our day; those in Central Asia have been totally Islamicised, while among those in Siberia Christianity and Buddhism were spread, but shamans do still exist especially among the sketchily Christianised Turks of Siberia and Inner Asia. The shape shamanism has today, however, is far from being a religion. It has instead turned into a profession or into performance art.<sup>40</sup>

Though popularly associated with the Turks, the word “shaman” is not Turkic at all, and old and new Turkic folks have never used this word. Instead, there are other Turkic words such as *kam*, *bakşı* and *sagun*. This word spread into the academic world through Russian as the sorcerer/priest of the Tungus people, who loaned it from the Chinese, as the latter did the same from India.<sup>41</sup>

Ancient Turks had their own religion or confessional system, which would be characterised as a “primitive religion”. It can hardly be grouped in a unified world of primitive peoples, albeit all these religions constitute a unity within the world of ethnic religions, in accordance with Mensching’s terms.<sup>42</sup> The typology of the Turkic ‘ethnic’ religion is to a great degree far from the definition of Mensching.<sup>43</sup> Its (not deities but) deity is universal, and the confessional system was shared by other people of the same environment (i.e., mainly Hungarians, Mongolians and the Manchu-Tungus).<sup>44</sup>

A more actual approach recently has tended to call the old belief system of the Turks the “Sky God” (*Kök Tengri*) religion (*Tengriism*, Rus. *Tengrijanstvo*, Turk. *Tanrıçılık*, *Göktanrıçılık*). But the term should not be understood as unifying the sky and God or considering the sky as God. Surely, in Old Turkic the word *tengri* was used both to denote the sky and

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<sup>39</sup> Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism. Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, trans. W. R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 3-4.

<sup>40</sup> Saadetin Gömeç, *Şamanizm ve Eski Türk Dini*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Ankara: Berikan, 2011), 87, 109.

<sup>41</sup> Eliade, *Shamanism*, 495.

<sup>42</sup> Gustav Mensching, *Structures and Patterns of Religion*, trans. H. F. Klimkeit and V. S. Sarma (Delhi, Vranasi and Patna: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), 8-9.

<sup>43</sup> Mensching, *Structures and Patterns of Religion*, 46-47. The Old Turkic individual also does not suit the author’s generalisation that primitive man “has not yet comprehended himself as an ego and a self – separate from the community (*ibidem*, 50).

<sup>44</sup> Jean-Paul Roux, *Türklerin ve Moğolların Eski Dini* (La religion des Turcs et des Mongols), trans. A. Kazancigil (İstanbul: Kabcacı, 2002), 19. “Hungarians” is my addition, since their pre-Christian beliefs and culture were not distinct, but almost the same as those of the Turks.

God,<sup>45</sup> but this was only a linguistic case and the two were distinctly separated from each other. The premier inscription of the old Turks, erected for the memory of Kül Tigin (d. 731), brother of the qagan of the Second Kök Türk Empire, clearly states: *Üze kök tengri, asra yagız yer qılınđuqda ikin ara kişi oğlu kılınmış* (“When the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created, between the two human beings were created”).<sup>46</sup> This expression rules out the *kök tengri* ‘blue sky’ from being the God, since it was also created. In the same inscription and in countless other texts, the creator is called *Tengri*. Thus, it was not the ‘Sky God’ that the old Turks worshipped; though the Chinese rendered it to ‘Sky’ to denote ‘God’ in their communications with the Turks.

Several medieval sources mention monotheism among the Turks. According to Theophylaktos Simokattes, a Byzantine author from the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, “(the Turks) only worship and call god him who made the heaven and the earth. To him they sacrifice horses, cattle, and sheep, and they have priests who, in their opinion, even expound the prophecy of the future.”<sup>47</sup> According to Ahmad ibn Fadlān, who had been among the non-Muslim Oghuz in 921, “When one of them is wronged or something unpleasant happens to him, he raises his head to the heavens and shouts, ‘Bir Tankrī,’ which in Turkic means ‘By God, by the One!’ *Bir* means ‘one’ and *Tankrī* is ‘God’ in the language of the Turks.”<sup>48</sup> We quoted above the Syriac author Michael, who says that the (non-Muslim) Turks had only one God like the Muslims. According to an Armenian source, *History of the Albanians*, from the late 7<sup>th</sup> century and attributed to a certain Movses of Kalangat or Daskhuran, “(the Huns, that is Turks to the north of the Caucasus in the 7<sup>th</sup> century) worship some gigantic savage monster whom they invoke as the god *T’angri Khan*.”<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> “It seems originally to have meant ‘the physical sky’, but with very early acquired religious overtones and came to mean ‘Heaven’ as a kind of impersonal deity. It was the normal word for ‘God’, retained in this sense in the Muslim period.” Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 523.

<sup>46</sup> Talat Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), 232 (Tr.), 263 (Eng.).

<sup>47</sup> *The History of Theophylact Simocatta. An English Translation with Introduction and Notes*, trans. Michael and Mary Whitby (Oxford: OUP, 1986), 191.

<sup>48</sup> Ahmad ibn Fadlān, *Mission to the Volga*, trans. James E. Montgomery (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 33.

<sup>49</sup> Movsēs Dasxuranc’i, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasxuranc’i*, trans. C. J. F. Dowsett (Oxford: OUP, 1961), 156.

At the core of this religion, there was the belief in one God, who created everything.<sup>50</sup> There was also a faith that there would be a life after death and the good behaviours that people do will be rewarded there, while the bad will be punished. Therefore, prayer and sacrifice for the sake of the souls of their dead ancestors gain importance.<sup>51</sup> These are clearly corresponding to the Abrahamic religions and those associating the Old Turkic belief with Islam seem not to be very wrong. But, anyway, the Old Turkic religion or belief system was local, national and original to the Turks. Stepanov found interesting ties with the Scythian religious applications in the case of the Proto-Bulgar beliefs.<sup>52</sup>

In spite of the fact that the earliest Turko-Islamic people, the Volga Bulgars were in the north, Islam infiltrated much later the northern Turks in general. In the early periods of Islamisation (10<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries), Turkic tribes from the Siberian belt were not familiar with Islam. I will talk briefly about this afterwards.

When the Western Kök Türk state was demolished in 630, the ruling elite in the Caspian and Caucasian regions was left on its own. After some time, it recuperated and founded the Khazar state. The collapse of the Kök Türk power meant independence for the Bulgars living to the north of the Caucasus. They expanded their territories towards the west and founded a mighty state (the Great Bulgar) in what is today Ukraine and South Russia. But their power did not last long. They were defeated by the Khazars in the 670s, and split into five. Those staying in the Caucasus were subordinated by the Khazars. They represent a significant number of the ancestors of today's Karachay-Balkars, a Turkic people in the Central Caucasus. The main mass of the Bulgars in the midst of the Don River basin was gradually shifted to the north and established the aforesaid Volga Bulgar Khanate, to be the first Muslim Turkic state in history. The

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<sup>50</sup> Abdülkadir İnan, *Eski Türk Dini Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1976), 15ff, believes that the old Turks were polytheists, but he names only one: “Umay”, who is only a soul protecting women, especially pregnant ones, thus she can hardly be shown as a goddess.

<sup>51</sup> Ünver Günay and Harun Güngör, *Türk Din Tarihi* (İstanbul: Laçın, 1998), 33-97, examine all the data on the Old Turkic religious life. However, these writers believe that the concept of the doomsday came afterwards with the influence of the Abrahamic religions (72). See also Gömeç, *Şamanizm ve Eski Türk Dini*, 90.

<sup>52</sup> Tsvetelin Stepanov, “Scythian Roots of the Bulgar Religion. Some Historical and Historiographic Remarks”, in *Skifija. Obraz i istoriko-kul'turnoe nasledie. Materialy konferencii 26-28 oktiabria 2015 goda*, eds. T. N. Džakson, I. G. Konovalovoj and A. V. Podosinova (Moskva: Institut Vseobščej Istorii, 2015), 102-106.

grandchildren of these people are the Turks known as Tatars, living in and around Tatarstan today.<sup>53</sup>

The remaining three hordes of Bulgars went to the west. Those who went to the Lower Danube under Asparuk founded the present Bulgaria in 681. Because of their small numbers, in time, they vanished inside the masses they ruled over and lost their identity, as before mentioned. They accepted Christianity in 864 from Constantinople, even though being in correspondence with Rome, and Slavification was completed only after the conversion.<sup>54</sup> A horde of Bulgars under Kuber took refuge with the Avars in the mid-Danube basin. Kuber Khan was separated from his people and given command of the south lands, bordering Byzantium (what is today Eastern Croatia). However, he provoked the Slavic tribe Sorbs, a newcomer ally of the Avars invited from Eastern Germany, and rebelled against the Avar qagan. The latter crushed them and Kuber and his comrades fled toward Macedonia, then under Byzantine rule. They settled in the Central Balkans to establish the core of the future Serbian Kingdom.<sup>55</sup> The fifth group, likely under the command of Altzek, went to Italy and settled in the Ravenna region. After preserving their identity for a long time, they too were eventually Italianised.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> The basic book for the Volga Bulgar is by István Zimonyi, *The Origins of the Volga Bulgars* (Szeged: Szeged University Press, 1990), who asserts on the analysis of written sources that the Bulgar existence in the mid-Volga basin goes to the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century. A new study by Georgi Vladimirov, *Etjudi po istorija i kultura na Volžskite Bŭlgari* (Sofija: Izd. Istok-Zapad, 2019), esp. 89-92, suggests their presence there at least just after the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, when the Great Bulgar started to collapse.

<sup>54</sup> The Bulgar conversion to Christianity might have some aspects comparable to the Khazar conversion to Judaism. See Tsvetelin Stepanov, “From ‘Steppe Empires’/‘Super-Complex Chiefdoms’ to ‘Early States’: The Case of Danube Bulgaria and Khazaria (Religious Aspects)”, *Hazariskij Almanah* 17 (Moskva: Indrik, 2020), 284-296.

<sup>55</sup> Kuber is mentioned by his nephew Tervel, son of Asparuk, the first ruler of the Danube Bulgaria, as “my uncle in Macedonia” in the famous Madara inscription in Bulgaria (Veselin Beševliev, *Prvo-Bŭlgarski Nadpisi* (Sofija: Izd. BAN, 1979), 91, 94, 98-100, 104-107).

<sup>56</sup> A short account of the five hordes, under five sons of the Great Bulgar Khan Kubrat, is given in the Byzantine chronicles of Theophanes (*The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, trans. C. Mango and R. Scott (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 498) and Nikephoros (*Short History*, trans. C. Mango (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), 89). See for the Italy Bulgars, Giuseppe Cossuto, “A Steppe People in Medieval Italy: The Bulgars of Molise”, in *Kaşgarlı'nın Tarihçi Torunu. Reşat Genç Armağanı*, ed. M. Şahingöz (Ankara: TKAE, 2015), 141-145; Š. R. Mungazov, “Bolgary Alzeco v Bavarii, Karantanii i Italii kak primer avtonomnoj časti

Khazaria is one of the most outstanding Turkic states in history, not only because of its adoption of Judaism as the unique example for a huge polity, but also with its international role during the Middle Ages that witnessed global radical changes between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Khazar state had a stable structure and lasted from circa the 640s until 966, encompassing the areas to the north of the Caspian and Caucasus and most of what is today Ukraine. The ruling elite and people gradually became sedentary, like their populous subjects with different languages, ethnicities and religions. The multi-ethnic and multi-religious structure of the state continued after the conversion to Judaism of the ruling stratum in two stages: the initial conversion of the rulers in c. 740, and the settlement of the new faith among the elite in the 790s. This did not change the course of the inner and outer policies of the empire, which kept its traditional ‘steppe laicism’, not interfering in the religious affairs of the subject peoples. Just, Judaism was not common among the common people and remained restricted to the ruling minority. Thus, a negative impulse of Judaism at the top of a steppe empire is not observable at this point.<sup>57</sup>

Instead, the striking process was the mercantalisation of a military steppe empire. Khazaria was experiencing almost continuous warfare with the Umayyad Caliphs till the peace agreement in 737. The succeeding Abbasids abandoned warlike policies from 750 on and encouraged commercial relations with other countries. Besides the revival and resurrection of the antique Silk Road connecting China with the Mediterranean world, there appeared to be a north-south route connecting Scandinavia and north of what is today Russia to the Islamic world. Khazaria was at the crossroads of the then global commercial network and becoming a kind of *entrepôt* benefited much from those relations. The state and society became rich through trade and customs, and employed mercenaries in the army, who were mostly Muslims coming from Central Asia, especially Khwarezm. It is difficult to evaluate to what degree this affected the military might of the empire, however, the eventual end of Khazaria was related not to its inner facts, but to the newly emerging powers around,

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etnokul’turnoj občnosti”, in *Vostočnaja Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov’e. Antičnie i srednevekovye občnosti* 29, eds. E. A. Mel’nikova et al. (Moskva: Institut Vseobščej Istorii, 2017), 160-164.

<sup>57</sup> A good history and literature of the Khazarian conversion, together with his own approaches, can be found in Peter B. Golden, “The Conversion of the Khazars to Judaism”, *The World of the Khazars*, eds. P. B. Golden, H. Ben-Shammai and A. Róna-Tas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 123-162. The two-stage conversion is my opinion suggested in Osman Karatay, *Hazarlar. Yahudi Türkler, Türk Yahudiler ve Ötekiler*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Ankara: Kripto, 2018), 97-136.



mainly Pechenegs, Oghuz and Rus'. The latter two in alliance attacked and annihilated the longstanding empire within a few weeks in 966.<sup>58</sup>

The Pechenegs were a tribal union of Western Turks who lived in the Aral steppes, being eastern neighbours of Khazaria. They were at odds with the newly emerging Oghuz, living just to their east. An eventual Khazaro-Oghuz operation in 893, backed by some Kipchak and perhaps Karluk elements, ended in crushing the Pechenegs. The majority of the latter migrated westward to the Don River basin, where Hungarians used to live, organised in a tribal confederacy under Khazaria. The Pechenegs expelled them to where they live now, to the middle Danube Basin, and they became owners of what is roughly today the southern half of Ukraine, by then under the Khazar dominion. This shook Khazaria; the separation of the allied Hungarians eroded a great proportion of the Khazarian military might. The process continued, to extinguish Khazaria and to raise the Rus' and Oghuz as the new imperial powers.

The Pechenegs became rulers of the Black Sea steppes for about 150 years. They did not need to establish a centralised state, but were a loose confederacy of eight tribes. This never decreased their military might. The Pechenegs were at the centre of Byzantine policies towards the north in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The famous emperor Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenitus writes c. 948-952 that the Hungarians and Rus' were afraid of the Pechenegs, and thus Byzantium should have stayed on good terms with them to keep its lands and interests.<sup>59</sup>

Those were the days of Svyatoslav of Kiev, the most warlike Rus' leader of history, who destroyed Khazaria in cooperation with the Oghuz and invaded the Danube Bulgaria in cooperation with Byzantium. He also disturbed or subdued almost all Slavic and Finnic tribes in Eastern Europe, including the Volga Bulgar. Likely with the provocation of Byzantine emissaries, the Pechenegs decided to end his power: "When spring came, in 6480 (972), Svyatoslav approached the cataracts, where Kurya, Prince of the Pechenegs, attacked him; and Svyatoslav was killed. The nomads

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<sup>58</sup> There is an enormous literature on Khazarians in many languages. The basic monographs in English are still Douglas M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954) mostly for political history, and Peter B. Golden, *Khazar Studies: An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, 2 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), mostly for philological issues.

<sup>59</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, trans. Gy. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), 49, 51.

took his head, and made a cup out of his skull, overlaying it with gold, and they drank from it.”<sup>60</sup>

However, the Pechenegs could not withstand the press of the Oghuz, who continued their westward expansion after destroying Khazaria, and pushed the Pechenegs from the Black Sea steppes. The latter thus started to visit Byzantium lands to the south of the Lower Danube (or, the subdued Bulgaria) from 1027 on, and to invade the Balkans around the 1050s, simultaneously with the parts of the Oghuz under the Saljukid rulers, which had split from the union, and moved into Iran, starting to invade Eastern Anatolia. Pecheneg mercenary contingents were in the Byzantium army in the decisive Battle of Manzikert in 1071, but they changed sides and supported the Saljukids. However, Byzantium got the upper hand, and with the help of another Turkic people, the Kumans, they annihilated the Pechenegs in 1091, and even brutally killed the civilians. Those who survived sheltered in the mountains to the south of Bulgaria. Some of them migrated to Hungary, their former enemy.<sup>61</sup>

After the Pechenegs, in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, some Oghuz tribes that were not yet Muslims came to the Black Sea steppes. After complex relations with the Kievan Rus', some of them went to the Balkans, where they were defeated by both the Hungarians and Byzantines. They were resettled in various places, especially in Dobrudja (what is now coastal Romania) and Macedonia. Oghuz mercenaries recruited to the Byzantine army in 1071 did the same as the Pechenegs during the Battle of Manzikert. They changed sides and supported their Saljukid Oghuz kin. The majority of those in the Balkans became Muslim under the Ottoman rule (from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century on), and joined the Balkan Muslim community. Those who had adopted Christianity before the Ottomans came probably constitute a considerable part of the ancestry of the current Gagauz people, who speak in Turkish and confess in Orthodoxy. They live mostly in Moldavia. A significant number of the Oghuz withdrawing before the Kipchaks took refuge in the Kiev Principality, which called them *Torki*.

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<sup>60</sup> *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, trans. S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America, 1953), 90.

<sup>61</sup> There are many detailed studies on the Pechenegs especially on various cultural issues. A concise political history of them in English can be read in Mualla U. Yücel, “Pechenegs in the Balkans”, in *The Turks -I-*, eds. H. C. Güzel, C. C. Oğuz and O. Karatay (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 632-642.

Those Torki, as well as the Pecheneg remnants were eventually assimilated into the Slavic mass, which later constituted the Ukrainian nation.<sup>62</sup>

The most important Turkic people in Eurasia in the pre-Mongolic medieval period were the Kipchaks, considering that the Oghuz had shifted to the Middle East. They were known as Kumans in Eastern Europe, or with loan-translations of that name: Rus *Polovcy*, Latin *Pallidi*, Armenian *Xartēšk'n*, etc., all meaning “blond, fair; fallow, pale”, besides another Turkic word used directly as an ethnonym, *Sari* ‘yellow’.<sup>63</sup> Though almost all Old Turkic tribes are defined as ‘(numerously containing) blonds’, the Kipchaks of mid-South Siberia seem to have had the utmost to assume such an ethnonym as ‘blond’.

Turkic tribes in the South Siberian and Kazakh steppe were organised under the Kimek state in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. This was indeed the name of the pioneer tribe of the union, if not related to the Turkic word *kemi/kime* ‘ship’. Then the name Kipchak escalated and replaced Kimek. In Eurasia, unions or state formations used to be known by the names of pioneering or ruling tribes or even clans: “Alans inhabit the measureless wastelands of Scythia and, like the Persians, have incorporated bordering peoples, gradually weakened by their repeated victories, under their own national name... Although they are separated by great distances and live a wandering life like nomads over immense areas, have however become united, as time has gone by, under a single name... because of the similarity of their customs, savage lifestyle and weapons.”<sup>64</sup> So, the tribal name Kipchak came to designate the entire Turkic population in the northern half of Central Eurasia.

Massive masses of Kipchaks pressed and expelled the Oghuz from the Kazakh steppes. In search of new lands under demographic pressure, they could not overcome the newly Islamic states of the Turks in the southern belt of Central Asia; instead, a great part of them moved westward, following the path of the earlier Pechenegs and Oghuz to Eastern Europe. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Kipchaks were hegemon over the Black Sea steppes and stiffer and more permanent in the region, compared to the Pechenegs

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<sup>62</sup> Those northern Oghuz were omitted from the historiography to a great degree. A very concise but analytic political history of them in English can be read in Victor Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads. North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), esp. 113-117.

<sup>63</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 271-276; Valeri Stojanov, *Kumanologija. Opiti za rekonstrukcija* (Sofija: Izd. Marin Drinov, 2006), 46.

<sup>64</sup> *Ammianus Marcellinus, with an English translation by John C. Rolfe -III-* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939), 389, 391.

and Oghuz. They constantly interfered in the Rus' affairs or plundered their lands annually. During the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Rus' princelings, having learned to unite their forces in emergent cases, seem to have balanced and even exceeded the power of the Kuman-Kipchaks, or the *Polovcy* as they were called. However, the Kumans rigidly kept their presence and continued their political games, acting according to their own interests between Rus' kniazs (princes) who were fighting each other.

Though Islamisation was off the agenda in those days in the northern steppes, mercenaries of Kipchak origin were very popular in the Islamic world in the pre-Mongol centuries (before c. 1220s). They were so plentiful and powerful that they eventually captured power and established their own states in distant countries: the Mameluke Sultanate in Egypt and Syria (1250-1517), and the Delhi Kipchak Sultanate (1206-1414). They were both powerful and stable states, despite being owned and ruled by a military aristocracy based on a little minority, and were only destroyed by the most powerful Turkic empires of the relevant times. The famous Tamberlane shook the Indian Turkic state to its roots, and the Ottomans gave an end to the Mameluke Empire.

In terms of population, the Mongolian hurricane that hit Eastern Europe in the late 1230s affected the Kuman-Kipchaks the most. Besides the loss of life, the Kumans in the Black Sea steppes largely fled to the west and took refuge with the Hungarians, or they were mixed with the ancestors of the present Bulgarians and Romanians on both sides of the Danube. When the Ottoman armies were taking Bulgaria, Wallachia and Bogdan (now the main part of Romania and Moldova) beginning in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, most of the warlords the Ottomans were fighting were of Kuman descent.

The Kuman-Kipchaks were one of the most renowned peoples in the late Middle Ages but had totally disappeared as an ethnic group everywhere. Their direct inheritors are the Kazakhs to a great degree, and now the diminished Nogays and Crimean Tatars. Since they were almost everywhere (mainly Siberia, Turkistan, Russia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Georgia, Egypt and India), there is a huge literature about them, so I'll not refer to them.

While this was happening in the Western Steppes, there was a rapid Islamisation in Turkistan. This new religion, which was spread individually among the Turks in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, became a state religion in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The Karakhanids in the south of Turkistan and the Ghaznavids in today's Afghanistan adopted Islam at the state level in the midst of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. These two states kept their existence for more than two centuries. When the Mongols came, they were already

extinct. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the spread of Islam among the Oghuz, and the movement initiated by a commander named Saljuk (Selçuk) Beg changed the course of world history. Saljuk separated from the Oghuz state in the Aral basin with his horde, composed of the Oghuz masses loyal to him, and went to the south. This movement would soon end in the creation of an empire which would rule over Iran and the whole Middle East. In the 1040s, the Oghuz who took the Ghaznavids out of Khorasan and established their own rule, went swiftly to the west and from the 1050s onwards began their activities in Eastern Anatolia and South Caucasus.

It was perhaps not even a goal for the 'homeless' Saljukids to conquer Anatolia, which the mighty Arabs could not take from the strong and rooted Byzantine Empire for four centuries, though the Saljukids started their military visits as early as the year 1018. Nevertheless, they were raiding the area often. To end this problem for good by conquering the Saljukid centre in Iran, the Byzantine Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes mustered a vast army. However, his army was defeated and nearly entirely destroyed in the Battle of Manzikert (1071). This gave the Oghuz an unexpected opportunity, and in a couple of years, they had conquered the whole of Anatolia apart from the coasts, and excepting Izmir and its surroundings. From that day onwards, the grandchildren of the Oghuz have kept on living in this fertile land.

At the end of the 1220s, Turkistan and then Iran were victims of the Mongolian invasions. From 1243 onwards, Anatolia also fell into their hands. These invasions were a result of the military and political superiority of the Mongols, but also in a way a consequence of their enemies not having skilled leaders in those times. This invasion set the stage for the collapse of a great civilisation. Transoxiana (now Uzbekistan), called by the Arabs 'Mavara al-Nahr', once a region competing with Iraq, Egypt and Andalusia as the centre of the Islamic civilisation, would hardly see its magnificent days again, except for a short Timurid rule. What was worse was that the rivalry of the Mongolian leaders of the Genghis Khan lineage turned Central Asia into a bloodbath for many centuries. The last local rulers of the same dynasty were ousted in 1922 by the Bolsheviks.<sup>65</sup>

Nevertheless, during the reign of Timur (Tamberline) and that of his successors (specifically between 1360 and 1510), Transoxiana saw stability and a serious rebirth (the Timurid Renaissance). Timur was not of the Genghis progeny, but a groom to the ruling family. During the time of the Uzbek and Kazakh khans (all from the Genghis line of descent), these

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<sup>65</sup> There is an immense literature on the Mongols and their successors. For the sake of not increasing the volume, I do not refer to any of these sources.

improvements were reversed. The former conquered Transoxiana, and took over from the Timurids. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Turkistan gradually started to come under Russian rule.

The successors of the Mongol empire in Western Eurasia established the state known as the Golden Horde and were absolute rulers of Russia for two and a half centuries, from the end of the 1230s. However, as the time passed, divisions and thronal struggles intensified in the Golden Horde, and the Russian territories under the Horde became stronger. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the state broke apart, and Russia which was constituted of small dependent princedoms started to gather around the Muscovite princedom, which acted as independent in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Finally, in the 1550s, the Muscovites began capturing the lands of the Golden Horde heirs that had divided into five khanates. Among these, only the Crimean Khanate kept its existence for a long time, because it was under the Ottoman suzerainty. The Crimea also came under the Russian administration in 1783. We should emphasise that all the successor states of the Mongol empire of Genghis Khan were Turkified within a few generations.

There are three other countries that are known in history by their original cultures or civilisations, being under an almost uninterrupted Turkic administration until recent times. India or at least its northern half had come under Turkic rule with the campaigns of Mahmud the Ghaznavid at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. From that date onwards, it was ruled continuously by various Turkic dynasties. Lastly, Babur of the Timurid Empire was expelled from Transoxiana by the Uzbeks in the 1530s as before stated, and came to conquer India. His family ruled there until 1857, and the state was ended by the British.

In Egypt, Turkic 'dynastic' governors under the Abbasid Caliphate were seen from the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. After Salah al-Din Ayyubi conquered the country in the 1180s, Turks of Kipchak origin, who constituted most of his army, started accumulating in Egypt. From 1250 onwards, they destroyed the Ayyubids and started to rule the country. In referring to the origin of the ruling minority, this state is known as 'Mamelukes' (military slaves, namely veterans) in the historiography, but they called their country 'Turkiyya' in Arabic. The Ottoman Sultan Selim II conquered this Egyptian 'Turkey' in the year 1517.

The third country is Iran. It was the heartland of the Great Saljukid Empire in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Later on, in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, the Mongols established there a new state known as the Ilkhanids. When the

Ilkhanids weakened in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, various Turkmen<sup>66</sup> dynasties (especially Ak Koyunlu and Kara Koyunlu) came forward. Timur conquered all of the Turkmen states, including the Ottomans, but after the Timurid period was over, Iran, Iraq and Eastern Anatolia were ruled again by independent Turkmen khanates. Shah Ismail, a Turkmen leader who gained power through religion in the Ak Koyunlu property (Southern Azerbaijan, Iraq and Eastern Anatolia), united the entire Turkmen population outside Ottoman Anatolia and founded the Safavid State. The big blow of the Ottoman Sultan Selim II in the year 1514 stopped Shah Ismail's advance to the west and in a way prevented Turkey from becoming Iran. After the two and half centuries of the Safavid rule, the Afshar and Kajar dynasties ruled Iran; so, this country was ruled uninterruptedly by Turks for nine centuries until 1925.

The Ottoman Empire was founded in 1299 as a tiny principality in Northwest Anatolia, on the Byzantine marches near Bursa, and turned into an empire after conquering a great part of the Balkans from 1352 on and eventually seizing Constantinople, whose name would turn into Istanbul. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the empire was the most powerful state in the world. After defeat by the Habsburgs near Vienna in 1683, it started to decline, which process lasted for more than two centuries. Nevertheless, it was a true empire by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; however, after its allies Germany and Austria-Hungary lost WWI, the Ottoman Empire was also among the defeated states, and its lands were invaded by the victorious alliance of Britain and France. Greece also, backed by the allies, started to invade Western Anatolia. The National Liberation War, beginning in 1919 freely of the Ottoman administration, which was under the control of the allied forces, ended with the total liberation of the current Turkey and the ousting of the sultanate in 1922. In the following year, the Turkish Republic was proclaimed.

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<sup>66</sup> The ethnonym 'Oghuz' was left to a great degree by the end of the Saljukid state, and after the Mongolian invasions, it was strictly replaced by the term 'Turkmen'.

## CHAPTER 2

### DISCOURSE ON THE METHOD: HOW TO EVALUATE THE BIRTH OF A PEOPLE?

First of all, there is a fact which is usually not observed in studying the early histories and origins of people, and neglecting it may prevent us from finding the eventual truth even if our detections in other parts of the study are empirically correct: Human beings behave a little bit like grasses and trees; we too like watery and fertile lands, as do plants.

In today's Saudi Arabia, for 1300 years now, there has been neither a huge war nor an ethnic cleansing. The land is immense, but the population is sparse. In contrast, in Iraq, which has a much smaller territory, and where the bloodiest wars were never lacking in the entire historical period, the population is much larger than that of Saudi Arabia. Moreover, a considerable part of Iraq is desert. There is some greened earth in some parts of Yemen, and we see that the population there is denser than in the land of Saudi Arabia. It is the same for Egypt and Libya. The population of Libya is low in number, not because once the Italians killed them, but because the country is composed mostly of deserts. Most of Egypt contains deserts, but the fertile Nile valley and the coastal regions provide the country with the possibility of producing a good number of people (the capital of Cairo alone has 20,5 million people, cf. Libya has a population of 6,7 million). The best example in this discourse is Siberia, where there is a population of about 35 million in an area greater than the whole of Europe. Compare the Netherlands (17 million people for 33,000 km<sup>2</sup>) with Denmark (5,7 million people for 42,000 km<sup>2</sup>), and the latter with Sweden (10 million people for 410,000 km<sup>2</sup>; ten times greater than Denmark).<sup>67</sup> Nothing extraordinary happened in those countries that deeply affected the demographic processes through the known history.

As for the Inner Eurasian area, Kazakhstan is undoubtedly the country which suffered the most from communism. In the 1930s, all the herds of the civil population were taken away from them and concentrated in certain

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<sup>67</sup> The demographic data were taken from <http://worldpopulationreview.com>.



places in the name of ‘korenizacija’ (indigenisation, indeed confiscation). However, because the state could not take good care of those animals, about 90% of them died of starvation and diseases (approximately 4.5 million were left, out of the whole 40.5 million). In that country, where there was no farming, people’s only way of nourishment was livestock. When those animals perished, there arose a famine, and in the years 1931-32 alone, about 40% (1,750,000 people) of the ethnic Kazakh population died of starvation.<sup>68</sup> Communism, which alleged to create a heaven on Earth, managed to kill half of the population in a time of peace. Today’s Kazakhstan population, after three generations, shows us a fairly recuperated situation (18.5 million people for 2,7 million km<sup>2</sup>). There is a very high birth rate, and with improved agriculture on the one hand, and rich natural resources on the other, the country can easily live by itself.

These things did not happen in Mongolia, at least not with this level of atrocity. Today, with an area more than six times larger than the United Kingdom (1.56 million km<sup>2</sup>), the country has a population of only 3.2 million. The reason is that the geography simply cannot feed many people. The land eases with the spreading of the excess populace to the west: Huns, Uyghurs, Qitans, Mongols, and finally Oirats. These people managed to exist only when they went to the areas with low populations. However, in the regions where the land is fertile, and the population is dense, even if they won in battles, in time they vanished.

Let’s imagine that the population in Mongolia doubles, becoming six million, and people start looking for a new place to live. All of the excess people can be brought into the Fergana valley in Uzbekistan and fit into a city as big as Tashkent. For Uzbekistan on the other hand, a second Tashkent would not be a big aggrandisement.

Today, all in all, there are around 70,000 Altay Turks in the Gorny Altay Republic of the RF, which has an area of 93,000 km<sup>2</sup>. Those ethnic Turks constitute one-third of the population, the remaining part being Russians in the great majority. Let us draw a large circle around the Altay Mountains to cover an area as broad as the area of Turkey. In normal conditions, that is, without the Russian settlers, the population of the area

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<sup>68</sup> According to the 1926 census, the country had a population of 6,2 million, of which about four million were ethnic Kazakhs. Besides those dying of famine, about 600,000 people left the republic borders, a great many of whom were taking refuge in non-Soviet countries: Niccolò Piancola, “The Collectivization Famine in Kazakhstan (1931–1933)”, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 25, 3-4 (2001), 242; Isabelle Ohayon, “La famine kazakhe: à l’origine de la sédentarisation”, 2012, 3-4, 7-8. Accessed September 7, 2021, <http://massviolence.org/fr/La-famine-kazakhe-a-l-origine-de>.

would hardly reach one million. This was no different back in the past as well. As agriculture can feed a population 42 times larger than that of foragers,<sup>69</sup> the regions where people relied on agriculture were denser in the old times as well, and vice versa.

The usual story in the academic world is that the Turks regularly left the Altay region or even further east, and migrated to other places. In the lands they went to, they always beat the local people and moreover, changed the ethnic structures, including such densely populated areas as the Fergana valley, Iran, Azerbaijan, Anatolia and the mid-Volga basin and all those events happened within a few centuries. Neither mathematics nor physics or biology can explain this phenomenon, presuming that an elite minority was fermenting the native majority to produce 'new' Turkic masses. It is nice to know that Avars ruled Central Europe for 250 years, but to imagine that they were bursting at the seams is something else. They came to Europe as a horde of 20,000 horsemen, and at that time Thessaloniki had a population of 100,000 inside its walls. It was a mission impossible for the Avars to even maintain themselves without being assimilated into the local people. The current literature describing the Urheimat and the expansion of the Turks seems to fail in observing the geo-demographic facts.

No ethnic group which expanded as much as the Turks can originate from barren lands. As briefly stated in the previous part, Turks were broadly spread in the Old World throughout the known periods; we see them everywhere, and it is hard to assume that this happened after a big bang in the early medieval period. The very crowded and dynamic population of the medieval Turks should make one look for roots, at least for reasons for this situation in pre-medieval times. Shall we earmark some fertile lands for the earliest or Proto-Turks, too? Or, how did the unfertile Altaic region succeed in producing so many Turks, sufficient to assimilate a continent-like region full of Iranic peoples?

Though the countless works proposing that the homeland of the Turks is somewhere in Inner Asia or in the east of Central Asia<sup>70</sup> are surely a

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<sup>69</sup> An estimation of the Cavalli-Sforza school. I'll deal with this issue below. Of course, the historical population of the region was nomadic, and not hunter-gatherers. Nomadism can surely feed more people than foragers.

<sup>70</sup> In this book, as before stated, roughly the west of the Jungarian Pass, south of the Altay ranges is Central Asia and its east is Inner Asia, as in the general conception. According to geo-cultural and geo-political realities, there was a historical integrity of interaction from Hungary to Manchuria, that is Eurasia proper. Inner Asia constituted the eastern wing of the Eurasian geo-cultural continent; Central Asia was in the middle and Eastern Europe was the western

reflection and conclusion of centuries-old academic research and accumulation, it seems, on the other hand, that they represent a very simplistic approach, giving up on the toughness of the subject.<sup>71</sup> I cannot be disrespectful to so many precious works, but the present explanations are far from analysing the matter from various aspects, by its oversimplification with only some – basic – linguistic debates. This approach does not occupy itself with the tough parts of the study; furthermore, nowadays it stigmatises engagement with the tough parts as unscientific activities.

However, it is arguable whether it was necessary for thousands of academics to work on this matter for 250 years just to come up with the conclusions they have today. The current widely accepted ideas were put forward at the beginning of the modern studies. Pre-modern or even medieval ideas were also in that direction. I do not mean to be disrespectful of the exertion, I am just criticising the outcome. To say what is said now, it is enough to take a look at the old records about the Turks. All of them speak of Central Asia, and even the ancient Islamic geographical artefacts make ethnological classifications. Instead of Altaic or Ural-Altaic people, they say ‘sons of Iafeth’, ‘children of the north’, or maybe only ‘Turks’, but ultimately, they succeed in gathering different Turkic tribes and their relatives under one title. At the bottom line, they do not say anything different than what is said today.

Medieval authors, mainly Islamic geography scribes place the Turks in the vast plain between the Danube and Selenga rivers. Since this area is as big as a continent, what is expected of modern age scholars is to narrow this space. In the absence of available resources, this can only be done by sharing the available land with the neighbouring and relative peoples. Or, by using some new methods and approaches used in studying other peoples, we can find the area we seek more precisely.

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wing. It is very interesting to observe that the areas where Socialism was on the scene in the 20<sup>th</sup> century are well suited to the older geo-cultural and geo-political Eurasia. It seems, geopolitics does not change with time.

<sup>71</sup> For instance, see the conclusion of Nichols, who says that “If the principle of least moves is followed mechanically, the Turkic proto-homeland must be located in the western steppe. The chief reason that the principle is not applied mechanically is that historical records – Chinese, Central Asian and then Byzantine sources – testify to the Turkic spread from the vicinity of Mongolia” (Johanna Nichols, “The Epicentre of the Indo-European Linguistic Spread”, in *Archaeology and Language -I-*, eds. R. Blench and M. Spriggs (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 132). However, as seen in the previous chapter, those records belong to relatively close ages and in those times there were several Turkic peoples in the west of Mongolia.

In fact, the birthplace of the Turkic entity has already been narrowed. Academics in Turkey, without any proof, put them in the Altay Mountains. Western and Russian scholars throw them even further to the East, near to the coasts of the Pacific Ocean. Contrary to the common belief in Turkey, European scholars do not give Central and (Western) Inner Asia to the Turks. Nearly all of the areas where the Turks live today, including the Altay Mountains, are argued to be later inhabited by them.<sup>72</sup>

At the centre of my allegation that some scholars are oversimplifying the matter, there is the assumption that the origins of the Turks should be there, where they were first seen. Unfortunately, modern science which confuses or unifies the Turks with the ‘Türk’ tribe of ancient times is inviting this oversimplification. According to this view, the first Turks who are known for sure were those founding the Kök Türk Empire in 551 AD. It is the same as looking for a tribe called ‘German’ for the Germanic peoples and a tribe called ‘Slaven’ for the Slavs. However, there are problems in following the ‘Türk’ tribe, too, and at some point, arbitrariness becomes dominant. Even if the whole work is based on the Kök Türks, the result would be just the opposite. This will be observed below, in a separate section.

The debate is not different from that on the priority of the hen or the egg. At the beginning of the study, there is a decision or framework: Turks should be sought in the Altaic world. Then an imaginary Altaic family was invented and the linguistic data were studied to prove that idea. As far as I know, scientists must do this the other way around. First, they collect the

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<sup>72</sup> These views are also shared by Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler)*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (İstanbul: TDAV, 1999), 1. For Hasan Eren’s arguments see “Türklerin Ana Yurdu Sorunu”, *Türk Dili* 600 (December 2001), 665-687. He summarises different thoughts here but does not comment much himself. It could be felt that Eren is standing close to Németh’s views which assert that the Turkic homeland should be in the west of the steppes, near the Aral Sea. See also: Golden, *Introduction*, 124-126. In a revised paper, which we will mention in the forthcoming pages, Golden places the first Turks in Manchuria: “Ethnogenesis in the Tribal Zone”, 92. Martine Robbeets is author of one of the latest studies, in which she offers a precise home: The Altaic family emerged on the West Liao river in southern Manchuria, and the Turks were the westernmost component of the entity (“The Language of the Transcaucasian Farmers”, in *Language Dispersal Beyond Farming*, eds. M. Robbeets and A. Saveljev (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2017), 95). Nor does her opponent Vovin suggest a remote region for the Turkic Urheimat, albeit he does not believe in the Altaic theory: Present-day Mongolia (Alexander Vovin, “Northeastern and Central Asia: ‘Altaic’ Linguistic History”, in *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*, vol. 1.24, ed. Immanuel Ness (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 197).

data, then examine and think about the outcomes. In Turkic studies, the results were decided in advance, and then the necessary data were collected. Since the reality did not coincide with the pre-determined decisions, the data were manipulated. The original tales about the origins of the Kök Türks refer to the north of the Caspian Sea, but this information is omitted. Without any proof, the founding elites of the Turks are taken from Eastern Turkistan to the Altay Mountains. The former place was then inhabited by Indo-European peoples; thus, the core group should be of Indo-European, namely Iranian origin, and the masses from which they produced 'Turks' were Mongolic peoples.<sup>73</sup> There is no explanation of how the Turkic language came from this Irano-Mongolian community. And these people made of Mongolic and Iranian material are central and essential to the world of Turkic speaking peoples.

Indeed, there seems to be a stimulus to search for Iranian genes in the core of the Türk tribe. The word, 'A-shih-na', the name of the ruling clan or family of the Kök Türks given by the Chinese sources, is not Turkic, but clearly Iranian (Sogdian). It means 'sky'. The problem here is that the Kök Türks have their own inscriptions and never use that word to define themselves; instead, they use the Turkic word *kök* 'celestial'. Sogdian traders coming from Transoxiana were envoys and translators of the Kök Türk state to the Chinese court(s), and they used their own word to depict the Türks, their lords, who were enthusiastic to express their nobility by referring to the heaven, as they repeatedly claimed in their inscriptions. Moreover, the Kök Türks have the bilingual inscription Bugut written in Sogdian and Chinese. Expectedly, that inscription also uses the word 'A-shih-na'.<sup>74</sup> It was not an ethnic or family name, but only an adjective, and this adjective does not make the Türks an Iranian offspring.

Nevertheless, did the Turks first emerge in history with the Kök Türk Qaganate? Some nations, which we definitely know to be Turkic, were seen in the stage of history long before the Kök Türks. One of these is the Kyrgyz. From the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards, their name occurs in Chinese sources with some forms like *Kien-Kun*, etc. They lived from then on in the northwest of the Altay ranges, which is now roughly the Khakassia Republic, and then the bulk of them started a gradual migration towards the south in the aftermath of the Mongolic invasions. They still live on the

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<sup>73</sup> According to Lev N. Gumilëv, *Eski Türkler*, trans. D. A. Batur, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (İstanbul: Selenge, 2002), 35-39, the "founder" Turks were Mongols. Denis Sinor, "Some Components of the Civilization of the Turks (6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> Century AD)", in *The Turks - I-*, eds. H. C. Güzel, C. C. Oğuz and O. Karatay (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 351, do not make the "founders" Altaic at all.

<sup>74</sup> Golden, "Ethnogenesis in the Tribal Zone", 98-99.

northern slopes of the Tanrı (Tian-Shan) mountains, and those remaining at home have the literal name ‘Khakas’.<sup>75</sup>

Such a Kyrgyz homeland to the west of the Altays, on the Upper Yenisei basin, at least eight centuries before the appearance of the Kök Türks, indeed poses a great problem for the theories placing the (Proto) Turks to the east. There were other ‘antique’ Turkic peoples, too, further west, as will be dealt with below. The queerness to be taken into account is that the Kyrgyz, ‘scientifically’ the westernmost Turkic people, were perceived as the easternmost Turks in the Old Turkic tales. The ethnogenetic legend of Oghuz Qagan, the earliest surviving version written down in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, describes the making of the Oghuz *budun* named after the eponymous heroic ruler. It includes ethnogenesis stories of other prominent medieval Turkic *buduns*, too, in short paragraphs. But the Kyrgyz, counted always among significant Turkic peoples by the contemporary Islamic authors in spite of their great distance from the Muslim lands, are not mentioned in the legend at all. This is because the legend deals with the affairs of Western Turkistan, and the Kyrgyz were too far from the scene. The legend never mentions the Mongols, either.

It will be counter-argued here by some that the perception of the ancient Turks which was transmitted to us through the legend of Oghuz was developed in later ages, after the Turks migrated to Central Asia *en masse*. So, taking into account the multi-layer structure of the legend, when was that perception shaped? Well then, when did the perception of some current academicians take shape? Does the basis of their perception pre-date that of the old Turks?

By the way, the absence of the Kyrgyz in the legend of Oghuz does not mean that the two Turkic peoples were unrelated and distinct from each other. They had contacts in their ethnogenesis phases, now obscure to us due to a lack of sources. Traces of these relationships are reflected in the clan and tribal names and emblems (*tamga*) of the Kyrgyz.<sup>76</sup> It is worth mentioning here that the Oghuz union did not contain eastern Turkic elements, but was almost totally made up of South Siberian and West Asian components.

To solve this Kyrgyz problem, some scholars hang on for dear life to their physiological descriptions in Chinese and Islamic resources. These

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<sup>75</sup> A good sketch of early Kyrgyz history can be read in Michael R. Drompp, “The Yenisei Kyrgyz from Early Times to the Mongol Conquest”, in *The Turks -I-*, eds. H. C. Güzel, C. C. Oğuz and O. Karatay (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 480-490.

<sup>76</sup> Oljobay Karataev, “The Seals of Turkish Clans: Old Kyrgyz-Oghuz Ethnic Connections”, in *The Turks -I-*, eds. H. C. Güzel, C. C. Oğuz and O. Karatay (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 476-479.

data identify the ancient Kyrgyz living in the Upper Yenisei basin as red-haired or blond and colour-eyed. According to the prejudgement, Turkic people stemmed from East Mongolia and Manchuria, and cannot be blond. As the Kyrgyz who lived in the west were blonds as well, the simplest solution is to declare that they were not originally Turkic. First of all, they should be Iranian and if not, they were Turkified Yenisei Ostyaks or some other Palaeo-Siberian peoples.<sup>77</sup>

However, Kyrgyz represents one of the purest and cleanest of the Turkic languages. Apart from a couple of Mongolian words which are relics of the Mongolian hegemony over them in the late medieval, there are no traces of another layer in their language. Moreover, if their semblance is the main criterion, there would be no Turks in the world, because almost all of the Old Turkic peoples are said to have coloured eyes and hair. We will address this in a separate section. If we delete all those people which we know to be Turkic (Oghuz, Kök Türk, Khazar, Kipchak, Bulgar, Wu-sun, Krygyz, etc.) from the Turkic identity, then, where did the Turks today come from? Is it true that they came from the sky? Is this why the Kök Türks called themselves ‘Celestial Turks’?

Some peoples have changed their language to another one, and some scholars tend to apply this in every case when they have to come to grips with it. People do not replace their language with another one in vain; instead, some people are assimilated into others mostly due to an imbalance of their numbers, that is, when they become a minority within another mass. The explanation for the Kyrgyz case is also linguistic and cultural Turkification. They are alleged to have adopted the Turkic language later. People do change language, but usually when they are a minority within a large population. I know no example of an ethnic unity maintaining its existence as a uniform ethnic structure in a certain place, and changing its language without coming under the demographic and/or political pressure of a superior group.

If the ancient Kyrgyz, which constituted a significant and crowded ethnic group at the dawn of Eurasian history, replaced its language with Turkic, it can only be explained by the fact that everyone around the Kyrgyz, all the South Siberian peoples and nomads of the Eastern Kazakh steppes were then, Turks, as this cannot be achieved through modern facilities like education and media. Such an allegation would mean that the immense area to the west of the Altay ranges was habited by Turks at least in the early ages AD. If this is so, why do we separate the Kyrgyz from

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<sup>77</sup> Harmatta, “A türkök eredetmondája”, 393. This supposition is popular among the concerning scholars and Harmatta is one of the latest to repeat.

them to assign a non-Turkic identity without any proof, except for their colour?

It is very meaningful that those people to the west and south of the Kyrgyz, from whom was descended the medieval Kipchaks, the post-Kök Türk owners and the dwellers of the Kazakh steppes, were blond at all. Were the Kipchaks not Turks either? If not, who Turkified them? Some people from further west? There is no answer. Indeed, other Turkic peoples were also living that far west during late antiquity, like the Ogurs and Suvars. The two will be dealt with below especially by studying the Hungarians. This will slide us further to the west. Shall we claim that Turkification started from Southwest Siberia and the adjacent Kazakh steppes?

Another *budun* in the debate is the Wu-sun, who were mentioned from the early years of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, but completely lost significance in the AD periods and withdrew from the stage of history. ‘Wu-sun’ is the Chinese form of their name: “The Wu-sun live some two thousand *li* northeast of Ta-yüan (Ferghana valley), moving from place to place in the region with their herds of animals. Their customs are much like those of the Xiong-nu”.<sup>78</sup> It is a great probability that remnants of them still live among the contemporary Bashkirs, Karakalpaks, Uzbeks and Kyrgyz under tribal names such as Uysun, Uyshun or Uson.<sup>79</sup>

The Wu-sun were an important neighbour and ally of the aforesaid Great Hun Empire founded in Mongolia. According to the very few Chinese resources, one can only guess their language. Yet their titles were Turkic (Kun-mo, which can be reconstructed, such as *Kun Beg*, as well as *Ulug* and *Tarqan*). Moreover, it can be understood that there was kinship between their ruling dynasty and the ruling dynasty of the Kök Türk Khanate, for the latter shares their story of the child fed by a she-wolf, originally recorded for the Wu-sun.<sup>80</sup>

After a disaster, the Wu-sun came under the protection of the Huns, and the sources do not point to any ethnological differences between the Huns and the Wu-suns. Of course, we know that in the following ages, many Mongolic, Tungusic and Paleo-Siberian minor communities were Turkified. The Wu-suns may have been, as well. For instance, today’s Uysun Kazakhs may have had a different descent than Turkic, but there is

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<sup>78</sup> Ssu’ma Ch’ien, *Records of the Grand Historian of China. Translated from Shih chi of Ssu’ma Ch’ien -II-*, trans. B. Watson (Hong Kong and New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 267.

<sup>79</sup> Lezina et al., *Bütün Türk Halkları* (İstanbul: Selenge, 2009), 547, 550.

<sup>80</sup> Altay S. Amanjolov, *Türk Filolojisi ve Yazı Tarihi*, trans. K. Koç (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2006), 36-37.



no evidence for this, it is just a possibility. Yet, this possibility diminishes with the fact that the Wu-suns too have the belief of a mother/guide/protector identity of the wolf, just like the Kök Türks. According to their saga, after they were slain by their greatest enemy the Yüeh-chi, the surviving prince was breastfed by a she-wolf.<sup>81</sup>

With the Wu-sun as well we have the same issue. Sources describe them as red-haired and green-eyed, just like the old Kyrgyz.<sup>82</sup> Sinor, thinking that Turkic people cannot be like this, immediately identifies them as Iranian. Then comes the conclusion that the wolf motif for Turks was imported from the Iranian world.<sup>83</sup> Harmatta underlines an Iranian contribution to the making of the Turkic peoples, and argues that the wolf motif entered into the Kök Türk sagas as a reminder of the matriarchal times. In examples of this, Harmatta does not confine himself to just the Wu-sun, but searches the Achaemenid period in Iran, to the time of Kyros, and even goes beyond that to the Mede era, trying to find a grandmother from the Mede word *spaka* meaning “a dog type”.<sup>84</sup>

The bizarre part about all this is that, the Iranian peoples do not have coloured hair and eyes, nor is there is a wolf motif among them that we know of. Both the wolf, and the coloured eyes and hair, are talked about in Asia for the Turks alone. An amendment to be made today shouldn't be expected to affect that long ago, and history cannot be altered by magic or sleight of hand.

They consider the Wu-sun to be Iranian, and that the Turks took the wolf motif from them. However, in the later ages, in the nations who were certainly known to be Iranian, no wolf mother motif is found. It is seen in the Turks, and with an emphasis on the top level. Therefore, I have to think that the Wu-sun who had the accounts of the wolf element that almost all Turkic peoples possess were indisputably and purely a Turkic people, likely ‘budun’.

Here, briefly, discussing the ethnological problems attributed to each of the Old Turkic peoples and giving short histories are not suitable for the purpose of this book and will extend the stakes. What I am going to emphasise is that if we are going to get the first places in which we see a

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<sup>81</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 51.

<sup>82</sup> D. W. Eberhard, *Çin'in Şimal Komşuları*, trans. N. Ulutuğ, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Ankara: TTK, 1996), 105.

<sup>83</sup> Denis Sinor, “The Legendary Origins of the Turks”, in *Folklorica. Festschrift for Felix J. Oinas*, eds. E. V. Zygas and P. Voorheis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 236.

<sup>84</sup> Harmatta, “A türkök eredetmondája”, 389. We will touch on this Mede word in the last chapter of this book.

nation as their homeland, then, the Turks look comfortably and mainly in the west. The Kyrgyz were observed in the Khakassian steppes, the Kipchaks were further to the west, in southwest Siberia and the plains of west Kazakhstan, and the Wu-sun were seen in Zhetyсу (Semireč'ie, lit. 'Seven Rivers', south of the Balkash Lake). Moreover, there is very obvious evidence preventing us from thinking that they came from the Far East, from the ocean shores. They were pictured as coloured-eyed and coloured-haired. The issue that the Kök Türks did not live in the Altay region will be a subject of dispute on its own in a separate chapter.

The second issue is based on the belief that the Turks always came from the east and the people living in the west were certainly non-Turks, and cries out that at the dawn of ethnic history there is no room in the west for the Turks. According to this, the northwest of Asia was the land of the Uralic peoples. In the north, there were the Paleo-Siberian nations. South of the line that runs from the Altay to the south Urals, meaning the entirety of Central Asia, including the Altay region, Eastern Turkistan and even some northern parts of China such as Ordos, is given to the Indo-Europeans. So, there remains only the east of Siberia, Mongolia proper and Manchuria, where the Turks should have been born.

There is nothing to say about Siberia, however, giving the entirety of Central Asia to the Iranic peoples contradicts the science of ethnology. Let's say the Proto-Indo-Europeans lived in the 5-4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC in Anatolia, in the present Ukrainian landscape or elsewhere, then, the ancestors of other peoples should be living in other places. If the Aryans/Indo-Iranians went to the east, separating from the main mass of Indo-Europeans, and passed into Asia c. 2000 BC, pouring into Iran and India *en masse* to transform ethnic and linguistic structures there, then, there should again be other nations living in the vast parts of Central Asia. Otherwise, we need a huge human resource to fill the entirety of Central Asia and parts of Inner Asia, Iran and India, and to expel, exterminate or transform the indigenous people from one-third of the livable Asia only within four or five centuries around the year 2000 BC. "The attribution of this or that archaeological culture to a particular ethnic grouping may be entirely conjectural in the absence of linguistic evidence".<sup>85</sup>

Here come some consecutive questions to which we cannot find answers in any book: If the Iranic mass, being one-half of the Aryan branch of the Indo-Europeans, succeeded in seizing such an immense area of land comparable only to the Genghisid Mongolian and Russian conquests, that is, everywhere from the Ukrainian steppes to the Altay

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<sup>85</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 14.

Mountains and from the Ural Mountains to the Persian Gulf, how did they ethnically transform these lands within a few centuries? Russians were not able to do it, and Mongolians were themselves assimilated by the natives. Current theories of the dispersal of Indo-Iranians do not deal with this question. If they did bring this great population from their homeland and then continued to produce human beings in Asia, where did they go afterwards without leaving any trace, since we do not see Iranic peoples in Central Asia in historical periods, except for some oases in the south?

In fact, there is evidence which would make one give the whole of Central Asia to the Iranic peoples. This is connected with the third issue which I believe is at the centre of all these wrong thoughts. In the area that is said to be given to the Iranians, the human bones found there from the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, point to a white race. As the Turks are not from a white race, according to common prejudice, one should not search for them here. The vast geography to the east of the Altay Mountains, where the slant-eyed people live is such a place to search for the ancestors of the Turks.

I will not go on here, so as not to repeat the arguments I made in my other book *Iran ile Turan* (Iran and Turan).<sup>86</sup> The question of whether the Turks are from the “yellow race” or not has been examined since the beginning of this book, and I will keep on talking about it in the succeeding pages as well. To avoid any misunderstanding, I will nevertheless say what it is unnecessary to say: There isn’t anything to be ashamed of about belonging to the yellow race, or to any other race if it biologically exists, I just do not believe that this is the reality for the Turkic people. This is not a sentimental, but a scientific issue.

The fourth mistake which is made when searching for the motherland of the Turks is to put Turkic languages inside the Altaic linguistic family. The Altaic theory, in the narrow scope, places Turkic with Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus. In the wide scope, it also includes Korean and Japanese. If certain languages are from the same family, then their speakers should also necessarily belong to the family. According to prejudice, one should then search for the Turks in the Far East.

If Turkic languages are indeed from the same family as these languages, then, there isn’t anything left to be said. The Turks should originally be from the Far East; unless someday, it is proven that these ‘Altaic’ peoples went there from somewhere else. Before that, let us look at the Altaic theory first.

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<sup>86</sup> Karatay, *Iran ile Turan*, 34-58, spared for these discussions.

## CHAPTER 3

### NOT THE GENGHIS LAWS, BUT THE ALTAIC THEORY

If people who were once of the same community, in time became separated from each other for some reason, then, their dialects turn into languages of their own in the course of time. If the time of separation is close, then they continue to understand each other. As the time interval increases, the more difficult it becomes for them to communicate. For instance, Azerbaijan (Iran) and Turkey were detached about 500 years ago on political grounds. They developed different political entities, and the Istanbul dialect which is very different from the Azerbaijani dialects became the official one. If the local dialect of Erzurum had become the official dialect in Turkey, this disconnection would, of course, have been less. Yet, the two communities still understand each other nearly perfectly.

The separation from the other remaining Oghuz folk, meaning the Turkmens in Turkmenistan and around, is an incident of some thousand years old. That is why it is more difficult for a Turkish citizen to understand a Turkmen, but he/she would still get what the other is saying. Uzbeks would be even harder to understand. For the Kyrgyz, when they first talk, it may sound like a foreign language, but if a Turk listens carefully, he/she will start to catch many words. In this way, as the time and distance increase, the languages detach from each other. At the extreme end, the relation of Chuvash and Turkish can almost only be seen by experts of the field.

To give an example, feet in Turkish is *ayak* (or *adak* in its Old Turkic form), and *ura* in Chuvash. These are in fact cognate words; a series of regular phonetic changes differentiated them. The word's oldest form is probably *\*padak* (in this way it gets a Nostratic form, cognates of which can be observed in Latin and in other European languages, including the English *foot*). First, the *-p* at the beginning falls in the late Proto-Turkic, then in old Chuvash all the *-ks* at the end automatically fall (such as *hula* in Chuvash and *kulak* in Turkish which stands for 'ear'). The vowel *a* in the first syllable turns into *u* in Chuvash (like *katla-* in Turkish and *hula-* in

Chuvash which stands for ‘to fold’). The consonant *d* in the middle becomes *r* in two steps. These changes may seem to be too much for some readers, but they are quite normal and expected in any language when there is such a time interval between the proto-language and current daughter languages, and if there is geographical distance between the daughters, forms would be even more differentiated.

To further explain, another example can be seen in the sentence “Oh, beautiful girl, tell me, where are you from?” Below are translations of this sentence in various Turkic languages.

- Ey güzel kız, söyle bana neredensin?* (Turkey)  
*Ay gözəl kız, söyle mənə hardansan?* (Azerbaijan)  
*Ay gözəl gız, maňa ayt nirden bolar sen?* (Turkmenistan)  
*Ay yahşi kız, ayt meňe kayerdensen?* (Uzbekistan)  
*Ey güzel kız, eytkin maňa keyerliksen?* (East Turkistan)  
*Ey sulu kız, ayt magan kaydansın?* (Kazakhstan)  
*Çaraş kış, çugaala menea kayın sen?* (Tyva)  
*Ey mattur hir, kala mana ıřta esi?* (Chuvashia)

All of the words here are Turkic in origin. Reasons for the differentiations are many. For instance, Turkish forgot some words or replaced their meanings. *Yahşi*, ‘beautiful’ in Uzbek, is just used for boys in Turkish in the form *yakışıklı* ‘handsome’. For interrogative pronouns starting with *ka-*, only *hangi* ‘which one’ and *kaç* ‘how many’ are left in Turkish, which uses mostly *ne-* type interrogative pronouns. The Chuvash *hir*, ‘girl’, is a cognate of the Common Turkic *kız*, and not another word. To sum up, some words in some regions fall into disuse, some change in meaning and some change in pronunciation. As differences grow, local accents turn into dialects, and dialects into languages.

At the end, the sum of these languages and dialects constitutes a family due to the large degree of correspondence of lexical and structural similarities. Historically, we know that they come from one source. The language or dialects spoken in Turkey, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan come from the Oghuz language. Oghuz constitutes a part of Common Turkic.

Similarly, there are other families as well. For instance, the word for wolf is *vuk* in Serbian, *vŭlk* in Bulgarian and *volk* (read as ‘valk’) in Russian. Apart from these sound changes, different words can be used to mean the same thing. “Thank you” is *hvala* in Serbian, *blagodarya* in Bulgarian and *sposibo* in Russian. These differences again do not change

the kinship between these languages, and we consider them as one family.<sup>87</sup>

This issue is about the course of time. If we take time back and gather people together at the place where their ancestors lived, their languages would gather as well. That is why, about 1000 years ago, the Oghuz who were the ancestors of the Turkmens, and the Kipchaks who were ancestors of the Kazakhs were speaking approximately the same language. In the same way, there was a language which all the Slavic peoples understood about 1200 years ago.

Let us now go back to the age of Proto-Slavic. When its speakers lived under the Huns and Avars in the early Medieval, they had one language with of course some dialectal differences. Just like the kinship ties between the Russian, Czech and Serbian of today, the ancestral Slavic too has familial relations with other proto-languages. The room is suddenly lightened when we observe that *new* in English is *nova* in Italian, *nov-* in Russian, and *nev* in Persian. Likewise, *two* in English is *duo* in Italian, *dva* in Russian, and *du* in Persian.

To be sure, on the one side, we compare more and more words and, on the other, we look at structures of languages. Knowing words is not enough to know a language. One has to also know how to align words in sentences and how to change the shape of words if necessary (in inflectional languages or structures). The role of structural differences between languages can be demonstrated in this example:

Turkish: *Gelemeyecekmiş.*

English: *It has been learned that he will not be able to come.*

Vice versa, a Turk would not translate this English sentence as:

*O var idi öğrendi ki o ister hayır ol –ebilir –e gel.*

This direct translation of the English sentence to Turkish is 100% correct and 100% wrong at the same time. *Gelemeyecekmiş* explains the English sentence perfectly whereas the direct translation into Turkish is quite amusing and completely meaningless. Unfortunately, readers who do not speak Turkish miss this fun part.

However, saying the same thing in Russian would be quite similar to the sentence in English. The words may not be too parallel, but the

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<sup>87</sup> The phenomenon of linguistic change is explained very nicely in Walter Porzig, *Dil Denen Mucize -II-*, trans. V. Ülkü (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1986), 71-126 (original title is *Das Wunder der Sprache*). The questions of why and how it changes are answered in a simple way by Merritt Ruhlen, *The Origin of Language. Tracing the Evolution of the Mother Language* (New York: Wiley, 1994), 29-32.

structure is important, and it is the determinant. At the end, we compare how the languages work and what words they have and how they relate to each other. But if we regard the very intensity of the loanings between languages, we will prioritise the kinds of words that do not travel too much. For example, numbers, basic adjectives and verbs, kinship and organ names do not change easily in a given language, and do not usually migrate to other languages. Words such as *five*, *run*, *father*, *leg* and *tall* would not be easily altered by foreign words in the majority of cases. This is a universal fact. A list of these “permanent” words for Turkish will be given below. With other comparisons such as those above, English from the Germanic, Italian from the Latin, Russian from the Slavic and Persian from the Iranic language family seem to unite at one language in a distant past. They are altogether called the Indo-European family. Nearly all the languages in the world are part of these kinds of families, and these families merge in further old, ancestral languages. Languages descending from the same root are observed to be sisters. When we rewind right back, according to some theories, it is seen that all languages come from one source.<sup>88</sup>

We need to use the same logic on Turkic as well. It must have close and distant relatives. In the year 1739, the Swedish officer von Strahlenberg, after a long enthrallment in Siberia, came up with a thesis. In his opinion, Finnish, which he was familiar with, the Mongolian, Tungusic and Turkic languages that he learned there, and all the other languages in northern Eurasia belonged to the same family. Afterwards, although his book was soon translated into the major European languages, there was silence for a century, and then the Finnish scholar Castrén took up the matter academically and made the pioneering word comparisons. Subsequently, this matter became a scientific research area of the highest level under the principal names of Ural-Altai or Altai. Later, Korean and Japanese were added to the family.<sup>89</sup>

It is not true to think that the mentioned Proto-Altai language was necessarily situated in the far eastern parts of Asia. For example, according to Miller who further enlarged this family by including Japanese, the

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<sup>88</sup> Ruhlen is the main defender of this cause and sums up his conclusions esp. in *The Origin of Language*, 139-146. He explains the evolution of the ideas on this matter in 61-76.

<sup>89</sup> For a history of Altai or Ural-Altai studies, see Nicholas Poppe, *Introduction to Altai Linguistics* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965), 125 ff. for the ‘classical’ period, and Václav Blažek, *Altai Languages. History of Research, Survey, Classification and a Sketch of Comparative Grammar* (Brno: Masaryk University Press, 2019), encompassing the present day.

Proto-Altaic language was born in West Siberia and then spread into the East.<sup>90</sup>

The problem of the Altaic theory is that, in essence, it is not certain if the theory came out of the researches or the researches came out of the theory, in spite of the fact that von Strahlenberg started it with word comparisons. Even though the subject looks like it is a part of a scientific process, I believe the emergence of this idea was more related to some sentiments and perceptions.<sup>91</sup> The natural way, as before stated, should be that the research is done first (more elaborately than von Strahlenberg's research in his capacity and his age), and then the hypothesis follows. It was however, the other way around for this incident. There was formed, initially, the belief that a family like this should exist, and then the work was done in this direction. As Róna-Tas depicts, for a long time in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the genetic relationship of Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus was not a hypothesis which had to be proved, but evidence which had to be demonstrated.<sup>92</sup>

If one reason for this perception is geographical, the other is concerned with the culture developed by this geography. Rashid-al-Din Hamadani (1247-1318), a historian of the Ilkhanid court, says that Turks and Mongols are brothers.<sup>93</sup> There is a geography, where there were scarcely any lines of separation, not a clear understanding of a boundary, and where the two peoples were living side by side for at least 2500 years known to us. Biological and linguistic kinship would naturally be expected at the first glance.

However, this expectation shouldn't have brought prejudice and prejudice with it. First, Turkic and Mongolian, then Manchu-Tungus, and according to the later additions, Korean and Japanese needed to pass the same examination which other language families passed through.<sup>94</sup> This

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<sup>90</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 18.

<sup>91</sup> Stefan Georg, "Japanese, the Altaic Theory, and the Limits of Language Classification", in *Perspectives on the Origin of the Japanese Language*, eds. A. Vovin and T. Osada (Kyoto: Nichibunken, 2003), 429, underlines the absence of the true founders of the Altaic theory and describes it as "somehow it was there".

<sup>92</sup> András Róna-Tas, *An Introduction to Turkology* (Szeged: Szeged University Press, 1991), 16.

<sup>93</sup> Saadetin Gömeç, *Türk Kültürünün Ana Hatları* (Ankara: Akçağ, 2006), 266. Georg, "Japanese, the Altaic Theory", 430, starts it with Abu'l-Ghazi Bahadur's *Shajara-i Tarākima* (Genealogy of the Turkmens) written in 1659, however he was a copier and commentator of Rashid-al-Din, albeit he compiled oral and other written sources then present among the Turkmens.

<sup>94</sup> Vovin suggests in a recent study that Korean is a family of its own and not related to any other language: Alexander Vovin, "Korean as a Paleosiberian



examination should start with the comparison of the basic vocabulary, albeit it is only a part of the work. Let's do some of this ourselves. Below is a table of the words which one should first look at when relating two languages. Many more words can be included; for instance, *water* is a very essential word.

In linguistics, when looking at two languages, one always takes the oldest form of the words. The current structures should not be compared unless it is necessary. For example, today, in the word *moloko* 'milk' in Russian, since it is read by *malako*, a Turk can immediately find a meaning connection between milk in Russian and the Turkish word *mal* 'cattle'. From there, he/she can advocate that it is of Turkic origin. However, in the Proto-Slavic this word was in the form *mleko*, which is in fact related with the German *milch* or English *milk*. On the other hand, the word *mal* in Turkish is a loaning from Arabic and therefore does not exist in Old Turkic.

Before passing onto the table, it is worthwhile to mention some phonetic characteristics of historical Old Turkic. Above, I have said that there are some regular changes between languages and dialects of the same family. For instance, the words which commence with *y-* in Turkish usually start with *j-* in Kazakh and *c-* in Kyrgyz. The word *yol* 'road', respectively becomes *jol* and *col*. The Turkish verb *yaz-* 'to write' is *caz-* and *yurt* 'homeland' is *curt* 'tent, home, homeland' in Kyrgyz. In this way, there are basic differences between the two branches of Turkic languages (Turkish belongs to the Oghuz group, and Kazakh and Kyrgyz belong to the Kipchak group).

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Language", in *Han'gugō ūi chwap'yō ch'atki: kyet'onngnon kwa yuhyōngnon ūl nōmōsō*, ed. Kwang Chōng (Sōul: Yōngnak, 2015), 235-254. Robbeets also underlines that "pairwise comparison of Japanese and Korean is not without risk. The geographical proximity has led to successive waves of cultural and linguistic contact" (Martine Robbeets, "The Historical Comparison of Japanese, Korean and the Trans-Eurasian Languages", *Ricista degli Studi Orientali* 81, 1-4 (2008), 261). I say exactly the same for the Turko-Mongolic comparison. Based on some medieval linguistic relics, there are theories suggesting that Japanese was once spoken in some parts of Korea. Vovin developed the theory that the central and southern parts of the Korean peninsula were originally Japonic speaking (Vovin, "Northeastern and Central Asia: 'Altaic' Linguistic History", 201). If so, the factor of areal contact in explaining the Japano-Korean proximity gains more importance. Briefly, nor is the eastern part of the Altaic zone secure. For a rejection of the inclusion of Japanese and Korean into the Altaic family in a comparative way with Indo-European cases, see Claudia A. Ciancaglini, "How to Prove Genetic Relationships Among Languages: The Cases of Japanese and Korean", *Rivista degli studi orientali* 81, 1-4 (2008), 289-320.

Again, words ending with *-z* in one branch end with *-r* in the other, and the ones which end with *-s*, end with *-l* in the other. Likewise, words which start with *b-*, begin with *p-* in the other. This is the case with Common Turkic, comprising all languages current or historical except for the current Chuvash, and historical Bulgar. The second features represent those of the latter. The  $r = z$  equation is called ‘Rhotacism’, and the  $l = s$  equation is ‘Lambdaism’ in Turkology.<sup>95</sup> Some differences occurred between vowels as well. As before-stated, the now ethnically extinct Bulgaro-Ogur Turks were speaking a very different dialect than that of other Turks. Today, the only reminiscence of that language is Chuvash. That is why many words which are more or less the same in other Turkic languages seem different in Chuvash.

Some scholars claim that the Bulgaro-Ogur Turkic represents the essential form of Proto-Turkic, and Common Turkic deviated from it.<sup>96</sup> That is why common words with Turkic in the earliest layers of Mongolian and Hungarian are exclusively in the ‘rhotatic’ form.<sup>97</sup> I would therefore like to give the Bulgaric versions for the Old Turkic column in the table below, however, there isn’t enough material to reconstruct Proto-Turkic on that basis. That is why I was obliged to refer to the Common Turkic forms, which shouldn’t in fact, be compared with Mongolian and Hungarian.

The words below have been gathered by me, mainly from the Swadesh list, and other sources. For the detection and writing of Old Turkic words, I referred mostly to Décy’s book, *The Turkic Protolanguage*, which used simpler forms of the entries of the Clouston dictionary.

It is well known that languages are robust in keeping the kinds of words classified as basic vocabulary: numerals, basic verbs and adjectives, kinship words, basic organ names, etc. Since all languages expectedly have those words, and since those words are essential in daily life,

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<sup>95</sup> For this basic phonetic equation, see Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, 157; Róna-Tas, *An Introduction to Turkology*, 26-28.

<sup>96</sup> Osman N. Tuna, *Altay Dilleri Teorisi* (İstanbul: TDAV, 1983), 31. I’m of the inclination, however, that this is true only for Rhotacism, and Lambdaism might be a later development. Happy to see that Vovin always suggests  $*-l < *-s-$  in several examples (Alexander Vovin, “The End of the Altaic Controversy in Memory of Gerhard Doerfer”, *Central Asiatic Journal* 49, 1 (2005), various pages).

<sup>97</sup> Also in some other languages like Samoyed: Róna-Tas, *An Introduction to Turkology*, 28.

speakers do not need to borrow foreign elements to replace them,<sup>98</sup> although this is not a strict rule.<sup>99</sup> The Mexican linguist Morris Swadesh prepared a 207-word list of 100 basic and 100 complementary words and suggested that languages be compared according to this list.<sup>100</sup> Of course, when applied to different languages, some arrangements are made according to geography. For example, snow and ice-related materials are removed from languages in a warm climate.<sup>101</sup> We made a list based on the classification here and expanded the 207 slightly. Some of the words in the Swadesh list were not included in ours. We added more – basic – verbs, since their borrowability is rare enough,<sup>102</sup> as well as adjectives, which are almost as hard to borrow as verbs.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> The least borrowable words are of kinship (15%), body (14.2%), spatial relations (14%) and sense perception (11%). See Tadmor et al., “Borrowability and the Notion of Basic Vocabulary”, *Diachronica* 27, 2 (Jan. 2010), 233.

<sup>99</sup> For instance, Japanese and Korean borrowed nearly the entire numeral system from Chinese (Martine Robbeets, *Is Japanese Related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 50). The proportion of Chinese loan vocabulary in the entire Japanese lexicon exceeds 60%, while it is 11% in the basic vocabulary (Martine Robbeets, “Swadesh 100 on Japanese, Korean and Altaic”, *Tokyo University Linguistic Papers*, 23 (2004), 3; idem, *Is Japanese Related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?*, 50). See also the below quotation from Manaster Ramer on the borrowability of numerals.

<sup>100</sup> Morris Swadesh, “Lexico-Statistic Dating of Prehistoric Ethnic Contacts: With Special Reference to North American Indians and Eskimos,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96, 4 (1952), 452-463. Tadmor et al. recently suggested a new list of basic vocabulary, known as the Leipzig-Jakarta List, saving a significant part of the Swadesh words: “Borrowability and the Notion of Basic Vocabulary”, 239-241.

<sup>101</sup> A critique and correction of the Swadesh list in applying to Turkic can be seen in Gerard Clauson, “A Lexicostatistical Appraisal of the Altaic Theory”, *Central Asiatic Journal* 13, 1 (1969), 9 ff. An extended study on the situation of Turkic languages in terms of the list belongs to Bilgehan A. Gökdağ and Yaşar Şimşek: “Temel Sözcükler Bağlamında Türkçenin Görünümü”, *7. Uluslararası Dünya Dili Türkçe Sempozyumu Bildirileri -I-*, eds. Ahmet Buran et al. (Elazığ: Fırat University Press, 2015), 183-221.

<sup>102</sup> “The relative stability of verbs is interrelated with a number of factors, such as the fact that verbal semantics tend to be less culturally determined than the meanings of nouns, that verbs are less perceivable as distinct units because they need more adoption to the morpho-syntactic frame of the sentence, and that there simply are less verbs than nouns” (Martine Robbeets, “Shared Verb Morphology in the Transeurasian Languages: Copy or Cognate?”, in *Copies versus Cognates in Bound Morphology*, eds. Lars Johanson and Martine Robbeets (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 204). A study comparing two ancient languages in terms of loanwords has frankly revealed this fact. Of the Sumerian words with an Akkadian origin, 334

S. Starostin put the Swadesh 100 words in a new order according to their stability ranges. Pronouns and then organ names cluster at the beginning. Verbs cluster mostly in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter (between 50 and 75).<sup>104</sup> G. Starostin, referring to his father, advises abstaining from verbs in this survey as much as possible, since they are concentrated in the less stable half of the list, but our aim is not to make an introductory survey; instead, we need to detect a known case in more detail.

Just like everything else, the basic vocabulary lists can also be used arbitrarily to serve any purpose. For example, Clauson who uses the 100-word list argues that only three or four words between Mongolian and Turkic can undoubtedly be considered as related. This is an incredibly small number. Even if one does not talk about Mongolian and Turkic which most people believe to be relatives, by randomly taking any two languages in the world one may find more than 3-4 words that are common to them both. Ciancaglini cites from Trask (1996) an interesting comparison table of Hawaiian and Greek, including some basic words too, in which the former seems to be only a dialect of the latter.<sup>105</sup>

On the other hand, if one compares the Turkic *el* ‘hand’ with the Mongolian *gar* ‘hand’, at first sight, they will look irrelevant. However, if one thinks that *kar* is ‘arm’ in Old Turkic, then one will observe that Mongolian, Turkic and Hungarian collude at the concept of arm/hand. In the same way, the Turkic equivalent of the Hungarian *nyák* ‘neck’ is *boym*. However, in Turkic there is *yaka* “collar, neck” which would correspond.

By looking through the list, one can even find Azerbaijani and Turkish, the two Oghuz dialects, to be quite distanced: respectively, *tap-* and *bul-* ‘to find’, *danış-* and *konuş-* ‘to speak’, *yahşi* and *iyi* ‘good, nice’, *bala* and *çocuk* ‘child’, and *harda* and *nerde* ‘where’. This again however, would only happen if one does not consider sound changes and slight deviations in meanings (like the neck-collar example). If the reader remembers the sentence from various Turkic languages I have given above, going from

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are nouns, 12 verbs, 8 adjectives, 9 participles, 2 numerals, 1 conjunction, 1 interjection and 1 case indicator (V. V. Emelianov, “Akkadian Loanwords in Sumerian Revised”, *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana. Trudy instituta lingvističeskikh issledovanij* 10, 1 (2014), 510). This means, nouns are open to copying to an incomparable degree.

<sup>103</sup> Tadmor et al., “Borrowability and the Notion of Basic Vocabulary”, 231.

<sup>104</sup> Georg Starostin, “Preliminary Lexicostatistics as a Basis for Language Classification: A New Approach”, *Journal of Language Relationship/Voprosy jazykovogo rodstva* 3 (2010), 90.

<sup>105</sup> Ciancaglini, “How to Prove Genetic Relationships Among Languages”, 300.

west to east, even there one can observe worthwhile differences. That sentence is significant, because it contains all the basic words. Hence, one should be careful when using basic vocabulary lists.

In the list below, I will give old forms of the words.<sup>106</sup> However, some basic words, unfortunately, do not occur in any written source. This does not mean that the word did not exist then, and is a neology. For example, the word *duy-* ‘to hear, to feel’ is absent in old records. This does not necessarily mean that the word is newly invented. As it is common in all contemporary Turkic languages (in Turkish and Azerbaijani ‘to hear’, in the others ‘to feel’), we can assume that it existed in the old times as well.

In addition, frankly speaking, diversification is necessary here. For instance, if we only take the essential word *köp* ‘all’ to fill the Swadesh list and do not include *bütün* (again commonly used for ‘all’), then we would not see the connection with the Mongolian word *bütün* ‘all’. For ‘to do’, if one puts *yap-*, but does not include *et-*, *kıl-*, *eyle-* and *işle-*, all equivalents of ‘to do’, then we would miss the connections.

Here, I firstly offer an expanded list of basic words for a Mongolian-Turkic comparison, leaving aside for now the examination of regular sound correspondences, which is indeed the other half of the job. Clearly, there is no mention here of an economy of words, in an attempt to oversight a Mongolian word. My intention is for everything to be crystal clear. Afterwards, in the following section, the contents of this list will be used for Hungarian. Thus, we will compare these two languages on equal terms with Turkic.

In the table below, the first column contains the Turkish words in today’s form. The second column has the Old Turkic equivalences of them. This is meaningful in order to see the degree of alienation of Turkish, as a representative of the contemporary Turkic languages, from the Old Turkic, which we’ll need in upcoming debates. The third column has the classical Mongolian equivalent. If there is a Mongolian word which can be related to the Turkic one with a different meaning, the meaning is given in the fifth column within the same square. If not, the meaning of the Mongolian word given is the same as the second column of that line. I signed connected words with a ‘yes’ in the last column. Mongolian words were written as in the Lessing dictionary, but some

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<sup>106</sup> In spite of the insistence of the Starostins to make use of reconstructed forms (Starostin, “Preliminary Lexicostatistics”, 89). I feel free in doing so, for Turkic and Mongolian have in any case fewer than 50 cognate items in the Swadesh-100, if so, in accordance with G. Starostin’s criterion. Besides, as Georg, “Japanese, the Altaic Theory”, 441, says, proto-forms can never have the same status as attested items, for the former are completely absent, and were only invented within our minds.

letters omitted in that book for ‘technical reasons’, like *š*, *ž*, *č*, *ö* and *ü* were added.

**Table 1:** Comparison of Turkic and Mongolian Basic Words

<b>Numerals</b>					
	<b>Meaning</b>	<b>Turkish</b>	<b>Old Turkic</b>	<b>Mongolian</b>	<b>Relationship</b>
1	one	bir	bir	neg	
2	two	iki	eki	hojar	
3	three	üç	üç	ğurban	
4	four	dört	tört	dörben	Yes?
5	five	beş	biş	tabun	
6	six	altı	altı	zurgaa	
7	seven	yedi	yiti	dolugan	
8	eight	sekiz	sekiz	nayman	
9	nine	dokuz	tokuz	jisün	
10	ten	on	on	arban	
11	hundred	yüz	yüz	zuun	
12	thousand	bin	min	minggan	Yes
<b>Pronouns, Prepositions, Postpositions, and Conjunctions</b>					
13	I	ben	men/ben	bi	Yes
14	thou	sen	sen	či	Yes
15	he/she/it	o	o, ol	ter	
16	we	biz	miz/biz	bide	Yes <sup>107</sup>
17	you	siz	siz	ta	
18	they	onlar	olar	ted	
19	oneself	kendi	kentü	gendün	Yes
20	oneself	öz	öz	öber	Yes
21	this	bu	bo	ene	
22	that	şu	şo	tere	
23	how many	kaç	kaç	kedün	Yes?
24	who	kim	kim, kayu	ken	Yes?
25	what	ne	ne	juu	
26	when	ne zaman	kaçan	kezije	Yes?
27	where	ner	kaçan, kanı	jamar gazar, ali gazar, hamiga	
28	which	hangi	kangı	jambar, ali, jagun	
29	how	nasıl	neçük	jambar, ker	
30	why	niye	neke	jagakikad	
31	and	ve	takı	ba	

<sup>107</sup> In both languages these are indeed plural forms of the first singular person.

32	with	ile	ile, bilen	çug, hamt	
33	if	eğer, ha, -se	ha, -se	kerbe	
34	no, not	değil, yok, -me/-ma	degül, yok, -me/-ma	buu, ülü	
35	all	hep, tüm, bütün,	köp, tüm, bütün	bütün, бүкү, dayan, neite	Yes

### Basic Verbs

36	open	aç	aç	nege	
37	flow	ak	ak	aki, urus	Yes
38	take	al	al	ab	
39	hang	as	as	asa	Yes
40	throw	at	at	haya, side	
41	hunt	avla	avla	abala	Yes
42	understand	anla	uk	oila	Yes
43	tie	bağla	ba	bagla	Yes
44	look	bak	bak	hara	
45	know	bil	bil	mede	
46	ride	bin	min	una, jabu	
47	divide	böl	böl	hubiya, anggila	
48	find	bul	bul, tap	ol	Yes
49	mix	bula	bulga	bulha	Yes
50	twist	bur	bur	muški	
51	bend	bük	buk, büg	nugul	
52	exit	çık	çık	garah, cuhuy	Yes
53	pull	çek	çek	tata, çene, zegü	Yes
54	draw	çiz	çiz	žirü	Yes
55	say	de	ti	öçi, ke1e <sup>108</sup>	Yes
56	sew	dik	tik, kadu	hada ‘drive in, knock in, nail’	Yes
57	born	doğ	tuğ	törü <sup>109</sup>	
58	fill	dol	tol	düğür	
59	beat	döv	tokı	coki, göbde	
60	hear	duy, işit	eşit	dugul, sonus	Yes
61	arrive, reach	er	er	ire, kür	Yes
62	take care	esirge	esirke	asara	Yes
63	dig	eş	eş	uhu	
64	make	et	et	ki, üiled ‘do, make’ <sup>110</sup>	

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Chuv. *kala-* ‘to say’.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Tr. *törü-* ‘to be created’.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Tr. *eyle-* ‘to make, do’.

65	come	gel	kel	ire <sup>111</sup>	Yes
66	wander	gez	kez	kerü	Yes
67	enter	gir	kir	oru	
68	go	git	kit	jabu	
69	wear	giy	ked	kedür, emüs	Yes
70	see	gör	kör	hara, üze	Yes?
71	laugh	gül	kül	inije	
72	drink	iç	iç	ugu	
73	come down	in	in	buu	
74	want	iste, um	iste, um	küse	
75	grab, seize	kap	kap	şüüre, bari	
76	dig	kaz	kaz	uhu, malta	
77	do, make	kıl	kıl	ki	Yes
78	cut	kes	kes	keseğle	Yes
79	speak	konuş	tın	jari, üğüle	
80	protect	koru	kori	hamagala, ömüg, hori 'shut in, confine'	Yes
81	build	kur	kur	bari, baigul	
82	be	ol	bol	bol	Yes
83	die	öl	öl	ükü	
84	kill	öl(dür)	öl(dür)	ala <sup>112</sup>	Yes
85	knit, weave	ör	ör	gürü, kerü, neke	Yes
86	cook	piş	bış	şarah, huurah	
87	suppose	say, san	sa, san	sana	Yes
88	count	say	sa, san	bodü, togaçi	
89	love, like	sev	sev	hayrala, amara, amura	
90	ask for	sor	sor	sura, soru	Yes
91	dim down	sön	sön	sönü	Yes
92	tell	söyle	söyle	öçi, ge, süi 'word'	Yes
93	filter	süz	süz	şigü	Yes?
94	attach	tak	tak	habsurulga	
95	recognise	tanı	tanu	tani	Yes
96	carry	taşı	taşu	avç jabu	
97	seal, tampon	tıka	tık	tagla	Yes
98	hold	tut	tut	bari	
99	fly	uç	uç	nis	
100	sleep	uyu	udı	unta	
101	exist	var	bar	bai, bi, orusi	

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Tr. *er-* 'to arrive, reach'.

<sup>112</sup> More related to Hu. *hal-* 'to die'.



102	reach	var	bar	kür, genü	
103	give	ver	bir	ög	
104	hit	vur	ur	deled, çoki <sup>113</sup>	Yes
105	lick	yala	yala	doliya	Yes
106	make, do	yap	yap	ki	
107	split	yar	yar	jara, irga	Yes
108	create	yarat	yarat	bütüğe,	
109	live	yaşa	yaşa	amidura	
110	write	yaz	yaz, biti	biçi	Yes
111	eat	ye	yi	ide	
112	wash	yıka	yıka	uğija	Yes
113	look control	up, yokla	yok	temtreh	
114	walk	yürü	yor, yür	java, alhu, zori	Yes
115	swim	yüz	yüz	sele	

### Basic Adjectives

116	bitter	acı	açı	gaşuun	
117	heavy	ağır	ağar	kündü	
118	white	ak	ak	cagan	
119	colourful	ala	ala	alag	Yes
120	low	alçak	alçak	darugu, nam,	
121	bottom	alt, as	ala, as	dogugsi, dorugsi	
122	back	arka, art	arka, ard	aru	Yes
123	few, less	az	az	arai	Yes
124	other	başka, öbür	başka	ögere, ondu, busu	Yes
125	abundant	bol	bol	arbin, elbeg, delbeg	
126	empty	boş	boş	hogusugar	
127	grey	boz	boz	boru	Yes
128	big	büyük	bög, bedük	büdügün, yolu, tomu, jeke	Yes
129	many, much	çok	çok, köp, kop	ik, olan	
130	narrow	dar	tar	narın	
131	outside	dış	taş	ğadana	
132	early	er, erken	er, erte	erten	Yes
133	old	eski	eski	kögçin	
134	late	geç	kiç	oroi	
135	wide	geniş	en	örgen, aguu	

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Tr. *sok*- ‘to touch, insert, force’.

136	back	geri	kirü	höjši	
137	blue	gök	kök	köke	Yes
138	inside	iç	iç	dotuna, örü	
139	first	ilk	il, ilk	anhan	
140	thin	ince	yınçe	şinggen	Yes
141	good	iyi	edgü	sain	
142	black	kara	kara	hara	Yes
143	short	kısa	kısğa	boguni, ohur	
144	red	kızıl, al	kızıl, al	ulan	Yes
145	bad	kötü	yaman, yavuz	muu	
146	dry	kuru	kuru	haguray	Yes
147	small	küçük	kiçig	žižig, бага, üçügen,	Yes
148	front	ön	öng	urid	
149	right	sağ	sağ, ong	baruun	
150	yellow	sarı	sarığ	şira	Yes
151	cool	serin	serin	serigün	Yes
152	hot	sıcak	sıcak, yılığ	dulagan	Yes
153	cold	soğuk	soğık	küyten, žikegün	
154	left	sol	sol	züün	
155	end	son	song	süüliin	
156	clean	temiz, saf	arığ	arig, çeber	Yes
157	grand	ulu	uluğ	üleg, jolu	Yes
158	long	uzun	uzun	urtu	Yes
159	upper	üst	üst, üze	degere	
160	better, good	yeğ	yig	sain, deer	
161	new	yeni	yangğı	şine	Yes
162	up	yukarı	yokaru	ögede	
163	green	yeşil	yaşıl	nogugan	
164	round	yuvarlak	tegirmi	dugurig	Yes
165	high	yüksek	yüksek	öndür	

**Person and Kinship terms**

166	sister (elder)	abla	eke	egeçi	Yes
167	brother (elder)	ağabey	içi	aha	
168	uncle (father's side)	amca	eçi, *abaca	abaga	Yes
169	mother	ana	ana, ög	eke	Yes
170	father	baba	ata, kang	aba, abu, eçiğe	
171	ancestor	ata	eçü	eçiğed	Yes
172	elder relative	apa	apa	ambaa	Yes

173	sister	bacı	bacı	egeçi <sup>114</sup>	Yes
174	soul	can, ruh	tın	süns	
175	child	çocuk	çocuk, bala	küüked	
176	uncle (mother's side)	dayı	tağay	nagacu	
177	grandfather	dede	dede	övöö	
178	man	er	er	aran, ere,	Yes
179	aunt (father's side)	hala, eme	tağay ece	abaga egeçi	
180	people	halk	kün	kümüs	
181	woman	kadın	uragut, tişi	emegtey, eme <sup>115</sup>	Yes
182	brother (younger)	kardeş	ini	degüü	
183	wife	karı	uragut	abagay, gergei	
184	girl, daughter	kız	kız	okin	
185	sister (younger)	kızkardeş	öke	okin düü, egeçi	Yes
186	person	kişi	kişi	kümün	
187	grandmother	nine	nene	emee <sup>116</sup>	Yes
188	son	oğul	ogıl	küü, agul 'grandson'	
189	aunt (mother's side)	teyze	tağay eçe	nagacu egeçi	

### Organ Names

190	mouth	ağız	ağız	ama <sup>117</sup>	Yes
191	mind	akıl, us	ög, us, es	uhagan	Yes
192	leg	bacak, but	but	köl	
193	bosom	bağır	bağır	cegežin	
194	head	baş	baş	tolugay	
195	brain	beyin	meñi	tarikin	
196	body	vücut,	bod	bey	

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Tr. *ece* 'aunt'.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Tr. *eme* 'aunt (mother's side)'.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Tr. *eme* 'aunt (mother's side)'.

<sup>117</sup> The older form is *am*, which is associated with the female genitals in Turkic. If so, that word in Turkic might be a borrowing from Mongolian, because in sexual matters such as this, metaphors and figurative expressions are widespread. For example, the Old Turkic word for 'weapon' today is used for the male genitals in Turkey. Both are slang of course.

		boy <sup>118</sup>			
197	neck	boyun	boyun	küzügüü	
198	nose	burun	burun	habar, hosigun	
199	liver	ciğer	bağ	elige	
200	tongue	dil	til	kelen	Yes
201	teeth	diş	tiş	sidün	
202	knee	diz	tiz	övdög	
203	hand	el	el	gar <sup>119</sup>	Yes
204	breast	göğüs	köküz	cegežin, öbür	Yes
205	eye	göz	köz	nidün	
206	hearth	kalp, yürek	yürek	zirüken	Yes
207	blood	kan	kan	çus	
208	wing	kanat	kanat	žigür	
209	belly	karın	karın	gedesin	
210	bone	kemik	süngük	jasun	
211	body hair	kıl	kıl	üs	Yes
212	arm	kol	kol, kar	gar	Yes
213	ear	kulak	kulğak	čikin	
214	stomach	mide, kursak	kuruğsak	hodugudun	
215	tail	kuyruk	kudrık	süül	
216	hair	saç	saç	üs	
217	beard	sakal	sakal	sahal	Yes
218	skin	ten	tan	arasun, biy	
219	hair (softer)	tüy	tü	üs	
220	face	yüz	yüz	dür 'complexion, appearance'	Yes
<b>Animals</b>					
221	lion	arслан	arслан	arслан	Yes
222	horse	at	at	morin	
223	stallion	aygır	adgır	ažirgan	Yes
224	bear	ayı	adığ	bagabagay	
225	fish	balık	balık	zagas	
226	bull	boğa	buka	buha	Yes
227	bug	böcek	bög	horuhay	
228	baby calf	buzagı	buzagı	biragu	Yes

<sup>118</sup> The word currently means 'height' in Turkish.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. OTr. *kar* 'arm, shoulder'.

229	jackal	çakal	çakal	çinunçar, cögebüri	
230	calf	dana	tana	tugal	
231	sheep (in general)	davar	tavar	bog	
232	camel	deve	teve	temegen	Yes
233	donkey	eşek	eşgek	elžigen	Yes
234	cow	inek	ingek	ünee	Yes
235	tiger	kaplan, pars	bars	bars	Yes
236	goat	keçi	keçi	yama	
237	sheep	koyun	koy	honi	Yes
238	dog	köpek, it	köpek, it, ıt	nohai	
239	frog	kurbağa	baka	melekej	
240	wolf	kurt	kurt, böri	çinua	
241	bird	kuş	kuş	şuvuu	
242	tail	kuyruk	kudrik	segül	
243	lamb	kuzu	kuzu	huragan	Yes
244	ox	öktüz	öktüz	üker	Yes
245	duck	ördek	ördek	nugusun	
246	rat	sıçan	sıçkan	hulugana <sup>120</sup>	Yes
247	cattle	sığır	suğur	üker, buha	Yes
248	rabbit	tavşan	tavışkan	taulay	
249	hen	tavuk	tagukı	takijan	Yes
250	snake	yılan	yılan	mogai <sup>121</sup>	Yes

### Plants

251	tree	ağaç	ıgaç	modun	
252	barley	arpa	arpa	arbai	Yes
253	wheat	buğday	buğday	bugudai	Yes
254	vetch	burçak	burçak	---	
255	bush	çalı	ı	buta	
256	pine	çam	çam	narasun	
257	flower	çiçek	çiçek	čečeg	Yes
258	millet	darı	tarı	honug, şar bugudai <sup>122</sup>	Yes
259	apple	elma	alma	alima	Yes
260	crop	ekin	ekin	tarijan <sup>123</sup>	Yes
261	to plant	ek-	et-	tari <sup>124</sup>	Yes

<sup>120</sup> A connection can be made if the Turkic word evolved from \**sısgan*.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. OT. *büke* ‘dragon, monster’. It may be a loanword from Mongolian, but there are lexical roots in Turkic to produce it.

<sup>122</sup> This means in Mongolian ‘white wheat’. Both of the words have already occurred above, so I did not confirm it here.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Tr. *tar-* ‘to cultivate’.

262	poplar tree	kavak	kavak	ulijasun	
263	birch	kayın	kadın	husun	
264	root	kök	kök	ug, ündes	
265	fruit	meyve, yemiş	yemiş	žimis	Yes
266	forest	orman	yış, orman	oy	
267	grass	ot	ot	övs	

**Time Vocabulary**

268	evening	akşam	akşam	oroi, üdesi	
269	month	ay	ay	sara	
270	spring	bahar	yaz	habur	
271	yesterday	dün	tün	öçigdör	
272	night	gece	tün	šöni	
273	day	gün	kün	ödör	
274	autumn	güz	küz	namur	
275	midday, moon	ögle	ödle, tüş	üde, düli	Yes
276	time	zaman, vakit	öd, kor	cag, <sup>125</sup>	Yes
277	winter	kış	kış	övöl	
278	tomorrow	yarın	yarın	daruča 'following, after'	Yes
279	summer	yaz	yay	zun	
280	year	yıl	yıl	žil	Yes

**Physical and Geographical Terms**

281	gold	altın	altun	altan	Yes
282	fire	ateş	ot	oči 'spark', gal <sup>126</sup>	Yes
283	moon	ay	ay	sara	
284	copper	bakır	bakır	zes	
285	mountain	dağ	tağ	agulan, dobu 'hill'	
286	sea	deniz	tengiz	tenggis, dalai	Yes
287	sky	gök	kök	kök tenger, ogturgui	Yes
288	lake	göl	köl	nagur	

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Tr. *tar-* 'to cultivate'.<sup>125</sup> Cf. Tr. *çağ* 'era, epoch'.<sup>126</sup> Cf. OT *yal-* 'to shine, fire'. However, if the Turkic verb comes from an earlier *yaşı-* 'to blaze, glare' as Vovin, "The End of the Altaic Controversy", 115, suggests, it would be a loanword in Mongolian from Turkic.

289	sun	güneş	küneş	naran <sup>127</sup>	Yes
290	river	ırmak	ırmak, ögüz	ğoul <sup>128</sup>	Yes
291	sand	kum	kum	elesün	
292	morass	sazlık	saz	şavar	Yes
293	water	su	sub, suv	usun	
294	stone	taş	taş	čilagun <sup>129</sup>	Yes
295	soil	toprak	toprak	tobarag	Yes
296	dust	toz	toz	togusun	Yes
297	rain	yağmur	yamgur	hura, boroo <sup>130</sup>	Yes
298	wind	yel	yel	salkin	Yes
299	earth	yer	yir	ğazar, delekei	
300	star	yıldız	yultuz	odun, gilai 'shine'	Yes

This list is constituted of 300 words, excluding a few words from the basic and complementary Swadesh lists, and including especially more verbs and adjectives. 130 of them seem to have a relation. This number falls a little when we take out the words that were certainly borrowed like *kök tenger*, *čëčeg*, *žimis*, *bütün* and *žil*, and also the ones which are not approved such as *döröv* 'four'. In the 207-word Swadesh list, 41 seem to be related including the ones which could have been borrowed and which, therefore, can be removed.

Associations increase in geographical words and animals. It is also interesting that Mongolian shares most of the colour names with Turkic. There doesn't seem to be an orderly relationship in person and kinship terms. While the similarities increase in adjectives, in verbs the relationships seem to go to the utmost. In numbers, apart from 'four' which cannot be explained and is suspicious, there is only one in common.<sup>131</sup> In numbers, Turkic has a greater relationship with even Indo-

<sup>127</sup> Cf. OTr. *yaru*- 'to shine, beam, flare'.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. OTr. *köl* 'lake'.

<sup>129</sup> Georg, "Japanese, the Altaic Theory", 445, and his follower Vovin, "The End of the Altaic Controversy", 111-112, depict it as a Bulgar-type loanword from Turkic.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. OTr. *boran* 'thunderstorm'.

<sup>131</sup> On the Altaic numerals, Manaster Ramer wrote a defensive essay, but he dealt with almost all language families except for the Altaic. The paper is full of demagogy against Doerfer, whose questions he does not answer, but insists on showing that numerals are not immutable for replacing or borrowing. The problem is, however, that 'Altaic' languages did not borrow numerals from each other or

European languages (Tr. *beş* ‘five’, Persian *penč* and Slavic *pet*, *pyat*; Tr. *yedi* ‘seven’, Persian *heft*, Latin *septe*, etc.; Tr. *on* ‘ten’, Latin *uno* ‘one’; Tr. *yüz* ‘hundred’, Proto-Indo-European *sat* ‘hundred’). Pronouns on the other hand, are much lower than the universal compatibility level. Personal pronouns in any language in the world may show similarities, and even interrogative pronouns as in Turkic and Latin, express similarities.<sup>132</sup> But not in Turkic and Mongolian, which is very surprising. It would be true to say that verbs tie Turkic to Mongolian, while numbers, pronouns, plants, organ names and time vocabulary are altogether against such a relationship. This is surely a strange relationship.

As we have seen, there are in fact not many words in common. The number is very low for two languages argued to be of the same family. Of course, there are other words in common; the more we extend the list, the more words in common we will find. For the whole picture, one can look at all the words in these languages’ dictionaries. Then, there will be a completely different situation. Comparing the Turkic words in the first column with Arabic and Serbian, there will be nearly no words in common. However, if we take the dictionaries into our hand, we will see that there are about 10,000 Arabic words in Turkish,<sup>133</sup> and about 4000

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from third parties. They have their own names for numerals and those names are not consistent with each other, which is a case for the Uralic family as well to a lesser degree. At the end, he quotes a table of ‘old’ Vovin (1994) comparing ‘Altaic’ numerals in reconstructed forms. Interestingly, Proto-Japanese and Proto-Tungus are (claimed to be) entirely consistent (1 to 10, and 100). Proto-Korean has four counterparts, while Proto-Turkic and Proto-Mongolian have three. Turkic and Mongolian share only one and the same number, ‘four’, with the entire family; the other two Turkic numbers, ‘one’ and ‘seven’ are shared only with Japanese and Tungus. However, I could not see a connection between Turkic *\*bir* ‘one’ and Tungus *\*emu*, as well as with Japanese *\*pito-* ‘one’. Besides, Turkic *\*yedi* (indeed *\*yeti*) is closer to its Uralic, Indo-European and Semitic colleagues, rather than the Tungus *\*nana-* and Japanese *\*nada-* ‘seven’ (Alexis Manaster Ramer, “The Altaic Debate and the Question of Cognate Numerals”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 87 (1997), 153-175).

<sup>132</sup> Greenberg believes in the Altaic theory and finds out that the most powerful evidence is based on personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (Joseph H. Greenberg, “Does Altaic Exist?”, in *Genetic Linguistics. Essays on Theory and Method* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 326). He also pays attention to grammatical markers common to all the Altaic branches, and accuses Doerfer of entirely ignoring them. On the other hand, he underlines that virtually all of them are found in other branches of ‘Eurasianic’, too (*ibidem*, 330).

<sup>133</sup> This is entirely an arbitrary and predicted figure. I guess nobody can ever calculate the real number. It is a fact that the number of Arabic words is rapidly decreasing in Turkish. When people in Turkey read books from the 1930-40s, there



Turkish words in Serbian. In contrast, comparing the largest dictionaries, the words common to Mongolian and Turkic will scarcely be more than 1000.

This situation surely does not mean that Serbian and Arabic are closer to Turkish. That is why we only take into account the core words. Languages constantly exchange words, but these are usually ‘cultural’ words. Most of the time, the words in the above list do not pass from one language to another. Even if they do pass, the original words are not forgotten. For example, Turkish got *peder* ‘father’ from Persian, but *baba* and *ata* stay right where they are. Turkish has *beyaz* ‘white’ and *siyah* ‘black’ from Arabic; these are used to define concrete things, while the original words *ak* ‘white’ and *kara* ‘black’ are still in use to depict abstract meanings.

Dybo published an etymological dictionary examining the Swadesh list of the Altaic languages (2013). In this valuable work, she analysed all of the words that define the 100 concepts of the Swadesh list. However, for one word/concept, there are and could be many different corresponding words from different Altaic languages. For example, for the concept ‘all’, there are *bütün*, *bar*, *kamu*, *kop*, *yomku*, *yara*, *alku*, *totoş*, *ködörö*, *üze*, etc., in historical and contemporary Turkic languages. She examined all the words, whether commonly or scarcely used, or borrowed. This would increase the chance of finding similarities. However, for the Altaic family, despite this factor, the number she found is 26, that is only 26% of the basic Swadesh vocabulary.<sup>134</sup> In the Altaic etymological dictionary to which she contributed, the Swadesh equivalences of Turkic and Mongolian are given as 25 words.<sup>135</sup> Here, for instance, the Mongolic suggestion for the Turkic word *\*yapur-gak* ‘leaf’ is *\*labçi*. This is more

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will certainly be more Arabic words in them. However, the number is considerably lower in today’s living Turkish.

<sup>134</sup> Anna V. Dybo, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov -IX-. Etimologičeskij slovar’ bazisnoj leksiki tjurkskih jazykov* (Astana: TOO Prosper, 2013), 16.

<sup>135</sup> Sergei A. Starostin, Anna V. Dybo and Oleg A. Mudrak, *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 230-2. Vovin describes this dictionary ironically as “a massive effort to provide such a bulk of non-evidence for Altaic conveniently collected in one place” (Vovin, “The End of the Altaic Controversy”, 73). The same heavy tone utilised in this long review article he applied in his review of Robbeets’ book *Is Japanese Related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?* in his essay “Japanese, Korean, and Other ‘Non-Altaic’ Languages”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, 53, 1 (2009), 105-147, for Robbeets primarily relied on the Starostin et al. dictionary.

similar to Hun. *levél* and Fin. *lehti*.<sup>136</sup> This is only an example to show that commonalities in the Ural-Altaic region are both low in number and complex and multi-dimensional in quality.

The problem is not just in the relation of Turkic with Mongolian and other Altaic languages; all the relevant languages have problems with each other. Common basic words of Turkic and Manchu-Tungus remain at 25%; and Mongol and Manchu-Tungus which we expected to be higher, share only 29% of the list.<sup>137</sup> Turkic and Korean are at 17% and Mongolian and Korean are at 18%. Manchu-Tungus, which is a neighbour to Korean has only 23% commonalities with them.<sup>138</sup> Moreover, these are based on ‘reconstructed’ items, and not on the current or recorded vocabulary.

Robbeets found 24 Korean and 17 Turkic cognates in her own study.<sup>139</sup> Let’s have a brief glance.

Many: Jp. *ooi*, PJp. *\*opo-*, PTr. *\*ap/ep*. This is a good etymology if the Japanese reconstruction is true. The Turkic reduplicative intensifying prefix *ap/ep* clearly has a semantic ground to ‘many’.

One: Jp. *hitotu*, PJp. *\*pito-*, PTr. *\*bir*. The Turkic word has Indo-European equivalences, without support from the other Altaic languages; this may be coincidental and the connection is not clear.

Two: Jp. *hutatu*, PJp. *\*puta-*, PTr. *\*buçuk* ‘half’. The Turkic word was derived from the verb *biç-* ‘to divide’; thus, they are not comparable.

Big: Jp. *hutoi*, PJp. *\*putuo-*, PKo. *\*pwu* ‘to swell, increase’, PMo. *\*būdū-Vün* ‘thick’, PTr. *\*bedük* ‘big’. The Turkic adjective was produced from the verbal stem *bedü-* ‘to get bigger’, and the verb is likewise a derivative of the adjective *\*böğ/\*beg*. Thus, Mongolian forms are clearly medieval loans from Turkic. Within Turkic, cognates of *bedük* are with *m-* (*maŋ*). The Japanese word may be related only to the Korean one.

Bark: Jp. *kawa*, PJp. *\*kapa-*, PTr. *\*kapuk*. This is a good etymology.

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<sup>136</sup> For phonetic problems in the reconstructions in the Starostin et al. dictionary see H. Jankowski, “Altaic Languages and Historical Contact”, in *Current Trends in Altaic Linguistics: A Festschrift for Professor Emeritus Seong Baeg-in on his 80th Birthday*, eds. Kim Juwon and Ko Dongho (Seoul: Altaic Society of Korea, 2013), 531. Vovin’s long paper “The End of the Altaic Controversy” is indeed composed of critiques of the dictionary.

<sup>137</sup> Robbeets suggested changing the traditional twins Turkic and Mongolian to Mongolian and ‘macro’ Manchu-Tungus (Robbeets, *Is Japanese Related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?*, 39).

<sup>138</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages*, 234.

<sup>139</sup> Robbeets, “Swadesh 100 on Japanese, Korean and Altaic”, 17.

Skin: Jp. *kara*, PJp. \**kara*, PTr. \**kar2* ‘bark, scales’. This is a good etymology.

Blood: Jp. *ti*, PJp. \**ti*, PTr. \**tin* ‘spirit, breath’. Semantically not certain.

Foot: Jp. *asi*, PJp. \**asi*, PMo. \**alca* ‘knuckle-bone’, PTr. \**aşuk/alçuk* ‘knuckle-bone’. The Turkic original should be with \**aş-*, and here is a Lambdaism sample.<sup>140</sup> Thus, the Mongolian word should be a loan. If the correspondence with Jp. is not accidental, this is a plausible etymology.

Eat: Jp. *kuu*, PJp. \**kup-*, PTr. \**keb-* ‘to chew’. This is a good etymology, but the English word warns us to regard upper and wider connections in the Eurasiatic level.

Bite: Jp. *kamu*, PJp. \**kamo-*, PTr. \**kemür-* ‘to gnaw, bite’. This is a good etymology.

Kill: Jp. *korosu*, PJp. \**koros*, PTr. \**kerüş-* ‘to quarrel, fight’. Although there is a semantic channel, *kerüş-* does not include killing.

Come: Jp. *kuru*, PJp. \**ko*, PTr. \**gel-*. The Turkic verb does not seem to have a shorter proto-form. In this way, countless verbs can be related to it, including the English *go* and *come*.

Earth: Jp. *na*, PJp. \**na*, PTr. \**jalaN*. This is by no means clear.

Burn: Jp. *taku*, PJp. \**tak-*, PTr. \**jak*. This is by no means clear.

Yellow: Jp. *ki*, PJp. \**ku*, but there is no PTr. suggestion. PTun. \**xuri* ‘grey’ and PMo. \**küre-* ‘(dark) brown’ can be related to Tr. *kir* ‘grey’ and perhaps *ku* ‘pale’, but as the Eng. *grey* and Rus. *seryj* show, it has wider connections.

White: Jp. *siro*, PJp. \**siruo*, *sira*, PTr. \**sar-g* ‘yellow’. This is a good etymology, but it may have wider connections beyond Altaic and even Ural-Altaic.

Hot: Jp. *atui*, PJp. \**yu*, PTr. \**yılıg* ‘warm’. The Tr. word represents a lambdaism case. Instead, I’d suggest *ot* ‘fire’, but as seen in the English word ‘hot’, it has Indo-European correspondences, too.

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<sup>140</sup> See, however, Anna V. Dybo, “New Trends in European Studies on the Altaic Problem”, *Journal of Language Relationship/Voprosy jazykovogo rodstva* 14, 2 (2016), 77. If \**lc* is original in Turkic, then there is no connection with the Japanese word. A similar case can be seen in Vovin’s objection to the reconstruction \**ilç* of Old Turkic *iş* ‘work’ in the Starostin et al. dictionary, which however suggests a Proto-Altaic \**ili* (Vovin, “The End of the Altaic Controversy”, 96). Vovin believed even during his ‘Altaic period’ that Proto-Altaic \**-l-* had to be \**-ş-* referring to the Turkic examples (Alexander Vovin, “Pre-Hankul Materials, Koreo-Japonic, and Altaic”, *Korean Studies* 24 (2000), 153). We have another suggestion for *iş* in Chapter 19.

Round: Jp. *marui*, PJp. *\*maru*, PTr. *\*bura-* ‘to twist’. We will see in the upcoming Uralic and Indo-European debates that this also has direct correspondences there.

Man: PJp. *\*wo-* ‘male’, PMo. *\*beje* ‘body, person, self’, but there is no Turkic suggestion. I may add Tr. *\*bod* ‘body, self’.

What Starostin et al. and Robbeets did not look at, is that the Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungusic have only seven words in common. Three amongst them are pronouns: Tr. *\*ti-*, Mo. *\*te-re*, M-T *\*ta* ‘him/her’ (demonstrative pronoun); Tr. *\*bi-r*, Mo. *\*ba*, M-T *\*bue* ‘us’; and Tr. *\*kem*, Mo. *\*ken*, and M-T *\*xia* ‘who’.<sup>141</sup> I did not use the Turkic demonstrative pronoun *\*ti-* in the comparisons with Hungarian and Finnish below. This is because these are universal, and one can come across them in very irrelevant areas of the world. The commonship of pronouns is especially at a good level between the Turkic and Indo-European languages, I will touch on this in the coming pages. Therefore, the number seven for the common words of the ‘principal Altaic languages’ is even below the coincidental resemblance level, and makes one question the existence of an Altaic family. On the other hand, a relatively high number of Turkic and Mongolian commonalities signifies more and more loaning relations, rather than genetic inheritances. The outcome above seems to disappoint the argument of Turkic and Mongolian being relatives right from the start. However, it is worth mentioning some other words that are common in both languages: Mo. *tar* ‘bald’, Tr. *taz* ‘idem’, Mo. *toyg* ‘heel’, Tr. *topuk* ‘idem’, Mo. *činar* ‘spirit’, Tr. *tin* ‘idem’, Mo. *kerü-* ‘to wander’, Tr. *kez-* ‘idem’, Mo. *köge-* ‘to froth, rage’, Tr. *köpür-* ‘to foam; to rage’, Mo. *kirga-* ‘to break’, Tr. *kır-* ‘idem’, Mo. *dalda* ‘secret’, Tr. *dulda* ‘hidden’ (apparently a loanword), Mo. *dali-* ‘to cover’, Tr. *yaşur-* ‘idem’, Mo. *görü-* ‘to weave’, Tr. *ör-* ‘idem’, Mo. *gere* ‘witness’, Tr. *kert-* ‘to believe’, Mo. *sağa* ‘to milk’, Tr. *sağ-* ‘idem’, Mo. *solugay* ‘left-handed’, Tr. *solak* ‘idem’, Mo. *şigür-* ‘broom’, Tr. *süpürge* ‘idem’, etc. How should we refer to these connections, in the absence of basic necessities for a genetic relationship? Thus, the debates go on fruitlessly on the opposing ways, perhaps inspiring us to find a mid-way.

Poppe argues that it is not an exaggeration to say that about 25% of the words in Mongolian have Turkic equivalences.<sup>142</sup> Starostin et al. found

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<sup>141</sup> Doerfer, who brought up the issue of the trilateral combinations, defines the position of Tungusic as an ‘open language’, that is, it got the words shared with Turkic through Mongolian (Gerhard Doerfer, “Is Non-Relationship Provable? The Case of Altaic”, *Folia Orientalia, Studia in Honorem Stanislawi Stachowski Dicata* 34 (Krakow: Polish Academy of Sciences, 2000), 165-7).

<sup>142</sup> Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, 159.

672 shared roots.<sup>143</sup> However, the majority of them seem to be as a result of early borrowings.<sup>144</sup> If there are so many loanwords in the basic vocabulary, then they would significantly increase the cultural words. According to Jankowski, this is to show a long-term neighbourhood, and not kinship.<sup>145</sup> A long-term relationship of neighbours leads to such an interaction as to affect not only the core vocabulary, but even structural features. For example, Turkish has *gidişat* ‘going of the affairs’, made with the Arabic suffix *-at*. Serbian has suffixes of Turkish origin such as *-luk* and *-đija* (< *-ci/ci*), though Turks and Serbs were not neighbours and their relation cannot be compared to the Turko-Mongolic one. The same is also true for Ukrainian and Russian, having the diminutive suffix *-čuk/čik* of Turkic origin. Therefore, another solution is needed to explain the nature of the Turko-Mongolic relationship.

If the shared words between them are not for a common ancestry but as a result of borrowings, then, when they are taken out, we are left with an intriguing scene. According to Clauson, when the Turkic features in Mongolian are removed (about 20% of the language), there remains a language of a Bronze Age civilisation (in Eurasia this was between c. 3000 and 1000 BC), a hunter-gatherer society, whose people were living in groups no larger than villages. For this language to get the form of an Iron Age civilisation language, which is expected to mirror livestock and farming in equal levels and societal organisation in a slightly developed phase, the concerning Turkic words should be included.<sup>146</sup> Pure forms of languages showing an ecological wholeness are an important point and this should be paid great attention.

If the dictionary of a contemporary language contains 100,000 items, 5000 loanwords from a certain language, regardless of their quality, would mean a ratio of 5%. This is huge enough. If an old language has in total 5000 words, and if 1000 of them are related to another language, the ratio is greater and more significant at 20%. Thus, languages should be studied within their own ecologies and environments. Some 700 roots that are common between Turkic and Mongolian, if true, mean a solid and long-term relation, whether genetic or areal, and a comparative qualification may lead to solving at least some parts of the debate. That is, if Mongolian has more than one word for a certain concept, and if one of them is related to Turkic, then it is a borrowing with great probability. For instance,

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<sup>143</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages*, 235.

<sup>144</sup> Claus Schönig, “Turko-Mongolic Relations”, in *The Mongolic Languages*, ed. J. Janhunen (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 404.

<sup>145</sup> Jankowski, “Altaic Languages and Historical Contact”, 529.

<sup>146</sup> Gerard Clauson, “Turk, Mongol, Tunguz”, *Asia Major* 8, 1 (1960), 111.

Mongolian has *bütün*, *bükü*, *dajan* and *neite*, among others, for ‘all’. The first word is surely borrowed from Turkic. The same is true for Turkic, too. Today, the essential word in Turkish for the same concept is *tamam(i)*, which is a loanword from Arabic. There are very few words which are shared by Mongolian and which cannot be borrowed.<sup>147</sup>

As seen above, Turkic and Mongolian do not share much in the basic vocabulary. In the universal linguistic understanding, this situation jeopardises the Altaic theory, or at least the positions of the two languages. Poppe suggests that we should best regard the existing common words, and the absent words do not constitute a weakness in the theory.<sup>148</sup> Then, what should we do if the existing vocabulary is not sufficient and satisfactory? Words of the second or third degree (the cultural layer) have much higher chances of loaning. Considering the 3000 years of interaction of the two close neighbours, the quantity and quality of commonalities would be expected to be even higher.

If we could find a separate and independent relation between Turkic and Manchu-Tungusic, then it would be easier to consider the second- or third-degree common vocabulary of Turkic and Mongolian as signifiers of a genetic relation. This is the critical point of the theory. Well, Turkic and Mongolian have a certain degree of partnership. When business comes into the contact of Turkic with Manchu-Tungusic, words in common show a sudden decline. The fact that the shared words between Turkic and Manchu-Tungusic are almost the same as those shared with Mongolian raises further suspicions. Then, one can hypothesise that the words that passed into Mongolian from Turkic, might as well have passed from Mongolian to Manchu-Tungusic.<sup>149</sup>

Otherwise, if these words were taken from common ancestors, they would have shown a different and random distribution. Subsequently, Turkic and Manchu-Tungusic would have been sharing a considerable

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<sup>147</sup> András Róna-Tas, “The Reconstruction of Proto-Turkic and the Genetic Question”, in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. L. Johanson and É. Á. Csató (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), 77. He also asserts that even one of the biggest defenders of the Nostratic theory, Illič-Svityč, complains about the lack of words in common in Turkic and Mongolian (idem, 77).

<sup>148</sup> Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, 155. He says it in terms of debates on numeral comparisons, but the problem that he never touches on, is that there is no comparable numeral coincidence in the so-called Altaic realm.

<sup>149</sup> Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, 160, posits it for the clear Turkic loanwords in M-T, since the two linguistic families did not have direct contact in history. The question is whether those commonalities counted among the genetic inheritances are indeed loanwords.

number of common words which are not shared with Mongolian. Though there are some examples (M-T. *gemu* ‘all’ ~ Tr. *qamuğ* (< *qamağ*) ‘all’, M-T. *amba* ‘big’ ~ Tr. *amma* ‘a fair amount’, M-T. *huhun* ‘chest, breast’ ~ Tr. *köküz* ‘idem’, M-T. *gala* ‘arm’ ~ Tr. *kol* ‘hand’, M-T. *abala* ‘to hunt’ ~ Tr. *avla-* ‘idem’ (clearly a Turkic loanword via the Mongolian *avala-* ‘idem’), M-T. *huthu* ‘to tie’ ~ Tr. *kat-* ‘idem’), the big picture does not display such a relation.

Doerfer examined Mongol and Manchu-Tungus commonalities in comparison with Turkic. He found 609 words in M-T languages that were common with Mongolian, 177 of which are also shared with Turkic. A great number of them are cultural words that are easy to copy. However, the Turko-Mongolic semantic deviations in those words are almost entirely the same in the relevant Tungus words, and this cannot be accidental. It shows that Manchu-Tungus borrowed those Turkic words via Mongolian. Doerfer defined the areal travels of those words, for there seems to be a regularity in their dispersion. In addition, Turkic and Manchu-Tungus have only 9 common words excluding Mongolian.<sup>150</sup> This is very troublesome.

Georg draws our attention to the fact that, of the words that are common between Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus, Turkic words with long vowels have Mongolian equivalents expectedly with short vowels, since Mongolian can by no means have long vowels, but the Manchu-Tungus equivalents of the same words are also with short vowels, despite those languages having the ability to pronounce long vowels. That is, the latter did not borrow them directly from Turkic, but through Mongolian in shortened forms.<sup>151</sup>

Clauson prepared a Swadesh list comparison for Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungusic, and after removing some words like pronouns and those that are probably borrowings, he could not find even one word that was common between Turkic and Manchu-Tungusic. He subsequently concluded that it was impossible for the two to be relatives. With Mongolian on the other hand, he only found 16 words in the wider list, and after he brought up his objections, he lowered the common words to 2%.<sup>152</sup> He continued further into his argument, saying that the irrelevance of Turkic and Manchu-Tungusic prevented Mongolian from being a relative to both of them, causing the Altaic family to not exist at all.

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<sup>150</sup> Gerhard Doerfer, “The Mongol-Tungus Connections”, *Language Research* 21, 2 (1985), 135-144.

<sup>151</sup> Georg, “Japanese, the Altaic Theory”, 434.

<sup>152</sup> Clauson, “A Lexicostatistical Appraisal of the Altaic Theory”, 14-23.

There remain very few words, and for that, no kinship is necessary. This relationship can be found between any two languages of the world. Between Turkish and Finnish, similar words, even equivalents can be found. There is below a separate chapter on Turkic and Uralic relations. There, in the Hungarian-Finnish comparisons, I have given some words which Turkic and Finnish also share. Apart from those, there are for example: Fin. *onni* ‘happiness’, cf. Tr. *on-* ‘be happy, be better’; Fin. *vero* ‘tax’, Tr. *vergi* ‘idem’; Fin. *valkoinen* ‘white’, Tr. *ala* ‘containing white’, *alka* ‘white’; Fin. *viikset* ‘mustache’, Tr. *biyk* ‘idem’; Fin. *ja* ‘and’, Tr. *ya* ‘either’, Kazakh *je* ‘and’ (the same word also exists in Manchu-Tungus); Fin. *eri* ‘separate, different’, Tr. *ayrı* < *adı* ‘idem’; Fin. *käjdä-* ‘to go’, Tr. *kay-* ‘to return’; Fin. *öinen* ‘night’, Tr. *öğle* < *ödle* ‘afternoon’; Fin. *minä* ‘I’, Tr. *men* ‘idem’; Fin. *sinä* ‘thou’, Tr. *sen* ‘idem’; Fin. *hän* ‘he, she, it’, Tr. *o* ‘idem’; Fin. *unohtaa-* ‘to forget’, Tr. *unut-* ‘idem’; Fin. *kaappaa-* ‘to grab’, Tr. *kap-* ‘idem’; Fin. *pää* ‘head’, Tr. *baş* ‘idem’; Fin. *puoli* ‘half’, Tr. *böl-* ‘to divide’; Fin. *pura-* ‘to twist’, Tr. *bur-* ‘idem’; and Fin. *kesä* ‘summer’, Tr. *güz* ‘fall’. The Finnish deverbial affix *-ma* for making verbs infinitive, and the deverbial affix *-s* making nouns of verbs are exactly the same as Turkic. These are ‘high quality’ words.

One can even compare Latin and Turkic a little bit here. For example, the word *bir* ‘one’ is associated with *primus* ‘first’ in Latin. *Aqua* ‘water’ can be compared to *ak-* ‘to flow’. Again, Lat. *gena* ‘cheek’ is very similar to Tr. *yanak* ‘idem’. In Turkic, we found *-k* at the end of pair organs. *Copia* in Latin means ‘many’ and it is similar to Old Turkic *köp* ‘idem’. For Lat. *vir* ‘man’ and *virtus* ‘manly virtues’, see Tr. *er* and *erdem* respectively for the same meanings. Moreover, it is very striking that the Latin *si* tense for the optative mood is very similar to *-se/-sa* in Turkic with the same function. There are even pronouns and affixes which are very similar.

The Latin word *palus* ‘swamp’ seems to descend from a Nostratic root, and it concurs with Tr. *bal* ‘gloop, mud’. One can also compare *oratio* ‘to speak’ with Tr. *ori-* ‘to shout, call’. Latin *element* is *elem* in Hungarian, and this word is cognate with Bulgaro-Chuvash *elem* ‘first, primary’ < PTr. *\*il-* ‘front, first’. Latin *communis* ‘common’ conjoins the Tr. *kamuğ/kamağ* ‘all’.<sup>153</sup>

One can easily see in the Tr. word *yarat-* ‘to create’ (Hu. *gyár-* ‘to produce’) a coalescence with Latin *creatio*. *Incisio* ‘to draw, to carve, to earn’ has the Turkic relevant verb *çiz-* ‘to draw’. The similarity of Lat.

<sup>153</sup> Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, 627, suggests that it is a Middle Persian loanword in Turkic. Cf., however, Manchu-Tungus *gemu* ‘all’ mentioned above.



*toccare* ‘to touch’ and Tr. *tokun* (< *tok-*) ‘idem’ is visible at the first glance. Arıkoğlu suggests that, in his comments on Greenberg’s lists, when the prefix *s-* is removed from some Latin words, one can regularly find mirrors of some Turkic words.<sup>154</sup> Again, Latin *cavus* ‘cave’, from which comes the English word *cave*, is extremely similar to Tr. *kovi* ‘cavity, hole’. Besides, there are cf. Lat. *os* ‘mouth’, Tr. *ağız* ‘idem’; Lat. *cauda* ‘tail’, Tr. *kudruk* ‘idem’, and Lat. *cor* ‘heart’, Tr. *yürek* ‘idem’.

Almost all of these words are related to the core vocabulary and when viewed on aggregate, nearly draw a closer relationship between Turkic and Latin than between Turkic and Manchu-Tungus. Of course, this is not possible. One should ask, however: Is Turkic closer to Latin than Manchu?<sup>155</sup> When examining the languages under the Altaic tree, the essential part is not word similarity but the structure of the language. Confessing the very crisis in the common lexicon for the Altaic languages, Robbeets says “shared basic vocabulary is not a *conditio sine qua non* for the demonstration of common ancestorship.”<sup>156</sup> Thus we have to look at – also – their morphologies.

We cited above Greenberg’s critique of Doerfer. Similarly, Gell-Mann et al. criticise anti-Altaic approaches, referring to Marcantonio, the prominent opponent of the Uralic theory, by saying:

We may provisionally call those approaches ‘hypercritical’ and ‘bona fide’. The former is perhaps best illustrated by a series of publications criticizing the Altaic theory. This kind of criticism usually aims at weaker,

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<sup>154</sup> Ekrem Arıkoğlu, “‘Greenberg’ in Avrasyatik Dil Teorisi ve Türkçe”, in *Gazi Üniversitesi I. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 58.

<sup>155</sup> It is known that the Etruscans laid the foundation of the Roman civilisation. Their language was not from the Indo-European family. Latin has assimilated this language over time; however, one cannot doubt that it left a solid substratum. In recent years, statements such as “Etruscans are Turkic” have increased. One cannot ignore some of the intriguing findings of these researches; however, Etruscans can by no means be Turkic. If anything, one may at most consider a supposedly Neolithic connection at most. I tried to analyse the Etruscan vocabulary. There are surprisingly some similar words to Turkic, and to Hungarian, but also, surprisingly many connections with some Slavic languages as well. We can relate some of the common words in Latin and Turkic to this supposedly Etruscan background, but an important number of the words seem to be the common property of humanity. This common property should not surprise us. No matter which two languages we compare, despite how unrelated they are, I believe we would certainly find some words in common.

<sup>156</sup> Robbeets, “Swadesh 100 on Japanese, Korean and Altaic”, 3.

less easily defensible parts of the theory and, upon discarding them, uses induction to carry the scepticism over to its stronger sides. What is forgotten in the process of such criticism is that the same procedure can easily be used to discredit even commonly accepted, ‘traditional’ theories of genetic relationship, essentially bringing comparative research to a standstill altogether. The first effects of this may already be observed in such works as Marcantonio (2002), in which the author presumes to discredit the well-proved theory of Uralic relationship.<sup>157</sup>

The stronger side in our case is the structures of the concerning languages, however, this unifies not only the Altaic zone, but also the Uralic region, sometimes extending beyond them, and thus causing new problems to arise. On the other hand, Uralic is not in different circumstances than the Altaic, regarding family ties. It is not yet well-proved and common acceptance does not prove its trueness. We will deal with this in Chapter five.

Mongolian as well as the others are agglutinative languages like Turkic. With derivational and inflectional affixes, word stems can be given new meanings. This process is bound by a rule named ‘vowel harmony’ or ‘consonance’ or ‘palatal harmony’. Apart from this, there are features like the absence of gender in words, the absence of a prefix, a verb stem being the imperative form, a name staying singular after an adjective of plurality (*üç kalem* ‘three pencil’ and not ‘three pencils’), and an adjective comparison being made by a separative affix. Also, as a basic phonetic rule, there is the absence of the liquids (r-, l-) in the initial position.<sup>158</sup>

It is also argued that about 100 affixes are common in Mongolian and Turkic (sometimes also shared with Manchu-Tungusic).<sup>159</sup> Poppe does not go into detail, and says with some examples that almost only the ‘Altaic languages’ use suffixes. It is in the dictionary of Starostin et al. that common suffixes were investigated. It is quite interesting that Turkic usually stands apart, and those common suffixes are shared by two or three members of the Altaic family at best. For instance, the deverbal noun

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<sup>157</sup> Gell-Mann et al., “Distant Language Relationship: The Current Perspective”, *Journal of Language Relationship/Voprosy Jazykovogo Rodstva* 1 (2009), 20-21.

<sup>158</sup> For the common morphological peculiarities of the ‘Altaic’ languages, see Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, 177-196; Tuna, *Altay Dilleri Teorisi*, 35; Ahmet B. Ercilasun, *Türk Dili Tarihi* (Ankara: Akçağ, 2004), 18, 26-27; Robbeets, *Is Japanese Related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?*, 43, 69.

<sup>159</sup> Tuna, *Altay Dilleri Teorisi*, 35. Martine Robbeets, “How the Actional Suffix Chain Connects Japanese to Altaic”, *Turkic Languages* 11 (2007), 51, believes that Japanese is also connected with the Altaic family through some inflectional suffixes.

maker *-m* is common between Turkic and Korean, but also with Hungarian and some other ‘Uralic’ languages. The intransitive/passive *-t* is seen in Turkic and Mongolian, but Turkic mostly has its transitive usage and also shares it with Hungarian and others. Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus use *-n* in mainly two separate functions, intransitive and denominative, but there is no parallelism in its usage. The deverbative nominal suffix *-l*, or indeed *-le*, occurs mostly in borrowed Mongolian words from Turkic (i.e., Tr. *av* ‘hunt’, *avla-* ‘to hunt’, Mo. *ava* ‘hunt’, *avala-* ‘to hunt’), and in their imitations. Manchu-Tungus also has some examples of this. It may be a loan-suffix from Turkic into Mongolian and perhaps further.<sup>160</sup>

The transitive *-r* seems to be common in the ‘inner Altaic’ zone, but the examples are surprising: The PTR. *\*badrak* ‘flag’ is hardly cognate with any Altaic element, and it is doubtful whether Proto-Altaic speakers, if they ever existed, had that notion. Not Proto-Altaic *\*pǎdà* ‘to spread’, but Turkic *batır-* ‘to pierce, insert’ (< *bat-* ‘to sink, founder’) is in the root, as parallel to *sancak* ‘ensign, oriflamme’ from the verb *sanç-* ‘to pierce’.

The deverbative *-s* is common in the concerning five groups, but only in Turkic and Mongolian (also in Latin!), is it desiderative. Of the 20 derivative suffixes given in the dictionary, the rest are completely irregular.<sup>161</sup> For inflectional suffixes, the situation is even worse. Except for the plural maker *-t*, there is not an element common to all. Well, agglutinative languages have hundreds of – simple or compound – suffixes. It is mathematically normal that they share almost all of them with each other. Here we need to see functional regularities. That is what we lack in the Altaic case.

Of course, when talking about structure, it is hard to find any similarity between Latin and Turkic.<sup>162</sup> Only from very far away can a connection be made. However, structure is not satisfactory evidence on its own either. It is everchanging.<sup>163</sup> For example, in Hungarian, compound sentences should be and were made as in Turkish. Now, because of the influence of

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<sup>160</sup> Even Tocharian, a dead Indo-European language that was once upon a time spoken in Eastern Turkistan, and likely elsewhere as in Northern China and later Afghanistan, had grammatical case endings which was strange in the IE language family and which was formed under the influence of the agglutinative Turkic language (Ciancaglini, “How to Prove Genetic Relationships”, 307).

<sup>161</sup> See Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*, 173-220.

<sup>162</sup> Indeed, verb inflection in Latin seems to be very close to that of the Ural-Altaic languages.

<sup>163</sup> Starostin, “Preliminary Lexicostatistics”, 82.

the nearby Indo-European languages, it is becoming similar to their structure day by day.

*Az az ember, aki beszél, az barátom* “The (that) man, who is speaking, is my friend.”

They can also say it in the original way:

*Az beszélő ember az barátom.*

“The speaking man is my friend.”

The second sentence is exactly like Turkish: *Şu konuşan adam arkadaşumdur.*

A similar case can be observed in Turkish, with the conjunction *ki* taken from Persian. However, this did not go on too much. There can be morphological differences in languages from the same family as well. For instance, there is no definitive article in Slavic languages (like *the* in English or *el* in Spanish or *la* in French) but as a rule, however, it does exist in Bulgarian (and Macedonian). While words have genders in Indo-European languages in general, in English this nearly completely disappeared apart from the pronouns *he* and *she*. English in fact, left conjugations for the most part, making it as simple as possible. One can even say with some exaggeration that in terms of structure it is closer to Chinese rather than the Indo-European languages. The meaning of the word changes depending on the place one puts it in a sentence.

The problem with proving the genetic relations in the Ural-Altaic region is rather different. On the one hand, they save morphological unity, not to exaggerate, from Finland to Japan, in a degree not seen in the well-established Indo-European family, and on the other hand even close members of the Uralic and Altaic or Ural-Altaic families do not share a noteworthy common vocabulary even in basic terms. This is the source of the problem in Turko-Mongolic comparisons too. If there is a so-called proto-language, they seem to have developed their vocabulary independent of each other to the highest degree, regarding their forever spatial connections. How can we comment on this case in terms of the time depth?

A way of explaining how Turkic and Mongol have differed so much is to take the date of division from the proto-language to very remote ages. The same could be said for Uralic languages experiencing the same problem. Janhunen for instance, argues that the Proto-Uralic language

started dividing 5000 years ago.<sup>164</sup> Swadesh asserts that if two people who speak the same language were divided 1000 years ago, 14% of their 100-word list and 19% of the 207-word list would change.<sup>165</sup> As the loss will be seen in both of the separating sides, at the end of the 1000 years, the common vocabulary is expected to be at  $66 \pm 3$ .<sup>166</sup> Even though its universality or the accuracy of the time span is questionable,<sup>167</sup> it is worthwhile trying this in the study. According to this calculation, Turkic and Mongolic languages supposedly coming from one common ancestor should have started separating around six or seven thousand years ago to achieve the current distant level. Starostin et al., give 6000 BC for the separation of Altaic languages, and 4000 BC for the Turko-Mongolic which they consider as twins.<sup>168</sup> O. N. Tuna has a more detailed work on this separation story (1983), according to whom the Proto-Turkic language started to exist 8352 years ago, based on the Swadesh calculation.<sup>169</sup> This is dependent on the assumption that a branch of Altaic was the common ancestor of Turkic and Mongolian, as other Altaicists mostly believe.

I will cite a criterion of Helimski, who says “There are no language groups or families of the Northern and Central Eurasia aged 5000 or less which do not exhibit common numerals, and there are no families aged

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<sup>164</sup> Juha Janhunen, “Proto-Uralic – What, Where, and When?”, *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 258 (2009), 68, 72.

<sup>165</sup> Swadesh, “Lexico-Statistic Dating of Prehistoric Ethnic Contacts”, 455-459; idem, “Archeological and Linguistic Chronology of Indo-European Groups”, *American Anthropologist* 55, 3 (1953), 350.

<sup>166</sup> Gell-Mann et al. roughly estimated glottochronologies in this way: If the percentage of matches between two languages in the Swadesh list is between 45% and 95%, then they go 2,000 to 4,000 years back in the ancestral language age; if the percentage is between 10% and 45%, they unified 4,000 to 7,000 years ago, and if it is less than 10%, the proto-language is older than 7,000 years. According to their estimation, the age of Altaic is 8,000 years, while Indo-European is 7,000 and Uralic is 6,000 years old (Gell-Mann et al., “Distant Language Relationship”, 16, 24).

<sup>167</sup> S. M. Embleton, *Statistics in Historical Linguistics* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1986), 50-61. For a defence of the list, see Starostin, G., “Preliminary Lexicostatistics”, 79-87.

<sup>168</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*, 234, 236. Robbeets abstains from measuring time (Robbeets, *Is Japanese Related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?*, 51). See the objection of Ciancaglini to utilising the comparative method for the Altaic studies in the case of this date of Starostin et al., Ciancaglini, “How to Prove Genetic Relationships Among Languages”, 303-304, 306.

<sup>169</sup> Tuna, *Altay Dilleri Teorisi*, 54.

6000-7000 years and more which do.”<sup>170</sup> If true, and if Turkic and Mongolian descended from the same source, then their separation should have happened so long ago.

The Turkish and Old Turkic columns in the above Turko-Mongolic table show that the two are not very different in spite of the passing 1300 years. This is also true for the 800-year history of written Mongolic. That is, the two languages seem very conservative compared to other recorded languages. Thus, 6000 or 8000 years for the separation seem not to be very improbable. A late separation pronounced earlier by some Altaicists to be within the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC is by no means likely, and such earlier dates of separation are also not far from being full of problems.

If Turkic and Mongolian are sister or twin languages, the exchange of vocabulary continued after they separated as well, since they lived in the same neighbourhood, but even the oldest borrowed words are not that old in date. Schönig predicts that the oldest borrowings from Turkic in Mongolian are from the Hunnic period (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and so forth). He underlines that those are of the *-r* language type, meaning Bulgaro-Chuvash.<sup>171</sup> Therefore, as widely held by the scholarly world, including the firm Altaicist Poppe, he asserts that the *-r* language was older and more fundamental in the history of Turkic, and that it lasted to circa the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>172</sup> Common Turkic should have emerged in the early ages after Christ by replacing *-r* with *-z*. Therefore, for instance, Mon. *tengis* ‘sea’ is a relatively new word of Turkic origin (< *tengiz* ‘idem’), borrowed in the *-z* time, while Hungarian *tenger* ‘idem’ represents the older form, taken either from the Bulgaro-Ogur domain in the early medieval, or directly from Proto-Turkic.

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<sup>170</sup> Eugene Helimski, “Early Indo-Uralic Linguistic Relationships: Real Kinship and Imagined Contacts”, in *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, eds. Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugrian Society, 2007), 190.

<sup>171</sup> Schönig, “Turko-Mongolic Relations”, 404-5.

<sup>172</sup> Schönig, “Turko-Mongolic Relations”, 410; Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, 131; Anna V. Dybo, *Hronologija tjurkskih jazykov i lingvističeskie kontakty rannih tjurkov* (Moskva: Akademija Nauk, 2004), 784; idem, “Material’nyj byt rannyh turok. Žilište”, *Prirodnoe okruženie i material’naja kul’tura prajturkskih narodov* (Moskva: Vostočnaja Literatura, 2008), 230. Róna-Tas materialises it wisely by tracing the word ‘stirrup’ found in all Turkic languages, including Chuvash, and concludes that *Rhotacism* occurred in the first centuries AD (Róna-Tas, *An Introduction to Turkology*, 26-28; idem, “Turkic Influences on the Uralic Languages”, in *The Uralic Languages*, ed. D. Sinor (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1991), 745).

Another aspect of the Turko-Mongolic linguistic relations is that before the 13<sup>th</sup> century the exchange was almost totally one-sided. Turkic did not take any vocabulary from Mongolian.<sup>173</sup> Starostin et al. have the view that both cultures were at the same level; therefore, they explain this one-sided relationship by arguing that all the words supposedly borrowed are in fact common property of the Proto-Altaiic language. In that case, the very late chronology of the borrowings poses a problem. Their answer to this question is that Old Turkic (Kök Türk, Uyghur, Karakhanid, etc.) was descended from a Proto-Turkic dialect that had no connection with Mongolian, and that the Proto-Turkic dialect that had contact with Mongolian has disappeared.<sup>174</sup> In fact, Kök Türks and Uyghurs lived in what is today Central Mongolia, just to their east were the Mongolic tribes, and the Karluks, from whom was born the Karakhanid Empire, lived in the south of the Altay Mountains. What prevented them from being in interaction with the neighbouring Mongolic tribes is then, a hard question to answer. Instead, referring to the above *-r* language explanation would solve all the issues.

The other obstacle in presuming that Turkic became an independent language 7000 or 8000 years ago and then split into two only c. 1600 years before the present day is the difficulty in explaining how Turkic kept its unity for at least six millennia. As before stated, the recorded history of Turkic shows that it is of a conservative nature, in spite of great civilisational replacements and cultural changes (the conversion to Islam, moving to/towards the Middle East, etc.). For instance, not only is it impossible for an English person to understand the content of the English spoken a thousand years ago, it is very hard to even recognise that that language is English.<sup>175</sup> However, a common Turkic man of our time would immediately notice that a script 1300 years old is Turkic, and would even understand it to some degree. From the 100-word Swadesh list, it is observed that Turkish has preserved 92% and Uzbek 91% of the Old Turkic. This is significantly above the ‘universally’ expected 86%. Again, from the 207-word list, the preservation rates are 84% and 88% respectively; well above the expected 81%.<sup>176</sup> These would suggest that

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<sup>173</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*, 13.

<sup>174</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*, 17.

<sup>175</sup> See comparisons in James P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 22-3, 86.

<sup>176</sup> Clauson, “A Lexicostatistical Appraisal of the Altaic Theory”, 162. On the other hand, external or environmental factors may not work as we expect. Turkish and Uzbek survived all the experiments necessary to create radical changes in language, but kept their core; on the other hand, Chuvash has not done it to that

the transformation pace of Turkic is much slower than that argued by Swadesh. In this case, its separation from a Proto-Altaic, or Ural-Altaic language would have happened in a much older age, regardless of the Mongolic connections, affirming the numbers offered.

This is crucial for Mongolian, too, even to a greater extent. Scholars use the term ‘Mongolian languages’, but they are far from being like Turkic or Manchu-Tungus, and keep their unity to a great extent. We do indeed deal with one language and its dialects that have been formed in the visible ages. One of the answers could be the fact that the Mongolian language could not find opportunities for dispersal and has remained forever in a restricted but socially interactive area.<sup>177</sup> The question of linguistic formal continuity in the Ural-Altaic region is a topic of a monograph or a symposium. In that we should look for social and geographical factors, too, besides the conventional linguistic frameworks.

Well, this is a vicious cycle: If you accept the theory and suppose that Turkic is a branch of Proto-Altaic, as a twin or sister of Mongolian, then, you have to put in a large time interval in order to explain great distances. If you give that time, you have to explain how they saved their individual linguistic unities for several millennia. If you can’t find answers, which is a great probability, you will have to interrogate the theory. If you question the genetic relationship of Turkic and Mongolian, then all languages from Finnish to Japanese will threaten you with mainly morphological weapons.

The Yakuts are a Turkic people living in North-eastern Siberia, almost as the neighbours of the USA through Alaska. Their language belongs to Common Turkic, in contrast to the language of the Chuvash of North-eastern Europe, but has serious differences from the rest mainly in

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degree, as we know of the available historical knowledge, but saved 77% of the narrow list and 62% of the extended one. Even if we presume that it separated from the Common Turkic (or indeed vice versa) c. 2000 year ago, these are well below the universal mean, but above the Common Turkic averages. Its static past does not seem to help it keep the original vocabulary (Clouston, *ibid.*, 162). If not by some original/genetic reasons, this could be because it was affected a lot by the neighbouring languages.

<sup>177</sup> In contrast, Kurdish, for instance, has turned out to be a linguistic family. Not only do members of the four major dialects not understand each other, but also speakers of the same dialect from various provinces have that difficulty in communication. This is because the region they inhabit is very mountainous and prevents inter-communication, and this happened only within the last 1200 years. Maybe the early nomadisation of the Mongols helped to keep or reconstruct the linguistic unity, since the geography is suitable for that purpose. Otherwise, an ordinary forest people would turn out to be like the Manchu-Tungus, apart from the fact that the latter spread over large areas of Eastern Asia.



phonetics, but also in vocabulary and morphology.<sup>178</sup> Regardless of the history of their separation from the main body, which may not be more than 1500 years, this is a fact to wonder about, since almost all Common Turkic speakers used to understand each other 1000 years ago, as shown by rich written material produced in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries; and fundamental changes seem to follow the political history of the Genghisid successor states. Namely, the conservativeness of Turkic may not be at the same level in different circumstances. The distinguishing factor of the Yakut case seems to be its isolated position.

However, the relatively rapid change of the Yakut language only normalises it, making it closer to the universal ratios. Thus, in terms of genetic relation debates, the distance of Turkic and Mongolian will always be problematic. The Proto-Indo-European language is calculated to have kept its unity by 4000-3500 BC<sup>179</sup> and c. 2500 BC the linguistic ancestors of Irish and Bangladeshi spoke almost the same language with dialectal differences. Since there are problems in explaining the date of dismemberment of the Altaic proto language (and also the Uralic one), we need more and more new proposals regarding their areal features. One attempt at a solution could be not to accept Mongolian and Turkic as “twins”. Then, we may hypothesise that their break-offs occurred from the proto language, if there, independently. In this way, as they both would diverge from the Proto-Altaic rather than from each other, if we adjust the assumption of the  $66 \pm 3$  preservation in a thousand years to 70% regarding the conservativeness issue, we would end up at today’s situation in approximately 4000 years.

Still however, it is tough for any language to keep its unity for such a long time, and this supposition would not solve the problem of the relatively late chronology of the correspondences in Mongolian and Turkic. Did they not have any relation during the 2000 years between the separation ages from the Proto-Altaic and the Hunnic ages, to which the earliest common words or loanwords are dated? Furthermore, as will be shown below, Turkic has as many words in common with Hungarian as

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<sup>178</sup> Albeit preserving basic elements tying it firmly to the Turkic body. For instance, case and possessive suffixes and numerals are almost the same as in CT, and the basic vocabulary belongs to the native language, in contrast to cultural loanwords mainly from Mongolian, Russian and Tungus (Marek Stachowski and Astrid Menz, “Yakut”, in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 417-433).

<sup>179</sup> Among others, David W. Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language. How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 21, 48.

with Mongolian in the comparison list. A new proposal is needed, which includes the relationship of Turkic with the Uralic languages, and escapes the dilemmas of the conventional Altaic and Uralic theories. Keeping all these in mind, it seems it is not very possible to identify Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus as sisters under the Altaic roof. On the other hand, there are also no grounds to totally reject the relation. Cf. Sinor's suggestion that an organic relation does not exist but we can speak of a geo-cultural phenomenon within the Altay concept, supported by Janhunen who says that Altaic is an example of an areal conglomeration of genetically diverse languages.<sup>180</sup> The substantial structural similarities besides the scant lexical correspondences altogether show that these languages are still quarter cousins, together with other members of the Ural-Altai domain, or at least they are closer to each other than, for instance, Indo-European or Caucasian languages.

Perhaps we should suppose the presence of a fermenting factor, that contributed to all those languages, to get closer to a median point in morphology, but was not able to influence their vocabularies taken from native sources, independent of each other, with no regard for whether any of them constituted the substratum or superstratum.<sup>181</sup> As an example, Gell-Mann et al. suggest the case of Australian aboriginal languages, which have remained as a language family for 40,000 years. Perhaps one

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<sup>180</sup> Sinor, *Inner Asia*, 22; Juha Janhunen, "Indo-Uralic and Ural-Altai: On the Diachronic Implications of Areal Typology", in *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, eds. Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugrian Society, 2007), 207. Vovin observes that the majority today supports such a Sprachbund point of view (Vovin, "Northeastern and Central Asia: 'Altaic' Linguistic History", 197). On the other hand, we need to cite the objection of Helimski: "A Sprachbund has never been attested. The lengthy reflections on how non-cognate languages could have been transformed into one language family due to prolonged and intensive contacts are a poor substitute for examples that are lacking (Helimski, "Early Indo-Uralic Linguistic Relationships", 195).

<sup>181</sup> See, for such a formulation for Japanese and Korean, Ciancaglini, "How to Prove Genetic Relationships among Languages", 317, saying that whatever their genetic origin may have been, they (and perhaps 'some' Altaic languages) structurally converged in a linguistic area or Sprachbund. This is not an unexpected case, and there seems to be no other solution to explain the formation of almost all Ural-Altai languages (cf. the Samoyed case). There is no need for, and it is not realistic to suppose that all speakers of a certain language are descended from the same biological sources.

language influenced all the others to provide unity.<sup>182</sup> This is what we suggest for the Ural-Altai case.

There is no need, on the other hand, to presume that those fermenting elements were dispersed equally or homogeneously in the Altaic zone. One or some of the so-called member languages might have had higher proportions of the inheritance of the founding fathers of the Altaic estate. Regarding its westernmost location, Turkic is the number one to claim having the biggest share. This does not necessarily mean that a form of Proto-Turkic was the fermenting factor.

Renfrew also supposes, for the Altaic dispersal, an elite dominance, locating Proto-Altai in Turkmenistan in order to refer to farming.<sup>183</sup> It is not necessary to look for farming there for our case, however. Mallory is not as free as Renfrew, and is bound with the traditional view, according to which the Altaic people should wait till the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD to start the farming dispersal.<sup>184</sup> The questions are how and why they waited so long to enter the regions occupied by the Iranian speaking tribes, and how we can explain the well-known history of nomadic Turks in the Eurasian steppe in the late antiquity and early medieval with an agriculture-based demographic rise. Historians do not have such an answer.

Without taking those questions into consideration, Robbeets tried to develop a farming dispersal hypothesis for the Altaic (in her text ‘Transeurasian’) peoples. For the sake of arable lands, she put the homeland at Korea, Southern Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.<sup>185</sup> However, the concerning lexicon did not help her. They were either clear loanwords or completely absent from the common domain. Non-Turkic Altaic languages seem to have even loaned the names of basic cereals like barley and wheat from Turkic or Indo-European, if the etymologies are true.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> See Gell-Mann et al., “Distant Language Relationship”, 27.

<sup>183</sup> Colin Renfrew, “World Linguistic Diversity and Farming Dispersals”, in *Archaeology and Language -I-*, eds. R. Blench and M. Spriggs (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 84-86.

<sup>184</sup> James P. Mallory, “A European Perspective on Indo-Europeans in Asia”, in *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*, ed. V. Mair (Washington: The Institute for the Study of Man, 1998), 195.

<sup>185</sup> Martine Robbeets, “Proto-Trans-Eurasian: Where and When?”, *Man in India* 97, 1 (2017), 21.

<sup>186</sup> This shared agricultural vocabulary between European and Asian languages took the attention of Mallory (“Twenty-first Century Clouds over Indo-European Homelands”, *Journal of Language Relationship*, 9 (2013), 149), to whose list I’d like to offer the addition of Turkic *buka* ‘bull’ as a counterpart of the Indo-European *\*wokeha* ‘cow’.

Genetically, the Altaic family also seems not to exist. Gene clusters are strictly different from each other and thus peoples are from different roots for the period for which we can speak of the linguistic relations. Turks heavily bear the haplogroups R1a and R1b, Mongolians C and O, Manchu-Tungus C, Nenets N, Japans D and O, Koreans O, and Aynovians D.<sup>187</sup> We will deal more with the genetic issues in the upcoming pages.

Therefore, Turkic is free geographically. We are not restricted to the boundaries of the 'Altaic home' to locate the Proto-Turks, and may look for some other places, too. Now, we should deal with the other half of the domain, the Uralic region.

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<sup>187</sup> Ahmad A. Glašev, "Altajskaja gipoteza protiv Altajskoj teorii?", in «*Sözüm munda qalir, barir bu özüm...*» *Scripta in memoriam D. M. Nasilov*, chief ed. E. A. Oganova (Moskva: Izd. MBA, 2019), 112.

## CHAPTER 4

### HUNGARIAN HONEY VS. BASHKIRIAN HONEY

The first syllable in the word ‘Hungary’ has always been interesting and attractive to many people. I must confess the popular belief in Turkey is that every one out of two Turks sees the word ‘Hun’ there, and the other one approves it. However, this is wrong. What is true is that this is another Turkic word: *On Oğur* (Ten Ogurs), the name of a ten-tribe union from whom today’s Hungarians emerged.<sup>188</sup> In the past, and now as well, Hungarians tend to be associated and mentioned with Turks. As a matter of fact, in the Middle Ages, an important part of the sources, named them as Turks; they were probably naming themselves in this way as well, as will be touched more upon below.

With the emergence of modern science, these old sayings were left aside, and researches based mostly on language started. The separation of Hungarians and Turks came with this. The speakers of the two languages are completely incomprehensible to each other. However, on the other hand, these two have a lot of words in common and the structures of their languages are nearly the same. A Turk would think just like a Hungarian when he/she is speaking:

Hungarian: *Ól-om-ban sok kecské-m van.*

Turkish: *Ağıl-ım-da çok keçi-m var.*

(warren) – (1<sup>st</sup> pr. pos. af.) – (loc. af.) – (many) (goat) – (1<sup>st</sup> pr. pos. af.) (exists)

“I have many goats in my warren.”

All of the words here are cognates and it can be observed above how similar Hungarian and Turkish are even with their affixes. English on the other hand, is completely different. Vámbéry noticed these similarities and wrote many books and articles after the 1860s, trying to show that Turkic and Hungarian are in fact of the same source. Hungary was not

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<sup>188</sup> András Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Ages* (Budapest: CEU, 1996), 282-287.

independent at that time; it was a part of the Habsburg Empire, Vienna. Of course, this idea which we surely cannot just link to Vámbéry was found to be very dangerous in Vienna.<sup>189</sup> After all, the Hungarian leader Kossuth, who was unsuccessful in the uprising of 1848, had taken refuge in Turkey (Ottoman Empire) a little time before, and Turkey had accepted him against all the outside pressures to give him up (his house in Kütahya is a museum today).

A rapprochement like this was certainly not suiting anyone's book in Europe. In addition to the oppression of the people who defended this view, there was also full mobilisation for the exact opposite opinion. Two Germans, in particular, undertook this mission, Budenz and Hunfalvy. In doing 'scientific research' on this matter, they tried to disprove Vámbéry and argued that Hungarian was part of the Finno-Ugric family, though they did not completely reject an Altaic genetic affinity. In the Hungarian intellectual circles, this competition in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was named the 'Ugric-Turkic war' (Ugor-Török Háború).<sup>190</sup> The 'Ugor' side was surely grateful to Castrén, one of the greatest scholars of all times in Ural-Altaic studies, who collected materials of many languages, discovered new ones, and grouped them separately as Uralic and Altaic before the linguistic war in Hungary.<sup>191</sup>

Thus, attempts to show the genetic connection of Hungarians and Turks were put down by the state, sometimes by very intense oppression, and by dismissals, and the pro-Finno-Ugric view was made dominant. Besides, in the world, this was insistently shown and propagated in this way. After 1918, Hungarians became independent but their country was one of the worst affected by the war and was trying to recover. Also, notably Németh (who was an anti-Altaist at least at the beginning) and then other learned men of Hungary from the Habsburg era, did not want to contradict the international opinion on this matter and supported or did not reject the Finno-Ugric thesis. On the other hand, almost all Hungarian scholars underlined the closeness of Turks and Hungarians with different

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<sup>189</sup> As I said before, there was always an association of Turks and Hungarians. In 1739, von Strahlenberg who argued that all the northern languages are relatives, added Hungarian to these 'Tatar' languages.

<sup>190</sup> For details see Angela Marcantonio et al., "The 'Ugric-Turkic Battle': A Critical Review", *Linguistica Uralica* 2 (2001), 81-102; Angela Marcantonio, *The Uralic Language Family. Facts, Myths and Statistics* (Oxford and Boston: Blackwell, 2002), 35-42.

<sup>191</sup> Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, 82. But, nor did Castrén reject an upper Ural-Altaic connection, and he called the entity 'Altaic'.

comments.<sup>192</sup> I'm aware that such a rigid introduction as mine to the Hungarian question in terms of Turkic studies is not very appropriate, but this or that barrier before free thought cannot be accepted. Everything should go on within the borders of scientific thought. If any theory has no basis, it would and should be eliminated by scientific works. Scholasticism has not contributed to the development of humanity. All developments have been introduced by those thinking differently from the masses (including the multitude of learned men). The worst of scholasticism is the one based on beliefs in one's ultimate truths. Just as, scholastic thought is not a matter of illiteracy; instead, it is based on uncompromising self-confidence of self-oriented knowledge.

Proponents and opponents of the Uralic, Ural-Altai and Altaic theories are on equal terms as long as they behave in a logical manner. If, for instance, Marcantonio posed reasonable questions by criticising the weakness of the Uralic theory, then they should be answered. The number of supporters of any theory or even any belief is not an indicator of it being the truth. Nor does the sentence "these were solved and settled well in the 19<sup>th</sup> century" contain any reply. Nothing of scientific knowledge has been ultimately settled and this should not be compared to the notion that the age of geographical discoveries is over and there remains no land to discover. Being only a humble reader of the Uralic or even the Altaic linguistic theory, and not having any expertise, I cannot fully agree with those totally rejecting them, but also, I cannot understand the descriptions and approaches of the feverish proponents. Maybe the poverty of theories should lead us to theories explaining the poverty of the data. I personally believe in a Ural-Altai context and am sad that the term 'Trans-Eurasian' has been spent by the Mainz scholars only to designate the 'greater' Altaic family. It would be used for all Ural-Altai or Uralic and Altaic languages.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> We see this most clearly in the motto "Father of the Hungarians is Turkic and the mother is Finno-Ugric" (László Rásonyi, *Tarihte Türklikü*, 2nd ed. (Ankara: TKAE, 1988), 118). Sinor observes national tendencies on this matter. In his opinion, Hungarian scholars are/have remained open to the content of the term Ural-Altai, while "the Finnish linguistic establishment has remained sceptical if not hostile to the idea of a Uralic-Altai relationship." (Denis Sinor, "The Problem of the Ural-Altai Relationship", in *The Uralic Languages, Description, History and Foreign Influences* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1988), 707). Thus, it is not just science of which we speak, but also sentiments and prejudices.

<sup>193</sup> If origins are in question, and the contemporary situation is regarded, Turkic is the only Trans-Eurasian language among them. On the other hand, Indo-European and the so-called Uralic languages are more deserving of being Trans-Eurasian.

Well, according to the view which is dominant in the world, and also popularly held in Hungary, the non-Indo-European and non-Turkic languages from the north of Europe to the north of Siberia constitute a unity under the name Uralic. Today, amongst their speakers only Hungarians, Fins and Estonians have independent states. Others are small communities scattered around Scandinavia and Russia: From the west in the Saamic (Lapp) group, the Balto-Finnic (Finnish, Estonian, Karelian, Livonian, etc.), Volgaic (Cheremish/Mari, Mordvin/Mordva), Permian (Zyrian/Komi, Votyak/Udmurt), Ugric (Hungarian, Ostyak/Khanty, Vogul/Mansi) and Samoyed (Nenets, Enets, Nganasan, Selkup, etc.). Some of them are separate within themselves in language level dialects. Some languages of the Balto-Finnic and Samoyed vanished in the modern ages. If the 6<sup>th</sup> group is excluded, then there remains the Finno-Ugric family, and if the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> ones are excluded, there remains the Finnic group in accordance with the scholarly designation.

As seen, Hungarian is included in the Ugric branch, together with the two West Siberian languages. Those are the closest relatives of the Hungarian speech. Excluding Hungarian, we call the remaining two languages Ob-Ugric. According to Engel, the difference between Hungarian and the Khanty and Mansi twins is comparable to the distance between English and Gallic. Sinor compares the relation of Hungarian and Finnish with that of English and Russian.<sup>194</sup> There are also inter-family problems. Kálmán says that Ob-Ugric languages are more distant from Hungarian than they are from Samoyed and the Permian languages.<sup>195</sup> These are huge differences. English belongs to the Germanic branch of the Indo-European family, whereas Gallic is from the Celtic branch. There is no way that an Englishman and a Gallic speaker can find many common words in speaking, except for loanwords. They were separated at least some 3000 years ago and their closeness is not understandable by bare eyes. However, compared to Finnish and Hungarian speakers, an Englishman would easily see many genuine words that are common to English and Russian, and vice versa. An amateur Hungarian reader would recognise only a few Finnish words in a dictionary. Of course, understandability is not a measure of relating languages, but this would give our readers some preliminary ideas of what we deal with.

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<sup>194</sup> Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526* (London: Tauris, 2001), 9; Sinor, *Inner Asia*, 22.

<sup>195</sup> Béla Kálmán, "The History of the Ob-Ugric Languages", in *The Uralic Languages, Description, History and Foreign Influences*, ed. D. Sinor (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1988), 396.



The position of Hungarian also poses a great problem in terms of linguistic affinity in statistics. Of the words included in the first volume (A-Gy) of the Hungarian etymological dictionary by Benkő et al., 49.3% are of unknown origin. This is an unbelievable number. 7.3% of the words have Finno-Ugric origins and 5.5% have Turkic affinities. The percentage of the latter is indeed even higher, for the great bulk of the Finno-Ugric words also seems to appear in Turkic/Altaic, but not vice versa.<sup>196</sup> One ‘foreign’ language (Turkic) is alone against many and all relatives of Hungarian in having corresponding words! We will return to Uralic or Finno-Ugric in the next chapter.

Interestingly, a Hungarian reader of a Turkic dictionary would find many words in common with his/her language, and if he/she discovers some phonetic correspondences, the number of common words would even rise. The same is true for a Turk, too. At the beginning, this is easy to explain. A Greek speaker would also do the same with a Turkish dictionary and vice versa, since both languages borrowed many words from each other. The problem with the Turko-Hungarian comparison is, however, in the nature or quality of the parallel words. Adding that the two languages have close or almost the same morphologies, we should best worry about explaining all of them with loanings.

Below is a comparison table of the two languages. I used the same 300-word list as in the above Turko-Mongolian comparison list. Not to repeat it all, I wrote down only the corresponding items, that is, all of them have ‘yes’. The meanings given are Turkic. If the concerning Hungarian word has a different meaning, it is given within the same square as previously. This list can easily be extended, but for now I give only clearly visible parallels. The suggested or disputed words of this group are far more than the below list.

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<sup>196</sup> After Györgyné Hary, “Kiegészítések egy nyelvviita történetéhez” (1976), 99, László Marác, *Towards Eurasian Linguistic Isoglosses. The Case of Turkic and Hungarian* (Astana: Turkic Academy, 2015), 81.

**Table 2:** Comparison of Turkic and Hungarian Basic Words**Numerals**

	Turkish	Old Turkic	Hungarian	Meaning
1	beş	biş, Bulgar <i>bet</i>	öt	five
2	yedi	yiti	hét	seven
3	on	on	van (in decimal)	ten
4	yüz	yüz	száz	hundred

**Pronouns and Conjunctions**

5	sen	sen	te	thou
6	o	o/ol	ő	he/she/it
7	biz	biz	mi	we
8	siz	siz	ti	you
9	öz	öz	az ‘the’, ez ‘this’	oneself
10	kim	kim	ki	who
11	ve	takı	és <sup>197</sup>	and
12	ile	ile/bilen	vele	with
13	de/da	de/da	de	but
14	ha	ha	ha	if
15	tüm, bütün	tüm, bütün	töm ‘to fill up’, föd ‘to cover all’	all, whole

**Basic Verbs**

16	at	at	ad ‘give’	throw
17	ayt <sup>198</sup>	ayt	ejt ‘pronounce’	tell
18	bağla	bağ	füg	tie
19	bin	min	men ‘go’	get on, ride <sup>199</sup>
20	yaz	biti	betü ‘letter’	write
21	böl	böl	fél ‘half’	divide, split
22	bula	bulga	bolygat	mix
23	bur	bur	fúr	twist, wring
24	doğ	tog	toj ‘lay egg’	be born
25	dol	tol	töl, tel	fill
26	döv	tokı	dob ‘drum’	beat

<sup>197</sup> Cf. Turkic eş ‘match, equal’.

<sup>198</sup> In contemporary Turkish, this verb has been dropped in modern times, and occurs only in old poems and texts.

<sup>199</sup> In Old Turkic this was ‘to go’ and in some Turkic languages, like Uyghur, this verb still occurs with that meaning.

27	er	er	ér	reach, arrive
28	eş	eş	ás ‘dig’	scratch, grub up
29	et	et	hat ‘influence’	do <sup>200</sup>
30	gel	kel	kere (imperative of ‘come’)	come
31	iç	iç	isz	drink
32	kap	kap	kap ‘grab’	take
33		kat	köt ‘tie’	sew firmly
34	kes	kes	kés ‘knife’	cut
35	koru	kori	ör	protect
36	-le	-le	le ‘be’ <sup>201</sup>	denominal affix ‘make, do, be’ <sup>202</sup>
37	ol	bol	vol (used in past tense), vâlik ‘become’	be
38	öl	öl	öl, gyil ‘kill’, hal ‘die’	die
39	ör	ör	varr ‘sew’	knit
40	piş	bış	föl	cook
41	say	sa	szám ‘number’	count
42	sön	sön	szün	dim down
43	söyle	söyle	szó ‘word’	say
44	süz	süz	szúr	filter
45	tanı	tanu	tanu ‘learn’	recognise, know
46	tıka	tık	dug	obturate, plug up
47	var	bar	va ‘be, exist’	exist
48	var	bar	fér	reach, arrive
49	yala	yala	nyal	lick
50	yaz	yaz	ír	write

<sup>200</sup> Cf. Turkish neology *etkile-* ‘to influence’ of the same root.

<sup>201</sup> This belongs to the common vocabulary of Finno-Ugric (Collinder, *Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary*, 51).

<sup>202</sup> This is an affix used to make verbs from names and adjectives. It is very special to Turkic. As an example, if someone starts to act like Jack, in Turkish, they would say *Jackleşme* (Jack-le-ş-me), meaning “do not be like Jack!”. Also, for example, *hız-la-n-* ‘to be/get faster’, *hazır-la-* ‘to prepare, make ready’, *garanti-le* ‘to make warranted’. Since affixes stem from independent words, I think this is an archaism of a verb, when in Proto-Turkic there was still *l-* in front of the words, or *\*VIV*.

51	yar, yırt	yar, yırt	ír 'write', irt 'split in two', nyír 'shear, cut'	split, tear, rift <sup>203</sup>
52	yarat	yarat	gyárt 'produce, create'	create
53	yaşa	yaşa	él	live
54	ye	yi	e	eat
55	yet	yet	jut	arrive, reach
56	yüz	yüz	úsz	swim

### Basic Adjectives

57	alt	ala	ala, alsó	below, bottom
58	alçak	alçak	alacsony	low
59	başka	başka	más	other
60	bol	bol	bő	plenty
61	büyük	bög	magas	big
62	çok	çok	sok	many
63	eski	eski	ős	old
64	geç	kiç	kés 'be late'	late
65	gök, mavi	kök	kék	blue
66	ilk	il, ilk	elő	first
67	ince	yinçe	gyenge 'weak, thin'	thin
68	iyi	edgü	Egy 'God'	good
69	küçük	kiçik, kiçi	kicsi, kis	little, small
70	sarı	sarıg	sárga	yellow
71	son	soñ	szün	end
72	uzun	uzun	hosszú	long
73	yeğ	yig	jó 'good', gyógyít 'heal, cure'	good, preferable
74	yuvarlak	tegirmi	teker 'roll' <sup>204</sup>	round

<sup>203</sup> It seems the Tr. verbs *yaz-* 'to write' and *yar-* 'to split' are cognates, perhaps together with *cız-* 'to incise > to draw', *yar-* being remnant of the Proto-Turkic *-r* form (Rhotacism). Thus, Hungarian has *ír* and *nyír*, as expected. In Old Turkic writing was a job of carving, hewing. It is so in the Hungarian mentality, too. They also used the Old Turkic runic alphabet and called it by the verb *rov-* 'to carve'. It would be proper perhaps to use the term 'carved writing' in English, instead of the Scandinavian origin *runic* 'magic'. Even the English verb *write* comes from carving (Ernest Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language -II-: K-Z*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Amsterdam, London and New York: Elsevier, 1967), 1754).

<sup>204</sup> Cf. Tr. *teker* 'wheel'.

**Person and Kinship Terms**

75	ağabey	içi	öcs ‘younger brother’	elder brother
76	ana	ana	anya	mother
77	ata <sup>205</sup>	ata	atya	father
78		apa	apa	father
79	boy	bod	fáj ‘race’	tribe
80	çocuk	çocuk, bala	gyermek <sup>206</sup>	kid, son
81	er	er	úr ‘sir, mister’	man
82	halk	kün	hon ‘country’	folk
83	nine	nine	neni	grandmother

**Organs**

84	akıl	ög	agy ‘brain’	mind
85	akıl	ög	okos ‘smart’	mind
86	ayak	adak/*padak	fut ‘run’	foot
87	bağır	bağır/bag	máj	liver
88	baş	baş/*ba/*pa	fej	head
89	bel	bel	bél ‘intestine’	waist
90	bel	bel	mell ‘bosom’	waist
91	burun	burun	orr	nose
92	diz	tir	térd	knee
93	kol	kar	kar	arm
94	kulak	kulgak	hallgat ‘listen’	ear
95	mide	yumur	gyomor	stomach
96	sakal	sakal	szákall	beard
97	tüy, telek	tüy, telek	toll	hair (softer ones)
98	us	us, es	ész	mind
99	yaka	yaka	nyák ‘neck’	collar, neck

**Animals**

100	arслан	arслан	oroszlán	lion
101	baran	baran	bárány ‘lam b’	a kind of sheep
102	boğa	buka	bika	bull

<sup>205</sup> In Turkey this word turned into ‘ancestor’, while in other Turkic countries it keeps the original meaning.

<sup>206</sup> This word is connected with OT *yavru* ‘baby, young, nestling’ (Turkish *yavru*) through the Chuvash form *šamrāk* (< \*šarmāk), however, this is far from sure (András Róna-Tas and Árpád Berta, *West Old Turkic. Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 386-387).

103	böcek	bög	bogár	bug
104	böcek	bög	pók 'spider'	bug
105	buzagı	buzagı	borjú	calf
106	çakal	çakal	sakál	jackal
107	dana	tana	tinó	steer, cow
108	deve	teve	teve	camel
109	keçi	keçi	kecske	goat
110	koç	koç	kos	ram
111	kurbağa	baka	béka	frog
112	kurt	böri	farkas 'wolf', féreg 'worm'	wolf, worm
113	öküz	öküz	ökör	ox
114	tavuk	tagukı	tyúk	hen, chicken

### Plants

115	ağaç	ıgaç	ág 'branch, stick'	tree
116	arpa	arpa	árpa	barley
117	buğday	bugday	búza	wheat
118	burçak	burçak	borsó 'green pea'	tare, vetch
119	darı	tarığ	dara 'semolina'	corn
120	elma	alma	alma	apple
121	ekmek	etmek	vet 'plant (crops)'	bread
122	kök	kök	gyöker	root
123	orman	orman	erdő	forest
124	yemiş	yemiş	gyümölcs	fruit
125	kabuk	kovı	haj <sup>207</sup>	bark

### Words for Time

126	yaz	yaz	nyár	summer
127	ögle	tüş	dél	midday, noon
128	güz	küz	ősz	autumn
129	zaman	öd	idő	time
130	zaman	kor	kor	time

<sup>207</sup> Cf. also Hun. *hajó* 'boat, qaique' (~ Tr. *qayıq* 'idem').

**Physical and Geographical Terms**

131	deniz	teñiz	tenger	sea
132	gök	kök	ég <sup>208</sup>	sky
133	yel	yel	szél	wind
134	kum	kum	homok	sand
135	kaya	kaya	kő	stone, rock

There is an immense literature on Turko-Hungarian linguistic relations or Turkic loanwords in Hungarian, as the common appellation of the case, throughout the Vámbéry – Gombocz – Németh – Ligeti – Róna-Tas line,<sup>209</sup> which gave birth to the excellent dictionary of the latest scholar together with Berta. However, as far as I know, there is no comparison of the basic terms, likely obeying the rule “two genetically unrelated languages cannot be compared”.<sup>210</sup> Without comparing, how can we understand whether they are related or not? How do we know that they are unrelated, not having made comparisons? What happens if we do? We cannot know what will happen unless we eat the forbidden apple.

As seen, there are 135 corresponding words in the 300-word list. Perhaps I should add above the Hungarian interrogative word/suffix *-é* (cf. Tr. *ē?* ‘idem’). Some of them (*oroszlán*, *teve*, etc.) are clearly loanwords. The number was 130 for Mongolian. For the 100-word Swadesh list, there are 35 words common to Turkic and Hungarian, well above the Mongolian 25 or 26 words. It is better to make a categorical table to see their distribution in types in the 300-word list.

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<sup>208</sup> The etymological dictionary of the Hungarian Academy marks this word as heritage of the ‘Finno-Ugric age’ (Loránd Benkő et al., *A Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótára -I-* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 710). In fact, this is quite a simple word. In nearly every language, words for god and sky are interconnected. Likewise, the Hungarian word *egy* ‘god’ is expected to be related to *ég* ‘sky’ in the same way. *Egy* relates to Old Turkic *edgü* ‘good’ and *idi* ‘god’. The latter two meanings are also interrelated in English: *good* < Proto-Germanic \**zōdaz*, *god* < Proto-Germanic \**zudaz* (Vladimir Orel, *A Handbook of Germanic Etymology* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 138, 145).

<sup>209</sup> The best overview can be read in András Róna-Tas and Árpád Berta, “Old Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian”, *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* 55, 1-3 (2002), 43-67. The same text was also included in their etymological dictionary *West Old Turkic*.

<sup>210</sup> I know only Marácz having compared 82 Hungarian basic words, which are in close parallel with the Swadesh list, with ‘Altaic’ languages. 64 of them have Turkic counterparts (Marácz, *Towards Eurasian Linguistic Isoglosses*, 133-171). This is a very huge number.

**Table 3:** Comparison of Mongolian and Hungarian Parallels in Turkic

	<b>Mongolian</b>	<b>Hungarian</b>	<b>Shared by the both</b>
Numerals	2	4	-
Pronouns	9	11	4
Verbs	40	40	15
Adjectives	21	18	8
Person and kinship	10	9	2
Organs	9	16	4
Animals	15	15	5
Plants	8	11	5
Time	4	5	2
Physical terms	13	5	3

Only in two categories are there noteworthy deviations. Hungarian has more organ names in common with Turkic, while on the other hand, Mongolian has more physical/geographical/geological terms shared with the latter. Discussion of them would not contribute much to our comprehension of the case, since Hungarian and Mongolian are in general on near equal terms in such a relationship. Turkic is just between the two, therefore the other two must also be relatives of each other according to this scheme. Such a supposition is, however, cancelled or shadowed by the smaller number of Hungarian and Mongolian commonalities. 48 items in total are common between them. At the first glance, this case can be explained primarily by borrowings. They both borrowed words from Turkic, and in 48 cases they borrowed the same words. So then, does Turkic have no linguistic relatives at all?

Another explanation may be that one (Mongolian) is related and the other (Hungarian) is the borrower, as suggested in the mainstream view, but justice and history would not permit such a judgement in the presence of equal clues. Historically, Turkic and Mongolian have had an intimate relation from the 'genesis' on, and never separated from each other; apart from the genetically inherited words and morphemes, this would mean a constant relationship of loanings. On the other hand, Hungarian had relations with Turkic for only some five to six centuries, as will be dealt with in the next chapter, in the lands of 'foreign' peoples, in Eastern Europe. Historical relativity does not explain the very high degree of loanings in Hungarian. As for the physical circumstances of their Urheimats, Hungarians and Mongolians came from the same environments:



the cold and wooded North. What might be the reason for Hungarian being very keen to borrow Turkic words, while Mongolian was relatively resistant to Turkisms, and even expurgated a bulk of the inherited vocabulary? These are hard questions, and I do not think merely loanings elucidate the positions of Hungarian and Mongolian before Turkic.

Another difficulty in referring to loanwords (at all) in Turko-Hungarian linguistic relations is that the Ob-Ugric, Permic and Volgaic languages which have been incomparably more likely under the circumstances to interact with Turkic do not have so many and such fundamental correspondences with Turkic. Normally, they would be expected to have more Turkic ‘loanwords’ than Hungarian. Their neighbourhood with Turkic can almost be compared with that of Mongolian. Yes, there are many commonalities, as will be dealt with in the next chapter, but Hungarian is clearly the champion of this case. This should be explained and studied in some other terms, too.

Well, there would be many objections to my Hungaro-Turkic table, sometimes reminding me that these and those words, if not all, are loanwords, sometimes a reminder of phonetic rules which have been set in accordance with loaning relations, and sometimes evoking that these and those words belong to the Finno-Ugric or Uralic realm. I would be delighted with the latest contributions. They would only help me cement the theory of this book.

Above I called attention to the Hungarian verb *le-* ‘to be’ having many cognates in other Uralic languages. There are other words, too, of this table with the same pose. For example, Finnish *mene-* ‘to go’, among others, ~ Hu. *men-* ‘idem’, Fin. *nuole-* ‘to lick’ ~ Hu. *nyál-* ‘idem’.<sup>211</sup> I used the classical list of basic words, and did not adopt it in Eurasian environments as suggested by Clauson, as adding for instance ‘arrow’. It is a common word in the Uralic region from Finnish *nuoli* to Hungarian *nyíl*, which can be compared to Old Turkic *sıŝ* ‘spit, fork, spike’.<sup>212</sup>

The same is true for *ángy/gyángyi* ‘wife of elder brother’, cf. Tr. *yenge* ‘wife of brother or uncle’. These are popular words in the west wing of the

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<sup>211</sup> Björn Collinder, *Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary. An Etymological Dictionary of the Uralic Languages* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1977), 53, 61.

<sup>212</sup> Cf., on the other hand, Indo-Iranian *sūcī* ‘needle’ is borrowed by Uralic (Alexander Lubotsky, “The Indo-Iranian Substratum”, in *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, eds. Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugric Society, 2007), 307, 312). If our proposal is true, the concerning Uralic words represent a lambdaic form of the Turkic *sıŝ*, being cognate or borrowed, and the Indo-Iranian word may be an early loan from Proto-Turkic.

Ural-Altaic region. By not separating the two wings, I do not need to look for ways of borrowing in order to stretch from Finnish *nuole-* to Mongolian *daliĵa-* ‘to lick’ and to find a medium to tie Hu. *hal-* ‘to die’ with Mongolian *ala-* ‘to kill’ or Zyrian *šaň* ‘good’ to Mon. *sain* ‘idem’.

As can be observed here, the similarities of Hungarian and Turkic are considerably greater than those of Turkic and Mongolian. The next chapter will show that they are greater than even the Finnish-Hungarian correspondences. Leaving comparison aside for a minute, an analogy on the quality of words is worth a couple of, and sometimes even, hundreds of words from the second (other words of the above categories) and third (cultural words, tools, etc.) degrees. If there is this much similarity in the core vocabulary, then one can start questioning the current genetic relationship thoughts. If Hungarian and Turkic do not have an ancestral connection, how can one acquire an outstanding result like this? Because this vocabulary is constituted of words which are not easily borrowed. Or let’s ask, from the other way around, how can so many words common to both Hungarian and Turkic not be enough to put them in the same family, but far fewer are enough for some to consider Mongolian and Turkic as siblings? Please, somebody explain how and why Hungarian needed to borrow three verbs from Turkic only for the meaning ‘to arrive’.

It is very significant to observe that the deeper we go into the core vocabulary, Hungarian gets closer to Turkic and the broader we keep the comparison lists, Mongolian gains superiority. In the second group Hungarian still has dominancy, but in the third group of words (mostly the cultural layer) Mongolian has more commonalities. The big picture seems, therefore, to tell us that loaning relations should be looked for more in Turko-Mongolian comparisons, while Hungarian correspondences imply more of a genetic relation. That does not mean, in my view as before stated, that Mongolian is by no means a relative of Turkic. The problem is only in the distances.

The dictionary *West Old Turkic* (WOT) of Róna-Tas and Berta has 397 items that are related, excluding variants of the same word, plus 67 disputed words of Turkic origin in Hungarian, if I’m not wrong in the counting. This is almost half of the number that Vámbéry once suggested. In WOT, the Turkic connection of, for instance, *nyár* ‘summer’ and *nyák* ‘neck’ is improbable for chronological reasons: Hungarian must have borrowed them from Proto-Altaic, and not from the later Proto-Turkic or Turkic; because then, there was no such Hungarian language contemporary to Proto-Altaic. Among others, *nyál* ‘to lick’ is never included in discussions, being a generic Finno-Ugric word... If there is a Proto-Altaic and if we have to consider them only in terms of borrowings,

it is true. But hundreds of Hungarian words with clear phonetic and semantic parallels to Turkic words would remain as an explanation. Especially for Hu. *ny-* ~ Tr. *y-* correspondences, this is very problematic. Can we say that Hu. *nyáj* ‘flock of sheep’ and Tr. *yayıl-* < *yađıl-* ‘to graze’ are not connected?<sup>213</sup> Therefore, the numbers of Vámbéry seem to be true and there are perhaps more corresponding words. This means that not only in quality, but also in quantity, Turko-Hungarian parallels are likely to be higher than those of Turko-Mongolian. Also, Turkic seems to have the most share in Hungarian, since the total Finno-Ugric vocabulary of Hungarian is said to be about 750 words,<sup>214</sup> whereas Turkic alone has at least as many common words as that.

Just for the letter A-, the words *aba, ablak, ad, adó, ág, aga, agg, agyar, aj, áj, ajánl, águl, akol, al, alá, alacsony, alafa, alávaló, alattság, áld, alsó, ám, ámul, ángyi, anya, apa, árad, ár, ás, ásit, atya* and *ázik* can be added to the 18 words of WOT, totalling 50. For the letter B-, WOT has 56 items, except for ethnic names. To these can be added *bagóly, bajusz, baka, bár, bárány, basa, bátya, béke, benő, beteg, betyár, bige, bodor, bogáncs, bogár, bóka, bokor, bolyong, bosszú, bozót, bögre, bölömbika, buga, bugyborék, bugyok, bulya, burnót, bü, búvesz*, etc. I tried to exclude Ottoman time borrowings like *bosztán, beslia, baksis*, etc. Thus, the total number reaches 85 at least. For the Cs- (Č), there are 24 borrowed or parallel words. The words *csal, csábít, csap/csep, csat/csatol, csata, csikar, csillag, csónak, csupa, csücsül* and perhaps some others can be added to them to make the total 34. These are the results of my own scanning, and not taken from Vámbéry or another source. Experts of the area surely have more of them. Just as, WOT is a Turkic dictionary, not Hungarian! Those parallels that cannot only be explained through loaning or those that are found in the languages of the Uralic region should not and cannot be set apart from Turkic issues. Indeed, the essential part of the

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<sup>213</sup> The Turkic verb is taken as a semantic variation of the original *yađıl-* pass. form of *ya:đ-* ‘to be spread out; to be published abroad’, and from that *yayıla-* ‘to spend the summer (somewhere)’ from *yay* ‘spring or summer’. Thus *yaylağ* ‘the place where livestock animals graze (thus, where people spend their summer times) is believed to come from *yay* ‘summer’. (Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 890, 980). This is nonsense. Animals *yayıl* (graze) in *yayla* (pasture), but we assign the verb to the original act of spreading, whereas they both apparently come from the same source containing something related to ‘eating’. Pastures are not used to spread the flocks. Instead, supposing a homonymous \**yay-* ‘to graze animals’ and from that meaning the current *yaylağ* ‘the place where livestock animals graze’ would be more convenient.

<sup>214</sup> Kálmán, “The History of the Ob-Ugric Languages”, 397.

work seems to start now, for only a part of those correspondences belongs to the Turko-Hungarian relations issue; I believe the majority of them should be studied in terms of the Ural-Altai scope.

Although it is habitual to classify ‘Turkic loanwords in Hungarian’ mainly as agricultural terms, then those concerning social, political and military life, then beliefs, etc., there seems to be no way to concentrate the parallels in these or those categories. The basic word list above shows that there are no notable deviations. If I’m asked, I’d pay attention to the verbs. Apart from the listed ones, there are many other common verbs like Hu. *érik* ‘to mature (plants), Tr. *er* ‘idem’; Hu. *fagy* ‘to freeze’, *fáz* ‘to feel cold’, Tr. *buy* ‘to feel cold’; Hu. *faj(ul)* ‘to degenerate’, Tr. *boz(ul)* ‘to decay, brake’; Hu. *fél* ‘to fear’, Tr. *belin* ‘panic, terror’; Hu. *fójt* ‘to drown’, Tr. *boğ* ‘idem’; Hu. *forog* ‘to turn’, *fúr* ‘to drill’, Tr. *bur* ‘to twist’; Hu. *gyömöszöl* ‘to stuff’, Tr. *göm* ‘to embed, bury’; Hu. *gyújt* ‘to ignite, fire’, Tr. *üt* ‘to singe’; Hu. *gyűjt* ‘to collect, accumulate’, Tr. *yğ* ‘idem’; Hu. *gyúr* ‘to knead’, Tr. *yoğur* ‘idem’; Hu. *hág* ‘to ascend, climb’, Tr. *ağ* ‘to rise’; Hu. *kavar* ‘to mix’, Tr. *kar* ‘idem’; Hu. *kell* ‘to be needed’, Tr. *kerek* ‘to be necessary’; Hu. *kér* ‘to request’, *keres* ‘to look for’, Tr. *sor* ‘ask for’; Hu. *kínal* ‘to present st.’, Tr. *sun* ‘idem’; Hu. *kopik* ‘to wear off’, Tr. *kop* ‘brake off’; Hu. *követ* ‘to follow, pursue’, Tr. *kov* ‘idem’; Hu. *múlik* ‘to pass’, Tr. *-miş/-muş/-müştü* ‘narrated past tense suffix’; Hu. *nyom* ‘to press, tighten’, Tr. *yum* ‘idem’; Hu. *nyúl* ‘to stretch, extend’, Tr. *yay* ‘idem’; Hu. *söpör*, *seper* ‘to sweep’, Tr. *süpür* ‘idem’; Hu. *szal* ‘to run’, Tr. *yel* ‘to run in hurry’; Hu. *száll* ‘to stay’, Tr. *kal* ‘idem’; Hu. *szel* ‘to slice’, Tr. *til* ‘idem’; Hu. *szór* ‘to spill, strew’, Tr. *ser* ‘to strew, stretch’; *somorít* ‘sadden, pain’, Tr. *somurt* ‘to shout, pulk’; Hu. *szül* ‘to bear, pup’, Tr. *töl* ‘progeny, sperm’; Hu. *teker* ‘to roll’, Tr. *teker* ‘wheel’; Hu. *tér* ‘to turn’, Tr. *tevir* ‘idem’; Hu. *tűr* ‘to endure’, Tr. *tur* ‘to stay, endure’; Hu. *ül* ‘to sit’, Tr. *olur* ‘idem’; Hu. *váj* ‘to sculp, carve’, Tr. *oy* ‘idem’; Hu. *vás* ‘to wear off, rub off’, Tr. *aş* ‘idem’, Hu. *vet* ‘to throw’, Tr. *at* ‘idem’; Hu. *zár* ‘to close, wrap’, Tr. *sar* ‘to wrap’ and some others.

Since Hungarian is an agglutinative language, we have to refer to verbal morphology, too. And, of course, there are also several suffixes corresponding to Turkic ones in function. This is, however, the topic of the next chapter. Here, what is outstanding is that we have ‘naked’ verb stems in both languages. Normally, in borrowed words Hungarian is expected to add a denominal verb formative suffix as in Slavic *činja* ‘to do, order’, Hu. *csinál* ‘to make, perform’, German *ansagen*, Hu. *anzágot* ‘to talk big’ or German *brillieren*, Hu. *brilliroz* ‘to show off’. Turkic ‘loanwords’ behave

like ‘Hungarian verbs of Ugric origin’.<sup>215</sup> Using auxiliary verbs or denominal verb formative suffixes in borrowed verbs is almost a universal rule. For instance, if Serbian receives from Turkish *beğen* ‘to like’, it turns into *begenisa*.<sup>216</sup> Checking ‘like’ in Facebook is *laykla* in the language of Turkish youth. Therefore, I’d ask Prof. Róna-Tas and learn about the reasons for Hungarian’s special behaviour to ‘Turkic loanwords’; I do not think it can be explained with time depth. The chronology of relations with ‘Turkic’ languages is not much older than that of relations with Slavic or German in the mainstream view. Remaining helpless in finding an explanation, I have to ask myself whether ancestors of *honfoglaló* Hungarians, namely those conquering the Carpathian basin 1125 years ago, took those verbs and words from their own ancestors, and not from the Turks.

It is by no means plausible to suppose that, on the other hand, Turkic borrowed them from Hungarian, as suggested by MarácZ.<sup>217</sup> Turkic languages are historically and geographically ‘extremely’ widespread and still keep a good common ‘inherited’ vocabulary. The environments and circumstances of such a loaning relation would mean proposing not only the neighbourhood of the Urheimats of both peoples, but also full independence of the two languages from the Uralic and Altaic affinities and from each other. Prof. MarácZ is ready to delete the Uralic connection, but I’m not very inclined to believe in full independence. Instead, to relocate the two languages within the Ural-Altai region, and to attribute an inherited relationship for them might be a better solution. So, it is time to cite Robbets, saying “the naked insertion of verb stems across multiple linguistic groups is hard to explain within a framework of language contact.”<sup>218</sup> Also, an indication of a copy is a restriction of shared

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<sup>215</sup> András Róna-Tas, “Morphological Embedding of Turkic Verbal Bases in Hungarian”, in *Transeurasian Verbal Morphology in a Comparative Perspective: Genealogy, Contact, Chance*, eds. Lars Johanson and Martine Robbets (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 38-39.

<sup>216</sup> Abdullah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u Srpskohrvatskom-Hrvatskosrpskom Jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1973), 129.

<sup>217</sup> MarácZ, *Towards Eurasian Linguistic Isoglosses*, 108. His suggestion, on the other hand, that “Hungarian is between Turkic and Finno-Ugric languages” is very noteworthy in explaining the situation (*idem*, 119).

<sup>218</sup> Martine Robbets, “Transeurasian: Can Verbal Morphology End the Controversy?”, in *Transeurasian Verbal Morphology in a Comparative Perspective: Genealogy, Contact, Chance*, eds. Lars Johanson and Martine Robbets (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 85.

morphemes to shared roots only.<sup>219</sup> Do we have them in our case? “The description of copiability as a relative tendency leads to the assumption that bound, verbal morphemes belong to the older strata of a language and provide rather reliable evidence to demonstrate common ancestorship.”<sup>220</sup>

It is also not a striking fact that commonalities between Turkic and Hungarian concentrate on some semantic areas. True, the very condensation in agrarian terms and domestic animals is clear, but comparable words exist almost homogeneously in all areas. Above, the distributions of basic vocabulary and verbs display this. For example, Hu. *bilincs* ‘handcuff’, Tr. *bilekçe* ‘idem’; Hu. *bölcs* ‘wise’, Tr. *bilge* ‘idem’;<sup>221</sup> Hu. *bölcső* ‘cradle, crib’ Tr. *beşik* ‘idem’, Tr. *bele* ‘to swaddle (a child)’; Hu. *cigány* ‘gipsy’, *szegény* ‘poor’, Tr. *çigan* ‘poor’; Hu. *csónak* ‘boat’, Tr. *çanak* ‘bowl’; Hu. *derék* ‘waist’, Tr. *tirek* ‘pole’; Hu. *köszörű* ‘ankle’, Tr. *kösüre* ‘idem’; Hu. *nyűg* ‘load’, Tr. *yük* ‘idem’; Hu. *vályú* ‘trough’, Tr. *yalak* ‘idem’; Hu. *világ* ‘light’, Tr. *ışık* ‘idem’; Hu. *vályog* ‘adobe’, *fal* ‘wall’, *falú* ‘village’, Tr. *bal* ‘mud’, *balık* ‘town’, etc.

A several-volume etymological dictionary would not suffice to tell us everything about the Turko-Hungarian linguistic relations. Not only lexical units or morphological items, but also countless semantic parallels should be regarded in such a study. For instance, in contrast to the great majority of languages, the two languages express a marriage with getting a home; Tr. *evli*, Hu. *házas* ‘married’, literally ‘having a home’. I hope this chapter will be a humble start for the new period of studies in this area.

This topic cannot be studied without considering extinct or forgotten words. We have nearly a complete list of the Turkic lexical entity, say, for the year 1000 AD, but not of the Hungarian one. Surely many generic words brought to Central Europe were forgotten and replaced by others. This would lead us to assume that correspondences were even higher then. For instance, *turul* is only known by Hungarians through historical documents as “the totem bird of the Árpád dynasty” and Turks remember it as the name of a Saljukid leader of the early 11<sup>th</sup> century, meaning also a bird of prey.<sup>222</sup> As a common noun, it is now out of usage in both

<sup>219</sup> Robbeets, “Shared Verb Morphology in the Transeurasian Languages”, 428-434.

<sup>220</sup> Robbeets, “Transeurasian: Can Verbal Morphology End the Controversy?”, 82.

<sup>221</sup> Since Hungarian has no verbal root *bil-* ‘to know’, this may be a true loanword, perhaps from Tr. *bilici* lit. ‘knower’, but a connection with Tr. *bögü* ‘magic’ seems more plausible as generally proposed. See Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 170.

<sup>222</sup> A good etymology for both languages is given in Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 954-956.

languages. The name of the leader of the Hungarians just before moving to Central Europe was Álmos. It is the same as Almuş, the name of the Volga Bulgar ruler who accepted Islam (in the first quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> century). Now the Hungarian name may be explained with the verbal root *al-* ‘to sleep’, and the Turkic name with *al-* ‘to take, conquer’, but this does not solve the question and separate those personal names. I worked on the personal name *Ede* which is common to medieval Hungarian and Turkic and the connection is unbelievable. There are other names like *Bulcsú*, *Termecsü*, *Takacsu*, *Jelek*, etc., that can easily be associated with some Turkic forms, but Hungarian etymologies are not certain for some.

The same may be true for the name of the *Erdély* region in Central Romania. Its Latin and international name is *Transilvania* ‘lands behind the forest’. The Hungarian word is said to be its translation: *erdő elv* ‘behind the forest’;<sup>223</sup> however, it seems that the Hungarian *elv* does not have that meaning in the known ages. Instead, similar Khanty and Mansi words are presented to explain the structure. Having many ‘Uralic’ cognates and Turkic counterparts (see above, *elő* ‘first’ in the basic list), the Hungarian *elv* hardly countervails the Latin word *trans*,<sup>224</sup> whereas *\*erdő elü* would mean ‘the forest land’, *el* becoming a Turkic contribution. It is very popular as known, as in the famous *Rumeli* ‘Romanland’, the Turkish name of the Turkic name *Balkan*.

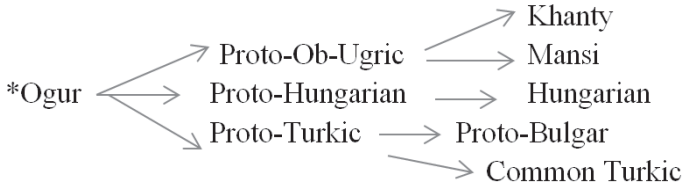
Well, personal names occurring in a society are not necessarily derived from the native language. A significant part of the Turkic old anthroponomy is also not understandable. This does not mean that those names are of foreign origin. They were remnants of older ages, when people knew their meanings. So, why not add them or some of them to the common vocabulary of Hungarian and Turkic?

Therefore, if the basic 100 words share 35% between Old Turkic and (new) Hungarian, then for the year 1000 AD the percentage would perhaps be 45 at least. When Jesus was born, it was not less than 70%, if our estimation is true. If we go further, during the Andronovo Age, in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC they would be unified. This is entirely hypothetical, but there is no reason not to suppose such a scheme, with the name Ogur being entirely arbitrary.

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<sup>223</sup> Benkő et al., *A Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótára -I-*, 757.

<sup>224</sup> Gergely Czuczor and János Fogarasi, *A Magyar nyelv szótára* (Pest: Emich Gustav, 1862), 314-315. Maybe ‘further from the forest’ but I’m not sure whether it would be used like this in a place name.



Unfortunately, the Proto-Bulgar language, which is to directly represent Proto-Turkic, is only known to us with a restricted vocabulary. It was surely closer to Hungarian as seen in phonetic equalities. Chuvash is of the Proto-Bulgar kind in phonetics, but it is a contemporary language, having no records older than three centuries, albeit it still retains some archaic features. A comparison of Proto-Bulgar and Hungarian would be healthier, but we are helpless at that point. In any case, even our comparison based on Old and Common Turkic gives unbelievable results.

To sum up, it seems that Turkic, amongst the singular languages in the Ural-Altai region, is by far the language which has the most common words with Hungarian. The quality and quantity of commonalities are no humbler than even those of the so-called twin sisters of Hungarian, Khanty and Mansi. Classical linguistic explanations based on loaning relations explain only a little part of the big picture; nor are the historical adventures of the Hungarians helpful to explain such an intimate neighbourhood. Now, we should have a glance at the Uralic zone.



## CHAPTER 5

### FINNISH BATH: REVISITING THE URALIC THEORY

Grigorij Petrov was one of the most prominent authors of the last days of the Russian Tsardom. He had to leave the country, however, after the Bolshevik Revolution. He took refuge in the then Yugoslavia and wrote a book called *In the Land of White Lilies* (1925), which is about the Finnish miracle of social development. It was almost simultaneously published in Bulgaria. Atatürk, knowing Bulgarian, got it and ordered that it be translated into Turkish in 1928. By now the book has had 76 editions, as far as I know, in Turkish, and it was also very influential and popular in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. In contrast to the established perceptions of Atatürk's modernisation policies especially under the influence of the French Revolution (which is a very simplistic thought), modern Turkey tried to follow the Finnish path in the early days of the Republic. That marvellous book met the Finnish reader very late (1979), and was published in Russian only after the collapse of the USSR. The only English translation was made even later, in 2020, by a Turkish association in the USA. Well, this note has nothing to do with the content of our book.

Above, we briefly described the notions of Uralic and Finno-Ugric. In spite of the serious absence of the necessary material to relate the concerning languages, or indeed language groups, genetically to each other, their constituting a family is not well argued, but debates on the primary homeland of the Proto-Uralic speaking community have always been hot, proposals varying from the Baltic coasts to the western half of Siberia. It seems there is a majority consensus of the western slopes of the Ural Mountains, though Makkay thinks that scholarly opinions shift toward Western Siberia.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> János Makkay, “The Earliest Proto-Indo-European–Proto-Uralic Contacts: An Upper Palaeolithic Model”, in *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, eds. Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugrian Society, 2007), 326.

Recent efforts focus upon proving or displaying a close relationship, if not genetic, between the Uralic and Indo-European families. Well, comparative studies would normally contribute much to our knowledge about individual linguistic families and even about the third parties, as in our work. Before discussing the IE connections to some extent, I must confess to wondering whether the bulk of the IE loanwords received in the Proto-Uralic age is from Indo-Aryan, or Sanskrit. Collinder lists them in his *Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary*, among other works.<sup>226</sup> This might provide us with both a chronology and a territory. If the Indo-Iranians split from the (remaining) Proto-Indo-Europeans after the 25<sup>th</sup> century BC, and if the part of them that later constituted the Indo-Aryan branch was at the front or on the periphery, as mostly supposed, as will be dealt with below in a separate chapter, then that part likely interacted with Proto-Uralic peoples in the north of the Caspian Sea, on the Volga basin. This would enforce the views looking for a Uralic Urheimat on the (south)western side of the Urals. Such a position would help to explain the case of the Proto-Turks, too.

In this sense, the proposal of Abondolo is interesting. Locating the Urheimat towards the southern end of the Urals, he suggests that the westernmost Saamic-Finnic branch split first, six millennia ago, or even earlier, then the others separated and the Ugric branch remained as the core.<sup>227</sup> A similar scenario is suggested by Janhunen, beginning its movement, however, from a region adjacent to or not “too far” from the Altaic homelands in Mongolia and Manchuria.<sup>228</sup> Leaving aside the so-called Altaic homelands, we can postulate such a scenario that some Uralic (Balto-Finnic) and Indo-European (esp. Germanic and Celtic) branches moved westward to erase and assimilate whichever ‘Old European’

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<sup>226</sup> It can also be observed in the lists of Fredrik Kortlandt, a leading champion of the idea of an “Indo-Uralic family”, in his several internet publications. Almost all suggested cognates have a Sanskrit equivalent. Koivulehto makes an etymological examination of those words (Jorma Koivulehto, “The Earliest Contacts between Indo-European and Uralic Speakers in the Light of Lexical Loans”, in *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, eds. Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugrian Society, 2007), 235-263). He, on the other hand, seems to contradict himself by supposing a Uralic homeland in Central/Western Russia (*idem*, 257). Such a location would diminish relations with the Proto-Aryans and increase them with the Balto-Slavic and Germanic elements.

<sup>227</sup> Daniel Abondolo, “Introduction”, *The Uralic Languages*, ed. D. Abondolo (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 1-3.

<sup>228</sup> Janhunen, “Indo-Uralic and Ural-Altaic: On the Diachronic Implications of Areal Typology”, 214.

populations were on their route, but not seeing or contacting each other in the first phase. This would not, of course, be a simultaneous act, since chronologies offered for the splits of the concerning branches are very different. Nevertheless, my scenario would propose a good solution to the Sanskrit density among the IE loanwords in the Uralic languages.

Whatever theory or hypothesis that we propose, however, would rely on a very weak basis as long as we do not solve inter-family problems. It is habitual to say that Altaic can hardly be compared with Uralic, since it is not a family in the standards of Uralic or Indo-European,<sup>229</sup> referring to the still unproven situation of the Altaic theory. What are the standards of the Uralic that place it in a better situation than the Altaic? Above in the Hungarian chapter, we indeed expressed many fatal points. Another example: Of the 650 root morphemes of Common Samoyedic, only 150 go back to Proto-Uralic.<sup>230</sup> About 77% of the original Samoyedic vocabulary has no connection with Uralic! We should keep in mind that Samoyedic is a language family with several members and this number was derived from their total vocabulary. For individual languages this number is even higher. Any speaker of a Finno-Ugric language shares 50 to 100 common lexical items with a speaker of any Finno-Ugric language of another branch.<sup>231</sup> We have seen in the previous chapter that Hungarian shares more than 600 words with Turkic.

Let us suppose that we have the Proto-Uralic, which might have lasted between 6000 and 4000 BC,<sup>232</sup> or between other dates. Various branches split from it and the Ugric remained. Then Hungarian, too, separated and

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<sup>229</sup> Abondolo, “Introduction”, 8; Marianne Bakró-Nagy, “The Uralic Languages”, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 90, 3 (2012), 1005.

<sup>230</sup> Abondolo, “Introduction”, 2.

<sup>231</sup> Tapani Salminen, “The Rise of the Finno-Ugric Language Family”, in *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, eds. Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugrian Society, 2007), 394.

<sup>232</sup> Helimski, “Early Indo-Uralic Linguistic Relationships”, 190; Alo Raun, “Proto-Uralic Comparative Historical Morphosyntax”, in *The Uralic Languages, Description, History and Foreign Influences*, ed. D. Sinor (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1988), 555. See T. Honkola et al. for a more precise estimation, according to which the Proto-Uralic phase ended c. 5300 ago (“Cultural and Climatic Changes Shape the Evolutionary History of the Uralic Languages”, *Journal of Evolutionary Biology* 26 (2013), 1247-1248). For the Proto-Finno-Ugric, Parpola gives 2500 BC in reference to the scholarly consensus (Asko Parpola, “The Coming of the Aryans to Iran and India and the Cultural and Ethnic Identity of the Dāsas”, *Studia Orientalia* 64 (1988), 201).

the twins Khanty and Mansi or Vogul and Ostyak remained.<sup>233</sup> Their common vocabulary does not exceed 600 words.<sup>234</sup> This number is very low. Thus, Proto-Ugric is difficult to reconstruct in convincing detail.<sup>235</sup>

The Ugric group has problems within itself but is also not on good terms with the other branches of the family. They share some lexical units and phonological and grammatical characteristics not shared by any other Uralic language.<sup>236</sup> Then compare the situation at the family level. I'll cite Häkkinen: There are, in fact, only 18 items with 100% etymological certainty, meaning that an etymologically equivalent form can be traced in all Finno-Ugric languages and in at least one Samoyed language.<sup>237</sup> According to Helimski, referring to Illich-Svytich, of those 18 items 12 have Indo-European or other Nostratic parallels, including the famous *nimi* 'name'.<sup>238</sup> And, of the elements in modern Finnish corresponding to these 100% etymologies, the words *ala-* 'under', *ku* 'who', *maksa* 'liver', *me* 'we', *minä* 'I', *nuoli* 'arrow', *nuolla* 'to lick' and *tuo* 'that' (perhaps also *niellä* 'to swallow') have Turkic equivalents. The second group with 90% certain etymologies includes 23 items, six of which are numerals. Of the remaining 17, eight items have Nostratic parallels.<sup>239</sup> G. Starostin quotes 6 common Indo-European and Uralic words to account for the Nostratic evidence: IE *\*me*, U *\*mE* 'I'; IE *\*tu*, U *\*tE* 'thou'; IE *\*kley-*, U *\*kule* 'to hear'; IE *\*(H)nom-*, U *\*nime* 'name'; IE *\*wed-or*, U *\*wete* 'water'; and IE *\*k<sup>w</sup>i-s*, U *\*kU* 'who'.<sup>240</sup> Of these, 'water' and 'name' are accepted to be

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<sup>233</sup> The twins also have some radical morphological differences. For example, Vogul case endings do not originate from the same elements as the Ostyak ones (Kálmán, "The History of the Ob-Ugric Languages", 406).

<sup>234</sup> Kálmán, "The History of the Ob-Ugric Languages", 409.

<sup>235</sup> Abondolo, "Introduction", 6.

<sup>236</sup> Bakró-Nagy, "The Uralic Languages", 1014. An early separation, namely, c. 3900 years ago from Finno-Ugric and c. 3300 years ago within itself to give birth to Hungarian (Honkola et al., "Cultural and Climatic Changes", 1247-1248) might be one of its reasons. Borbála Obrusánszki, "Are the Hungarians Ugric?", in *The State of the Art of Uralic Studies: Tradition vs Innovation*, ed. A. Marcantonio (Rome: Sapienza Università Editrice, 2018), 87-106, questions the conventional theory and defends the independence of Hungarian from Ugric, but using only historical sources.

<sup>237</sup> Kaisa Häkkinen, "Prehistoric Finno-Ugric Culture in the Light of Historical Lexicology", in *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, eds. Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugric Society, 2007), 177.

<sup>238</sup> Helimski, "Early Indo-Uralic Linguistic Relationships", 196.

<sup>239</sup> Helimski, "Early Indo-Uralic Linguistic Relationships", 197.

<sup>240</sup> Starostin, "Preliminary Lexicostatistics", 111.

loanwords from IE, and the remaining four items have exact Turkic parallels.

Things are very complicated! If, in the words of Häkkinen, in reference to Hajdú, “the features identified as specific to the language family are not actually shared by all its languages, but constitute dissimilar, intersecting isoglosses. Which, it is impossible to reconstruct in ways coherent with the postulated family tree”, and if “the etymologies of most words are ‘defective’ in the sense that cognates cannot be traced in all the languages assumed to derive from the same ‘protoform’”,<sup>241</sup> then, how can we name it as a “standard family”? I do not need to refer to the statistical objections of Marcantonio to the Uralic theory. This book is not on the Uralic peoples and this is enough.

As for the Indo-European connection of the Uralic, it would require a considerable effort to find a common denominator for the basically agglutinative morphology of the Uralic languages and the inflectional morphology of the Indo-European languages.<sup>242</sup> Apart from the basic typological/morphological differences, lexical commonalities are also not very helpful. With no need to exaggerate, there are only some 20-25 Uralic words sharing a similarity of form and meaning with Indo-European words.<sup>243</sup> Helimski considers the seven basic loans from Indo-European into Uralic as not “useful” words, and discards the possibility of language contact between them, instead proposing a genetic relationship.<sup>244</sup> Janhunen also underlines that the allegedly loaned words in Uralic are of the basic group, which would imply a very intimate relation between the relevant proto-societies, and this would in turn be reflected in typological patterns, which is not the case.<sup>245</sup> I’d add the right expectation that more

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<sup>241</sup> Häkkinen, “Prehistoric Finno-Ugric Culture in the Light of Historical Lexicology”, 170.

<sup>242</sup> Bakró-Nagy, “The Uralic Languages”, 1005; Abondolo, “Introduction”, 7. See also Helimski, “Early Indo-Uralic Linguistic Relationships”, 198; Janhunen, “Indo-Uralic and Ural-Altai”, 210, 213. See the paper of Marcantonio for a harsh critique of proponents of the Uralic and IE contacts, whether genetic or not. However, this sentence of hers, “borrowing among proto-languages is not only unlikely, but is actually impossible a priori” should not be generalised (Angela Marcantonio, “Uralic vs Indo-European Contacts: Borrowing vs Local Emergence vs Chance Resemblances”, *Eesti ja Soome-Ugri Keeleteaduse Ajakiri* 5, 2 (2014), 41).

<sup>243</sup> Bakró-Nagy, “The Uralic Languages”, 1015. Koivulehto gives etymologies of the ‘most obvious’ words, 11 in total (“The Earliest Contacts”, 236-238), of which five items can easily be connected with Turkic, too.

<sup>244</sup> Helimski, “Early Indo-Uralic Linguistic Relationships”, 199.

<sup>245</sup> Janhunen, “Indo-Uralic and Ural-Altai”, 216.

lexical parallels other than the basic vocabulary would be found. In any case, such a genetic kinship, if there, would be a very distant one in the presence of so few materials. If true, such a case would back my view that prehistoric contacts between the two protolanguages did not necessarily happen in a virtual sense.

It is hard to comprehend that we speak of an “Indo-Uralic” genetic relationship with non-existent material, and reject the Ural-Altai idea which presents both lexical and typological/morphological evidence. What are those “methodologically consistent analyses” of Bakró-Nagy<sup>246</sup> which can by no means save the Uralic from being an isolated family? Can “inconsistent analysis” do it? I’m aware of the difficulty in comparing Finnish and Japanese, but the difficulty in comparing Finnish and Hungarian would easily relativise it. The ultimate fact is that neither the so-called Altaic nor the so-called Uralic is free of fundamental problems within, thus if you compare the ‘united’ Uralic with the united Altaic as two blocks, you are destined for disappointment in advance. Instead, crossing comparisons between languages of the “Ural-Altai region” would give healthier results, discarding many times the *Sprachbund* or areal influence explanations. Slight ties of individual languages with their families and family members would provide us with more space to carry out that task. D. Sinor did it and reached the famous conclusion, albeit referring to groups rather than individual languages, that “if from all the Uralic and Altaic languages only the Northern Tungus and Ob-Ugric were known, no one would deny their genetic relationship”.<sup>247</sup>

It is almost universally accepted that what ties the Uralic and Altaic language groups is their typological features, though there are great problems in the lexical domain.<sup>248</sup> The main theme of the structural analysis is that all languages from Saamic to Japanese are agglutinative. Yet, this is not a simple issue as described by Carpelan and Parpola, who criticise Janhunen over his search for a Uralic homeland close to the Altaic ‘homelands’ by saying that the agglutinative language type is very common all over the world, and there is no historical need to derive the Uralic language family from East Asia.<sup>249</sup> What unites both ‘families’ is

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<sup>246</sup> Bakró-Nagy, “The Uralic Languages”, 1005.

<sup>247</sup> Sinor, “The Problem of the Ural-Altai Relationship”, 738.

<sup>248</sup> Janhunen, “Indo-Uralic and Ural-Altai”, 211, 213. For the common peculiarities of Uralic and Altaic, see Sinor, “The Problem of the Ural-Altai Relationship”, 711-713.

<sup>249</sup> Christian Carpelan and Asko Parpola, “Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal of Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Uralic and Proto-Aryan in Archaeological Perspective”, in *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological*

not their typological class but the way of agglutinating their words, especially verbs. And this is not shared by other ‘agglutinative’ languages, including the neighbouring Palaeo-Siberian ones, but only remains particular to the Ural-Altai members. Not only how-to-do, but also what-to-do depicts the framework, although it is difficult to assign a specific semantic content to any of the (reconstructed) suffixes.<sup>250</sup>

Here are some common morphological features of the Uralic languages and the relevant situation in Turkic:<sup>251</sup> Tense forms of the verbs represent noun derivatives with personal endings in most cases identical with possessive suffixes. This is exactly the same in Turkic. Possessive suffixes originate from personal pronouns. This is exactly the same in Turkic. The most general order in a sentence is subject – others – verb (SOV). In these languages it is not only the object that is placed between the subject and the verb but all of the other sentence elements as well. This is primarily characteristic of eastern Uralic languages. This is exactly the same in Turkic. In most Uralic languages interrogative pronouns come immediately before the verb. This is exactly the same in Turkic. Definitiveness as a morphological category is found only in Mordvin. Some other languages use the third person singular possessive suffix. This is also what Turkic does. These features are not among those that are common all over the Ural-Altai realm, but are detailed linguistic issues, although some other ‘Altai’ languages might also share some of them. A poor ‘coincidence’ or ‘areal interaction’ can hardly explain them.

Lexical borrowings may seem normal, and additional basic vocabulary would denote more intimate relations. Suffixes can also be borrowed, but

*Considerations*, eds. Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugric Society, 2007), 73.

<sup>250</sup> Eeva Kangasmaa-Minn, “On the Principles of Finno-Ugric Derivation”, in *Studies in Finno-Ugric Linguistics*, ed. D. Sinor (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 204.

<sup>251</sup> The data were compiled from Björn Collinder, *Comparative Grammar of the Uralic Languages* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1960); Raun, “Proto-Uralic Comparative Historical Morphosyntax”; Kangasmaa-Minn, “On the Principles of Finno-Ugric Derivation”; Bakró-Nagy, “The Uralic Languages”; Sinor, “The Problem of the Ural-Altai Relationship”, Bernard Comrie, “General Features of the Uralic Languages”, in *The Uralic Languages, Description, History and Foreign Influences*, ed. D. Sinor (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1988); Sinor, “On Some Ural-Altai Plural Suffixes”, *Asia Major* 2, 2 (1952); Sinor, “A Ural-Altai Ordinal Suffix”, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 31 (1959); Sinor, Denis, “The \*-t ~ \*-d Local Suffix in Uralic and Altai”, in *Hungaro-Turcica. Studies in Honor of Julius Németh*, ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy (Budapest: ELTE Press, 1976) and some other introductory books or related papers.

this usually needs further intimacy. If there are corresponding declensional and derivational elements between peoples who have never been in close relation with each other, and if those elements are a matter of linguistic region/group, then we need to pay more attention. Here are some morphological items of the Uralic or Finno-Ugric group and the positions of Turkic before them:<sup>252</sup>

The genitive *-n* is common in Ural-Altaiic. But interestingly, the Permian and Ugric languages, historical neighbours of Turkic, have none of it. Those are the easternmost Finno-Ugric groups, separating the west Finnic region from the ‘Altaic’ zone (Turkic and Mongolic). If this is not a coincidence, the suggestion of areal interaction can be discarded (albeit, it does exist in Slavic languages, too: Rus. *Lenin* ‘of (the river) Lena’; Serb. *Marindvor* < *Marijin Dvor* ‘The Palace of Maria’). The locative *-t*, *-tä* is popular in Uralic languages. It is the basic suffix in Turkic and appears in Mongolic, too. The locative *-n*, *-na* appears only in Ugric languages. Turkic also has it. Cf. Hu. *nyáron*, Tr. *yazın* ‘in the winter’. The ablative or separative suffix is *-ta*. Cf. *Tengri teg tengride bolmuş* ‘he who is like Heaven and was created from the Heaven’ (8<sup>th</sup> century, the Bilge Qagan inscription). Uralic has the popular lative *\*-kV*, while Tr. has the dative *-ka* (Slavic languages have it as well, in the shape of the preposition *k*, for the meaning ‘towards’). Interestingly, a co-functional of the Finnish durative *-ele* can be found in Tr.: *gez-* ‘to walk’, *gezele-* ‘to continue walking’. The Finno-Ugric deverbal noun formant *-nt* also seems to have a Turkic connection: *gezinti* ‘(a short) walking’. Another Finnish suffix of the same kind is *-s*, which is properly the same as the Turkic *-s*: Fin. *unohdus*, Tr. *unutuş* ‘forgetting’.

The Uralic deverbative noun formant *-m* has a perfect counterpart in Tr.: *öl* ‘to die’, *ölüm* ‘the act of dying’. Being a different suffix, Fin. *-ma* ~ *-mä* denotes a single instance of the verb activity Fin. *juoma*, Tr. *içme* ‘drinking’. The Uralic deverbative noun formant *-p* seems to exist in some Turkic languages; Cf. Kazakh *aluu* ‘taking’ < *al-* ‘to take’. Denominative suffixes *-l*, *-n*, *-t*, and *-r* have Turkic correspondents, with exactly the same “letters”. This cannot be incidental. Uralic has a dual suffix *-ka*. Turkic preserves a dual *-k* in twin organ names like *ayak* ‘foot’, *bacak* ‘leg’, *yanak* ‘chin’, *dudak* ‘lip’, and *böbrek* ‘kidney’. Popular Finno-Ugric plural suffixes *-n*, *-t* and *-r* are also visible in Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-

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<sup>252</sup> The data were compiled from Sinor, “The Problem of the Ural-Altaiic Relationship”, Sinor, “The *\*-t* ~ *\*-d* Local Suffix in Uralic and Altaic”, Sinor, “On Some Ural-Altaiic Plural Suffixes”, and Raun, “Proto-Uralic Comparative Historical Morphosyntax”. Examples are mostly from Sinor; I have a few proposals.



Tungus. The widespread Uralic diminutive is *-kkV*. Turkic has the essential diminutive *-k*, with its derivations. The most interesting correspondence is, perhaps, the ordinal suffix, which is reconstructed as *\*-ntV* in Uralic. Turkic has *-nç(i)*, which comes from, according to Sinor, *-nti*.<sup>253</sup> We may also add some other suffixes like the Finnic transitive *-ta ~ -tä* and the deverbative *-k* and even some semantic parallels such as, that the use of a separative case with the verb ‘to fear’ is general in Uralic,<sup>254</sup> as in Turkic.

According to Robbeets, a basic vocabulary test can never bluntly tell us whether the languages under consideration are related or not.<sup>255</sup> A basic vocabulary test can tell us whether it is safer to attribute similarities to genetic inheritance than to attribute them to borrowing.<sup>256</sup> Instead she turns her attention to suffixes and with two inflectional suffixes believes she has proven the relatedness of the Altaic (i.e., Trans-Eurasian) languages.<sup>257</sup> What about the above examples? Turkic seems to have ties with Uralic that are at least five times firmer than those with Altaic. And, to a lesser degree, those are shared between Uralic and Altaic, too. Not disregarding lexical correspondences/commonalities as will be shown below; can we speak of a genetic relation between Turkic and Uralic? If not, why?

Language groups should be treated on their terms. It is true, neither Uralic, nor Altaic languages have the lexical connections expected from a family structure, but they are typologically much more homogenous than the Indo-European languages. The latter, on the other hand, have preserved more common words, although exhibiting more typological diversities than the former. Among the preserved items and features, suffixes are noteworthy in the Uralic and Altaic; and Turkic seems to have closer connections with Uralic in that sense. In general, the morphological systems of Tungus (namely, the northern part of the Manchu-Tungus), Uralic and Turkic languages show considerable agreement.<sup>258</sup>

In the previous chapter, we dealt with Turkic and Hungarian lexical correspondences. Some of them, but not to a comparable degree, are shared by other Uralic languages. Except for a few Finnish words of mine, the ‘Uralic’ words below were taken from Collinder’s *FUV*. Instead of listing all cognate words, I selected one or two examples from the farthest

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<sup>253</sup> Sinor, “A Ural-Altai Ordinal Suffix”, 420-421.

<sup>254</sup> Raun, “Proto-Uralic Comparative Historical Morphosyntax”, 559.

<sup>255</sup> Robbeets, “Swadesh 100 on Japanese, Korean and Altaic”, 4.

<sup>256</sup> Robbeets, “Swadesh 100 on Japanese, Korean and Altaic”, 17.

<sup>257</sup> Robbeets, “The Historical Comparison of Japanese, Korean and the Trans-Eurasian Languages”, 274-280.

<sup>258</sup> Sinor, “On Some Ural-Altai Plural Suffixes”, 230.

Uralic languages, in order to imply the dimensions of the relation. That is, if the Hungarian words with Turkic parallels are relics of once historical relations, of neighbourhood and/or coexistence, then, what are these words in the farther ‘Uralic’ languages? The Turkic proposals are my own, free of Collinder’s 72 ‘Altaic’ words in Uralic languages.

Mordvin *uj* ‘brain’ stands closer to Turkic *ög*, rather than Hu. *agy* ‘idem’.

Fin. *ala* ‘area, space’, cf. Tr. *alan* ‘idem’.

Lapp *vjõnje*, Hu. *ángy, gyángyi*, ‘wife of elder brother’, cf. Tr. *yenge* ‘idem’.

Votyak *ar* ‘year’, Tr. *er* ‘early’, *yaz* ‘summer’, despite clear ‘Nostratic’ parallels as seen in the English meanings.

Fin. *elä-*, Hu. *él-* ‘to live’, cf. Tr. *yaşa* ‘idem’.

Fin. *emä*, Est. *ema*, cf. Tr. *eme* ‘paternal aunt’.

Fin. *enä* ‘great, big’, cf. Tr. superlative word *en* ‘the most’.

Lapp *guotto-* ‘to feed, graze’, Tr. *güt-* ‘idem’.

Fin. *im-* ‘to suck, suckle’, Tr. *em-* ‘idem’.

Fin. *isä* ‘father’, Tr. *eçi* ‘paternal uncle’.

Fin. *itse* ‘myself, yourself, etc.’, Tr. *öz* ‘idem’.

Lapp *jame-* ‘to die’, Zyrian *jææma-* ‘to be ill’, Tr. *em* ‘remedy’.

Lapp *jäl’li-* ‘to get bright’, Tr. *yal-* ‘to blaze, burn, shine’.

Ostyak *jæče* ‘middle, centre’, Tr. *iç* ‘inside, inner’.

Lapp *jotte-* ‘to be in motion, move, go, migrate’, Tr. *yet-* ‘to reach, arrive’, *git-* ‘to go’.

Vogul *kaš-*, *has-* ‘to jerk’, Tr. *kas-* ‘to tauten, strain’.

Zyrian *kol’-* ‘to remain’, Tr. *kal-* ‘idem’.

Estonian *kõba* ‘fir bark’, Mordvin *kuvo* ‘bark’, Tr. *kov* ‘idem’.

Fin. *kieli* ‘tongue’, Tr. *keleşü* ‘talk, conversation’, Chuv. *kala-* ‘to say, pronounce’.

Fin. *koivu* ‘birch’, Tr. *kadın* ‘idem’.

Fin. *korventa-* ‘to burn, singe’, Tr. *köy-* ‘to burn’, *kor* ‘ember, cinder’.

Votyak *kudy* ‘bilberry’, Tr. *kad* ‘berry’.

Karelian *loukka*, Hu. *lyuk* ‘hole’, Tr. *oluk* ‘groove’.

Hu. *máj* ‘liver’, among the suggested Uralic cognates stands closest to Tr. *bağ* ‘idem’.

Votyak *paş* ‘hole’, Tr. *boş* ‘empty’.

Fin. *pelko* ‘fright, fear’, Tr. *belin* ‘panic, terror’.

Votyak *pil’-* ‘to split’, Tr. *böl-* ‘to divide’.

Fin. *pilvi* ‘cloud’, Tr. *bulut* ‘idem’.

Fin. *pohte, pohkea* ‘the calf of the leg’, Tr. *bacak* ‘idem’.

- Fin. *pura*- ‘to bore, drill’, Tr. *bur*- ‘idem’.  
 Fin. *purku* ‘snowstorm’, Tr. *boran* ‘idem’.  
 Vogul *på* ‘tree’, Tr. *bağ* ‘vineyard’.<sup>259</sup>  
 Fin. *tora* ‘quarrel’, Tr. *tür(t)*- ‘to nudge, jab, spur’.  
 Fin. *tuo* ‘that’, Tr. *taka* ‘that’.<sup>260</sup>  
 Fin. *unohta*-, Vog. *vunät*- ‘to forget’, Tr. *unut*- ‘idem’.  
 Fin. *vetä*- ‘to pull, draw’, Tr. *it*- ‘to push’.  
 Vogul *ula*, *aawla* ‘pole, fence-wood, hedge, fence’, Tr. *avla*- ‘to crowd round, surround’, *avlu* ‘(surrounded) garden’.  
 Fin. *ydin* ‘marrow’, Tr. *öd* ‘bile, gall’.  
 Vogul *išm*, *ism* ‘hot’, *išt*- ‘to warm’, Tr. *ısı* ‘heat’, *ısıt*- ‘to heat’.  
 Votyak *val*’- ‘to spread, unfold’, Tr. *yaş*- ‘to cover, hide’.  
 Mordvin *udo*- ‘to sleep’, Tr. *udt*- ‘idem’.  
 Fin. *appi* ‘father-in-law’, Tr. *apa* ‘grandfather, ancestor’.  
 Lapp *bâčče*-, *bâže*- ‘to press, squeeze’, Tr. *bas*- ‘idem’.  
 Ostyak *sur* ‘herd (flock) of moose’, Tr. *sürü* ‘herd’.  
 Votyak *žaryt* ‘light red’, Tr. *yaru*- ‘to illuminate’.  
 Fin. *ilma* ‘storm’, Tr. *yel* ‘wind’.  
 Hu. *izz*- ‘to glow’, be red-hot’, Votyak *esty*- ‘to heat’, Tr. *ısı* ‘heat’.  
 Fin. *jähty*- ‘to cool’, Chermish *ükše*- ‘to get cool’, Tr. *üşü*- ‘idem’.  
 Fin. *kierä* ‘twisted’, Hu. *kering*- ‘revolve’, Tr. *kıvr*- ‘to curl’.  
 Fin. *kesä* ‘summer’, Tr. *küz* ‘autumn’.  
 Fin. *koi* ‘dawn’, Tr. *köy*- ‘to burn’.  
 Fin. *koja* ‘bark’, Hu. *haj* ‘bark’, Tr. *kovi* ‘idem’.

<sup>259</sup> It is alleged to be an early Persian loanword in Turkic (garden > vineyard) (Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 311). It is widespread in Turkic languages and occurs in OT too. However, Iranic does not seem to have a related word, except for *bū* ‘zemlja, mir’ (V. S. Rastorgueva and D. I. Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ iranskih jazikov -II-* (Moskva: Nauka, 2003), 134). Thus, besides phonetic difficulties, it is hard to derive ‘garden, vineyard’ from ‘earth, land’. In contrast, the Persian word should be an early Turkic loanword. On the other hand, Turkic has *bor* for vineyard, shared by Hungarian, and no other semantic extensions. The original meaning of *bağ* in Turkic should be ‘garden’.

<sup>260</sup> Spoken Turkish has *aha* ‘this’ and *daha* (< \**taka*) ‘that’, but nobody uses them as demonstratives, instead dictionaries connect the latter with OT *takı* (Turkish *dahi*, *daha*), which has a wide scope of meanings: And, yet, still, also, etc. The former meaning is completely ignored. They should be independent words, demonstrative pronouns having many counterparts in the Ural-Altaiic zone. I’m grateful to Prof. T. Gülensoy for consultation on the theme. Stachowski posits a Proto-Turkic \**te* ‘this/that in view’ (Marek Stachowski, “Turkic Pronouns against a Uralic Background”, *Iran and the Caucasus* 19, 1 (2015), 84-85), and suggests some Uralic parallels.

- Fin. *kolo* ‘cavity, hollow’, Tr. *oluk* ‘groove’.  
 Fin. *kuule-* ‘to hear’, Tr. *kulgak* ‘ear’.  
 Fin. *kylä* ‘village’, Vog. *kül, kwäl* ‘house’, Tr. *kel* ‘house’.  
 Fin. *kymi* ‘big river’, Tr. *kemi* ‘ship’.  
 Fin. *kytke-* ‘to tie up’, Tr. *kad-* ‘idem’.  
 Fin. *ole-* ‘to be’, Tr. *bol-* ‘idem’.  
 Fin. *onni* ‘happiness’, Tr. *on-* ‘to be happy’.  
 Cheremish *pač* ‘tail, hinder part, nether end’, Ostyak *poč* ‘heel of the foot’, Tr. *paça* ‘calves-foot’.  
 Lapp *buoŋâ* ‘breast of a bird’, Tr. *boyun* ‘neck’.  
 Ostyak *posər-* ‘to press, knead’, Tr. *bas-* ‘idem’.  
 Fin. *salama* ‘lightening’, Ostyak *säl-* ‘to lighten’, Tr. *yal-* ‘to flame’.  
 Vogul *sopəl* ‘pole, rod’, Tr. *sopa* ‘stick, bat’.  
 Fin. *syllä* ‘wart’, Cheremish *šəgəl* ‘wart’, Tr. *sigil* ‘idem’.  
 Cheremish *teme-* ‘to fill’, *tema-* ‘to become full’, Tr. *tüm* ‘whole’.  
 Fin. *vaara* ‘hill’, *vuori* ‘mountain’, Tr. *or* ‘high’.  
 Fin. *valkea* ‘white’, Tr. *alka* ‘idem’.  
 Vogul *uus* ‘understanding, memory’, Tr. *us* ‘idem’.  
 Fin. *voi* ‘butter’, Tr. *yağ* ‘butter, oil’.  
 Fin. *vuole* ‘to carve, cut, chip, whittle’, Tr. *oluk* ‘groove’.  
 Fin. *vuote* ‘year’, Tr. *öd* ‘time’.  
 Lapp *juone* ‘path in the snow’ < Sanskrit *yāna* ‘going, walking, way, course’,<sup>261</sup> cf. Tr. *yön* ‘course, direction’.  
 Fin. *koi, koja* ‘moth’, Tr. *küye* ‘idem’.  
 Fin. *sytki* ‘saliva’, Tr. *salya* ‘idem’.  
 Fin. *kalki* ‘hair’, Tr. *kil* ‘idem’.

As stated previously, the words selected here are representative of the Uralic; that is, indeed, more Uralic languages share cognate ones. If these are loanwords to any direction, then one has to explain the historical milieu to suppose such an intimate relation as to exchange so many fundamental words. This would lead us to necessarily locate a Proto-Turkic home in the adjacent regions of the Uralic ‘core’. In any case, it would be somewhere in North-western Asia. If these are said to be signifying genetic relations, then Turkic should be very close and adjacent to the Uralic/Western group of the Ural-Altai languages. The location would not change in both terms. Or, as a third option, perhaps these are all accidental or nonsensical!

<sup>261</sup> Collinder, *Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary*, 142.

In the very inadequacy of the lexical commonalities among Uralic languages, these correspondences with Turkic can hardly be commented upon within the scope of the Far Eastern Altaic and Northwest ‘Eurasian’ Uralic. Instead, a proto-language that probably started to split more than 10.000 years ago, but left its relics throughout the north of the Old World, would perhaps provide a better explanation. The distribution of similarities, in a rough sense, seems to indicate that the earliest separation(s) started from the eastern side of the proto-community.

It is even difficult to continue the classical tradition supposing a substantial Uralic group underlies Ural-Altai. There seem to be at least three sub-branches here: Finnic, Ugric and Samoyed. Ugric is very problematic. There is too little agreement to posit a Ugric basic language, as previously stated.<sup>262</sup> On the other hand, Hungarian stands very close to Turkic, comparably to the Ob-Ugric twins. Only as a question, not a suggestion: Can we suppose an almost simultaneous tri-partite separation of a proto-language that gave birth to the northerner Ob-Ugric, the central Hungarian and the southerner Turkic?

Otherwise, one should explain why Hungarian is closer to Turkic rather than Finnish, and Turkic is as close to Finnish as to Hungarian. Of the 28 verbs shared by the latter two,<sup>263</sup> 20 are present in Turkic too. Let us make a table:

**Table 4:** Comparison of Finnish, Hungarian and Turkic Verbs

<b>Finnish</b>	<b>Hungarian</b>	<b>Turkic</b>
<i>elä-</i> ‘to live’	<i>él-</i> ‘idem’	<i>yāşa-</i> ‘idem’
<i>ime-</i> ‘to suck’	<i>emik-</i> ‘idem’	<i>em-</i> ‘idem’
<i>ui-</i> ‘to swim’	<i>úsz-</i> ‘idem’	<i>yüz-</i> ‘idem’
<i>katoa-</i> ‘to disappear’	<i>hagy-</i> ‘to leave’	<i>ad(rıl)-</i> ‘to leave’
<i>kuole-</i> ‘to die’	<i>hal-</i> ‘to die’, <i>öl-</i> ‘to kill’	<i>öl-</i> ‘to die’
<i>mene-</i> ‘to go’	<i>men-</i> ‘idem’	<i>men-</i> ‘idem’
<i>nuole-</i> ‘to lick’	<i>nyal-</i> ‘idem’	<i>yala-</i> ‘idem’
<i>niele-</i> ‘to swallow’	<i>nyelv</i> ‘tongue’	---
<i>pelkää-</i> ‘to be afraid’	<i>fél-</i> ‘idem’	<i>belin</i> ‘panic, terror’

<sup>262</sup> In reference to Hajdu (1978), Kálmán, “The History of the Ob-Ugric Languages”, 398. It is explained by a very short life of Proto-Ugric. That is, Hungarian hurried to separate.

<sup>263</sup> Taken from Laakso at <https://homepage.univie.ac.at/Johanna.Laakso/Hki/f-h-ety.html>.

<i>puno-</i> ‘to plait’	<i>fon-</i> ‘to knit’	---
<i>tunte-</i> ‘to know’	<i>tud-</i> ‘idem’ <sup>264</sup>	---
<i>anta-</i> ‘to give’	<i>ad-</i> ‘idem’	<i>at-</i> ‘to throw’
<i>juo-</i> ‘to drink’	<i>isz-</i> ‘idem’	<i>iç-</i> ‘idem’
<i>kuuntele-</i> ‘to listen’	<i>hall-</i> ‘to hear’	<i>kulgak</i> ‘ear’ < * <i>kul-</i> ‘to hear’
<i>syö-</i> ‘to eat’	<i>esz-, ev-</i> ‘idem’	<i>ye-</i> ‘to eat’
<i>kulke-</i> ‘to go forth’	<i>halad-</i> ‘idem’	---
<i>kytke-</i> ‘to tie, to attach’	<i>köt-</i> ‘to tie’	<i>kad-</i> ‘attach tightly’
<i>löytä-</i> ‘to find’	<i>lel-</i> ‘idem’	---
<i>lyö-</i> ‘to hit, strike’	<i>lő-</i> ‘to shoot’	---
<i>lykkä-</i> ‘to shove’, push’	<i>lök</i> ‘idem’	---
<i>näke-</i> ‘to see’	<i>néz</i> ‘to look’	---
<i>pitä-</i> ‘to keep, hold’	<i>függ-</i> ‘to be tied’	<i>bağ-</i> ‘to tie’
<i>sula-</i> ‘to melt’	<i>olvad-</i> ‘idem’ (?)	<i>sulu</i> ‘melted’
<i>teke-</i> ‘to make, do’	<i>tesz-</i> ‘idem’	Chuv. <i>tu-</i> ‘idem’ <sup>265</sup>
<i>tuo-</i> ‘to bring’	<i>toj-</i> ‘to lay eggs’	<i>tog-</i> ‘to be born’, also cf. Hu. <i>tyúk</i> , Tr. <i>taguki</i> ‘hen, chicken’
<i>vetä-</i> ‘to pull’	<i>vezet-</i> ‘to lead’	<i>it-</i> ‘to push’
<i>vie-</i> ‘to take away’	<i>visz</i> ‘idem’	---
<i>ole-</i> ‘to be’	<i>val-, vol-</i> ‘idem’	<i>bol-</i> ‘idem’

As seen, Turkic lacks only nine verbs. The others are shared by Turkic too. It is natural that Turkic does not have *l-* and *n-* beginning words, thus four of those non-shared verbs belong to that group. If we took Turkic and Hungarian parallel verbs and put the Finnish in the third column, then a great majority of them would be empty (cf. the previous chapter). This means that Hungarian is incomparably closer to Turkic rather than Finnish in terms of verbs. It seems to me that this can only be explained by the fact that Finnish and Finnic languages separated from the mass earlier, and Turkic did this much later.

<sup>264</sup> Perhaps Tr. *tyy-* ‘to hear’ may have some semantic connection.

<sup>265</sup> The Chuvash verb is connected to Common Turkic *tog-* ‘to be born’ (V. G. Egorov, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ čuvaškogo jazyka* (Čeboksary: Čuvašknigoizdat, 1964), 254-255; M. R. Fedotov, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ čuvaškogo jazyka -II-* (Čeboksary: ČGIGN, 1996), 240-241), however, this is semantically not clear to me. Instead, going as far as the English verb ‘do’, it might be a relic of the once popular Nostratic verb for ‘making, doing’.

There are of course many other verbs that can be added to this list. For instance, Hu. *fut-* ‘to run’, Fin. *ajaa-* ‘to drive’, Tr. *padak* ‘feet’; Hu. *kér-* ‘to wish’, Fin. *kerjätä-* ‘to beg’, Tr. *kerek-* ‘to be necessary’; Hu. *für-* ‘to twist’, Fin. *pura-* ‘idem’, Tr. *bur-* ‘idem’; Hu. *dug-* ‘to tuck, stuff’, Fin. *tunkea-* ‘to squeeze, jam’, Tr. *tık-* ‘to tuck, stuff’; Hu. *kerül-* ‘to come’, Fin. *kiertää-* ‘(round) to turn’ (?), Tr. *kel-* ‘to come’, *kir-* ‘to enter’.

The same is true for other basic words as well. That is, Hungarian and Finnish parallel words are usually shared by Turkic: Hu. *agy* ‘brain’, Fin. *aivot* ‘idem’, Tr. *ög* ‘idem’; Hu. *ala* ‘bottom’, Fin. *alla* ‘idem’, Tr. *al(t)* ‘idem’; Hu. *apa* ‘father’, Fin. *appi* ‘father-in-law’, Tr. *apa* ‘grandfather’; Hu. *atya* ‘father’, Fin. *ati, ätti* ‘idem’, Tr. *ata* ‘idem’; Hu. *elő* ‘forward’, Fin. *edelle* ‘idem’ (?), Tr. *il-* ‘idem’, *ilk* ‘first’; Hu. *ő* ‘he/she’, Fin. *hän* ‘idem’, Tr. *o* ‘idem’; Hu. *ős* ‘ancestor’, Fin. *iso* ‘big, bulky’ (?), Tr. *eski* ‘old’; Hu. *ki* ‘who’, Fin. *ken* ‘idem’, Tr. *kim* ‘idem’; Hu. *hogy* ‘how’, Fin. *koska* ‘when’, Tr. *\*ka* ‘which’; Hu. *máj* ‘liver’, Fin. *maksa* ‘idem’, Tr. *bag* ‘idem’; Hu. *mi* ‘us’, Fin. *me* ‘idem’, Tr. *biz* < *\*mi(z)* ‘idem’; Hu. *más* ‘other’, Fin. *muu* ‘idem’, Tr. *başka* ‘idem’; Hu. *száz* ‘hundred’, Fin. *sata* ‘idem’, Tr. *yüz* ‘idem’; Hu. *te* ‘thou’, Fin. *sinä* ‘idem’, Tr. *sen* ‘idem’; Hu. *öl* ‘overarm’, Fin. *syli* ‘idem’, Tr. *el* ‘hand’; Hu. *úr* ‘mister’, Fin. *urho* ‘hero’, Tr. *er* ‘man’; Hu. *vég* ‘tip, edge’, Fin. *viime* ‘end’, Tr. *uç* ‘tip, edge’; Hu. *öt* ‘five’, Fin. *viisi* ‘idem’, Tr. *beş* ‘idem’, PBul. *bet* ‘idem’; Hu. *orr* ‘nose’, Fin. *vuori* ‘mountain’, Tr. *or* ‘height’, *burun* ‘nose’.

Some correspondences between Hungarian and Finnish are almost perfect: Hu. *mi* ‘what’, Fin. *mikä* ‘which’; Hu. *négy* ‘four’, Fin. *neljä* ‘idem’; Hu. *szem* ‘eye’, Fin. *silmä* ‘idem’; Hu. *szív* ‘heart’, Fin. *sidän* ‘idem’; Hu. *tél* ‘winter’, Fin. *talvi* ‘idem’; Hu. *új* ‘new’, Fin. *uusi* ‘idem’; Hu. *vér* ‘blood’, Fin. *veri* ‘idem’ (these last ones are indeed international words); Hun. *víz* ‘water’, Fin. *vesi* ‘idem’ (a loanword from IE); Hu. *két* ‘two’, Fin. *kaksi* ‘idem’; Hu. *három* ‘three’, Fin. *kolme* ‘idem’; Hu. *hat* ‘six’, Fin. *kuusi* ‘idem’; and Hu. *kéz* ‘hand’, Fin. *käsi* ‘idem’. But, that is all.

Some of them are not clear: Hu. *tavaszi* ‘spring’, Fin. *touko* ‘spring sowing, planting’; Hu. *talál* ‘to find’, Fin. *tulla-* ‘to come’; Hu. *év* ‘year’, Fin. *ikä* ‘age’; Hu. *jön-* ‘to go’, Fin. *jäädä-* ‘to stay’; Hu. *hegy* ‘mountain, hill’, Fin. *kasa* ‘pile, stack’; Hu. *hónap* ‘moon’, Fin. *kausi* ‘period, age’; and Hu. *kevés* ‘little, some’, Fin. *kepeä* ‘easy’.<sup>266</sup> On the other hand, some correspondences between Finnish and Turkic have no Hungarian

<sup>266</sup> The Hungarian words and their ‘suggested’ Finnish cognates were compiled from the dictionary of Benkö et al., and the Turkic words are my own proposals.

counterparts like Fin. *mina* ‘I’, Tr. *men* ‘idem’; and Fin. *onni* ‘happiness’, Tr. *on-* ‘to be happy’.

These are basic words. In total, according to the dictionary of the Hungarian Academy, some 400 Finnish words have cognates in Hungarian. This is very low. And the bulk of them consist of difficult-to-understand etymologies like Hu. *ég* ‘sky’ ~ Fin *sää* ‘air’. Including this last one, there are 47 common words of Hungarian and Finnish in the Swadesh list-207, if I’m not wrong. Excluding the IE loanwords (Hu. *név*, Fin. *nimi* ‘name’; Hu. *vér*, Fin *veri* ‘blood’; Hu. *víz*, Fin *vesi* ‘water’; Hu. *só*, Fin *suola* ‘salt’), there remain 43 words. Among these, only those in the last two paragraphs above are not shared by Turkic. The situation is troublesome for the conventional views. It is the right time to cite Sinor who alleges that Proto-Turkic was closer to Proto-Finno-Ugric than to Proto-Mongol and Tungus.<sup>267</sup>

Our hypothesis would necessitate the presence of special relations between Ugric languages and Turkic. Samoyedic languages would also be included in that circle. Except for Hungarian, I’m not in such a position as to differentiate commonalities between Uralic languages and Turkic, and to classify those between Ugric, Samoyedic and Turkic. However, some individual data and examinations may help to draw a sketch of the ethno-linguistic past of the Ural basin.

According to Anthony, the hunters and fishers of the Uralic forest zone did not adopt domesticated animals until between about 2500 and 2000 BC.<sup>268</sup> Häkkinen supports him by saying that there is no Uralic or Finno-Ugric vocabulary referring to the cultivation of crops and only a few lexical items refer to the keeping of domestic animals, thus the production of clothes.<sup>269</sup> This explains why Hungarian and Turkic have them commonly, in contrast to the others. Whatever its chronology, they lived in the south, in the forest-steppe and steppe zone and developed their own relevant terminology. This separate development might also have its

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<sup>267</sup> Sinor, “The Problem of the Ural-Altai Relationship”, 725. He divides the Ural-Altai languages on the basis of their conjugations and possessive affixations into two: 1) Finno-Ugric, Samoyed, Northern Tunguz, Turkic, 2) Mongolian, South Tunguz (*idem*, 733).

<sup>268</sup> David W. Anthony, “Persistent Identity and Indo-European Archaeology in the Western Steppes”, in *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, eds. Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugric Society, 2007), 20.

<sup>269</sup> Häkkinen, “Prehistoric Finno-Ugric Culture”, 169, 175. Cf. also Bakró-Nagy, “The Uralic Languages”, 1014.



reflections in basic morphology. It is interesting that all Uralic stems are disyllabic,<sup>270</sup> while Hungarian and Turkic are monosyllabic languages.

Three words, one for ‘town’ and the others for ‘horse’ are of particular significance in terms of this special relation. Old Turkic regularly has the word *balık* ‘town’, which was loaned, according to Sinor, from Proto-Ugric.<sup>271</sup> The concerning words occur in Hungarian, Khanty and Mansi, and the Turkic one was loaned by Mongolian and from there by Manchu-Tungus. Regardless of these borrowings, it seems the word *\*balV* has Nostratic roots, at least in the IE zone, going as far as the English *pool*. Thus, the suggestion of Sinor may not be true, but in any case, here we deal with an early, Proto-Turkic age relation with the Ural region. This means there was a Turkic presence in the region before the 5<sup>th</sup> century at least.

In the previous chapter, we have seen that almost all Hungarian words for domestic animals have Turkic correspondences, loanwords or not. This is interesting. What is more interesting is that Hungarian did not borrow the word for ‘horse’ from the ‘nomadic’ Turks, but has its own word. Hu. *ló* has perfect cognates in Vog. *luv* and Ost. *lau*.<sup>272</sup> Old Turkic has *ulaq* for a kind of horse, occurring in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, which was received from Ugric languages according to Sinor.<sup>273</sup> Without interrogating why a steppe people living intimately with horses needed to borrow that word from the peoples of Siberia, where horses do not like to live, I would refer again to the circumstances necessary for such a loaning relation.

Another Turkic word for horse is *yunt*, which is not Common Turkic, but Common Samoyedic. Thus, it should have been loaned by some Turkic groups somewhere as common ancestors of the two peoples cohabited well before the time that the earliest Turkic texts were written.<sup>274</sup> This means an ‘East Turkic’ presence in the southern belt of Siberia before the Middle Ages. The Kök Türk presence to the south of the Urals can be fixed from written sources, as will be dealt with in a separate chapter, but this is a partial answer to the question, since early Turkic loanwords in Samoyed languages show that the united Samoyeds lived in

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<sup>270</sup> Collinder, *Comparative Grammar of the Uralic Languages*, 204; Kangasmaa-Minn, “On the Principles of Finno-Ugric Derivation”, 199.

<sup>271</sup> Denis Sinor, “The Origin of Turkic *Balıq*”, *Central Asiatic Journal* 25 (1981), 95-102.

<sup>272</sup> Denis Sinor, “Notes on Equine Terminology of the Altaic Peoples”, *Central Asiatic Journal* 10, 3-4 (1965), 314.

<sup>273</sup> Sinor, “Notes on Equine Terminology of the Altaic Peoples”, 315.

<sup>274</sup> Sinor, “Notes on Equine Terminology of the Altaic Peoples”, 312.

close contact with Turks speaking a language of the Chuvash type,<sup>275</sup> which was simply Proto-Turkic as before stated. This would take us to at least the Bronze Age of Eurasia. This means then, that the steppes of Central Eurasia were full of (Pre-)Proto-Turkic groups.

According to Carpelan and Parpola, on the basis of Turkic and Ketic loanwords in Proto-Samoyedic, the earliest habitats of the Samoyeds were in the forest-steppe zone of Siberia between the Urals and the Sayan and Altay mountains.<sup>276</sup> Isn't this too large? Instead, a Samoyed land in the western wing of Siberia and a Turkic one just to its south would be more plausible.

Needless to say, that Turkic has developed an equine terminology of its own. This is not fundamentally shared by 'Altaic' languages. The basic word *at* 'horse' is by no means shared by other peoples. Moreover, the Mongolian *mori* 'horse' will be an IE loanword,<sup>277</sup> while Turkic has no such connections, except for a few later insignificant cases. This situation points to the fact that the equestrian life and thus terminology developed among the Turks independently and separately of the 'Altaic' zone, and in close interaction with the eastern 'Uralic' peoples.

Special relations of Turkic with the eastern Uralic zone can be exemplified by many other correspondences, but I'll confine myself with a few more lexical connections. Above, we noted the relation of Tr. *yaz-* 'to write' (< *yar-*) and Hu. *ír-* 'idem', and their semantic relation and equation with Tr. *yar-* 'to split, tear' and Hu. *nyír-* 'to cut, shear'. They have cognates in both languages with slight differences of meaning, like Tr. *yer-*, *yir-* 'to carve, rift', *yirt-* 'to tear', etc., and Hu. *irt-* 'to exterminate, to cut (woods) all'. Perhaps Tr. *yüz-* 'to excoriate, skin out' and Hu. *nyüz-* 'idem' should be added to them. They have cognates in the Ugric too, such as Ost. *yeri-* 'to carve'. Such semantic diversifications of cognate words indicate only and uniquely a special and relatively 'close genetic' relation. Furthermore, the root *yaz-* is Common Turkic, and not Altaic.<sup>278</sup> This cements the Uralic connection of this group of words.

And this linguistic grouping seems to have its genetic counterpart too. The Finno-Ugric populations of the Ural region proved to be more similar

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<sup>275</sup> Róna-Tas, "Turkic Influences on the Uralic Languages", 746.

<sup>276</sup> Carpelan and Parpola, "Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal of Proto-Indo-European", 76.

<sup>277</sup> Also, in Chinese and Korean: Robbeets, "Proto-Trans-Eurasian: Where and When?", 34-36.

<sup>278</sup> Denis Sinor, "Two Altaic Verbs for 'Writing' and Their Uralic Connections", in *Studies in Finno-Ugric Linguistics. In Honor of Alo Raun* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 326.

to their Turkic neighbours than to the linguistically related Balto-Finnic ethnic groups.<sup>279</sup>

If we group the four languages (Turkic, Hungarian, Vogul and Ostyak) into a quadruple, we would see some transversal connections. Vog. *xuj-* ‘to sleep’ stands with CTr. *uyu-* ‘idem’ (< OTr. *udt-*), while Ost. *ala-* ‘idem’ is together with Hu. *al-* ‘idem’. In the same way, Vog. *kol* ‘house’ is like Tr. *kel* ‘idem’, while Ost. *xot* ‘idem’ is related to Hu. *ház* ‘idem’. The plural suffix is *-t* in both Ugric languages and *-k* in Hungarian, while Old Turkic had both of them. Maybe the comparison of Stachowski between Tr. *be(n)* ‘I’ and *bi(z)* ‘we’ (*b- ~ m-*) and some forms in east Uralic like *me* ‘I’ and *mi* ‘we’, and Tr. *se(n)* ‘thou’ and *si(z)* ‘you’ with Uralic *te* ‘thou’ and *ti* ‘you’<sup>280</sup> can be added to this context.

Well, should we start the historical contact in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, as Kálmán suggests?<sup>281</sup> Or, can we still suppose that “a small group of early migrating cultural words can be found which do not seem to result from early language contact”?<sup>282</sup> Why are we “far from being on solid ground in supposing an early Turkic influence on Proto-Ugric”?<sup>283</sup> Deep relations of Turkic and Ugric, and of course Uralic, are very rich such that it cannot be explained through conventional historical frameworks.

Carpelan and Parpola have a very complicated theory for the archaeological roots of the Ugric and Samoyedic peoples: The carriers of the originally Aryan speaking Abashevo culture, a derivative of the Pit Grave culture, appeared in the forest steppe occupying a zone that in total extended from the upper Donets in the west as far as the Tobol River in Western Siberia. They are likely to have ultimately adopted the local Finno-Ugric language while participating in the formation of the Late Bronze Age cultures in the area. The Samoyeds descend from that Uralic component of the Abashevo culture which proceeded further east from the Kama area and the Southern Urals, while the language of those who stayed

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<sup>279</sup> Casey C. Bennett and Frederika A. Kaestle, “Investigation of Ancient DNA from Western Siberia and the Sargat Culture”, *Human Biology* 82, 2 (2010), 152. R1a-M558 seems to be common in the region (Peter A. Underhill et al., “The Phylogenetic and Geographic Structure of Y-chromosome Haplogroup R1a”, *European Journal of Human Genetics* 23 (2015), 126).

<sup>280</sup> Stachowski, “Turkic Pronouns against a Uralic Background”, 80-82.

<sup>281</sup> Kálmán, “The History of the Ob-Ugric Languages”, 410.

<sup>282</sup> Róna-Tas, *An Introduction to Turkology*, 18.

<sup>283</sup> Róna-Tas, “Turkic Influences on the Uralic Languages”, 751, 757.

in the Kama region and the Southern Urals developed into the Ugric branch.<sup>284</sup>

It is a great success for the local Uralic peoples living in the rarely populated forest zone to assimilate the surely more crowded and culturally more developed Aryans, and it explains the Aryan loanwords (however, in the entire Uralic, and not partial or local) that we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. But there are not so many IE loanwords as relics of the alleged Abashevo days; the existing ones are simply basic words likely indicating a more distant genetic (Nostratic?) relation and the cultural layer expected from such an intermingling process is very poor. Besides, such a sketch would confine the relation to being mainly between Ugric and Aryan. But the Ugric languages do have very few separate IE loanwords, and share almost all that they have with the other Uralic or Finno-Ugric languages.<sup>285</sup> What about removing the Aryans from the Abashevo zone?

What happened in the Southern Urals in the late prehistoric period is extremely important for our investigation. Maybe some historical processes will shed a light upon those prehistoric days. Thus, we need to turn to the Hungarian proto-history.

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<sup>284</sup> Carpelan and Parpola, “Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal of Proto-Indo-European”, 93, 95, 109-110.

<sup>285</sup> Pekka Sammallahti, “The Indo-European Loanwords in Saami”, in *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, eds. Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugrian Society, 2007), 411.

## CHAPTER 6

### HUNGARIAN DANCE: WHY ARE THEY CALLED ‘TURKS’?

As we have seen, it is hard to explain the similarities between Hungarian and Turkic with the long-term neighbouring relationships. As Marcantonio asserted, the arguments on borrowing do not lie on a well-explained historical neighbour relationship. This neighbouring relationship was decided by looking at the “borrowed” words. This makes this whole argument rather an assumption.<sup>286</sup> Conventional paradigms are hardly usable in compiling the centrifugal data of the Ural-Altaic studies, at the centre of which is the problem of Turko-Hungarian relations. The problem becomes extremely complicated with the denomination ‘Turk’ for Hungarians, among other several Turkic ethnonyms used for the same purpose. We should study this issue here not primarily to understand the eventual Hungarian past and origins, but, for the purpose of this book, to shed a light upon the Turkic origins.

In 895, the Hungarians finally settled in their present homes, where they arrived from the Don Basin in the north of the Crimea. Before elaborating their former lands, we should have a glance at their ‘national’ names. Hungarians are called ‘Turks’ in medieval days by many independent sources and this remains an unsolved question in its entirety.<sup>287</sup>

When Hungarians conquered the Carpathian basin, Leo VI (886-912) was the emperor of Byzantium. He wrote a handbook for military strategies, called *Taktika*, in which he depicted not particular cases and examples, but general rules of the profession. The book was likely written just after 900; that is, after the Hungarian land-conquering. The emperor was personally familiar with the Hungarians, who had started the revisit of Central Europe from the year 881 on and eventually owned it.

In 18/43 of *Taktika*, Leo says: “We will now speak about the disposition of the Turks and their battle formation, which differ from the

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<sup>286</sup> Marcantonio, *The Uralic Language Family*, 46.

<sup>287</sup> István Zimonyi, *A magyarország korai történetének sarokpontjai* (Budapest: Balassi, 2014), 8 n. 4.

Bulgarians a little or not at all. The Turks are very numerous and independent...<sup>288</sup> It is unlikely that this comparison was cited from *Strategikon* attributed to the emperor Maurikios (582-602). The latter mentions “Turks and Avars” under the ‘Scythian group’ and the word ‘Bulgar’ occurs only in an insignificant reference.<sup>289</sup> However, the rest of the *Taktika* text after the cited first sentence is from the *Strategikon*.<sup>290</sup> It seems at the first glance, that the Maurikios book, written between 592 and 610, mentions the Kök Türks with the name ‘Turk’. Both Maurikios and his predecessor Iustinus II (565-578) had close relations with them, especially through embassies. Maurikios himself received envoys of the Western Kök Türk ruler Tardu in 598.<sup>291</sup>

There is a striking detail in the text. The Kök Türks were then a great imperial power, threatening Byzantium and crushing Persia. Why does the author of the *Strategikon* need to describe them as ‘independent’, and Leo VI to copy the same sentence? Maybe it is a reference to the fact that the western wing of the Kök Türks started to behave independently of the supreme eastern half from the year 583 on. As for the *Taktika*, Hungarians were free of the Khazarian suzerainty when it was written, even earlier than the migration to the west.<sup>292</sup> Thus, both authors had truly independent Turks, whoever they were. Furthermore, we face once more the magical reference to populousness. Telling about political developments of the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Theophylactos Simokattes serves demographic superiority only to the Ogurs: “Then the (Kök Türk) Qagan embarked on yet another enterprise, and subdued all the Ogur, which is one of the strongest tribes on account of its large population and its armed training for war.”<sup>293</sup> We have seen their relation with the Hungarians in detail. The Byzantines had not see the Kök Türks in the battlefields by the time *Strategikon* was written, but the Ogurs under them and with the command of the Qagan seized the Byzantine territories in the Tamatarchan peninsula. Why does one not suppose that *Strategikon* means – also – Ogurs under the name ‘Turk’?

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<sup>288</sup> *The Taktika of Leo VI*, trans. G. Dennis (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), 455.

<sup>289</sup> *Maurice's Strategikon. Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy*, trans. G. T. Dennis (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 138.

<sup>290</sup> See *Maurice's Strategikon*, 116 ff.

<sup>291</sup> *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, 188 ff.

<sup>292</sup> Károly Czeglédý, “Árpád és Kurzán”, in *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok* (Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság-MTA Könyvtára, 1985), 119.

<sup>293</sup> *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, 189.

Although he copies the same sentence from that book, the situation was radically different when Leo the Wise wrote his *Taktika*. Both the Avars and Kök Türks had already disappeared from the earth. Khazars were lords of the north of the Black Sea and Caucasus, and Bulgars had settled to the eastern half of the Balkans, except for Thrace. And the most dynamical power was the Hungarians conquering the lands to the north of the Bulgars. Leo seems to have done some updates: “These characteristics of the Turks are different from those of the Bulgarians only in as much as the latter have embraced the faith of the Christians and gradually taken on Roman characteristics. At that time they threw off their savage and nomadic way of life along with their faithlessness.”<sup>294</sup> He makes clear who are his ‘Turks’ in the next parts: “We have given you this outline, O general, not because you are preparing to face the Turks in battle, for they are neither neighbours nor enemies to us at present, but instead they are eager to show themselves as subjects of the Romans. Still, O general, you should have a good knowledge of each one of the various formations and military practices and, at the proper time, make use of them without delay against anyone you wish.”<sup>295</sup> Only the case of the Hungarians among all is suitable to the context in the year c. 900. Leo VI calls the Hungarians ‘Turks’.

Indeed, there is no need to make an analysis of *Taktika* to understand who those Turks were. Further records on their activities in the Danube basin and especially their expeditions against the Bulgars make it certain they are Hungarians (thus, proving that the book was written after at least 894).<sup>296</sup> We tried for an analytical comparison with the former *Strategikon* and the later *Taktika*. If Hungarians were Turks in Leo, then who were those Turks in the *Strategikon* of the late 6<sup>th</sup> century? It is not surprising that we find the same in some Byzantine records written two generations earlier than the *Taktika*. Simeon Logothetes, continuing the chronicle of Georgios Monakhus, relates of a conflict in the time of the emperor Theophilos (829-842). ‘Macedonians’, namely Byzantine citizens captured and exiled to the north of the Danube by the Bulgar khan Krum (~803-814), escaped and strived to reach the rescuing Byzantine navy by crossing the river: “The Bulgars, who could not cross, turned to the Ungri (Ούγγροι), telling them about the Macedonians. And the ships of the emperor arrived to pick them up and take them to the capital. Immediately

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<sup>294</sup> *The Taktika of Leo VI*, 459.

<sup>295</sup> *The Taktika of Leo VI*, 463.

<sup>296</sup> Antal Bartha, “A magyar nép őstörténete”, in *Magyarország története -I-: Előzmények és a magyar történet 1242-ig*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 562.

Huns (Ούβοι) appeared in an endless mass. And those, seeing them, cried out in tears saying ‘O God of Saint Adrian, help us’, and drawing up in battle array prepared to fight. And the Turks (Τούρκοι) said to them, ‘give us all that you have and go wherever you want to.’ But they would not accept this and stood in battle array for three days, starting to embark their ships on the fourth. Seeing this, the Turks engaged them in a battle, which lasted from the fifth hour to the evening. And the heathens ran away and the Macedonians gave chase. On the following day, when they wanted to withdraw Huns appeared again to oppose them...<sup>297</sup>

This event likely occurred sometime between 836 and 838.<sup>298</sup> Here we have one people with three different names: Hun, Onogur and Turk. The stress is on the latter. Clearly ‘Hun’ is here an appellative name. Onogur has no stress but is used at the beginning to describe whom the Bulgars convoked. The essential or upper name seems to be ‘Turk’. Anyway, the only people suited to the case then are Hungarians. Those were by no means Khazars and there remains no alternative except for the Onogurs > Hungarians, masters of the north of the Black Sea in those days.

Thus, the roots of the Byzantine appellation of ‘Turks’ for Hungarians might go to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Seventh-century Byzantine books, mainly those of Agathias, Menandros and Th. Simokattes clearly tell us about the Kök Türks under the name ‘Turk’,<sup>299</sup> who were “also called Huns.”<sup>300</sup> Kök Türks were, in the Roman view, of the same stock as the Bulgars, Suvars, Ogurs, Kutrigurs, Utrigurs and Avars. The real Huns disappeared, and the great power in the steppes now became the Kök Türks. Thus, in my view, Byzantine authorities did not find it inconvenient to use the word ‘Turk’ as an appellative noun and to apply it to the others, except for Avars, enemies to the death of the Kök Türks. Avars were, on

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<sup>297</sup> Gyula Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century* (Szeged: Szeged University Press, 1996), 15. The same account is also repeated in Leo Grammatikus (C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century* (Cambridge: CUP, 1930), 71).

<sup>298</sup> Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*, 15-16.

<sup>299</sup> Agathias even describes the hair formation of the Kök Türks and Avars comparing it to the Franks (Agathias, *The Histories*, trans. J. D. Frendo (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1975), 11). This observation should mostly rely on the diplomatic visitors to the capital, for we have records of astonishment of the Constantinople folk over the hair styles of the Avars (Theophanes, *The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor*, 339-340).

<sup>300</sup> *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, 80, 112.



the other hand, true Huns.<sup>301</sup> Whatever source the tradition of calling Hungarians as Turks stands for, it does not help us solve the problem, since the usage is not at all restricted to Byzantium and even to the outsiders.

Maybe, besides the account of Logothetes, we have another record to fill the three-century gap between the two strategy books. A Byzantine prophecy from the late 8<sup>th</sup> century says “And because it (Mars) appears in the middle of the sky, the kingdoms of the people influenced by it – that is, the Byzantines, the Turks, the Khazars, the Bulgars and the like – will last for ever.”<sup>302</sup> No need for a reminder that the Kök Türk Empire was absent at that date. Even if not, we would not expect the seer to mention Khazars and Kök Türks separately, since the former are only a successor of the latter. In addition, Byzantium and its north are within the scope. Only Avars and Onogurs are missing from the list. The ‘Turks’ of the text hardly refer to the Avars, as we have said Byzantine sources never call them so, being aware of the Avaric hatred of Kök Türks. Maybe ‘the like’ also includes the Avars. In any case, the greatest probability to assume the name ‘Turk’ seems to be for the Onogurs.

The most outstanding chronicler of Byzantine literature, Theophanes, writing about events by the year 813, names the Khazars as ‘Eastern Turks’.<sup>303</sup> So, who then, were the ‘Western Turks’? According to Németh, they should be the Onogurs living to the west of Khazaria.<sup>304</sup>

The most significant source in terms of this appellation is the book so-called *De Administrando Imperio* of Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenitus, son of the mentioned Leo VI, who wrote between 948 and 952. He makes use of the words ‘Turks’ (Τούρκοι) and ‘Turkia’ (Τουρξία) 71 times in the book, and refers only to the Hungarians. Furthermore, he has no other word for Hungarians. Once, he gives the names of the member tribes of the Hungarian union. In contrast to the contemporary Frank (Latin) annals, he never uses the names Ogur or Onogur for them. It would be absurd to claim that he learned this from his father; Konstantinos himself received Hungarian envoys, including grandsons of their legendary king Árpád, who was the leader during the conquest of the Carpathian basin in 894-

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<sup>301</sup> Besides the depictions of Simokattes, see also Menander Protector, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, trans. R. C. Blockley (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1985), 239, 243.

<sup>302</sup> Veselina Vachkova, “Danube Bulgaria and Khazaria as Parts of the Byzantine Oikoumene”, in *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, eds. F. Curta and R. Kovalev (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 339.

<sup>303</sup> Theophanes, *The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor*, 446.

<sup>304</sup> Németh, *A Honfoglaló Magyarország Kialakulása*, 201-202.

895, and listened to them with great care and then recorded the very detailed information about them. Thus, his book is the most important source of Hungarian proto-history, including the Hungarian medieval annals. How could we suppose that he knew almost everything about this people, except for its name? He is very sure of what he writes. Furthermore, once he says, referring to the past, that “they were not called Turks at that time, but had the name ‘Savartoi asphaloi’ for some reason or other.”<sup>305</sup> This sentence implies that ‘Turk’ was an endonym, that is, the people called themselves so.

Otherwise, of the Turkic ethnonyms, the name Pecheneg occurs 65 times, Khazar 33 times and Oghuz eight times in the book, and none of them are classified as Turks, whereas they were true Turks, grandsons of the Kök Türks. A very short Kök Türk hegemony over the Onogurs at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century cannot be the reason for the Byzantine appellation ‘Turk’ in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, as commonly suggested.<sup>306</sup> The solution of Kristó, in reference to Györffy, that “the label *turk* as used by the Byzantine writers was motivated decisively by the way of life, warfare and culture”<sup>307</sup> has nothing to do with the text, because Konstantinos does not use appellative nouns in contrast to the other Byzantine writers, but calls people only by their names. In one place he says, “whether they be Khazars, or Turks, or again Russians, or any other nation of the northerners and Scythians...”<sup>308</sup> What he means here is clear: Everybody to the north.

One of the clearest evidences that the name ‘Turk’ was an endonym for the Hungarians comes from the church. The first ecclesiastical organisation among them in the 10<sup>th</sup> century was called “Episkopos Tourkias”.<sup>309</sup> A bishopric would be called by the name of the people or place. This name shows that Hungary was then seen as ‘the land of the Turks’.

One of the most respected objects on the earth is the holy crown (Szent Korona) of Hungary, now preserved in the parliament building in Budapest. It is composed of two parts, maybe each produced in Rome and Constantinople as a common gift to the Hungarian king Géza I (1074-

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<sup>305</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 171.

<sup>306</sup> Németh, *A Honfoglaló Magyarság Kialakulása*, 200-202; Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, esp. 281-282; Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526*, 9-10.

<sup>307</sup> Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*, 69.

<sup>308</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 67.

<sup>309</sup> Gyula Moravcsik, “Byzantine Christianity and the Magyars in the Period of Their Migration”, *American Slavic and East European Review* 5, 3-4 (1946), 43-44.

1077).<sup>310</sup> On the bottom of the crown there is a Greek script: “Geovitsas pistos kirales tourkias” (to Geovitsa, the loyal King of the Turks). I assume when sending such a very precious and special gift as a crown, they would think very carefully about what to write on it. If the Hungarian king was called the King of the Turks, then there is not much more to talk about. This implies that Hungarians at those times were naming themselves as Turks. If not, it would be the greatest diplomatic goof in history. You gift a crown to a glamorous king but do not know the name of his people and kingdom, and moreover you could not learn it for 180 years!

Medieval Muslim sources orchestrate the references to the Hungarians either directly as ‘Turks’ or a Turkic people with its own name (Madjgâr, Bašgird, Hunkâr, etc.). For the second kind, for instance Ibn Rusta: “The Magyars are a Turkic people”; Gardîzî: “These Magyars are a Turkic people”; al-Bakrî: “They are a Turkic people”; Abû'l-Fidâ': “They are a Turkic people”; *Hudûd al-'âlam*: “And all these whom we have mentioned are the different categories of Turks (existing in the) world”; al-Marwazî: “The Magyars are a Turkic people”; ‘Awfî: “The *M.h.r.f.h.* are a Turkic people”; Shukrallâh: “The seventh tribe of the Turks is called *M.h.r.q.h.*”; Muḥammad Kâtib: “The seventh tribe are of the Turks, and they are known by the name *M.h.r.q.h.*”; Ḥajjî Khalîfa: “One of them is the *M.h.r.q.h.* too.”; al-Iṣṭakhrî and his follower/copier Ibn Ḥawqal: “They (Magyars) and the Pechenegs are Turks bordering on the Rûm (Byzantium)”;<sup>311</sup> Idrisî: “Bashkirds and Pechenegs are Turks bordering on the Rûm (Byzantium)”; and Mağribî: “To the east of the Bashkirds are Hungars, they are also Turks as the Bashkirds”.<sup>312</sup>

One may discard this application since Muslim sources sometimes classify even Russians among the Turkic people, but Mas'ûdî does not seem to be of that kind. He narrates the story of the war with the Bulgars and Byzantines of the four Turkic peoples “who trace their descent originally from a common ancestor”<sup>313</sup>: Badjni, Bashkird, Badjanak and

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<sup>310</sup> Julius Moravcsik, “The Holy Crown of Hungary”, *The Hungarian Quarterly* 4, 4 (1938), 5; idem, “Byzantine Christianity and the Magyars in the Period of Their Migration”, 5; László Péter, “The Holy Crown of Hungary, Visible and Invisible”, *The Slavonic and East European Review* 81, 3 (July 2003), 425.

<sup>311</sup> István Zimonyi, *Muslim Sources on the Magyars* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 39, 41, 47, 51, 53, 55, 83, 90-91.

<sup>312</sup> Ramazan Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacılarına Göre Türkler ve Türk Ülkeleri*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Ankara: TKAE, 1998), 121, 203.

<sup>313</sup> Zimonyi, *Muslim Sources on the Magyars*, 90.

*N.k.r.r.h.*<sup>314</sup> The first and third are the same people. The last one is associated with the Onogurs,<sup>315</sup> which means Hungarians, together with the second people. That is, there are indeed two peoples mentioned here: Hungarians and Pechenegs. The author gives further detail about those Turks, whose raids reached as far as Spain and France in his time. This is nothing but the Hungarian expeditions to the west in the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, hitting the Andalusian borders in 942. Mas'ûdî is known as having skill in getting Byzantine information especially during his stay in Tarsus, now in the south of Turkey, and he likely accessed the account on the northern wars through them, but the Spanish connection is not seemingly via Byzantine eyes, for he gives his source by saying “according to the claim of the Andalusian people.”<sup>316</sup> Once he names the Normans attacking Spain as ‘Rus’, and this account and appellation also make him independent of Byzantine sources. Maybe, his classical knowledge to classify Hungarians among the Turkic peoples was reinforced by the news coming from Spain/Andalusia, whose inhabitants called them Turks.

Al-Balkhî also narrates the 942 expedition of ‘Turks’ into Spain: “I have heard Abû Abd al-Raḥman al-Andalûsî by telling these: An adventurer of the Turks together with his companions reached as far as the Andalusian borders. He took captives and animals as booty there. Those pursuing them caught one. They said ‘This is the first Turk we have ever seen.’ We spoke with each other mutually, but did not understand each other.”<sup>317</sup> According to Czeglédy, Ibn Ḥayyân and Muqaddasî give the same account based on the witness evidence of the same Abû Abd al-Raḥman.<sup>318</sup>

Except for the oral sources of the eastern Muslim authors, there are also Andalusian records on the ‘Turks’. Ibn Ḥayyân describes the geographic location of Hungary, namely the land of the Turks between Pechenegs, Byzantium, Slavic lands, Saxony and Francia and then tells about the route of the 942 expedition: “Their way during their march

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<sup>314</sup> Mesûdî, *Murûc ez-Zeheb (Altun Bozkırlar)*, trans. D. A. Batur (İstanbul: Selenge, 2004), 93-94; Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 53.

<sup>315</sup> Peter B. Golden, “The People نوكرده”, *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 1, (1975), 21-35. Károly Czeglédy, “A IX. századi magyar történelem főbb kérdései”, in *Magyar östörténeti tanulmányok* (Budapest: Körösi Csoma Társaság-MTA Könyvtára, 1985), 46, suggests reading *Unkâriya*.

<sup>316</sup> Mesûdî, *Murûc ez-Zeheb (Altun Bozkırlar)*, 63.

<sup>317</sup> Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 193.

<sup>318</sup> Károly Czeglédy, “Megjegyzések a 942. évi Magyar kalandozás forrásaihoz”, *Magyar Nyelv* 77 (1982), 456-457.

crossed Lombardy, which borders them.”<sup>319</sup> Ibrâhîm ibn Ya‘qûb was a Jewish citizen of Andalusia, who travelled to Eastern Europe in the 960s: “As for the country of Bûyaşlâw (Boleslaw, the Czech ruler between 929 and 967), its extension from F.raghah (Prague) to Karakwa (Cracow) is equal to three weeks of travel. On its length, it is limited by the country of Turks. The city of F.raghah is built on stones and limestone... Muslims, Jews and Turks come there from the country of the Turks and bring goods and trade balances.”<sup>320</sup> No need for more words. Ibrâhîm had been there in those days and called those people ‘Turks’.

Hârûn ibn Yahyâ, another Andalusian Jewish citizen who was a captive in Constantinople c. 900, mentions ten thousand bodyguards of the Byzantine guards of Khazar and Turkic origin. It is believed that he means Hungarians by ‘Turks’.<sup>321</sup> This may be true but in the same text he also mentions ten thousand Turks and Khorasanians.<sup>322</sup> Thus, his Turks might also be of Turkistan origin.

Zimonyi points to the possibility that diplomatic relations between Andalusia and Byzantium hide the reason for the former naming Hungarians as Turks.<sup>323</sup> Did they need Byzantine help to learn the name of the people with whom they were directly engaged and about whom they surely received other information through other West European peoples? At least, they could learn about the events from the kingdom of Lombardy in Northern Italy, which was on good terms with Hungarians in those days. Two Latin sources from Italy, the chronicle of Liudprand and *Annales Barenenses* also mention Hungarians as Turks.<sup>324</sup> Did they also learn this from Byzantium?

It may be better to separate the Andalusian, Latin, Byzantine and Middle Eastern Islamic traditions from each other. Except for the first two, they do not need to interact on this issue. Zimonyi is right to explain the case in such a scheme that after the collapse of the Kök Türk empire (mid-

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<sup>319</sup> István Zimonyi, “Why were the Hungarians Referred to as Turks in the Early Muslim Sources?”, in *Medieval Nomads in Eastern Europe. Collected Studies*, ed. V. Spinei (Bucureşti and Braila: Editura Academiei Române, 2014), 85.

<sup>320</sup> Zimonyi, “Why were the Hungarians Referred to as Turks?”, 110; *Muslim Sources on the Magyars*, 85.

<sup>321</sup> Zimonyi, “Why were the Hungarians Referred to as Turks?”, 110; *Muslim Sources on the Magyars*, 87.

<sup>322</sup> Zimonyi, *Muslim Sources on the Magyars*, 86.

<sup>323</sup> Zimonyi, “Why were the Hungarians Referred to as Turks?”, 111.

<sup>324</sup> Teréz Olajos, “Egy felhasználatlan forráscsoport. A 11. századi Magyar-bizánci kapcsolatok történetéhez”, *Századok* 132, 1 (1998), 220-221; Németh, *A Honfoglaló Magyarság Kialakulása*, 198.

7<sup>th</sup> century), the designation ‘Turk’ was applied to all tribes speaking the same language, and Hungarians were included among them as a Eurasian nomadic people.<sup>325</sup> But this does not explain the difference between ‘Turk in kind’ and ‘Turk proper’. And even though we disregard all of them, the Byzantine designation, allegedly the source of the others, still awaits a good explanation.

Róna-Tas tries to clarify those designations with a comparative example: “When I myself go abroad, I say to an English-speaker that I’m a *Hungarian*, not that I’m a *Magyar*. So, when Árpád’s great grandsons Termecsü and Bulcsú visited the Byzantine court and spoke in a foreign language, then they would have also spoken the name of the Magyars in the foreign tongue.”<sup>326</sup> OK, but a distinguished professor of our age, having skill in countless foreign languages, should not compare himself with the early Hungarian statesmen. They did not likely know and need foreign languages; dragomen were sufficient for this. Even if it was so, there is today a solid reason for the external designation ‘Hungarian’, which was crucial in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, too. So, then, why did Termecsü and Bulcsú not say “Εἶμαι ουγγρικός” as Prof. Róna-Tas says abroad, but instead say “Εἶμαι Τούρκος”?<sup>327</sup> What is the reason for their introducing themselves as “we are Turks”?

There might be some other sources too implying there were Hungarians under the name ‘Turk’. According to Németh, using the information in Marquart’s *Streifezüge*, the Armenian historian of the 5<sup>th</sup> century Movses Khorenats’i refers indeed to Hungarians by the Turks living in the Lower Kuban basin.<sup>328</sup> The mentioned account is not of Khorenats’i, but occurs in the *Armenian Geography* written by Ananias Širakats’i in the 7<sup>th</sup> century (once upon a time, this book used to be attributed to Khorenats’i). The account says: “The (other) river, Psychrus by name, flows toward the Bosphorus and to the original frontier, where the little city of Anakopia (is located). To the north are the Turks and the Bulgars...”<sup>329</sup> Psychrus is the

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<sup>325</sup> Zimonyi, *Muslim Sources on the Magyars*, 101-102.

<sup>326</sup> Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, 276.

<sup>327</sup> Sorry for the contemporary Greek forms!

<sup>328</sup> Németh, *A Honfoglaló Magyarság Kialakulása*, 195-196. He further tries to see the ethnonyms Onogur and Magyar in the ‘Hunnic’ personal names Gordas and Mouageris occurring for the year 528 in the same region (*idem*, 165-171, 201). The former was baptised in Constantinople, but was killed by his folk on his return home, and Mouageris became the ruler of the local Huns (Theophanes, *The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor*, 267).

<sup>329</sup> R. H. Hewsen, *The Geography of Ananias of Širak (Ašxarhac’oyc’)*. *The Long and the Short Recensions* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1992), long version 55.

current Šapšug and Anakopia is the city Novyj Afon. We know well that Kök Türks invaded that region in 576, but have no clues about their settlement there. Instead, Onogurs lived there. Thus, Németh seems to be right.

If so, this would reinforce the idea that Byzantines started to call Onogurs as ‘Turks’ in the time of Maurikios, namely at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. But, in any case, this is not an answer to the question as to why they only gave the name ‘Turk’ to the Onogurs, thus to the Hungarians, and no other ‘nordic’ or ‘Turkic’ people is known by the name Turk in the Byzantine literature. Although it is a continuation of the Ptolemaic tradition, the book of Širakats’i is not a copy of the Byzantine geographical science, but independent with its own contemporary content. Nor does the Armenian author apply the name ‘Turk’ to the other Turkic peoples that he mentions, like the Barsils, Khazars and Bulgars, but saves it only for one nation. Furthermore, the then mighty and crowded Onogurs are missing from the book, except for the cloudy ‘Ołxontor Bulgar’.<sup>330</sup> Thus, the designation ‘Turk’ for the Onogurs does not seem to be as simple as being related to a transitory Kök Türk hegemony of one or two generations.

This is not the place to elaborate all of the problems of Hungarian protohistory; however, an examination of previous and primary homelands of the Hungarians would help us to see the reasons for those connections.

According to Konstantinos Porphyrogenitus, Hungarians had two homes before coming to the Carpathian basin. The previous one was ‘Etelközü’ (Ἀτελκούζου), “where the nation of the Pechenegs now lives.” It was called so, “after the name of the *river* that runs through it, *Etel* and *Kouzou*.”<sup>331</sup> The discrepancy is not only two names for one river; as if he did not write these sentences, just in the middle of the two cited sentences he says: “The place of the Pechenegs, in which at that time the Turks lived, is called after the name of local rivers. The rivers are these: Βαρούχ, Κουβού, Τρούλλος, Βρούτος and Σέρετος.”<sup>332</sup> These are in the same land but among them there is no Ἀτελκούζου or Ἀτελ and Κούζου. The five rivers can easily be identified: The first, Varoukh contains ‘Var’, the Turkic name of Dnieper. The third one, Troullos is ‘Turla’, the Turkic name of Dniester. The fourth one, Broutos can be matched with Prut, and

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<sup>330</sup> Hewsens, *The Geography of Ananias of Širak (Ašxarhac’oyc’)*, long version 55.

<sup>331</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 173, 177. Chapters 38-40 in this book were dedicated to ‘Turks’ (Hungarians).

<sup>332</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 175.

the fifth one, Seretos is clearly the Seret river. Thus, the second river Koubou should logically be the Bug.<sup>333</sup>

These rivers are between the Danube and the Don. In reality, Konstantinos describes the lands where the Pechenegs ‘now live’ in detail, and locates them between the two great rivers.<sup>334</sup> That is, the two rivers are the borders of the Pecheneg lands. He seems to be careful at this point, but we have questions: If the lands between the Danube and Don held by the Pechenegs are the former Hungarian territory, where is the Etelközü River? If Etelközü is really the former Hungarian land, then it should be related to Etel (Itil, Etil, etc.), the Turkic name of Volga. So, Hungarians were not between the Danube and the Don, but further east. If Pechenegs conquered the previous Hungarian land, then it cannot be Etelközü, for there is no such a river there... If we only rely on the detailed but slipshod information in the *DAI*, it is impossible to identify the location of Etelközü.<sup>335</sup>

Except for Vámbéry, among the outstanding researchers, including Moravcsik and Engel, who marks the rivers *Etel* and *Közü* as the Volga (Tr. Itil) and the Dnieper (Tr. Özü),<sup>336</sup> scholarship usually turns around the latter, the second river being any of those flowing to the Black Sea.<sup>337</sup>

Let us return to the *DAI*. Konstantinos mixes the data further with these sentences: “(After an expedition to Bulgaria) When the Turks came back and found their country thus desolate and utterly ruined, they settled in the land where they live to-day, which is called after the above name of

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<sup>333</sup> Moravcsik in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio: Commentary*, 149; Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, 94; Czeglédy, “A IX. századi magyar történelem főbb kérdései”, 48.

<sup>334</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 183.

<sup>335</sup> Tamás Hölbling, *A honfoglalás forráskritikája -I-* (Budapest: Ad Librum, 2010), 160. It is widely appreciated by historians that the emperor Konstantinos has some defective information in this issue: Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 8.

<sup>336</sup> Ármín Vámbéry, *A Magyarság keletkezése és gyarapodása* (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1895), 140; Moravcsik, *De Administrando Imperio: Commentary*, 148; Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 10.

<sup>337</sup> Németh, *A Honfoglaló Magyarság Kialakulása*, 153; Czeglédy, “A IX. századi magyar történelem főbb kérdései”, 48-50; idem, “Árpád és Kurzàn”, 123; Rásonyi, *Tarihte Türklük*, 120-121; Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, 322-323, 414; János Harmatta, “A Volgától a Dunáig. A honfoglaló magyarság történeti útja”, *Magyar nyelv* 97, 1 (March 2001), 6; Bartha, “A magyar nép őstörténete”, 526-527; Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, 54, 91-92, 96; Omeljan Pritsak, “From the Sábirs to the Hungarians”, in *Hungaro-Turkica. Studies in Honour of Julius Németh*, ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy (Budapest: ELTE Press, 1976), 30.



the rivers, as has been said. The place in which the Turks used to be formerly is called after the name of the river that runs through it, Etel and Kouzou, and in it the Pechenegs live now.”<sup>338</sup> However, “the above name of the rivers” is not in “the land where they live to-day”, but to the north of the Black Sea, and Pechenegs live in the land with the five rivers, and not in the territory where Etel and Kouzou is/are.

In order to explain the *DAI* data, scholarship generally tended to take the name ‘Etel’ as an appellative noun,<sup>339</sup> whereas there is no such case in the real world. First of all, Konstantinos makes use of it as a proper noun. The much referenced Chuvash uses it only and uniquely for one river: the Volga.<sup>340</sup> For the Common Turkic too it is the same: “Etil, name of a river in the country of Qifčâq which flows into the Bulgar Sea; it has an arm which flows over Rûs.”<sup>341</sup> In the traditional knowledge, the Volga stems from the Urals and pours into the Black Sea.<sup>342</sup> The arm mentioned here is nowadays the true Upper Volga coming from northwest Russia.

Well, the early Hungarian annals also kept this word. According to Simon of Kéza (c. 1285), “(Scythia) is the source of two great rivers, one called the Etul, and the other the Togora.”<sup>343</sup> “The Don in fact rises in Scythia and is called Etul by the Hungarians”.<sup>344</sup> The same perception is seen in the dictionary of Maḥmud of Kashgar. According to the first – surviving – Hungarian chronicle, written by a certain Magister P., Hungarians under the leadership of Árpád “swam across the river Etyl sitting on leather bags in pagan manner”, before arriving at Suzdal or

<sup>338</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 177.

<sup>339</sup> Moravcsik, *De Administrando Imperio: Commentary*, 149; Czeglédy, “A IX. századi magyar történelem főbb kérdései”, 48; Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, 413. Róna-Tas and Berta took it into their etymological dictionary: Róna-Tas ve Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 345-347.

<sup>340</sup> Bülent Bayram, *Çuvaş Türkçesi – Türkiye Türkçesi Sözlük* (Konya: Kömen, 2007), 40: “İdil ırmağı” (the River Volga); Fedotov, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ čuvaškogo jazyka -I-*, 69: “Nazvanie reki Volgi” (Denomination of the River Volga). The dictionary of Egorov (*Etimologičeskij slovar’ čuvaškogo jazyka*) does not have such a word at all, because it is a proper noun.

<sup>341</sup> Maḥmud al-Kāšyārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīvān al-Luyāt at-Turk) -I-*, trans. R. Dankoff (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1982), 112.

<sup>342</sup> It is held by Theophanes, who clearly relies on the steppe sources in some way, by saying that “the Atel is joined by the river Tanais (Don)” (Theophanes, *The Chronicle*, 497).

<sup>343</sup> Simon of Kéza, *The Deeds of the Hungarians*, eds. László Veszprémy, Frank Schaer and Jenő Szűcs (Budapest: CEU, 1999), 19.

<sup>344</sup> Simon of Kéza, *The Deeds of the Hungarians*, 21.

Russia.<sup>345</sup> Therefore, no historical or contemporary (linguistic and folklore) source tells us about such a common noun as Etel meaning ‘river’; it is Volga, and nothing else. Why do we change the meaning of a word used by hundreds of millions of native peoples for the sake of one Byzantine emperor?<sup>346</sup> Just as, all of the concerning East European rivers occur in the *DAI* with their names, only the Volga is missing.

What forces researchers to attribute a common noun quality to Etel is seemingly the other word: Kouzou. If you read it as ‘köz’ and take the former as ‘river’, then ‘Etelköz’ would mean in Hungarian ‘between river(s)’, that is, Mesopotamia. But we are dealing with Eastern Europe, where it is a most difficult task to find a ‘Mesopotamia’, for there are at least five great rivers from the end of the Kazakh steppes to the Danube, and their arms are as big as they are. The Tigris and Euphrates in the Middle East or the Amu Darya and Sir Darya in Central Asia constitute true Mesopotamias, since there are no other considerable rivers around. Such an address would be absurd for Eastern Europe, where you may identify at least seven lands between any two great rivers.

Ibn Rusta, followed/copied by Gardîzî, Al-Marvâzî, ‘Awfî and the Ottoman time copiers, also has two rivers for Hungarians: “One border of their country reaches the Sea of Rûm. Two rivers flow into this sea... The lands of the Magyars lie between these two rivers.”<sup>347</sup> According to this tradition, Hungarian lands border the land of the Askils, a component people of the Volga Bulgaria. Thus, one of the rivers should be the upper part of the Don before turning to the southwest, where the Hungarian lands could approach the Volga Bulgar, and the other river, if their land extends as far as the Black Sea coast, should be the Donets. But I do not think we should forget the Volga in this context.

We do not need to explain ‘Etelköz’ in – contemporary – Hungarian. It should be revised as ‘Etelközü’ in accordance with the form in the *DAI*. The latest vocal reminds us that it would mean in Turkic ‘source of Etel’, for *köz* ‘eye’ also means ‘source, spring’.<sup>348</sup> As mentioned above, the Volga stems

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<sup>345</sup> Martin Rady, “The Gesta Hungarorum of Anonymus, the Anonymous Notary of King Béla: A Translation”, *South and East European Review* 87, 4 (2009), 690. Besides, some other medieval Hungarian sources, see: Zimonyi, *Muslim Sources on the Magyars*, 283.

<sup>346</sup> See the warning of Macartney on its being a proper noun: *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, 52.

<sup>347</sup> Zimonyi, *Muslim Sources on the Magyars*, 202-203.

<sup>348</sup> According to Clauson this meaning may not be native Turkic but copied from Arabic, which has the word ‘ayn meaning both eye and spring in the same way (Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 756). The meaning in Turkic occurs in

from the Urals in Old Turkic (and Hungarian) view. The river Kama (Tr. Çulman) is greater than the Volga when it adjoins the latter, thus it deserves to be the essential river. Its arm coming from Bashkiria is called ‘Ak Itil’ (lit. ‘White Itil’, Russian ‘Belaja’) by the Turks, with the rest being the Kara Itil (lit. ‘Black or Greater Itil’).<sup>349</sup> Thus, informants of the emperor Konstantinos should have implied the South Urals, where the river emerges, as one of the Hungarian homes.

Konstantinos describes another country of the Hungarians: “The nation of the Turks had of old their dwelling next to Khazaria, in the place called Levedia after the name of their first Voivoda... Levedias... Now in this place, the aforesaid Levedia, there runs a river Khidmas, also called Khingilous.”<sup>350</sup> Whatever the true name, the content of the *DAI* shows a land to the north of the Black Sea, in roughly, what is today east of Ukraine. It is also ‘next to Khazaria’. The river Khingilous is associated with Syngoul mentioned in Chapter 42 of the same *DAI*.<sup>351</sup> Together with the Kharakoul occurring in the same chapter,<sup>352</sup> likely a tributary of the Don, it is possible to see the word *göl/köl* ‘lake’ at the end. It is not strange that Turks or others call a river a lake; Cf. Iranic names of the rivers Sir Darya and Amu Darya, which originally mean ‘sea’. In Turkish, *dere* (< Persian *darya*) means a little river.

The same semantic usage was seemingly crucial for Proto-Hungarians, too. The anonymous chronicle of 1205 says: “Scythia is then a very great land, called Dentumoger, over towards the east, the end of which reaches westwards to the Black Sea (Nigrum Pontem). On the far side, it has a river with great marshes, called the Don (Thanais).”<sup>353</sup> Except for seeing the name of the Don, there is no consensus on the content of the word ‘Dentumoger’.<sup>354</sup> In parallel to the above Turkic word *köl*, I would propose

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medieval sources and in Central Asian dialects, where and when such a literary Arabic influence would hardly reach. The same is true for Persian too.

<sup>349</sup> Even medieval Muslim authors adopted this usage: Rail’ G. Kuzeev, *Proishozhdenie baškirkogo naroda. Etničeskij sostav, istorija, rasselenija* (Moskva: Nauka, 1974), 409. See also Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, 429.

<sup>350</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 171.

<sup>351</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 185. See Moravcsik, *De Administrando Imperio – Commentary*, 147, 155.

<sup>352</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 187.

<sup>353</sup> Rady, “The Gesta Hungarorum of Anonymus”, 686. The same place name occurs in Simon of Kéza simply as ‘Dencia’: *The Deeds of the Hungarians*, 23.

<sup>354</sup> For instance, Bartha suggests that it means “The Magyars living between rivers”: “A magyar nép őstörténete”, 520.

reading the syllable *-tu-* as the Hungarian *tó* ‘lake’ and to translate the name as “The Don lake Magyars”.

This location supports the ambiguous and complex reference of the *DAI*, and is unanimously supported by Islamic sources. Above, we cited the words of Ibn Rusta and his followers on the Don Hungarians. To these we should add al-Bakrī, Abu’l-Fidā and the anonymous *Hudūd*.<sup>355</sup> All of those books were written after the Hungarians migrated to the Carpathian basin in 894-895, but the original content is based on non-actual information held by Jayhānī, a vizier of the Samanids in Bukhara.

Therefore, by the eventual migration to the west at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Hungarians lived in the Don basin (Levedia), but it was their second home after the one in the South Urals (Etelközü). Chronological details and other concerning accounts are out of the scope of this book. Thus, we should leave out the Don phase and focus upon the primary land further east.

The most solid evidence of Hungarians’ primary land comes through the Bashkiria/Magna Hungaria connection. According to Simon of Kéza, the old Hungarian country was composed of three parts: Barsatia, Dencia and Mogoria.<sup>356</sup> The former can be corrected to Barsalia, occurring in some early medieval books in reference to the Turkic people, the Barsils, but two later Hungarian chronicles give the same name as ‘Pascardia’ (*Chronicon Budense*, 1328) and ‘Bostardia’ (Thuróczy, 15<sup>th</sup> century), thus it would be more plausible to change the word of Simon to something associated with Bashkird.<sup>357</sup>

On the eve of the Mongolian invasion of Eastern Europe beginning in 1236, Hungarians in Europe were eagerly wondering about their relatives left behind in the east. The bishoprics of Esztergom and Kalocsa decided to send missionaries to find and baptise them. By the order of the king, a delegation was thus sent to the eastern ‘Great Hungary’.<sup>358</sup> The report of the journey written by the bishop Julianus is now in the archives of the

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<sup>355</sup> Zimonyi, *Muslim Sources on the Magyars*, 202. The old ethnonym ‘Meščera’ occurring in the north of the middle Don basin in Russian annals might have preserved remnants of Hungarians there, if it is not the name of another Finno-Ugric people. See Bartha, “A magyar nép őstörténete”, 459.

<sup>356</sup> Simon of Kéza, *The Deeds of the Hungarians*, 23.

<sup>357</sup> Gyula Mészáros, *Magna Ungaria: A Baskir-Magyar Kérdés* (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1910), 47; Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*, 94.

<sup>358</sup> Mészáros, *Magna Ungaria*, 8; Károly Czeglédy, “Magna Hungaria”, in *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok* (Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság-MTA Könyvtára, 1985), 8; Mary Dienes, “Eastern Missions of the Hungarian Dominicans in the first half of the thirteenth century”, *ISIS* 27, 2 (1937), 237.

Papacy. In the first journey they found some individual Hungarians in the Volga Bulgar country, and in the second trial or journey, the bishops found Hungarian communities living 10 days east of Bulgar, seemingly in what is today, Bashkiria. They conversed and understood each other.<sup>359</sup> But Julianus had to slink off, for the Mongolians were getting closer.

Two European envoys to the Mongolian court in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, Plano di Carpini and William of Rubruch, mention that Great Hungary was also called Bashkiria: “Comania hath to the north of it, immediately after Ruscia, the Morduins, the Bilers, or Great Bulgaria, the Bascarts or Great Hungary; after the Bascarts...”<sup>360</sup> “From Ruscia, Moxel, and from Greater Bulgaria and Pascatir, which is Greater Hungary...”<sup>361</sup> “After travelling xii days from the Etilia, we found a great river which they call Jagac, and it comes from the country of Pascatir in the north, and falls into this previously-mentioned sea (i.e., the Caspian). The language of Pascatir is the same as that of the Hungarians.”<sup>362</sup>

Maybe the envoys were informed by Hungarian sources before their travel, as claimed by many scholars, but the crucial fact is that they witnessed a truth. They do not refute, but clearly approve such a connection. What happened to them later, that is, why there are no Hungarian speaking communities to the east of Volga, but Turkic speaking Bashkirs, is not to be discussed here. There are some tribes in the composition of Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Uzbek whose names resemble the word Magyar,<sup>363</sup> and there were Magyar soldiers in the army of Uzbek khans in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>364</sup> Thus, we can observe that they were scattered under the Mongolic dynasties

<sup>359</sup> Dienes, “Eastern Missions of the Hungarian Dominicans”, 237, 239; Czeglédy, “Magna Hungaria”, 9-12; Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, 158-159.

<sup>360</sup> Friar Giovanni di Plan Carpini, *The Story of the Mongols Whom We Call the Tartars*, trans. E. Hildinger (Boston: Branden, 1996), 68; *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-55*, trans. William W. Rockhill (London: Hakluyt Society, 1900), 12.

<sup>361</sup> *The Journey of William of Rubruck*, 70.

<sup>362</sup> *The Journey of William of Rubruck*, 129.

<sup>363</sup> Oljjobay Karatayev, *Kırgız Etnonimder Sözdüğü* (Bişkek: KTMU, 2003), 133; Lezina et al., *Bütün Türk Halkları*, 402. Bíró et al. conducted a series of surveys among the members of the Kazakh tribe ‘Madjar’, the results of which can be seen in Andrés Z. Bíró et al., “A Y-Chromosomal Comparison of the Madjars”, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 139, 3 (2009), 305-310. There were also tribes in Ottoman Anatolia bearing the name ‘Magyar’ (Németh, *A Honfoglaló Magyarság Kialakulása*, 329). They should have come to Turkey within the migratory waves before the Mongols.

<sup>364</sup> Mészáros, *Magna Ungaria*, 44; Németh, *A Honfoglaló Magyarság Kialakulása*, 328.

as happened to almost all peoples, and eventually assimilated into the Turkic peoples around them. Some toponyms seem to preserve their memories,<sup>365</sup> as well as the name of the Mišer people which, speaking Turkic and classified under Tatars or sometimes Bashkirs, is connected with the Magyars.<sup>366</sup>

Besides the two European envoys to the Mongols, almost all Muslim sources mentioned above identify the Hungarians of the west with the Bashkirs of the east. This never happens for the (phase of) Don Hungarians, but those living in the mid-Danube basin are designated as Bashkirds. Apart from the cited references, Rásonyi found matches between Hungarian and Bashkir ethnic and place names: Hu. \**Nyeki* ~ Bash. *Negman*, Hu. *Keszi* ~ Bash. *Kese-tabın*, Hu. *Jeney* ~ Bash. *Yeney*, and Hu. *Gyermatu* ~ Bash. *Yurmatı*.<sup>367</sup> Whatever reason (surely not ‘illiteracy’ or confusion) lies behind this denomination,<sup>368</sup> it is certain that this signifies the primary land of the Hungarians.

To sum up the related medieval history, Ogurs, expelled by Sabirs/Suvars, came to the coasts of the Don River in the 460s from the east: “At this time the Saraguri, Urogi (Ugori), and the Onoguri sent envoys to the eastern Romans. These tribes had left their native lands when the Sabiri attacked them. The latter had been driven out by the Avars.”<sup>369</sup> Since the homeland of the Suvars was on the Upper Tobol River, the Ogurs should have come from Bashkiria in a wider sense.

“The Saraguri, driven to search for land, came into contact with the Akatirian Huns and, after engaging them in many battles, defeated that tribe. The Saraguri then approached the Romans, wishing to win their

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<sup>365</sup> Mészáros, *Magna Ungaria*, 44; Németh, *A Honfoglaló Magyarság Kialakulása*, 323-326; Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, 298-302.

<sup>366</sup> For the Mišers and other similar ethnic names there, see István Vásáry, “The Hungarians or Možars and the Meščers/Mišers of the Middle Volga Region”, *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 1 (1975), 237-275.

<sup>367</sup> László Rásonyi, “Başkurt ve Macar yurtlarındaki Ortak Coğrafi Adlar Üzerine”, in *Doğu Avrupa’da Türklük*, ed. Y. Gedikli (İstanbul: Selenge, 2006), 333-341. Kuzeyev increased those connections: *Proishozhdenie başkirskogo naroda*, esp. 416-421.

<sup>368</sup> Zimonyi thinks that the Magyar-Bashkir identification was an invention of al-Balkhī of the early 10<sup>th</sup> century (*Muslim Sources on the Magyars*, 80). This is not an exact reply, since we have to ask why he did it.

<sup>369</sup> R. C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus -II-* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1983), 345. Here are the names of the tribal union ‘Ogur’ and its two wings, though the source claims giving three names in confusion.

friendship.”<sup>370</sup> They are the ‘white’ wing of the union.<sup>371</sup> In that form, their name is mentioned only once by the Syriac historian Zakharia (6<sup>th</sup> century), apparently quoting Priskos: “There are the Onogur, a tent-dwelling people, the Ogur, the Sabir, the Burgar, the Korthrigor (Kutrigur, O.K.), the Avar, the Khasir, the Dirmar, the Sarurgur, the Bagarsik, the Khulas, the Abdel, the Ephtalite: These thirteen nations are tent-dwellers, living on the meat of cattle, fish and wild animals and by weapons.”<sup>372</sup>

Then, they disappear from history. But many centuries later the Russian primary chronicle writes: “Afterwards came the White Ogurs, who inherited the Slavic country. These Ogurs appeared under the Emperor Heraclius, warring on Khosroes, king of Persia. The Avars, who attacked Heraclius the emperor, nearly capturing him, also lived at this time.”<sup>373</sup> A similar story is narrated by Konstantinos Porphyrogenitus: “The Croats who now live in the region of Dalmatia are descended from the unbaptised Croats, also called ‘white’, who live beyond Turkey (that is, to the north of the Carpathians, O.K.) ... These same Croats arrived to claim the protection of the emperor of the Romans Heraclius... at that time when the Avars had fought and expelled from those parts of the Romani...”<sup>374</sup> The white Croats of Galicia and the White Ogurs of the same country do the same at the same time.

The regular designation of people in accordance with colours (white and black, and if a third branch appears, red) is strange to Europe and even to the Indo-Europeans, but it is almost a ‘rule’ among the steppe peoples, mainly Turks. Fortunately, we have a meaning of the word ‘Croat’, which “in the Slavic tongue means those who occupy much territory.”<sup>375</sup> But there is no such word in Slavic languages. In turn, Turkic means *kuvrat* ‘to bring together, collect, hence to constrict and the like’.<sup>376</sup> “Qagan olurup yoq çıgan bodunug qop qubratdım.” (I gathered all the poor and destitute people together).<sup>377</sup> “İlgerü qurıgaru sülep tirmiş, qubratmış” (Having gone on campaigns forward and backward he gathered together and

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<sup>370</sup> Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians*, 345.

<sup>371</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 97.

<sup>372</sup> *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor. Church and War in Late Antiquity*, eds. G. Greatex, R. R. Phenix and C. B. Horn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 448-451.

<sup>373</sup> *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 55.

<sup>374</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 147, 149.

<sup>375</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 147.

<sup>376</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 585.

<sup>377</sup> Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 232, 258.

collected men) (The Kül Tigin inscription, early 8<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>378</sup> Of course, you need to use military means in order to collect people, that is, to establish a state. Besides, Konstantinos gives the names of seven siblings, leaders of the White Croats: Five brothers *Kloukas*, *Lobelos*, *Kosentzis*, *Mouchlo*, *Chrobotos* and two sisters *Touga* and *Bouga*.<sup>379</sup> These anthroponyms still await an explanation in any language except for Turkic, in which Mikkola restored the plausible forms *Külük*, *Kösenci*, *Mügel*, *Alpel*, *Kubrat*, *Tugay* and *Buga*.<sup>380</sup>

This does not mean that those Galician White Ogurs or White Croats were a Turkic people as a whole. As in the Bulgar or Rus' examples, a small horde seems to have organised the local Slavs on what is the westernmost edge of the Ukraine and likely the south-eastern parts of Poland, as written in the Russian annals, and was ultimately assimilated into the mass. When the Avars came to the north of the Caucasus in 558, they subdued the local peoples, but the Saragurs are not counted among them. Thus, we may guess that they did not surrender themselves, but fled westward to Galicia.<sup>381</sup>

The 'Magyar' was likely one of the constituent tribes of the other, greater ('Black' or 'Ten') part of the union, mostly called 'Onogur' (Ten Ogurs), and recorded by the Russian primary annals as the 'Black Ogurs'. They stayed in the Don basin, obeying the Avars, and after that the Kök Türks, then Bulgars and then Khazars, for about 430 years (from c. 463 to c. 893). Their situation in the 6<sup>th</sup> century is described by Jordanes: "Further away and above the Sea of Pontus... Now the Hunnuguri are known to us from the fact that they trade in marten skins. But they have been cowed by their bolder neighbours."<sup>382</sup> The *Pax Khazarica* (from the 670s on) seems to have provided them with a long peaceful term, which led to a noteworthy population increase, noted by almost all related sources.<sup>383</sup> The Magyar tribe of the union, likely inhabiting the northern

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<sup>378</sup> Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 233, 265.

<sup>379</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 143.

<sup>380</sup> J. J. Mikkola, "Avarica", *Archivum für Slavische Philologie* 41 (1927), 158-160.

<sup>381</sup> See for a detailed study on the Saragur-Croat connection, Osman Karatay, *In Search of the Lost Tribe. The Origins and Making of the Croatian Nation* (Çorum: Karam, 2003).

<sup>382</sup> Jordanes, *The Gothic History of Jordanes*, trans. C. C. Mierow (London: Humprey Millford, 1915), 60.

<sup>383</sup> Early Hungarian annals (Simon of Kéza, *The Deeds of the Hungarians*, 17, 25; Rady, "The Gesta Hungarorum of Anonymus", 689) and the letter mentioning the travel of the aforesaid Bishop Julianus (Dienes, "Eastern Missions of the Hungarian Dominicans", 237), as native sources, repeat that those early Hungarians had to



parts of the ‘federal’ territories, adjacent to the East Slavic tribes, might have been the champion of the demographic increase, since they were noted by Muslim authors as a separate tribe from the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. But this did not help them against the Pechenegs, who came from the northeast of the Caspian Sea and expelled the Onogurs, the future Hungarians from their lands on the Don.

So, the oldest traceable home of the Hungarians is somewhere in and around Bashkiria, likely towards its north. This was established by the latest genetic surveys, according to which, the conquering Hungarians had the closest connection to the Onogur-Bulgars and especially the Bashkirs.<sup>384</sup> That the early Hungarians bear the name ‘Turk’ as their upper identity should be revised in connection with that region. Maybe the early legends of the Turks proper, namely the *Kök Türks*, say something about it. Before that, I would like to call attention to an unbelievable parallelism in the earliest annals of the Hungarians and the Ottoman dynasty. The Hungarian leader *Ügyek* (Latin *Vgek*) took as his wife the daughter of Duke *Önedbeli* (Lat. *Eunedubelian*), called *Emesu*, who gave birth to *Álmos*. When she was pregnant, the woman saw a falcon (*turul*) in her dream, which made her pregnant and which informed her that many glorious kings would descend from their sibling. Her grandson was the famous *Árpad* and the succeeding Hungarians kings were of that lineage.<sup>385</sup> The Ottoman parallels are such:

- The name of *Ügyek* is associated with the name of the Oghuz tribe *Üyük*.
- The father of Osman, the founder of the principdom, was *Ertuğrul* (lit. ‘male falcon’), containing the word *tuğrul*, Hungarian *turul*.
- The name *Edubeli* can be extracted from the name of the Hungarian duke. Osman took to wife the daughter of the Oghuz spiritual leader *Edebali*.

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search for new lands due to demographic pressure. Regino of Prüm (d. 915) who first informs about the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian basin (Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, 70), the mentioned Byzantine emperor Leo the Wise (*The Taktika of Leo VI*, 455), author of *Strategikon*, the predecessor of his book (*Maurice’s Strategikon*, 116), and Th. Simokattes (*The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, 189) also realised that fact.

<sup>384</sup> Endre Neparáczi et al., “Y-chromosome Haplogroups from Hun, Avar and Conquering Hungarian Period Nomadic People of the Carpathian Basin”, *Scientific Reports* 9, 16569 (2019), 2, 7-8. We also learn from the study that the Hungarians migrated together with their female population.

<sup>385</sup> Rady, “The Gesta Hungarorum of Anonymus”, 688-689.

- Osman, son of Ertuğrul, saw in his dream that glorious rulers would come from his lineage.
- Álmos was called so, because the word for dream was *almu* in Hungarian then (now *álom*). Osman himself saw that dream.
- Osman begat Orhan, whose name means 'high khan'. Likewise, the name of Árpád means 'high ruler'.

Although the Ottoman state was found in such a late date as c. 1300 (Osman died in 1326), and although there is a good tradition of chronicles, those accounts mentioning about the Ottoman origins are vague and not supported by outer sources. The earliest Ottoman book mentioning about the origins was written one and half a century later than the time of Osman. Thus, there is a feverish scholarly debate on the authenticity of those accounts. It is the most striking point that all of the names of companions, relatives and brothers of Osman, including his father and son are Turkish, while solely Osman has an Arabic name. Thus, many researchers suggested that he might have indeed been called *Ataman* in Turkish, but his name was later turned to Arabic *Osman* in the later written traditions. Recent archaeological studies revealed several pre-Islamic motifs in the earliest Ottoman buildings dated to c.1300. It is certain that the horde of Osman came to Anatolia in the latest wave from Central Asia. So, it is not illogical to assume that they converted to Islam in Anatolia, in their abodes just to the east of Bursa, then a Byzantine stronghold, likely during the adult ages of Osman. The later Ottoman chroniclers did not want to mention about the pre-Islamic days; just as, there is no account about when they converted. It is also very interesting that the tribal emblem of the Ottomans (IYI) is the same as that of the Proto-Bulgar Dulo dynasty.

## CHAPTER 7

### SHE-WOLF AND THE RESURRECTION INN

The appellation ‘Turk’ for the Turkic speaking peoples could be used for historical, scientific, etc., reasons; however, finding the origins of the content that this ethnonym bears would not surely solve the problem, but only help to solve it; the problem being the discovery of the origins of the Turkic speaking peoples. As previously stated, the Türks were only a tribe of the same stock as many hundreds of other tribes. Thus, we should search for this word among others with particular attention.

Independent sources relate a dramatic legend for the ‘proto’ history of the Kōk Türks that emerged as a world power in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The Chinese annals, *Zhou-shu* and *Sui-shu*, written in the 620s and 630s when the First Kōk Türk Empire was still extant, and *Bei-shi* and *Tong-dian* of the later ages, have the same story with slight differences. The sources indeed give three different stories, but the prominent and striking one is that containing the tale of the surviving child (i.e., people) and the she-wolf:

The ancestors of the Türks lived on the right bank of the Western Sea. The Türks are a separate tribe of the Xiong-nu. Their family name is A-shih-na. They formed a tribe that was independent of the Xiong-nu, but later were attacked by a neighbouring state and all were killed except for a ten-year-old boy. When the enemy soldiers saw that he was so young, they did not have the heart to kill him, so they cut off his feet and threw him into a grass-covered swamp. Here, there was a she-wolf who fed the young boy meat. He grew up and had sexual intercourse with the she-wolf, who became pregnant. When the king of the neighbouring state learned that the youth was still alive, he again sent men to kill him. When they saw a she-wolf beside the young man, they wanted to kill her too. The she-wolf fled to a mountain in the north of the state of Gaochang (Turfan). There was a cave in this mountain in which there was a broad plain with abundant grass. This plain, stretched for hundreds of *li* and was surrounded on all sides by mountains. The she-wolf hid in the mountains. Here, she gave birth to ten sons. When they grew up, they went out of the cave and married women from the outside. They brought many children into the world. Each of these descendants took a family name and one of them took the name A-shih-na. Their children and grandchildren increased until they

constituted some hundreds of families. After some generations, they became subjects of the Juan-juan. In the period of the Great Yabgu their lines/families became stronger. They settled/lived in the southern slopes of the Jin-shan (Altay Mountains) and worked as blacksmiths for the Juan-juan. Since the Jin-shan had the appearance of a helmet and they called a ‘helmet’ *tujue*, they called themselves *Tujue* (Türk).<sup>386</sup>

Similar content is found in the universal history (*Jâmi' al-Tavârih*, ‘A Compendium of Histories’) of Rashid al-Din, who wrote for the Iranian Mongol court in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. He clearly met with the Oghuz/Turkmen magnates and wisemen in Iran to collect their sagas in order to compile a history of the Mongols, which turned into a world history. In the same story, he gives the name of the place where the surviving people took refuge as ‘Ergenekon’, thus the saga is called by that name in Turkological studies, including the above Chinese version. His text is as follows:

About 2000 years ago from now, these tribes which were named before as Mongol, became hostile to the Turks. This dispute grew so much and turned into such a blood feud that Turks and Mongols were continually fighting to destroy one another. According to people who are trustworthy and smart, the Turks prevailed and scattered them. Amongst these defeated tribes, there was no one left but these two men and women. They, out of fear of being killed as well, ran and hid in a steep, rocky place. This place was surrounded by mountains and forests. There was only one way in and out. This way was so narrow that people could hardly move. In the middle of these mountains there was a very smooth plain which was also rich in grass. This plain was called Ergenekun. ‘Kun’ is a word meaning mountain pass, and ‘Ergene’ means steep. The two men who escaped the enemy were called Negüz and Kıyan. They lived in this plain for many years, where their numbers increased as they married between each other. In time, small tribes were created as a result of these marriages, and people started calling each other by their tribe names. They were calling these little tribes ‘obak’. As they increased, they divided into sub-groups as well. This plain became too small for these people now. They were finding it hard to live. They wanted to get out but it was impossible to pass through this one mountain pass. It was much too narrow for their number and belongings now. They gathered to come up with a plan. There was an iron mine right near the passage. They were mining this iron and melting it in order to build equipment. They decided to dig this entire mine and get out from there. All together, they carried logs and coal with donkeys. They killed seventy oxen and horses and skinned them. With these, they built forge

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<sup>386</sup> The English translation is by Golden, “The Ethnogenic Tales of the Türks”, 8-9, who compiled various versions of the story into a single text.

bellows. Logs and coal were piled inside the mine. When the fire was burning, they blew the forge bellows and melted the mountain at the end, acquiring a huge amount of iron in doing so as well. The way opened and the people who were stuck inside all got out. Afterwards, everyone spread around the steppes and set up tents.<sup>387</sup>

Rashid al-Din applied the Turkic saga to the Mongols, for his primary aim was to write a Mongolian history. But it seems the Mongols had no such sagas referring to the deep past (as shown in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, the family history of the Genghisids), and therefore the author had to use and refer to some Turkic material. Just like, the first Islamic version of the ethnologic tale of the Oghuz, which tells about the life and deeds of the eponymous Oghuz Qagan, it was also recorded in Rashid al-Din's book. We referred to it at the beginning of Chapter 2. Thus, we should replace the 'Mongols' in the above text with 'Turks'.

In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, Abu al-Ghazi Bahadur, the khan of Khiva to the south of Aral Lake, did the same. Turkmen tribes of what is today Turkmenistan were under his rule. Their tribal leaders complained to him that there were many different variants of the Oghuz sagas, sometimes causing debates, and requested him to bring them together and write the true version, as he was a wise and intellectual ruler. Bahadur Khan gathered all the written and verbal sagas of Turkmens and wrote a book called *Shajara-i Turk* 'The Genealogy of the Turks' in Chagatai Turkic. He made use of the book of Rashid al-Din.<sup>388</sup> He narrates the same saga as below:

When Il Khan became the ruler in the Mongolian land, Sebiñ Khan was ruling in the Tatar lands. Il Khan was always victorious in the wars between them. Sebiñ Khan gave precious gifts and sent ambassadors to the Kyrgyz ruler to get his alliance. The Kyrgyz ruler responded positively to this proposal. In the Turkic countries, there was no place where Mongol bows did not land and where Mongols could not reach. Thus, nobody liked them. Sebiñ Khan sent envoys to other tribes too. As the Mongols heard about their plan beforehand, they gathered their tents and herds in one place, dug holes around it and waited for the enemy. Sebiñ Khan came with his army, and the war began. The battle lasted ten days, in the end, the Mongols prevailed. Eventually, they concluded that they can only beat the

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<sup>387</sup> Ögel, Bahaeddin, *Türk Mitolojisi -I-*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Ankara: TTK, 2014), 69-71. It is pity that this marvellous book with Arabic and Persian versions still has no compound edition, except for Russian. Some thematic parts of the compendium were published as separate books in Turkish or English.

<sup>388</sup> Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 185.

Mongols by cheating. When the dawn broke, they left all their heavy belongings and acted like they were fleeing. The Mongols, thinking that their resistance was broken, started chasing them. Some amongst Il Khan's men dove into looting. When the soldiers of the Tatar khan saw the situation of Il Khan's men, he ordered them to regain their position, and the battle started again. They surrounded the Mongols, as they were all mixed, men, women and children, and killed every one of them. Thinking that none was left alive, they went back home. Il Khan had many sons. All died in this war but one. His name was Kıyan, and he was married in that year. The nephew of Il Khan, Negüz was at the same age as Kıyan. They, along with their wives, fought in the first line of battle. They were kept as prisoners, but then managed to escape. Fearing that if they went back home, they would be caught by the enemy, they started looking for a new place to live. Along with their animals, they passed through a steep mountain footpath which only mountain goats could use. This road had only one way, and at the side was a cliff. After a challenging journey of seven days, they arrived at this place where there were many grasses, fruits, and trees. They thanked God for this. There were also many animals living here, and in winter, they ate the meat of animals, and made clothes from their skin. In summer, they drank their milk and ate their yogurt. They called this beautiful place Ergenekon.<sup>389</sup>

We should disregard these later Islamic versions, making the Mongols tragic heroes of the saga, only perhaps taking the name Ergenekon. The Chinese versions were recorded in the first generations of the Kök Türks in imperial power. The core of the narration is that ancestors of the Kök Türks lived very difficult days in the remote past. They were slaughtered by their enemies, and the survivors escaped to a far away and isolated place, where the ethnic revived itself after many generations of a peaceful life.

The Ergenekon saga has mostly been studied by folklorists or in folkloric means, and very few researchers have tried to evaluate it as a source of history. Thus, current explanations focus on symbolic elements referring to these or those beliefs and values of the Old Turkic society.<sup>390</sup>

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<sup>389</sup> Briefed from the Turkish edition of Rıza Nur: Ebülğazi Bahadır Han, *Türk'ün Soy Ağacı*, trans. Rıza Nur, ed. Y. Yiğit (İstanbul: İlgı Kültür Sanat, 2010), 40-42. An exact French translation can be read in le Baron Desmaisons, *Histoire et Mogols et des Tatares par Bêhâdour Khan Aboul-Ghâzi publiée, traduite et annotée par le Baron Desmaisons* (Petersburg: Académie impériale des sciences, 1874), 29-34.

<sup>390</sup> A very detailed examination of the saga in folkloric terms can be read in Dursun Yıldırım, "Ergenekon Destanı", in *Türkler -I-*, eds. H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek and S. Koca (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 527-543.

What we should be interested in is the disaster, if it happened and if we can find any trace of it, and the days before it, since the pre-Ergenekon history and home of the Türk tribe would shed a light upon the survey for the earliest phases of the ethno-genetic process with which we are dealing.

There are other accounts too in the sources, but they do not serve our purpose here. Except for the disaster/defeat relation, the others concern the near past before the emergence of the imperial power in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. According to one formulation of Harmatta, there are three different sources for this. One amongst them is common in *Chou-shu* and *Sui-shu*, and that is what we are dealing with. The other two are not.<sup>391</sup>

Ergenekon is a saga of revival, of rebirth, and not birth or genesis. The – nuclear – tribe Türk existed from an unknown time on. According to this, they stayed in Ergenekon until their demographic explosion in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. That place is clearly the mountainous Altaic region, as described by the sources, being to the north of Turfan (Eastern Turkistan). From there they made expeditions to the westerly Turkic peoples in the name of the hegemonic Juan-juan formation, and from there they turned to the east and attacked the Juan-juan themselves in Central and Eastern Mongolia. The duration of the Ergenekon phase can only be estimated arbitrarily. There is no account of a migration *en masse* before the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the Altay region, which is not fertile and capable of feeding a good population. Not a few individuals of course, but likely a few thousand surviving Türks took refuge there. We need at least a few centuries to reach the demographic increase with the capacity of establishing a world-wide empire, albeit some local elements joined them willy-nilly in the long run, thus making ten tribes of the Kök Türks. The reference of similarity to the Huns of the Kök Türks in the Chinese versions may hide this fact, namely the participation of the native remnants of the Hunnic ages. The tales show that the Chinese then identified the Türks with the Huns in every sense.

To turn to the further past, the survivors came to the Altaic ranges from the west, with an eastward migration, which is contrary to the conventional patterns. Surely there is no such obligation that everybody must migrate westward? The Chinese sources narrate their homeland as being to the north of the Hsi-hai ‘the Western Sea’.

There is no consensus on identifying the Western Sea. The popular judgement is that this can be any lake in Central Asia, but ‘any’ cannot be a reply to the question. Kliaštornyj asserts that both the Aral and Caspian Sea were also named in this way but, moving from the name of the

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<sup>391</sup> Harmatta, “A türkök eredetmondája”, 386-387.

Western Region's General Governorship of China then, he suggests that the Etsin Køl (Ruo-shui), which pours into the Gobi Desert forming a swamp in the very east of Eastern Turkistan is the true candidate.<sup>392</sup> Golden who has recently analysed once more the origin myths of the Kök Türks, while noting that at the time this word was signalling a large area including the Caspian Sea and the Mediterranean, considered the Etsin Køl as the most possible.<sup>393</sup> Ögel, who reminds us that the she-wolf fled to the east of the Western Sea, believes that it should equally be the Balkash and Aral lakes.<sup>394</sup>

There may be philological reasons for thinking that the Chinese then, could not differentiate between a sea, a lake or a swamp. However, then, I would have some questions, and the Chinese also have their own statements as to what they understand from this. My question is whether the farthest pool that the Chinese knew in the west was the Etsin Køl or others like the Balkash or Issyk. If they knew all of them, which is the fact, should we expect then, to call them all the Western Sea? Or should we expect them to call the largest and the most western one the Western Sea?

It is possible to define the sea with great certainty by way of comparing the Chinese sources, although various sources might have meant various lakes or seas; however, some did not bother to do this. According to *Shi-chi*, the book of the 'Grand Historian', T'iao-chih (Mesopotamia) "is situated several thousand *li* west of An-hsi (Iran) and borders the West Sea."<sup>395</sup> This proves our supposition that it should be the westernmost one, and not one of those in the east of Central Asia. This statement from c.100 BC may point to the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean or the Caspian Sea. However, it can be only the last one, since, according to the same source, based on the espionage of Chang Ch'ien, "west of Yü-t'ien, all the rivers flow west and empty into the Western Sea, but east of there they flow eastward into the Salt Swamp (Lob Nor)."<sup>396</sup> Only in Western Turkistan do the rivers flow westward, and the two greatest ones, the Sir Darya and Amu Darya empty into the Aral Lake. Clearly, the Western Sea is not the Etsin Køl in easternmost Inner Asia.

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<sup>392</sup> Sergei G. Klyashorniy, *Kadim Avrasya'nın Bozkır İmparatorlukları*, trans. S. Acar et al. (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat, 2018), 106.

<sup>393</sup> Golden, "The Ethnogenic Tales of the Türks", 8.

<sup>394</sup> Ögel, *Türk Mitolojisi -I-*, 28.

<sup>395</sup> Ssu'ma Ch'ien, *Records of the Grand Historian of China -II-*, 268.

<sup>396</sup> Ssu'ma Ch'ien, *Records of the Grand Historian of China -II-*, 266; the same account also occurs in *Han-shu: Çin Kaynaklarında Türkler. Han Hanedanlığı Tarihinde "Batı Bölgeleri"*, trans. A. Onat, S. Orsoy and K. Ercilasun (Ankara: TTK, 2012), 27.



The phrase “The Wu-yi-shan-li state in Afghanistan is close to the Western Sea” in *Han-shu*<sup>397</sup> could mean both the Aral and the Balkash, but as the K’ang-chue state in what is today South Kazakhstan was next to Pei-hai,<sup>398</sup> the latter lake should be the Balkash. Thus, this Central Asian lake has a Chinese name of its own, and we should eliminate it. Therefore, there remains only one – big – lake, the Aral to match with the Hsi-hai, keeping the Caspian aside. Also, according to *Shi-chi*, the country of An-hsi (Iran) is next to the Western Sea.<sup>399</sup> Here, the only one that could be associated with Iran is the Caspian Sea. For my view, at this point, there is no difference between the Aral Lake and the Caspian Sea. Thus, according to the sources of the Han dynasty (206 BC to 216 AD), when Chinese geographical knowledge extended to Western Asia, the Western Sea denoted either the Caspian or the Aral.

There is no reason to think that the terms have changed in the T’ang period sources. In *Sui-shu*, the cities of Transoxiana are said to be east of the Western Sea.<sup>400</sup> The Issyk (Hot) Lake is named as Chou-hai, being translated into Chinese; it is to the east of the city of Tokmak. Then, towards the west is the city of Tashkent, and after that you reach the Western Sea.<sup>401</sup> There are no alternatives except for the Aral and Caspian. The land of T’ieh-le, one of the important tribal unions of the Kök Türk Empire is described as “laying from the Western Sea, towards the east.”<sup>402</sup> This would again mean the Caspian or Aral, since the T’ieh-le lived in the northern Kazakh steppes.

Gumilëv makes an analysis based on knowledge of events. From the Chinese sources, he concludes that the Kök Türk army came to the coasts of the Western Sea in the year 555. They were near the Aral Lake in those days, so the Western Sea should be it.<sup>403</sup> Liu on the other hand, argues that it is the Caspian Sea.<sup>404</sup> Both the Aral and Caspian are accepted in our view. We do not know, furthermore, whether the Chinese separated them then or perceived them as one sea.

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<sup>397</sup> *Çin Kaynaklarında Türkler*, 33.

<sup>398</sup> Ssu’ma Ch’ien, *Records of the Grand Historian of China -II-*, 267; *Çin Kaynaklarında Türkler*, 38.

<sup>399</sup> Ssu’ma Ch’ien, *Records of the Grand Historian of China -II-*, 268.

<sup>400</sup> Édouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux* (Petersburg: Académie impériale des sciences, 1903), 139.

<sup>401</sup> Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, 143-144.

<sup>402</sup> Liu, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Doğu Türkleri*, 169.

<sup>403</sup> Gumilëv, *Eski Türkler*, 51.

<sup>404</sup> Liu, *Çin kaynaklarına Göre Doğu Türkleri*, 19.

Therefore, it is seen that the homeland of the 'Türk' tribe before they came to the Altay area was somewhere to the north of the Caspian and Aral. This migratory direction seems to have also been reflected in their language, as the word *ilgerü* 'forward' also means 'east'<sup>405</sup> (thus, *kerü/kuri* 'back/backwards, west'). This is not an exceptional linguistic case. It can be observed in other similar examples too. In Avesta, providing the earliest records of the Iranian language group, *paurva* is both 'south' and 'forward', because the Iranian part of the Aryan population came to Iran from the north. On the other hand, the twin language Sanskrit has the word *pūrva* meaning both 'forward' and 'east', because those Indo-Aryans who descended firstly to the Indus Valley, spread from there to the east, towards India proper.<sup>406</sup>

So, well before the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the Türk tribe lived somewhere in the South Urals. After a heavy defeat, the carcass of the tribe went from there to a safe distance, to the mountainous Altay region, which they called Ergenekon. The distance of this migration is very plausible in Eurasian terms. For example, the White Huns/Avars who were banished from today's Uzbekistan by the Kök Türks in the 550s went as far as the Hungarian plains in a couple of years.

Here, as it is not directly the subject of the book, I will not analyse the historical significance of settling in Ergenekon. I will, however, share my interpretation of the meaning of this word, about which discussions are still going on. It probably meant 'the homeland to be arrived'; Cf. the verb *er-* 'to arrive, reach', *ergen* 'arrived', and *kon* 'land?' (Cf. above Hungarian *hon* 'country'; *kon* indeed means the root and imperative of the Turkic verb 'to settle down'). Such a group would need at least a few centuries to revive itself and to be ready to set up an empire. Therefore, the ultimate defeat of the Türk tribe by its neighbours/enemies somewhere between the Caspian and the Urals should be no later than c. 100 AD. This is entirely hypothetical, but perhaps we can find some clues to support such a date.

It is a serious problem that for the ancient times Turkology studies are confined to a very large extent to the Chinese sources. Western sources (mainly Latin and Greek) are not counted in those studies. If we do not look at them, we cannot know whether there is any concerning account. Without seeing them, we cannot judge that the Turkic peoples cannot have been mentioned in those books.

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<sup>405</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 144.

<sup>406</sup> T. V. Gamkrelidze and V. V. Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans. A Reconstruction and Historical Analysis of a Proto-Language and a Proto-Culture*, trans. J. Nichols (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1995), 815.

Pomponius Mela wrote a geography book in 43 AD. After mentioning that Amazons were living in the plains to the east of the Azov Sea, he continues: “The Budini inhabit the city of Gelonos. Next to them the Thyssagetæ and Turcae occupy endless forests and feed themselves by hunting. The next region is deserted and rough, with uninterrupted cliffs over a wide stretch; it extends all the way to the Aremphæi.”<sup>407</sup>

What about the tribe, Turcae? There would have been more space for doubt if Pomponius Mela was the only one writing about them, but he is not. It is possible to find further details from Plinius the Elder who wrote a little after him, in 70 AD, but independently. He used about 2000 books from 500 different authors to compile his *Natural History*.<sup>408</sup> He says: “We then come to the river Tanais (Don), which discharges itself into the sea by two mouths, and the banks of which are inhabited by the Sarmatæ, the descendants of the Medi, it is said, a people divided into numerous tribes. The first of these are the Sauromatæ Gynæocratumeni, the husbands of the Amazons. Next to them are the Ævazæ, the Coitæ, the Cicimeni, the Messeniani, the Costobocci, the Choatræ, the Zigæ, the Dandarii, the Thyssagetæ, and the Tyrcae, as far as certain rugged deserts and densely wooded valleys, beyond which again are the Arimphæi, who extend as far as the Riphæan Mountains.”<sup>409</sup>

We should keep in our minds that the Sarmatians who were living near the Black Sea in those days were of Mede blood according to Plinius. There will be a separate chapter for Scythians and Sarmatians. The term “Riphæan Mountains” suggests that these nations were aligned in the north-east direction, towards the Ural Mountains, meaning that this alignment was not directly to the north from the Azov coasts or directly to the east either.

Most of those tribes remain unknown, though there are some suggestions. Only the Zigæ are known for certain, being ancestors of the Northwest Caucasian natives (Circassians). We need to focus on regions further northeast. Of these, one can read stories of the Budini, Gelonos and Aremphæi in detail from Herodotos. These were steppe and forest-steppe nations of Easternmost Europe. As their languages are unknown, so are their identities. It is easy to see the Turkic word *budun* ‘nation, organized people’ in the first ethnonym, however, based solely on the phonetic shape

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<sup>407</sup> Pomponius Mela, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World*, trans. Frank E. Romer (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), 67.

<sup>408</sup> *The Natural History of Pliny -I-*, trans. John Bostock and Henry Thomas Riley (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1855), xvi.

<sup>409</sup> *The Natural History of Pliny -II-*, 14-15; *Pliny's Natural History -I-*, trans. P. Holland (London: George Barclay, 1847-1848), 106.

of the word. The transmission of words denoting groups of people to ethnonyms is well known. As a popular etymology, I remember the case of Alleman (a Germanic tribe) < all man(s). For the Turkic world, for example, the ethnonym Hun may be related to the word *kün* ‘people, folk’, and Oghuz (*ok+z*) means almost clearly ‘tribes’.<sup>410</sup> Other nations used similar naming as well.<sup>411</sup>

The Gelons might have left their traces even up today. The Yelan, meaning ‘snake’, is today one of the Bashkir tribes, having a deep history.<sup>412</sup> The medieval Armenian historian Matthew of Edessa says that in 1050-51 “the People of Snakes drew near and attacked the Pale Ones and the Pale Ones were driven out and attacked the Uz and Pacinnak...”<sup>413</sup> The Pale Ones are Kumans; the Uz are Oghuz and the others are Pechenegs. This is the story of the repression of the Kumans on the latter two. So, the source of trouble was in the South Urals. There is no problem in the geographical match of the lands of the Gelons and Yelans. The common Turkic *y-* comes from *d-* or *\*s-*, and perhaps from *θ-* in known examples, but there are also such cases as the Turkish *yine* and *gene* ‘again’. Thus, in a local dialectal case, it is possible to tie the names Gelon and Yılan phonetically.

The Aremphaei are described by Pomponius Mela in the succeeding sentences as keeping their heads bare, both men and women.<sup>414</sup> This Eurasian tradition is well-known through the Middle Ages, although not for women. Herodotus, the main source of Mela, constantly calls them ‘bare-heads’ and makes this a by-birth speciality: “(Argippeans) are said to be all bald from their birth (male and female alike).”<sup>415</sup> Their name seems to mean ‘bare head’, and it is not in vain that the sources stress their heads. The second part of the name, *-peal/-phae* is associated with the Finnish *pää*, Hungarian *fej* and Turkic *ba(ş)* ‘head’. The first part *argi-* may

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<sup>410</sup> Németh, *A Honfoglaló Magyarorság Kialakulása*, 44, 147; Golden, *Introduction*, 96.

<sup>411</sup> Németh, *A Honfoglaló Magyarorság Kialakulása*, 148, Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe*, 271-272.

<sup>412</sup> Kuzeev, *Proishozhdenie baškirskogo naroda*, 361-362.

<sup>413</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 274; *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa. Armenia and the Crusades Tenth to Twelfth Centuries*, trans. A. E. Dostourian (Lanham, New York and London: University Press of America, 1993), 80. Dostourian in this edition reserves the word *khartešk* ‘dark pale ones’ for the Hungarians, which is impossible. The word is nothing other than the Armenian translation of the ethnonym *Kuman*.

<sup>414</sup> Pomponius Mela, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World*, 67.

<sup>415</sup> Herodotus, II, trans. A. D. Godley (London and New York: William Heinemann, 1928), 223 (IV/23).

contain the Turkic adverb *arıĝ* ‘clean, bare, without’. The fact that they did not constitute a tribe, according to the same sources, but were a professional group, likely men of religion and/or magia, reinforces our idea that their name can and should be translated.

We have another word of their language. According to Herodotus, “the tree wherefrom they live is called ‘Pontic’; it is about the size of a fig-tree, and bears a fruit as big as a bean, with a stone in it. When this fruit is ripe, they strain it through cloth, and a thick black liquid flows from it, which they call ‘askhu’; they lick this up or mix it with milk for drinking, and of the thickest of the lees of it they make cakes, and eat them.”<sup>416</sup>

Old Turkic has the word *ekşiĝ* ‘sour, acid, tart’,<sup>417</sup> which well suits the taste of fruit juices. Early Anatolian Turkish texts have both *ekşi* and *eşki*;<sup>418</sup> today, the literary form is the former, but folk speech widely retains the second form. Here is a metathesis. Moreover, Old Turkic has the verb *esür-* ‘to be or become drunk, intoxicated’,<sup>419</sup> *-(ü)r* being a suffix. Thus, the stem *es-* seems to be related with acidic or alcoholic drinks.

Hungarian has the word *eskü* ‘oath’ and the verb *esküd-/esküsz-* ‘to swear, take an oath’. The etymological dictionary of the Academy relates this to *es-* ‘to drop’ and thus *eső* ‘rain’.<sup>420</sup> This semantic association is open to discussion, and there are also other semantic connections to be viewed. In Turkic culture, an oath is expressed with the act of drinking: *Ant iç-* ‘to drink an oath’.<sup>421</sup> Even the Arabic loanword *yemin* is used in this way: *Yemin iç-* ‘idem’. That is why participants of an oath ceremony pour their blood into a vessel (of wine or another eligible drink), and everybody drinks from the same cup. If two persons decide to be sworn brothers, they drink/lick each other’s blood. Of the old sources, the best description of this ceremony occurs in the anonymous *Gesta Hungarorum*, the earliest Hungarian chronicle.<sup>422</sup> This is not strange, as shown above; Proto-Hungarians were part of both the ethnicon and culture of the formation shared by the Turks too. Thus, the Hungarian word seems semantically more related to such a ceremonial drink or drinking. Both the *ashku* of the prehistoric Argippeans and the *eşki* of the Turks have clear phonetic and probable semantic connections with this.

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<sup>416</sup> Herodotus, II, 223 (IV/23).

<sup>417</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 118.

<sup>418</sup> *Tarama Sözlüğü -III-* (Ankara: TDK, 1967), 1417, 1556.

<sup>419</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 251.

<sup>420</sup> Benkő et al., *A Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótára -I-*, 796.

<sup>421</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 175.

<sup>422</sup> Rady, “The Gesta Hungarorum of Anonymus”, 689-690.

Therefore, it seems likely to have some Turkic connections in the words of those tribes living in the north of the Caspian Sea. Going on the texts, it is stated that the area beyond the Budini and Gelons was inhabited by the Thyssagetæ and the Turks. It is difficult to solve the meaning of the former tribe. It sounds like the Massagetæ who lived at the time of Herodotus (5<sup>th</sup> century BC) in Central Asia beyond Amu Darya (Oxus) around what is today Uzbekistan and South Kazakhstan (their ruler was the famous Tomyris). The consensus of our age calls them Iranian with a presupposition. We do not have much information about the Massagetæ to identify them apart from their Turanian way of battling.<sup>423</sup> Sometime after Christ, a branch which was apparently separated from them appeared in the north of the Caucasus with the name Maskut Huns.<sup>424</sup>

It is proposed here by some academics that, the name ‘Hun’ was used as a unifying name for all the steppe tribes at the time. However, they would never propose this about tribes who were certainly non-Hunnic or non-Turkic. For example, the Alans were never named as a Hunnic tribe, but they came from the same area as the Massagetæ, and they shared the same culture and geography.

The Thyssagetæ and Turcæ are together in the ultimate source, in Herodotus too. He says: “Northward of the Budini the land is uninhabited for seven days’ journey; after this desert, and somewhat more towards the east wind, dwell the Thyssagetæ, a numerous and a separate nation, living by the chase. Adjoining these and in the same country dwell the people called Iyrkæ; these also live by the chase, in such manner as I will show. The hunter climbs a tree, and there sits ambushed; for trees grow thick all over the land; and each man has his horse at hand, trained to couch upon its belly for lowliness’ sake, and his dog; and when he marks the quarry from the tree, he shoots with the bow and mounts his horse and pursues it, till the dog grips the prey. Beyond these and somewhat towards the east dwell Scythians again, who revolted from the Royal Scythians and so came to this country.”<sup>425</sup>

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<sup>423</sup> Some Massagetic names of mostly mercenaries in the Byzantium army were recorded by Prokopius of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, c. 1000 years after the Central Asian mighty Massagets were heavily crushing the Persians. The Iranic Alans are separated from them in Prokopius and the latter are usually described as “Massagets also called Huns”. Although there are a few Iranic names among them, Turkic characters of their majority are easily visible. See Agustí Alemany, *Sources on the Alans. A Critical Compilation* (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2000), 206-207.

<sup>424</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 106-108.

<sup>425</sup> Herodotus, II, 221, 223 (IV/23).

As seen, instead of Tyrkae, Herodotus has Iyrkae in the same position. It is so even in the 1618 Valla and Estienne edition.<sup>426</sup> The text of Mela on these four tribes seems to be a “commented” copy of the one of Herodotus. Plinius the Elder has more tribes including them. Three of them are the same, only Iyrcae, the neighbouring tribe of the Thyssaetae becomes Turcae in the Latin authors’ versions.<sup>427</sup> One may say that there is a mistake in one of the letters, but both of the Latin authors give the same name. In that case, can it be the text of Herodotus that should be corrected?

It is not known what Herodotus wrote with his own hand. His famous work was delivered to us after many instances of hand-written copying. The earliest copy that we have was written c. 2000 years after Herodotus. During this process of replication, there have certainly been many misreading or miswriting faults. A glance at the Greek letters would solve the problem. The word in Herodotus should be read considering the Greek letters. The letter *I* looks like *T*. You write on wrought skins, and not glazed papers. The lack of a point-like line, a slight indistinction on the right shoulder of *T* would make it *I*. This occurs very often in historical sources; there are unbelievable examples in the representation of foreign words or names especially in texts in Semitic origin alphabets like Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic and Hebrew. For instance, one can read *Nilqaz* instead of the *Bulqar* ‘Bulgar’ in some Arabic records. What is more probable is that the two ancient Latin authors accessed more correct version(s) of Herodotus, and later one of the medieval copiers made this mistake, and it caused a sequence of false-readings which came as far as today. In Greek script the concerning letters can be confused, but in Latin no. Thus, we do not need to correct Mela and Plinius.

There are attempts to accept the Herodotus form Iyrkae as true and to connect it with the Yugra people mentioned in some medieval sources in the north of the Volga Bulgar, today’s Tatarstan.<sup>428</sup> The name first occurs in the *Kānun* of al-Bīrūnī written in 1030, in the form ‘Yūra’, together

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<sup>426</sup> Herodotus, *Historiae*, trans. Laurentius Valla and Henri Estienne (Genoa: Oliva Pavli Stephani, 1618), 232.

<sup>427</sup> The Bostock and Riley edition has ‘Iurcae’, but there is a footnote: “The more common reading is ‘Turcae’ a tribe also mentioned by Mela, and which gave name to modern Turkistan” (*The Natural History of Pliny -II-*, 15, n. 49). The Holland 1601 edition of Plinius has ‘Turcae’ in the same way (*The Historie of the World, commonly called the Natvrall Historie of C. Pliniivs Secvndvs*, I, trans. Philemon Holland (London: Adam Phlip, 1601), 118).

<sup>428</sup> See for a critique, Obrusánszki, “Are the Hungarians Ugric?”, 92-94.

with the ‘Vîsû’ people.<sup>429</sup> In the middle of the next century, al-Garnatî, an Andalusian Muslim traveller who lived for three years in Hungary and went as far as the Volga Bulgar, wrote about them. “Their country is behind the ‘Vîsû’ and near to the Dark Sea. They do not fight, but deal with sable fur trade.”<sup>430</sup> Rus’ chronicles mention them from the year 1096 on: (Gyuryata Rogovich of Novgorod told me that) “I sent my servant to the Pechera, a people who pay tribute to Novgorod. When he arrived among them, he went on among the Yugra. The latter are an alien people dwelling in the north with the Samoyedes.”<sup>431</sup> After that, the *Novgorod Chronicle* mentions them being near the Pechera River, onto which the Novgorod Princeling launched an expedition.<sup>432</sup>

That location is in the north of Bashkiria, but behind the vast Perm region, thus the Yugra should be west of the Urals. Islamic sources seem to prove the Rus’ annals. Their neighbours, the Vîsû were close enough to trade with the Bulgars. The Vîsû were recorded by Ibn Fadlan, as being three months away from the Volga Bulgar, however, traders from Bulgar used to go there to buy furs.<sup>433</sup> Yaqut al-Hamavî also tells us about them. They brought, in turn, their commercial goods to Bulgar along the river coming from the Kimek lands.<sup>434</sup> This river is clearly the Kama and is just to the south of the aforesaid Pechera. Yaqut also discusses their honey production. If this is true, their land would not be much distant from Bulgar in order to have a suitable climate for bees.

Briefly, the Vîsû and their neighbours the Yûra were west of the Urals then. Although the Russian administrative system today uses the word Yugra for a region to the east of the Urals where Ob-Ugric Voguls and Ostyaks live, the latter never used that word as a self-appellation, and the native population of the historical Yugra is currently Perm-Finnic. Vásáry puts forward an explanation that the early Rus’ agents went as far as Yugra in the east, and after the 14<sup>th</sup> century they travelled beyond it, but

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<sup>429</sup> Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 196.

<sup>430</sup> Gabriel Ferrand, “Le Tuḥfat al-Albāb de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Garnāī,” *Journal Asiatique* (1925), 118-119; Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 182.

<sup>431</sup> *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 184.

<sup>432</sup> *The Chronicle of Novgorod*, trans. R. Michell and N. Forbes (London: Offices of the Society, 1914), esp. 33.

<sup>433</sup> İbn Fazlan, *İbn Fazlan Seyahatnamesi*, trans. R. Şeşen (İstanbul: Bedir, 1975), 51, 57-58.

<sup>434</sup> Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 128.



used the same word to denote further lands.<sup>435</sup> It is plausible for we have a similar example. The Sibir khanate of the 16<sup>th</sup> century held almost all of the westernmost borderlands of what is today Siberia, but the Russians called the immense lands beyond them by the same name. Therefore, Yugra was/is not in such a geographical position as to be connected either with the primary Hungarian land in the south of the Urals, or with the Voguls and Ostyaks to the east of the same mountain range.

On the other hand, there are etymological problems. Both the Rus' and Islamic sources use the form *yu-* for the same people, while for the name of the Hungarians or historical Ogurs there is no such development. Besides, the last *-a* in Yugra is troublesome. Vásáry wants to explain it with a Slavic mediation, although he himself does not believe in any Yugra-Ogur connection. It is a Slavic feature to add *-a* to ethnic and place names; the Bulgars learned the name of the Yugra from the Rus' traders coming to Bulgar, well described by Ibn Fadlan, and transmitted it to the Muslims, in his view.<sup>436</sup> However, the Rus' traders were not Slavs then but Germanic speaking Scandinavians likely from Sweden. In that case, why did the Volga Bulgars need to learn the name of their neighbours from the off-shore Swedish adventurers, while commercial relations were going on even before the latter came in and participated?

Another linguistic problem is that we need a metathesis to reach from Iyrkae to Yugra, though it is not impossible of course. So, there seem to be no grounds to tie the medieval Yugra with the almost definitely wrongly spelled Iyrkae of Herodotus. If we correct it to the form 'Tyrrae', we find the same people mentioned by the later Latin and Chinese authors.

Therefore, together with some other tribes bearing linguistic traces of Turkic or Proto-Turkic that should be closer to Proto-Hungarian, the Türk tribe seems to have existed somewhere to the north of the Caspian or south of the Urals at least in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC. That is approved by the early T'ang Chinese sources as shown above. They indicate the same point and it is certain that the Chinese compilers did not read Herodotus or the Latin authors, but listened to the Türks. The fact that late antique or early medieval authors do not mention such a people in that region means that the 'Türk' tribe lost its historical significance, if it was not annihilated completely as claimed in the legend, and this would provide us with a rough chronology.

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<sup>435</sup> István Vásáry, "The 'Yugria' Problem", in *Chuvash Studies*, ed. A. Róna-Tas (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1982), 251. See also Kálmán, "The History of the Ob-Ugric Languages", 395.

<sup>436</sup> Vásáry, "The 'Yugria' Problem", 255.

The list of peoples in Mela and especially in Plinius contains many others not occurring in Herodotus, therefore we may conclude the Romans had updated knowledge about those easternmost regions. Thus, the ‘Turcae’ forms may also represent fresh knowledge, only approving Herodotus, and such a case would make it certain that the true reading in Herodotus should be ‘Turkae’. Then, at least by c. 100 AD, the Türk tribe should have existed there with its might and historical significance. After that, even those authors immediately following in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD like Dionysius Periegetes and Claudius Ptolemeus do not mention such a people.

Above, we said that a remnant or a surviving people such as described in the Ergenekon tale would need at least a few centuries to revive itself. Counting backward from the 6<sup>th</sup> century, we may reach the same date: c. 100 AD. Maybe we have new genetic evidence to prove that date and movement. Eleven late Xiongnu skeletons with the highest proportions of Western Eurasian affinity fall into a cluster of ancient Sarmatians from various locations in the Western and Central Steppe, showing a gene flow from a new Sarmatian-related western ancestry source.<sup>437</sup>

It seems that something happened to them in the South Urals, the homeland of the Sarmatians as will be touched upon below, ending in a disaster for the Türks, after which some of the survivors escaped to the east, and some remained there as captives, or withdrew to northern and safer regions. They or some part of them likely joined the Ogur migration in the 5<sup>th</sup> century as components of the future Hungarians, because the location pointed to by the Greek, Latin and Chinese authors for the home of the ‘Türk’ tribe is almost the same place as the homeland or primary land of the Hungarians, as examined in the previous chapters. There we suggested that the appellation ‘Türk’ for Hungarians in the Middle Ages cannot be for political reasons, but should have some generic causes. Might the Proto-Hungarians or some – elite – part of them have preserved the name ‘Türk’ as a very ancient memorial?

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<sup>437</sup> Choongwon Jeong et al., “A Dynamic 6,000-year Genetic History of Eurasia’s Eastern Steppe”, *Cell* 183, 4 (2020), 896.

## CHAPTER 8

### THE TURKS IN ANCIENT EASTERN EUROPE

A Turkic homeland south of the Urals, right in the centre of Eurasia, seems quite an unorthodox idea at the first glance, although it is very plausible. Hence, we have to find a lot of clues and traces, preferably groups of Turks in Eastern Europe in ancient times to back up that idea. Current historiography is entirely blind and resistant to such a theme. The Altaic story, which is itself an idea that still waits to be proven, bounds the scholarly world. Science is based on liberty, on free thought. Therefore, it is not compulsory to be caged by an unproven theory.

In some cases, the conventional approach prevents us from connecting even highly possible cases. For example, Ptolemy and Dionysius Periegetes of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD mention *Khounoi* ‘Huns’ to the north of the Caucasus.<sup>438</sup> Czeglédy rejects associating them with the later well-known Huns, and further adds that if one links this tribe to the Huns, there will be questions left which cannot be answered.<sup>439</sup> He does not say which questions cannot be answered, but we know what they are: What were the Huns doing so far west at that time? I am surprised as to how a 20<sup>th</sup> century intellectual goes back 1900 years and builds a barricade in front of a nomadic nation. I wonder what is the provision that prevents a branch of the eastern Huns, whose country was destroyed by the Chinese and by themselves, and who experienced great suffering, from coming to the Caspian steppes? Did they have to wait until the year 360 in order to gather the entire horde, albeit it was ready to move in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century?

In the previous chapter, apart from the Turcae, we dealt with three Central Eurasian tribes that might have a Turkic connection, considering some philological clues. The Huns of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century should not be added to these, for the latter are seemingly newcomers, while the others seem to

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<sup>438</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, trans. E. L. Stevenson (Toronto: Dover, 1991), 80; V. V. Latyšev, “Izvestija drevnih pisatelej o Skifii i Kavkaze”, *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1 (1948), 367.

<sup>439</sup> Czeglédy, “From East to West”, 94.

be natives of the region, at least for the known periods. There are, however, other peoples and linguistic traces that should be dealt with regarding this concern.

Above we mentioned the Suvar/Sabir people in connection with the Hungarians, by citing the 10<sup>th</sup> century source by Konstantinos Porphyrogenitus, saying that “(Hungarians) were not called Turks at that time, but had the name ‘Savartoi asphaloi’ for some reason or other.” The only people in Eurasia whose name one can match with this nation of Konstantinos could be the Suvars.<sup>440</sup> They are known as the people who expelled the Ogur Confederacy to Europe in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century, from which the future Hungarians emerged: “At this time (c. 463) the Saraguri, Urogi and the Onoguri sent envoys to the Eastern Romans. These tribes had left their native lands when the Sabiri attacked them. The latter had been driven out by the Avars who had in turn been displaced by the tribes who lived by the shore of the Ocean... The latter had left their land on account of the mist which came from an inundation of the Ocean and because a flock of gryphons had appeared. It is said that they would not leave until they had eaten the whole race of men.”<sup>441</sup>

Since the Avars, known as Juan-juan by the Chinese, were then in Mongolia, the Sabiri should have been just west of the Jungarian Pass, if based solely on this account. Then the remaining two-thirds of what is today Kazakhstan would be left to the Ogurs, since they seem to have a connection with Sogdian lands in the south. This is exactly what is systematised by Czeglédy, who has the Sabiri settled around the Ili River.<sup>442</sup> In such a case, there will be no space for Huns who constantly migrated from Mongolia to Central Asia from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC on and established the White Hun Empire there, which survived until the ultimate Kök Türk conquest in the 550s. Furthermore, there is no account of such a settlement by the Suvars in that region, except for a discussion in a

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<sup>440</sup> Although the name of this people was written in sources in a variety of forms from Savar to Sibir/Şibir, I prefer the form ‘Suvar’ used by Mahmud of Kashgar (11<sup>th</sup> century), since he knew them directly and best. This does not mean that the Suvar form was crucial in earlier times too. Popular usage in the concerning scholarship is ‘Sabir’ after mostly Byzantine sources. This is, however, against the Turkic vocal harmony; the original form should be Sabir (< Sabar). A good examination of this ethnonym can be found in Peter B. Golden, “Some Notes on the Etymology of Sabir”, in *KOINON ΔΩΡΟΝ. Studies and Essays in Honour of Valery P. Nikonorov*, eds. A. A. Sinitsyn and M. M. Kholod (St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State University Faculty of Philology, 2013), 49-55.

<sup>441</sup> Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians*, 345.

<sup>442</sup> Czeglédy, “From East to West”, 37, 102-103.

Sogdian document, which by no means tells of their existence there, but only mentions it. Czeglédy himself was sceptical about that document, or of the reading (s)[.]pyry suggested by Henning.<sup>443</sup>

It is apparent that the Ogur ambassadors to Istanbul in 463 described by Priscus produced a story to overemphasise their situation in order to get what they intended from that visit. Avar/Juan-juan pressure on the South Siberia belt is not known from those days. Only the Türk tribe is known to have launched an expedition on the T'ieh-le league inhabiting the northwest of the Altay ranges in the name of its Avar lords, but a century later. Even that expedition does not seem to have affected further west of the forest-steppe belt of northern Central Asia. Instead, the Suvars as the new emerging power of the region, seem to have expelled the Ogurs, visible in the fact that the former came to the Northern Caucasus just following the latter, in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century. A likely solution to the puzzle that Hungarians “had the name ‘Savartoi asphaloi’ for some reason or other” written by Porphyrogenitus would be that, considering the ethnic patterns of the Eurasian steppe in those days, the Ogurs for some time lived under Suvar rule when they were in Western Siberia, and took the upper/political name of their lords as usual.

The Suvars are mentioned by Ptolemy as being just east of the mid-Volga basin. Indeed, there are two names: ‘Savari’ and ‘Suardeni’.<sup>444</sup> The possibility of whether these forms represent two separate peoples should be revisited. I do not think there were two peoples in question, but we need further elaboration in order to be sure.

From the year 515 onwards, a branch of the Suvars settled north of the Caucasus, near the Caspian shores. From there, they joined the wars between Persia and the Byzantines as mercenaries for both sides. They are often mentioned by the famous Byzantine historian of the 6<sup>th</sup> century Prokopius in the *Persian Wars*’ parts of his premier book. Agathias also mentions them as mercenaries having their own styles.<sup>445</sup> They came under Kök Türk rule when the latter reached that territory in the 570s. After the collapse of the Kök Türk Empire, in the field where Suvars were living, there emerged the Khazar State, as before stated. Consequently, the Suvars were in the South Urals at least from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD on, if not earlier, assuming they were not natives of the region. As they are not mentioned by Pomponius Mela or Plinius Secundus, thus by Herodotus, we can

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<sup>443</sup> Károly Czeglédy, “A szavárd kérdés Thury József előtt és után”, in *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok* (Budapest: Körösi Csoma Társaság-MTA Könyvtára, 1985), 82-83.

<sup>444</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 80, 121.

<sup>445</sup> Agathias, *The Histories*, 87-88, 115.

reconstruct such a scene that their homeland was further east, on the Upper Tobol basin as seen in later sources, and during the predictable and visible ethnic rise in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, some of their elements spread westward, towards the east of the mid-Volga.

Ptolemy names another Turkic tribe of the same region as both the ‘Suani’ and ‘Suobeni’.<sup>446</sup> The *Saunia* people mentioned by the ecclesiastical writer Eusebius of the early 4<sup>th</sup> century as one of the outstanding peoples of Western Eurasia should be one and the same.<sup>447</sup> That they do not occur in earlier sources might point to their coming from *Terra Incognita*, from the mid-south Siberian belt to the South Urals (in a wider sense), as in the case of the Suvars. Togan relates them to the *Suun-Kipchak* tribe of the Bashkirs.<sup>448</sup> This tribe should have constituted an earlier layer of the Kazan Tatars, who still celebrate ‘Saban Toy’ as their national holiday. The tribes of *Suan* and *Suvan* in Kazakhstan, and *Suban* in Kyrgyzstan should also be remnants of this same tribe.<sup>449</sup>

In the previous chapter, we drew attention to the case that the Central Asian Massagetae of Herodotus’ time appeared in the Eastern Caucasus during the first millennium AD. They are even mentioned by some Islamic sources. For instance, Salman ibn Rabi’a, who launched the first expedition into Khazaria in 651, acted with the peoples of *Maskat* and *Shabirân* (Sabirs, Suvars) living just to the north of the Darband Gate.<sup>450</sup> Ibn Khordadbeh of the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century, whose geography book is the earliest one surviving, approves of him giving the names of the peoples of *Suvar* and *Maskit*,<sup>451</sup> as does the *Armenian Geography* of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>452</sup> These later mentions explain the case of Prokopius of the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, who often tells of Massaget mercenaries during the Byzantino-Persian

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<sup>446</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 121.

<sup>447</sup> Eusebius, *Εὐαγγελικὴ Προπαρασκευὴ – Evangelicae Praeparationis* -III/1-, trans. E. H. Gifford (London: Oxonii, 1903), 299.

<sup>448</sup> Zeki V. Togan, *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (İstanbul: Enderun, 1981), 162. Kuzev classifies them among the Kipchak-Bashkir group, but warns that the latter syllable *-un* in the name has nothing to do with the ‘Un’ tribe of Bashkirs. Kuzev, *Proishozhdenie bashkirskogo naroda*, 113, 115, 347-348.

<sup>449</sup> Lezina et al., *Bütün Türk Halkları*, 482, 483.

<sup>450</sup> Al-Balâdhuri, *The Origins of the Islamic State. Kitâb Futûh al-Buldân -I-*, trans. Philip Khûri Hitti (New York: Columbia University, 1916), 319.

<sup>451</sup> Ibn Hurdazbeh, *Yollar ve Ülkeler Kitabı*, trans. M. Ağarı (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2008), 109.

<sup>452</sup> Hewsens, *The Geography of Ananias of Şirak*, 57.

wars in which the author personally participated. Once he says "... Massagetai whom they now call Huns."<sup>453</sup>

The association of these Massagetae with the Alans by Novosel'cev is by no means true,<sup>454</sup> although Ammianus Marcellinus says "the Massagetae whom we now call the Alani."<sup>455</sup> In an earlier sentence, Marcellinus separates the two: "Near them are the Massagetae, Halani, and Sargetae, as well as several other obscure peoples..."<sup>456</sup> His contemporary, Claudian also depicts them as two separate but comradely peoples, even within the Sarmatic alliance, if not the Sarmatic confederation: "There comes down a mixed horde of Sarmatians and Dacians, and the brave Massagetae who wound their horses in order to fill cups, and the Alans who drink, after breaking the ice, the waters of Maeotis..."<sup>457</sup> The former settled in coastal Dagestan, while the latter were in the plains to the north of the Central Caucasus. The Massagets are described as Huns, while the Alans never became so. Instead, it is better to separate the Alans, Massagets and Huns. The Massagets were called Huns for they had been in/under the Hunnic league in the Caucasus then, and the Massagets and Alans passed into Europe during the Sarmatian migrations, as suggested by Novosel'cev.<sup>458</sup>

Thus, it is not surprising to see some Central Asian peoples to the west of the Caspian Sea in ancient times. Ptolemeus gives another example of the obscure Tapur people: "The *Derbiccae* dwell in this region near the Oxus river, and below these are the *Massagetae*, next to these are the *Parni* and the *Dahae*; below whom is a desert land, and from this toward the east are the Tapuri."<sup>459</sup> The Tapuri are also mentioned as being in the Caucasus.<sup>460</sup>

The case of the Bulgars should also be viewed in the same way. The current historiography overwhelmingly unifies them with the Ogurs, but sources always talk of them as separate peoples. The only association emerged after the Ogurs came under the rule of Great Bulgaria in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. After that, they were again separated from each other. There are

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<sup>453</sup> Prokopios, *The Wars of Justinian*, trans. H. B. Dewing and A. Kaldellis (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2014), 169.

<sup>454</sup> A. P. Novosel'cev, *Hazarское государство и его роль в истории восточной Европы и Кавказа* (Moskva: Nauka, 1990), 92.

<sup>455</sup> *Ammianus Marcellinus -II-*, 343.

<sup>456</sup> *Ammianus Marcellinus -II-*, 235.

<sup>457</sup> Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 45.

<sup>458</sup> Novosel'cev, *Hazarское государство*, 92.

<sup>459</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 142.

<sup>460</sup> Latyšev, "Izvestija drevnih pisatelej o Skifii i Kavkaze", 367; Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 134.

no clues of a Bulgar migration to Europe during or together with the Ogur migration in c. 463. Indeed, there is no clear account for the coming of the Bulgars.

A Roman almanac written in/for 354 AD has reached us with carelessly copied versions of the complete version which is called *Luxemburgensis* from the 9<sup>th</sup> century. It contains a genealogical tree of nations in its Part 15 titled *Liber Generationis*. This *liber* lists ‘all’ peoples from the Genesis up to 334 AD. The Vienna version of the almanac counts *Ziezi ex quo Vulgares* (“Ziezi, from whom the Bulgars”)<sup>461</sup> among the descendants of Sem, son of Noah. This is the first occurrence of the ethnonym Bulgar, if the *Vulgares* is Bulgar.

This Biblical tradition, abundantly applied in medieval Jewish, Christian and Muslim works, of sharing nations among the sons and grandsons of Noah was open to renewals and updates. Dead peoples were deleted from the lists, and newly emerged nations were included. Thus, we can see in the presence of the two words in the *Liber Generationis* an actualisation reflecting the ethnic appearance of the world in the first decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. *Ziezi* occurs as an anthroponym in the document, but one can easily see the name of the *Zich* people of the Western Caucasus, ancestors of the Circassians, known from Strabo on. It seems the Latin imagination in the 4<sup>th</sup> century associated the older *Zich* people, thus their country *Zichia*, with the Bulgars, then being of greater importance and dominance in the region. This is exactly what we should expect from an author of late antiquity and the medieval.

This Caucasian connection in the *Liber Generationis* seems, in my opinion, to be very plausible, but other questions arise when we compare the passage with other versions of the calendar, which included “Hi omnes Bactriani” (“they all Bactrians”) instead of the above-mentioned phrase. Indeed, this is not a replacement. The former sentence ends in “...Eiulat ex quo Gymnosophiste”, then “Ziezi ex quo Vulgares” and then starts with “Nomina provinciarum...” in the Vienna version. On the other hand, the previous sentence in the other version ends with “et Evilath unde gemnosofactae”, then comes the sentence “Hi omnes Bactriani” and the following sentence is “Nomina autem gentium...”. So, the two different sentences in different versions clearly complete each other: “Ziezi ex quo Vulgares, hi omnes Bactriani.”

Bactria is the ancient name of what is today north of Afghanistan, where there was a Greek state established by comrades of Alexander the

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<sup>461</sup> Theodor Mommsen, “Über den Chronographen vom J.354”, in *Abhandlungen der Philologischen Classe der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Leipzig: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1850), 591.



Macedonian. Ancient Indian sources called the region *Bahlika*, while medieval Muslims used to call it *Balh*. The Hellenic Bactrian state was destroyed by nomadic peoples, pressed by the Xiong-nu/Huns from the east.

The Latin word *omnes* cannot mean that all of those mentioned above are Bactrians, because the *Liber* lists above the nations coming from the Abraham line: “Hircani, Arabi, Armenii, Evilath from whom Indian sophists (Gymnosophiste)...” They have nothing to do with Bactria. Hyrcania is near, but cannot be associated with it. The Indus valley, the possible Evilath country, is also different from Bactria (India and Bactria are counted in the same context just above: “Elmodal de quo Indi, et Salef de quo Bactriani”). They are clearly distinct from each other. Armenians and Arabs were by no means connected with that region, even in legends. In addition, all versions of the text pass on to Egypt after the cited phrases. We should not try to solve the question by simply referring to a mistake and the confusion of copyists. The phrase *Hi omnes Bactriani* is meaningless in reference to the above-mentioned people, unless we put *Ziezi ex quo Vulgares* before it. The writer is not in the habit of repeating the word *omnes* after every group of people. This is virtually the only case. “All of them” were not and cannot be Bactrians. Thus, perhaps we should reserve only the latest group, the Gymnosophiste as Bactrians?

Copyists are usually expected to make removals (mostly by forgetting), rather than additions. Neither of the phrases seems to be an addition; even if so, any Medieval or Renaissance man could hardly find such ‘absurd’ names as Ziezi and Bulgar in order to fill in some blanks. We should thus compose them as: “Ziezi, from whom the Bulgars, all of them Bactrians”. This is not, of course, a proven reconstruction, but I do not see any fatal mistake in compiling these different statements in different versions of the text, unless a better explanation is produced for this case.

So, what is the relation of the Ziezi and Bulgars with Bactria, in a case where even the Indians had none? It is likely that Bulgars were not natives of the Caucasus. As a Turkic people, they should have come from Central Asia. Thus, a Bulgaro-Bactrian connection is expectable, and we should look for Bulgar traces in Central Asia. Briefly, Bulgars seem to have migrated to the Caucasus sometime before the year 334. To tell of this, we should be free of the yoke of the Priscus account for the year 463, and totally reject the baseless idea that Turks cannot be found in Eastern Europe before the Huns, namely the 370s. Considering all of this, we can look for a Bulgar movement like those of the above-mentioned Huns, Alans, Massagets, Suvars, Sabans, Tapurs, etc. Luckily, we find it in the father of Armenian historiography, Moses Khorenaci: “(Valarshak)

summoned there the barbarous foreign race that inhabited the northern plain and the foothills of the great Caucasus Mountain... He ordered them to cast off their banditry and assassinations and to become subject to royal commands and taxes... He himself... descended to the grassy meadows near the border of Sharay, which the ancients called 'Unwooded' and Upper Basean, but which later, because the colony of the Vlendur Bulgar Vund dwelt in the area, was called Vanand after his name."<sup>462</sup>

This happened in the 130s AD under Vałarshak, who was assigned to rule over Armenia, being a brother of the Parthian king. It seems he tried to solve a newly emerged crisis: A northern people just came and settled to the north of the Central Caucasus, and started to make trouble south of the ranges. Their settlement in the Vanand region, now between Pasinler and Kars in Turkey, occurred during the reign of his son Arshak: "In his days there was a great tumult in the zone of the great Caucasus Mountain in the country of the Bulgars. Many of them split off and came to our land and settled for a long time below Koł in the fertile regions rich in wheat."<sup>463</sup>

Instead of a 'Sarmatic wave', I would prefer to call it an antique Völkerwanderung in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, which ended in the migrations of some Central Asian peoples, both Turkic and Iranian, to Eastern Europe. Its stimulus might be the westward migration of the Yüeh-chih expelled by the Huns from the north of China. Together with their local, Central Asian allies, they attacked and caused the decline of the Greek Bactrian state in Afghanistan.<sup>464</sup>

Ptolemeus seems to mention another Turkic tribe: "...the Sali, below whom are the Gelones."<sup>465</sup> A certain 'Zali' tribe of the Hunnic stock in the same region occurs in Menandros for the events of the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>466</sup> They were crushed on the road by the Avars, fugitives from the Kök Türks. So, they were then somewhere to the immediate north of the Aral and Caspian. Three centuries later, we find in the same region the Salgur tribe of the Oghuz union. The component *-gur* is a Turkic suffix/word to make ethnic names and it was used abundantly in those days in countless examples such as Utrigur, Kutrigur, Bittigur, Ultingur, etc. Then there remains the root, Sal. Those peoples there in the same region should be one and the same. The name of this tribe is now pronounced as 'Salur' in

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<sup>462</sup> Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, trans. Robert W. Thomson (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1978), 135-136.

<sup>463</sup> Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, 145.

<sup>464</sup> *The Geography of Strabo -V-*, trans. H. L. Jones (London and New York: William Heinemann, 1928), 261 (II/8/2).

<sup>465</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 80.

<sup>466</sup> Menander Protector, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, 51.

Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Turkmenistan. It seems to be the founding/motivating tribe of the Oghuz union, considering the principal hero is Salur Kazan, leader of the Inner Oghuz in the Dede Korkut Stories, a collection of 13 historical stories now,<sup>467</sup> which go to the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

The ethnic name *Urgi* mentioned in Strabon in connection with the Sarmatian Iazygians does not occur elsewhere.<sup>468</sup> It might represent the name of the Oghuz tribe *Üregir* (now Yüreğir) without the suffix *-gir* denoting ‘multitude of people’. The place of the Iazygians is discussed in the Sarmatian chapter in this book, where we will deal with it in more detail. Plinius Secundus also mentions some other tribes that appear as Turkic peoples in the middle and new ages like the *Orani*, *Camacæ*, *Comani* and *Candari*.<sup>469</sup> They deserve a more detailed study, perhaps a monograph.

Thus, we find that many Turkic peoples travelled to Europe even in the BC ages either by long-distance migrations or by gradual shifts. We only have the case of the Huns as a long-distance migration; the others came from the immediate east. The northwestern borders of Asia seem to be dwelt by Turkic peoples in the late 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, in contrast to the established views. A detailed study would surely display many other examples.

Moreover, Turkic traces in ancient Eastern Europe are not restricted with ethnonyms. There are several toponyms that can be explained in Turkic. The most well-known example is the word *Daikh* in Ptolemeus, an ancient form of the word Yayık, the Turkic name of the Ural River.<sup>470</sup> In order to have such a geographic name in a language, we should and must suppose a dense and relatively old settlement of speakers of that language in that region. The Yayık stems from the Ural Mountains and pours into the Caspian, making the border between Asia and Europe in the contemporary approach. In contrast to other rivers in Central Asia and Eastern Europe having various names in various languages, the Yayık has only one name. So, the generic and autochthonous population on the

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<sup>467</sup> Original copies are preserved in the Vatican and Dresden. The Dresden copy consisted of 12 stories. Among many translations into various languages, this national epic of the Oghuz can be read in English in the translation of Lewis: *The Book of Dede Korkut*, trans. Geoffrey Lewis (London: Penguin, 1974).

<sup>468</sup> *The Geography of Strabo -V-*, 221 (VII/3/17).

<sup>469</sup> *Pliny's Natural History -IV-*, 16, 31-32.

<sup>470</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 144. The current name ‘Ural’ was given by the order of Catherine II in 1785. By that date, there was no other name for the river, apart from Yayık (V. A. Nikonov, *Kratkij toponimičeskij slovar’* (Moskva: Izd. Mysl’, 1966), 438).

Yayık basin should have been Turkic, at least for several centuries by the time of Ptolemeus.

Interestingly, the river Dnieper which divides the Ukraine into two has always had one and the same name applied by Turkic peoples in all the known ages. During the Ottoman times, the river was called ‘Özü’, which was surely taken from local Turkic (Tataro-Kipchak) elements. Luckily, we have several sources to study on the Turkic name of the Dnieper. Starting from the middle, al-Bîrûnî of the 11<sup>th</sup> century says: “Abû Bakr al-Râzî says in his book *Kitâb al-Havâss* that there is a valley between Karluks and Pechenegs in Turkistan. When troops or cattle herds pass through it, the hooves of horses and goats are wrapped in wool, and they are driven slowly so that they do not crush the stones, as the result of which black clouds would appear and a heavy shower would follow... In the *Kitâb al-Nuhâb* it has been said that rain stone is found in the Vâr steppe or in the Karluk valley... Such stories and legends gain currency when the people of different regions meet each other. What narrates the nowadays Karluks are all ancient narrations. Between them and the Pechenegs the intervening area is so vast that there appears as big a gap between the two as between the East and the West.”<sup>471</sup>

I had to restore the translation of the Islamabad edition, which is based not on the original copies, but the Hyderabad 1936 edition of Krenkow, which is not available to me. The translation into Turkic of Şeşen is based on the most complete manuscript in the Topkapı Palace. The Islamabad edition of M. Said has instead “... rain stone is found in a forest beyond the Karluk valley”. Such a sentence is meaningless in the context. In order to have this sentence connected with the following sentence, there should be two places mentioned, and not a forest. Besides, ‘forest’ is not an expected word to be used by al-Bîrûnî, who is himself a Central Asian, to define those lands. If he speaks of a valley near the Karluks, it is meaningless to mention “a narration about distant countries.” The Karluks were then in the south of Central Asia and very close to the authors. The informants seem to be of the Karluks. Then, what is the reason for the inclusion of the distant Pechenegs? They were in the Ukraine proper in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the above text was written. The context shows that the rain stone should have existed in two places, one in the Karluk, and the other in Pecheneg countries. Thus, the translation and comprehension of Şeşen seem true. Just as, Karluks and Pechenegs never

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<sup>471</sup> Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 199; Al-Beruni, *The Book Most Comprehensive in Knowledge on Precious Stones*, trans. H. Mohammad Said (Islamabad: Pakistan Hijra Council, 1989), 188.

became neighbors in contrast to the claim of Abû Bakr al-Râzî, whom al-Bîrûnî corrects politely, thus there cannot be a valley between them.

Therefore, the Vâr steppe is somewhere in the Ukraine. Konstantinos Porphyrogenitus had written his book *DAI* just before al-Bîrûnî was born. He says, in part 38 reserved for the origins of Hungarians: “The place of the Pechenegs, in which at that time Turks (Hungarians) lived, is called after the name of the local rivers. The rivers are these: the first river is that called Varoukh, the second river that called Koubou, the third river that called Troullos, the fourth river that called Broutos, the fifth river that called Seretos.”<sup>472</sup> Of these rivers to the north of the Black Sea, the Seret and Prut are visible at the first glance, under their current names. The *Koubou* should be the Bug. The *Troullos* is nothing other than the Turla, the Turkic name of Dniester. Thus, there remains only the *Varoukh* for the Dnieper.<sup>473</sup>

These names were clearly taken from the Pechenegs. But it is not true to think that they came to those lands and changed the names of the rivers within 50 years, for one of them occurs in earlier ages too, as Pritsak among others relates. Jordanes, a Roman historian of Gothic origin from the 5<sup>th</sup> century, provides rich information about late antique Eastern and Northern Europe. He says once “... the parts of Scythia which border on the stream of the river Danaper, which the Huns call in their own tongue the Var.”<sup>474</sup> Thus, it seems the Pechenegs of the 10<sup>th</sup> century inherited the name applied by the Huns of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. This indicates a constant and stable Turkic presence in the Dnieper basin in between those days. We should identify them as Oguro-Bulgaric in a rough sense, who then used the same appellation for that river. Interestingly, Turkic peoples do not use the widely known name Dnieper, or the antique Borysthene, etc., but were careful to keep the Turkic form. This is very understandable, because the current and previous names of Kiev, the historical city on that river, can be explained in Turkic.<sup>475</sup> My contribution is that the name Vâr in al-Bîrûnî is nothing other than the Turkic name of Dnieper.

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<sup>472</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 175.

<sup>473</sup> Moravcsik in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio: Commentary*, 149; Omeljan Pritsak, “Ein hunnisches Wort”, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 104, 1 (1954), 125.

<sup>474</sup> Jordanes, *The Gothic History*, 128. Pritsak suggests the word is ‘Vâr’: Omeljan Pritsak, “The Hunnic Language of the Atilla Clan”, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6, 4 (1982), 429.

<sup>475</sup> See the essay of J. Brutzkus, “The Khazar Origin of Ancient Kiev”, *Slavonic and East European Review* 3, 1 (1944), 108-124.

In linguistic themes, we discussed the sharp transition  $-r > -z$  in Proto-Turkic. The aforesaid Ottoman form *Özü* is believed to be the  $-z$  form of the name *Var/Ver*. The *Özü* form is used from the 12<sup>th</sup> century on by Anna Comnena in her *Alexiada* and by the geographer Abu'l-Fidâ of the early 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>476</sup> Therefore, it seems the Pechenegs saved the older form, but under the Kumans, gaining control of the north of the Black Sea in the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, it turned into *Özü*.

The short version of the *Armenian Geography* records that "... the river Danube (Danob), which is the *Yawzu* of the Russians, [and which] empties into the Pontus Sea."<sup>477</sup> It is a clear anachronism to find the Rus' in a 7<sup>th</sup> century document. Thus, it should have been added by a later copier. The long version of the book has no such explanatory phrase.<sup>478</sup>

The letter to Spain of the Khazar qagan Joseph in c. 960 mentions the river *Yuz-g* in the short version and *Vag-z* in the long version.<sup>479</sup> The former form is believed to keep the original version of the name and is tied to *Ozu/Özü* (*Özüğ?*), the Turkic name of the Dnieper.<sup>480</sup> If so, the zetacism in the name started in Khazaria, but the Oguro-Bulgar elements/remnants in the north of the Black Sea continued to use the older form. The Pechenegs received that form from the latter. After the Pechenegs, a group of Oghuz passed to Eastern Europe, after crushing Khazaria, with which they previously had close relations. Then, having the Khazar inheritance, it

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<sup>476</sup> Pritsak, "Ein hunnisches Wort", 126-129. A certain Ozolimne 'Lake Ozo' is mentioned in *Alexiada* due to the Kuman-Pecheneg war near Edirne in 1091. The context forces one to think that this should be the Danube river, but Anna Komnena describes Ozolimne as a great lake, thus Ozo might be the Azov, as supported by phonetics too (Anna Komnena, *Alexiad*, trans. Bilge Umar (İstanbul: İnkilap, 1996), 224-226). On the other hand, she is prideful that she was the first to describe that lake which was until then unknown! Thus, we may be sure that she is not certain of the described geography. In her words, the surviving Pechenegs after the Kuman strike, escaped only by going to Ozolimne. But it is hard to comprehend that they fled to the lands of their enemies the Kumans, who were living in those days in the Black Sea steppes. Therefore, in the very complexity of the narration, it is more likely to suppose that the Pechenegs fled towards the Kiev Rus' borders on the Dnieper basin. It seems Anna Komnena confused the names Azov and *Özü*, although she connects the word to the Ouzoi, namely Oghuz.

<sup>477</sup> Hewsens, *The Geography of Ananias of Sirak*, 47A.

<sup>478</sup> Pritsak, "Ein hunnisches Wort", 130.

<sup>479</sup> Pavel K. Kokovcov, *Jevrejsko-Hazarškaja Perepiska v X veke* (Leningrad: Izd. Akademii Nauk, 1932), 82-83.

<sup>480</sup> Pritsak, "Ein hunnisches Wort", 129-131; Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 251-252. However, cf. also the Turkic word *öküz/ögüz* 'river' (Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, 120).

seems they started to use the form Özü. However, their fortune in today's Ukraine was not long-lived. Right afterwards, the Kumans came and expelled them to the Balkans. Thus, it can be detected that the later form Özü was used through the Khazar-Oghuz-Kuman-Tatar-Ottoman line, while the earlier form was current through the Hun-Bulgar-Pecheneg line.

Maybe that is not all. Herodotus says: "Beyond this desert dwell the Thyssagetæ; four great rivers flow from their country through the land of the Maecians, and issue into the lake called the Maecian (Azov); their names are Lycus, Oaros, Tanais, Syrgis."<sup>481</sup> Darius camped on the Oaros during his famous Scythian expedition.

Interestingly, Herodotus does not seem confident of this information. Otherwise, he knows much about the rivers there, as he names all the rivers to the north of the Black Sea, sometimes repeatedly. Furthermore, he even lists their tributaries.<sup>482</sup> This is natural since he travelled there and Greek colonies were located on almost all coasts of the Black Sea. Oaros is only mentioned here and it is an overplus. It seems he learned about it not from his Greek compatriots, but from Scythians, with whom he had much contact in Olbia. Likely a Scythian man used that name during their conversation and the dragoman, not being very sure of its Greek name, transmitted the same word into Greek. So, which river names, does Herodotus repeat? Which one is the Oaros?

Of the four rivers above, we know about the Tanais (Don) for certain, and the Syrgis/Hyrgis is its tributary. The Lycus is mentioned once; it was also the name of a Scythian ruler. Either the Lycus or Oaros should be the Kuban River in the Scythian language. In any case, we need a fourth river pouring into the Azov. There are no more, indeed, but the Dnieper can be counted as such. Even medieval authors are confused and relate that the Dnieper pours into the Azov. Their ultimate informants were regional natives. But Herodotus mentions the Dnieper under the name Borysthenes and knows that it adjoins the Black Sea. This situation reinforces my idea that Herodotus is not sure of the Oaros. Besides, we cannot think that Darius went as far as Kuban (from the Danube within one month! See Chapter 13), but normally and naturally along the banks of Dnieper. Thus, since he encamped on the Oaros, that river should be the Dnieper. It is not difficult to see in it almost the same form as the early medieval Turkic/Hunnic 'Var', likely 'War'. Cf. in this term *Vardanes* or *Vardanus*

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<sup>481</sup> Herodotus -II-, 326 (IV-123). The latest one is given as *Hyrgis* in another place (*idem*, 257, IV/57).

<sup>482</sup> For instance, those pouring into the Danube from both sides: Herodotus -II-, 249, 251 (IV/48-50).

in Ptolemy, likely for the river Kuban.<sup>483</sup> For the component *-dan* see below.

The current popular name Dnieper is taken from the Old Iranian *danu apara* ‘far river’,<sup>484</sup> or *dân-âpr* ‘deep river’,<sup>485</sup> *danu* being ‘river’ as will be dealt with below (Cf. Dniester will be *dona ister* in the same way; meanwhile *Ister* was the non-Greek-origin Greek name of Danube). Herodotus and Greek geographers call that river *Borysthenes*; that name occurs 23 times in Book 4 of Herodotus alone. That name is likewise explained in the Iranian *viristana* ‘wide place’<sup>486</sup> or *boru-stana* ‘high place’.<sup>487</sup> Speakers of that Iranian language were allegedly Scythians. But the latter did not call the river the Borysthenes, instead they said Oaros. Did they have two names for the same river, one of them being reserved for themselves and the other being loaned to the Greeks? It would be one of the most absurd explanations. Thus, Minns suggests that the Greeks heard about those names from the non-Iranic natives of the region.<sup>488</sup>

Even the Iranian explanation of the Greek denomination is doubtful. The Dnieper is wide enough but it is not a place, rather a water stream. I should call attention to the animal name ‘borys’ below. While discussing Libya, Herodotus says: “But in the nomad country there are none of these; yet there are others, gazelles of divers kinds, asses, not the horned asses, but those that are called undrinking (for indeed they never drink), antelopes of the bigness of an ox, the horns whereof are made into the sides of a lyre, foxes, hyenas, porcupines, wild rams, the dictys and the borys (βόρυες), jackals and panthers, land crocodiles three cubits long, most like to lizards, and ostriches and little one-horned serpents.”<sup>489</sup>

What is a borys? It is counted among the predacious animals. It reminds me of the Common Turkic *bars* ‘leopard’, of which the Bulgarian form *boris* is the source of the current proper name Boris, which is popular today especially among the Russians and Bulgarians.<sup>490</sup> Might it be an

<sup>483</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 120, 122

<sup>484</sup> Nikonov, *Kratkij toponimičeskij slovar’*, 124.

<sup>485</sup> Vladimir I. Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol’klor -I-* (Moskva and Leningrad: Nauka, 1949), 154.

<sup>486</sup> Nikonov, *Kratkij toponimičeskij slovar’*, 124.

<sup>487</sup> O. N. Trubačev, *Indoarica v Severnom Pričernomor’e* (Moskva: Nauka, 1999), 231.

<sup>488</sup> E. Hovell Minns, *Scythians and Greeks: A Survey of Ancient History and Archaeology on the North Coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus* (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), 38.

<sup>489</sup> Herodotus -II-, 395 (IV-192).

<sup>490</sup> Maks Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ ruskogo jazyka -I-* (Moskva: Progress, 1986), 194. He does not quote, among the early attestations of the name, that one



early Turkic loanword to the Herodotus Greek? As for *-then*, the second component of the name Borysthene, we need to elaborate the name of another river.

The hydronym Don was recorded in Old Turkic texts, including the Ottoman books, as *Ten* and sometimes *Tin*. This Turkic name gets closer to the internationally popular name, being the only case for all East European rivers. The antique name of the Don was Tanais. It was the border line between Europe and Asia from immemorial times onwards, according to Herodotus.<sup>491</sup> The word Don (< *Dânu*?) is thought to be Iranian: Osset *don* ‘river’, Avesta *danu* ‘water, river’; likewise, the hydronyms Danube, Dnieper and Dniester contain that Iranian word.<sup>492</sup> The current international names Don, Dnieper and Dniester seem to be remnants of the Alanic ages. Ptolemy of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, when Alans from Central Asia had already settled in Eastern Europe, continues to use the Herodotus time names of those rivers. If the names had any Scythian or Sarmatian connections, they would be reflected in those detailed geography books.

However, there are two problems. With the exception of the Danube, all rivers to the north of the Black Sea, including their tributaries, have or had Turkic names, but not the great or greatest river Don, considering that it once used to separate Europe and Asia. The other problem is that the word *dânu* is restricted to the Arians and has no Indo-European cognates. This means they produced that word just after they were separated from the IE linguistic mass, or got it in some other way (loaning, of course) when they were far from the other IE peoples.

There are phonetic difficulties from such forms as *Dan*, *Don* or *Tanay* to Turkic *Ten* or *Tin*. Well, those changes in vowels can be referred to the long duration that we have in the history of the current name. Old Turks were ‘capable’ of pronouncing *d-*, as seen in the above example Daikh, and would not necessarily change *d- > t-*.

*Don/ton* in Turkic means ‘frost’ and as a verbal root it is ‘to freeze’. It might be inspiring to tie the river name to that word. Mas’ûdî says: “This river (Don) connecting the Khazar river (Volga) to the Pontus Gulf freezes

in Ibn Fadlan, who writes the name of a Volga Bulgar companion of his as *Bâris*. Ibn Fazlan, *İbn Fazlan Seyahatnamesi*, 20.

<sup>491</sup> Herodotus -II-, 245 (IV/45).

<sup>492</sup> Vasilij I. Abaev, *Istoriko-etimologiĉeskij slovar’ osetinskogo jazyka -I-* (Moskva and Leningrad: Nauka, 1958), 366-367; idem, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol’klor -I-*, 38, 82; Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologiĉeskij slovar’ iranskih jazykov -II-*, 450-451; Nikonov, *Kratkij toponimiĉeskij slovar’*, 127; Fasmer, *Etimologiĉeskij slovar’ ruskogo jazyka -I-*, 528-529.

sometimes. Then the Oghuz cross it with their horses. It is a great river. Since it is hardened too much, the ice does not break under the foot of Oghuz horses, and thus they pass to the Khazar lands.”<sup>493</sup> But freezing is/was not peculiar and restricted to the Don, and it would be absurd to assign that meaning only to one river among tens of them, though it is not impossible. On the other hand, old Turks did not use the name Don, but their own Ten.

Turkic has the appellative noun *ten*, which is directly connected with the proper noun *Ten*. Mahmud of Kashgar relates a poem:

*Teñde bile körse meni ördek atar*  
*Kalwa körüp kaşgalakı suwka batar*  
 When the duck sees me in *teñ* it quacks  
 When the kaşgalak sees me with a headless arrow it dives into the water.<sup>494</sup>

The word *teñ* was translated by Brockelman as ‘sumpf’, by Atalay as ‘lake, swamp,’ by Dankoff and Ercilasun as ‘dawn’ and by Tekin as ‘water’.<sup>495</sup> A kaşgalak is a type of water bird, smaller than the duck. Dankoff reads it as *tañda* and translates ‘in those mornings’. He follows, it seems, Clauson’s correction.<sup>496</sup> The latter thinks that “it is very unlikely that a word with this meaning should be a Hap. leg” and changes the original Arabic *al-ğudar* ‘pool’ to *al-ğadâ* ‘dawn’. This is entirely arbitrary. It should not be surprising that an almost-dying word was kept in a poem and recorded once in history. Time terms in Turkic may take equally locative, ablative and instrumental suffixes or words, but not two of them at the same moment. That is, Turkic has no ‘within’ as English does, but either ‘with’ or ‘in’. In the text *-de* is the locative suffix, so what is *bile* ‘with’? If we read *teñ* ‘lake’, that word would be the stressing postpositive *bile*: ‘Even in the lake’. This meaning and function of the word were crucial then in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>497</sup> Furthermore, the word *suw*

<sup>493</sup> Mesudî, *Murûc ez-Zeheb*, 75.

<sup>494</sup> Maḥmud al-Kāşğarî, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, 386.

<sup>495</sup> Carl Brockelman, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd Al-Kāşğarîs Divān Luḡāt at-Türk* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1928), 202; Kaşğarlı Maḥmut, *Divan-ı Lügat-it-Türk Tercümesi -I-*, trans. B. Atalay, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Ankara: TDK, 1995), 528; Kaşğarlı Maḥmud, *Divānu Lügāti ’t-Türk. Giriş Metin Çeviri Notlar Dizin*, trans. A. B. Ercilasun and Z. Akkoyunlu (Ankara: TDK, 2014), 229; Talat Tekin, “Karahanlı Dönemi Türk Şiiri”, *Türk Dili* 51, 409 (January 1986), 119.

<sup>496</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 512.

<sup>497</sup> Bilgehan A. Gökdağ, “Urmîye Ağızlarında *Bile* Zamirinin Kullanımı”, in *Türk-Moğol Araştırmaları. Prof. Dr. Tuncer Gülensoy Armağanı*, ed. Bülent Gül (Ankara: TKAE, 2012), 168.

‘water’ in the second row refers to a water mass before it. Thus, *teŋ* should necessarily be ‘lake’.

We need to refer to the geological nature of the Don-Azov region. Firstly, the two were not separable due to the very width and slowness of the river. For instance, the Khazarian castle Sarkel on the Don, which was 250 km from the mouth of the river, was described in some medieval sources as if it were on the sea coast. Thus, a word denoting a stable water mass might be used for streaming water. Indeed, there is no need to look at the nature of rivers. For example, the Persian *darya* ‘sea’ is used for the two great rivers of Central Asia, the Amu Darya and Sir Darya. We touched upon this usage in the Hungarian part. The second particularity is that lakes and swamps are not separable in the region. The early medieval Latin name of the Azov displays this: *Palus Maeotidis* ‘Maeotian Marches’. According to legendary accounts, Huns and then Hungarians came from beyond those marches thanks to the guidance of a deer. Surely, neither Huns nor Hungarians crossed the Azov Sea? What the sources mean here is the river Don.

The word in Mahmud of Kashgar is unique. No other source and no any Turkic dialect know it as far as we know. This is very interesting and may be a helpful factor. On the other hand, ‘distant’ Altaic languages have similar words: Proto-Tungus *\*tēŋ* ‘(3) pool, (4) wide lake’; and Proto-Japanese *\*tani* ‘valley’. Thus, Starostin et al. reconstruct Proto-Turkic *\*tEŋ* ‘pool, big river.’ The first meaning is taken from Mahmud of Kashgar, and the second is nothing other than the Middle Turkic and Ottoman name of the river Don.<sup>498</sup> Furthermore, they relate the Common Turkic *tengiz* ‘sea’ (< Proto-Turkic *\*deŋgir* > Bulgaric *\*tengir* > Hungarian *tenger* ‘sea’; Mongolian *tengis* ‘sea’ is a late loanword from Turkic) to that word. Thus, it appears that the word in the poem indeed survives in one of the most popular Turkic words.

But Starostin et al. reconstruct the primordial form as *\*tēŋà* ‘lowland’, relying on the primary meaning in Manchu-Tungus. Interestingly, Iranic has *\*dan(u)/dan(a)* with the same meaning, but it is not tied to *danu* ‘river’.<sup>499</sup> It has a few IE cognates in the West, though not in the exact sense. The Iranic verb *dan-* ‘to flow’, which is certainly related to the meaning of ‘river’, also has a few cognates, although *danu* ‘river’ is confined solely to Iranic (indeed only to the Avestan and Ossetian).<sup>500</sup> So, who loaned from whom? Is it only a coincidence? Whatever happened in the Bronze Age is difficult to set up at the moment, but it is very clear that

<sup>498</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*, 1417.

<sup>499</sup> Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ iranskih jazykov -II-*, 331.

<sup>500</sup> Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ iranskih jazykov -II-*, 326.

Turks called the Don by their own word *Ten*, and the word Don likely belongs to the Iranian Alans. Therefore, the earlier occurring *Tanais* for that river is hardly an Iranian word.<sup>501</sup>

Back to the Dnieper's Greek name *Borysthenes*; after the first component *boris* 'leopard', one may see the Turkic *ten* 'river, lake' in the second part. This would be a meaningful explanation. We deal with the early Scythian epoch in Eastern Europe with these lexical data.

Above, we cited the explanation that the river *Troullos* in Konstantinos Porphyrogenitus will be the Turkic name of the Dniester: Turla. That river is called *Tyras* in the Herodotus-Ptolemeus line. Except for the phonetic resemblance, we have nothing to tie those forms. As the second syllable *-la* in the Turkic name is a suffix, one can look for the bare form of the word *tur* in *Tyras*, but this would be entirely hypothetical. However, the late Turkic *Bucak* and the ancient *Peuke* for the northwest corner of the Black Sea might also contain such a case. We will elaborate this below.

The *DAI* of Porphyrogenitus from the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century mentions, apart from the above five great rivers, many streams of Eastern Europe that can only be explained in Turkic. Some of them we examined in the Hungarian chapter. Some rivers still keep their Turkic names like Kalančak (ancient Hypakyris). Even the Southern Bug has a Turkic name: *Aksu* 'White River'. I need to set a comparative view. Turks were in Anatolia for 950 years. Of the 16 greatest rivers, only four have Turkish names: the Seyhan, Ceyhan, Murat and Porsuk. The first two are transmitted from Central Asia: the Seyhun (Sir Darya) and Ceyhun (Amu Darya). Four rivers are named according to their colour: Kızılırmak 'Red River', Yeşilirmak 'Green River', Göksu 'Blue River', and Karasu 'Black River'. All the others are from the pre-Turkish period: the Meriç, Sakarya, Gediz, Menderes, Fırat, Dicle, Çoruh and Aras. The city names are far more surprising. A great majority of Turkish city names still bear their pre-Turkish names.

Can we explain this with the culturally unconcerned behavior of the Turks? No, they were not like that. They kept their cultural identity too,

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<sup>501</sup> There are place names in Turkey and Azerbaijan, and likely elsewhere also, such as *Dana Deresi*, lit. 'calf brook', but meaning indeed 'valley of brook' (Bilgehan A. Gökdağ, "Akhun, Hazar, Peçenek, Sabir ve Kıpçak Etnonimlerinin Giresun Yer Adlarındaki İzleri", *Türk Dünyası Tarih Dergisi* 202 (October 2003), 45). Calf is not a peculiar appellative noun of the cattle kind, and other cattle names are not used in place names with a few exceptional cases (Cf. *İngek Köl* 'the Lake Cow' of the Kök Türk time, or the famous *Oxford*. The *dana* place names are restricted to valleys. It is not impossible that they keep memories of such a word as *tana* 'brook, valley'.

and transformed the wide country to be Turkish. In contrast, Turks in Eastern Europe were constantly assimilated among the autochthonous peoples. But they had their own names for East European rivers. Furthermore, those names were transmitted to the succeeding Turkic groups and kept by the new ages, until the rise of Russia. Interestingly, those Turkic river names were not loaned to other peoples, but were saved as peculiar national emblems. A possible explanation, plausible to my mind, is that there had always been a significant and solid Turkic population to the north of the Black Sea from deep antiquity onwards. The same is also true for Western Turkistan, the southern and western parts of which were allegedly inhabited only by Iranian populations by the late medieval. The rivers Sir Darya and Amu Darya, called today the Seyhun and Ceyhun respectively by the Turks, had the ancient Turkic names *Yenci* (*İnci* ‘Pearl’) and *Ögüz*. Moreover, their tributaries stemming from the mountainous ranges environing Central Asia in the south each had one Turkic and one Iranian name during the Middle Ages.<sup>502</sup> This too can be explained by an early Turkic presence in the west of ancient Central Asia.

Another place name that may have a Turkic connection is Peuce, roughly the northwest corner of the Black Sea between Prut and Dniester. It was called *Bucak* ‘corner’ in the Ottoman administrative system, being about 9000 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>503</sup> The name first appears in a 1609 book. This late appearance might remind us that it was an Ottoman production. However, there are two reasons that should prevent us from thinking this. Ottoman records use or prefer existing Turkic names in the region, as seen in the river names discussed above. The other reason is that we have another record mentioning the name of the region from the early medieval with the same ‘corner’ meaning.

The Byzantine chronicler of the early 9<sup>th</sup> century Theophanes writes that after the Great Bulgar Empire dismembered in the late 670s, of the five sons/inheritors of the Bulgar khan Kubrat, “the third brother called Asparuk crossed the Danapris and Danastris rivers that are farther north than the Danube and on reaching the Oglos, settled between the former and latter, since he judged that place to be secure...”<sup>504</sup> Nikephoros, writing in the same days, repeats the same story: “The remaining third brother, called Asparuk, crossed the rivers Danapris and Danastris and

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<sup>502</sup> W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: Gibb Memorial Trust, 1968), esp. 68-69.

<sup>503</sup> Kemal Karpat, “Bucak”, in *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi -VI-*, (İstanbul: TDV, 1992), 341; Aurel Decei, “Bucak”, in *İslam Ansiklopedisi -II-*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Eskişehir: MEB, 1997), 742.

<sup>504</sup> Theophanes, *The Chronicle*, 498.

settled near the Istros (Danube), where he found a suitable place for habitation, called Onglos in their language.”<sup>505</sup> There is a good literature on this fortified site of Asparuk.<sup>506</sup>

The word Ὀγγλος is thought to be the common Slavic *оґль* ‘corner’ (cognate of the English *angle*). Cf. Rus. *угол*, Ukr. *вугол*, Bulg. *ъгъл*, Serb. *уґаи/уґао*, Cro. and Bos. *ugao*, Sloven *vogel*, Czech *uhel*, Slovak *uhol*, Pol. *wegiel*.<sup>507</sup> This is clearly a semantic predecessor of the Ottoman name. Maybe Ottomans loaned that meaning from local Slavs, or rightly from the Vlachs (Vallachians) of Bogdan (a greater version of what is now Moldavia). The toponym Onglos is thought to be a Slavic translation of the name given by the Turks, at least the Huns, Bulgars and Avars, who were there before the Slavs.<sup>508</sup> A good proof for the fact that it was not taken by the Turks from the Slavs is that there is no Slavic name of the region in the past and present, but all Slavic peoples around and Romanians use the name *Bucak*. This cannot be seen as an Ottoman or Tatar attempt to Turkify the place name, since other names in the region were taken as they were: Eflak (Vallachia), Boğdan, Erdel, Dobruca, Podolya, etc. Otherwise, Turks might have translated *Dobrudja*, for example, as *İyice*. Thus, the Ὀγγλος in the Byzantine sources seems to be a temporary translation of the original Turkic name by the Slavic informants to the Byzantines. Then, what was that name, if not Bucak?

*The Armenian Geography* of Ananias, giving the same account of Theophanes and Nikephoros about the migration of Asparukh, replaces the Slavic word with *Peukē*.<sup>509</sup> This is between the Danube and Dniester. It was recorded and described in the previous (6<sup>th</sup>) century by Jordanes who says that *Peucē* is an island in the ‘mouth’ of the Danube, and there live the *Peucini* people.<sup>510</sup> They were a part of the Bastarnians, a Germanic or Celtic tribe, who had settled there and were named after that place.<sup>511</sup> Jordanes’ information seems to come from Strabon, who says that “near the islands of Ister (Danube) River, there is a great island called Peuce;

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<sup>505</sup> Nikephoros, *Short History*, 89.

<sup>506</sup> See for instance Alexandru Madgearu, “Recent Discussions about Onglos”, in *Istro-Pontica. Muzeul tulcean la a 50-a aniversare 1950-2000*, eds. M. Iacob, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu and F. Topoleanu (Tulcea: Muzeul tulcean, 2000), 343-344.

<sup>507</sup> Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ ruskogo jazyka -IV-*, 145.

<sup>508</sup> Decei, “Bucak”, 743; Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ ruskogo jazyka -I-*, 229.

<sup>509</sup> Hewsens, *The Geography of Ananias of Širak*, 48.

<sup>510</sup> Jordanes, *The Gothic History of Jordanes*, 77.

<sup>511</sup> Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 44.

and when the Bastarnians took possession of it they received the appellation of Peucini.”<sup>512</sup> Strabon mentions them on a few occasions too. Plinius Secundus gives the same name: “The first mouth of it (Danube) is Peuces, soon after the island of Peuce itself.”<sup>513</sup> As for Ptolemy, he too mentions the Peucini and the Bastarnae above Dacia (today Romania proper), beside the Peuce mountains.<sup>514</sup>

Since this place name is absent from Herodotus as far as I know, it should be a remnant of the early Sarmatian (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) or late Scythian age. More detailed information about these Peucini “whom some men call Bastarnae” can be found in Tacitus’ *Germania*, written c. 100 AD, according to whom this eventually Germanic tribe was under the Sarmatian influence due to intermarriages between them.<sup>515</sup> The latter came there earlier than the Germanic peoples, so we may conclude that the Bastarnae, as well as other peoples, learned and loaned the place name of Peuce from the Sarmatians. It is interesting that, like the previous river names, this name survived to the early Middle Ages in contrast to the Bastarnae who ceased being an ethnic community after the Gothic age in the region.

In contrast to the above-mentioned Theophanes and Nikephoros writing about the Bulgar migration one and a half centuries later, in 679, the migration was hot news for the person who updated the *Armenian Geography* in the 680s, which was likely written originally in the 640s. Although often referring to the Ptolemaic terminology, the book contains fresh accounts especially about the Bulgars and Khazars in those days. It gives some place and river names not occurring in ancient geographies. Can we assume that the name *Peukē* is not an archaism, but approval of the continuation of the name under the Bulgars? If this is so, which seems likely, then the Slavic subjects of the Bulgar khanate informing the Byzantines translated that name into their own language as Ongl(os). Therefore, does *Peukē* mean ‘corner’?

Turkic has *bük* ‘corner; the corner post of a house’.<sup>516</sup> This has geographical applications denoting the terrain by water masses, especially where rivers curl up. Areas just inland of the bays in coastal regions are also so-called. Those places are necessarily plains.<sup>517</sup> These definitions suit

<sup>512</sup> *The Geography of Strabo -V-*, 217 (VII/3/15).

<sup>513</sup> *Pliny’s Natural History -IV-*, 26.

<sup>514</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 80.

<sup>515</sup> Tacitus, *Dialogus, Agricola, Germania*, trans. W. Peterson (London and New York: Willam Heinemann, 1914), 331.

<sup>516</sup> Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, 324.

<sup>517</sup> *Derleme Sözlüğü -II-* (Ankara: TDK, 1965), 814-816.

the position of Bucak in the north of the Black Sea. The primary meaning is ‘corner part’. Starostin and his companions believed that the essential meaning was geographical and suggested these cognates under the Altaic \**bük* ‘e ‘hill, mound’: Proto-Tungus \**būKa* ‘island’ (island < hill, in their view), Proto-Mongol *buka* ‘canal, haycock, shock’, Proto-Turk \**bük* ‘wood, forest, hill, meadow, valley between mountains’, and Proto-Korean \**puk* ‘heaping of earth’.<sup>518</sup> If this relation is true, it reflects the Turkic habitation of dropping the last vowel. Some examples from Proto-Bulgar like *qana sübigi* ‘khan sübigi’<sup>519</sup> show that Proto-Bulgar, and thus Proto-Turkic preserved the last vowels. Therefore, the last letter in *Peuke* can be comprehended. The antique name of that region seems to be Turkic.

As for the connection of *bucak* and *bük*, the two outstanding etymology books do not tie them together. According to Clauson, *bucak* comes from the verb *biç-* ‘to cut, crop’ > *biçğa:k* ‘something cut off, segment’, and became *buçgak* by labial assimilation at a very early date > ‘corner’.<sup>520</sup> Sevortjan supports him: *buçak* ‘ulog, povorot, uglublenie, kray, konets, okraina, storona, oblost’, *bucak* < *biç-*.<sup>521</sup> But Turkic has *biçak* ‘knife’ of the same development, and it has nothing to do with corner or the like. While Turkic has both *bük* and *bucak* of the same meaning, it would be more plausible to look for a connection between them. We may refer to the comparative adjective maker *-cak/-cek*. There are many examples for its use, even one with a phonetically close stance: *bök* ‘insect’ > *bök* + *cek* > *böcek* ‘insect’. The diminutive meaning of the secondary word was forgotten in time. Thus, *bük* ‘corner’ > *bük* + *cek* ‘little corner’ > *bucak* ‘corner’. The vocal change *ü* > *u* is up to the wishes of the people. Cf. the above verb *biç-* ‘to cut’, from then normally *biçki* ‘sawing’, but also *biçak* ‘knife’. The latter should be *biçek* as a rule, but it is not. Sometimes both vowel kinds are visible: *burçak* and *bürçek* ‘vetch’. I’m not sure whether we have medieval records of the name *Peuke* after the *Armenian Geography*. We can hypothetically say that it changed to the form *Bucak*

<sup>518</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*, 380-381.

<sup>519</sup> The inscription written by (the order of) Omurtak in c. 814 has the words “qana sübigi Omurtak”. According to Beševliev, the *-a* in *qana* is a possessive, thus it means “Omurtak, commander-in-chief of the Khan” (Beševliev, *Ръно-Вългарски Надписи*, 66-67). However, Omurtak was then the supreme ruler of the country; he himself was ‘khan’. Thus, the text should be read as “the khan (and) commander-in-chief Omurtak”.

<sup>520</sup> Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, 294.

<sup>521</sup> E. V. Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov “B”* (Moskva: Nauka, 1978), 282-283.



in the Tatar ages, which would be easily extended to the previous Kuman ages, and the Ottomans took it from those Turks living there.

It seems that a detailed and elaborative study will display many more clues in the ancient toponymi and ethnonymi of Eastern Europe for the early presence of Turks there. I'll finish the course with a last example. Plinius Secundus writes in a passage that "The Scythians themselves give the name 'Chorsari' to the Persians, and they call Mount Caucasus Graucasis, which means 'white with snow'".<sup>522</sup> According to Abaev and Trubačev, Chorsari is the Iranian *xor-sar* 'red-head',<sup>523</sup> indeed 'sun-head'. They both refer to the well-known Turkic analogy *Kızılbaş* 'Red-Head' denoting Shiite Turks of Iran and Anatolia in the new ages. Trubačev etymologises the name Graucasis in 'Old Indian' as *\*girau-kasi* 'shine on the mount'.<sup>524</sup> Well, where is the "white with snow"? Where are the red-heads, and why are they called that?

The sentence is indeed very absurd and complicated. The paragraph is about the names of Scythians and their tribes. There is nothing to do with the Caucasus before and after this sentence. It is an injection by an author who was not sure about it. He was likely one of the sources of Plinius, and not he himself. Can we correct the sentence in such a way that the Scythians called the Caucasus in this way and the Persians called it in that way? It is our right and logical expectation.

It seems there is no plausible Iranian word for *-kas(i)*, except for *Kas*, the native name of the mount according to Trubačev, which is related to the ancient people, Caspians, who had nothing to do with Arians (cf. the Mount Kazbek): "Caucasus is called Caspius by the natives".<sup>525</sup> Then we may reach the meaning 'Great Kas' through the Iranian words *\*kara/xara* 'great, gigantic' or *\*gar-/\*grā* 'to glorify'.<sup>526</sup> Or perhaps we should refer to *\*gar/\*gr* 'to burn'<sup>527</sup> in order to reach 'the Shining (Brilliant, White) Kas', if it is not *Gari Kas* 'the Mount Kas' < *\*gari* 'mount'.<sup>528</sup>

Then, what is *Chorsari*? If Persians and Scythians were of the same stock, why are their words so different? And where should we put "white with snow"? Almost all contemporary Turkic languages have *kar* 'snow'

<sup>522</sup> Pliny's *Natural History -II-*, 34 (VI/19).

<sup>523</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 181; Trubačev, *Indoarica v Severnom Pričernomor'e*, 11.

<sup>524</sup> Trubačev, *Indoarica v Severnom Pričernomor'e*, 191-193, 238, 247.

<sup>525</sup> Strabon -V-, 209 (XI/2/15).

<sup>526</sup> Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar' iranskih jazykov -IV-*, 280; -III-, 177.

<sup>527</sup> Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar' iranskih jazykov -III-*, 160.

<sup>528</sup> Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar' iranskih jazykov -III-*, 191.

and *sari* ‘yellow’, but it was ‘white’ in Old Turkic.<sup>529</sup> Today Turks say *karbeyaz* to express the degree of whiteness: ‘too white’. Then, it was *karsari* in Old Turkic, which seems to be nothing other than the *Chorsari* of Plinius. That is, Scythians used to use Turkic words. Furthermore, it is not a proper act to derive *Caucasus* from that *Graucasis*, because the former name occurs well before the latter.<sup>530</sup> If we have an original name *Kas* and if the ancient Turks also used it, like the Persians, then *Kov Kas* would mean ‘White Kas’, cf. Old Turkic *kuv* ‘pale, pale yellow’.<sup>531</sup> Thus, all questions are solved.

There might also be some cultural mementos of interactions from those ages. *Ouranus* (Arian *Varuna*) can be compared to the widespread Turkic *Veren* (now *Evren* ‘Cosmos’), the dragon that turns the world, namely the wheel of time. It is clearly accepted as a loanword from the Indo-Arians to Turkic, though it is not impossible to suggest such a Turkic verbal origin as *evir-* ‘to turn’, thus *evren* being ‘that turning’.<sup>532</sup> But *Kiyant*, the name

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<sup>529</sup> Above we have seen that the name of the Saraguri tribe was translated into Russian as *Belye Ugry* ‘White Ogurs’. Earlier, many scholars noticed that the name of the Khazar castle Sarkel was translated into Arabic, Greek and Russian as ‘white’ castle, tower, city’, etc. (Károly Czeglédy, “Šarkel: An Ancient Turkish Word for House”, in *Aspects of Altaic Civilization. Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference Held at Indiana University, June 4-9 1962*, ed. D. Sinor (Bloomington and The Hague: Indiana University Publ., 1963), 23-26; Lajos Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai és ami körülöttük van -I-* (Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 1977), 303). They referred to the Chuvash *šura/šur* ‘white’. Ob-Ugor Mansi and Samoyedic Nenec peoples also have similar words, respectively *sayr* and *sera/ser* ‘white’ (Egorov, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ čuvaškogo jazyka*, 339). That Mongolian and Hungarian have the same word with the meaning ‘yellow’ may be due to a medieval influence, since Chuvash also has *sari* ‘yellow’, clearly taken from Tatar. Current data show that the Bulgaro-Oguric milieu used it as ‘white’, but one can easily extend it to the Proto-Turkic, since we have several examples from the -z speaking area like *Sari Türgish* in contrast to the *Kara* ‘Black’ *Türgish*. A dichotomy in tribal unions used to be expressed with ‘black’ (the greater and mostly late-comers, namely the outer part) and ‘white’ (the lesser and mostly founders/nobles, namely the inner part). Using *sari* instead of the expected *ak* ‘white’ in the early Common Turkic age is likely a habit from the Proto-Turkic age.

<sup>530</sup> The name *Caucasus* occurs firstly in the ‘Prometheus Bonud’ tragedia of Aeschylus c. 460 BC (*The Tragedies of Aeschylus -II-*, trans. E. H. Plumptre (London: Strahan and Co., 1868) 137, 151). One generation after, Herodotus describes it on a few occasions.

<sup>531</sup> Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, 581.

<sup>532</sup> Parpola, “The Coming of the Aryans to Iran and India”, 250, says that *Varuna* was accepted by the Aryans from the *Dāsa*. If that is the case, then Turks should

of the monster killed by the eponymous Oghuz Qagan, is a hapax legomenon. It sounds like the *Giants* of Greek mythology, which were born of Ouranus. It is interesting that the serpent-like Giants prefer to fight with heroes, and not with common people.<sup>533</sup> The activities of Oghuz focus around the river Volga and the Caucasus. The time and place of the interaction should be the northern Black Sea coasts colonised by the Greeks.

Tepegöz, the one-eyed creature that cannot be killed in the *Book of Dede Korkut* has drawn the attention of many folklorists since the book was discovered. They compared it with the *Polyphemus* of Greek mythology, which was inserted into the *Odyssey* from another source. A good comparison of them was made by Mundy who, however, takes the Turkish version as tales of Anatolian Turks and does not know about its earlier phases. Thus, the author explains the name Tepegöz as a loanword from the Greek *Sarantapihos* (*saranta* ‘forty’, *pihos* ‘cubit’) > *tapihos* > *Tepegöz*, by confessing that it cannot be proven.<sup>534</sup> A minimum level of knowledge of Turkic would be sufficient in order not to produce such an etymology. *Tepegöz* ‘top-eye’ would be the normal and formal appellation in Turkic of a gigantic creature having one eye on its head. *The Book of Dede Korkut* is a history book indeed, derived from oral tradition, without having many extraordinary scenes. It was brought to Anatolia from Central Asia likely within the last Turkmen waves before the Mongols in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the main theme goes back to the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when the Oghuz were still not Muslims. In most of the content, the stories are not even legendary. The tales about Tepegöz and the killing of a dragon by Salur Kazan Beg were likely inserted into the original content of the book, for those events were related to the main actors of the book. That the Tepegöz tale is more complete than the Polyphem tale does not provide, of course, any supremacy. On the other hand, the latter is not an invention but an adoption of Homeros.<sup>535</sup>

What can be said in sum is that, in spite of the great chronological gap between the Homeric and Oghuz traditions (since the Polyphem tale is an

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have their own word and conception, or it belongs, at least, to the wider Central Asian or Eurasian cultural milieu.

<sup>533</sup> Marie Delcourt and Robert L. Rankin, “The Last Giants”, *History of Religions* 4, 2 (Winter 1965), 211.

<sup>534</sup> C. S. Mundy, “Polyphemus and Tepegöz”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 18, 2 (1956), 287-288.

<sup>535</sup> Justin Glenn, “The Polyphemus Folktale and Homer’s *Kyklôpeia*”, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 102 (1971), 141-142.

interpolation to the *Odyssey*,<sup>536</sup> this gap may be smaller, as it may belong to a post-Homeric production) both of them possibly take the core of the narration from an earlier tradition which seems to become universal as that same figure exists in medieval France and Iraq too.<sup>537</sup> Early antique Black Sea coasts are a plausible place for such an interaction. Maybe everybody has a share of a Caucasian production, as Hackman once said in 1904.<sup>538</sup>

Sinor examines some of these data like the river name *Daikh* in Ptolemy and accepts the early Turkic appearance in ‘Western Central Eurasia’, but not “with a 100 per-cent certainty”.<sup>539</sup> Our examination showed the Turkic presence even in the Scythian period in ‘Western Eurasia’ or ‘Eastern Europe’, and ‘Western Central Eurasia’ seems in those ages to be heavily populated by the Turks. Hence, we need to travel to Eastern Europe a little bit more.

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<sup>536</sup> Mundy, “Polyphemus and Tepegöz”, 291.

<sup>537</sup> Glenn, “The Polyphemus Folktale and Homer’s *Kyklôpeia*”, 135 ff. Oriental versions are not restricted to the Sinbad story examined by Glenn. They were collected by Jean L. Comhaire, “Oriental Versions of Polyphem’s Myth”, *Anthropological Quarterly* 31, 1 (1958), 21-28.

<sup>538</sup> Comhaire, “Oriental Versions of Polyphem’s Myth”, 21.

<sup>539</sup> Denis Sinor, “Early Turks in Western Central Eurasia, Accompanied by Some Thoughts on Migrations”, *Studia Ottomanica. Festgabe für György Hazai zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele und Peter Zieme (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 166, 169, 174.

## CHAPTER 9

### SCANDINAVIA, ODIN AND TURKLAND

Today, the countries which are seen as the grandchildren of the Vikings or Norsemen are Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. They are Germanic peoples, meaning, their ethnic and linguistic roots are the same as those of Germans and Englishmen.

The romances or heroic sagas of these men of the North which were told for centuries in an oral tradition began to be written down in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. There are more than 40 sagas. The beginnings of these sagas are of epic and even legendary content as expected, and as the pages move on, more historical features come forward. By the way, in Turkic culture, poems or poetic verses recited when wailing for someone's death are called *sagu*, and many Turks think that this is related to the English word *saga*. The latter, however, cognate with the verb *say*, comes from Proto-Germanic \**saʒō(n)*,<sup>540</sup> and has no direct connection with the Turkic word.

The most important and famous saga is known to be the one written in the year 1230 by a priest named Snurri Sturrluson. The academic name of that saga book is *Heimskringla* 'Earth's circle'. The beginning sections tell of the roots of the Norwegian dynasty *Ynglinga*. Sturrluson wrote about this 10 years earlier as well, in his poetical work called *Prose Edda*.

To sum up the introductory paragraphs of the saga, shared also by some other contemporary sagas, the founding father of the North is the great hero and sage Odin. He was a warrior king who was afterwards divinised and made a God. The majority of the sagas mention him. This man came with his folk from a place called *Turkland*. In the parts where he was seen as a man, he shone with his bravery and also with his power of magic. Therefore, he was seen as the founder of the runic script which was then seen as a representation of the magic, since the word 'run' meant magic.<sup>541</sup>

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<sup>540</sup> Orel, *A Handbook of Germanic Etymology*, 311.

<sup>541</sup> Tineke Looijenga, *Texts and Contexts of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 80; Kathleen L. Daly, *Norse Mythology A to Z* (New York: Infobase, 2004), 78.

Scandinavian runic writing is similar to the carved writing used by Turks and other relative nations. Of course, the two are different alphabets, having different letters and some common letters are read with different sounds sometimes. This is only natural as even today, the alphabets of Czech and Polish or Spanish and French have different letters in their Latin alphabets and some letters are read differently, despite the people and languages concerned being closely intimate. And even in the Scandinavian runic script, one sign might have at least five different forms,<sup>542</sup> and there is no need to reckon its chronological and regional diversification. As for the Turkic script, Kyzlasov suggests two ultra-groups, and they are divided into different groups within: 1) Asian: Yenisei, Orhon and Talas, and 2) Eurasian: Don, Kuban, Ačiktaš, Isfarin and South Yenisei.<sup>543</sup>

Through the sagas, it is possible to track the historical reasons as to why the Scandinavian and Turkic runic scripts are very similar: “The country east of the Tanaquisl (Don) in Asia was called Asaland, or Asaheim, and the chief city in that land was Asgaard. In that city was a chief called Odin... Odin was a great and very far-travelled warrior.”<sup>544</sup>

This information that Sturrluson gave is a historical fact. The As people of South Kazakhstan origin had spread as far as the Don river in the west by the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD, according to Czeglédý.<sup>545</sup> It is difficult and maybe absurd to tie it with ‘Asia’, but the name of the Sea of Azov likely comes from them.<sup>546</sup> The ‘Asii’ were first recorded by Strabon,

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<sup>542</sup> Looijenga, *Texts and Contexts of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions*, 9.

<sup>543</sup> Igor L. Kyzlasov, *Runičeskie pis'mennosti evrazijskih stepej* (Moskva: Vostočnaja literatura, 1994), 236.

<sup>544</sup> Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla: The Norse King Sagas*, trans. S. Laing (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1930), 8; Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, trans. L. M. Hollander (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 7. The same account is repeated in the story Thátrr Sörli taken from the long *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason* (N. Kershaw (trans.), “The Thátrr Sörli”, in *Stories and Ballads of the Far Past*, ed. Nora K. Chadwick (Cambridge: CUP, 1921), 43).

<sup>545</sup> Czeglédý, “From East to West”, 32, 50.

<sup>546</sup> Nikonov, *Kratkij toponimičeskij slovar'*, 17. Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka -I-*, 63, argues that the term comes from Turkic *azak* ‘low land’, and the Russian form *Azov* came from the Crimean Tatar. However, a word like this is not known in Turkic, also it is not possible to establish an equivalence from Common Turkic *Azak* to the Crimean Tatar *Azov*, which was clearly taken from Russian. *Azak* may contain an Old Turkic plural *-k*, which would be represented by *-ov* in Slavic. This linguistic relation is totally hypothetical, of course, but the early Rus' might have produced it by themselves, independent of the Turkic supposed plural suffix, for the As were living just on the eastern coasts of the Azov, with

according to whom they, the “Pasiani, Tochari and Sacarauli, who originally came from the country on the other side of the Iaxartes River (Sir Darya)”, took away Bactriana from the Greeks.<sup>547</sup> The latter country is simply north of Afghanistan. Here is an allied attack from the steppe direction. Pompeius Trogus of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC also relates this event: “... Scythian peoples, the Saraucae and the Asiani invaded Bactria and Sogdiana.”<sup>548</sup> According to *Shi-chi*,<sup>549</sup> the Yüeh-chih did it, who were expelled from the north of China by the Huns. Thus, they are identified with the Tocharians.

Another passage of Pompeius Trogus mentioning “the Asiani kings of the Tochari and the destruction of the Saraucae”<sup>550</sup> may explain why we now have only two peoples, and what happened then. It seems the Yüeh-chih controlled all around and became masters of Central Asia in the first years of their arrival. *Shi-chi* mentions their victories over the local people.<sup>551</sup> Furthermore, K’ang-chue is said in those days (120s BC) to have acknowledged nominal sovereignty both to the Yüeh-chih in their south and the Huns in the east.<sup>552</sup> The steppe alliance and balance of power were very temporary in nature, and changed afterwards: To comment on the account of Trogus, the Tochari coming from the north of China were eventually subdued by the Asi, and the Saraucae were destroyed. Then the Asi became the dominant force of Central Asia, their country being named after K’ang-chue in Chinese sources. In the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, they were, together with the Wu-sun, the most powerful nation of Central Asia in the Chinese eyes.<sup>553</sup>

To the northwest of K’ang-chue were the Yen-ts’ai ai people in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC according to the Chinese sources.<sup>554</sup> Towards the end of the BC ages, that name was replaced by Alan(-liao), which became a common

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whom Kiev troops clashed in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The minor linguistic problem is that the Russian primary chronicle reads it as (*Jas (Povest’ vremennyh let po Lavrent’evskoj letopisi*, trans. D. S. Lihačev and B. A. Romanov (Moskva and Leningrad: Nauka, 1950), 47) like the Hungarian form, and not *Az* as in the medieval Turkic spelling.

<sup>547</sup> *The Geography of Strabo -V-*, 261 (XI/2/8/2).

<sup>548</sup> Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 17.

<sup>549</sup> Ssu’ma Ch’ien, *Records of the Grand Historian -II-*, 265; *Çin Kaynaklarında Türkler*, 30, 36.

<sup>550</sup> Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 17.

<sup>551</sup> Ssu’ma Ch’ien, *Records of the Grand Historian of China -II-*, 268.

<sup>552</sup> Ssu’ma Ch’ien, *Records of the Grand Historian of China -II-*, 267.

<sup>553</sup> *Çin Kaynaklarında Türkler*, 37-38.

<sup>554</sup> Ssu’ma Ch’ien, *Records of the Grand Historian*, 267; *Çin Kaynaklarında Türkler*, 15.

name of various tribes.<sup>555</sup> It is difficult to know the degree that the power of K'ang-chue, namely the Asi, extended to the Yen-ts'ai, namely Alans, but for some reasons unknown to us considerable numbers of both peoples moved towards Europe. Al-Bîrûnî says confidently that the Alans and As migrated from Khwarezm to the North Caucasus because of drought.<sup>556</sup> This seems plausible, for the same reason caused several other Central Asian peoples too, to migrate in the same direction, as seen in the previous chapter, especially in the Bulgar context.

In consequence, Alans were on the scene of Eastern Europe in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. They even appeared in Rome individually, as reflected in an erotic poem of Valerius Martialis, and made Trans-Danubian attacks on Roman soil as mentioned by Seneca. Valerius Flaccus, who wrote almost in the same days as the famous Plinius Secundus, also mentions them.<sup>557</sup> The latter approves all of these by locating the Alani, together with their relatives the Rhozalani, just to the east of the Carpathians.<sup>558</sup> East European river names of possibly Iranic origin appear only after that. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, according to Cassius Dio, Suetonius, and the so-called Hegešippus, translator into Latin of J. Flavius, they came from the north in 135 and attacked Albania and Media.<sup>559</sup> Perhaps Tacitus, too, mentions the same events attributed by him to the Sarmatians.<sup>560</sup> Ptolemeus locates the

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<sup>555</sup> Umut Üren, *Avrasya'nın Bozkır Halkları Alanlar ve Aslar* (Ankara: Akçağ, 2018), 72.

<sup>556</sup> Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 197. His sources are not clear. He had access to Ptolemeus (Arabic 'Batlamyus') without doubt, but the latter does not tell of such a case. Al-Bîrûnî says in another book of his that the famous Qutaibe, conqueror of southern Central Asia in the name of Arabs between 705 and 715, killed or expelled literate men and priests of the Khwarezmians and exterminated their books (Birûnî, *Maziden Kalanlar (El-Âsâr el-Bâkiye)*, trans. D. A. Batur (İstanbul: Selenge, 2011), 77-78, 96). He does not say that Qutaibe completed that task, just that he was very busy and could stay there only for a little time. Comparing with Iran, where the pre-Islamic traditions and documents survived to 'liberal' times under the Abbasids, and thus to our times, Khwarezmians might have preserved some old documents or information and Al-Bîrûnî, himself a Central Asian proper, might have used those data of his neighbours.

<sup>557</sup> Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 14, 21, 29.

<sup>558</sup> *The Natural History of Pliny -I-*, 329 (IV/25).

<sup>559</sup> Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 12, 22, 84.

<sup>560</sup> Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 24.



Alani to the east of Maeotis (Azov),<sup>561</sup> and a group of them remained in their homeland near the Aral Lake.<sup>562</sup>

So what about the As people? Ancient sources mention the Alans as the dominant power then in Eastern Europe, but the old mighty Asi do not appear. According to Ptolemy, a group of them lived near the Don, likely to the south of it towards lower Kuban.<sup>563</sup> They remained there for a long time, likely in close proximity to the Black Bulgar remnants mentioned by K. Porphyrogenitus.<sup>564</sup> Their name occurs on a few occasions concerning the Khazars. According to the *Reply* of the Khazarian qagan Joseph written to the Andalusian court in c. 960, the As attacked the Khazaria in alliance with the Oghuz and some other tribes, and the Alans were the only allies of the Khazars.<sup>565</sup> An anonymous Khazar letter known as the *Cambridge Document* or *Schechter Letter* written a little earlier than the *Reply* confirms this.<sup>566</sup> As stated in the Azov footnote above, the Kiev Rus' prince Svyatoslav in 965 "defeated the Khazars and took their city of Bela Veža. He also conquered the Yasi and Kasogs."<sup>567</sup>

As seen, the As and Alans were definitely separate and irrelevant peoples, the former living in the lower Kuban basin and the latter to the north of the Central Caucasus. This is visible in the Mongolian epoch too, when they entered into developments on different occasions and with their own identities. This is supported by Islamic accounts too. For instance, al-Magribî of the 13<sup>th</sup> century puts the Alans among the 'Christianized Turks', and next to them he locates "the As from the Turks".<sup>568</sup> Abu'l-Fidâ, who wrote in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, repeats the same. He says that in the east of Abkhazia there were the Alans, and next to them was a Turkic tribe called As.<sup>569</sup> Earlier, geographers knowing more about the region, never tended to identify the Alans as Turks. Mas'ûdî reserves a detailed chapter for them and does not group them among the Turkic peoples.<sup>570</sup> The same is true for the anonymous *Hudûd al-'Alam*, which on the other

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<sup>561</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 80 (III/5).

<sup>562</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 144 (VI/14). *Ammianus Marcellinus -III-*, 391 (XXXI/2/17), says "the Alani are divided between the two parts of the earth".

<sup>563</sup> Cf. Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 121 (V/8).

<sup>564</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 65.

<sup>565</sup> Kokovcov, *Jevrejsko-Hazaraskaja perezpiska v X veke*, 116-117.

<sup>566</sup> Norman Golb and Omeljan Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982), 113.

<sup>567</sup> *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 84.

<sup>568</sup> Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 203.

<sup>569</sup> Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 249; *Ebü'l-Fidâ Coğrafyası*, trans. R. Şeşen (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2017), 182.

<sup>570</sup> Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 52-53.

hand includes the Qâsak (Western Circassians) country among the Alan subjects.<sup>571</sup> The Qâsak people are the same as the Kasogs of the Russian chronicle.

The situation in Caucasus tells us that Alans and As were different nations. In the year 1404, the Archbishop of Sultaniye (South Azerbaijan) Johannes de Galonifontibus recorded Christian peoples in the Caucasus: “The Greeks, many Armenians, the Zichs, the Goths, the Thats, the Volaks, the Russians, the Circassians, the Leks, the Yass, the Alans, the Avars, Gazikumyks and almost all of them speak the Tartar language.”<sup>572</sup> Of the Tatar language, we should understand the Kipchak dialect of the Kumuks which was the lingua franca in the Caucasus up until the Russian invasion. However, at the first look, there does not seem to be a Turkic people among them, although there were Christian Turks like the Karachay-Balkars known to us in the succeeding centuries (they only converted to Islam in the 18<sup>th</sup> century). The bishop knew all those nations and that they spoke different languages as well; he personally counted 35 languages in the area. If the Alans in the list were referring to the ancestors of the later Ossetians, then, who were the *Yass*? If both the Alans and Yass are ancestors of the Ossetians, then who were the grandfathers of the Karachay-Balkars? Why are the latter absent from the list? And why do the Ossetians, who indeed bear an exonym, an outer name given by the Georgians, and have their own national names of Digor and Iron for their own two groups, call their neighbouring Karachay-Balkars as simply As?<sup>573</sup>

These questions are for the exponents of the established belief that Alan and As are two names of one and same – Iranic – people, if not, they

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<sup>571</sup> *Hudūd al-Ālam. The Regions of the World*, trans. V. Minorsky (London: Luzac and Co., 1937), 53, 161; Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 69. This spread of the Alan towards the Black Sea coasts is mentioned by al-İdrisî too (Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 117-118).

<sup>572</sup> Lajos Tardy, “The Caucasian Peoples and Their Neighbours in 1404”, *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* 32, 1 (1978), 91; Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 159.

<sup>573</sup> Kazi T. Laypanov and İsmail M. Miziyev, *Türk Halklarının Kökeni*, trans. H. Bağcı, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (İstanbul: Selenge, 2010), 139; Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 6. Believing that the Karachay-Balkars should have conquered that region in the Mongol epoch, Minorsky in his commentary to the Alan chapter of *Hudūd*, and indeed to the “the Aş-Digor Alans” of the *Armenian Geography* (cf. below), asserts that the Ossetians transferred their own name ‘As’ to the newcomer Turks (*Hudūd al-Ālam*, 445). I do not know if there is another example in the world of omitting the ethnic name of a neighbour and applying one’s own name to them instead. It would be easier to accept that the newcomers from the lower Kuban basin to the Central Caucasus had As as their name.

were of the same origin and stock. They were not the same people. There are two separate peoples with separate names and with their own separate historical adventures. Except for a few careless geographers like al-Magribî, nobody identifies the Alans with Turkic peoples, while the As have always been among the Turks. It should not be accidental that not only Central Asian Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, Kyrgyz and Uzbeks, but also Bashkirs and Nogays have As/Az tribes in their components.<sup>574</sup> Moreover, the Kök Türk inscriptions of the 730s mention a certain tribal union Az living to the north of the Altai (what is today the Tyva Republic) in the Kyrgyz neighbourhood.<sup>575</sup> They were a reservoir of problems for the Kök Türks.

What happened between the Alans and As in the dark ancient times can be imagined in accordance with the rules of ethnic processes in Eurasia, which were sharply distinct and different from those in the Middle East, Europe or elsewhere. When one tribe extends its domination to another one, the latter willy-nilly adopts the name of the ruling group as its upper identity.<sup>576</sup> Thus, there have always been a couple of layers of identity. The overarching name is the name of the tribe which is the most known, with the biggest tribe usually establishing an imperial polity such as Sarmatian, Scythian (Saka), Turk, Hun and Tatar (the latter were not owners of the role, but their name was applied to the Genghisid Mongols; however, the patterns do not change). Those upper identities are above the tribal identity and the identity of the tribal union. Since the tribes were composed of clans (*uruk* in Turkic as before stated), then any individual in the Eurasian steppe, regardless of his/her linguistic origins, would sometimes have four ethnic identities. Since imperial upper names were not so permanent, normally we should expect three ethnic names for one and the same person, as we have seen in the Hungarian chapter.

In the previous chapter we saw the fate of the Massagets, who were once, in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, so mighty that they defeated the Persians and

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<sup>574</sup> Lezina et al., *Bütün Türk Halkları*, 114-115. The As in the Nogays should be the grandsons of those Kuban As mentioned above in connection with the Khazars and the Rus'. The Central Asian As should have descended from the ancient Kang-chü Asi.

<sup>575</sup> They seem to have recognised the authority of the rival Türgish qaganate. Though their ruler, also with the title qagan, was assigned by the Kök Türks and became a relative of the latter through marriage with a sister of the qagan, he was betrayed under the auspices of the Türgish, and they were eventually conquered and punished by the prince Köli Çor (Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 266, 269-270, 276, 293).

<sup>576</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 5-6.

expelled the state-founding core of the Scythians from Central Asia to Europe. Their remnants, however, would only be parts and components of the later unions. Thus, we have “Massagetæ whom they now call Huns”<sup>577</sup> in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, and likewise “the Massagetæ whom we now call the Alani”<sup>578</sup> in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. This last sentence of Ammianus Marcellinus may help us understand what happened between the Alans and As. He writes: “The Alani, so called from the mountain range of the same name, inhabit the measureless wastes of Scythia; and by repeated victories they gradually wore down the peoples whom they met and like the Persians, incorporated them under their own national name.”<sup>579</sup> “Thus, the Alani whose various peoples it is unnecessary now to enumerate are divided between the two parts of the earth, but although widely separated from each other and roaming over vast tracts, as nomads do, yet in the course of time they have united under one name and are, for short, all called Alani...”<sup>580</sup>

So, the Alans of late antiquity were an extended people with components from various peoples and languages. This Alanic expansion should have included for sure the small As group moving formerly towards the Don basin. Thus, Ammianus Marcellinus never mentions them, and they reappear only in the Bulgaro-Khazar age, after the Huns had radically destroyed the Alan might. And the ‘Asaland’ of the Nordic sagas likely refers to the phase of the As before they came under Alan domination. Nor does the *Armenian Geography*, having great details of the north, have an explicit As. Only in one place does it read “the Aš-Digor Alans”.<sup>581</sup> This is the first occurrence of the name Digor, the western Ossetians, in sources. This phrase seems to indicate the Alan hegemony over the As related by Arabic geographers of the succeeding epoch.

It is hard to postulate that the Viking men of literature had a good read of Latin and Greek sources, and thus they reconstructed a past for themselves from the celebrated parts of the earth. If so, why did they chose the As? As seen, it is very difficult to build a history of the As even in today’s scientific conditions. They were not one of the marvellous peoples of Eurasia for the known periods of history. Even if one supposes that Snorri Sturluson or others opted not to choose great nations like the Huns or Sarmatians, they would have at least gone for other forceful nations such as the Alans or Massagets. Besides, if they liked and preferred the

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<sup>577</sup> Prokopios, *The Wars of Justinian*, 169.

<sup>578</sup> *Ammianus Marcellinus -II-*, 343 (XXIII/5/16).

<sup>579</sup> *Ammianus Marcellinus -III-*, 389 (XXXI/2/16).

<sup>580</sup> *Ammianus Marcellinus -III-*, 391 (XXXI/2/17).

<sup>581</sup> Hewsens, *The Geography of Ananias of Širak*, 55.

As, they would be expected to go to Central Asia, and not to the eastern side of the Don basin, where the As presence was secondary in nature. The fact that they wrote As but not others, clearly shows that their knowledge was based on traditions going to deeper times. One could try to answer the question by arguing that the word *as* denotes ‘god’ in Scandinavian culture and thus they found that word in ancient Eurasia. In that case one needs to explain (1) the linguistic origins of the word that is strange to other domains of not only Germanic, but also the entire Indo-European linguistic family, and (2) the reasons for, again, choosing the Don basin instead of Central Asia.

Maybe, only maybe, there are some other clues for Asaland of Odin. Plinius Secundus mentions the people Udini near the mouth of the Volga,<sup>582</sup> and Ptolemy speaks about the Udon river and Udae people.<sup>583</sup> It is customary and easy to relate it to the so-called ancient Azerbaijani people Uti, but the transitory nature of those names in the north may be due to the transitory nature of the As domination there. It is not strange to observe that a people bears the name of a great ancestor; thus we have eponyms.

Going one step further, the name Udon or Udin may contain a possessive *-(V)n*, thus we may read in Ptolemy *Udea* ‘the \*Ud/Udu’ and *Odon* ‘(river) of \*Ud/Udu’, likewise in Plinius *Udin* ‘(people) of \*Ud/Udu’. I would call attention to the name of the Utrigur/Utigur people living in the east of Azov, who were very significant in the Justinian age North politics (mid-6<sup>th</sup> century). We enumerate them among the Bulgar tribes or Hunnic remnants, but this is not, of course, a definite answer. The Utigurs lived exactly where the As lived before and after the 6<sup>th</sup> century. What did the latter do meanwhile? Why do they disappear from the sources for a while and appear again in the same region? If we leave aside the suffix/word *-gur* used in ethnonyms, there remains *Uti*. Can we think that *Utigur* represents a temporary rise of the sub-tribal name Uti among the As?

Sturrluson continues in *Heimskringla*: “There goes a great mountain barrier from northeast to southwest, which divides the Greater Swithiod from other kingdoms. South of this mountain ridge it is not far to Turkland, where Odin had great possessions.”<sup>584</sup> Greater Swithiod is Russia, applied after (Lesser) Swithiod, namely Sweden, because Russia

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<sup>582</sup> *The Natural History of Pliny -II-*, 26 (VI/15).

<sup>583</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 121-122 (V/8). The river Kuma, cited by Ananias as ‘Udon’ (Hewsen, *The Geography of Ananias of Sirak*, 45, only in the Long Recension). It is read as ‘Awdon’ in the Eremyan edition (*ibid.*, 115).

<sup>584</sup> *Heimskringla*, ed. Laing, 9; *Heimskringla*, ed. Hollander, 8.

had been conquered by the Rus' tribesmen (known also as Varangians) coming from Sweden in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. It is not hard to grasp that this description seems to be indicating today's Azerbaijan. At the time when Sturrluson wrote this, the land of today's Turkey and Azerbaijan had already been seized and populated by Turks and the whole of Europe knew that (therefore, it is a probability that our bishop got the name *Turkland* from there). It might be more than just a coincidence that Sturrluson described the Azerbaijani territory. Odin was controlling the area north of the Caucasus at the time, but maybe his ancestors came from the south in their belief. Then, we could also further argue that it was really the Roman pressure which caused him to leave his country and go north, because in the succeeding sentences the reason for his migration from there is explained by the Roman pressure.<sup>585</sup>

Well, in his earlier book *Prose Edda*, Snorri shows his inclination for such a Turkey: "Near the earth's centre was made that goodliest of homes and haunts that ever have been, which is called Troy, even that which we call Turkland."<sup>586</sup> By referring to the name of the Thracians and by adding to them Thor, he seems to have believed in finding some connections. *Heimskringla* was written ten years later than the *Prose Edda*, and has nothing of those Troian stories, nor, it seems, any solid influence of ancient Greek and Latin traditions. In contrast to the *Edda*, the former is almost full of pure Nordism. It is not difficult to deduce that his further survey revealed to him some of his mistakes in the former book. At the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when Snorri wrote, neither Troy nor Thrace had anything to do with Turkey, but belonged to Byzantium. Western Anatolia was not Turkified or conquered by the Turks in those days. Thus, it seems, he later on left all of these, and turned only to the Scandinavian traditions.

However, the important question is where the *Turkland* was at the time of Odin. Such a literate man as Snorri Sturrluson would know that south of the Caucasus had nothing to do with the Turks in ancient times, and was called Media, Persia, Parthia, Albania, etc., among others. Indeed, the text seems to indicate the Urals. The Caucasus does not lie from northeast to southwest as described in the saga, but from northwest to southeast. However, the Urals do so. To the south of the Urals is also Turkland, not Turkey but Turkistan. Furthermore, when Snorri wrote, the Caucasus did not separate the then Russia from the South. The immense steppes to the north of the Black Sea and the Caucasus, controlled by the Cumans then,

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<sup>585</sup> *Heimskringla*, ed. Laing, 9; *Heimskringla*, ed. Hollander, 8-9.

<sup>586</sup> *The Prose Edda by Snorri Sturluson*, trans. Arthur G. Brodeur (New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1916), 6.

were only added to the geographical domination of Russia at the beginning of the New Age. But the Urals could have been considered as Russia, despite the fact that the mid-Volga basin was in the hands of the Bulgar Khanate. The Novgorod hegemony had reached in those days from its north as far as the Urals. Cf. the Yugra discussion above.

Thus, if we identify Turkland with Turkistan, and the Asaland or Asaheim with the As of Western Turkistan the context becomes understandable. The main body of the As country which spread from the north up to the Don River was in the Turkland.

Due to Roman pressure, Odin had to seek new lands: “Odin having foreknowledge, and magic-sight, knew that his posterity would come to settle and dwell in the northern half of the world. He therefore set his brothers Ve and Vilje over Asgaard; and he himself, with all the gods and a great many other people, wandered out, first westward to Gardarike, and then south to Saxland. He had many sons, and after having subdued an extensive kingdom in Saxland, he set his sons to rule the country. He himself went northwards to the sea, and took up his abode in an island which is called Odins in Fyen.”<sup>587</sup> To put it more clearly, by going through the north of the Ukraine, he reaches Saxony, and advances forward to settle in Denmark.

The route can be comprehended by the overall geopolitics of the region. Nomadic peoples coming from Central Asia would turn in Bucak to depart for the Balkans, if they could do, that is, if there was not any power to prevent them. If not, they would go ahead to the Hungarian plain. If that plain was also held by an invincible nation, then they would refer to the third alternative: Passing through the Carpathians from the north. The mighty Roman Empire holding the Balkans and the Dacians or Iazygians, for instance, holding the Carpathian basin would be enough to close the former two routes. After Saxony and Denmark, the As jumped to the north and Odin’s siblings continued to rule there, Uppsala being their main centre. Other records seem to approve this legendary account. The Osi tribe living in Germania described by Tacitus as neither German nor Gallic, but Sarmatian in language<sup>588</sup> should be remnants of those As left in Saxony. Also, the distribution of place names containing the name of Odin is in conformity with the sagas’ account of the route. There are hardly any

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<sup>587</sup> *Heimskringla*, ed. Laing, 9-10; *Heimskringla*, ed. Hollander, 9; *The Prose Edda by Snorri Sturluson*, 7. Cf. The migration of Tyrkir (Turks) under the leadership of Odin is a conception shared also by the *Hervarar Saga* as well as several other Old Norse sources (A. LeRoy Andrews, “Studies in the “Fornaldarsögur Nordrlanda” II. The *Hervarar Saga*”, *Modern Philology* 25, 2 (1927), 152).

<sup>588</sup> Tacitus, *Dialogus, Agricola, Germania*, 323.

of them in Upper Germany, and the existing ones are scattered over the rest of the Germanic world: Lower Germany and Hesse, the Netherlands, Schonen and Scandinavia, particularly in the South.<sup>589</sup>

The context seems to imply that Asaland is a part or extension of Turkland. Their essential land was the latter, where Odin had great possessions and post, as told in the saga. This suits the case that the As' power once spread as far as the Don river in the west, and Asaland is described as the eastern bank of that river. Odin's grandsons and horde should have been assimilated in Sweden not in a long time,<sup>590</sup> but they did not forget their origins. "(King Swegde) went with twelve men through the world, and came to Turkland, and the Great Swithiod, where he found many of his connections. He was five years on this journey..."<sup>591</sup> This shows that they knew the way back to their homeland and didn't forget to go back there for a revisit after all those years.

Nor have the Central Asians, it seems, forgotten about Odin's post. Odin is described and known in the traditions more as a man of wisdom and thus magic rather than a warrior. He was winning wars thanks chiefly to his wisdom and foresight. He had some extraordinary capabilities that are associated with Shamanism.<sup>592</sup> Thus he had a sacred personality in the eyes of the folk. Some saints would have posts in various places, even in places where they had never been. These posts were perceived, in the course of time, as cemeteries. For example, there are seven cemeteries of Sarı Saltuk, a legendary Turkish dervish who introduced Islam to the

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<sup>589</sup> J. S. Ryan, "Othin in England: Evidence from the Poetry for a Cult of Woden in Anglo-Saxon England", *Folklore* 74, 3 (1963), 463.

<sup>590</sup> Although *Prose Edda* says that "thence all over the region of the north, they spread out until their tongue, even the speech of the men of Asia, was the native tongue over all these lands" (*The Prose Edda* by Snorri Sturluson, 9).

<sup>591</sup> *Heimskringla*, ed. Laing, 16; *Heimskringla*, ed. Hollander, 16.

<sup>592</sup> *Heimskringla*, ed. Laing, 11-12; *Heimskringla*, ed. Hollander, 10-11. For further studies see for example Steingrímur J. Þorsteinsson, "The Cult of Óðinn in Iceland", in *Nine Norse Studies*, ed. G. Turville-Petre (London and Bristol: Viking Society, 1972), 12; A. Asbjørn Jøn, "Shamanism and the Image of the Teutonic Deity, Óðinn", *Folklore* 10 (1999), 69. Odin's nine days of hanging on *Yggdrasil* represent a parallel to a shamanic ritual of initiation: This ritual often also lasts for nine days and is intended to give the shamans insight into the nine worlds. Otto Höfler compared Odin's hanging on the tree in the Eddic poem *Hávamál* with the initiation of a Siberian Shaman, and saw Odin's eight-legged horse *Sleipnir*, as a shamanic horse (Stefanie v. Schnurbein, "Shamanism in the Old Norse Tradition: A Theory between Ideological Camps", *History of Religions* 58, 2 (2003), 117-118).



Balkans in the pre-Ottoman times, from coastal Romania (Dobrudja) to Bosnia.

As for our investigation, I have found four posts of a legendary saint Avdan in Western Anatolia alone, and await the results of further studies by folklorists. This is normal, since there seems to exist a post attributed to the same person in Western Turkistan too, whence came the Anatolian Turks. According to *Zafernamah* ('Book of Victory') written by Nizâm al-Dîn Shâmî to recount the activities of Timur, the world-conqueror visited the grave of *Öden* or Avdan Ata ('*wdn* in Arabic script) to pray before he went on an expedition.<sup>593</sup> It is difficult to identify the place of that post, but we have an old settlement *Ütin Kala* ('The Castle Ütin') near Daşoguz in Turkmenistan. The latter is not necessarily related with the post visited by Timur. However, its location is within the boundaries of the ancient As Empire, and not far from the mouth of the Volga.

This is supported by the account in the saga informing us that not the entire people, but a part of them migrated. Odin's brothers remained at home. This account reinforces the historicity of the text. As known, in both the Don-Kuban area and Central Asia there were As groups surviving to the middle ages. I would suggest at this point that we may postulate another As migration from Central Asia in the northeast direction, towards the Altay region for possibly but not necessarily the same reason as that of the Odin horde, which is not clear to us except for the probable Alan pressure. Thus, the Az *budun* of the Kök Türk inscriptions appeared in the extreme north of Turkic countries. If those Az in Siberia were not natives, they should have arrived there at least before the rise of the Juan-juan power in Mongolia backed by the subject Kök Türks, that is, before the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

Indeed, it is not even necessary to elaborate the As ethnic identity in order to look for Scando-Turkic connections. Not only Turkland as a geographical definition, but also Turks as a nation are mentioned in various sagas. Are Thorgilsson, an Islander noble and learned man who wrote in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century, gives his own genealogy. At the beginning is the king Yngve, son of Odin, whose nickname was 'King of the Turks'.<sup>594</sup> In spite of the fact that Snorri Sturluson attributes this to Troy, he says that Odin established his order in the north according to the laws and customs of the Turks.<sup>595</sup> This includes making kurgans to bury

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<sup>593</sup> Nizamüddin Şâmî, *Zafernâme*, trans. N. Lügal, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Ankara: TTK, 1987), 77.

<sup>594</sup> Ari Þorgilsson, *Le livre des Islandais du Prêtre Ari le savant*, trans. Felix Wagner (Bruxelles: Office de publicité, 1898), 95.

<sup>595</sup> *The Prose Edda by Snorri Sturluson*, 9.

renowned people.<sup>596</sup> The beginning of the *Saga of Sturlaug the Industrious* says: “Everyone who’s truly well versed in events, knows that the Turks and men of Asia settled Scandinavia. That was the origin of the language which later spread over all lands. The leader of this people was Odin who men trace their ancestry back to.”<sup>597</sup> The saga *Of Fornjot and his Kinsmen* says: “The king was called Burri, who ruled over Turkland. His son was Burr, who was the father of Odin, King of the Gods.”<sup>598</sup>

The ‘kut’ belief is an outstanding practice in the political life of Pre-Islamic Turks who survived to the near ages in the Ottoman and Genghisid houses with changing intonations. It denotes simply “good fortune given by God (to rule)”. The supreme ruler, or qagan used to ascend to the throne with a ceremony containing his acceptance of some preconditions. He was a holy person and his blood could not be shed, thus qagans or family members were killed only by strangling. When things and affairs in the country came off badly (starvation, disasters, defeats, etc.), people believed that kut had been taken from the qagan for any reason (naturally related to his own personality), and the upper stratum of the state mechanism then had to kill the ruler to reflect the wish of public opinion.<sup>599</sup>

The same practice is seen among the successors of Odin in Sweden: “Domald took the heritage after his father Visbur, and ruled over the land. As in his time there was a great famine and distress... A great multitude of Swedes came to Upsal; and now the chiefs held consultations with each other, and all agreed that the times of scarcity were on account of their king Domald, and they resolved to offer him for good seasons, and to assault and kill him.”<sup>600</sup> The clear difference is that his blood was shed. We do not know, however, whether this version was produced 1000 years later, that is, whether the practice and belief changed through the great time interval between the event and the

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<sup>596</sup> *Heimskringla*, ed. Laing, 13; *Heimskringla*, ed. Hollander, 11-12.

<sup>597</sup> *The Saga of Sturlaug the Industrious*, trans. Peter Tunstall, accessed April 23, 2020.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20150222112418/http://www.oe.eclipse.co.uk/nom/Sturlaug.htm>.

<sup>598</sup> *The Saga of Bosi and Herraud*, trans. G. L. Hardman, accessed April 20, 2020. <http://www.germanicmythology.com/FORNALDARSAGAS/FraFornjotiHardman.html>.

<sup>599</sup> See Alessio Bombaci, “Qutlug Bolzun!”, *Ural-Altaišer Jahrbücher* 36 (1965), 284-291.

<sup>600</sup> *Heimskringla*, ed. Laing, 18; *Heimskringla*, ed. Hollander, 19.

writing. Anyway, the Swedes used to reckon good or bad crops, for or against kings.<sup>601</sup>

The blood brotherhood, a peculiar Turkic custom, might be observed in the early Scandinavians. The German prince Gunnar and Sigurd of the Volsung House, who was himself of Hunnic origin as attested, mixed their blood and drank, thus becoming brothers of each other.<sup>602</sup>

Another cultural comparison can be made between the words and notions of Turkic *alp* and Nordic *alf* ‘elf’. Both denote the same thing. These mythical creatures, having good and bad groups, tend to be ‘good’ more and more in the course of time. Phonetic and semantic connections are clear. We published an essay comparing the Turkic *alps* and the Scandinavian *elves*.<sup>603</sup> In order to not lengthen this chapter, I briefly draw attention to them and leave it there.

The deification of Odin and his twelve companions is a peculiar case for the Germanic world: “People sacrificed to Odin and the twelve chiefs from Asaland, and called them their gods, and believed in them long after.”<sup>604</sup> The tribal name As came to mean ‘god’ (plural *Æsir*), and perhaps it was on this account that the people’s name in their old home was kept as ‘Turk’: “The divine *Æsir* are twelve. Odin is highest and eldest of the *Æsir*: He rules all things, and mighty as are the other gods, they all serve him as children obey a father.”<sup>605</sup> The functions of primary gods are few. Thus, it may be guessed that Odin by his name replaced an old Germanic god associated by Tacitus with Mercurius of the Romans.<sup>606</sup> Or, as Schütte writes, the more warlike culture of the newcomer As “completely superseded the ancient gods”.<sup>607</sup>

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<sup>601</sup> L. Winifred Faraday, “Custom and Belief in the Icelandic Sagas”, *Folklore* 17, 4 (1906), 418.

<sup>602</sup> *The Saga of the Volsungs*, trans. Ronald G. Finch (London and Edinburgh: Nelson, 1965), 59.

<sup>603</sup> Osman Karatay and Emre Aygün, “Alpler ve Elfiler: Türk ve İskandinav Dünyalarında Kahramanlık Olgusu”, *Karadeniz Araştırmaları* 9, 33 (2012), 1-12. In any case, they are opposites of the *Æsir*. Cf. *The Poetic Edda. The Edda of Sæmund the Learned*, trans. Benjamin Thorpe (Michigan: Northeqr Foundation, 2004), 13.

<sup>604</sup> *Heimskringla*, ed. Laing, 12; *Heimskringla*, ed. Hollander, 11.

<sup>605</sup> *The Prose Edda by Snorri Sturluson*, 33. See also *The Saga of the Volsungs*, 25-26.

<sup>606</sup> Tacitus, *Dialogus, Agricola, Germania*, 277. Thus Peterson, editor of this book, compares the English word *Wednesday* (< Odin’s day) with the French *Mercredi* (*ibid.*, 277, n. 2).

<sup>607</sup> Gudmund Schütte, “Danish Paganism”, *Folklore* 35, 4 (1924), 368.

Perhaps, the name of the evil Ymir may have Central Asian connections as well: “There was in times of old, where Ymir dwelt, nor sand nor sea, nor gelid waves, earth existed not, nor heaven above.”<sup>608</sup> The Northern Turkic tribe Imir (now Eymür) joined the Oghuz confederation for the most part in or just after the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Its proto-history is completely dark. Above we have seen the names of some Oghuz tribes occurring in antique times. A shared bloody past may be the reason for their demonisation in the As comprehension, and might have produced later in Scandinavia the devils Ymir of immemorial times, even before the creation of the cosmos. There are other, similar examples, the most well-known being the ‘obr’ (< vampire) identification of the Avars by the early medieval Slavs, for they were invincible in the Old Slavic view, and behaved badly to their Slavic subjects.<sup>609</sup> We will get back to the vampires, in the Slavic chapter of this book. That *Hüne* in Modern German still means ‘giant’, revealing an ancient similarity between the giants of the tales and the Huns of history (who were, moreover, smaller than the Germans in height)<sup>610</sup> is also of this kind.

What may be said to a certain degree of certainty is that Odin and the basic cultural elements (allegedly) introduced by him are alien to Scandinavian or Germanic culture to a great degree. There should be no doubt that they were outsiders. As Þorsteinsson underlines, this need not imply that the name of Odin was not known in Scandinavia before the Viking Age.<sup>611</sup>

Well, the change of balance between the Alans and As may provide a rough chronology for this migration, pointing to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. There are other clues too, to determine a time interval. Writing just after the year 100 AD, Tacitus in the afore cited account of the Osi, if they are related to the As, does not mention a recent migration, but only expresses their Sarmatian origins. This means he knew about the migration. Such a migration, considering that they had not yet been Germanised, should have happened three or four generations before, hardly less or more than this, as

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<sup>608</sup> *The Poetic Edda*, 2.

<sup>609</sup> Indeed, there is no need to have an invincible and/or a bad enemy, or even a historical reality to create such words: “The giants in Slovenia were named also *Grki* (Greeks), *Grkinje* (Greek women), because the Greek people were, according to South Slavs’ oral tradition, thought as being an ancient population that was exceedingly tall” (Monika Kropelj, *Supernatural Beings from Slovenian Myths and Folktales* (Ljubljana: Založba, 2012), 132). Greeks were/are considerably smaller than the Slavic peoples.

<sup>610</sup> Delcourt and Rankin, “The Last Giants”, 209.

<sup>611</sup> Þorsteinsson, “The Cult of Óðinn in Iceland”, 17.

it seems to me. Such an estimation would take us to the early decades AD. Scandinavian genealogies would also help to estimate an average time for the coming of Odin's horde. For instance, the mentioned Islandic author Are Þorgilsson, himself of noble and even royal origin, enumerates 39 kings between himself and Odin's son Yngve Turkakonung 'King of Turks'.<sup>612</sup> 39 generations would mean not less than 1000 years, and this would again take us to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

Faux wrote a long essay to prove that Odin's horde was really of Turkic origin as narrated in the sagas, and none other than the Huns migrating there under the leadership of Uldin. He calls attention to the similarity of his name with that of Odin, and effectively uses archaeological and especially genetic data.<sup>613</sup> We do not know about any migration of Uldin (c. 400). He and his successors were there until the withdrawal of his great-grandsons in c. 470 from Central to Eastern Europe. Odin cannot be Uldin, if we base this on the sagas, because the kings of the Goths were also from an Odin sibling according to the *Saga of Bosi and Herraud*: "The king was named Hring, and ruled over East Gautland. He was the son of the King Gauti, son of Odin, who was the king in Sweden and came out of Asia."<sup>614</sup> The Goths went from Sweden to what is now the Ukraine at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century,<sup>615</sup> while the Huns entered those parts of Europe only after the 370s.

The archaeological relics related to the Hunnic material culture contemporary with them found in Scandinavian sites show only close interaction between Huns and Scandinavia, not kinship in any way, though, visits or migrations of individual Huns or their groups to the north were always possible. This interaction was sometimes reflected in the detail of the sagas.<sup>616</sup> On the other hand, the genetic evidence that Faux collected is very interesting. He estimates the total percentage of the Y chromosomes shared with Central Asian peoples in the Norse population

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<sup>612</sup> Ari Þorgilsson, *Le livre des Islandais du Prêtre Ari le savant*, 95.

<sup>613</sup> David K. Faux, "The Genetic Link of the Viking – Era Norse to Central Asia: An Assessment of the Y Chromosome DNA, Archaeological, Historical and Linguistic Evidence", 1-42.

<http://www.davidkfaux.org/CentralAsiaRootsofScandinavia-Y-DNAEvidence.pdf>, Accessed March 18, 2020.

<sup>614</sup> *The Saga of Bosi and Herraud*, trans. G. L. Hardman, accessed April 20, 2020. <http://www.germanicmythology.com/FORNALDARSAGAS/FraFornjotiHardman.html>.

<sup>615</sup> See the examination of Thomas S. Burns, "Theories and Facts: The Early Gothic Migrations", *History in Africa* 9 (1982), 15.

<sup>616</sup> Volsunga Saga, for instance, has a long part about Atli (Atilla) the Hun, and the *Poetic Edda (The Edda of Sæmund the Learned)* also has lengthy mentions of him.

as 4% Q, 1% K and 10% R1a, making a total of 15%.<sup>617</sup> Such a percentage, if correct, would show the correctness of the saga accounts and our historical sketch, and not necessarily any Hunnic presence or connection, for the referred genetic data do not seem to provide a chronology.

Indeed, Faux provides a good support to our theory by saying that “in the years preceding the birth of Christ there appears to have been pressures exerted by the Chinese peoples who lived nearby, and perhaps also due to an explosion in population, some of these Scythian peoples began to move in successive waves to the west toward the Caspian Sea.”<sup>618</sup> It really happened, as before stated. The Yüeh-chih expelled by the Huns from the North of China changed the very sensitive balance of Central Asia and caused a *Völkerwanderung*, which also included the As, parts of whom would eventually move to Germania and Scandinavia.

Another indicator of the As migration is the appearance of runic script in Scandinavia. Thus, we are back to the runes. The Odin Rune-song part of the *Hávamál Saga* contained in the *Poetic Edda* was written in the words of Odin. He relates his adventure on the Yggdrasil tree:

I know that I hung on a wind-rocked tree,  
 Nine whole nights, with a spear wounded.  
 And to Odin offered, myself to myself,  
 On that tree, of which no one knows from what root it springs.  
 Bread no one gave me, nor a horn of drink,  
 Downward I peered, to runes applied myself,  
 Wailing learnt them, then fell down thence.<sup>619</sup>

This account is supported by *Heimskringla* too, which says that together with many other skills that were not known in the North, Odin introduced and taught runes.<sup>620</sup> There is not of course a ratio of rune literacy among the Norsemen then, but the upper stratum clearly had knowledge of the script, and they communicated with each other by writing with it.<sup>621</sup> “Beech runes are these and birth runes, too, and all ale runes, glorious runes all who use them unspoilt and true to lead.”<sup>622</sup> “Mind runes you must if other men you would quite outweigh in wisdom.”<sup>623</sup>

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<sup>617</sup> Faux, “The Genetic Link of the Viking-Era Norse to Central Asia”, 42.

<sup>618</sup> Faux, “The Genetic Link of the Viking-Era Norse to Central Asia”, 40.

<sup>619</sup> *The Poetic Edda*, 80.

<sup>620</sup> *Heimskringla*, ed. Laing, 12; *Heimskringla*, ed. Hollander, 11.

<sup>621</sup> *The Saga of the Volsungs*, 65-66.

<sup>622</sup> *The Saga of the Volsungs*, 39.

<sup>623</sup> *The Saga of the Volsungs*, 36-37.

Rune means whisper, mystery, secret, the script which is written with the idea of mystery or magic,<sup>624</sup> as aforesaid. This etymological content means that the runic script was highly alien and strange to the old Scandinavian society, being peculiar to just some certain capable men, who have mastered it. Cf. the wise and shamanic character of Odin. The fact that the history of the runic script starts suddenly within its perfection, without preliminary and primitive shapes pointing to its earlier phases, indicates that it was brought there as an already mature writing system. And its chronology is well suited to the sagas and to the historical sketch we drew above. The earliest runic script, although there is no certainty as to whether it is Roman or Runic, is from North Germany from c. 50 AD, and the oldest datable one is from Denmark from c. 160 AD.<sup>625</sup> This is just after the As migration there. The distribution of the earlier layer of the inscriptions (2<sup>nd</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries) is also interestingly in conformity with the As migration and the settlement in the Germanic north: Denmark, Sweden, Norway, North Germany, Poland, Russia and Rumania. It was only with the 5<sup>th</sup> century that they started to spread.<sup>626</sup> The latter three countries that are cited seem to be related to the Goths in Eastern Europe.

So, what about the Turkic runic or carved script? It is more than a coincidence that Johan von Strahlenberg, a Germano-Swedish from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, was the first to inform the western world about the runiform inscriptions in Central Mongolia and the Danish scholar Wilhelm Thomsen was the first to read them in Turkic. Their wonder about the similarity of the Turkic script with the Scandinavian runic cannot be denied. It is widely accepted that Turkic writing started with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Kök Türk era (681-744),<sup>627</sup> and the alphabet was taken and adopted from Aramaic through some canals (Sogdian, etc.).<sup>628</sup> But I'm not aware of any study comparing the carved Turkic and curved Aramaic in forms and phonetics and thus attesting to those alleged connections.

On the other hand, what is interesting too is that a group of Turks, the Uyghurs moving to Eastern Turkistan after 840, adopted such a Sogdian alphabet of 14 letters, in spite of the fact that it was very suitable to the Semitic linguistic mind and usable to a great degree in writing Sogdian,

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<sup>624</sup> Looijenga, *Texts and Contexts of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions*, 8.

<sup>625</sup> Looijenga, *Texts and Contexts of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions*, 8.

<sup>626</sup> Looijenga, *Texts and Contexts of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions*, 9, 18, map in 25.

<sup>627</sup> Kyzlasov, *Runičeskie pis'mennosti evrazijskikh stepej*, 220.

<sup>628</sup> András Róna-Tas, "Turkic Writing Systems", in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csátó (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 126, among others.

but posing great difficulties in expressing the Turkic language. That alphabet was given to the Genghissid Mongols in the 13<sup>th</sup> century by the Uyghur learned-men, and that is now what is known as the Mongolian alphabet. If the Kök Türks took the alphabet from the Sogdians or from any other canal related to the Middle East, it would be very absurd to modify it to such a different and unrecognisable form. Bulgars utilised the Greek alphabet both in the Great Bulgar age in the 7<sup>th</sup> century (cf. the ring of Kubrat Khan) and in the succeeding Danube Bulgar age, but did not need to change it. Nor did the Uyghurs change the Aramaic-Sogdian alphabet. Why did the Kök Türks need to change it?

Such an approach, however, dismisses earlier records and relics of the Turkic domain. Zacharias the Rhetor informs us about the translation of the Bible into Hunnic.<sup>629</sup> This is not a case like that of the Konstantinos Cyril and Methodius brothers who invented an alphabet (Glagolitic) for the Macedonian Slavs and then translated basic religious texts into that 'written language'. Maybe that Hunnic translation was written in the Greek alphabet, but we also need to look for earlier and primitive phases of the Old Turkic script, as it starts in the Kök Türk era at a perfect level as does the runic script in Scandinavia. Thus, the possibility that the predecessor Huns used a similar or older version of the Old Turkic script is greater. The presence of some Turkic inscriptions in the Caucasus may and should be related to the Huns.

As for their far ancestors in Mongolia in c. 100 BC, the Huns had no writing and even promises and agreements were only verbal.<sup>630</sup> On the other hand, Chung-hsing Shuo, a political refugee to the Huns c. 170 BC, advised the Shan-yü, supreme rulers of the Huns, how to write their diplomatic letters to the Chinese emperor in a more prideful way and on a wooden tablet.<sup>631</sup> It is hard to understand why the same author contradicts himself so clearly, if the Huns wrote in their own language. Thus, the language of the diplomatic relations between them is accepted to be Chinese, although we should keep in mind a tricky account in the *Sui-shu* of the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, which informs us that the Kök Türks did not have a script, and that they made their agreements by beetling on a wooden tablet with another small wooden piece.<sup>632</sup> Indeed, we know that the Kök Türks had a very developed writing system, carved on 'eternal stones' in

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<sup>629</sup> Zachariah, *The Syriac Chronicle Known as That of Zachariah of Mitylene*, trans. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (London: Methuen and Co., 1899), 229-230.

<sup>630</sup> Ssu'ma Ch'ien, *Records of the Grand Historian of China -II-*, 155.

<sup>631</sup> Ssu'ma Ch'ien, *Records of the Grand Historian of China -II-*, 170-171.

<sup>632</sup> Liu, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Doğu Türkleri*, 63.



their words, not only on wood. What we should understand from this account is that they were not using the ‘Chinese script’. Maybe the author of the *Shi-chi*, written more than seven centuries earlier than *Sui-shu*, meant the same thing. In believing such a possibility, Ishjamts cites a similar account for the Huns, saying that when the latter noted something down or transmitted a message, they made cuts on a piece of wood. As evidence of this, there are over 20 marks (*tamga*) on the objects found in the Noin-Ula and other Hun burial sites in Mongolia and in the region beyond Lake Baikal, which are similar or the same as the signs of Old Turkic script. Thus, it seems, the Huns also had the same runiform script as the later Turkic peoples.<sup>633</sup>

Discoveries of runic materials from the Saka age preceding the Hunnic times (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD) would lead us to expect the presence of Hunnic materials of the same kind. If they are datable thanks to some organic items, then debates should end. A group of Soviet archaeologists found an animal bone in a grave near the city of Pavlodar, Kazakhstan, in 1960, which is dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, on which there is a script read as *ak sikhin* ‘white deer’.<sup>634</sup> Moreover, archaeologists led by Akišev found in the year 1970 the famous ‘Golden Man’ dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC near the city of Issyk to the east of Almaty. They found in the same kurgan a silver bowl with a sentence in runic.<sup>635</sup> There have been 13 different attempts to read it, all in Turkic, as far as I know, besides a few unsuccessful attempts to read in Iranian. This is due to the age of the language. It is almost 10 centuries older than the earliest known records of the Turkic language, and without a reliable reconstruction of Proto-Turkic for those days, all attempts would remain non-provable. I would like to provoke minds with the thought that the region where the inscription was found is the oldest known homeland of the As people.

Below is a table comparing Turkic and Scandinavian runic scripts. The latter is a phonetic alphabet, that is, every sign denotes only one consonant or vocal. But the Turkic script is more syllabic in character. Namely, it learns to use the space economically by saving some phonemes as much as possible; this is also largely referred to in Semitic alphabets of the Middle East. It is impossible to take that way in full for Turkic. Regarding the shapes of some signs, it gets closer to Chinese writing as well. For

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<sup>633</sup> N. Ishjamts, “Nomads in Eastern Central Asia”, in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia -II-*, eds. J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri and G. F. Etremadi (Paris: UNESCO, 1996), 161.

<sup>634</sup> Altaj S. Amanžolov, *Istorija i teorija drevnetjurkского pis'ma* (Almaty: Mektep, 2003), 191-193.

<sup>635</sup> Amanžolov, *Istorija i teorija drevnetjurkского pis'ma*, 217-221.

example, the letter  $\hat{x}$  for 'B' looks like a tent, thus *eb* 'house, tent'; the letter  $\downarrow$  for 'OK' is like an arrow, thus *ok* 'arrow'; the letter  $\mathcal{D}$  for 'Y' is like a bow, thus *yay* 'bow'; the letter  $\mathcal{r}$  for 'K' is like a goat, thus *keçi* 'goat', the Yenisei letter  $\hat{\wedge}$  for 'T' is like mountains, thus *taw* 'mountain'.<sup>636</sup>

At the beginning we cited the classification of Turkic scripts by Kyzlasov. Although he often uses the term 'paleography', he abstains from referring to the concerning pre-Kök Türk remnants. In his view, the two main groups Orhon and Yenisei of the Asiatic Turkic script developed independently from and parallel to each other but on one and the same graphic fundament.<sup>637</sup> In his conception, the state and script are bound to each other, thus such an analysis is based on the Kök Türk and early Kyrgyz (he says Khakas) states. Only, he relates the spread of the Turkic script all over Eurasia with the expansion of the Kök Türk Empire.<sup>638</sup>

Here is a comparison of the Turkic and Scandinavian (Old Futhark) runic scripts. The Turkic script uses different characters for front and back vowels. The Orhon (Kök Türk) script is essential in this table. If there are seemingly different signs for the same phoneme in the Yenisei Turkic script; those usually represent the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> signs in the same square.<sup>639</sup>

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<sup>636</sup> Alyılmaz, Cengiz, (*Kök*)*Türk Harfli Yazıtların İzinde* (Ankara: Karam, 2007), 2.

<sup>637</sup> Kyzlasov, *Runičeskie pis'mennosti evrazijskih stepej*, 237.

<sup>638</sup> Kyzlasov, *Runičeskie pis'mennosti evrazijskih stepej*, 220.

<sup>639</sup> I'm grateful to Mr. M. Turgay Kürüm, an expert of both runic inscriptions, for his help in preparing this table.

**Table 5:** Comparison of Turkic and Scandinavian Runic Letters

Scandinavian Runic	Phonetic Value	Turkic Runic	Scandinavian Runic	Phonetic Value	Turkic Runic
ᚠ	A	ᚠ ᚡ	ᚠ	R	ᚠ ᚡ
ᚢ	B	ᚢ ᚣ ᚤ	ᚢ	S	ᚣ ᚤ
-	Č	ᚥ	-	Š	ᚥ ᚦ ᚧ
ᚨ	D	ᚨ ᚩ	ᚠ	T	ᚨ ᚩ ᚪ
ᚫ	E	ᚫ ᚬ	ᚢ	TH	-
ᚭ	F	-	ᚣ	U	>
ᚸ	G	ᚸ	-	Ü	ᚸ
-	Ğ	ᚹ	ᚢ	V	-
ᚺ	H	-	ᚢ	W	ᚺ ᚻ
ᚻ	I	ᚻ	ᚣ	Y	-
ᚼ	J	ᚼ ᚾ ᚿ ᚰ	ᚣ	Z	ᚼ
ᚾ	K	ᚾ	-	NT	ᚾ
ᚿ	L	ᚿ ᚻ ᚼ	-	LT	ᚿ
ᚰ	M	ᚰ	-	NČ	ᚰ
ᚱ	N	ᚱ ᚲ	ᚫ	NG	-
-	Ń	ᚳ	-	NY	ᚳ
ᚴ	O	>	-	OQ, QO	ᚴ
-	Ö	ᚵ	-	ÖK, KÖ	ᚵ ᚶ
ᚶ	P	ᚶ	-	IQ, QI	ᚶ
ᚷ	Q	ᚷ ᚸ	-	IČ, ČI	ᚷ

However, some problems emerge for the inscriptions on the easternmost borders of Europe. There are 38 significant ones in the Kuban-Don-Volga area. Kyzlasov dates all of them between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. That is exactly the Khazar period. He classifies them into three: 1) Don, 2) Kuban, and 3) Don-Kuban.<sup>640</sup> Their dispersal would at the first glance remind us that the Kuban group scattered from the Caucasus to the Perm area, north of Tatarstan; therefore, it seems, this is directly related to the (Black) Bulgars. Then, who does the Don group belong to? The Khazar<sup>641</sup> is hardly the true answer. The inscriptions were found not in the Crimea and Khazaria proper, where the ethnic Khazarian population lived in density, but between the Don and Kuban where the As lived in those days, and beyond the Don in the west where the Onogurs/Proto-Hungarians dwelt.

I'm not sure about the dating criteria of Kyzlasov and others. The *modus vivendi* is surely the certain belief that they cannot be earlier than the Orhon inscriptions belonging to the Second Kök Türk era (681-744). The same applies to the numerous Yenisei inscriptions scattered around South Siberia. Likewise, that region was under Kimek control after the Kök Türk Empire, and only the eastern parts were under the Kyrgyz. We need to attribute the bulk of those inscriptions to the Kimeks. The latter gave birth to one of the most colourful and bustling ethnic groups of the Middle Ages, the Kipchaks who are mentioned in the sources for certain from the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Kipchaks were almost everywhere in the Old World as we have seen briefly at the beginning of this book, but they did not take the Yenisei Turkic script with them wherever they went. Indeed, we do not know whether they used the script. I mean, if we bound the beginning date of the Yenisei inscriptions with the so-called Kök Türk discovery of them, then, a lack (indeed, an abandonment) of inscriptions among the known population of the region would bound us to the end. The inhabitants of the Yenisei basin did not have sufficient time to create those inscriptions in that case. Interestingly, the Oghuz union having the bulk of its gene pool in South Siberia and being closely related to the Kimeks/Kipchaks did not leave us runic inscriptions either, like the latter. It should be questioned from all aspects why the Central Eurasian Turkic peoples, inheritors of the Western Kök Türks, gave up writing. Consequently, as neither the Oghuz, nor the Kimek/Kipchaks seem to have used this writing, the Yenisei inscriptions should be contemporary with or earlier than the Kök Türks. The very diversity and lack of standards in the Yenisei region likely point

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<sup>640</sup> Kyzlasov, *Runičeskie pis'mennosti evrazijskih stepej*, 14, map 1.

<sup>641</sup> Kyzlasov, *Runičeskie pis'mennosti evrazijskih stepej*, 216, 238.

to its preceding position to the Kök Türk scripts which have a relatively established standard and grammar.

The same is crucial for the Don group of inscriptions too. Not perhaps in ancient times, as they might represent the early medieval tradition of the As population living there. A comparison of the Turkic and Scandinavian scripts shows that the former is more complex and diversified, and we know it developed through the natural line of petroglyph > tamga > letter. On the other hand, the latter alphabet suddenly enters the area with its perfection, and diversification only comes after its spread in Europe. We also pointed to the etymological origins of the word *run* denoting not the act of writing but of making magic. It should have been produced or introduced once by only one person or people.

Queries into the origins of the Scandinavian runic still continue. “If we continue with the question of the origin of the runic alphabet, we have to ask which Mediterranean alphabet could have been the forerunner?” says Looijenga.<sup>642</sup> Between “have to ask” and thus “cannot ask”, no all-embracing matrix alphabet has been found yet, in her words.<sup>643</sup> The same attitude is also dominant among the students of Turkology. But scientific behaviour is expected to order “you have to look/ask” in order to make a just judgement.

I’m by no means in such a position as to assert that the Scandinavian runes come from the Turkic ones. The table clearly shows the very differences, although this is only a very simple and preliminary comparison. We need to put all of the signs used in Old Turkic paleography. Anyway, the differences between them are clear. Scandinavian letters for ‘B’, ‘F’, ‘H’, ‘I’, ‘K’ (cf. Latin ‘C’), ‘L’, ‘M’, ‘R’, ‘S’, and ‘T’ would easily be tied to the relevant Latin letters showing the very natural interaction with the Roman world. There is no need to read genuine books like Morris’ *Runic and Mediterranean Epigraphy*. But why did Odin’s folk not adopt all of the Latin letters? The capital differences between the capital letters of Greek and its by-product Cyrillic are due to a lack of some phonemes in the Greek alphabet like ‘Č’, ‘Š’ and ‘Ž’. There is no such regularity between the Latin and Runic.

On the other hand, Scandinavian ᛃ ‘B’ looks to be related to the Turkic ᛆ ‘W’. Sc. ᛆ ‘G’ is like Tr. ᛆ ‘D’. Sc. ᛆ ‘H’ is like Tr. ᛆ ‘K’. Sc. ᛆ ‘I’ is like both the Latin letter and Tr. ᛆ ‘P’. Sc. ᛆ ‘J’ is related to Tr. ᛆ ‘NY’. Sc. ᛆ ‘L’ is like Tr. ᛆ ‘L’. Sc. ᛆ ‘N’ is like Tr. ᛆ ‘N’. Sc. ᛆ ‘Z’ is like Tr. ᛆ ‘Č’ and ᛆ ‘Č’. A broader comparison might give different results. The

<sup>642</sup> Looijenga, *Texts and Contexts of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions*, 10.

<sup>643</sup> Looijenga, *Texts and Contexts of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions*, 10.

similarity of Sc. X ‘G’ to Tr. X ‘D’ is particularly interesting. We have the Bulgar word *dilom* ‘snake’ for the Common Turkic *ylan* as discussed in the previous chapter. If the Bulgar form represents a former form of the Common Turkic, namely the Hunnic age pronunciation, then the Turkic pronunciation of the letter X as ‘D’ would be a relic of the Hunnic age in the succeeding Kök Türk period. And if the word *gelon* belonging to a further old Saka age really means ‘snake’, then the same sign X would be read as ‘G’. And it is the same as the Scandinavian reading.

These are hypothetical, of course, and need cementing. Further studies may give different results. The Scandinavian runic is very simple and seems to have been backed with significant Latin support. A Germanic language can hardly be written in a syllabic alphabet, but Turkic, which does not like a cluster of consonants at the beginning and accepts at most two at the end, can do it to a certain degree, as it was done in the Turkic runic. On the other hand, Turkic can hardly be written with a Semitic alphabet. The Uygur texts written in the 14 letter Aramaic origin alphabet are mostly read not from the text but from memory. When the Turks adopted Arabic script after converting to Islam, they had to bring it closer to the logic of Old Turkic script in order to show vocal differences. So, there is no great logical difference in writing Turkic texts in Arabic or in Eurasian Runic.

The same might have happened in Scandinavia too. The earliest runic inscriptions, in our current knowledge, appear after a few generations of the As migration there. Scarcely remembered runes then had to be complemented with Roman/Latin additions, as it seems to me. Therefore, it would be a more cautional explanation to define it as an eclectic alphabet, resurrected from dead memories, instead of a script developed under Roman influence, since we do not know about the phases of such a development, but have a developed form in its pragmatic perfection.

I had heard the name of Dr. Heyerdahl from Azerbaijani colleagues, but became familiar with the content of his ideas only by writing this chapter in the year 2020, albeit after finishing it, when I wanted to add a genetic discussion by referring to the study of Faux. This chapter is a result of my own surveys, together with a doctoral student of mine, Dr. Emre Aygün. Even in 2003 I wrote some texts published on this issue. Thus, being unaware of the study of Heyerdahl, who tried to connect Odin with Azerbaijan, I reached some different conclusions, although we share the idea of the eminence of the As ethnos in this regard. Meanwhile, his attempt is praiseworthy. People may have faults, but labelling him or others as ‘quasi-scientific adventurers’ is a non-scientific act in itself. All scientific developments are products of those thinking contrary to all other

people. The scientific approach should be, as far as I know, to criticize the data, methods and conclusions of a study, and to show mistakes. Other kinds of attitudes cannot be accepted.

We will go back to Scandinavia, especially to discuss the results of the concerning genetic studies and sole linguistic suggestions. We should continue with westward spurts of Central Eurasian peoples settling in Eastern Europe.

## CHAPTER 10

### SARMATIANS AND THE BRITISH MISSION

The legend of Arthur of the English people was borrowed from the old natives of Britain. According to Littleton and Thomas, “these legends have long since become an essential part not only of the English-speaking tradition, but of the Western European consciousness as a whole; they are an integral element of our sense of who we are and whence we have come”.<sup>644</sup> This legend which dates back to before Christianity, tells the stories of the warlord Arthur and his fellow warriors. The Holy Grail and the sword in the stone are the most important material elements of the legend.

A Roman inscription found in the south of the Croatian city of Split is the oldest record known that contains a name that can be tied to the legendary Arthur. It reads:

Lucious Artorius Castus, for the centurion of the Legion III *Gallica* and for the centurion of the Legion VI *Ferrata* and for the centurion of the Legion II *Adiutrix* and for the centurion of the Legion V *Macedonica* and for the *plimus pilus* of the same legion, put in charge of the *Misenum* fleet, for the prefect [of the camp] of the Legion VI *Victrix*, for the commander of [?] ‘British’... legions [?] against the Arm[enian]s, for the *procurator centenarius* of the province Li[burnia[?]] with the right to judge and issue death sentences, himself set [this] up while alive for himself and his family.<sup>645</sup>

A shorter inscription from the same place approves the same content: “Lucious Artorius Castus, *plimus pilus* of the legion V *Macedonica*, prefect [of the camp] of the Legion VI *Victrix* by his will.”<sup>646</sup>

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<sup>644</sup> C. Scott Littleton and Ann C. Thomas, “The Sarmatian Connection: New Light on the Origins of the Arthurian and Holy Grail Legends”, *The Journal of American Folklore* 91, 359 (1978), 513.

<sup>645</sup> Nicholas J. Higham, *King Arthur: The Making of the Legend* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018), 18.

<sup>646</sup> Higham, *King Arthur: The Making of the Legend*, 23.



It seems that after some missions in Syria and Parthia, he became commissioned in the Balkan region, and then moved to the Island within the VI *Victrix*.<sup>647</sup> There are proofs of a Sarmatian presence on the Island, like the following stone in Ribchester likely from 241 AD, which says: “To the holy god Apollo Maponus for the welfare of our Lord [the Emperor] and of Gordian’s own unit of Sarmatian cavalry of Bremetennacum Aelius Antoninus, centurion of the Legion VI *Victrix*, from Melitene, commander of the contingent and the region...”<sup>648</sup> There is nothing extraordinary in this account, since it was habitual for the Romans: “To avoid exposing the (Balkan) provinces in their unprotected condition to barbarous nations, the ruling chiefs of the Sarmatian tribe, Iazyges, were called into service of the army. These chiefs offered their people also and their force of cavalry, which constitutes their sole effective strength.”<sup>649</sup>

Littleton and Thomas compiled these data with other accounts (from mainly Cassius Dio)<sup>650</sup> and concluded that the Sarmatian people, Iazyges were defeated by the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius (for movie fans, the old emperor from *Gladiator*) in 175 AD. As an indemnity, they gave warriors to Rome. Of these warriors/veterans, 5500 horsemen were sent to Hadrian’s Wall as guards. This is located close to the border which separates England and Scotland today. Again, movie fans have surely watched *King Arthur* (2004) which tells the stories of Arthur and his warrior friends’ adventures near the wall, and was produced in the light of the idea of the Sarmatian connection. These Iazygian troops stayed there, their children also maintained the profession of horsemanship and in a way, they kept their identity for a long time.<sup>651</sup>

Higham feverishly rejected the Sarmatian connection. In his opinion, the commander of the troops was Ulpus Marcellus in the early 180s, and Artorius does not appear.<sup>652</sup> But, as it is well known, narrations do not necessarily observe official ranks in the cast. A simple and clear example

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<sup>647</sup> Higham, *King Arthur: The Making of the Legend*, 24 ff.

<sup>648</sup> Higham, *King Arthur: The Making of the Legend*, 60.

<sup>649</sup> Tacitus, *The Histories -II-. Books I-III*, trans. Clifford H. Moore (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 335, (III/V).

<sup>650</sup> *Dio’s Roman History -IX-*, trans. Earnest Cary (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 35, 37.

<sup>651</sup> Littleton and Thomas, “The Sarmatian Connection”, 520, 523. It is argued that their resistance to Romanise caused disturbance and deviation in Roman military culture (I. A. Richmond, “The Sarmatae, *Brumutennacvm Veteranorum* and the *Regio Bremetennacensis*”, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 35, (1945), 29).

<sup>652</sup> Higham, *King Arthur: The Making of the Legend*, 31-32.

is as follows: There appeared numerous epic/heroic stories during the longstanding Ottoman Empire (1299-1922), but among the heroes are neither sultans nor pashas, namely general-governors. The same situation can be observed everywhere. Sometimes a supreme ruler turns out to be an ordinary but exceptionally brave man, and sometimes a hero of ordinary rank is given a kingship. It is clear that there was no kingdom in Britain of which Arthur appears to be a king, not even a supreme commander of the Roman army in the region or Island. We should not question the logic of the legend and treat it as an official archive document. Legend has its own logic and nature.

Higham evaluates the transfer of 5500 Iazyges from the Danube to Britain to be mere speculation.<sup>653</sup> But he does not explain why the Roman historian Cassius Dio needed such speculation. Cassius informs us that even an Armenian doing much harm was transferred in those days to Britain,<sup>654</sup> which shows the emergent situation. On the other hand, he continues, the earliest British records mentioning the name of Arthur seem to have been designed to convince a 12<sup>th</sup> century audience with no knowledge of the Roman protocol.<sup>655</sup> Do the Roman protocols matter for the inhabitants of the Island after more than half a millennium? “Lucius Artorius Castus would almost certainly have been remembered as Castus, not Artorius” in his words.<sup>656</sup> But the poor Welsh people keeping the memory of Arthur should be forgiven for not knowing Roman manners of naming.

“The Sarmatian troops were not heavy cavalry, but despatched to Britain in 175 AD were better suited to raiding than full-scale war-fare and pitched battles.”<sup>657</sup> The steppe warriors were simple men, and this was the primary reason for their successes in battles. That the British legends describe Arthur and his companions in a chivalric manner in accordance with the contemporary medieval spirit is not a great defect and contradiction, but very normal. On the other hand, the elite class of steppe warriors also had heavy cavalry costumes and tools well before the Sarmatian age. A brief glance at the concerning Scythian remnants would suffice.<sup>658</sup> Higham finds it “extraordinarily difficult to locate the 5,500

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<sup>653</sup> Higham, *King Arthur: The Making of the Legend*, 35.

<sup>654</sup> Dio's *Roman History -IX-*, 27.

<sup>655</sup> Higham, *King Arthur: The Making of the Legend*, 37.

<sup>656</sup> Higham, *King Arthur: The Making of the Legend*, 38.

<sup>657</sup> Higham, *King Arthur: The Making of the Legend*, 53.

<sup>658</sup> Cf. for instance, the account of Tacitus describing a war scene with the Rhoxolani, an Iranian people under the Sarmatian mentorship: “They were weighted down by their coats of mail. This armour is the defence of their princes and all the

Sarmatians” sent by Marcus Aurelius to Britain.<sup>659</sup> They were steppe people living under the sky, and not under roofs, and likely did not question the logistic capabilities of the Empire there. It would be better to explain what the existing and clearly written sources say, rather than why they are disinterested in the theory suggested by the above authors and some others as well.

Myths and legends, almost all kinds of narratives were created based upon, as far as I know, 1) historical realities, 2) historical explanations, 3) existential explanations, and 4) the entertainment sector. The Arthurian legend is not an ethnologic tale in its content and nature, and seemingly not for entertainment. Furthermore, there is not a historical problem to be questioned by the folk and to be explained by minstrels or sages. Why people needed to create and keep such a legend should be the essential question of the study.

Before turning to the Sarmatian identity, we should briefly transmit some other details of the Littleton and Thomas theory on the origins of the Arthurian romance. The authors found a resemblance between Arthur’s wish on his deathbed to throw his sword into the lake and a relevant figure in the Ossetian Nart sagas.<sup>660</sup> Therefore, they searched for the roots of at least some of the elements in the legend of Arthur, in Eastern Europe. The likeness in the features gave them the courage to hypothesise on the words. In this way, they explained the name of Arthur’s father *Pendragon* as *Ban-Tarkan*. The first word was a ‘widespread Eastern European word’ *pan*, and the second one is an old Asia Minor word taken through Turkic, in their etymologising.<sup>661</sup>

Their connection is indeed interesting. The first word *pan* in Polish means ‘lord, master’ dating back to the Avar period’s word *bayan*.<sup>662</sup> Its *ban* version is seen in Romanian, Bosnian and Croatian areas, and also in Hungarian and Bulgarian languages. That also comes from the same Turkic root.<sup>663</sup> The Turkic connection of the word *tarkan* is also accurate;

nobility: It is made of scales of iron or hard hide, and though impenetrable to blows, nevertheless it makes it difficult for the wearer to get up when overthrown by the enemy's charge.” Tacitus, *The Histories*, 133, (I/LXXIX).

<sup>659</sup> Higham, *King Arthur: The Making of the Legend*, 68.

<sup>660</sup> The similarity of some features was observed by Bachrach in 1973 as well (Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 39).

<sup>661</sup> Littleton and Thomas, “The Sarmatian Connection”, 518.

<sup>662</sup> Aleksander Brückher, *Słownik Etymologiczny Języka Polskiego* (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1985), 393.

<sup>663</sup> Petar Skok, *Etimologijski Rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga Jezika, I: A-J* (Zagreb: JANU, 1971), 105.

however, it wasn't taken from pre-Indo-European Anatolian languages. Instead, it was brought from Central Asia to Anatolia by the Turks, however, it did not survive in Turkish, except for a few place names. The authors also compare the name of Arthur's right-hand *Bedivere* with the Turkic word *bahadur* 'hero', referring to the study of Nickel.<sup>664</sup> The word was loaned by Russian and Hungarian, but occurs also in the Alans,<sup>665</sup> which makes a Sarmatian connection likely in their view.

It would have been interesting if the Californian authors had also tried to explain the names of the characters in the Ossetian Nart sagas, just as they did those in the legend of Arthur. I will do it in my capacity. In the saga, the adversary of *Bedivere* in the Caucasus is *Uryzmäg*. The name has nothing to do with Ossetian or Iranian, but is purely Turkic: Uruz Beg. It is a widespread personal noun and occurs especially in the *Book of Dede Qorqut* as the leader of the Outer Oghuz. The name of Uryzmäg's wife is *Satana*, and this could easily be read as *Satu Ana*.<sup>666</sup> *Satu* is a widespread Turkic female name, and the component *ana* 'mother' is the expected element in narratives. The same Narts could be found in the neighbouring Karachay-Balkars, where these two names are respectively *Örüzmeç* and *Satanay* in their pronunciation.<sup>667</sup> Abaev accepts the name *Uryzmäg* as being Iranian referring to the Proto-Indo-Iranian *\*warza* 'wild boar', *\*mäka* 'son', in the line of Dumézil, but meanwhile adds the name of Soslan to the ones of Turkic origin.<sup>668</sup> The latter has nothing to do with the Arthurian tradition, but occurs within the same group of Ossetian sagas.

If the matter is to look for the roots of the words in languages, as seen, when the subject is Turkic this job becomes very easy. In the opinion of Littleton and Thomas, the name of the mystical sword *Excalibur* can relate to the Sarmatian tribe *Kalyb* from the Caucasus who were blacksmiths.<sup>669</sup> It may be possible to make a connection with the Bulgaric/Proto-Turkic

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<sup>664</sup> Littleton and Thomas, "The Sarmatian Connection", 518.

<sup>665</sup> Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 276-277, 325, 429.

<sup>666</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 42, does not explain this name, but connects with the name of the Alan queen *Satinik*, occurring in the *Armenian History* of Movses Chorenats'i.

<sup>667</sup> Ufuk Tavkul, *Karaçay-Malkar Destanları* (Ankara: TDK, 2004), 34 ff.

<sup>668</sup> Vasily I. Abaev, "Introduction", in *Tales of the Narts: Ancient Myths and Legends of the Ossetians*, eds. John Colarusso and Tamirlan Salbiev, trans. W. May (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), xxxvi, l, liii, lxvii. And *Batraz*, the name of another prominent Nart, is of Mongolic origin in his view (*idem*, xli). János Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians* (Szeged: Attila József University, 1970), 65, wants to identify that name with *Warðamax* occurring in Sogdian texts.

<sup>669</sup> Littleton and Thomas, "The Sarmatian Connection", 523.

(?) form *kolavur/kalavur* of the Common Turkic word *kalavuz* ‘guide’. This meaning of the word is the established and widespread one which is always seen in the sources,<sup>670</sup> however, cf. the *kolavur* version of the word in Bulgar and Avar: < \**qolovr* < \**qolayur* ‘Führer’.<sup>671</sup>

Moreover, the Cauldron of Annwn, an important cultural element in the Legend of Arthur, has a counterpart in the Eurasian steppe culture that can be seen in numerous non-datable carved rock pictures throughout the vast region, but also in several archaeological relics from the north of China to Central Europe that are attributed to the Hunnic and Sarmatian domains according to their geography and chronology. It is difficult to differentiate them from each other.<sup>672</sup>

The rock pictures usually describe religious ceremonies led by shamanic figures, where warriors are blessed.<sup>673</sup> The Holy Grail (representing the last supper) in the main legend could be an addition under the influence of Christianity, as an evolved version of the cauldron.<sup>674</sup> It is also very functional, on the other hand, in the Eurasian steppe culture. Cf. the vessel mentioned in Chapter 9 is used in the oath ceremonies of the tribal and military leaders, who used to dribble their blood into the cup and drink it in order to sign an agreement.

Littleton and Thomas saw the eastern connection of the story in the Ossetians. Here, they imagine Sarmatians to be an Iranian people. However, the words they used in their explanations are Turkic. It seems that they predicated this on Dumézil’s works, which transfer the Scythian mythology to the Ossetians and from there to the neighbouring Caucasian peoples in the form of the Narts. The analysis of names should be as

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<sup>670</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 617-618.

<sup>671</sup> Omeljan Pritsak, *Die Bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1955), 46.

<sup>672</sup> Common cultural habits were to such a degree that 70% of the male skulls in Sarmatians are deformed, like the Huns, among which it was widespread (Tadeusz Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians* (New York: Praeger, 1970), 38, 145).

<sup>673</sup> The Hunnic cauldrons have constituted separate chapters in recent studies, even in Maenchen-Helfen’s *The World of the Huns*, 306 ff. Erdy showed the connection of the Hun and Hsiung-nu cauldrons, thus proving their relation and continuity: Miklós Erdy, “Archaeological Links between the Xiongnu and the Huns”, in *The Turks -I-*, eds. O. Karatay et al. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 306-317. Sergei G. Botalov, “Az európai hunok”, in *A hunok öröksége*, eds. L. Marác and B. Obrusánszky (Budapest: Hun idea, 2009), 265-308, concludes that it is hard to separate between Hunnic and Sarmatian cauldrons.

<sup>674</sup> In a later article of his, Littleton leaned more into the subject of the grail and the cauldron: C. Scott Littleton, “The Holy Grail, the Cauldron of Annwn and the Nartymonga”, *The Journal of American Folklore* 92, 365 (1979), 326-333.

important as the figures, but Dumézil does not care about why the Ossetians replaced the Scythian name *Ares* with the ‘Turko-Mongolic’ *Batraz*, if they inherited the story from their so-called forebears, the Scythians, for instance.<sup>675</sup> He refers to the observations of Abaev, on the figurative problems of the tales, but not to the etymologies offered by him, who accepts the names of the two foremost Narts Batraz and Soslan respectively as Mongolic and Turkic. Nor does Abaev, citing the Batraz connection of Dumézil,<sup>676</sup> ask why the Ossetian heroes bear Turkic names, while enumerating more and more Turkic names in the Nart sagas such as Khamis, Eltagan, Shainag and Marguz.<sup>677</sup> I would add to them the name of *Bolatberžej*, son of Sweshshe, in which the Turkic pronunciation *Bulatberdi* is clearly kept. It means “(He, God) gave a steel (-like son)” and almost has the same form in all historical and contemporary Common Turkic languages, except in Turkey and Azerbaijan where the verbal root *ber-* ‘give’ turns to *ver-*.

I do not think there are satisfactory etymologies for the names of *Uryzmäg* and *Satana* in Ossetian or Iranian, but we have direct personal pronouns in the same way in Turkic, as offered above. Thus, the names of the four most eminent Narts are Turkic, besides several others in the rank. The etymology of the Nart onomasticon deserves further and detailed studies. Abaev seems to have done a part of the job but unwillingly. It is not usual to change the names of heroes of national folktales under foreign linguistic influences; however, in regard to the etymological studies of Abaev, the Ossetian language has not been under Turkic influence as thought. Here we have something else. First of all, the property of the Nart sagas cannot be restricted to the Ossetians. They were surely not the only owners and creators of the Nart sagas, which are the common property of the Caucasus mountaineers of every stock, especially of the autochthonous peoples. Outsider elements, including those of forebears of the Ossetians, perhaps only contributed to their making. It is alleged, for example, that the story of Debet the Blacksmith has its roots in the story of the Prophet David and that the word Nart comes from Nimrod. Meanwhile, it should not be forgotten that the sagas of the Khakassian, Shor and Sagay Turks living in Siberia and the Altay mountains are called *Nart Pak*.<sup>678</sup> This is not to say that the Turkic Karachay-Balkars were the only source of all the stories, but it should be stated here that they are at the centre of the

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<sup>675</sup> Georges Dumézil, *Mythe et Épopée -I-: L'idéologie des trois fonctions dans les épopées des peuples indo-européens*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), 570-575.

<sup>676</sup> Abaev, “Introduction”, xlii-xliii.

<sup>677</sup> Abaev, “Introduction”, 1.

<sup>678</sup> Tavkul, *Karaçay-Malkar Destanları*, 12.

Caucasus, and a conglomerate of the medieval Bulgars and As being likely, they were at a key point of connection between the world of the Steppes and the Caucasus, as much as the Ossetians.

I do not insistently claim that those going to the Island under the leadership of Arthur were of Turkic origin, but if we need some explanations connecting them to the Eurasian steppes, historical and philological proofs point more to the Turks, rather than to the vague Iranic peoples. Even the name of Arthur, for which there is no satisfactory etymology, can easily be explained in Turkic: \**Ārtur* < *är tur* “stay as a man/hero”. Making personal nouns using imperatives or past and present tenses of verbs was/is most widespread in all Turkic peoples, even today. Perhaps, the before mentioned word *bagatur* ‘hero’ is also of the same kind: “stay as a mighty man”, though the word *baga* is taken from the Old Persian homonymous *baga* ‘God, lord’;<sup>679</sup> if not from *boga/buqa tur* “stay as a bull”.

So, who were the Sarmatians, really? Their story, Sulimirski abstracts, is that of one of the many tribes and groups migrating from east to west, each pushing forward and being pushed in turn from behind, until they reached the barrier of Rome.<sup>680</sup> They are first mentioned by Herodotus in great detail, however in the form of *Sauromatoi*. The form *Sarmat* was introduced later in the early Roman age.<sup>681</sup> Whether these two names denote the same people has long been debated,<sup>682</sup> but those rejecting their identification seem to have missed the continuity of one ethnic domain. Where the former went or what happened to them and whence the latter came should be well explained.

Hippocrates describes them as such: “And in Europe is a Scythian race, dwelling round Lake Maeotis, which differs from the other races. Their name is Sauromatae. Their women, so long as they are virgins, ride, shoot, throw the javelin while mounted, and fight with their enemies. They do not lay aside their virginity until they have killed three of their enemies, and they do not marry before they have performed the traditional sacred rites. A woman who takes to herself a husband no longer rides, unless she is compelled to do so by a general expedition. They have no right breast; for while they are yet babies their mothers make red-hot a bronze instrument constructed for this very purpose and apply it to the right breast and

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<sup>679</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 322-323.

<sup>680</sup> Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 17.

<sup>681</sup> Plinius notes that Greeks call the Sarmatæ as ‘Sauromatæ’: *The Natural History of Pliny* -I-, 329 (IV/25).

<sup>682</sup> See Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, 9-10.

cauterise it, so that its growth is arrested, and all its strength and bulk are diverted to the right shoulder and right arm.”<sup>683</sup>

In the days of Herodotus (c. 430 BC), “across the Tanais it is no longer Scythia; the first of the divisions belongs to the Sauromatae, whose country begins at the inner end of the Maeetian Lake and stretches fifteen days’ journey to the north, and is all bare of both forest and garden trees.”<sup>684</sup> Thus, the Don and Azov separated the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatae.<sup>685</sup> It is not clear when the latter passed to the west of the Volga; what is evident is that they cut the Scythian/Saka world into two by invading the lands between the East European and Central Asian Scythians: “Scythia: within the Imaus mountains is terminated on the west by the side of Asiatic Sarmatia, as we have said; on the north by Terra Incognita (unknown land)”.<sup>686</sup> The Sauromatae were on the shores of the Don well before the year 513 BC, when the Persian king Darius launched his famous Scythian expedition to the north of the Black Sea. Their king was among those regional rulers meeting to speak on a common strategy against the Persians.<sup>687</sup> Together with the before mentioned Gelons and Budins, the Sauromatae decided to help the Scythians.<sup>688</sup> As a matter of fact, troops of the Sauromatae were side by side with the Scythians even during the anti-Persian operations on the Danube.<sup>689</sup> Thus, they should have been to the west of the Volga at least from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The estimated population increase in the South Urals beginning in the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>690</sup> may be the essential reason for their dispersal.

Fifteen days’ journey to the other end of their land would take us to the South Urals. Since here we deal with a westward expansion, the eastern end then, should be their original land. This was proven by archaeological

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<sup>683</sup> Hippocrates, I, trans. W. H. S. Jones (London and Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 117, 119 (Airs Waters Places XVII).

<sup>684</sup> Herodotus, II, 221 (IV/21). Cf., on the other hand, the Syrmatae in Transoxiana (*The Natural History of Pliny* -II-, 32 (VI/18)). It is not likely that their names were applied to the Western Central Asian tribes, among whom the Alans were the mightiest, as Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 24, alleges. Regarding the chronology, they might be a branch of the South Ural Sarmatians descending to Central Asia after the great migration of peoples in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

<sup>685</sup> Herodotus, II, 257 (IV/57).

<sup>686</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 144 (VI/XIV).

<sup>687</sup> Herodotus, II, 305 (IV/102).

<sup>688</sup> Herodotus, II, 119 (IV/319).

<sup>689</sup> Herodotus, II, 128 (IV/329).

<sup>690</sup> Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies*, 30.



studies.<sup>691</sup> That they dominantly belong to the haplogroups R1a and R1b<sup>692</sup> also points to their north Central Eurasian origins. So, this represents the first known sample of the classical departures from that region like those of the Ogurs (> Hungarians), Suvars (> Khazars) and Kumans in the later ages. The Amazon connection of the Sarmatians related by Herodotus in great detail is a matter of popular curiosity for the warrior-women of the Eurasian steppe,<sup>693</sup> and does not seem to contribute to our knowledge about their eventual identity, except for stressing their full-scale nomadic lifestyles. The Sarmatian culture, mode of life, warfare, etc., were the same as or similar to those of the Scythians.<sup>694</sup> It is better to deal with those cultural elements in the next chapter on the Scythians. However, Herodotus gives us the most precious knowledge: “The language of the Sauromatae is Scythian, but not spoken in its ancient purity.”<sup>695</sup> It seems there were only dialectal differences between the two and they were mutually understandable. But nothing is known about the Sarmatian language because of the complete absence of any written records...<sup>696</sup>

The monograph of Harmatta starts with the sentence “The significance of the nomadic Iranian peoples, the Cimmerii, Scythians and Sarmatians...”<sup>697</sup> That is, there is a judgement in advance; it is unnecessary and even forbidden to speak against it. This attitude is usual in almost all texts about the Sarmatians, and nobody needs to explain why and how to regard them as Iranian. “The Sarmatians were of Indo-European stock belonging to the northern branch of the Iranian speaking group, often called the Scythian group of peoples” says Sulimirski,<sup>698</sup> but why and how, if there is no record? Referring to the Scythians is not the answer to the question, because the same situation is crucial for them too: a lack of linguistic records. We will deal with them in the next chapter. We often find the explanation that the Scythians were Iranian because they descended from the Andronovo people. How do we know the language of a Bronze Age people?

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<sup>691</sup> Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 21, 39 ff. Relics of them extend as far as the Orenburg vicinities (Boris N. Grakov, *Skify. Naučno-populjarnyj očerk* (Moskva: Izd. Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1971), 121).

<sup>692</sup> Glašev, “Altajskaja gipoteza protiv Altajskoj teorii?”, 112-3.

<sup>693</sup> Herodotus, II, 309-317 (IV/110-116).

<sup>694</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 32; Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 27-29.

<sup>695</sup> Herodotus, II, 117 (IV/317).

<sup>696</sup> Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 24.

<sup>697</sup> Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, 7.

<sup>698</sup> Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 22.

Indeed, Sulimirski explains the logic behind this classification: The language of the Ossetians in the central Caucasus, which evolved out of ancient Sarmatian-Alan dialects, can be considered as a kind of modern Sarmatian.<sup>699</sup> Ossetians speak an Iranian language; they descend from the Alans, who are themselves Sarmatians, who are of the same kind as the Scythians... Such a chain would be plausible perhaps; if there is a connection between the Alans and Sarmatians. We need to focus on that connection.

In the previous chapter, we saw that the Alans passed to the west of the Volga at least five centuries later than the Sarmatians. The *Urheimat* of the latter, as per our restricted knowledge, is in the South Urals, while the Alans came from Khwarezm. Harmatta puts forward some clues for the original Alanic lands even being in the southwest of the Aral,<sup>700</sup> in conformity with what al-Bîrûnî writes, therefore letting us leave the Yents'ai area for the east of the Sir Darya and the Aral. How do we identify them with the Sarmatians?

According to the Protogenes inscription, a certain tribe called *Saii* came from the east at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and put the Greek city Olbia on the Northwest Black Sea coast under pressure. In regard to the name of their ruler, Harmatta considers them to be Iranian-speaking.<sup>701</sup> They were not called Sarmatian, however; the only information we have is that they were newcomers from Central Asia. And theirs was merely a heralding of the upcoming migration of peoples after the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. We suggested such a migratory wave in connection with the Bulgars and Massagets, who remained in the northwest of the Caucasus; the movements also included the As, Alans, Roxalani, Aorsi, Iazyges, Siracs, etc., advancing towards the Black Sea steppes and even further. Not regarding the Bulgars and Massagets in this movement, Harmatta and Sulimirski also offer such a *völkerwanderung* initiated by the Yüeh-chih migration to Central Asia after the year 174 BC.<sup>702</sup> The Sarmatians seem to have managed and coordinated these waves coming upon their lands, for there was a confederacy under their leadership that gathered all or most of those newcomers to the north of the Black Sea (125-61 BC). Having expelled the remnants of the

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<sup>699</sup> Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 24.

<sup>700</sup> Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, 64-65.

<sup>701</sup> Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, 10-12.

<sup>702</sup> Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, 32-34; Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 112-116.

Scythians to the Crimea and Dobrudja,<sup>703</sup> the western borders of the Sarmatians were then on the Lower Danube. And, interestingly, we find from then on, that the notion of ‘Royal Sarmatians’ was not occurring in Herodotus.

Herodotus speaks of Royal Scythians. He met them in and around Olbia personally and knew very much about the Scythian society. This term we should read as ‘original Scythians’ in contrast to ‘political Scythians’, who adopted the name of their lords nominally. The latter might include both allied peoples of the same stock as the Scythians, and subdued or conquered native peoples of any origin. But Herodotus does not use the term ‘royal’ for the Sarmatians. This can be understood, for they came/spread with their own population and did not yet represent an imperial polity of the steppe type. That is, at the beginning, all of the Sarmatians were ‘royal’. The assumption of Grakov that Royal Sarmatians were indeed Royal Scythians<sup>704</sup> is not likely, since the latter also had the right to have their ‘royal’ stratum.

After the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, however, more and more people were called Sarmatian, besides their own tribal names. Thus, for instance, Strabon says “...and after it the country of the Iazygian Sarmatians and that of the people called the Basileians, and that of the Urgi, who in general are nomads, though a few are interested also in farming.”<sup>705</sup> The Basileians represent the ‘royal’, namely original Sarmatians. Ptolemeus too uses the same term to denote that nucleus, among other Sarmatian groups: “Its cattle feed in the Sarmatian meadow lands in the region near the unknown land of Hyperborean Sarmatia; and below these are the Basilici Sarmatians; and the Modoca race; and the Hippophagi Sarmatians; and below these are the Zacatae Sarmatians, the Suardeni and the Asaei; then next to the northern bend of the Tanais river are the Perierbidi, a great race near the southern race of the Iaxamatae.”<sup>706</sup> Plinius does not have the terminus ‘royal’, but merely Sarmatians, living just next to the Dacians in what is today Romania.<sup>707</sup> ‘Other Sarmatians’ are called by their name, thus the ‘mere’ Sarmatians should be the royal ones.

So, Sarmatians succeeded in keeping their authority and prestige over the peoples of Eastern Europe, especially the new migrants, and spread

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<sup>703</sup> Archaeological investigations indicate that the Sarmatian advance at the expense of the Scythians reached the Dnieper basin by c. 400 BC, after Herodotus died (Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 100).

<sup>704</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 32, 38.

<sup>705</sup> *The Geography of Strabo -III-*, 221 (VII/3/17).

<sup>706</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 121 (V/VIII).

<sup>707</sup> *The Natural History of Pliny -I-*, 329 (IV/25).

their name over them and the vast territory. In the days of Ptolemy, Sarmatia extended from the borders of Germania to the east of the South Urals: “The terminus of Sarmatia, which extends southward through the sources of the Tanais river... It is terminated in the west by the Vistula River and by that part of Germania...”<sup>708</sup> “Asiatic Sarmatia is terminated on the north by an unknown land; on the west by European Sarmatia, from the sources of the Tanais River, carrying along the Tanais to its outlet in the Maeotis lake...”<sup>709</sup> According to Harmatta, they reached the Lower Danube within the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>710</sup>

This does not mean, on the other hand, that they kept their lands to the east of the Don after these waves; the above cited account of Strabo locates the Royal Sarmatians in what is today Western Ukraine. Ptolemy places their lands adjacent to Germania. The same thing is said by Pliny Secundus: “... these regions as far as the river Vistula are inhabited by the Sarmati, the Venedi...”<sup>711</sup> This would mean a gradual shift before the new elements, most of whom were Iranians. For that reason, Greek inscriptions of the northern Black Sea starting as early as the first centuries AD<sup>712</sup> contain mostly Iranian names. Those were not Sarmatians proper but Iranians moving to Sarmatia. The radical change in weaponry of the ‘Sarmatians’ (Roxolani) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, making bows and arrows of secondary importance,<sup>713</sup> which is almost impossible for any nomadic Eurasian people, should be related with this ethnic change; and it also shows the difference between the royal and political Sarmatians.

And even during the days of Strabo, their assimilation in Central Europe had already started: “At the present, these tribes (Sarmatians), as well as the Bastarnian tribes, are mingled with the Thracians (more indeed with those outside the Ister, but also with those inside). And mingled with them are also the Celtic tribes – the Boii, the Scordisci, and the Taurisci.”<sup>714</sup> So, Sarmatian and Iazygian names after this period may be of any origin. It is a great chance that we find such a name as Arthur that can easily be explained in Turkic. We will deal with personal nouns in the next chapter.

Therefore, the Sarmatian political/super ethnos comprised uncountable elements living in or coming to Eastern Europe, from several kinds of

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<sup>708</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 79 (III/V).

<sup>709</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, 120 (V/VIII).

<sup>710</sup> Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, 26 ff.

<sup>711</sup> *The Natural History of Pliny -I-*, 344 (IV/27).

<sup>712</sup> Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, 96.

<sup>713</sup> Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 29.

<sup>714</sup> *The Geography of Strabo -III-*, 179 (VII/3/2).

linguistic and racial origins. Plinius well summarises the ethnic sight of the Black Sea steppes in those days: “All the nations met are Scythian in general, though various races have occupied the adjacent shores.”<sup>715</sup> This also included Iranian groups of a Western Central Asian origin.<sup>716</sup> Can we extend their identity to the previous and original ‘royal’ Sarmatians? The landing of Angles, Saxons and Jutes on the Island would not make the native Bretons a Germanic people. We can speak of the assimilation of a Celtic tribe among the Germanic masses. In the Sarmatian domain, there is not even room to speak of such assimilation processes. This can best be seen in the conservation of Turkic toponyms in the region. As we have seen in Chapter 10, Iranian place names appear only after the arrival of the Central Asian rooted Iranic peoples, while Turkic place names have their roots in the Scythian and Sarmatian ages. This is a linguistic proof for the identity of the two relative peoples, and also a warning to us not to confuse the Sarmatians from the South Urals with the Iranian peoples of the western edges of Central Asia. This is not strange, and, in contrast is even very plausible since we have found a lot of Turkic (and Hungarian) references to the region by now. These would perhaps include the name ‘Sarmat’ itself.

Sinor suggests that the Chuvash *ś-* has primacy over the Common Turkic *y-*.<sup>717</sup> Not only Chuvash, but also the Yakut language, which was separated from CT in an early (indeed unknown) time, has *s-* as a counterpart of the CT *y-*. In CT, *-y-* and *-y* as a consonant, are a later development, towards the end of the Medieval. Some of them go back to *d*; Cf. OT *adgu* > CT *ayu/ayı* ‘bear’, *edgü* > *eyü/iyi* ‘good’, *kadın* > *kayın* ‘beech’. And some were transformed into other voices. Clauson suggests four different sources for these *-y-* and *-y*.<sup>718</sup> However, OT has *y-* in countless examples. Its various forms come only from other linguistic areas. Besides the mentioned examples, *Daikh* ‘Yayık’, the Turkic name of the Ural river occurring in Ptolemy, and the Proto-Bulgar *dilom*, CT *yılan* ‘snake’, we can cite *dogia* ‘yoğ’ (funeral ceremony) recorded in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century in the Western Kök Türk realm by the Byzantines. Clauson

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<sup>715</sup> *The Natural History of Pliny* -I-, 329 (IV/25).

<sup>716</sup> Besides the well-known Aorsi and Rhoxolani of Khwarezm origin, it seems we have a tribe directly having the name of Arya. Plinius Secundus mentions the Arræi Sarmatæ, ‘also called Arreatæ’ just next to the Aorsi northwest of the Black Sea (*The Natural History of Pliny* -I-, 303 (IV/18)).

<sup>717</sup> Sinor, “Two Altaic Verbs”, 328-329.

<sup>718</sup> Gerard Clauson, “The Turkish Y and Related Sounds”, in *Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1957), 38.

adds to them several examples from early loanwords to Church Slavonic, Hungarian (not *gy-*, but only *d-*) and Mongolian.<sup>719</sup>

We have seen in the Hungarian chapter, that the Common Turkic *y-* regularly has, in most cases, *gy-* in related Hungarian words. Of these, not all but a great many have *ś-* in Chuvash counterparts (not necessarily with exactly same meanings): Hu. *gyalom* ‘drag net, a kind of fishing net’, Chu. *śilēm*; Hu. *gyarap-* ‘to increase, to put on weight, to grow stronger’, Chu. *śirēp-*; Hu. *gyárt-* ‘to produce’, Chu. *śurat-*; Hu. *gyász* ‘mourning, bereavement’, Chu. *śūs*; Hu. *gyeplő* ‘rein’, Chu. *śip*; Hu. *gyepű* ‘borderland, edge’, Chu. *śapǎ*; Hu. *gyermek* ‘child’, Chu. *śamrāk*; Hu. *gyertye* ‘candle’, Chu. *śur-*; Hu. *gyom* ‘weed’, Chu. *śum*; Hu. *gyomor* ‘stomach’, Chu. *śāmxa*; Hu. *gyónic-* ‘to confess (sins)’, Chu. *śāvān-*; Hu. *gyötör-* ‘to torture’, Chu. *śēt-*, Hu. *győz-* ‘to conquer’, Chu. *śēn-*; Hu. *gyúl-* ‘to catch fire’, Chu. *śun-*; Hu. *gyúr-* ‘to knead, pug’, Chu. *śār-*; Hu. *gyűlöl-* ‘to hate’, Chu. *śāv*; Hu. *gyümölcs* ‘fruit’, Chu. *śiměš*; Hu. *gyűrű* ‘ring’, Chu. *śērě*.<sup>720</sup>

Of this kind, Hu. *gyűlöl-* ‘to hate’ is related to OT *yagi* ‘enemy’, thus Chu. *śāv*, but Mongolian also has the word *dayisun* ‘enemy’, which is clearly a loanword from Turkic. Since the Turkic form was with *y-* in the Kōk Türk age, then Mongolian should have received it in at least the Hunnic period. This coincides with the *Daikh* of Ptolemy and also supports the view that the Hungarian words came from a *j-* form. For the same Hungarian *gy-*, Chuvash has both this *ś-* and also *y-* in line with CT. Both of them cannot be products of simultaneous phonetic developments. It is clear that the *y-* words of Chuvash represent the change, and the *ś-* words are those keeping the archaic form. In some other cases like Hu. *szárny* ‘wing’, OT *yarın*; Hu. *szal-* ‘to run’, OT *yel-*; Hu. *szél* ‘wind’, OT *yel*; Hu. *szér* ‘part of a village, street’, OT *yer*; Hu. *szérű* ‘threshing floor (round)’, OT *yüzük*; Hu. *szőlő* ‘grape, wine grape’, OT *\*yeglek*; and Hu. *szűcs* ‘furrier’, OT *yigi*, Hungarian seems to have preserved archaic forms

<sup>719</sup> Clauson, “The Turkish Y and Related Sounds”, 44-45.

<sup>720</sup> Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, relevant entries. The authors relate Hu. *gyenge* ‘weak, feeble’ to the Chu. *śēnē* ‘new’, thus to the OT *yagi* ‘new’ in this context (*idem*, 378-379). However, the Hungarian word should best be tied with OT *yinçge* “physically thin, slim, delicate, and the like, abstractly subtle, fine” (Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 945), if not *yénik* “light (not heavy), hence easy and the like” (*idem*, 950). In any case, this Hungarian word is also of this discourse.

of the words. Sinor follows a slightly different path, but to the same conclusion.<sup>721</sup>

Hungarian has the word *gyarmat* ‘colony’, which comes from the tribal name *Germatou* occurring in the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>722</sup> one of the seven Hungarian tribes during the land-conquest age. We mentioned them previously. In the course of time, it became a common noun that denotes ‘colony’.<sup>723</sup> And we noted its connection with the Bashkir tribe *Yurmatı*. So then, what else would be the Chuvash form except for *SarmatV*, if the latter had or kept that name? And if it represents the archaic form, then we have nothing but the name of the Sarmatians. It cannot be merely a coincidence that the Sarmatians and Gyarmatians originated from the lands where the *Yurmatı* still live. That is, those three are indeed one and the same people. It was not me who realised this equivalence for the first time. Mándoky-Kongur found this relation, but got affected by the crowd and seeing the Sarmatians as an Iranian people, linked the word to Iranian.<sup>724</sup>

Perhaps we have another clue to show the *s-/š- > d- > y-* in Turkic. CT has *yaş* ‘age’ and *yıl* ‘year’. The second is nothing other than the lambdaic form of the former. That is, CT keeps both the Proto-Turkic and Old Turkic versions of the same word. The Chuvash form of the latter is *şul/şol* as expected. In my earlier studies I suggested a relation with the Persian *sal* ‘year, age (life)’ and Tr. *yıl*, as well as *sarak* recorded in Georgian sources telling us about the Saka age and Tr. *yarak* ‘weapon’. Kızılözen recently examined some *s-* Persian words and put forward the relations Tr.

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<sup>721</sup> On the other hand, if true, this would shake our position in regard to the above claim that Old Turkic *yılan* ‘snake’ comes from Proto-Turkic *gelon*, for Chuvash keeps the rule for this word too: *şelen* ‘snake’. With the lack of written material, Proto-Turkic needs more efforts in comparative methods.

<sup>722</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 175.

<sup>723</sup> Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 374. Some early records of the word in Hungary have forms like *Gurmot* and *Gormot* (Árpád Berta, “Török eredetű törzsneveink”, *Nyelvtudományi közlemények* 92, 1-2 (1991), 16 n. 69).

<sup>724</sup> István Mándoky-Kongur, “Magyar eredetű törzsek a baskíroknál”, *Tiszatáj* 30 (1976), 42, criticises previous etymologies based on the Old Turkic verb *yor-* ‘to be tired’, then *yormat* ‘indefatigable, tireless’, and advises looking for an Iranian root in the presence of the ethnonym *Sarmat*. Berta, “Török eredetű törzsneveink”, 16 n. 71, rejects this idea without any explanation. Although we keep agnosticism as for old ethnonyms, the etymology of Berta tying *gyarmatu/yurmatu* to the above-mentioned OT *yarın* ‘shoulder blade’ (for Hu. *szárny* ‘wing’), of which the Chuvash equivalent is *şurám* ‘back, shoulder’, is noteworthy, but notwithstanding our rejection of systematising names of the Hungarian tribes in accordance with the names of body organs.

yıl/\*yāl ~ Per. *sāl* ‘year’, Tr. \**yarix* ~ Per. *sārīx* ‘a kind of weapon’ and Tr. *yōn* ~ Per. *sūk* ‘direction’.<sup>725</sup> The first and third words occur firstly in Pahlavī (Middle Persian), while the second only occurs in New Persian. This is understandable since it is a special kind of weapon.

Anyway, none of them go back to the Old Persian; on the other hand, there is no great vocabulary from that period. The common Arian word for ‘year’ is *sar* occurring in Sanskrit too. It was recorded for the Parthian age as *s’r*, *sār*.<sup>726</sup> It was kept by Ossetian too with a restricted meaning: *sar* ‘vse eto vremja’, which Abaev ties with the homonymous *sær* ‘head’, ‘beginning’.<sup>727</sup> Thus, the Pahlavī word may be considered to descend from that version. However, it has two meanings, ‘year’ and ‘age’, in contrast to the Arian *sar*, as Kızılözen notes. In addition, the words *sārīx* and *sūk* have no Indo-European or Arian cognates. Thus, it seems to be a great possibility that they were taken to Persian during the Saka-Sarmatian age. This would coincide with our suggestion of the Proto-Turkic *s-* for the Old Turkic *y-*. Therefore, the ethnonym *Sarmat* is likely an ancient version of the Hungarian *Gyarmatu* and Turkic *Yurmati*.<sup>728</sup>

So, towards the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC the Sarmatians had already shifted to Central Europe, following the Iazyges.<sup>729</sup> “The borders of the Germans are occupied by the Sarmatian Iazyges, who inhabit the level country and the plains, while the Daci inhabit the mountain and forest ranges.”<sup>730</sup> They seem to have occupied what is today Hungary, but were isolated between Rome in the west and south and the Dacians in the east. Harmatta has them migrating due to the appearance of the Alans in the Black Sea steppes,<sup>731</sup> while Sulimirski attributes that role to the Aorsi.<sup>732</sup> It would perhaps be better to accuse the multitude of the entire Iranian wave, in which the Alans and their predecessors the Aorsi were only a part and a late-comer. In addition, their appearance caused the migrations of the Sarmatians proper, namely ‘royal’, as well. They are

<sup>725</sup> Cihangir Kızılözen, *Farsçada Türkçenin En Eski İzleri* (Ankara: Akçağ, 2019), 106-114.

<sup>726</sup> Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 305.

<sup>727</sup> Abaev, *Istoriko-etimologičeskij slovar’ osetinskogo jazyka -III-*, 33.

<sup>728</sup> Trubačev, *Indoarica v Severnom Pričernomor’e*, 161, 271, wants to see the meaning ‘feminine’ in the word \**sarma(n)t*, but I did not understand its phonetic and semantic content and connection.

<sup>729</sup> In the early phases too, they seem to be in the same area, before the Sarmatians proper in the westward direction: Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 102, 104 ff.

<sup>730</sup> *The Natural History of Pliny -I-*, 329-330 (IV/25).

<sup>731</sup> Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, 42.

<sup>732</sup> Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 116-117.



separated from the Iazyges at this phase too. As quoted above, they were to the north of the Iazyges, and described as living on the borders of Germania, and not Rome. Theirs was a different fate between the Germanic and Slavic domains, to be eventually assimilated.

I'm not aware of any attempt to etymologise the name of the Iazyges, except for tying them to the *Iaxamatae*,<sup>733</sup> a Scythian people mentioned in the same region. Γαζή, which should be reconstructed as *Yaziğ* in Turkic, was recorded among the Pecheneg tribes in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>734</sup> As seen briefly in the first chapter, this union was formed in the steppes north of the Aral likely during the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The *Yazı* were not among the 'noble' Pechenegs; that is, they joined the tribal union later. The word means 'a broad open plain' in Old Turkic,<sup>735</sup> and is still broadly in use. When applied to people, it denotes those living in the plain inversely with the mountaineers, like the Slavic parallels *Poljan* and *Drevljan*.<sup>736</sup>

This might imply a northern origin of the *Yaziğ* in the plains just to the south of the Urals, because they appear in the succeeding epoch as members of the Kuman union, who immigrated to Hungary in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>737</sup> Kumans emerged in the east of the mid-Volga and grew by joining the surrounding tribes. The connection of the *Yaziğ* with the Kuman-Kipchak world is proven by an earlier account, according to which the Saljukid sultan Alparslan fought a certain *Cazig* tribe between the Aral and the Caspian in 1066.<sup>738</sup> This form (read *Djazyg*) would indicate the Kipchakisation of the language then in those parts of the steppe. Togan identifies them with the Oghuz tribe *Yazır* (< *Yaziğ är* 'men of *Yaziğ*'?). Interestingly, they are counted among the 22 Oghuz tribes by Mahmud of Kashgar, a contemporary of Alparslan, in the form *Yazgur*.<sup>739</sup> I would prefer, however, such an idea as *Yaziğ gir*, the second being a suffix/word to make ethnonyms.

It was the Iazyges who were connected with the story of Arthur. The Rhoxolani, an Iranian tribe likely of the Alans proper, migrated to Hungary,

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<sup>733</sup> Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 102.

<sup>734</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 167.

<sup>735</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 978.

<sup>736</sup> The latter means 'men of forest/wood', however, since there are no great mountains in the early Slavic lands, and forest and mountain are always associated with each other.

<sup>737</sup> A. Pálóczy-Horváth, "L'immigration et l'établissement des Comans en Hongrie", *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* 29 (1975), 323.

<sup>738</sup> Togan, *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş*, 198-199.

<sup>739</sup> Maḥmūd al-Kāšyārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -I-*, 102.

near to the Iazyges, only after the Goths came to the Dnieper basin.<sup>740</sup> Grakov thinks the Iazyges were invited to the region by the Scythians as allies at the beginning.<sup>741</sup> They are described on many occasions, beginning as early as 78-76 BC in the Lower Danube,<sup>742</sup> as having plundered the Roman soil. However, they were usually on good terms with Rome, according to Sulimirski, in the early period of their presence in the Hungarian plain (c. 20-160 AD) and provided auxiliary troops to the Empire.<sup>743</sup> But when they attacked the Roman province of Pannonia in 169 AD, a long clash started with Rome, then under Marcus Aurelius. After the punitive expeditions of the Romans ended in a definite victory, the Iazyges had to send 8,000 cavalymen in accordance with the peace agreement, 5,500 of which were dispatched to Britain.<sup>744</sup> We are back to the Island.

Wadge also rejects the Sarmatian connection with the Legend of Arthur, on the ground that 500 horsemen were located near today's Ribchester, and the matter of where the other 5,000 went to without leaving any trace should be examined further.<sup>745</sup> Linguistic surveys may be a means of further examination to understand whether they left any trace except for their memories. The great dilemma at this point, however, is that there was a two-fold assimilation. The Sarmatian veterans likely mingled with the local people of Celtic origin, by-passing Latinisation. After the Anglo-Saxon invasion, old inhabitants around York would also change their language, if they were not completely annihilated. Thus, linguistic traces of Sarmatians in English, if any, would survive to us, after two filters.

I'm totally ignorant of Scottish or Welsh languages or linguistics, and I did not hear of any comparative study with Turkic, Hungarian or Ural-Altaic languages (which would be an 'underground' study in current conditions). On the other hand, I have heard many studies and folklorists speaking about the common features of Turkish and Scottish tales. Those might be coincidental in some part and due to universal commonalities in some other part, and that remaining seems difficult to relate to the consequence of a special historical event, including the mentioned Sarmatian

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<sup>740</sup> Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, 50-52.

<sup>741</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 15.

<sup>742</sup> Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 133.

<sup>743</sup> Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 173.

<sup>744</sup> Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 175-176.

<sup>745</sup> Richard Wadge, "King Arthur: A British or Sarmatian Tradition?", *Folklore* 98, 2 (1987), 211.

presence in the Island, though it is not impossible, as seen in the eastern elements of the Arthurian traditions. Studies should go ahead.

*Bugs* prove to be eminent creatures in terms of our survey. The concerning semantics and phonetics unify linguistic and folklore areas, but also the Eurasian steppe and Britain. Bugs were terrific, it seems, not only for babies; adults were also afraid of them in so much as associating them with aliens. Thus, the same word is used for both little creatures and gigantic (but mysterious) aliens. The word has many cognates like *bogey*, *boggard*, *boggart*, *boggin*, *boghest*, *bogie*, *bogle*, *bogy*, *boogart*, *boogey*, *boogeyman*, *boogie*, *bucca*, and *buccaboo*.<sup>746</sup> From Skeat on, scholars tend to give prominence to spectres as owners of original meaning, and insects are so called because they are objects of terror. Though being of unknown origin, it is related to the Welsh *bwg*, *bwgan*, Gaelic and Irish *bucan* ‘spectre’. The Mid. Eng. form is *bugge* ‘scarecrow’. Thus, the meaning of ‘goblin’ is at the centre.<sup>747</sup> Ayto believes there is an ultimate Nordic origin with the Norwegian *bugge* ‘important man’, which is also related with the English *big*.<sup>748</sup>

In spite of ignorance by the later authors, Skeat finds a connection with the Lithuanian *baugus* ‘terrific’ < *bugti* ‘to terrify’, and from there to Sanskrit *bhuj* ‘to bow, turn aside’. He omits meanwhile the Common Slavic *bojti* and Russian *pugat* ‘to frighten, terrify’. Instead of this far connection, he should have better tied it with Sans. *bhujanga* ‘snake’, as a terrific creature. If we refer to the verb ‘bow’, Turkic *bük-İbuk-* ‘to bend, bow’ should also be included in this survey, since Old Turkic also has *büke* ‘a big snake’, which is widespread in current and historical Turkic dialects.<sup>749</sup> That word first occurs in the dictionary of Mahmud of Kashgar in the form *yıl büke*.<sup>750</sup> The word *yıl* is the verbal root of *yılan* ‘snake’, meaning in the same way ‘to bend, bow, curl’, thus here is a reiterative usage.

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<sup>746</sup> Derived from Liberman et al., *A Bibliography of English Etymology: Sources and Word List* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010), 463, 465, 480.

<sup>747</sup> Walter W. Skeat, *The Concise Dictionary of English Etymology* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 1993), 54; Anatoly Liberman, *Word Origins... and How We Know Them: Etymology for Everyone* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 184-188; idem, *An Analytic Dictionary of English Etymology: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2008), 6-7; Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary*, 208; John Ayto, *Word Origins. The Hidden Histories of English Words from A to Z*, 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2005), 80.

<sup>748</sup> Ayto, *Word Origins*, 76.

<sup>749</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 324.

<sup>750</sup> Maḥmūd al-Kāšġārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -II-*, 268.

Liberman connects the English *bogey* with the Russian *buka* ‘goblin, specter’,<sup>751</sup> from which were also derived *bukaška* ‘bug, insect’, and *pugalo* ‘scarecrow’. However, nor are their origins in Russian clear. Fasmer, for the first and second words, does not see a connection with the Old Icelandic *bokka* ‘face, image, sight, ghost’.<sup>752</sup> That is all from him. Otherwise, the origin of the word is not definite in his opinion. But it is clear that Eng. *bug* and Wel. *bwg* are directly related to the Russian word in all senses. On the other hand, referring to the above-mentioned Norwegian connection with *bugge* ‘important man’, we should draw attention to Fasmer’s analysis that the Russian word *buka* ‘head, representative, (village) administrator’ stems from the same word meaning ‘specter’.<sup>753</sup> So, there are enough parallels in the east. We should perhaps add to the list the Russian and Common Slavic word *muxa* ‘fly’.

Rus. *pugalo* is from the verb *pugat* ‘to frighten, annoy’. Besides the above-mentioned Lith. verb *bugti* ‘to terrify’ and its derivatives, Fasmer points to a possible connection with Sanskrit *pūjā* ‘to respect’. It is worth noting that the word only exists in Belorussian among the Slavic languages.<sup>754</sup> Therefore, it seems, the verbal root *bug-/pug-* is not widespread in the Indo-European realm, except for ‘some’ eastern shores of the Baltic. This is troublesome, but also suggestive: It is likely that the verbs were secondary; there were first the creatures.

As a contrasting example, Serbian has the word *bauk*, the name of an imaginary creature used to frighten kids. It originates from the sound *bau*, an imitation of wolves howling.<sup>755</sup> Serbian children are frightened by saying “*bau bau!*” (cf. Turkish verb *pavkır-* ‘to howl!’). This may be a good departure to seek an eventual root. In Turkish, adults say “*böö!*” to frighten babies and children. This by no means contains the ululation (cf. Tr. *ulu-* with the same meaning) of wolves or dogs, but refers to big and supernatural creatures.

Dispersion of the *bugs* and *bugbears* is not restricted to Ireland, Britain and Russia. Hungarian has the word *bogár* for insect. In terms of an original one-syllable language, it is almost the same as the above words. Like English and Russian words, its origin is unknown.<sup>756</sup> Hungarian also likely has the cognate word *bögöly* ‘horsefly’. Although it underlines a connection of the two words, the Hungarian etymological dictionary pays

<sup>751</sup> Liberman, *An Analytic Dictionary of English Etymology*, 7.

<sup>752</sup> Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ russkogo jazyka -I-*, 236.

<sup>753</sup> Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ russkogo jazyka -I-*, 235.

<sup>754</sup> Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ russkogo jazyka -III-*, 399-400.

<sup>755</sup> Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga jezika*, 123.

<sup>756</sup> Benkő et al., *A Magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára -I-*, 321.

more attention to the second word to discuss possible origins, the only source being Turkic.<sup>757</sup> It is considering, however, not transferring the debate to the cognate word *bogár*, and therefore to accept the latter as totally unique and rootless.

Among all of the languages discussed here, Turkic has the earliest and most records for the concerning words. Mahmud of Kashgar defines *bög* and its variants *böy* and *bi* as “a poisonous spider”.<sup>758</sup> Clauson formulises the eventual meaning as “a poisonous spider, tarantula”.<sup>759</sup> It is a Common Turkic word, and today the general name of insects in Turkic languages comes from the same root: Turkish *böcek* is only a diminutive form of *bög*. There are also derivatives of it like *buvelek* (< *bugelek*), a kind of insect especially haunting livestock animals.

Turkic languages expectably also have spectres of a *bög* origin: Tatar *bökäy*, *bükäy*, Bashkir *bokay*, *bökäy*, Kyrgyz *böö*, Uzbek *böci*, Turkmen *böci*, Uyghur *böcü*, etc.<sup>760</sup> In Siberian Turkic dialects and languages it turns to *mok-*. In Turkish, the word *öcü* is no longer used alone. Fasmer’s Russian dictionary does not mention any of these words, while Öhmət’janov’s Tatar etymological dictionary intimates that the Russian *buka* is a loanword from Turkic.<sup>761</sup> The Russian and Turkic words cannot be isolated from each other. A geographical view would further help to bring this issue into the light. In the Volga-Ural region, the Turkic words are nearest to the Russian form. Central Asian forms are similar to each other and grouped around themselves. The Siberian forms starting from Western Siberia (*mokay*, *moxuy*, etc.) are similar to the Volga-Ural ones, having only a *b-* > *m-* shift. Thus, it is possible that the Russians loaned *buka* from those Volga Turks, likely under the Tatars, if not from the earlier Kipchaks. Besides, the Russian word was recorded in the Volga region.<sup>762</sup> Central Asian *böcü/böci* looks like an approximation of *böcek* ‘insect’. The earliest record and possibly the common form is the before-

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<sup>757</sup> Benkö et al., *A Magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára -I-*, 359. Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 167-169, treat that word in the same way, and do not include *bogár* in their list.

<sup>758</sup> Mahmud al-Kāšgharī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -II-*, 215, 219, 257.

<sup>759</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 323.

<sup>760</sup> *Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Sözlüğü*, eds. Ahmet B. Ercilasun et al. (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991), 672-673.

<sup>761</sup> Rifkat Öhmət’janov, *Tatar Teleneñ Kyskaça Tarihi-Ətimologik Süzlege* (Kazan: Tatarstan Kitap Neşriyatı, 2001), 55.

<sup>762</sup> F. I. Filin et al., *Slovary’ russkix narodnyx govorov -III-* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1968), 262.

mentioned *büke* “dragon, big snake”, which entered Volga Russian as *muga*, which Fasmer brings from the Mongolian *mogay*.<sup>763</sup>

Although the existence of an ‘Altaic’ family is open to debate, and has never been proven, Mongolian (and any language) should not be excluded from this survey. *Bug* ‘an evil spirit, demon, vampire’<sup>764</sup> is of the examined family, and almost the same as the English word. For the meaning ‘snake’ Mongolian has the parallel word *mogay*, which looks like a loanword from Turkic (Old Turkic *büke* becomes *mokay* and the like in Siberia). There is another word in Mongolian for a gigantic creature with many heads: *Manggus*. Nor does this word seem apart from the group of our cognate words. Turkic *büke* has seven heads, and looks like a *manggus*.

By now, we have had mainly two troublesome points: Mongolians have no insects, and Hungarians have no ghosts, regarding the examined words. The partial case in Mongolian may be due to loaning from Turkish. It is difficult to say that gigantic and/or supernatural aliens do not turn into insects in the semantic sense, and to agree with the above-mentioned English etymologists, while the vice-versa case is true. Below there is an examination indicating a travel from greatness to insects. Perhaps the loaning to Mongolian is not a very old case, and this language has not completed the process of connecting insects with ghosts for our group of words.

To sum up, the English *bug* of unknown origin has both phonetic and double-semantic equivalences in the Turkic *bög*. This would be relativised if we examine another English word of unknown origin, *big*, for which Ayto says “one of the notorious mystery words of English etymology – extremely common in the modern language, but of highly dubious origin.” Etymologies anonymously point to the Norwegian *bugge* ‘important man’.<sup>765</sup> Even this connection, if true, is troublesome. Such a basic word, a fundamental adjective should not have been restricted to only a marginal word in a single Germanic language. But this situation might also be helpful to us in our current survey.

Common people frequently ask whether there is a relation between English *big* and Turkish *büyük* ‘big’, in contrast to scholars who usually prefer to think solely within adjusted areas. The Turkish adjective was

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<sup>763</sup> Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ russkogo jazyka -II-*, 669.

<sup>764</sup> Ferdinand D. Lessing et al., *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), 131.

<sup>765</sup> Skeat, *The Concise Dictionary of English Etymology*, 48; Liberman, *Word Origins*, 186; Liberman, *An Analytic Dictionary of English Etymology*, 7; Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary*, 171; Ayto, *Word Origins*, 60.

derived from the verb *büyü-* ‘to grow’ with the deverbal formative *-k*. Its oldest written form is *bedük* ‘(physically) big, great’ < *bedü-* ‘to be or become big, great, etc.’<sup>766</sup> But the verb in turn was made of an adjective with the addition of the denominal *-u/-ü/-ı/-i-* that makes verbs. Thus, the eventual adjective root in OT should be *\*bed*. These formatives came only after consonants.<sup>767</sup> What is troublesome, however, is that there is no such word. Thus, Sevortjan takes the roots *\*bed*, *\*bey*, *\*büy* and *\*biy* altogether, in contrast to Clauson, which stems from the fact that there are more *-y* alternatives than *-d* ones.<sup>768</sup> It is highly probable that *bedük* and *bedü-* represent a transitory form, which was likely never applied to the root. It is also interesting that today’s homonymous *büyü* ‘magic’ was *bügü* in Old Turkic, and never *\*büdü*. Likewise, the earlier form of the Turkish word *bey* ‘mister, lord’ is *beg*, which is still the case in the majority of Turkic countries, and was so in Turkey by the early Ottoman times.

Some Turkic languages have shorter forms such as Tuvian *möñ* and Chuvash *män* ‘big, great’. The latter seems to be related to old Kipchak and Oghuz *man*,<sup>769</sup> which was recorded only in place names (cf. *Mankerman*, the Tatar name of Kiev; *Mangışlak*, northwest Caspian coastal region with a deep hinterland). I’m of the tendency that the *man* version was different from the root we seek in the Proto-Turkic period too, albeit the two Turkic words seem to meet on a ‘Nostratic’ level. Thus, the suggestion of Fedotov to relate the Chuvash *män* to Old Turkic *böñ*, which occurs in Mahmud of Kashgar as “a gross and boorish man”,<sup>770</sup> is likely of this kind. Interestingly, Turkish describes a man with a great head and stupid sight with the separate words *man* and *bön*. They should go back to the same roots denoting bigness. Finally, the early Uyghur Tes inscription has the words *b<sup>u</sup>k u<sup>l</sup>g<sup>g</sup> k<sup>a</sup>g<sup>a</sup>n e<sup>r</sup>m<sup>i</sup>ş*. Tekin proposes to read the first word as *bök* with the meaning ‘high, exalted, sublime’, thus “they were high and great qagans”.<sup>771</sup>

<sup>766</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 299, 302.

<sup>767</sup> Marcel Erdal, *Old Turkic Word Formation -II-* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 474. However, he does not include *bedü-* among the 11 examples of this kind that he found in Old Turkic.

<sup>768</sup> Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov “B”*, 288.

<sup>769</sup> Fedotov, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ čuvaškogo jazyka -I-*, 349; Róna-Tas, “The Reconstruction of Proto-Turkic”, 79. The latter takes the ultimate origin to Chinese.

<sup>770</sup> Mahmud al-Kāšyārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -II-*, 330.

<sup>771</sup> Talat Tekin, “Nine Notes on the Tes Inscription”, *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* 42, 1 (1988), 113.

Therefore, Proto-Turkic seems to have two one-syllable words for ‘big’, which ultimately go back to the same origin in a very distant linguistic past. Their memories survived to the recorded times. Of these, the *bök*-like variant seems to be related to both English *big* and Norwegian *bugge* ‘important man’, both of which are of unknown origins, according to etymologists. Classical rules and approximations of linguistics do not permit a comparison of languages from different families; but one would like to see references to the Russian *buka* ‘headman’ (regarding the suggested Norwegian origin *bugge* ‘important man’) and *buka* ‘ghost’ in English etymologies, since Russian is also an ‘Indo-European’ language. Nor do the Russian word(s), however, seem to have Indo-European roots. Although the ancestral Slavic language had the words *\*bôgъ* ‘God’ > “prosperity, good fortune” > *\*bogàtъ* ‘rich’, which are loanwords from Iranian and cognates with Sans. *bhága-* “prosperity, good fortune” and Late Avestan *baya* ‘lord, God’,<sup>772</sup> and there are rooms to produce the Rus. *buka* locally on this basis, this does not seem possible, because: (1) The Slavic languages have *bojàti* ‘to frighten’; it does not turn into other forms such as *bogà* or *bugà* (eventually related to the Rus. *pugat*’, cf. above). Thus, any name derived from this verbal root would have *-j-*. (2) *Buka* is not a popular Slavic word; the non-Russians do not know it at all. (3) It is not widespread even in Russian, but dialectal. That this is a Volga Russian word clearly shows that it was loaned from the Tatar (thus Bulgaro-Kipchak) environment. (4) Indo-European, namely Sanskrit and Avesta, does not seem to have such an inherited word or root.

The Norwegian *bugge* can easily be explained. In history, the first mention of the Rus’, originally a Scandinavian tribe from southeast Sweden in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century, is together with the note that their rulers used to be called *caganus* ‘qagan’.<sup>773</sup> This very early cultural interaction between the Turks (Khazars) and Scandinavians makes it possible for other intercourses, too. Thus, both the Norw. *bugge* and Rus. *buka* can easily be connected with Turkic *beg* ‘lord, important man’, but perhaps also with *bök* ‘big, great’. The Norwegian word may be the source of the English *big*; this is a probability, but as the English *bug* is not shared by Norwegian or the other Germanic languages, but by the Celtic languages of the Island, both *big* and *bug* should be a particular case between the Island and the ultimate source, likely Turkic. I do not know a historical means for this transfer except for the Sarmatian detachments. The source

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<sup>772</sup> Rick Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexicon* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 50.

<sup>773</sup> *The Annals of St-Bertin*, trans. Janet L. Nelson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 44.



of the Norwegian word, if it is really of Turkic origin, may point to the As heritage as well.

This is by no means to say that Turkic is the eventual owner of the root. Latin *magna* or Greek *mega* have nothing to do with Turkic, for instance; or the Slavic *mogt* or English *might* do not descend from the Turkic *bek* ‘powerful’. But the English words *bug* and *big* pose a special stance and the double-semantic connection of *bug* (‘insect’ and ‘spectre’) being shared only by Turkic is particularly noteworthy.

Another English word with an unknown origin is *body* < Old English *bodig*. There, only Old High German recorded *botah*, and nothing else. No Indo-European word resembles or associates with it. For Ayto, “for a word so central to people’s perception of themselves, *body* is remarkably isolated linguistically.”<sup>774</sup> Old Turkic has *bod* “probably originally ‘stature, the size of a man’, but from the earliest period it also clearly means a clan.”<sup>775</sup> The collective form of the same word is *bodun*, as mentioned in the first chapter, indicating a tribal union or an organised group of tribes. Singular and plural forms of the word seem to point not to the human size/height, but to his/her body directly. Thus, there is a visible relation between the Turkic and English words.

The English *ache* has no Germanic cognates and is of uncertain origin.<sup>776</sup> Old Turkic has *açı* (?*aci*): Originally ‘to be bitter’, in a physical sense, later also ‘to be sour’; at a very early date it developed several metaphoric meanings, the commonest (of a disease, etc.) being ‘to be painful’, hence (of a person) ‘to feel pain’, and hence ‘to feel the pain of others, to feel compassion.’<sup>777</sup> They are easily comparable.

“Where *girl* comes from is one of the unsolved puzzles of English etymology” says Ayto. Earlier it denoted ‘child’ rather than ‘female child’. Low German has *göre* ‘child, kid’, and the Norwegian dialect *gurre* has ‘lamb’, that might be related to it. The ending *-l* is the diminutive suffix *-el*.<sup>778</sup> Old Turkic has *qız*: Basically ‘girl, unmarried woman’, but often

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<sup>774</sup> Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary*, 183; Ayto, *Word Origins*, 67.

<sup>775</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 296. We must correct it to be a ‘tribe’. It is a very interesting linguistic usage that in Turkish you should apply the word only to Turkic tribes, while for all non-Turkic ones you have the Arabic origin *kabile* ‘tribe’. Likewise, Turkic clans are called *uruk*, while non-Turkic ones are denoted as *klan* of Latin (Etruscan) origin.

<sup>776</sup> Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary*, 14; Ayto, *Word Origins*, 4-5.

<sup>777</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 20-21.

<sup>778</sup> Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary*, 658; Ayto, *Word Origins*, 244.

used with a more restricted meaning of ‘daughter, slave girl’, and the like.<sup>779</sup> Its Chuvash, thus likely Proto-Turkic form is *xěr* ‘daughter, girl’ as expected,<sup>780</sup> It stands very close to the English original \**gir*. Probably, the English *her* is also of the same connection.

There are a good many English words that likewise can be associated with Turkic words. They, however, have widespread Germanic cognates but no generic Indo-European connections. They should be treated elsewhere. It is crucial to also mention some other words shared by Hungarian such as *nyák* ‘neck’, which are by no means Germanic loanwords in Hungarian.

Hungarian also has some interesting connections with English. We have already told of the Hungarian word *bogár* to be associated with the English *bug*. Current etymologies for *too* focus on its meaning ‘also’, making it an emphatic form of ‘to’.<sup>781</sup> Its ‘excess’ meaning may not be a later development. Hungarian *tó* ‘many’ with almost the same pronunciation agrees well with this. For the verb *keep* there is no link established in Germanic languages.<sup>782</sup> In the concerning parts we mentioned the ‘Ural-Turkic’ verb *kap-* ‘to take, hold, grasp’. It also has the meaning ‘to contain’, thus Tr. *kap* ‘container, vessel, pot, case’, Hungarian *kép* ‘image, picture’ are to be loaned from Turkic *kep* ‘model’;<sup>783</sup> the latter occurs as a ‘mould of anything’, and is exemplified with ‘brick mould’.<sup>784</sup> A mould is something to be ‘keeping’. Thus, all of them seem to be related.

The word *wall* was borrowed from Latin *vallum* ‘rampart’ by Old English, originally denoting a “stockade made of stakes”.<sup>785</sup> That meaning is still maintained in other Germanic languages. This might be the eventual and certain etymology, but I wonder how and why English developed such a simple word as *wall* from a Latin word meaning ‘rampart’, because the Hungarian *fal* ‘wall’ provokes me. Its Turkic equivalent is *bal* in accordance with the before stated equation of Hu. *f-* and Tr. *b-*. There are still other Hungarian words that can be related to some English words through some semantic ways.

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<sup>779</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 679.

<sup>780</sup> Fedotov, *Etimologičeskij slovar' čuvaškogo jazyka -II-*, 344.

<sup>781</sup> Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary*, 1628; Ayto, *Word Origins*, 511.

<sup>782</sup> Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary*, 841; Ayto, *Word Origins*, 298.

<sup>783</sup> Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 527-8.

<sup>784</sup> Maḥmud al-Kāšyārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -II-*, 208.

<sup>785</sup> Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary*, 1727; Ayto, *Word Origins*, 539.

There, words remained from the old layers of the English language, and linguistics does not seem to provide concrete or plausible explanations for them. These words pose a historical problem that needs to be discussed. I suggested a solution for a group of them; this is better than transferring agnostic marks for those words, at least until we see new ideas. Maybe all of them are coincidental, though I have no idea about the statistical probability of such a coincidence. The absurdity or improbability of these suggestions, if so, should be proven, without taking refuge in the classical rejection, “unrelated languages cannot be compared”, which contains a high degree of stupidity. I’m sorry about this, because we cannot understand whether they are related or not without making comparisons.

These words are from the ‘deeper’ parts of the language, not easily borrowed. They are not cultural wanderers. The injection of them into the language within the society would be a surer way to transfer some basic vocabulary to a foreign and unrelated language. That is, they might be linguistic relics of an assimilated foreign group. The 5500 Iagyzes on the Island are a good candidate for this. They should have kept their language in order to continue their own military organisation and mission for a long time, and their native families should have learned and adopted a good vocabulary from them. Perhaps they used the paternal language at home for a long time.

Why we have both Turkic and Hungarian is directly concerned with the nature of the source. For a language, whose speakers left the paternal South Urals in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, it is hard to differentiate between the two languages. Sarmatian should have represented such a phase as Turkic and Hungarian were keeping their common properties at a considerable level.

The target of this chapter is not to tell of “ancient Turko-British relations”. The origins of those words or Arthurian traditions are matters of British history and linguistics rather than Turkic issues. There are ‘stone-like’ solid evidences of a Sarmatian presence on the Island. Some linguistic and cultural data potentially belonging to them can be explained through Turkic, as we have done here. Thus, in a retrospective view, I may use them to restore the identity of the Sarmatians proper, with whom Iazygians seem to have some genetic affiliation. The original population was steadily pushed by the Iranic elements, the to-be political Sarmatians, pouring into Eastern Europe from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Although they mixed with other peoples around, including the Iranic ones, mainly Rhozolani, as the quoted sources clearly describe, nevertheless the Sarmatians seem to have kept a considerable part of their identity. Thus, we can find Turkic associations from the British data. These in turn show the Turkic origins of the original Sarmatians.

# CHAPTER 11

## SCYTHIANS: THE GOLDEN AGE AND THE AGE OF GOLD

By now, we have seen that the traces that can be explained by the Turks in Eastern Europe go back to the BC ages; and those bearing Indic colours start to appear by the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, that is, with the ‘political Sarmatian’ period. This means that we should look for some Turks in the region during the Scytho-Sarmatian ages (c. 7<sup>th</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC), regardless of the ethno-linguistic affiliation of the Scythians and Sarmatians. Only, Herodotus underlines that the river names given by him were taken from the Scythians.<sup>786</sup>

Scythians are the first people of Central Asia whose names are known to us through sources, except for the Aryans of the same region from whom descended the linguistic ancestors of Indic and Iranian speaking peoples. Another significance of the Scythians is that there are no archaeologically traceable deviations of them from their predecessors and successors. Namely, they were the grandsons of the earlier archaeological cultures (Andronovo and Karasuk) of Central Eurasia and grandfathers of the historically known peoples of ancient and medieval Eurasia.<sup>787</sup> Thus, their identity is of utmost importance in the associated branches of Eurasian studies.

Apart from abundant relics of their material culture and earlier accounts of Assyrian and Greek sources, the most detailed usable data in defining their ethno-cultural affiliation were stored in Herodotus’ book. They crossed the Volga river in at least c. 700 BC and drove the Cimmerians

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<sup>786</sup> Herodotus, II, 257 (IV/58).

<sup>787</sup> Leonid T. Yablonsky, “Some Ethnogenetical Hypotheses”, in *Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes in the Early Iron Age*, eds. J. Davis-Kimball, V. A. Bashilov and L. T. Yablonsky (Berkeley: Zinat 1995), 242. Nor are there genetic differences between the present-day and Iron Age populations of Central Asia. Cf. M. Gonza’lez-Ruiz et al., “Tracing the Origin of the East-West Population Admixture in the Altai Region (Central Asia)”, *PLoS ONE* 7, 11 (2012), 8.

from the Western Steppes.<sup>788</sup> The latter, recorded first by the Assyrians to attack there in 679 BC,<sup>789</sup> came as far as Western Anatolia as fugitive-invaders, but gradually disappeared in the peninsula after a series of defeats by Anatolian local formations. A few generations later, the Scythians followed them and beginning in 616 BC descended through the Caucasus to the Middle East, where they stayed for 28 years as lords, according to Herodotus and Mesopotamian written sources.<sup>790</sup> After a defeat at the hands of the Medes, they retreated to their northern abodes.<sup>791</sup> Our purpose is not to write a political history of the Scythians, thus, this is enough due to the lack of space. As for Eastern Europe, their connection with Central Asia was cut down by the Sarmatians c. mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC, as before stated, who came to the eastern banks of the River Don, and gradually and constantly pushed the Scythians away to be eventual masters of what is today Western Ukraine.

A rough analysis of the ‘peoples of Scythia’ would help to reveal the identity of the ‘Scythian people’.<sup>792</sup> In contrast to Herodotus, making no clear descriptions of the physical appearance of the Scythians, Hippocrates does depict them in the view of a man of medicine: “As to the physique of the other Scythians, in that they are like one another and not at all like others, the same remark applies to them as to the Egyptians, only the latter are distressed by the heat, the former by the cold.”<sup>793</sup> “As to their seasons and their physique, the Scythians are very different from all other men.”<sup>794</sup> “Scythians are a ruddy race because of the cold, not through any fierceness

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<sup>788</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 18, thinks that those drinking milk and feeding mares in Homeros (8<sup>th</sup> century BC) refer to the Scythians, but these are usual activities in the steppes and difficult to assign to certain peoples. Just, the author asserts that the Scythians appeared in the North of the Black Sea only after 616 BC (*idem*, 26).

<sup>789</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 19.

<sup>790</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 19-20.

<sup>791</sup> Szemerényi has a different chronology for those events, but the Scythian presence ended consequently by the year 685: Oswald Szemerényi, *Four Old Iranian Ethnic Names: Scythian – Skudra – Sogdian – Saka* (Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 6. A clear outline of the first – known – century of the Scythians can be read in English in Barry Cunliffe, *The Scythians: Nomad Warriors of the Steppe* (Oxford: OUP, 2019), 31 ff.

<sup>792</sup> The term ‘Scythian’ in this book refers to all the concerning population from the Altays to the Carpathians for the sake of simplicity, while the true way should be employing the endonym *Saka* for all. The former name taken from ancient Greeks is used in historiography usually to designate only those migrating to Eastern Europe.

<sup>793</sup> Hippocrates, I, 119, 121 (Airs Waters Places XVIII).

<sup>794</sup> Hippocrates, I, 121 (Airs Waters Places XIX).

in the sun's heat. It is the cold that burns their white skin and turns it ruddy."<sup>795</sup>

This, however, is a generic evaluation based on climatologic factors, and applies to all peoples in Eastern Europe at the first glance. Thus, it may not be helpful to extract some information about the Scythians proper, but we should underline that the physician separates them from other peoples of a cold climate. Therefore, they were distinct from other peoples of Europe, as well as Iranian, Caucasian, etc., groups, as their bones and genes indicate (see below the genetic results).

In Herodotus' narrations, it is possible to define five Scythian groups. Scythians lived along the coast and in its hinterland between the Danube and Dnieper. Halazons, a Scythian people, dwelt where the rivers Bug and Dniester approach each other. The 'Farmer Scythians' inhabited both sides of the mid-Dnieper, while the 'Nomadic Scythians' were wandering the left side of the same river. The 'Royal Scythians' held the region to the north of the Crimea and Azov.<sup>796</sup> Rostovtzeff puts the original (royal plus nomadic) Scythians on the steppes between the Don and Dnieper.<sup>797</sup>

This is exactly what we should expect to see in the population of a nomadic polity: The ruling/founding/core group (the Royal group),<sup>798</sup> their close associates of the same stock (the Nomads as well as those settling on the northwest Black Sea region), an eminent tribe of the same stock known by its own name but not distinguished from the union (the Halazons; cf. the Iazyges vs. Sarmatians and the Magyars vs. Onogurs), and those native farmers enslaved by the nomadic lords, who were few in number but extended their names to their subjects, and who themselves adopted in the course of time the lifestyles of the subjected majority. This can be compared to the first Bulgar settlements in the Balkans. The Bulgars proper were in Dobrudja and Deliorman, that is, in the lower courses of the Danube, and the subdued or allied Slavic tribes were on the borders with the Avars and Byzantium. Eventually all of them were called Bulgars.

When Herodotus was making observations, the Scythians had already intermingled with the local people, including remnants of the defeated Cimmerians.<sup>799</sup> There even appeared a Greco-Scythian people called

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<sup>795</sup> Hippocrates, I, 125 (Airs Waters Places XX).

<sup>796</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 17.

<sup>797</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922), 43.

<sup>798</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 22, associates them with the aforementioned *Saii* people of the Protogenes inscription.

<sup>799</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 23, 27.

‘Callippidae’ living just to the north of the mouth of the Dnieper.<sup>800</sup> They are called ‘Mixhelen’ in the Protogenes inscription.<sup>801</sup> There were neighbours of Scythians along the northern provinces of what is today the Ukraine, like the Agathyrsi, Neuri, Man-eaters (Androphagi), Blackcloaks (Melanchlenai), Budini and Geloni.<sup>802</sup> Including the autochthonous Tauri of the Crimea, these were independent formations having their own rulers.<sup>803</sup>

Thus, we have three kinds of Scythians: Those proper, those so-called for the membership of the union/polity, and those so-called for being governed by the Scythians proper. Herodotus describes the former as “the best and most in number of the Scythians, who deem all other Scythians their slaves.”<sup>804</sup> On the other hand, the broader/political Scythian identity had not yet been cemented in the days of Herodotus (and later, too), as it can be extracted from his sentences “how many the Scythians are I was not able to learn with exactness, but the accounts which I heard concerning the number did not tally, some saying that they are very many, and some that they are but few, counted as Scythians.”<sup>805</sup>

We should cite Rostovtzeff with preliminary corrections: “Scythians were no more than a group of Iranian tribes, mixed with Mongolians and constituting the ruling aristocracy. As conquerors and as a dominant minority, the Scythians developed a strictly military organisation, resembling the military organisation of all the nomad peoples who succeeded them, the Khazars, the various Mongolian tribes – the Torke, the Pechenegi, the Polovcy – and the Tatars.”<sup>806</sup> As seen, he clarifies in the second sentence what he means by ‘Mongolians’, which is an expected epithet because he is very careful in not using the name ‘Turk’ throughout his book (the Torke are the Oghuz branch migrating to Eastern Europe in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and the others are Turkic peoples as well). Briefly, there were some eastern elements distinguished from the rest of the population in Scythia, noticed by Hippocrates as will be quoted below.

As for the origins, Herodotus has three narrations. The first one is what may be called the native one, according to which a mythical man called Targiteus, the son of Zeus (read “supreme God of the Scythians”) and a daughter of the river Borysthenes, is the ancestor of the Scythian people.

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<sup>800</sup> Herodotus, II, 217, 219 (IV/17).

<sup>801</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 17.

<sup>802</sup> Herodotus, II, 217, 219, 221, 303 (IV/17, 18, 20, 100).

<sup>803</sup> Herodotus, II, 307 (IV/104).

<sup>804</sup> Herodotus, II, 219, 221 (IV/20).

<sup>805</sup> Herodotus, II, 283 (IV/81).

<sup>806</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 42-43.

He had three sons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and Colaxais. Once, there fell down from the sky into Scythia certain implements, all of gold, namely, a plough, a yoke, a sword, and a flask. The eldest of them, seeing this, came near with intent to take them; but the gold began to burn as he came, and he ceased from his essay; then the second approached, and the gold did again as before; when these two had been driven away by the burning of the gold, last came the youngest brother, and the burning was quenched at his approach; so he took the gold to his own house. At this his elder brothers saw how matters stood, and made over the whole royal power to the youngest. Lipoxais was the father of the Scythian clan called Auchatae; Arpoxais of those called Catiari and Traspies; and the youngest, who was the king, of those called Paralatae. All these together bear the name of Skoloti, after their king. The Scythians reckon that neither more nor less than a thousand years in all passed between their first King Targitaus and the crossing over of Darius into their country.<sup>807</sup>

There is no need to focus upon number three, since it is unbelievably universal from the prophet Noah to the Faridûn of the Persians and to the Oghuz Qagan of the Turks.<sup>808</sup> We will examine the ethnonyms below.

Greeks of the region had their own version of the Scythian genesis tale. Heracles (Hercules), driving the king of Geryones, came to this land, which was then desert, but is now inhabited by the Scythians. Heracles came thence to the country now called Scythia, where, meeting with wintry and frosty weather, he drew his lion's skin over him and fell asleep, and while he slept, his mares, that were grazing yoked to the chariot, were marvellously spirited away. When Heracles awoke, he searched for them, till at last he came to the land called the Woodland, and there he found in a cave a creature of double form that was half damsel and half serpent; above the buttocks she was a woman, below them a snake. She said that she had the mares, and would not restore them to him before he had

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<sup>807</sup> Herodotus, II, 203, 205 (IV/5-7).

<sup>808</sup> Sophia-Karin Psarras, "Han and Xiongnu: A Reexamination of Cultural and Political Relations (I)", *Monumenta Serica* 51 (2003), 129, compares the three divisions of the Royal Scythians with the tripartite administrative system of the Xiongnu. This is noteworthy, but, as will be dealt below, general political practices should not necessarily be considered as ethnic markers, unless they represent a clear deviation from the established traditions. For instance, the Persian political culture does not include sharing the imperial lands between sons of the king, in contrast to the steppe, where all sons had their own share of the land. In that course, that the legendary Persian ruler Faridûn shared his domain among his three sons is a clear deviation from the tradition, and should be evaluated in some other ways.



intercourse with her; which Heracles did, in hope of this reward.<sup>809</sup> Expectably, they had three sons, Agathyrsus and the next Gelonus and the youngest Scythes, from whom descend respectively the peoples Agathyrsi, Geloni and Scythians.

Herodotus does not believe those stories and confesses he tends to the historical explanation that the Scythians were defeated by the Massagetae in Asia, and fled to the Cimmerian country by crossing the river Volga ('Araxes').<sup>810</sup> The Scythians of the Herodotian time seem to have legalised their presence in those lands by referring to a millennium of years long past, and the Greeks were busy with theatrical entertainment during the production of their version, keeping some figures that may be recognised in some or many other tales. The snake-girl may represent, among others, a dermatological illness of the northern peoples that ended in producing the mermaids.

Also, intercourse with a fairy girl is shared by the before mentioned Polyphem-kind stories, especially by the Turkic story of Tepegöz. Herodotus, on the other hand, gives the address of the Cyclops, whom he calls 'Arimaspians' in the Scythian language. They lived beyond the Issedones, "beyond whom are the griffins that guard gold, and beyond these again the Hyperboreans, whose territory reaches to the sea. Except the Hyperboreans, all these nations (and first the Arimaspians) ever make war upon their neighbours; the Issedones were pushed from their lands by the Arimaspians, and the Scythians by the Issedones, and the Cimmerians, dwelling by the southern sea, were hard pressed by the Scythians and left their country."<sup>811</sup> Above we quoted Priscus of the late 5<sup>th</sup> century, according to whom the Ogur envoys in Istanbul in c. 463 horrified the Romans with the same story, having an updated cast but an unchanged scenario.

It is regardless of the Scythian identity, but we should briefly mention the Neuri, who "one generation before the coming of Darius' army it fell out that they were driven from their country by snakes, they left their own country and dwelt among the Budini."<sup>812</sup> Once a year they used to be turned into wolves and after remaining so for a few days returned again to

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<sup>809</sup> Herodotus, II, 207 (IV/8-9).

<sup>810</sup> Herodotus, II, 211 (IV/11). The name indeed refers to the river Sir Darya.

<sup>811</sup> Herodotus, II, 213, 215 (IV/13).

<sup>812</sup> Herodotus, II, 307 (IV/105). They are identified with 'a part' of the Proto-Slavic community (Vernadsky, *A History of Russia -I-*, 61-62). If true, their migration among the likely Finnic Budini may represent a beginning phase of the Slavic dispersal.

their former shape. This story, much favoured by Hollywood, not being conscious of its origins, needs a separate chapter.

Therefore, except for some usable proper nouns, these genesis tales of the Scythians do not seem to be very helpful in resolving their identities. On the other hand, Herodotus describes all nations of Eastern Europe known to him with their cultural and ethnic identities as much as he can do. Thus, we should pass to the topic of languages. First of all, the Agathyrsi, the to-be cousins of the Scythians had indeed nothing to do with them and were like the Thracians.<sup>813</sup> Regarding their lands in the northwest of the Ukraine, they can be associated with some components of the Proto-Slavic entity, if not Proto-Baltic.<sup>814</sup>

Herodotus also tells of the languages of other surrounding peoples. The Man-eaters and Blackcloaks living to the north of the Scythians, as well as the Thyssagetæ to the east of the mid-Volga were by no means Scythian stock and were separate nations, in language too, even though they lived like the latter.<sup>815</sup> For the Geloni, the other to-be cousins of the Scythians in the Greek version, Herodotus asserts, “they were by their origin, Greeks, who left their trading ports to settle among the Budini; and they speak a language half Greek and half Scythian. But the Budini speak not the same language as the Geloni, nor is their manner of life the same.”<sup>816</sup> Therefore, the Budini who were native to the soil and nomads spoke a different language from that of the Scythians. They might be linguistic ancestors of some local Finnic peoples, primarily Mordvians. In addition, the Gelons were associated with the Scythians in language; Cf. above our Gelon-Yelan ‘snake’ connection. Just as, Herodotus underlines the multilinguistic environment of those parts of Eurasia up to Southern Siberia by saying that the Scythians do their business with seven interpreters and in seven languages.<sup>817</sup>

Briefly, the Father of History mentions linguistic differences or associations on some occasions, but there is no speech on that between the Scythians and Persians, although he reserved a book of his *Histories* for the relations of the two peoples. He groups, not being very sure, the Central Asian Massagetæ among the Scythian/Sacæ peoples, but says nothing about their linguistic resemblance to the Persians, with whom they

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<sup>813</sup> Herodotus, II, 307 (IV/104).

<sup>814</sup> W. K. Matthews, “Medieval Baltic Tribes”, *American Slavic and East European Review* 8, 2 (1949), 129, 134-135, Proto-Baltic tribes spread once upon a time by the mid-Dnieper banks.

<sup>815</sup> Herodotus, II, 219, 221, 307 (IV/18, 20, 22, 106).

<sup>816</sup> Herodotus, II, 309 (IV/108, 109).

<sup>817</sup> Herodotus, II, 225 (IV/24).

fought to the death. Herodotus does not say anything about the intelligibility of the Persian and Scytho-Sarmatian languages. As we quoted him in the previous chapter, Scythian and Sarmatian languages had only dialectal differences.

Furthermore, a plain record of the historian makes things much more complicated: “A tribe of wandering Scythians separated itself from the rest, and escaped into Medean territory. This was then ruled by Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, son of Deioces. Cyaxares at first treated the Scythians kindly, as being suppliants for his mercy; and as he held them in high regard he entrusted boys to their charge to be taught their language and the craft of archery.”<sup>818</sup> If Scythians are Iranic peoples, then the Mede cannot be so, and vice versa, in contrast to the sentence of Rostovtseff: “...no doubt that the Scythian tribes of South Russia were Iranians, nearly akin to the Medes and Persians, but belonging to another branch of the stock.”<sup>819</sup> Their languages were totally foreign to each other or unintelligible to the most degree, if we listen to Herodotus. For two Iranic languages in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC this cannot be surmised, because their differences would only be at a dialectal level in those days.

During the Scythian age, not only various Iranic dialects (not languages), but also all those languages descending from Aryan should have been intelligible for the speakers of both sides. A Sanskrit translation of an Avestan hymn reveals this fact:

**Avestan**

*təm amavantəm yazatəm  
surəm damohu səvistəm  
mitrəm yazai zaotrabyo*

**Sanskrit**

*tam amavantam yajatam  
suram dhamasu savistham  
mitram yajai hotrabyah*

“This powerful strong god Mithra, strongest in the world of creatures, I will worship with libations.”<sup>820</sup>

In order to understand what the Scythian language was, we first need to elaborate proper nouns, beginning with ethnic appellations. First of all, the name ‘Scythian’ was restricted to the usage of the Greeks, and was not in use by the Scythians or others.<sup>821</sup> Why is it so and what does it mean? A brief examination would show that it is a loanword in Greek. In earlier cuneiform scripts, Assyrians have the forms for the Scythians *Aškuzai*,

<sup>818</sup> Herodotus, I, 89 (I/73); I. M. Diakonoff, “Media”, in *Cambridge History of Iran -II-*, ed. Ilya Gershevitch (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), 118-119.

<sup>819</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 60.

<sup>820</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 35.

<sup>821</sup> Herodotus, II, 203, 205 (IV/5-7).

*Askuzāi* or *Iškuzāi*, *Iškuza*, identical with the Biblical *Ashkenaz*, in which they become son of *Gomer* ‘Cimmerian’.<sup>822</sup> The original version should be without *A-*: Thus, the remaining *Škuza* is identical with *Scythas* of the early Greeks. Szemerényi suggests an Iranian original form *\*skuða* for it.<sup>823</sup>

There are problems, however. “Scythians were called *Sacae*; for that is the Persian name for all.”<sup>824</sup> Persian inscriptions approve Herodotus by using only the name *Saka* for them, and not such a name as *\*skuða*. Nor can it be a self-appellation of the Scythians, otherwise Herodotus would inform us about it. This attribution of Szemerényi is contradictory within itself. If it were Iranian, then Scythians, speaking in an Iranian language according to the author, would also have that word, since it is widespread in the Indo-European language as will be seen below, and since Scythians and Persians would not be so distant for one of them to forget such a basic and common word.<sup>825</sup> Assyrians likely did not take it from the Greeks. So, who used to use that name for them, if Scythians and Persians did not?

Szemerényi refers to a group of Germanic words, cognates of the English *shooter* and German *Schütze*. Proto-Germanic *\*skutjan*, Old English *scytta* ‘a shooter, an archer; sagittarius’, Old Norse *skyti* ‘a marksman, shooter, archer’, Old High German *scuzzo* ‘Schütze’ < IE *\*skeud* > *\*skud-o* ‘shooter, archer’.<sup>826</sup> It is a very plausible idea to relate the ethnonym to the arrow and bow characterising an ordinary Scythian. There seems to be no better suited word to the context. However, it does not occur in the Iranian or Indo-Iranic world. This is a great problem since we have nothing to do with the Germanic tribes then and there at the first glance.

A chronology of events and of our words *Škuza* and *Scytha* may be helpful. Since the Scythians came to the Middle East from the Caucasus and since then an Iranian mediator was not likely to convey their name to the Assyrians and Greeks, the Cimmerians fleeing from them to the south might be the source of that name in Mesopotamia. Greeks should also have equally learned about that name from the same source both in Western Anatolia and in the Northern Black Sea colonies. We do not

<sup>822</sup> Szemerényi, *Four Old Iranian Ethnic Names*, 7.

<sup>823</sup> Szemerényi, *Four Old Iranian Ethnic Names*, 16-17.

<sup>824</sup> Herodotus, III, 379 (VII/64).

<sup>825</sup> Although, Szemerényi identifies the *\*skuða* with the ethnonym *Suguda* ‘Sogdian’, whose meaning is by no means known, and alleges that *\*skuða* ‘archer’ was a common word for ‘North Iranian peoples’ (*Four Old Iranian Ethnic Names*, 39). It seems, Scythians were not aware of having such a word or they were simply not an Iranian people.

<sup>826</sup> Szemerényi, *Four Old Iranian Ethnic Names*, 20-21.

know that Iranic peoples had the word *\*skuða*, but knowing almost nothing about their languages, the likely Indo-European Cimmerians might have had it (some theories on their Central European origins are noteworthy at this moment).<sup>827</sup> The word is surely not restricted to the Germanic languages. An English reader would immediately associate the Latin word *sagittarius* in this context. So, the sedentary world likely took and adopted the Cimmerian denomination meaning ‘shooter, archer’ for the new-coming Central Asian people.

A self-appellation of the Scythians was *Sak/Saka* as all concerning sources (Greek, Persian, Sogdian, Indian, and Chinese) unanimously record.<sup>828</sup> Abaev suggests the Iranic *saka* ‘deer’, guessing that it was their totem.<sup>829</sup> Even if so, cf. Turkic *sukak* ‘gazelle’ < *suk-* ‘thrusting (with its horns)’, and *siġun* ‘the male maral deer’.<sup>830</sup> But, why not go on the bow and arrow? That was surely not a characteristic of the mounted steppe warriors only in the eyes of strangers, but also of themselves. Nomadic peoples were aware of themselves in that sense. For example, Mo-Tun, the most famous ruler of the Xiong-nu (209–174 BC) describes his own people as “bow stretching people” in his letter to the Chinese emperor,<sup>831</sup> and that is a close age to the Scythians. If an ethnic or group name or appellation is then an understandable term, ancient intellectuals used to like to give their translations; Cf. the above-mentioned *Aremphaei* ‘Bald-

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<sup>827</sup> Their name has been associated from antiquity on with that of the Cimbric tribe of Jutland, who were influential, together with their allies the Teutons, in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC in ‘Germania’ and Central Europe, especially for their country in Denmark called *Himmerland* (Peter E. Busse and John T. Koch, “Cimbri and Teutones”, in *The Celts. History, Life, and Cultures -I-*, eds. J. T. Koch and A. Minard (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 203; Henri Hubert, *The Greatness and Decline of the Celts* (London: Constable, 1987), 104). The resemblance of the names *Cimber* and *Cimmer* might be real, but, if so, the latter should have left their lands in Western Europe too early, at least c. 1000 BC, in order to find new abodes in the east. Such a movement would explain and relativise the presence of such a Centum-language West European origin people as the Tocharians in Central Asia. If the Cimmerians also passed to the east of the Volga, then we would likely find another Centum-speaking people in Asia. This also supports the views supposing a late migration of the Tocharians to the east (c. 1000 BC), without any connection with the Afanas’ev Culture, as will be dealt with below. This is by no means pointing to an association between the languages of the Tocharians and the Germanic and Celtic peoples; this is beyond my capacity and expertise.

<sup>828</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 46.

<sup>829</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol’klor -I-*, 37, 49, 70, 154, 179; Grakov, *Skify*, 86.

<sup>830</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 808, 811.

<sup>831</sup> Ssu’ma Ch’ien, *Records of the Grand Historian -II-*, 168.

heads' of Herodotus, as well as the 'People of Snakes' for the *Yelan* tribe and the 'Pale Ones' for the Kumans. Might the \**skuða* of likely the Cimmerians be a translation of a self-appellation likewise?

The Old and Common Turkic word for 'bow' is *ya:*. The ending stress turned it into some forms like *cax* in Khakas and *jak* in Kazakh. The Turkish form is *yay*.<sup>832</sup> Its Proto-Turkic form should be *sa:* in accordance with the above-mentioned OT *y-* < PT *s-*. This would explain the Chinese form *Sai* for the Saka, because they perceived the word as an open syllable, and also reveal the original of the Irano-Indian forms *Saka*, with the suffix *-a* for ethnic names: *sa:a* > *saya* > *saka*. Anyway, if we are correct about the meanings of bow and arrow, Turkic has an equivalent explaining that word. Maybe we have a record as evidence. Herodotus says that "the Sacae, who are Scythians, had on their heads tall caps, erect and stiff and tapering to a point; they wore breeches, and carried their native bows, and daggers, and axes withal, which they call 'sagaris'."<sup>833</sup> It is not clear to which weapon that word refers, maybe to all, maybe only to the first one. If so, *sagar* would easily be identified as the plural form of *sag* 'bow'.

Szemerényi wants to relate the *Skudra* people mentioned in the Persian inscriptions as living in the Balkans with the name *Scytha*. He rejects the suggestions looking for them in 'Macedonia' (cf. the Albanian city *Shkodër*, Serbian *Škodra*, and Turkish *İşkodra*) for geographical reasons, and puts forward that the Persian mentioned that *Skudra* was European Turkey and eastern parts of Bulgaria.<sup>834</sup> We know by no means, however, that Scythians settled to the south of the Danube in those days. Not a Macedonian, but a wider 'Dardanian' context may easily explain this. Some groups of the latter, a Western Balkan tribe from roughly what is an extended Kosovo, had extended to the southern shores of the Marmara Sea likely after the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>835</sup> We must be reminded that the other name of *Hellespont* (Tr. *Çanakkale Boğazı*) in Western languages is still *Dardanelles*. The name of *Üsküdar*, now a district of Istanbul on the Anatolian side, may have a bearing on their name, in spite of the theories to relate it to the Latin *scutarii* 'armoured cavalry'.<sup>836</sup> Dwellers of the city of Byzantium called it *Chrysolopolis* 'Golden City', seemingly for the red

<sup>832</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 869.

<sup>833</sup> Herodotus, III, 379 (VII/64).

<sup>834</sup> Szemerényi, *Four Old Iranian Ethnic Names*, 24-26.

<sup>835</sup> Fanula Papazoglu, *Srednjobalkanska Plemena u Predrimsko Doba* (Sarajevo: ANUBIH, 1969), 101-102.

<sup>836</sup> Mehmet N. Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar -I-* (Üsküdar: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2001), 20.

lights of sunset from their back reflected upon the buildings of that site, a sight that even today is worth watching. Thus, it is likely a provisional and descriptive name, although there are of course some ancient etymologising explanations.<sup>837</sup>

On the other hand, we know the very Byzantine passion of using ancient names for peoples and places especially in the late medieval days. Thus, an existing or smoldering name going back to the pre-Roman ages might have been resurrected during the late Byzantine ages, since the name *Skutarion* occurs only from the 12<sup>th</sup> century on.<sup>838</sup> It seems from then on that the name had replaced the Greek *Chrysopolis*, and the Turks found it so and made *Üsküdar*.

The *Skudra* people, who were otherwise not emphasised in Greek and Roman sources should be very important to the Achaemenid Persians. Why? For they were on the first line of the Balkans in the European expansion, as Szemerényi underlines. The most crucial point in this sense is that *Üsküdar* is the most suitable place to cross the Bosphorus, as did the Darius army.<sup>839</sup> There and on the opposite side, now the district of Beşiktaş, the land is plain. Therefore, it is not impossible but very likely that the Bosphorus also kept memories of the Dardanians, as did the Hellespont. What is less likely is that the Scythians left some traces there.<sup>840</sup>

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<sup>837</sup> “It is called Chrysopolis, some say, because here under Persian rule they collected the gold assigned from the cities, but most say that it is on account of the tomb of Chrysos, the child of Chryseis and Agamemnon” says Dionysios of Byzantium (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD): “Anaplus of the Bosphorus”, trans. John B. Kiesling, parag. 109, accessed May 25, 2020. [https://www.academia.edu/33026399/Dionysius\\_of\\_Byzantium\\_Anaplus\\_of\\_the\\_Bosporus](https://www.academia.edu/33026399/Dionysius_of_Byzantium_Anaplus_of_the_Bosporus).

<sup>838</sup> Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, 20.

<sup>839</sup> Though Herodotus, who never mentions Chrysopolis or Scutari, has them passing through Chalcedon (modern Kadıköy) in the south (Herodotus, II, 287, IV/85), it is impossible, because the latter place is distant from the other side, and is not even in the Strait. On some later occasions also, we find the same expressions, for instance when the Avars besieged Istanbul in 626, their allied Persians came to Chalcedon to (be able to) help them. This is because Chalcedon was more significant and greater than Chrysopolis in those days.

<sup>840</sup> Except for some individual cases, of course. Dionysios of Byzantium describes a location in the Bosphorus as “The Scythian’s”, which comes from the story that “a Scythian immigrant named Taurus made a landing here. They say he then sailed to Crete and ravished Pasiphae, the daughter of Minos, whence the myth of the love and the birth (of the Minotaur) from him.” (“Anaplus of the Bosphorus”, parag. 46).

*Saka* is a simple word at least phonetically. Despite the fact that Greeks use a phonetic alphabet, renderings of foreign words, especially Turkic, are not free of problems. Above we cited the personal name *Turxanthos* of the Kök Türks. His title should and even must be *şad*, thus we tend to see that word in that name, and reconstruct it as *\*Türk Şad*, as a title.<sup>841</sup> However, even such an almost clear case cannot explain the insertion of the letter *-n-*, except for referring to oral transmission mistakes. The dead father of *Turxanthos* was called *Silziboulos*, while his name in the Kök Türk inscriptions occurs as *İstemi*.<sup>842</sup> The two names are not related of course. The former name should be a corruption of *Sir Cebu* ‘the yabgu (a secondary rank after the supreme qagan) of the Sirs’.<sup>843</sup> These examples show how difficult it is to find the real versions behind those writings. If we have no information about the context, recorded names may be even more misleading. For instance, such a name as *Prosigios* in a 12<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine book would at the first glance be seen as belonging to the Greco-Roman world, but it is indeed *Porsuk/Borsuk*, the name of a Turkoman commander. These difficulties are crucial certainly for Iranic and other languages, too.

In spite of those difficulties, many Scythian personal names can be matched with Turkic personal names, without much effort to make some linguistic survey. That is, almost all Scythian names can be explained in Turkic, and a group of them can be identified directly as historically known pre-Islamic Turkic names. This is the most important point. Turkic etymologies would not be as tortuous as those Iranic ones suggested by Trubačev, Abaev or others.

*Auchatae*: One of the earliest Scythian tribes; it can be likewise easily linked to arrow in Turkic: *ok* ‘arrow’ + *ata* ‘shooting, shooter’. Abaev suggests *vahu - ta* ‘good ones’.<sup>844</sup>

*Skolotai*: A tribal name that stems from the name of King *Sculis*.<sup>845</sup> The name can be associated with the tribal name Szekély (Med. Latin *Sicul-*), Sigil, Esgil, Izgil, etc., popular from Hungary to Mongolia. Besides, such origins can be offered as *asığ* ‘profit, benefit’ + *uul* ~ *ogul*

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<sup>841</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 130.

<sup>842</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 127. Denis Sinor, “The Establishment and Dissolution of the Turc Empire”, in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 305, rejects the identification of the two.

<sup>843</sup> Mihály Dobrovits, “A nyugati türkök első uralkodójáról”, *Antik Tanulmányok* 48 (2004), 112.

<sup>844</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 186.

<sup>845</sup> Szemerényi, *Four Old Iranian Ethnic Names*, 21-22.



‘son’ (the opposite meaning of the word is *asığsız* ‘useless’); *ışık* ‘light’ + *uul* ‘idem’.

*Paralatae*: Name of the ruling Scythian tribe or clan. It can be compared to the Barulas (singular *Barula*) tribe of the Genghisid age, to which the later world-conqueror Timur belongs. The name of the eponymous ancestor of the tribe Barula, Barulatai is explained with the meaning ‘voracious eater’.<sup>846</sup> Doerfer accepts this as a volksetymologie and suggests ‘brave man’.<sup>847</sup> In any case, there is no certain Mongolian etymology for the name. In Turkic it can be linked to the root *bar* ‘existing’, from which come *barım* ‘property, wealth’ and *barlığ* ‘possessing (much) property, rich’.<sup>848</sup> The latter word may be a source, because those kinds of tribal names are widespread among the Turks, cf. *Bayat* ‘rich’, *Bayandur/Bayındır* ‘idem’.

*Catiari*: One of the oldest Scythian tribes. Theophylaktos Simokattes mentions a certain *Kotzagir* tribe which fled from the Kök Türks and took refuge with the European Avars in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>849</sup> Though they might be identical with the Kutrigurs,<sup>850</sup> which is not plausible to me for the latter were taken earlier by the Avars to the Balkans, and though it is possible to unite them with the personal name *Kotrag* (cf. the third son of the Great Bulgar Khan Kubrat), one may try to see the form *Koçak/Kocak* + *gir* ‘tribe’. But this would not be sufficient to reach *Catiari* of Herodotus, because it has not yet been proven that the Turkic endings *-ak* and *-ar* at the ends of ethnic names are used alternately. Instead, *Kaçar/Kacar*, perhaps with a dialectal usage *Kazar* (cf. *Khazar*) can be put forward to encounter the Scythian tribe. Kuçar/Koçar also occurs in the *Secret History of the Mongols* as a personal name.

*Halazons*: A Scythian people dwelling where the rivers Bug and Dniester approach each other. They were likely of the same kind as the Agathyrsi, who were likely a Geto-Thracian people. The name may not represent an ethnonym, but means simply “aliens, outsiders, strangers”.<sup>851</sup>

*Amrygioi Scythians*: Herodotus tells us that they were called Sacae by the Persians.<sup>852</sup> P’iankov associates them with the *Sakā haumavargā*

<sup>846</sup> *The Secret History of the Mongols -I-*, trans. Igor de Rachewiltz (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 284 (commentary of de Rachewiltz).

<sup>847</sup> Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen -I-* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1963), 209.

<sup>848</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 365-366.

<sup>849</sup> *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, 191.

<sup>850</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 111.

<sup>851</sup> Trubačev, *Indoarica v Severnom Pričernomor’e*, 224.

<sup>852</sup> Herodotus, III, 379 (VII/64).

‘soma drinking’ of the Persian inscriptions, and relates to the personal names *Amorges* and (*H*)*omarges*.<sup>853</sup> He extends the name to all Sakas of the trans-Jaxartes region; however, regarding their struggle with Alexander the Macedonian, they should be dwellers of Transoxiana, or arable lands at least, because soma production would be hard in the steppe region. Besides, we need to locate the *Sakā tigraxaudā* ‘with pointed hoods’ of the Persian inscriptions (see below) somewhere in Central Asia, possibly in the steppe region to the east of the Sir Darya, in the north of the ‘soma drinking’ Sakas. They might be Iranic (Sogdian) sedentary peoples of the south ruled by the Saka, in accordance with the pattern observed through the medieval ages. *Skunxa*, mentioned in the Behistun inscription of Darius as leader of the subjected Saka would also be of the Iranic people of the same region, since Darius never succeeded in advancing in the steppe, but only subdued the close sedentary regions. Thus, Abaev’s etymology for his name, simply ‘hero’, looks very convenient.<sup>854</sup>

*Enarei*: Herodotus says that after the Scythians pillaged the Aphrodite temple in Ascalon, Syria, on their return from the Egypt expedition, they and all their descendants were afflicted by the goddess with the ‘female’ sickness. They call them the *Enarei*.<sup>855</sup> In turn, “Aphrodite gave them the art of divination, which they practise by means of lime-tree bark.”<sup>856</sup> Hippocrates tells of the negative consequences of horse-riding on people’s –sexual – health and relates the theme to some disease: “The great majority among the Scythians become impotent, do women’s work, live like women and converse accordingly. Such men they call *Anaries*. Now the natives put the blame on to Heaven, and respect and worship these creatures, each fearing for himself.”<sup>857</sup> Contemporary studies revealed that they were but shamans of the Scythian age Eurasia, like those witnessed even at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, being exactly in the way described by Herodotus.<sup>858</sup>

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<sup>853</sup> Igor V. P’iankov, “The Ethnic History of the Sakas”, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute, New Series* 8 (1994), 37-38.

<sup>854</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol’klor -I-*, 38, 182.

<sup>855</sup> Herodotus, I, 137 (I/105).

<sup>856</sup> Herodotus, II, 265 (IV/67).

<sup>857</sup> Hippocrates, I, 127 (Airs Waters Places XXII). The cause of this disease is a “genetically-determined defect in the mechanism which controls the absorption of iron; particularly if they are exposed to an excess of iron in their diet” (Elinor Lieber, “The Hippocratic ‘Airs, Waters, Places’ on Cross-Dressing Eunuchs”, in *Sex and Difference in Ancient Greece and Rome*, eds. M. Golden and P. Toohey (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 368).

<sup>858</sup> Lieber, “The Hippocratic ‘Airs, Waters, Places’ on Cross-Dressing Eunuchs”, 357.

Many readers have asked me about etymologies and possible relations of the English word *eunuch* and Turkic verb *ene-* ‘to castrate’. There is nothing common, it seems. The former literally means ‘bed-guard’; it comes via Latin from the Greek *eunoukhos*, a compound formed from *euné* ‘bed’ and *ékhein* ‘have charge of, keep’.<sup>859</sup> OT *éne-* from *én* ‘earmark’ is ‘to earmark’ (an animal). In the medieval period it came to mean ‘to castrate’ (primarily an animal, but also a human being’).<sup>860</sup> I’m not sure how Clauson decided to date the semantic change, because the history of Old Turkic starts and ends in the medieval. The castration meaning of the word might go into the deep past. At least, a society deeply engaged in animal husbandry and horsemanship should certainly have one or more words for that meaning. Anyway, Turkic has the answer *ene + är* ‘eunuch man’ to the question.

*Issedones*: They are not counted among the Scythian tribes or peoples, but were certainly within the Saka realm in regard to their lands, somewhere towards the east of Central Asia. In contrast to some ‘icy don’ (river) explanations for their name, I would like to put forward the name of the Issyk Köl ‘warm lake’, which would be *\*issi-ten* in Proto-Turkic. One may object to the priority of that lake in the presence of the far bigger Balkash Lake in its proximity. Luckily for us, it also has likely the same meaning as *balk-* ‘to sparkle, shine, burn’.<sup>861</sup>

However, for the sake of its location and greatness, Issyk Köl is not humbler than the Balkash and is even more famous. According to Herodotus, the Massagetae dwelt “towards the east and the sunrise, beyond the Araxes and over against the Issedones.”<sup>862</sup> So the two peoples were close neighbours. Eastern neighbours of the Massagetae living in what are today southern parts of Kazakhstan and some parts of Uzbekistan would be on the Issyk Köl basin just to the east. Likely we have another interesting connection. From Herodotus’ sentences we understand that the Issedones were deeply engaged in the gold business: “It is from the Issedones that the tale conies of the one-eyed men and the griffins that guard gold.”<sup>863</sup> One of the most interesting and famous golden artefacts in the world is the armour of a young man, known as ‘Golden Man’ found in

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<sup>859</sup> Ayto, *Word Origins*, 200.

<sup>860</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 171.

<sup>861</sup> Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov “B”*, 56.

<sup>862</sup> Herodotus, I, 253-255 (I/201).

<sup>863</sup> Herodotus, II, 227 (IV/27).

a kurgan in that region.<sup>864</sup> Other golden men and rich golden artefacts followed it. Therefore, the context and connection let us tie the Issedones with the people of the Golden Man and fix the geography.<sup>865</sup>

*Massagets*: In the previous chapters we mentioned them on a few occasions, especially for their migration to the North Caucasus. Their inclusion in the *völkerwanderung* of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC indicates the sensitive location of their Central Asian homeland before the movements instigated by some easterner peoples, as stated in the above paragraph. Herodotus is not sure whether they are a Scythian people or not, although they seemed Scythian in their dress and manner of life. “They are both horsemen and footmen (having some of each kind), and spearmen and bowmen; and it is their custom to carry battle-axes. They ever use gold and bronze; all their spear-points and arrowheads and battle-axes are of bronze, and gold is the adornment of their headgear and belts and girdles. They treat their horses in like manner, arming their forehands with bronze breastplates and putting gold on reins, bits, and cheekplates. But iron and silver they never use; for there is none at all in their country, but gold and bronze abound.”<sup>866</sup>

In spite of the similarity of their manners to the Scythians, their military does not seem to be a classical nomadic one, thus reminding us of their sedentary lifestyle, which is normal for the region around what is today the great city of Tashkent. They or the constitutional part of their population should be Iranian, although the name of their queen, Tomyris can be explained in Turkic: *temir* ‘iron’. Their name *\*Masaga*, however, does not seem to have a plausible Turkic explanation. A ruling minority of

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<sup>864</sup> However, the Esik Kurgan in Kazakhstan, where the remnants were found should not be confused with the Issyk Lake in Kyrgyzstan, though they are not too distant from each other. See for the story, Cunliffe, *The Scythians*, 24.

<sup>865</sup> Adrienne Mayor and Michael Heaney, “Griffins and Arimaspeans”, *Folklore* 104, 1-2 (1993), 42, put their land between the Altay and Tien-shan mountains, which is not likely. Our current knowledge of metal reserves was not necessarily shared by ancient peoples, too. In spite of archaeological relics, we have literary records of the Altay not having satisfactory gold reserves. Bilge Qagan wrote in the 730s: “The place from which the tribes can be (best) controlled is the Ötüken mountains. Having stayed in this place, I came to an amicable agreement with the Chinese people. They give (us) gold, silver and silk in abundance.” (Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 257). Although they were world famous with their mastery of metallurgy, the last sentence shows that the Kök Türks lacked sources of gold and silver in the areas they controlled.

<sup>866</sup> Herodotus, I, 269-271 (I/215).

Turkic descent as in the early medieval Central Asia can be envisaged,<sup>867</sup> but this is totally conjectural. They are famous for defeating and killing Kyros, founder of the Achaemenid dynasty, who deprived the Medes of rule in Iran. Under their ‘iron lady’ Queen Tomyris they waged a classical and panoramic war against the Persians in 530 BC.<sup>868</sup>

Herodotus informs us that the Scythians came to Europe after being pressed into war by the Massagets.<sup>869</sup> This may help to reconstruct their early days. If the original/royal Scythians or their cores are from the north of the Altay, as inspired by the results of archaeological surveys (see below), we may surmise that during their early expansion they should have undoubtedly tried to incur into the more fertile and moderate South Turkistan, and after some preliminary achievements, they failed before the crowded and well-equipped Massaget army. Words of Herodotus should not be understood that they were expelled by the Massagets, since their main mass continued on the Kazakh steppes before and after that war. Instead, demographic pressures that doubled with the simultaneous rise of the Xiong-nu in the east,<sup>870</sup> should have oriented the Scythians towards the west with the entrenched rule of the steppe geopolitics.

Persian inscriptions from the Darius time mention three Scythian groups: *Sakā haumavargā* ‘soma drinking Sakas’, *Sakā tigraxaudā* ‘Sakas with pointed hoods’ and *Saka para draiia* ‘Sakas beyond the sea’.<sup>871</sup> The latter are clearly those in Eastern Europe, the former are those in sedentary regions of southern Central Asia and the middle ones are roughly those in the Kazakh steppes.<sup>872</sup> Except for these, those designations do not provide any clearly usable ethnological data.

Many ethnonyms related to Central Eurasia occur in two forms, one usually with *-t* at the end. Thus, many scholars surmise that it represents the plural suffix used in north Iranian languages.<sup>873</sup> This plural *-t* has been used in the Ural-Altai world as well, as the most popular one. However,

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<sup>867</sup> For instance, the Scythians of the Lower Sir Darya were extremely heterogeneous, including a distinctly expressed ‘Mongolian’ admixture. The others were likely pre-Scythian inhabitants of the region subjected by the conquerors (Leonid T. Yablonsky, “The Material Culture of the Saka and Historical Reconstruction”, in *Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes in the Early Iron Age*, eds. J. Davis-Kimball, V. A. Bashilov and L. T. Yablonsky (Berkeley: Zinat 1995), 222, 248).

<sup>868</sup> Herodotus, I, 253 ff (I/201-214).

<sup>869</sup> Herodotus, II, 211 (IV/11).

<sup>870</sup> Tamara T. Rice, *The Scythians* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1957), 43.

<sup>871</sup> Szemerényi, *Four Old Iranian Ethnic Names*, 13-14.

<sup>872</sup> Yablonsky, “Some Ethnogenetical Hypotheses”, 250.

<sup>873</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 220.

Turkic left it later, though there are traces of it. This is the same situation as why Persian and other living Iranian languages do not have *-t* as a plural maker.

Above we quoted Herodotus mentioning *Targitaus* as the eventual ancestor of the Scythians. Bayan Qagan of the Avars sent an envoy called *Targitius/Targites* to Byzantium in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>874</sup> The name of a tribal leader, an enemy of Genghis Khan was *Tarqutai*, however his name is alleged to mean ‘fat’, thus it was indeed a nickname referring to his very weight.<sup>875</sup> The current widespread Turkic personal name *Turgut* should be related to it. Abaev’s idea *darġa-tava* ‘long-mighty’<sup>876</sup> is unlikely.

The names of the three sons of Targitaus are Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and Colaxais.<sup>877</sup> Their endings exhibit a clear regularity. Abaev wants to see there the Iranian *xšay-* ‘to shine’,<sup>878</sup> but for the real names he offers *apra-xšaya* ‘lord of the waters’ for only the second. Such a deverbal name would be expected to be used to differentiate between them, hence, it cannot be a rule. A common element as in this case should refer expectably to titles or lineages. We may try to see *sa:/sai*, their ethnic appellation in those endings, for they were primary ancestors. Also, the *-pok-* parts of the former two seem to have regularity. Thus, I would suggest respectively *il bāg* ‘lord of the land’ and *ār bāg* ‘heroic, mighty lord’. The youngest son Colaxais became the inheritor of the leadership according to the legend. Therefore, his name can be tied to the verb *kal-* ‘to stay, remain’: *kalaksai* ‘the Sai keeping/staying at (the throne)’.

The leader of the Scythians when they poured into the Middle East was *Bartatual/Partatua*, his successor was *Maduva*, and one of the commanders of the invading army was called *Išpaka*. The former is the same person as the *Protothyas* of Herodotus, and the second is *Madyes*. Long names were not usual in the steppe; only after unification of the second name, which might be a title, nickname or tribal attribution, did they get longer in the views of outsiders. Thus, the former name should be divided into two. *Barta* can be examined on the ground of *bar-* ‘to reach, arrive’, thus it became ‘arrived’. This is a reflection of the *keldi* ‘(he) came (from/by the favour of the Heaven)’ kind of names.

<sup>874</sup> Menander Protector, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, 139.

<sup>875</sup> *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 540.

<sup>876</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 185.

<sup>877</sup> Scythian personal names here were compiled from the sources and from Abaev and Trubačev’s studies, but for the sake of spatial austerity, I did not quote the sources. In order to ease reading for every reader, they were simplified, and Greek forms were not taken out. Experts of the topic would know the original forms.

<sup>878</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 154, 189.

The second component *-tua* is very interesting. Mahmud of Kashgar, a truly educated man and a diligent Turkologist of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, relates the story of *Alp Er Toḡa*, as well as quatrains sprinkled through his voluminous book. Alp Er Toḡa was a great and loved hero, whose death shocked the people. However, he belongs to an immemorial time. We cannot detect who he was in the known history, nor can Mahmud make a reference to a known case. However, as an *idée fixe*, he identifies him with the *Afrâsiyâb* of the Persian national legend (*Šahnamah*),<sup>879</sup> and even gives some details (i.e., the foundation of a certain city, etc.) on that ground. The latter, a ruler of the Turan, namely in Central Asia, land of the Turks, was the greatest nuisance of the Iranians, who were only able to get rid of him after many generations and thanks to the efforts of their renowned rulers and heroes.<sup>880</sup>

But, these parts of the Persian legend are also timeless. *Afrâsiyâb* is the *Frangrasyan* of the Ari pantheon, while his rival *Faridûn*, the Iranian ruler of the Golden Age, was *Thraētaona* of the same group.<sup>881</sup> Details are many and not necessary here. Together with the appearance of the dragon motif in the personality of *Aži Dahhak* (> *aždahak* > *aždaha* ‘dragon, serpent’, which was loaned by Turkic and other Western Asian languages), who is none other than the latest Mede ruler *Astiages* of the Herodotus,<sup>882</sup> all of these folks go back to the pre-Darius (Dara) ages. The legendary *Kaikhosrau*, who killed *Afrâsiyâb* is the Mede ruler *Cyaxares* mentioned in Herodotus.<sup>883</sup>

The relative events and peoples thus concentrate on the last generations of the Mede coinciding with the Scythian invasion of the Middle East. Mahmud of Kashgar is, of course, not a source of the mentioned deep past, but, in any case, he transmits the Turkic counterpart of the Eurasian legendary history mentioned by his contemporaries (al-Tabarî, Firdawsî, etc.) in their Persian version. It is not unlikely that motifs of the two mythological traditions may have some common elements, thus it would not be a great mistake to believe Mahmud in his identifying *Afrâsiyâb* and Alp Er Toḡa. It is very interesting that the enemy of the Persians was

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<sup>879</sup> Maḥmud al-Kāšġārî, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -II-*, 225.

<sup>880</sup> A sketch of those parts of the legend can be found in Ehsan Yarshater, “Iranian National History”, in *The Cambridge History of Iran -III/1-*, ed. E. Yarshater, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), 370-377.

<sup>881</sup> Yarshater, “Iranian National History”, 413.

<sup>882</sup> Astiages was dethroned by Kyros, father of Darius (Herodotus, I, 171 (I/130)).

<sup>883</sup> Herodotus, I, 133 (I/103).

killed somewhere in Azerbaijan according to the Persian legend,<sup>884</sup> since normally a Turanian ruler would attack Iran from the east.

Therefore, leaving out the clear epithet *Alp Er* ‘heroic man’, the real name *Toṅa* in the Turkic version may be compared to the *-tua* of the Assyrian version.<sup>885</sup> Mahmud gives the meaning of the name as ‘tiger’; Clauson, however, rejects this by saying it was not evidenced by other sources and adds that the word is used as a title in other places.<sup>886</sup> Do we need to confirm the meanings of other words in other sources? It might be an almost-dying word used by the author and not referred to by other written sources. This would also show the oldness of the word and this well suits our purpose here. Therefore, Bartatua can be explained in accordance with Turkic name-giving patterns as “(a) tiger (like son) came (by the favour of the Heaven)”.

For Maduva/Madyes we have Old Turkic *manu* ‘a wild cat’, which did not survive except for the northeast Turkic language Tuvin.<sup>887</sup> Semantically, it is a good choice to relate with the name *Toṅa* ‘tiger’. Interestingly, Mahmud of Kashgar says that Barsgân, the name of a Central Asian city, was indeed the name of a son of Afrâsiyâb.<sup>888</sup> The name means ‘Leopard Khan’. Any relation between him and the city name is clearly out of the realms of possibility, but Mahmud informs us with self-confidence that the societal memory of the Turks then was retaining some details of the *Alp Er Toṅa* legend, other than those contained in the quatrains quoted by him; and those details included the name of one of his sons.

The transition from *\*madu* to *manu* cannot be proved, however, since we do not know the phonetic history of the last millennium of Proto-Turkic, although it is not impossible. Another alternative is *botu* ‘camel colt, usually under a year old’.<sup>889</sup> It is/was a popular personal name among the Turks, cf. *buğra* ‘a camel stallion’. It is hard to explain the endurance of the phonetic form through millennia, but I have to include a reminder in

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<sup>884</sup> Taberi, *Milletler ve Hükümdarlar Tarihi -II-*, trans. Z. K. Ugan and A. Temir (İstanbul: MEB, 1991), 731-745.

<sup>885</sup> Interestingly, the 6<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine chronicler Malalas gives the name of the Scythian emperor then as ‘Thoas’ (Malalas, *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, trans. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott, Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986, 74), and his role well suits to that of Bartatua. His text does not seem to be a direct quotation from Herodotus, and his Scythian accounts are worth to be studied in detail with possible – unknown – sources.

<sup>886</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 515.

<sup>887</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 767.

<sup>888</sup> Maḥmūd al-Kāšyārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -II-*, 364.

<sup>889</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 299.



this context that the name of the main character of the national legend of the Altay Turks is *Maaday Kara*.

*Išpaka* should be reduced to \**spaka*. In the language of the Mede, *spak* meant ‘dog’, and thus *Spaka* was a woman’s name.<sup>890</sup> The Russian *sobaka* for dog has been interesting in this sense, since it has no Slavic or Indo-European cognates and a plausible etymology. The only alternative seems to relate it to the Turkic *köpek* ‘dog’;<sup>891</sup> cf. also Rus. *sorok* ‘forty’ ~ Tr. *kırk* ‘idem’. Proto-Turkic seems to have had *s-* for some Old and Common Turkic *k-*, like *kan-* ‘to be deceived’ ~ *san-* ‘to flatter oneself’, *kemik* ‘bone’ ~ *sünük* ‘idem’. This is one of the derogatory kinds of personal names used by Turks; even a certain *İt-oğlu* ‘Dog-son’ was recorded among the Kipchaks.

The names of the three Scythian ‘kings’ (seemingly for central/overall, left and right parts) during the Darius expedition are not clear: *Idanthyrsus*, *Scopasis* and *Taxakis*. Nor are the Iranic etymologies convincing. Abaev suggests *taka-sâka* ‘speedy deer’ for the latter, while Trubačev wants to see Old Ind. *taksakâ* ‘cutting, that who cuts’;<sup>892</sup> whereas one may offer deverbal names in Turkic like *taksak* or *toksak*. In the name Scopasis one may see *aska bas* ‘attack, catch ermine’. For Idanthyrsus, Trubačev suggests Old Ind. *idam trsa* ‘so thirsty’.<sup>893</sup> Instead, the origins of his name should be looked for in the Agathyr region, within the Geto-Thracian world (see below), though this does not necessarily mean that he was not an ethnic Scythian. For that word, it seems there can hardly be any Turkic explanation on the known morphology of Turkic, but we do not know much about its deeper past. Besides, Hungarian *törzs* ‘tribe’ can be seen in the second half of the name, despite that language having almost the same morphology as Turkic. These are not my suggestions, but are only to show that any word can be explained in any language, if we are free of the subject word’s meaning. Thus, many Scythian names can be easily explained in Turkic.

*Amaga* was a Sarmatian queen. In the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, a queen of the local Ogur Turks, living in the ancient ‘Sauromatian’ territory, namely just to the east of Azov, bore the name *Anagai*.<sup>894</sup> *Carthasis* was the brother of a Scythian ruler in the days of Alexander the Macedonian. Abaev explains

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<sup>890</sup> Herodotus, I, 143 (I/110).

<sup>891</sup> Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ russkogo jazyka -III-*, 702-703.

<sup>892</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol’klor -I-*, 179; Trubačev, *Indoarica v Severnom Pričernomor’e*, 171, 281.

<sup>893</sup> Trubačev, *Indoarica v Severnom Pričernomor’e*, 172, 181, 196, 240.

<sup>894</sup> Menander Protector, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, 173.

it as *kart-as* ‘sword of the As’.<sup>895</sup> However, direct Turkic has *kardaş* ‘brother’. *Kasakos/Kasagos* has the Iranian verbal root *kas-* ‘to look at’ according to Abaev, thus meaning ‘looking’.<sup>896</sup> Do we need a reminder of the Turkic *kazak*? *Fourtas* means ‘son’ in Scythian in regard to Avestan *puθra*, Sanskrit *putra* and Osset *furt*.<sup>897</sup> However, the Ossetic form with metathesis is new (at least from the medieval on, if the Zelenčuk inscription readings are true),<sup>898</sup> and we do not know whether it happened in ancient times. Older words have *-rt-*. Instead, such a Turkic word as *börte* ‘wolf’ would be more appropriate. Perhaps this name is related to the medieval ethnonym *Burtas*, who were likely a Finnic people living on the western banks of the Volga. The Scythian name *Sorotzos* can perhaps be related to Old Iranian *sava-rauča* ‘morning light’,<sup>899</sup> but a direct Turkic *kırk* ‘forty’, which was loaned by Russian in the form *sorok*, or another Turkic word *kıraç* ‘barren, infertile’ may be better, or perhaps the ethnonym *Sıraç* should be taken. Old Turkic name-giving patterns contain derogatory names mainly, aiming at sending evil spirits away. But those derogatory names do not include such examples as ‘donkey’. For *Karatzenos* Abaev suggests ‘dark grey donkey’ (Old Iranian *xara* ‘donkey’),<sup>900</sup> while in Turkic *karaçın* ‘brunette, swarthy’ is clearly visible.

Of the recorded Scythian names some can be directly matched with historical Turkic onomastics: *Ateas* → *Ata*, *Atay*, *Saulius* → *Çavlı*, also *Savliğ*, *Gnurus* → *Konur*, *Orikos* → *Arik*, *Palak* → *Balak*,<sup>901</sup> *Saumakos* → *Somak*,<sup>902</sup> *Arnakis* → *İrnek*, *Gorgosas* → *Korkut*, *Gasteis* → *Gostun*, *Gosakos* → *Koçak*, *Köçek*, *Kazak*, *Kanakis* → *Kanak/Kanık*, *Koroathos* → *Kür Bat* (cf. the Croat discussion above), *Martzakos* → *Barçuk*, *Sorotzos* → *Sıraç*, etc. Some names can be easily etymologised: *Olkabas*: Tr. *ülke bas* ‘attack onto a land’ or *alka baş* ‘white head’ or *alka aba* ‘white father (namely elder)’;<sup>903</sup> *Badagos*: *bıdık* ‘moustache’ or *butk/budak* ‘the branch of a tree’ or *beduğ* ‘a bright colour’; *Argudas*: *är*

<sup>895</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 171.

<sup>896</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 171.

<sup>897</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 177.

<sup>898</sup> Cf. Szemerényi, *Four Old Iranian Ethnic Names*, 58-59.

<sup>899</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 178.

<sup>900</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 188.

<sup>901</sup> Trubačev, *Indoarica v Severnom Pričernomor'e*, 163, 258: ‘straž, zaštitnik’.

<sup>902</sup> Trubačev, *Indoarica v Severnom Pričernomor'e*, 273: ‘otnosiatšyca k some’

<sup>903</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 170, finds an Iranian word *\*kapa* ‘fish’ in that name.

*kut* ‘divine favour of man’<sup>904</sup> (in Turkey this personal noun is used as a neology, however); *Ardaros*: *erdir* ‘he is a (real) man’ or ‘have (him) reached (to enlightenment usually, for *eren* means ‘saint’);<sup>905</sup> *Artamon*: *ertem* ‘virtue’; *Bagis*: *bäg* ‘lord, tribal leader’ (cf. Avestan *baya* ‘God’); *Borus*: *bor* ‘grey’ or *börü* ‘wolf’; *Borakos*: *barak* ‘a long haired dog’; *Thiagaros*: *çakır* ‘blue, blue-grey, probably originally of the eyes, later used more generally’<sup>906</sup> (this adjective is used as a nickname for peoples usually replacing the original name in daily use) or *çağrı* ‘a falcon’ or *çağar* ‘a kind of dog’;<sup>907</sup> *Thiarmakos*: *çarmak* from *çerme-* ‘to twist up, roll up’, maybe of the *Döne* and *Döndü* kind of personal nouns from *dön-* ‘to turn, return’, however these latter are for woman; *Seuragos*: *kevrek* ‘weak, thin’; *Agaros*: *ak är* ‘white (haired) man’ or *ağır* ‘heavy’ or *oğar* ‘a horse with a white blaze on its forehead’;<sup>908</sup> *Arthiemman*: *ertem man* ‘man with virtue’; *Sarakos*: *arak* ‘weapon’; *Ouaras*: *Var* ‘Dnieper’.

However, the just mentioned Gnurus was the grandson of *Spargapithes*, king of the Agathyrsi, who did not speak Scythian and likely belonged to the Geto-Thracian stock. The name *Spargapithes* cannot be explained in Turkic, perhaps except for the *-pith* ending. If we identify that eponymous ancestor of the above-mentioned Skolotai tribe with the *Scyles* of Western Scythia, who was killed for ‘cultural reasons’,<sup>909</sup> things will get confused. First of all, for chronological reasons, *Scyles* had nothing to do with that task, for he was a contemporary of Herodotus, and not a distant and legendary ancestor. Then, he was of the western, namely ‘political’ Scythians, who likely represent Scythian subjects of the native Bug basin inhabitants, who were likely of the same origin as the Agathyrsi, and whom Herodotus does not hesitate to count among the Scythians. Likewise, *Ariantas*, *Anacharsis*, *Ariapithes*, *Octamasades*, *Lycus*, *Tymnes* and *Opoea*, a queen, were also from the same milieu. The recognisable *Saulius*, brother of *Anacharsis* also belongs there. Their names do not provide any idea about the identity of the Scythians proper, and it is just not certain whether they were Scythians in the proper sense. Thus, the

<sup>904</sup> Interestingly, *Abaev*, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 154, puts forward Osset. *argud* ‘sanctified, consecrated’ for this name.

<sup>905</sup> *Abaev*, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 154, 163, likewise suggests the meaning ‘mister’ from Osset. *ærdar* < *arm-dār* ‘handyman’.

<sup>906</sup> *Clauson*, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 409.

<sup>907</sup> *Abaev*, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 161, suggests Mid. Persian *čakar* ‘slave’.

<sup>908</sup> *Clauson*, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 89. *Abaev*, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 166, has Avestan *gar* ‘awake’ for it.

<sup>909</sup> Herodotus, II, 275, 283 (IV/76, 89).

names of the later ages might represent those taken after intermingling with other peoples.

I do not want to take refuge in relativisation, but I should refer to the longstanding Turkic habit of changing their names into those of the new environments. Of the Ottoman sultan names, only the former three are Turkic, the latter are entirely Arabic. At the beginning, Saljukids had Turkic names plus Biblical ones (under Khazarian influence) and then adopted some Arabic names, but later two names turned out to be almost regularly used: the first Arabic and the second Persian (of the legend), like Alaaddin Keykubat or İzzeddin Keykavus. The son of Boris Khan, ruler of the Danube Bulgar who eventually converted to Christianity, was called *Vladimir* in Slavic, which had nothing to do with Christianisation. This is most clear in the attitude of the first Muslim ruler of Volga Bulgar Almuş, who wanted to replace his Turkic name with the Arabic *Jagfar*, the name of the current Caliph, in the presence of Caliphal envoys.<sup>910</sup> Bilge Qagan of the Kök Türks complained in his inscription that Türks used to adopt Chinese names for themselves.<sup>911</sup>

Thus, it is very normal to find the bulk of the non-Turkic onomasticon in any Turkic community or lineage. This can be applied to the Proto-Turkic ages as well. In spite of this, we find a lot of solid Turkic names. The big picture of the Scythian onomasticon shows that it is not appropriate to refer only to the Iranic or Indo-Aryan realm, since Turkic explanations are not worth less than those Iranic explanations, and even have more substantiated grounds. Thus, the topic should be studied afresh by taking all possibilities into consideration.

Trubačev explains a group of place names in the north of the Black Sea with ‘Old Indian’ in his classification. This is normal, because Aryans were seemingly formed there and migrated to Asia. But why Indian or Sanskrit, if we deal with Iranian languages? If his etymologies or a part of them are true, they might be remnants of the Proto-Indo-European ages, and not of the Scythians. Then again, it is very easy to explain any word in any language unless we do not know the original meaning. Many amateur investigators from various Turkic countries believe they have found Turkic traces in Spain, etymologising some place names, including the most famous cities of Barcelona (‘land of the Barsils’), Cordoba (‘oba’, ‘settlement of wolves’) and Granada (‘kiran ada’, simply ‘the isolated place due to pandemi’) in Turkic. Phonetically there is no problem, but these have, of course, nothing to do with the minimum reality.

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<sup>910</sup> İbn Fazlan, *İbn Fazlan Seyahatnamesi*, 47.

<sup>911</sup> Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 264.

We have already found several Turkic words in ancient Eastern Europe in Chapters 9 and 10, including the Aremphaei people/group and their drink ‘ashku’, and many topographic names (names of the great rivers as well as of the Caucasus) appearing before the Iranian names. Those are enough to show that there was a Turkic layer before the coming of Central Asian Iranian elements to the Sarmatian domain. Rostovtzeff, who confidently believes in the Iranian identity of the Scythians, says on the other hand: “It has been thought that a conclusive argument in favour of the Iranian theory was furnished by the Iranian names of native or semi-native citizens of Panticapaeum, Tanais and Olbia. But it is forgotten that these names belong to the Roman period, and bear witness to Sarmatian, not Scythian infiltration into the Greek cities.”<sup>912</sup>

In a few cases, we have further meanings of words given by sources. One of them is concerning a Central Asian or Siberian people called *Arimaspoi*. Herodotus says in that course: “It is from the Issedones that the tale conies of the one-eyed men and the griffins that guard gold; this is told by the Scythians, who have heard it from them; and we again have taken it for true from the Scythians, and call these people by the Scythian name, *Arimaspians*; for in the Scythian tongue *arima* is one, and *spou* is the eye.”<sup>913</sup> It is very normal that such an extraordinary people, protecting gold together with the griffins<sup>914</sup> would have unusual appearances, but the words with those meanings cannot be proven.

It was always possible that oral sources of Herodotus (if not of Aristeeas, his eventual source, whose work did not survive) pulled legs or explained the name as they wished, and therefore scholars tended to search for other etymologies. Should we hurry to see Iranian *aspa* ‘horse’ in the *-sp-* component? The ending *-pV* might contain the Ural-Turkic word for ‘head’, which is appropriate for the context. Then *är imes \*pai* would be read as “man without head” in Turkic. These are all hypothetical and with an asterisk (\*), of course. On the other hand, if Scythians spoke in (a) Proto-Turkic (language), they would know the meaning of our suggested phrase. The same is true, however, for Iranian explanations, too, because Herodotus does not mention any horse in this context. In any case, an inference, interpretation or levity of the oral sources would remain a greater possibility to regard.

The identification of the Arimaspoi with the *Albasti*, the metaphysical evil creatures of Turkic folklore, is very interesting in this course.<sup>915</sup> The

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<sup>912</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 60.

<sup>913</sup> Herodotus, II, 227 (IV/27).

<sup>914</sup> Herodotus, I, 143 (III/116).

<sup>915</sup> Mayor and Heaney, “Griffins and Arimaspeans”, 54.

word is clear and understandable in all Turkic languages, and thus may be a refreshed or simplified/adjusted form of an old term. It attacks people when they sleep. Perhaps this act was invented later, after the verb *bas-* ‘to attack, assault’. *Al karısı* ‘the Al elderly woman’, too, should have been invented in later periods, as the feminine *Al*. Colour meanings of the word (*al* ‘red’) in Turkic would not help to define the origins, nor does the verb *al-* ‘to take’ seem helpful. Such a fancy, as referring to the Hungarian *al-* ‘to sleep’, claiming that it once existed in Turkic but died out, would be convenient in terms of a sleeping connection, but is impossible to attest. Who knows, perhaps such an expression as *Ari bastı* ‘the Aryans attacked’ lies in the ethnic name Arimaspoi. These are far from being evidenced as to our current knowledge. The Mongolian form *Almas*, together with the Turkic variant *Albiz* of the eastern Turks, represents further simplified versions of the name of the same creature.

The origins of the griffins that were culturally imported by the ancient Greeks likely lay in the interpretation of the Siberian people, the mammoth bones as remnants of gigantic birds.<sup>916</sup> That the Issedones lived not in Siberia but east of Western Asia should not pose a great problem regarding the very high mobility of peoples in Eurasia and the mobility of tales all over the world without any borders. The Scythians, whose artefacts contain many griffin-like creatures, should be the transporters of the story, which they should have received from Siberia in their original lands in the north of the Altay, to Eastern Europe and Southern Turkistan.<sup>917</sup>

The route to the golden lands, which Aristaeus, the lost source of Herodotus and other antique writers, also travelled in company with Scythian traders to those distant lands, may explain not only the ways of this tale, but also an economic activity. East European Scythians had unlimited gold supplies to hand, but likely received them from Central Asia, and not from Europe or the Middle East.<sup>918</sup> This case, together with the travels of traders, indicates that the two Scythian groups in Asia and Europe kept in contact, and the Sarmatian presence between them did not interrupt it.

While we fight about the name of Tanais to discuss whether it is Turkic or Iranian, Plinius writes that the Scythians called the river Tanais by the name of *Silis*, as well as the Azov Sea as *Temarunda* ‘mother of the sea’.<sup>919</sup> These should be the names given later, after the waves of

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<sup>916</sup> Mayor and Heaney, “Griffins and Arimaspeans”, 41.

<sup>917</sup> See for a description of griffins in various Scythian relics, Ann Farkas, “Interpreting Scythian Art: East vs. West”, *Artibus Asiae* 39, 2 (1977), 127-138.

<sup>918</sup> Rice, *The Scythians*, 36.

<sup>919</sup> *The Natural History of Pliny -II-*, 15 (VI/7).

migrations in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, and thus their Iranian origins are of great probability. But the suggestion of Trubačev *sili* ‘rocky’ in reference to a synonymous river in the north of India does not seem to be a good etymology.<sup>920</sup> I’m not sure whether the Don basin is so rocky as to be expressed in the river name, and whether a river is named after rock, though it is not impossible. Its identification with *Syngoul* of K. Porphyrogenitus is also debatable.<sup>921</sup> But the name *Temarunda* can be explained at best, it seems, only in Turkic both phonetically and semantically: *Teņer Ana* ‘the Mother Sea’.<sup>922</sup>

The most interesting and substantial linguistic evidence of the Scythians is undoubtedly the name given by them to the Amazons: *Oiropata*, of which the *oiro-* part means ‘man’ and *-pata* is ‘to kill’.<sup>923</sup> In order to reach the meaning, Abaev changes it and produces the form *vīra-mār-ta* ‘man-killer’ from the Iranian verb *mār-* ‘to kill’.<sup>924</sup> In another place he changes the meaning given by Herodotus and puts *pati* ‘mister’, thus making *vīra-patayah* ‘dominating over men’.<sup>925</sup> It is not clear how he got that meaning. Really, Proto-Indo-European had *\*u̯īro-s* ‘man, warrior’ and it was recorded also in the Indo-Iranian branch (though not essential for such a basic meaning).<sup>926</sup> For *pata* I would prefer *\*bhāt-* ‘to hit’, the root of the English verb ‘to beat’, however it does not occur in the east,<sup>927</sup> maybe for that reason it is not referred to by Abaev in this context.

Turkic has *är* ‘man, hero, warrior’ as the essential word for this meaning. To encounter *pata*, we may suggest the verb *buti-/buta* ‘to prune,

<sup>920</sup> Trubačev, *Indoarica v Severnom Pričernomor’e*, 38-39, 274-275.

<sup>921</sup> We mentioned that river in the Hungarian chapter. The emperor mentions that name by counting rivers between the Danube and Sarkel (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 185), a Khazarian city on the Tanais (Don), whose location he knows well; just, he is almost our unique source for that city. He never says that the city is on the Syngoul River.

<sup>922</sup> Trubačev, *Indoarica v Severnom Pričernomor’e*, 9-14, 159-160, 283, wants to see *tem-arun* ‘black sea’. Even that is unlikely, because the name ‘Black Sea’ developed by a shift from Old Turkic *kara* ‘great’ to *kara* ‘black’ in the Medieval. See for a detailed study, Osman Karatay, “On the Origins of the name for the ‘Black Sea’”, *The Journal of Historical Geography* 37, 1 (2011), 1-11.

<sup>923</sup> Herodotus, II, 311 (IV/110).

<sup>924</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol’klor -I-*, 172, 188.

<sup>925</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol’klor -I-*, 176.

<sup>926</sup> Pokorny, Julius, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary, A Revised Edition of Julius Pokorny’s Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2007 (at [www.dnghu.org](http://www.dnghu.org)), 3408.

<sup>927</sup> Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 332.

cut'.<sup>928</sup> An early Turkic sentence reads *ol kişini tumluğka buđuttı* "He killed the man in the cold". The verb is the causative form of the verb *buđı-* 'to have cold',<sup>929</sup> but such a sentence in Turkic would expectably mean 'almost to die', while its Arabic translation definitely uses the verb *mâte* '(he) died'. It needs more elaboration. Turkish has *patakla-* 'to beat' from *patak* 'beating', but it is restricted to Turkey, and not shared by other Turkic languages, either contemporary or historical. In any case, Turkic has nominees to etymologise *Oiropata* of Herodotus; cf. also Finnish *pato* 'an out-law, murderer and such'.<sup>930</sup>

Abaev says that "when non-Iranian elements are defined and presented as something linguistically complete, opposed to Iranian, then we can think about clarifying the terminology."<sup>931</sup> I think, by now we have come to that point. There are several Turkic counterparts for Scythian words and names, and a great many of them are more concrete than the Iranian suggestions. Therefore, it is time to revisit the issue more elaborately in a different volume with a broad view. Combining with the Sarmatian part, we may conclude that the Scythian world was by no means purely Iranian, and, in contrast, the Scythians proper had more Turkic features than those other elements, it seems.

The most interesting and understandable linguistic evidences surely come from the Scythian pantheon. Above we quoted the sentence of Hippocrates saying "now the natives put the blame on to Heaven, and respect and worship these creatures, each fearing for himself."<sup>932</sup> This implies a cult of heaven and one (at least the greatest) God, which is/was widespread in the Eurasian steppe region. But Herodotus gives a list of Scythian gods, and that is nothing other than a translation of the Greek pantheon. This is a doubtful account, since no pantheon would necessarily be an exact copy of another. Thus, it would be better to consider the data of Herodotus as a functional comparison. Maybe a Greek influence was on the way, as "it was their practice to make images and altars and shrines for Ares, but for no other god."<sup>933</sup>

Hippocrates and Herodotus describe different entities, it seems. The former tells of the nomadic lifestyle and its manners and features, while the latter, also narrating about the nomadic/proper part of them, does not

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<sup>928</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 300. Though the second variant is a later, medieval development in his opinion.

<sup>929</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 301.

<sup>930</sup> Thanks for Mr. Jouko Heyno for reminding me of that word.

<sup>931</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor -I-*, 148.

<sup>932</sup> Hippocrates, I, 127 (Airs Waters Places XXII).

<sup>933</sup> Herodotus, II, 257, 259 (IV/59).



differentiate on the whole between original and adopted features of the Scythians. This is the tricky point of Herodotus' accounts which he compiled in the cosmopolite Olbia, around the place where Scythians had already started intermingling not only with the Greeks, but also with the native population looking like the Thracians in Herodotian terms.<sup>934</sup> The nature of the ethnologic tales of the Scythians with a millennium-long presence contains a clear indicator of this cosmopolitanism. Thus, the alleged Scythian vocabulary, as well as some cultural practices transmitted by Herodotus should not be as pure as those of the newly coming Scythians proper. This is best reflected in the name of Thagimasadas, the god for the seas, which is of the kind of personal noun, Octamasades, as Trubačev underlines (however, explaining in Iranian with no evident success).<sup>935</sup> Therefore, as Rostovtzeff underlines, "Herodotus' list is a mixed one, a list of the divinities who were revered by the native population primarily."<sup>936</sup>

Well, Scythians had *Papaios* for Zeus. 'Earth' was his wife and called *Apia*. The primary position was held, however, by Hestia which was *Tabiti* in Scythian. Apollo was *Goetosyrus*, the Heavenly Aphrodite *Artimpasa*, and Poseidon *Thagimasadas*.<sup>937</sup> Grakov translates *Papaios* as 'Baba' (Father).<sup>938</sup> Though Turkic has it, this is an international word of a 'childish language' origin, and should not be attributed to any certain language. The meaning of *Apia* should be 'mother'. We cited above on a few occasions the Turkic *apa* 'ancestor, grandfather', for it occurs in the Turkic inscriptions in that meaning. But it means in wider usage, 'mother, grandmother, elder sister'.<sup>939</sup> Besides, earth is perceived as feminine, in contrast to the sky, and together they are called by the word for 'mother'.<sup>940</sup> Thus, *Baba* would be a counterpart of *Apa*.

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<sup>934</sup> Thus, Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 55, speaks of the "predominance of Oriental aspects of the 6<sup>th</sup> century Scythian civilization", whose customs we do not know.

<sup>935</sup> Trubačev, *Indoarica v Severnom Pričernomor'e*, 199-201.

<sup>936</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 107.

<sup>937</sup> Herodotus, II, 257, 259 (IV/59).

<sup>938</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 85.

<sup>939</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 5.

<sup>940</sup> Old Turkic *toğ* is 'dust' (Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 463), which should be related to *toprak* 'earth'. Mongolian loaned it as *toğorağ* in the pre-Kök Türk age, during the Hsien-pi (Golden, *Introduction*, 69). This intimates that the later *toprak* should have developed from *\*tovrak* < *toğrak*. The root seems to be related to the verb *toğ-* 'to be born'. Then, *toğrak* could mean '(too much) bearing'. This is well suited to the function of the earth. This should be the primary word and *toğ* 'dust' should have developed in a regressive form from it likely in a

The stress of Herodotus for *Tabiti* is interesting, although he was not the supreme God. The name of the Greek goddess *Hestia* means ‘hearth, fireplace, altar’ and metaphorically ‘house, family’.<sup>941</sup> Thus, she was the protector of the house and family. As for the Scythians, archaeological investigations showed the existence of fire altars in houses.<sup>942</sup> The significance of the fireplace in a house was of the greatest degree in ancient societies, but as a surviving cult, it is especially noteworthy among the Turks, who called it *ocak* from *ot* ‘fire’. We will get back to the fire altar issue in the Andronovo discussion, and now have to focus on the word *Tabiti*. Trubačev suggests *\*ta(d)-piti* “it is batter”.<sup>943</sup> He rejects Abaev’s etymology, but the latter does not make such an absurd explanation. Instead, Abaev refers to Osset. *tavun* ‘warm, to drown’.<sup>944</sup> This word has widespread cognates in various Indo-European languages, and is closer to the meaning of Hestia.

But the problem appears in the wider context. Although Rostovtzeff states that the name of *Tabiti*, occupying the highest place among the deities is not Iranian,<sup>945</sup> neither he, nor anybody else asks about the reasons for the fundamental differences of the Scythian list from the Aryan pantheon or mythology. Even the most radical Zoroastrian reforms in the Iranian domain, which turned even the common Indo-European word *dev* ‘God’ to ‘satan’,<sup>946</sup> could not wipe out the Aryan inheritance and the latter survived even to the Islamic period in some way. Likewise, Turks have preserved the bulk of their pre-Islamic terminology in such words as *Tanrı*, *Umay*, *ıye*, etc., since converting to Islam. We find nothing in the Herodotus list from India or Persia. If the Scythians were an Iranic people, how (and why) could they succeed in getting totally rid of their previous beliefs and deities? If one attributes this to an ‘Altaic’ or Turkic influence in western parts of Central Asia, then a Turkic presence and even

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reiterative usage. Another Mongolian loaning in the age of Hsien-pi, *toğusin* ‘dust, earth’ (Golden, *idem*, 69) combines the two meanings. Its Turkic original is *toz* ‘dust’, which should go back, in our case, to *toğuş* ‘the act of being born’. If true, this semantic connection consolidates the earth and mother equation among the ancient Turks.

<sup>941</sup> Robert Beekes and Lucien van Beek, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek -I-* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 471.

<sup>942</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 82. Thus Yablonsky, “Some Ethnogenetical Hypotheses”, 249, makes the Scythians Iranic for they had fire altars.

<sup>943</sup> Trubačev, *Indoarica v Severnom Pričernomor’e*, 280.

<sup>944</sup> Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol’klor -I-*, 184; *Istoriko-etimologičeskij slovar’ osetinskogo jazyka -III-*, 237.

<sup>945</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 107.

<sup>946</sup> Yarshater, “Iranian National History”, 347.

domination there should be accepted. If so, why do we insist on going along circuitous ways to allege an Iranian identity for the Scythians? A Russian colleague told me that the Scythians were Iranian, but their grandsons are totally Turks. Why and how?

As for Turkic, it seems not to have a *tab-* kind of root concerning ‘warm, heat, fire’ at the first glance. A concerning word may be *ta:b* ‘scar, mark on the body’ and its variant *da:ğ* ‘a livestock brand’.<sup>947</sup> As a name, the word has survived in a restricted area, but the verb *tağla-* ‘to cauterise’ is used everywhere even today. Mahmud of Kashgar explains it with an example: “*Ol atın tağladı* ‘He branded his horse’”. “Also, for other animals. Not an original word.”<sup>948</sup> This last note is interesting. If he means that it is of a foreign source, he contradicts himself by explaining the root *dâg* ‘brand, by which horses and others are marked’. The Persians took this word from the Turks. “It should not be said that this is a word of the Persians since, compared with the Turks, they have no animals at all, let alone names for their brands;”<sup>949</sup> cf. Iranian *dag/daj* ‘to burn’.<sup>950</sup> But Sumerian also has *dâg* ‘shining, bright’ in this context, as will be seen in Chapter 19.

The existence of two variations with slight semantic differences in Old Turkic indicates its presence in Proto-Turkic, at least in its last phases, if the two words do not represent separate loanings from an outside source. Besides, there is no other word as a substitute, for such an important function which is vital to the steppe life, except for *tamga* ‘a seal, tribal mark’, which was originally ‘brand’ for animals.<sup>951</sup> That word was produced by adding the suffix *-ga*; thus, we need a verbal root *\*tam-*. Luckily, we have two derivatives of such a verb in Old Turkic: *tamid-* ‘to blaze up’ and *tamdur-* ‘to kindle’.<sup>952</sup> The bare form *\*tam-* should have meant ‘to burn, glow’, and for phonetic and semantic reasons, this is cognate with *tab* (> *tav* > *tağ*). In this way, we have several variations. The demise of the verbal root indicates its oldness in Proto-Turkic. Whether it was loaned from a proto or any Indo-European language, since it has the same word with the same meaning, is a matter for the next chapters. Besides, we will come back to this word by studying habitation terms in another chapter.

<sup>947</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 434, 463.

<sup>948</sup> Maḥmud al-Kāšyārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -II-*, 301.

<sup>949</sup> Maḥmud al-Kāšyārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -II-*, 227.

<sup>950</sup> Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ iranskij jazykov -II-*, 438.

<sup>951</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 504.

<sup>952</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 504.

Turkic also seems to be not far from nominating itself for the ownership of Tabiti. In spite of the survival of the *ocak* (fireplace) cult among Turks everywhere to this day, only Karachay-Balkars have the words *Tabu* and *Tabut* for it, as far as I know.<sup>953</sup> The disappearance of the word in general should not be ascribed to Islamic influence, because there are non-Muslim Turkic peoples, too, as known, and many pre-Islamic religious words have survived as mentioned just above. However, those surviving words are either names or adjectives for God, or names of spiritual beings. The overall picture suggests a rigid monotheistic structure in the confessional system of the Proto-Turks in their latest ages at least. This is seen among the Huns, and the Hippocrates' account of the 'Heaven' supports this for the Scythians. But we cannot be sure of it for earlier times. Maybe a wave of monotheisation in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC wiped out all other deities, and Tabiti was a remnant of older times. Maybe he was not a deity at all even among the Scythians, but only a spirit preserving the home; and Herodotus insisted on equating him to Hestia, not only in function, but also in rank. Anyway, the absence of idols among the Scythians, in the witnessing of Herodotus, is a significant fact in this term.<sup>954</sup>

Thus, we come to the culture of the Scythians. Herodotus gives a detailed literary description of the nomadic lifestyle in the case of Scythians, which is approved by Hippocrates, and witnessed by the *Shi-chi* of Ssu'ma Ch'ien by an easternmost view to Eurasia.<sup>955</sup> It is better to quote Hippocrates among these in the most classical sentences:

They have no houses but live in wagons. The smallest have four wheels, others six wheels. They are covered over with felt and are constructed, like houses. Now in these wagons live the women, while the men ride alone on horseback, followed by the sheep they have, their cattle and their horses. They remain in the same place just as long as there is sufficient fodder for their animals; when it gives out, they migrate. They themselves eat boiled meats and drink mares' milk. They have a sweetmeat called hippace, which is a cheese from the milk of mares.<sup>956</sup>

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<sup>953</sup> Ufuk Tavkul, *Karacay-Malkar Türkçesi Sözlüğü* (Ankara: TDK, 2000), 370.

<sup>954</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 84.

<sup>955</sup> Leaving aside some 'mare' references of Homeros, the earliest description of the nomadic lifestyle was included in the tragedies of Aeschylus, who defines the Scythians: "And thou shalt reach the Skythian nomads, those who on smooth-rolling waggons dwell aloft, in wicker houses, with far-darting bows, duly equipped" *The Tragedies of Aeschylus -II-*, 151.

<sup>956</sup> Hippocrates, I, 119, 121 (Airs Waters Places XVIII).

We should add their attitudes for waging war from Strabon, who after the milky texts says:

Nomads are warriors rather than brigands, yet they go to war only for the sake of the tributes due them; for they turn over their land to any people who wish to till it, and are satisfied if they receive in return for the land the tribute they have assessed, which is a moderate one, assessed with a view, not to an abundance, but only to the daily necessities of life.<sup>957</sup>

Any book on ancient or medieval Turks deserves a detailed chapter on nomadism, since Turks were the foremost representatives of that lifestyle, but so as not to take up space, I will write only a few sentences to describe it. In contrast to the popular belief, nomadism is not a phase before sedentarisation; rather, it developed from agricultural societies. According to the ‘evolutionary theory’ long held by Soviet scholars, an increase in the number of animals led a group of people to focus on animal husbandry, and at some point, to leave agriculture even as a secondary occupation, thus becoming true nomads. Khazanov criticises them by reminding us that both people and nature could regulate the number of animals.<sup>958</sup>

For an increase in human population, however, people and nature do not have so many measures. Maybe this factor should be given priority in the development of pastoral nomadism. This is what Lattimore offers in such a form that agricultural societies pushed their weaker neighbours into the steppes, mainly due to overpopulation. Khazanov’s criticism of him is that the regions they are supposed to have been pushed to were already settled by peoples with food-producing economies.<sup>959</sup> This would not be a problem, if the newcomers were more organised, with higher technology and targeted a certain area where the population was not more than the number of invaders/guests. With the last factor, I refer to the ‘wave of advance’ theories developed for the dispersal of agricultural societies. There will be more discussions about that dispersal model in the next chapters.

Previous ideas on the origins of nomadism in Eurasia lacked an explanation of simply how to survive there, as it seems to me, without solving the housing problem, among others. Pastoral nomadism is a food-producing economy and radically different from the hunter-gatherer lifestyle. It is not a manner that the primitive man can manage. Therefore,

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<sup>957</sup> Strabon -V-, 245 (VII/4/6).

<sup>958</sup> Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 88.

<sup>959</sup> Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 89.

Khazanov draws attention to some necessary technological preconditions for pastoral nomadism, which did not develop before the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC. But people did not shift to pastoral nomadism immediately after getting those innovations. The drying climate in the region, which peaked c. 1000 BC forced the steppe people to leave agricultural production entirely and to adopt full nomadism.<sup>960</sup> We must add that, despite having all the encouraging and forcing conditions, without the ability to develop felt for use in making ‘yurt’ (oiled felt prevents rain water from leaking into it, and it is also one of the best climatic isolators), it would be almost impossible to pass to full pastoral nomadism.

We have a detailed description of Scythian warfare thanks to the long story narrated by Herodotus on the account of Darius’ expedition into Scythia. With a tremendous army, he crossed from Anatolia to the Balkans and entered the Black Sea steppes after the Danube, where he advanced to the east as far as the mid-Volga, if the account is true.<sup>961</sup> The Scythians did not meet him on the battlefields, but instead he tired them out by impelling them to take a long journey in search of the ‘enemy’. Scythians could not be found or accessed thanks to their nomadic mobility, and meanwhile their small units continued a war of attrition, which ended in the depression of morale of one of the greatest armies recruited in ancient and medieval times. This tactic based on fake and beguiling withdrawals is habitual for steppe warfare, which led nomadic polities to absolute

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<sup>960</sup> Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 94-95.

<sup>961</sup> There are reasons to be sceptical. Darius ordered the Ionians providing and protecting the temporary bridge service on the Danube to the allied Persian army to wait for two months until their return (Herodotus -II-, 333, IV/133). That is, they could go ahead only for one month, and then had to return. Herodotus describes the distance from the mouth of the Danube to that of the Dnieper as 10 days (*idem*, 303, 305, IV/101). From the Dnieper to the east of the mid-Don you only have 20 days, and this is too few. A great army would be cumbersome to move so speedily, compared to smaller units of voyagers. And, if crossing the Danube was so fatal and important, how did they do it easily while crossing other Danube-like rivers of Eastern Europe? If they could easily cross the other rivers, why did an auxiliary troop of the Scythians come before them to the Ionians on the Danube bridge, to convince them to leave the mission, so that the Darius army would remain in the North and be exhausted by the far-fighting Scythians tactics? Maybe the Darius troops could have advanced only as far as the city Gelonos to burn it to the ground, as told by Herodotus and shown by archaeological findings (See Aleksandr P. Medvedev, “Gelon Gerodota: k probleme sootnošenija antičnogo narrativa i istoriko-arheologičeskijh realij”, *Antičnyj mir i arheologija* 11 (2002), 131-140; Cunliffe, *The Scythians*, 133-135). In any case, they had to pass the rivers Bug, Dniester and Dnieper to reach that site.

victories in countless examples. Its most outstanding examples are, in my view, the Khalkha Battle in 1222 between Mongolians and the Russo-Kipchak alliance and the Verbica Battle (or rather ‘ambush’) in 811 between the Danube Bulgars and Byzantines.

There is another very interesting cultural detail in this expedition. Darius sent an envoy and insulted the Scythians for having no bravery to meet him. The Scythian king replied that they had no villages and towns to save from the Persians, and the latter could roam the country as they wished. However, he added: “We have the graves of our fathers; come, find these and essay to destroy them; then shall you know whether we will fight you for those graves or no.”<sup>962</sup> A superficial survey of grave cults would show that in Eurasia only ancient Turks used to hide the tombs of their grandmen even from themselves. In contrast to other cultures, there are no mausoleums for Turkic statesmen or other men of fame on their tombs. And the known and visible cemeteries for common people were the first-degree places to protect. It is not difficult to see traces of this approach in the words of the Scythian king.

Kurgans, that is, pit-graves were usual for all pre-Islamic Turks. There will be long texts in this book about kurgans, since they constitute the foremost cultural peculiarity that is identifiable in the deep past of Eurasia. Herodotus describes the Scythians making kurgans, besides some other ceremonial and funeral habits:

There, whenever their king has died, the Scythians dig a great four-cornered pit in the ground; when this is ready they take up the dead man – his body enclosed in wax, his belly cut open and cleansed and filled with cut marsh-plants and frankincense and parsley and anise seed, and sewn up again – and carry him on a waggon to another tribe.<sup>963</sup>

Kurgan-making was stopped by the Turks after conversion to Islam, but mummification continued in the first Turko-Islamic ages, especially in Anatolia where Saljukid and Ottoman sultans, among other notables, were buried so.<sup>964</sup> For a lamentation, Herodotus continues:

Then those that receive the dead man at his coming do the same as do the Royal Scythians; that is, they cut off a part of their ears, shave their heads,

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<sup>962</sup> Herodotus, II, 329 (IV/127).

<sup>963</sup> Herodotus, II, 269 (IV/71). For a broader description of the Scythian funeral habits see Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 45-49.

<sup>964</sup> A recent book by a medical historian revealed interesting facts about mummification in Turkey: Zehra Gençel Efe, *Anadolu Türk Kültüründe Mumyalama* (Konya: Çizgi, 2018), esp. 98-121.

make cuts round their arms, tear their foreheads and noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows.<sup>965</sup>

We should keep in mind the attribution to the Royal Scythians. Such mourning practices may be considered as universal, but in total, they are not. Every culture has its own habits, which may resemble each other in some details, but in total they constitute a ‘national culture’ and differ between various societies. Ibn Fadlan, who was among the still non-Muslim Oghuz in 921, has almost the same text for defining funeral ceremonies, from the kurgans to the lamentation, except for mummifying.<sup>966</sup>

Lamentations for the Turks were recorded by several sources, beginning in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC among the Huns. Chinese, Western, Islamic and Old Turkic sources provide great detail of the funeral ceremony among the ancient Turks. I need to quote here Menandros, who makes a very short and striking depiction of the lamentation to approve Herodotus, and transmits the concerning Turkic word (OT *dog* > CT *yog̃/yuğ*) for the first time on the occasion of mentioning the Valentinus mission of Byzantium to the Kök Türks in 676:

When Valentinus had spoken thus, Turxanthos said, ‘Since, Romans, you have come here and found me in the greatest sorrow (for my father, Silziboulos, is recently dead) you must follow the custom which prevails amongst us for the dead and slash your faces with daggers.’ Immediately Valentinus and his companions slashed their own cheeks with their own daggers.<sup>967</sup>

Herodotus tells of the annual sacrifice of the sheep, goats, and horses as a Scythian holiday.<sup>968</sup> The same can be clearly observed in the Huns and Kök Türks and almost in the same way. A rigid cult of ancestors displayed by the above-mentioned careful protection of graves is also a connection between them and the Hunnic world. Big cauldrons are by no means ethnic signifiers, but were surely more important for meat-eating peoples like the Eurasian nomads. Hunnic cauldrons may have some slight differences from the Scythian ones, but in any case, Herodotus needs to talk about those ‘cauldrons of the country’.<sup>969</sup>

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<sup>965</sup> Herodotus, II, 269 (IV/71).

<sup>966</sup> Ibn Fadlan, *İbn Fazlan Seyahatnamesi*, 36-37.

<sup>967</sup> Menander Protector, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, 177.

<sup>968</sup> Herodotus, II, 259, 261 (IV/62).

<sup>969</sup> Herodotus, II, 259 (IV/61).



But pigs may function as ethnic signifiers in this study; it is Kuzmina, not I, who referred to them first,<sup>970</sup> as will be seen in the chapter about Eurasian pre-historic cultures, then I had to extend the topic a little bit. Herodotus says for the Scythians that their established customs of sacrifice are as described, “but of swine they make no offerings; nor are they willing for the most part to rear them in their country.”<sup>971</sup> These sentences were proven by archaeological studies, showing no pig bones in Scythian tombs.<sup>972</sup>

The same is noteworthy true for the Turkic steppe peoples of the historical ages, who did not eat, feed or even like swine in pre-Islamic ages, too. None of the sources mention the Turks eating pork.<sup>973</sup> Of the animal bones found during the excavations in the Hunnic city Ivolga in the Buryat Republic to the North of Mongolia, 29 per cent belong to dogs and 15 per cent to pigs. Kradin asserts that this supports other data indicating the multi-ethnic population of the settlement (Chinese, Manchu, Korean, etc.). But the Ilmova Pad’ settlement in the same country does not provide any pig bones.<sup>974</sup> This is not normal and implies that the steppe dwellers or dwellers with the steppe culture were almost entirely against eating pork.

Interestingly, this Scythian habit has its deep roots in their archaeological ancestors. According to Kuzmina, it is one of the characteristics of the Andronovo culture of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, from which directly descend the Scythians. But that is not the whole story. Even in the late Neolithic and early Bronze Ages, from the ancient Samarra culture on the Volga

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<sup>970</sup> Elena E. Kuzmina, *Otkuda prišli Indoarii? Material'naja kul'tura plemen Andronovskoj obštnosti i proishoždenie Indoirancev* (Moskva: MGP ‘Kalina’, 1994), 222-3, 266.

<sup>971</sup> Herodotus, II, 261 (IV/63).

<sup>972</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 47. There were pigs, however, in the neighbouring Budini (*idem*, 145), described as a distinct people by Herodotus.

<sup>973</sup> Mahmud of Kashgar gives the basic position of the ancient Turks on this issue with a quatrain going to the pre-Islamic times:

Çayrı berip quşlatu  
Tayyan idip tişlatu  
Tilkü toquz taşlatu  
Ärdäm bilä öglälim

We will give the saker-falcon (to the youths) for them to hunt with, we will set the hounds to bite (the gazelle), the boar and the fox, and we will (help them by) stoning, we will boast of our virtues.” (Maḥmud al-Kāšyārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -II-*, 135).

<sup>974</sup> Nikolay Kradin, “Archaeology of Deportation: Eurasian Steppe Example”, in *Central Eurasia in the Middle Ages. Studies in Honour of Peter B. Golden*, eds. I. Zimonyi and O. Karatay (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), 212.

area onwards to the Asian side of the steppe, no pigs are found. However, their contemporary inhabitants of Eastern Europe, including the Black Sea steppe region, were on very good terms with pigs.

Simoons asserts that after Indo-Europeans had fed and hunted pigs, it is surprising that they became unfriendly to the pig in Central Asia,<sup>975</sup> accepting the steppe nomads as Indo-Europeans in advance. It is more surprising that once sedentary, Western Turkistan, Iran and India reconciled again with the pig, since there seems to be nothing prohibiting pigs in their (Indo-Iranian) culture.<sup>976</sup> This cannot be explained: In Europe they like them, in the Central Eurasian steppes they dislike them, and in the south of Asia they like them again. If the steppe conditions in terms of animal husbandry are the prime determinant factor, the steppe extends to the west of the Volga, too. Why do we not also attribute the continuity in material culture of the steppe to the culinary culture? Instead of the like and dislike game, it is more appropriate to ethnically relate those not eating swine in historical periods to those not doing so in pre-historical ages. I must add that Mongolians are also separate from the Turks at this point.

Above, we have mentioned four times the custom of swearing on blood or the blood brotherhood in the Turks, Hungarians, As > Viking elites, and Sarmatians > Arthur's company. It would not be surprising to find the first records of this practice among the Scythians, which Herodotus describes as follows:

As for the giving of sworn pledges to such as are to receive them, this is the Scythian fashion: They take blood from the parties to the agreement by making a little hole or cut in the body with an awl or a knife and pour it mixed with wine into a great earthenware cup, wherein they then dip a scimitar and arrows and an axe and a javelin; and when this is done the makers of the sworn agreement themselves, and the most honourable of their followers, drink of the blood after solemn imprecations.<sup>977</sup>

Toxaris, a Scythian in Lucian's novel, describes that custome in his own words:

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<sup>975</sup> Frederick J. Simoons, *Eat Not This Flesh: Food Avoidances from Prehistory to the Present* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 96.

<sup>976</sup> As seen in the Avesta texts, Iranic peoples of those ages ate pork: M. Schwartz, "The Old Eastern Iranian World View According to the Avesta", in *Cambridge History of Iran -II-*, ed. I. Gershevitch (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), 659.

<sup>977</sup> Herodotus, II, 267, 269 (IV/70).

We have cut our fingers, let the blood drip into a cup, dipped our sword-points into it, and then, both at once, have set it to our lips and drunk, there is nothing thereafter that can dissolve the bond between us.<sup>978</sup>

Herodotus informs us that there were many diviners among the Scythians, who divined by means of willow wands.<sup>979</sup> This is usual for Turkic sorcerers, but it is also seen everywhere on the Earth where willow exists. Thus, this shamanic practice should not be referred to in terms of regional or national culture, though it is normal to associate the Scythian practices with the Siberian shamanic applications.

Well, cultural peculiarities of various societies sharing the same ecological and geo-cultural milieu would hardly be distinguished from each other, as in the case of the Caucasian peoples, and thus the Eurasian steppe culture (not excluding ‘nomadic’) should not only belong to a certain ethno-linguistic group. But if some historical peoples share some of them, it is more likely that the latter descends from those ancient or prehistoric peoples of the same environment. In our case, if Scythians and Sarmatians were Iranic peoples, we would observe some relics of the former’s culture in present day Persians too. Some relics of the Scythian culture like blood brotherhood can be seen in modern ages in Turkey and Hungary, for instance, in spite of the great time interval and of the changing environments. On the other hand, Herodotus also relates the many cultural elements of the Persians of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, which are radically distinct from those of the Scythians.

The same is true for the Scythian political culture, too, which Khazanov calls “a quite original polyethnic political culture”.<sup>980</sup> An ecological zone would produce a culture shared by its ethnically diverse inhabitants, and not necessarily by the ethnic relatives of any group within that zone. That is, if Scythians were Iranic by origin, their political culture would resemble that of other steppe peoples, and not the Persians. Nevertheless, I must emphasise some customs of the former, for instance, the smallest son was the inheritor of the throne (indeed, of the home), if people were not glad to have the king, he was replaced with his brother, and the role of the political magnates was essential in determining the dethronisation of a

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<sup>978</sup> Lucian -V-:, trans. Austin M. Harmon (London and Cambridge: William Heinemann and Harvard University Press, 1962), (“Toxaris and Friendship”), 163.

<sup>979</sup> Herodotus, II, 265 (IV/67).

<sup>980</sup> Anatoly M. Khazanov, “The Scythians and Their Neighbors”, in *Nomads as Agents of Cultural Change. The Mongols and Their Eurasian Predecessors*, eds. R. Amitai and M. Biran (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2015), 37.

king, are all peculiarities of the Eurasian steppe culture,<sup>981</sup> though the latter had universalism in its character. The same is true for the belief that kings used to have the right to rule from the Heaven (Turkic *kut*, Iranian *\*farnah*<sup>982</sup>), which was also valid among the Scythians.<sup>983</sup> Khazanov counts 12 peculiarities of this political culture in total, which were shared and are comparable to the later state formations of the steppe.<sup>984</sup>

We mentioned above the partition of the administrative realm among the sons of the king and its comparison with the Xiong-nu. In general practice, it was restricted to a tripartite administration (central, left and right), and rulers of the left and right wings were not likely to be sons of the king. On the other hand, we should discriminate between practical purposes and traditions. Thus, eventually we may conclude that the Scythian political culture belonged to the milieu outlined by classical Eurasian patterns of nomadic polities. Interaction and relations between nomadic state formations would also refer to and contain an ethnic substratum, and the similarity of the Xiong-nu with the Scythians should also be evaluated in this sense, but I must keep the moderate stance that any co-partnership in cultural issues did not have to indicate an ethnic relation as well.

The judgement of Herodotus that “so closely do the Scythians guard their usages, and such penalties do they lay on those who add foreign

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<sup>981</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 33, 37.

<sup>982</sup> Occurring in Avesta as *xʷarənah* and having its Sanskrit cognate *pārīṇas*, this is a widespread Aryan word. Lubotsky surmises that the Old Persian form *farnah* was loaned from Scythian during their invasion of Media (Alexander Lubotsky, “Scythian Elements in Old Persian”, in *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*, ed. N. Sims-Williams (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 93-195). I am not sure whether the short Scythian presence in the south of the Caucasus provided the environment for this interaction, but if so, in which case we have to accept Scythian as an Iranian language, then, Median was not Iranian. According to this theory, an Iranian people gave the word to a non-Iranian people, and the latter transmitted it again to an Iranian people, to the Persians. The source of the problem is that the initial *f-* is unexpected; it should be *x-<sup>v</sup>* in Old Persian. Instead of such a tortuous way, it would perhaps be more appropriate to guess it to be an early inter-Iranian loanword from Khwarezm, where ancestors of the later Alans and thus Ossetians lived, to Persian.

<sup>983</sup> Grakov, *Skify*, 37.

<sup>984</sup> Khazanov, “The Scythians and Their Neighbors”, 38. And he explains them in a later paper: “Notes on the Scythian Political Culture”, in *Central Eurasia in the Middle Ages. Studies in Honour of Peter B. Golden*, eds. I. Zimonyi and O. Karatay (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), 171-188.

customs to their own”<sup>985</sup> seems to have been produced after a few extreme cases of killing some peoples like the Anacharsis or Scyles. Besides, the latter two do not seem to have belonged to the ‘pure’ Scythians, but to the cosmopolitan population in the western parts of their imperial lands. On the whole, the Scythians seem not to be different from other nomadic peoples migrating to Eastern Europe and hastily starting ethno-cultural relations with the sedentary natives, by preparing their own destinies ending in total assimilation.

As for genetic studies, the presence of “eastern” lineages found through ancient DNA analyses in Central Asian nomads well before the Iron Age (c. 1000 BC) contradicts the view considering the Scythians to be of Indo-Iranian descent.<sup>986</sup> If the latter were of the Pontic-Caspian region origin, as commonly accepted and as appreciated in this book, the Saka/Scythians of Central Asia had nothing to do with that region.<sup>987</sup> In the Altays, a significant area where Saka/Scythian remnants are densely scattered, the “majority of the retrieved sequences (58%) fit into East Eurasian lineages; namely to haplogroups A, C, D and G, and 42% of the individuals belong to West Eurasian mtDNA haplogroups.”<sup>988</sup> In general, in Central Asia and Eastern Europe, the Scythians overwhelmingly seem to have R1a.<sup>989</sup>

The authors consider these haplogroups to be Turkic (under the auspices of the Altaic presupposition), and make the Altays the border of the East and West Eurasian lineages. Below in a broader scrutiny, we will see that those living to the east of the Altays before the late Bronze Age were not of Turkic ancestry, but, even if so, in the case of the Scythians

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<sup>985</sup> Herodotus, II, 283 (IV/80).

<sup>986</sup> Friso P. Palstra et al., “Statistical Inference on Genetic Data Reveals the Complex Demographic History of Human Populations in Central Asia”, *Molecular Biology and Evolution* 32, 6 (2015), 1417.

<sup>987</sup> Guido Alberto Gneccchi-Ruscione et al., “Ancient Genomic Time Transect from the Central Asian Steppe Unravels the History of the Scythians”, *Science Advances*, 7 (2021), 7.

<sup>988</sup> Gonza'lez-Ruiz, et al., “Tracing the Origin of the East-West Population Admixture”, 6. See also Gneccchi-Ruscione et al., “Ancient Genomic Time Transect from the Central Asian Steppe”, 7, speaking about a major genetic shift in the Saka time Kazakhstan related with eastern genomic sources.

<sup>989</sup> Glašev, “Altajskaja gipoteza protiv Altajskoj teorii?”, 112-3. Two Khazar skeletons appeared to bear a R1a-Z93 signature, common among the Turkic populations, tying them to the previous Scythians, as well as to the populations of Sintashta, Andronovo and Karasuk populations (Anatole A. Klyosov and Tatiana Faleeva, “Excavated DNA from Two Khazar Burials”, *Advances in Anthropology* 7 (2017), 18-19).

this is very noteworthy. The authors refer to the established historical judgement that by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, Turkic peoples began to migrate westwards from the Altay region, replacing Indo-European languages in Central Asia (indeed, there was an inter-Turkic dispersal; those migrating were the Huns going to the lands of other Turks), but their results show that “the origin of this genetic admixture may be traced back to the Iron Age in Central Asia, or even earlier in South Siberia.”<sup>990</sup> This admixture may represent an early Turko-Mongolian encounter in the Altay region, and what we need to ask, is whether there were any Iranian elements among the Scythians proper.

Archaeological studies show that the relics that can be attributed to the Scythians are scattered from the northeast of the Altays to the Carpathian basin, covering the entirety of Central Asia. They exhibit uniformity within the Eurasian steppe (animal) style, albeit with some periodical and regional influences mainly from Hellenic or Indic worlds.<sup>991</sup> Since the aim of this chapter is not to write even an outline of Scythian history, but to deal with the evidences regarding their ethno-linguistic affiliation, I will not give space to the archaeological issues, except for stating that the uniformity of the Scythian artefacts also points to the ethnolinguistic uniformity of the covered areas,<sup>992</sup> although in the border or expansion regions like Eastern Europe and Southern Turkistan they clearly mixed with the local populations. Thus, it seems we have an ethno-linguistic entity covering the proper Central Eurasia between the Volga and the Altay, by including the latter, and this is exactly the expansion area of the previous Andronovo and Karasuk cultures.

In the lack of evidence for ethno-linguistic transformation, Renfrew had to write:

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<sup>990</sup> Gonza’lez-Ruiz, et al., “Tracing the Origin of the East-West Population Admixture”, 9.

<sup>991</sup> Ann Farkas, “Interpreting Scythian Art: East vs. West”, *Artibus Asiae* 39, 2 (1977), esp. 127, underlines the differentiation of contemporary artefacts from the Altay and Eastern Europe, the latter being under Greek influence. But, comparing the East European and Altay artefacts of the Scythians, the latter were far more sophisticated and of a higher standard of workmanship (Rice, *The Scythians*, 74).

<sup>992</sup> At least, in Khazanov’s words, they testify to similar ideological-cum-religious beliefs and a shared political culture (Khazanov, “The Scythians and Their Neighbours”, 33). He abstains from pointing to a common ethnic origin of the Eurasian nomadic culture. This is undoubtedly what we should listen to, but the problem here is that the nomadic area coincides, or is so perceived, with the Saka realm, and the latter is depicted as a pure Iranian world in the established view. The mistake is double.

It is clear that at some point during the first millennium BC there were very significant developments in the eastern part of the Eurasian steppe which resulted in the dominance of populations speaking Ural-Altaic languages over much of the area. Just as initially, in Europe and Central Asia at least, the economy of nomad-pastoralism was associated with Indo-European speakers, so later the nomads were predominantly non-Indo-European in speech, with the exception of just a few pockets, like the speakers of the Ossetian language. The underlying economic or processual reasons for these later changes are not at all clear to me: one is reluctant to blame all of this simply upon the invention of the stirrup.<sup>993</sup>

Khazanov's dates are entirely different and the case is the same:

Somewhere between the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, the Turkic-speaking nomads replaced the Iranian-speaking ones in the Eurasian steppes. This development still lacks a satisfactory explanation, especially since in the beginning of this process the latter should have been much more numerous than the former.<sup>994</sup>

So, a fundamental change occurred in a continent-like region to sweep out a gigantic ethno-linguistic entity and to put another in its place, but we do not know when. We know of ethnic changes in Neolithic times, but not in the well documented 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC and 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD. This lack of information indeed lacks a satisfactory explanation. The changes are not on the land and landscape, but in our minds. On the land everything seems stable and ongoing.

Perhaps it is better to forget about that invisible change, which appears in our minds for the sake of Alans, whose history does not even constitute 5% of the history of Central Asians in Eastern Europe. Such a chain of logic is mistaken: Alans were surely Iranian speaking. They are counted among the Sarmatians, so the Sarmatians were, too, Iranian. Sarmatians spoke in the same language as the Scythians. Therefore, the latter were also Iranian. The story goes on. Renfrew says in his objection to Lamberg-Karlovski that the Scythians and Sarmatians who were the continuation of the Andronovo culture were speaking Iranian languages, and this is a proof that the people before that were speaking the same language as well.<sup>995</sup>

A great majority of the current literature on the Scythians deals with archaeological issues. Of the Scythian remnants, the easternmost ones

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<sup>993</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 204.

<sup>994</sup> Khazanov, "The Scythians and Their Neighbours", 44.

<sup>995</sup> C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, "Archaeology and Language: The Indo-Iranians", *Current Anthropology* 43, 1 (2002), 74.

(especially the Aržan Kurgan from the late 9<sup>th</sup> century BC, together with the famous Pazyryk kurgans) precede the rest in the more westerly regions.<sup>996</sup> This may mean that the motivating elements of the Scythian entity were originally from those regions. And Scythian relics represent the highest level of the Eurasian steppe civilisation of all times in terms of material culture. The Golden Man in the south (Issyk Kurgan), the Pazyryk carpet in the easternmost Altay region or numerous objects with a high artistic level found in East European kurgans are matchless and also among the distinguished elements of ancient human civilisation.<sup>997</sup>

Consequently, the Scythian chapter in historiography is by no means over, and debates (that indeed do not exist) must be renewed. Among hundreds of studies concerning them, only a few deal with the identity problems, and a majority of the authors are believed to have solved the question by using the template sentence “as it is known, the Scythians were an Iranian people” in reference to earlier studies. However, the latter too, do the same. I do not know about it, because I do not know and, therefore, have not read studies analytically showing it.<sup>998</sup> Academic consensus cannot be an answer to the question. Everybody may think so, but scientific issues are not like democratic elections, despite the fact that they need a democratic atmosphere.

Based solely upon linguistic evidence, one cannot prescribe an Iranian identity for the Scythians, because Turkic has better claims in that area, and scholarship should leave the strictly established habit of attributing all

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<sup>996</sup> Cunliffe, *The Scythians*, 100.

<sup>997</sup> See for a fine literary description of the Pazyryk remnants in Rice, *The Scythians*, 64-67.

<sup>998</sup> Jouko Heyno presented a thesis to Turku University in 2000, with the title *ΣΚΥΘΙΑ: Suuren dareioksenvastaisen liittokunnan kansat Etelä-Venäjällä ja Skuthian sotaretki Heerodotos Halikarneesoslaisen Historioon-teoksen mukaan* (ΣΚΥΘΙΑ: Peoples of the Great Anti-Dareian Alliance in Southern Russia and the Scythian Campaign, according to “Historioon” by Heerodotos of Halicarnesos), in which he questioned the sources of the idea of the Indo-European identity of the Scythians. There was nothing but a ‘chain of references’, every scholar referring to an earlier study, without trying to work on the question. Thus, for instance, Renfrew refers to Talbot-Rice, who reverts to Vasmer, who, yet again, relies on Müllenhoff who refers to Zeuss in 1837. So, it seems, nobody after Zeuss really worked on that issue, and all the latter did was to suggest that, as the above examined word *oiropata* ‘man-killer’ shows, with some miss-spelling reserves, Scythians had probably been an Indo-European people. The so-called scholarly consensus over the Scythian identity is nothing more than this. I’m grateful to Mr. Heyno for informing me about the content of his thesis in our personal communication.



of the bones of the 'white' men to Indo-Europeans, since there were and are many other 'white' peoples apart from them. Just as, skeletons do not point to a distinguishable Iranian or Aryan affiliation of the Scythians. We will come back to the remnants of human bodies in Eurasia by discussing the old Eurasian cultures.

Well, by now we have seen a solid presence of Turkic peoples in Eastern Europe from very ancient times on. This reminds us of their ancient linguistic relations with the local population, primarily the Slavic speaking mass.

# CHAPTER 12

## DOBROWSKI:

### SLAVIC LANGUAGES AND TURKIC

Slavic languages constitute the most populous and widespread group in Europe, followed closely by the Roman and Germanic languages. One-third of the European population speaks in a Slavic language, which is separated into three:

The West Slav group: Polish, Czech and Slovak, besides some local and smaller languages like Sorbian and Kashubian. Czech and Slovak stand closer to each other, while Sorbian of Eastern Germany is separate from all of them.

The East Slav group: Russian, White Russian (Belorussian) and Ukrainian. Though they descend from the same source, Ukrainian is closer to Polish in vocabulary, and has many substantial phonetic differences from Russian.

The South Slav group: We have to classify this by states and thus Slovenian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian, Montenegrin, Croatian, and Bosnian. Slovenian is closer to Czech and Slovak. Macedonian differentiated from Bulgarian seemingly under Serbian influence. The remaining four are dialects of one and the same language with slight phonetic differences as well as minor vocabulary changes. Among them, Croatian has less Turkism, while Serbian differs from the rest mainly with its *ekavica* feature. Within the wider Indo-European linguistic family, Slavic and Baltic (Lithuanian and Latvian as the surviving members) constitute a sub-group. Thus, below we refer often to 'Balto-Slavic'.

Well, regardless of the direction of their earliest expansion from their likely *Urheimat* in the Pripet Marches, they were the first (Central) European peoples to meet the unwanted guests from Asia, including the South Urals. Thus, their relations with the Central Eurasian nomadic or migrant peoples were intense. There is a huge literature on the Turkic loanwords in various Slavic languages, including special dictionaries. Those studies include the results of linguistic interactions from the Middle Ages up to today.

Although not all Slavic languages are intelligible to speakers of other Slavic languages, they contain a great common vocabulary and morphologic features, and thus, it is not difficult to get a Proto-Slavic language, which was a reality in the early ages of the Medieval. Derksen published an etymological dictionary of the oldest common Slavic words inherited from Indo-European Slavic ancestors, thus excluding doubtful or loaned words from other languages. The words below were scanned from that book, according to which there is no word in ‘inherited’ Slavic which can be related even indirectly with Turkic, therefore there is not even one abbreviation ‘Tr.’ throughout the dictionary. This is logical in accordance with the aim of the study; however, I must keep my records from that book. The Slavic words below are all reconstructed words, thus have (\*), but Turkic words are in their oldest recorded forms.

\**bogàť* ‘rich’. Derksen relates this to \**bôgъ* ‘God’, which is a borrowing from Iranian.<sup>999</sup> Cf. Old Turkic *bay* ‘rich, a rich man, a member of the upper classes’ > *bayu-* ‘to be, or become rich’, also *Bayat* ‘God’.<sup>1000</sup> Thus, Turkic might also have taken it from Iranian, perhaps from Aryan, at the first glance. We need a comprehensive semantic survey to understand the nature of these correspondences. My studies for that aim ended in a book (*Bey ile Büyücü* ‘The Lord and the Magician’), since we need to add here the Turkic words *bäg* ‘tribal ruler, chief’ and *bögü* ‘magician’. Here we can only transmit an abstract of that book.

Ibn Fadlan says in wonder that the (pre-Islamic) Oghuz call their magnates *rab* ‘the Lord’.<sup>1001</sup> This is indeed an almost universal semantic usage, including Arabic, as seen in the English translation of the word, and there is no need to be surprised. The suggested Iranian root for the Slavic \**bôgъ* ‘God’ is \**baga* (< Aryan \**bhaga*) ‘share, portion, fate’ and with its personified meaning ‘God’. Its verbal root is \**bag-* ‘to endow, distribute, grant’.<sup>1002</sup> It is not a coincidence that the Iranian word \**daiya* ‘God’ also comes from the verb \**dai-* ‘to divide, share’.<sup>1003</sup> God is the source and, thus, associated with blessing and boon, and thus with goods and property. “God is good and gives goods”.<sup>1004</sup> Turkic and English developed in

<sup>999</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 50.

<sup>1000</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 384, 385, *bay* being borrowed by Mongolian in the form *bayan*.

<sup>1001</sup> Ibn Fazlan, *İbn Fazlan Seyahatnamesi*, 30.

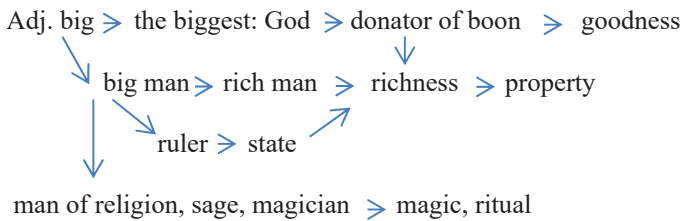
<sup>1002</sup> Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ iranskih jazykov -II-*, 45-49.

<sup>1003</sup> Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ iranskih jazykov -II-*, 307, 438.

<sup>1004</sup> Though Orel puts separate cognates for them in Proto-Germanic: \**Gōd̥(az)* ‘good’, \**Guđ(z)* ‘God’ (Orel, *A Handbook of Germanic Etymology*, 138, 145).

separate semantic environments, but the same sentence can be said in Turkic, too, with cognate words: “*Edi is edgü and gives ed*” (cf. below for *ed* ‘movable property’).

It is troublesome, however, that the Aryan word has Indo-European cognates (or perhaps loanwords with the same meanings) only in Tocharian: *pāk* and *pāke* respectively for the A and B languages (except for Slavic, of course). The suggested Greek cognate *phagein* means ‘to eat’. Despite that, we have the right to seek at least one European cognate in order to accept the Aryan *\*bhaga* as a PIE word; let us suppose that Turkic, Tocharian and Slavic loaned it from Aryan or Proto-Iranic. Since tribal chiefs are usually rich, we can also explain the Turkic *bäg* in those terms as a loanword. But with the semantic interference of the bigness notion, things would be complicated. Leaders are rich, but also ‘big, great’. We dealt with the Turkic relation of the English *big*, where we also cited Ayto associating the Norwegian *bugge* ‘important man’ with the English *big*.<sup>1005</sup> If so, such a semantic scheme would be more plausible:



That is why Polish produces *państwo* ‘state’ from *pan* ‘sir, a notable man’; German has both *reich* ‘rich’ and *Reich* ‘state’; Serbian has *gospodin* ‘sir, mister’ and *gospodarstvo* ‘economy’; Russian has *gospodin* ‘sir, mister’ and *gosudarstvo* ‘state’; Arabic has *m-l-k* ‘property’ and *m-l-k* ‘to rule, administrate’, *h-k-m* ‘to dominate, rule’ and *hakim* ‘sage’; and Turkic has *\*bȫk/\*bȫg* ‘big’, *bäg* ‘sir, ruler’, *bay* ‘rich’, *Bayat* ‘God’ and *bögü* ‘sage, magician’, in addition to above Iranian words.

Such a basic word with so many basic semantic extensions would be expected to exist in other Indo-European languages, too. The present scheme suggests that for the majority of the scholarly people, the Aryans invented it in some way c. 2000 BC, and gave it to Tocharians and Turks, and then to the Proto-Slavs, who never transmitted it to the Balts. Turkic multitudes, too, might have conveyed the ‘Aryan’ word to the Slavic realm, thus there is no need to necessarily label it as an Iranian borrowing.

<sup>1005</sup> Ayto, *Word Origins*, 76.

But among the concerning four groups of languages, Turkic has the most words of the same root. Therefore, it is more plausible to surmise that the Aryans borrowed from Turkic only the meanings ‘share, good fortune, God’ and loaned it later to the Tocharians. How Slavic derived *\*bogàtŭ* ‘rich’ from *\*bôgŭ* ‘god’ is not clear, despite some fruitless efforts. A plausible explanation would be that they might be separate but simultaneous borrowings. And Turkic had reserves to give both of them.

*\*bole(je)* ‘more’ < *boľŭjŭ* ‘bigger, better’ < Proto-Indo-European *\*bel-* ‘strong’.<sup>1006</sup> Cf. Tr. *bol* ‘wide; plenty’. This does not occur in Old Turkic texts, however, it is a common word in Turkic languages with some *mol* variants, and was borrowed by several Balkan languages.<sup>1007</sup>

*\*da* ‘(in order) that/to, because, despite’ < PIE *\*do-h<sub>1</sub> (dō?)*, cognate of English ‘to’.<sup>1008</sup> Cf. Tr. *de/da* with almost the same semantic extension as the Slavic word. There are expectably *te/ta* forms, but it mostly keeps *d-* even in many *t-* dialects. The word does not occur in OT, but is common all over the Turkic domain.<sup>1009</sup> In the Hungarian chapter we compared it to Hu. *de* ‘but’. The English word *to* has a clear dative function, while the Slavic word is used for conjugation. Turkic *de/da* comes from OT *taki* ‘and, also’ but this word survives as it is, with some phonetic variants. Rather, *taki* should be a derivative of the shorter *\*da/\*ta*. Besides, the Hungarian *de* is noteworthy in terms of the chronology and early phonetics of the Turkic word. The lack of clear Indo-European cognates is troublesome.

*\*deltò* ‘chisel’, the only cognate is the Old English *delfan* ‘to dig’.<sup>1010</sup> Cf. OT. *tel-* ‘to pierce’.<sup>1011</sup> Turkic also has its sigmatic/Common Turkic variant *teŭ-* ‘idem’. Thus, it is very possible that, if there is a relation between the Turkic and Slavic words, the source should be a Proto-Turkic or Bulgaric form language. Cf. below *\*děl-*.

*\*děl-* ‘to divide’, there is an unusual Germanic cognate *\*d<sup>h</sup>oil-* or *\*d<sup>h</sup>ail-*, which may be a Slavic borrowing, but it is not plausible.<sup>1012</sup> This word is related to the above *\*deltò* but cf. OT. *til-* ‘to cut into ‘slices’.<sup>1013</sup> We have compared it to Hu. *szel* ‘to slice’. Turkic *tel-* and *til-* should be

<sup>1006</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 52.

<sup>1007</sup> Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov “B”*, 184–185.

<sup>1008</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 94.

<sup>1009</sup> E. V. Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov “V” “D”* (Moskva: Nauka, 1980), 109.

<sup>1010</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 98.

<sup>1011</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 490.

<sup>1012</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 102.

<sup>1013</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 490.

cognates of each other, the second perhaps being related to *tiš* ‘tooth’. A lack of clear Indo-European cognates for the Slavic word is troublesome. Again, we have such a distribution among Turkic, Hungarian, and Slavic (and thence Germanic?).

\**dědv* ‘grandfather’, a common Balto-Slavic word, however, Baltic words mean ‘uncle’, while Slavic ones are unanimously ‘grandfather’.<sup>1014</sup> Cf. Tr. *dede* originally ‘father’, later ‘grandfather, old man’.<sup>1015</sup> These are onomatopoeic words but the semantic and phonetic agreements as well as their limitation in Turkic and Balto-Slavic are noteworthy.

\**dělv* ‘part’, cf. above \**děl-* ‘to divide’.

\**dě-* ‘to do, say’. This has several PIE cognates, but none of them other than the Slavic words has the meaning ‘to say’, including the Baltic cognates. This is suspicious. Maybe Proto-Slavic had another synonymous verb for it. OT. *te-* ‘to say’ agrees with it in all senses. Cf. also English *tell*. We will come back to it in the next chapter.

\**dobrǔ* ‘good’, the only cognate being the Gothic *gadaban* ‘to happen, be suitable’. Derksen relates it to \**doba* ‘time’ and justifies the Gothic connection with the parallelism between Slavic \**godǔ* ‘right time’ and Proto-Germanic \**gōda* ‘suitable, good’.<sup>1016</sup> However, that parallelism is for another connection as dealt with above. It would be more breath-taking to tie it to Proto-Germanic \**trewwaz* ‘faithful, true’, thus to the English *true*.<sup>1017</sup> But this Germanic word is alleged to be a cognate with the word meaning ‘tree’. Their phonetic resemblance is clear as well as the semantic aspect: ‘to be straight like a tree’. The Slavic \**děrvō* ‘tree’, on the other hand, is distinct from \**dobrǔ* ‘good’. OT has *toǓuru/toǓru* ‘straight, honest, upright, true’, its original meaning denoting the physical case.<sup>1018</sup>

\**dūxǔ* ‘breath, spirit’ > \**dūxà-* ‘to breathe, blow’, \**dušà* ‘soul’, restricted to the Balto-Slavic group.<sup>1019</sup> Cf. OT. *tōš* ‘chest, breast’, synonym of *kōkūs* but the latter is used only for human beings, while the former is for both animals and humans.<sup>1020</sup>

\**dnǔn* ‘day’ < Balto-Slavic \**dein*/\**din* < PIE \**d(e)in*.<sup>1021</sup> There are several cognates in various IE languages. Cf. OT *tūn* ‘night, yesterday’.

<sup>1014</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 101-102.

<sup>1015</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 451.

<sup>1016</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 110.

<sup>1017</sup> Orel, *A Handbook of Germanic Etymology*, 410.

<sup>1018</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 473.

<sup>1019</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 124.

<sup>1020</sup> Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskih jazykov* “V” “D”, 286-287.

<sup>1021</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 134.

The second meaning is in some contemporary languages.<sup>1022</sup> The PIE root was reconstructed after the Balto-Slavic form and its phonetic resemblance to the Turkic word is noteworthy. It may be a loanword, then, in Turkic. But the closest source, Iranic has the root form *\*dai* for it and later forms are on that base.<sup>1023</sup>

*\*dъrvъŋa* ‘field’ < Balto-Slavic *\*dir(?)w-* < PIE *\*dr(H)-u-*. Also *\*dъrba* ‘new ploughed field’. Its verbal root is *\*der-* ‘to tear’, *\*dъra-* ‘to tear, flay’.<sup>1024</sup> Cf. OT. *ta:r-* ‘to disperse, or divide up (something)’, *tari-* ‘to cultivate (ground)’ > *tariğ* ‘cultivated land; ‘the produce of cultivated land’, *tariğlağ* ‘a cultivated field’.<sup>1025</sup> The two Turkic verbs are not considered to be related, however, both the semantic connection and the Indo-European parallels show that *tari-* stems from *ta:r-*. What concerns us here in this chapter is that the semantic development from ‘tearing’ to ‘a ploughed field’ occurred in Turkic and Balto-Slavic in the same way. This may represent a special relation.

*\*elenъ*, *\*elenъ* ‘deer’ < Balto-Slavic *\*elenios* < PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>el-h<sub>1</sub>en-i*.<sup>1026</sup> Germanic *\*alziz* ~ *\*elxaz* ~ *\*elxôn* ‘elk’ is tied to Slavic *\*olsъ* ‘elk’ through PIE *\*olkis* ~ *\*elkis*.<sup>1027</sup> Tr. *elik* ‘roe-buck, rather than roe-deer’<sup>1028</sup> may be related to both IE words ending in *-k* and *-n* through an *\*-ŋ*, and both IE words may be cognate through the same way, although I’m not sure of the existence of a sound rule in PIE. The similarity of the Turkic word to the Germanic form is interesting.

*\*ëro* ~ *\*ëra* ~ *\*ërb* ‘spring; heat, fire’. Its Baltic cognates only have the meaning ‘lamb’, for which there is a separate entry in the inherited Slavic: *\*ëre*. Greek, Germanic and Indo-Iranic forms have the meanings ‘year, time, season’.<sup>1029</sup> Cf OT. *yaz* ‘summer; later sometimes spring’<sup>1030</sup> < *\*yar*.

*\*ëto* ‘herd, flock’. There are no Baltic cognates, and the Sanskrit *yātā* ‘progress, course’<sup>1031</sup> is not clear. Cf. OT. *e:d* ‘movable property’, *e:d tavar* ‘movable property and livestock’.<sup>1032</sup> It should be related to the verb *e:d-le:t-* ‘to organise, put in order’. The meanings ‘economy’ and

<sup>1022</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 513.

<sup>1023</sup> Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ iranskih jazykov -II-*, 453.

<sup>1024</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 136.

<sup>1025</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 529, 532, 538.

<sup>1026</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 140.

<sup>1027</sup> Orel, *A Handbook of Germanic Etymology*, 14.

<sup>1028</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 142.

<sup>1029</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 151-152.

<sup>1030</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 982.

<sup>1031</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 154.

<sup>1032</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 33.

‘management’ are closely related to each other as seen above. It is likely that an original meaning, ‘property’ was later restricted to only a part, excluding the animals. An opposite development happened in Russian with the Turkic loanword *tovar* (< *tavar*), which turned to ‘goods’ and eventually gave birth to *tovariš* ‘comrade’, originally being ‘trader’.<sup>1033</sup> In a distant linguistic past, the Turkic and Slavic words stand close to each other.

\**ězva* ‘wound’ with Balto-Slavic cognates, but there are no reliable cognates outside Balto-Slavic.<sup>1034</sup> Cf. Tr. *yara* ‘wound’. Despite it being a popular word among all Turkic languages, the closest word to it occurs in Mahmud of Kashgar as *yaruk* ‘a crack’<sup>1035</sup> from *yar-* ‘to split’. *Yara* < *yaruk* is not likely, though there is no semantic problem, since the second still survives. The verb *yar-* and the above-mentioned *ta:r-* ‘to disperse, or divide up (something)’ should be cognates within Turkic, but we know of no concerning words produced from *ta:r-*. Therefore, *yara* ‘wound’ may have another etymological root.

\**gaba* ‘seize’. Its suggested Indo-European cognates have a variety of semantic scale.<sup>1036</sup> Cf. OT. *kap-* ‘to grasp, seize’.<sup>1037</sup> We have already mentioned this Turkic verb with its Finnic, Hungarian and ‘Sarmato-English’ (to *keep*) connections. Anyway, the Slavic word agrees the most with the Turkic one.

\**gàz-* ‘to trample, wade’. The verb is restricted to South Slavic, including Bulgarian and Slovenian. Baltic (‘to overthrow’) and Sanskrit (‘to penetrate’) cognates are not directly related in meaning.<sup>1038</sup> Mladenov is said to have tied it to Tr. *ez-* ‘to crush’, however, I could not access his *Etimologičen Rečnik*. Hungarian *gázol-* ‘to wade, crush’ is loaned from South Slavic, but its Turkic connection is rejected.<sup>1039</sup> For the Slavic, there are other examples for such a Turkic equation, see below Sl. *god* ‘time’ Tr. *öd* ‘idem’, *gor-* ‘tall’, and Tr. *or* ‘high’. Such a verb as *gaz-* also exists in Sumerian, to which we will come back.

<sup>1033</sup> Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar' ruskogo jazyka -IV-*, 67-68.

<sup>1034</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 155.

<sup>1035</sup> Mahmud al-Kāšyārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -II-*, 153.

<sup>1036</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 159.

<sup>1037</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 580.

<sup>1038</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 162; Skok, *Etimologijski Rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga Jezika -I-*, 557; Georgiev et al. (*Bŭlgarski Etimologičen Rečnik -I-*, Sofija: BAN, 1971), 224.

<sup>1039</sup> Benkő et al., *A Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótára -I-*, 1039.



\**gôdъ* ‘right time’.<sup>1040</sup> This semantic reconstruction of Derksen is not clear to me, for the most common meaning, including that in the Church Slavic, together with its derivative \**godina*, denotes simply ‘time’. Baltic cognates have ‘honour, banquet, worship, hospitality’ shared in Slavic languages as ‘holiday, feast, anniversary’, etc., that may represent a semantic extension. Suggested Germanic cognates with the meaning ‘good’ have an indirect relation with this. Cf. OT. *ôd* ‘time, a period of time, a point in time’. Though its derivative *ôdleg* means ‘time, noon, midday’,<sup>1041</sup> in some old literary records it almost means ‘fate’. Thus, in the famous poem for Alp Er Toņa, mentioned in connection with the Scythians in the previous chapter, the line *ôdläg ôçin aldi mu* ‘‘Has time exacted its revenge upon him?’’<sup>1042</sup> is translated into Turkish as ‘‘Has fate exacted its revenge upon him?’’.<sup>1043</sup> Hungarian has *idő* ‘time’ as a Turkic loanword.<sup>1044</sup>

\**gorě-* ‘to burn’, a true Balto-Slavic word, with a perfect Sanskrit cognate: *ghṛṇá* ‘to heat, glow’.<sup>1045</sup> We should also add Iranic \**kaur-/kur-* ‘to burn, heat’.<sup>1046</sup> Cf. OT. *köz* ‘burning embers’, surviving only in the Southwest Turkic region,<sup>1047</sup> with the *koz* form as well, but its Bulgaro-Chuvash version *kor* ‘idem’ is present in all Common Turkic languages.<sup>1048</sup> It is likely connected with *kağur-* ‘to parch (grain and the like), bake, roast’ and *kuri-* ‘to be, or become dry’.

\**gorà* ‘mountain, woods’; Its Lithuanian cognate *girià* is ‘woods’, and Sanskrit *giri* ‘mountain, hill’.<sup>1049</sup> Cf. OT. *kir* ‘an isolated mountain or block of mountains’, *ô:r* ‘height, high, high ground’, *ôrle-* ‘to rise, go upwards’, *orun* ‘place, high place, throne’.<sup>1050</sup>

\**göre* ‘grief, woe’, \**gorъjb* ‘worse’. While the latter has no clear cognates, the former is tied to the verb \**gorě-* ‘to burn’.<sup>1051</sup> A semantic parallel exists between Turkic *yan-* ‘to burn’ and *yangı* ‘sorrow, grief’.

<sup>1040</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 172.

<sup>1041</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 55-56.

<sup>1042</sup> Maḥmud al-Kāšyārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -I-*, 92.

<sup>1043</sup> Kaşgarlı Mahmud, *Dīvānu Lüġāti't-Türk*, 19.

<sup>1044</sup> Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 437-439.

<sup>1045</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 178-179.

<sup>1046</sup> Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar' iranskih jazykov -IV-*, 373.

<sup>1047</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 756.

<sup>1048</sup> Levitskaya et al, *Etimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskih jazykov. Obšetjurkskie i mežturkskie osnovy na bukvu "K"* (Moskva: Nauka, 2000), 72.

<sup>1049</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 177-178.

<sup>1050</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 193, 229, 233.

<sup>1051</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 179.

However, OT. *kor* ‘loss, damage’<sup>1052</sup> is very interesting in its resemblance to the first Slavic word. Cf. also OT. *kork-* ‘to fear, be afraid of’.

\**gьrdlo* ‘throat’. This is a true Balto-Slavic word, but with an obscure etymology.<sup>1053</sup> Cf. Common Tr. *girtlak* ‘throat’, with various pronunciations. Its widespread nature as well as its variety of forms indicates the very oldness of the word, though it was not recorded in old sources. Gülensoy takes it from OT. *kıkr-* ‘to shout’.<sup>1054</sup> The resemblance of the Turkic and Slavic words is inspiring, if not accidental.

\**xorni-* ‘to preserve, guard, protect’, is restricted to the Slavic group. Derksen refers to \**xorna* ‘food, fodder’, which may be, in his opinion, a loanword from Avestan *xʷarəna* ‘food’, likely due to a synonymous verb in South Slavic meaning ‘to feed, nourish’.<sup>1055</sup> Cf. OT. *korı* ‘to fence in, or protect’.<sup>1056</sup> We need to turn back to this in the next chapter in order to reach the English *care*.

\**kàja-* ‘to regret, repent’, restricted to the Slavic, but there is the clear Avestan cognate *kāii-* ‘to repent’.<sup>1057</sup> Cf. OT *kađǵu* ‘sorrow, grief, care, anxiety’.<sup>1058</sup> The ending *-ǵu* is a deverbal suffix, but there is no verbal root *kađ-*, which likely did not survive to the Old Turkic period.

\**kakъ* ‘what’, cf. OT. *kaŋu* ‘what, which’. Both language groups produced numerous interrogative pronouns from the root \**ka*/\**ko*. This should be studied in a separate paper. Their resemblance does not indicate a special relation, since this \**ka*/\**ko* is widespread in Eurasia, but phonetics of the Turkic and Slavic pronouns stands closer compared to the others.

\**konьcbъ* ‘end’ < \**konь* ‘beginning, end, turn’, Old Russian *kon* ‘end, limit’.<sup>1059</sup> In the previous chapter we mentioned the equations Rus. *sobaka* ‘dog’, Tr. *köpek* ‘idem’ and Rus. *sorok* ‘forty’, Tr. *kırk* ‘idem’. Here is a converse equation: Cf. OT. *son* ‘end’, Hungarian *szűn-* ‘to end, finish’. Perhaps they are connected relevantly with Tr. *sön-* ‘to dim down’ and Hu. *szűn-* ‘idem’. It would be nice to find a Tr. \**kon-*. The verb *kon-* ‘to settle down’ is the reflexive form of *ko-* ‘to put down’. This connection, if it

<sup>1052</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 641.

<sup>1053</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 198.

<sup>1054</sup> Gülensoy, Tuncer, *Türkiye Türkçesindeki Türkçe Sözcüklerin Köken Bilgisi Sözlüğü (A-N)* (Ankara: TDK, 2007), 371.

<sup>1055</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 205.

<sup>1056</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 645.

<sup>1057</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 219.

<sup>1058</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 598.

<sup>1059</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 232.

really exists, needs further elaborative studies, by taking the similar phonetic *k-* ~ *s-* equations into consideration.

\**kopъje* ‘spear, lance’, the deverbative of \**kopâ-* ‘to dig’.<sup>1060</sup> The word occurs in all Slavic languages exclusively with the same meaning. However, does it have something to do with digging? Cf. OT. *kūpe*: Originally ‘a small metal ring’, hence ‘an earring’, but in historical sources it is more widely ‘chain-mail’.<sup>1061</sup> The word also occurs in the Preslav inscription of the Danube Bulgars in the same form and meaning.<sup>1062</sup> Well, the only semantic connection of the Turkic and Slavic words is the case that one is the target of the other.

\**korъ* ‘reproach’ *kori-* ‘to reproach’. There are several Indo-European cognates, all from Europe.<sup>1063</sup> Cf. OT. *karġa-* ‘to curse’.

\**kórtъ* ‘once, time’, a Balto-Slavic word with Sanskrit cognates.<sup>1064</sup> Cf. OT. *ker* ‘a moment’, *kur* ‘time, stage, rank, a line, a course of brick-work’.<sup>1065</sup> Hungarian has the equivalent *kor* ‘age, period’, but also see, *-szer/-ször* ‘times’.

\**kôsъ* ‘blackbird’, is restricted to Slavic languages, with a debated Greek cognate.<sup>1066</sup> Cf. OT *kuş* ‘bird’.<sup>1067</sup> Together with \**gôsvъ* ‘goose’, which is *kaz* in Turkic, a wider Eurasian or Nostratic view can be held.

\**kozâ* ‘goat’, probably a borrowing from a Turkic language, Derksen says.<sup>1068</sup> Cf. OT. *kuzi* ‘lamb’, with a very old loaning to Mongolian.<sup>1069</sup> Fasmer relates a possibility of Turkic origins, but does not refer to the word *kuzi*.<sup>1070</sup>

\**kôda/kôdě* ‘where, whither’. Cf. above \**kakъ* ‘what’. What is noteworthy here is that the element *-da/dě* agrees with the Tr. locative suffix *-da/-de*. The same agreements do exist in Indo-Iranian, too.<sup>1071</sup>

\**kudъ/kudъ* ‘evil spirit, devil, Satan’, \**kudo* ‘magic, sorcery’. The words occur only in Russian, with the Polish exception *kudyś* ‘evil spirit,

<sup>1060</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 234.

<sup>1061</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 687.

<sup>1062</sup> Beševliev, *Ръвно-Вългарски Nadpisi*, 186.

<sup>1063</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 235, 237.

<sup>1064</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 236.

<sup>1065</sup> Levitskaya et al., *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov “K”*, 152-153; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 642, 735.

<sup>1066</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 239.

<sup>1067</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 670.

<sup>1068</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 242.

<sup>1069</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 681.

<sup>1070</sup> Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ ruskogo jazyka II*, 277.

<sup>1071</sup> Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ iranskih jazykov -IV-*, 404-409.

devil'. Its root is related to the Slavic \*čudo 'miracle'.<sup>1072</sup> The words are related on the one hand to the Germanic \*gud(z) 'God', and on the other hand to the Turkic *kut* 'divine favour'. A parallel of this semantic negation in the Russian word is seen in the Iranian \*daiya 'God', which likely turned after the Zoroastrian reforms, as stated above, to 'Satan'.<sup>1073</sup> Cf. OT. *tev* 'trick, device'.<sup>1074</sup> There should be a historical case affecting the East Slavs from which the Russians stem, to produce such a semantic transformation, because Proto-Slavic kept the cognate \*čudo 'miracle' in its positive meaning. Thus, it is very possible that the Russian \*kudь/kudь 'evil spirit, devil, Satan' is a loanword. Since the Germanic \*gud(z) 'God' is shared in Slavic as 'time', the source of the 'evil spirit' should be in the east, the Turkic *kut* being a good candidate, though it also has a positive meaning.

\*kъ 'to, towards', is restricted to the Slavic languages, the only possible cognates being the Sanskrit particle *kām* after datives.<sup>1075</sup> Cf. OT. dative suffix *-ka/-ke*. A more comprehensive study on pronouns throughout Eurasia would reveal the facts about them.

\*mene/\*mьně 'me', Cf. OT. *maṇa* 'to me'.

\*ōko 'eye', a true Indo-European word having cognates everywhere. But cf. OT. *oku-* 'to read'.

\*onь 'he/she/it', though there are cognates with some other pronouns, this meaning seems to be restricted to the Slavic.<sup>1076</sup> Cf. the Turko-Uralic \*o(n): Fin. *hän* 'he/she/it', Hu. *ő* 'idem', Tr. *o* 'idem'. There appears to be an *-n-* in the Turkic pronoun when it takes suffixes.

\*orà- 'to plough', with Greek and Latin cognates, a true Balto-Slavic word. However, only in Slavic languages it begins with *o-*.<sup>1077</sup> Cf. OT. *or-* 'to mow (grass, etc.), reap (crops)'.<sup>1078</sup>

\*pālī- 'to burn, singe', restricted to the Slavic group.<sup>1079</sup> Cf. OT. *balk-* 'to sparkle, shine, burn'.<sup>1080</sup>

<sup>1072</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 255.

<sup>1073</sup> Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar' iranskih jazykov -II-*, 307; Yarshater, "Iranian National History", 347.

<sup>1074</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 434.

<sup>1075</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 259.

<sup>1076</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 372.

<sup>1077</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 372.

<sup>1078</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 194.

<sup>1079</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 390.

<sup>1080</sup> Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskih jazykov "B"*, 56.

\**pàqkъ* ‘spider’, restricted to the Slavic group; compound of \**pa* and \**qk* (> \**qkotsъ* ‘hook’).<sup>1081</sup> Cf. the English *bug* debate in Chapter 10, where we referred to OT. *bög* ‘bug, spider’.

\**polъ* ‘half’, restricted to the Slavic languages.<sup>1082</sup> Above we compared Fin. *puoli* ‘half’, Hu. *fél* ‘half’ and Tr. *böl-* ‘to divide’ to each other. Adding this Slavic word, an East European grouping is striking.

\**sъlâ-* ‘to send’, restricted to the Slavic group; a few suggested cognates are irrelevant in meaning. Cf. OT. *sal-* ‘to move, to put into motion’,<sup>1083</sup> mostly ‘to let go’.

\**te-* ‘to beat’, only Balto-Slavic.<sup>1084</sup> Cf. OT. *tep-* ‘to kick (someone), stamp, clap’, *tö:g* ‘to pound, crush, grind’.<sup>1085</sup>

\**tæg-/\*tęga-* ‘to pull, extract’. Baltic meanings of the suggested cognates (‘to become slow’, ‘to be lazy’)<sup>1086</sup> are not directly concerning. Cf. OT. *çek-* ‘to pull’.<sup>1087</sup>

\**togъ* ‘tight, solid, tough’, to be related to \**tæg-* ‘to pull’, not occurring in all Slavic languages, but represented in each of the three groups.<sup>1088</sup> Cf. Tr. *tok* ‘thick, dense’.<sup>1089</sup>

\**togâ* ‘sadness, melancholy’, to be related to \**tæg-* ‘to pull’.<sup>1090</sup> Cf. OT. *tak* ‘sorrow, distress’, *toğa* ‘illness’.<sup>1091</sup> It is noteworthy that both \**togъ* ‘tight, solid, tough’ and \**togâ* ‘sadness, melancholy’ have Turkic equivalents in the way respectively as *tok* and *tak*, which have nothing to do with ‘pulling’. The Slavic words may not be related to the verbal root \**tæg-*.

\**tvorì-* ‘to make’, but its name forms \**tvârъ* and \**tvôrъ* mean ‘creation, creature’,<sup>1092</sup> thus making the essential meaning ‘to create’. Their suggested Baltic cognates mean ‘fence’. Cf. OT. *törüt-* ‘to bring into existence, create’, causative of *törü-* ‘to be created’.<sup>1093</sup>

<sup>1081</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 391.

<sup>1082</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 412.

<sup>1083</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 824.

<sup>1084</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 491-492.

<sup>1085</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 435.

<sup>1086</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 493.

<sup>1087</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 413.

<sup>1088</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 495.

<sup>1089</sup> Gülensoy, *Köken Bilgisi Sözlüğü (O-Z)*, 903.

<sup>1090</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 495.

<sup>1091</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 463, 466.

<sup>1092</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 500-501.

<sup>1093</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 536.

\**tъrga-* ‘to tear’, restricted to Slavic.<sup>1094</sup> As above-mentioned \**дъръвѣна* ‘field’, cf. OT. *ta:r-* ‘to disperse, or divide up (something)’, *tari-* ‘to cultivate (ground)’ > *tariġ* ‘cultivated land; the produce of cultivated land’, *tariġlaġ* ‘a cultivated field’.<sup>1095</sup>

\**učī-* ‘to teach’, suggested Baltic and other Indo-European cognates have no direct semantic connection, besides there are some phonetic problems pointed to by Derksen.<sup>1096</sup> Cf. OT. *ōg* ‘the mind, intelligence’, *ōġūt* ‘advice, counsel, admonition’, *ōġret-* ‘to teach’, *ōġren-* ‘to learn’.<sup>1097</sup>

\**velb/\*velikъ* ‘big, great’, restricted to the Slavic group, the only cognate being the Latin *valeō* ‘to be strong, well’.<sup>1098</sup> Cf. OT. *uluġ* ‘big, great’. Also see Arabic *aly* ‘high’.

\**vetъxъ* ‘old, past’, a Balto-Slavic word not occurring in all Slavic languages, but represented in each of the three groups, with a good Latin cognate.<sup>1099</sup> Cf. OT. *ōt-* ‘to cross, to pass (the time)’ among several meanings.<sup>1100</sup>

\**žarъ* ‘glow, heat’, restricted to the Slavic languages.<sup>1101</sup> Cf. OT. *yaru-* ‘to be or become bright, shine’, surviving only in a few dialects,<sup>1102</sup> which may show its oldness. Above, we mentioned that there are equivalents in the Finnic languages, like Votyak *žaryt* ‘light red’. It seems to be a word of Eastern Europe regardless of affiliated language families.

\**žeg-* ‘to burn’, not only a Balto-Slavic word, but it also has good cognates in Sanskrit *dāha-* and Avestan *dažai-* ‘to burn’.<sup>1103</sup> Latin *foveō* ‘warm, cherish’ stands distant. Cf. OT. *yak-* ‘to ignite, burn’ from \**ya-*, from which stem we also have *yal-* ‘to blaze, burn, shine’ and *yan-* ‘to burn, blaze up’.<sup>1104</sup> Compared to the parallel case of the word \**ba-* from which we have *baġ* ‘bond, tie, belt; something tied or fastened together, bundle, bale’, *baġla-* ‘to tie, fasten’ and *ban-* ‘to bind on oneself, be bound’ (see the same word in the next chapter for its Indo-European connection), we may surmise that the root form is not \**ya-* but *yak/\*yag*. Thus, there was no likely \**ba-* form too, but simply *baġ*.

<sup>1094</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 502.

<sup>1095</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 529, 532, 538.

<sup>1096</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 506.

<sup>1097</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 99, 102, 114.

<sup>1098</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 514-515.

<sup>1099</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 517.

<sup>1100</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 39.

<sup>1101</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 554.

<sup>1102</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 956.

<sup>1103</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 554.

<sup>1104</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 897, 918, 942.

\**želà*-/\**želě* ‘to wish, want’, occurring only in Slavic languages, with the Greek cognate *thélo* ‘idem’.<sup>1105</sup> Cf. OT. *yalvar*- ‘to beg, beseech, pray (to someone)’.<sup>1106</sup>

As seen, we have 56 words, excluding their variates. The bulk of them are restricted to Slavic or Balto-Slavic, and their Indo-European cognates are either not as clear or as close as those suggested as Turkic equivalents. Some do not even have any at all. Phonetic and semantic agreements of Turkic and Proto-Slavic words are noteworthy. Hungarian or Uralic correspondences for some of them make the theme more interesting. It is possible to add more words, however, with more tortuous etymologies. Thus, I abstained from bringing them to these pages, and these are enough to show that we do not deal with accidental cases.

These words belong to the inherited, and not loaned, realm of the Slavic languages. Their eventual source is the Proto-Indo-European language. However, on the one hand, their PIE etymologies are obscure or do not exist at all, and on the other hand we have Turkic correspondences. This indicates a special relation in the Proto-Slavic age, which may extend to the late centuries of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD. This would include the Hun, Bulgar and Avar periods as well. There are detailed studies on those periods of Turko-Slavic linguistic relations. Besides, these 56 words belong to the first and second categories, meaning to the basic vocabulary. The intense linguistic relations during the Ottoman ages resulted in the penetration of thousands of Turkic (also Persian and Arabic) words into South Slavic languages; however, the great majority of them are cultural words of the third layer.

Above in Chapter 4 we referred to the example Turkish *beğen* ‘to like’ > Bosnian and Serbian *begenisa* ‘idem’ to show that verbs are not usually borrowed with their bare forms. We may add more examples for this like Turkish *dokun*- ‘to touch’ > Bosnian *dokunisa*- ‘to harm’, Tr. *dayan*- ‘to endure’ > Bos. *dajanisa*- ‘idem’, Tr. *dışarı* ‘outside’ > Bos. *dişarisa*- ‘to throw (sb., st.) outside’. However, there are many examples where it does not necessarily work so well in South Slavic languages for the Ottoman time relations. Cf. Tr. (< Arabic) *dikkat* ‘attention’ > Bos. *dikati*- ‘to be careful’; Tr. *dolma(k)* ‘filling, becoming full’ > Bos. *dolmi*- ‘to charge,

<sup>1105</sup> Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic*, 555.

<sup>1106</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 920. The word *yalavaç*/*yalavar* ‘a diplomatic envoy from one ruler to another’, ‘ambassador’ is accepted as an Iranian loanword due to the late components *-vaç* and *-var*, however, there is no Iranian explanation for *yala-* (*idem*, 921). It is possible to derive *yalvaraç* (> *yalavaç*) from the Tr. verbal root *yalvar*-. Perhaps, it is a Turkic loaning in Iranian, and perhaps it became *yalavaç* within Iranian and was then reloaned by Turkic.

stuff', Tr. *halal* (Arabic *halâl*) 'legal' > Bos. *halali-* 'to forgive; to bow, handsel', Tr. *yürü-* 'to walk' > Bos. *juri-* 'to walk in hurry'.<sup>1107</sup> Can we apply this custom to the ancient ages? Thus, the verbs among the examined 56 words, as well as their basic notions, are perhaps Turkic loanwords of the Proto-Slavic period.

A medieval borrowing from Turkic can also become a common Slavic word, as in the cases of OT (Kipchak) *ılmaç* 'translator, interpreter' > Rus. *tolmač*, Pol. *thumacz*, Bulg. *tolmač*, Serb. *tumač*, also Hu. *tolmács* 'idem';<sup>1108</sup> OT *baran* 'ram' > Rus. *baran*, Serb. *baran*, Pol. *baran* 'idem';<sup>1109</sup> OT *buka* 'bull' > Rus. *byk*, Serb. *bik*, Pol. *byk*, also Hu. *bika* 'idem'.<sup>1110</sup> However, these are few and can easily be traced. The above-mentioned words seem different from such examples. There was a brief period (c. 380-470 AD) when the Huns, very few in number, ruled (or perhaps not) over the Proto-Slavs. However, they did not live together much even in that time lap. It was with Germanic tribes that the Huns got more culturally and ethnically involved and they lived together. The majority of the Huns went back to the east after the state collapsed. Therefore, it is not plausible to give them much credit for the early Turko-Slavic relations.

Avars on the other hand, got control of Central Europe in the year 562 and held it until the 790s, so, that would mean they ruled over (and thereby lived together with) Slavs for nearly two and a half centuries. It is known that during this time period, administrative words such as *ban*, *župan* and *jugruš* became widespread amongst Slavs. However, as there are very few sources on the Avar language, it is not possible to exactly say which part of the Turkic vocabulary in Slavic languages came from them.

It is, however, possible to understand the nature of the words borrowed during the Avar era. For example, the word *župan* means the regional ruler in Slovakian and Southern Slavic languages (of course, with slight pronunciation variations). It also appeared in places such as Russia, Poland and Prussia around the end of the middle-age, and carried meanings such

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<sup>1107</sup> Škaljić, *Turcizmi u Srpskohrvatskom-Hrvatskosrpskom Jeziku*, 216, 223, 303, 374.

<sup>1108</sup> E. N. Šipova, *Slovar' turcizmov v ruskom jazyke* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1976), 324; Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar' ruskogo jazyka -IV-*, 72.

<sup>1109</sup> Šipova, *Slovar' turcizmov v ruskom jazyke*, 59; Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar' ruskogo jazyka -I-*, 123.

<sup>1110</sup> Šipova, *Slovar' turcizmov v ruskom jazyke*, 106; Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar' ruskogo jazyka -I-*, 258.



as judge, gentleman and noble.<sup>1111</sup> This situation shows that the word in time spread from Central Europe, and faced semantic shifts.

A similar case was observed with the word *ban* as well. In Bosnia, Croatia and Romania, the word means the ruler of a large area, however, in Poland, the word is in the form *pan*, and has the meaning ‘lord, master, mister’ (and thence, *państwo* ‘state’).<sup>1112</sup> This would suggest that the arrival of the word in Polish took a long time with many stops in between. This is, in fact, easy to understand, as the Avar state could not reach the north of the Carpathians, where the ancestors of Polish and Russians lived. The resistance of the White Ogurs/Croats in Galicia that we mentioned above likely created a barrier against the spread of the Avar cultural influence. Thereby, the vocabulary that rested in the South Slavic languages (excepting the areas under the Bulgar rule) and the Slovaks at the time, who were directly ruled by the Avars, needed to wait a little bit before moving to the north.

The words that I cited above from Derksen’s dictionary, which I argued to be related to Turkic, do not seem to have this feature. Meaning, they seem to come from a single source without having many slides in their semantic content. I hope future studies will give a firmer answer to this.

Then, if some or many of these words from Derksen’s dictionary of the core Slavic vocabulary were borrowed from Turkic, this should be an era earlier than the Avars, when the Proto-Slavic community had not yet split into language level dialects. Excluding the Huns from this survey for the before stated reasons, it was primarily Sarmatians, if not some Scythian groups, who came from the Central Eurasian steppes to the Carpathian slopes, and mixed with the natives. Then, I need to conclude that the majority of these words came from them. The westernmost habitations of the Sarmatians proper were in close proximity with the Slavic Urheimat just to the north.

To sum up, whether one names it Sarmatian or Scythian, in the late ancient periods, there was a significant Turkic presence in or near the Slavic motherland. Fundamentally, there are no reasons for one to take out the possibility that Turkic migrations which went to every corner of the ancient world, also extended to the north of the Carpathians. At the time of the Golden Horde state, many Tatars took refuge in the Lithuanian grand-

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<sup>1111</sup> Skok, *Etimologijski Rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga Jezika -III-*, 687-688; Brückner, *Słownik Etymologiczny Języka Polskiego*, 667-668; Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ ruskogo jazyka II*, 65-66.

<sup>1112</sup> Skok, *Etimologijski Rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga Jezika -I-*, 104-105; Brückner, *Słownik Etymologiczny Języka Polskiego*, 393.

duchy. Today, their grandchildren still live in Finland, Lithuania and Poland. There should, of course, be similar migrations in older ages as well.

Now we need a wider survey to see whether there were linguistic relations at the level of Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Turkic. Such a title would be absurd, since at the time of PIE, Turkic was absent according to mainstream views, but a survey at that level would help us to clarify the nature of such a relationship, if it existed, in terms of the geographical positions of the various branches of Indo-European.

## CHAPTER 13

### UNITED NOTIONS: INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES AND TURKIC

Today, almost half of the world population speak in one of the languages classified as ‘Indo-European’. Not the peoples speaking them, but the languages are supposed to have descended from a proto-language, named after their intensification in the line from Europe to India. It has sub-groups, as seen in the previous chapter regarding the Slavic languages. A basic scheme of the main IE languages would be as follows:

- Germanic: German, English, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic.
- Italic/Roman: Latin (now dead), French, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, Italian, Rumanian.
- Celtic: Breton (now dead), Scottish, Irish, Welsh.
- Slavic: Russian, Belorussian, Ukrainian, Polish, Sorbian, Czech, Slovak, Slovene, Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian, Bulgarian-Macedonian.
- Baltic: Prussian (now dead), Lithuanian, Latvian.
- Iranian: Persian, Talish, Baluchi, Gilaki, Mâzandarânî, Darî, Kurdish, Tat, Lûrî, Pashto, Ossetian, Kwarezmian (now dead), Bactrian (now dead), Sogdian (now dead).
- Indic: Hindustani (including Urdu), Bengali, Assamese, Odia, Chittagonian, Rangpuri, Sylheti, Marathi, Sinhala, Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri, Braj, Harnyanvi, Kannauji, Domari, Bhil, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Sindhi, Punjabi, Nepali and numerous others.
- Old Anatolian (now dead): Hittite, Luwian, Pala.
- Geto-Thracian (now dead).
- Illyrian (now dead), Albanian.
- Armenian.
- Greek.
- Tocharian (now dead).

There are numerous other languages, dead or alive, that should be added to this list. There are some further groupings in accordance with their proximity to each other like Balto-Slavic, Indo-Iranian and Italo-Celtic. As for their proximity to each other, Greek and Anatolian are not close, Greek is not close to Celtic or Italic; and Greek and Indo-Iranian share so many traits that the term Greco-Aryan is sometimes used to describe their relationship.<sup>1113</sup> In a wider context, Balto-Slavic and Armenian are added to that group, forming a clade within Indo-European.<sup>1114</sup> Of the Proto-Indo-European dialects, first, Anatolian and Tocharian had split off. Of the remaining, Italic and Celtic are generally thought to have split off earlier.<sup>1115</sup> According to Garrett, after the Tocharian, the Indo-Iranian branch was separated and found its way to the east of the Caspian in c. 2000 BC.<sup>1116</sup>

Our examination has to focus on the distant past. Therefore, I have to refer to the other concerning studies for the details of the Indo-European languages. To start up, we should summarise the basic and recent theories. Besides the best-known proposals for the IE homeland such as Renfrew's Anatolia, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov's Azerbaijan, Kopper's Western Turkistan, and Narain's East Turkistan, the academic consensus nowadays is mostly somewhere north of the Black Sea, the places changing from the Carpathians to the South Urals.

Anthony, who has written the most recent book on the matter, puts the IE homeland to the northeast of the Black Sea, the area north of the Caucasus, though he acknowledges that linguistic ties of the PIE with the South Caucasian proto-language are weaker.<sup>1117</sup> He bases his theory on the invention of the wheel and carts, occurring in Eastern Europe c. 3500 BC, which were determinative to travel long distances.<sup>1118</sup> The oldest image of

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<sup>1113</sup> David W. Anthony and Don Ringe, "The Indo-European Homeland from Linguistic and Archaeological Perspectives", *Annual Review of Linguistics* 1 (2015), 207.

<sup>1114</sup> Will Chang et al., "Ancestry-Constrained Phylogenetic Analysis Supports the Indo-European Steppe Hypothesis", *Language* 91, 1 (2015), 197.

<sup>1115</sup> Anthony and Ringe, "The Indo-European Homeland", 201.

<sup>1116</sup> Andrew Garrett, "Convergence in the Formation of Indo-European Subgroups: Phylogeny and Chronology", in *Phylogenetic Methods and the Prehistory of Languages*, eds. Peter Forster and Colin Renfrew (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2006), 146.

<sup>1117</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 5, 83, 99; idem, "Persistent Identity", 17.

<sup>1118</sup> Supported by David Reich, *Who We Are and How We Got Here. Ancient DNA and the New Science of the Human Past* (Oxford: OUP, 2018), 107-108. See the objection of Alexander Kozintsev, "Proto-Indo-Europeans: The Prologue", *The*

a vehicle is in Poland, around 3500 BC, and after 3100 BC, the cart was part of the daily life of all the steppes.<sup>1119</sup> However, the Semitic spreading that happened in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC towards Mesopotamia proves that people do not need to have carts for long distance travels *en masse*. These folks who came from the desert, managed to invade on foot the Mesopotamia which was more civilised than they were.

The steppe theory as outlined by Anthony is consistent with a date after the Anatolian IE languages separated from the PIE core (4000-3500 BC), “because the adoption of wheeled vehicles transformed steppe economies after this date, encouraging the rise and spread of a new form of highly mobile pastoralism that is thought to be associated with the spread of the IE languages.”<sup>1120</sup> However, this answer provokes new questions. If the dispersal is explained with post-Anatolian-separation technical developments, then, what were the dynamics of the spread and long-distance migration of the Anatolian IE group? Technology alone does not seem to pose an answer. As well as this, he accepts, together with Ringe, that PIE and Proto-Uralic could have shared a very ancient common ancestor, and taking into account the relations with the Caucasian languages, they suggest that a homeland in the steppes north of the Caucasus and west of the Urals, bordering the northern forest zone, fits all of these internal criteria.<sup>1121</sup>

Approximately the same ideas are held by Carpelan and Parpola, who believe that the Khvalinsk Culture (5000-4500 BC) in the mid-Volga forest steppe was ancestral to the Srednij Stog Culture and their language was the immediate predecessor of early PIE.<sup>1122</sup> They explain the rise of

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*Journal of Indo-European Studies* 47, 3-4 (2019), 307, who says that the Anatolian group separated from PIE long after the wheeled vehicles had become common in them, but concerning words are absent in Hittite. He concludes that Proto-Anatolian speakers had been isolated from other Indo-Europeans since the 5<sup>th</sup> millennium BC.

<sup>1119</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 63, 67, 300; Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 163. There is a chapter in this book on wheels and carts of the Turks, and we will be back to this issue.

<sup>1120</sup> Anthony and Ringe, “The Indo-European Homeland”, 202. They date the revolutionary change in the steppe economies between 4200 and 3300 BC, after the Anatolian separation and before the Tocharian split (*idem*, 211). Garrett also warns that the forms of secondary product and wheeled-transport terms must be reconstructed for PIE excluding Anatolian IE languages (“Convergence in the Formation of Indo-European Subgroups”, 145).

<sup>1121</sup> Anthony and Ringe, “The Indo-European Homeland”, 206-207.

<sup>1122</sup> Carpelan and Parpola, “Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal of Proto-Indo-European”, 70, 128; Parpola, “The Coming of the Aryans to Iran and India”, 200.

the Pit Grave (Yamnaya, Kurgan) Culture that will be examined thoroughly in the next chapter with probably a westward expansion of the Eneolithic Khvalinsk Culture.<sup>1123</sup> The Srednij Stog Culture came to an end when the Pit Grave Culture emerged. In the area of genetics, Reich also supports this view by saying that Yamnaya is an obvious candidate for spreading Indo-European languages to both Europe and India.<sup>1124</sup>

Mallory, who thinks a homeland in the arch to the north of the Caspian Sea, extending from the Carpathians to – perhaps – the Siberian inlands, finds the Kurgan theory reasonable, but underlines some shortcomings.<sup>1125</sup> He criticises on every occasion the views that Indo-Europeans were ‘superior people’ but, in the end, he does not say anything different from the previous writers who predicted a spread by way of the horse, carts, and metals. Against Renfrew’s argument for population increase related to the increase in agricultural product, and consequently, spreading with small steps; he argued for the livestock gaining importance once again after agriculture became insufficient for the rise in the population.<sup>1126</sup> I will mention Renfrew below, and Gimbutas who influenced both Mallory and Anthony on the matter of locating the homeland and explaining the dispersal. We will cite the views of Gimbutas below in detail. In conclusion, according to this school, the ones who used the animal more effectively have expanded better, and became more dominant.

A linguistic study of Dybo, however, was concluded with unbelievable results for believers of the steppe theory. A scrutiny of the IE landscape terminology showed that PIE has, first of all, nothing to do with the steppe. Instead, their primordial land should be mountainous as almost described in the Tolkien fictions. And their rivers were smaller than the rivers of the Proto-Altaic community. Their economy contained less fish than the Proto-Altaic economy, and so on.<sup>1127</sup> I must comment on this with the misleading character of relying purely on ‘common’ Altaic vocabulary, rather than the always possible fallacious consequences of pure linguistic studies. If Turkic vocabulary is taken alone, it also shows a mountainous

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<sup>1123</sup> Carpelan and Parpola, “Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal of Proto-Indo-European”, 70.

<sup>1124</sup> Reich, *Who We Are*, 152.

<sup>1125</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 177; James P. Mallory, “The Homelands of the Indo-Europeans”, in *Archaeology and Language -I-*, eds. R. Blench and M. Spriggs (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 112-113, 115.

<sup>1126</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 259.

<sup>1127</sup> Anna V. Dybo, “Language and Archaeology: Some Methodological Problems. 1. Indo-European and Altaic Landscapes”, *Journal of Language Relationship* 9 (2013), 87-88.

land with many waters for the Turkic homeland, which will be seen as we will quote the study of Golden in Chapter 15.

Renfrew asserts that too much confidence was given to archaeological similarities and established languages. He rejects the idea that Proto-Indo-Europeans were raising livestock; instead, he puts the relationship of agriculture with population growth at the centre of his argument. He raises the questions: Why and how would a people, in an area considered as their homeland, having the same form of economy as their neighbours, grow faster in population than their neighbours? He finds no answer to these questions and rejects elements of the nomadic life with the livestock theory, which is the fundamental dynamic used in explaining the Indo-European expansion in the other views.<sup>1128</sup>

According to his calculations, a certain area can feed a fifty-fold greater population when the economy changes from hunter-gathering to agriculture. More specifically, one km<sup>2</sup> area appropriate for agriculture could feed five people.<sup>1129</sup> He took the advance wave model from Cavalli-Sforza, as the increasing population would start looking for new lands, and even though this process will not be stable, it will happen in steps; therefore, he calculated roughly that in 500 years' time they would travel a distance of 500 km. The reaction of the hunter-gatherer people of the areas reached was explained with the Indian-Cowboy example. The natives became disturbed, they showed this but, at the end, they kept living in the same way. This brings about the inevitable end. It was impossible for them to hold back against the agricultural (new) neighbours' strong population increase.<sup>1130</sup>

Although being critical of Renfrew's (and Gimbutas') connections, a study of Barbujani et al. suggests that "the models where farmers disperse into new areas simply because of their numbers, which increase logistically, yield patterns showing a better agreement with the observed data."<sup>1131</sup> They think that the dispersal of farmers, whom they identify with Proto-Indo-European speakers, from the Levant by demic diffusion, are at the base of West European population.

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<sup>1128</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 84, 94, 96.

<sup>1129</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 84, 94, 96.

<sup>1130</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 126-130.

<sup>1131</sup> Guido Barbujani et al., "Indo-European Origins: A Computer-Simulation Test of Five Hypotheses", *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 96 (1995), 125, 127.

Renfrew was criticised by both Mallory and Anthony,<sup>1132</sup> but we have indeed the solid example of the Russian eastward expansion that has continued from the Middle Ages up to today for the spread of an agricultural people against nomadic ones in the Central Eurasian steppes and hunter-gatherers in Siberia, to support Renfrew's stance. Although Renfrew says that the knowledge of agriculture was spread with this advancing population, it was actually not the knowledge but the population who knew that information that spread.<sup>1133</sup> He built on this by saying that it was the core Indo-Europeans who first learned about agriculture in Asia Minor (7000 BC). These people, in the same way, spread through West Anatolia to Europe, and another branch spread through Iran to India.<sup>1134</sup> He believes the theory of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov supports him.<sup>1135</sup>

Although theoretically it seems almost perfect and explanatory, this view of Renfrew has some great shortfalls on the applied territories. Firstly, as Renfrew himself emphasised, Indo-European skulls have no standard.<sup>1136</sup> If the expansion was a result of a fast-growing populace, then everyone but the small, assimilated hunter-gatherer groups should share the same gene pool. Meaning, the advance wave model should necessitate a similarity in skull shapes. Furthermore, not only physical anthropology but genetics as well disproved Renfrew and Gimbutas.<sup>1137</sup> There are genetic differences between indigenous hunter-gatherers and the early farmers of Europe (of Middle East origins), but the latter are also different from the present-day Europeans,<sup>1138</sup> which is contrary to the expectancies of the advance wave model.

Well, it seems a certain population of farmers from the Middle East or Anatolia reached westward beyond the Balkans. "At the beginning of the Neolithic in Europe (8000-7000), closely related groups of early farmers

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<sup>1132</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 179-181; Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 81.

<sup>1133</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 148.

<sup>1134</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 174, 266. A farmer nation from Iran migrated to India in the course of the first farming dispersal c. 9000 years ago, however, it has nothing to do with the Aryans in terms of their genomes (Reich, *Who We Are*, 148-149).

<sup>1135</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 269.

<sup>1136</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 76.

<sup>1137</sup> Robert R. Sokal et al., "Origins of the Indo-Europeans: Genetic Evidence", *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of USA*, 89 (1992), 7669-7673; Reich, *Who We Are*, 118.

<sup>1138</sup> Guido Brandt et al., "Ancient DNA Reveals Key Stages in the Formation of Central European Mitochondrial Genetic Diversity", *Science* 342, 6155 (October 11, 2013), 257.



appeared in Germany, Spain and Hungary, different from the indigenous hunter-gatherers, whereas Russia was inhabited by a distinctive population of hunter-gatherers with high affinity to Siberia.<sup>1139</sup> But their proportion was not high or noteworthy, as seen below in the Ireland case. They settled first in Slovakia, Austria and the Great Hungarian Plain, and then spread around, initiating the Neolithic Revolution.<sup>1140</sup>

Another issue is, there is no example of a people that spoke a single language and held secret information about agriculture or another technical matter for thousands of years, where no other people learned about it. Reich poses a finding about this. The earliest farmers of Western Europe were genetically directly derived from the hunter-gatherers who preceded them.<sup>1141</sup> Similarly, the first farmers of present-day Israel and Jordan were descended largely from the Natufian hunter-gatherers who preceded them. But these two populations were also very genetically different from each other.<sup>1142</sup> Learning about agriculture did not always mean a rising population, though Reich appreciates that Anatolian farmers migrated to Europe.

Thus, for instance, 99% of the Neolithic farmers in Western Ireland were local, while only 1% were Anatolian.<sup>1143</sup> This means that native

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<sup>1139</sup> Wolfgang Haak et al., “Massive Migration from the Steppe Was A Source for Indo-European Languages in Europe”, *Nature* 522 (2015), 207-208; Reich, *Who We Are*, 95. Represented by the haplogroup U lineages seen in the South Siberian belt, which predominated in East and North Europe from 14,000 to 4,000 years ago (V. I. Molodin et al., “Migrations in the South of the West Siberian Plain during the Bronze Age (4<sup>th</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BC): Archaeological, Paleogenetic and Anthropological Data”, in *Population Dynamics in Pre- and Early History. New Approaches by Using Stable Isotopes and Genetics*, eds. Elke Kaiser, Joachim Burger and Wolfram Schier (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 98). It seems Central and Northern Russians still keep that connection (Alena Kushniarevich et al., “Genetic Heritage of the Balto-Slavic Speaking Populations. A Synthesis of Autosomal, Mitochondrial and Y-Chromosomal Data”, *PLoS ONE* 10, 9 (2015), 7).

<sup>1140</sup> Wiesław Lorkiewicz et al., “Between the Baltic and Danubian Worlds: The Genetic Affinities of a Middle Neolithic Population from Central Poland”, *PLoS ONE* 10, 2 (February 25, 2015), 2. One of the characteristic features of these early Neolithic cultures was a high frequency of the haplogroup N1a with the occasional occurrence of U lineages, typical of hunter-gatherers (*idem*, 2).

<sup>1141</sup> Approving the approach of Zvelebil and Dolukhanov, who object to the colonization of farmers, and offer the contact and adoption of farming by natives (Marek Zvelebil and Paul Dolukhanov, “The Transition to Farming in Eastern and Northern Europe”, *Journal of World Prehistory* 5, 3 (1991), 233-278).

<sup>1142</sup> Reich, *Who We Are*, 95.

<sup>1143</sup> Jarred Diamond and Peter Bellwood, “Farmers and Their Languages. The First Expansions”, *Science* 300 (25 April 2003), 598.

peoples learned and applied the agrarian culture, and did not watch the newcomers with their hands on their breasts. Instead, it seems the pioneer groups from Central Europe interacted with local hunter-gatherers who adopted farming.<sup>1144</sup> The same happened in India where Anatolian farmers went through Iran together with their agricultural knowledge and interbred with the local population beginning approximately in the same ages as in Europe.<sup>1145</sup> However, the fact that the mtDNA haplogroup composition of those first farmers remained stable in Central Europe for approximately 2500 years<sup>1146</sup> might indicate that their intermingling with the local European population was an extremely slow process. Interestingly, the first farmers in Central Europe disappeared in a likewise long course between 4100 and 2200 BC.<sup>1147</sup> The start of the decline can be tied to the early westward expansion of PIE groups (see just below, the migrations to Germany); it seems this was accelerated and completed by the waves of Kurgan peoples that will be dealt with in the upcoming pages.

So, peoples in the east and west of Europe before and during the Neolithic Revolution were different from each other, but the westernmost European populations were not passive before those coming from the East, either Anatolia or Central or Eastern Europe. Brotherton et al. found that during the Neolithic revolution, the process was in the direction of genetic diversification, contrary to the expected unification in accordance with the advance wave model. Haplogroup H from a glacial Iberian refugium shows a consistent and strong exponential growth over the entire course of the Neolithic (5500-2000 BC),<sup>1148</sup> which means that they increased their population after learning agriculture in a way.<sup>1149</sup> Individuals from the

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<sup>1144</sup> Brandt et al., “Ancient DNA Reveals Key Stages in the Formation”, 260; Lorkiewicz et al., “Between the Baltic and Danubian Worlds”, 14. A study by Myres et al. clashes with this view. The latter, referring to some previous works, relates the R1b-M269 hegemony in Western Europe to the Neolithic farmers of the Near East coming through Anatolia (Natalie M. Myres et al., “A Major Y-chromosome Haplogroup R1b Holocene Era Founder Effect in Central and Western Europe”, *European Journal of Human Genetics* 19 (2011), 95, 99).

<sup>1145</sup> Reich, *Who We Are*, 151.

<sup>1146</sup> Lorkiewicz et al., “Between the Baltic and Danubian Worlds”, 2; Brandt et al., “Ancient DNA Reveals Key Stages in the Formation”, 259; Reich, *Who We Are*, 105.

<sup>1147</sup> Lorkiewicz et al., “Between the Baltic and Danubian Worlds”, 3.

<sup>1148</sup> Paul Brotherton et al., “Neolithic mitochondrial haplogroup H genomes and the genetic origins of Europeans”, *Nature Communications* 2656 (23 April 2013), 4-5, 8.

<sup>1149</sup> Brotherton et al., “Neolithic mitochondrial haplogroup H genomes”, 5, 7. The frequency of haplogroup H in the BKG (Brześć Kujawski Group) is also higher

early Neolithic that should be related at least partially to the incoming agriculturalists from the East, like the Mittelelbe-Saale earliest farmers, made a marginal contribution to the Late Neolithic and present day haplogroup H diversity.<sup>1150</sup> This is a classical story of who started the revolution and who finished it. It also reveals a great shortfall in the Renfrew theory, because the farmers of Orient origin could not transform the native foragers; they could not even protect themselves.

On the other hand, Brotherton et al. attribute this H to Indo-Europeans (to the Celtic group in particular), claiming that they reached Western Europe earlier, coinciding with the arrival of agriculture.<sup>1151</sup> That would not explain the Indo-European majority without the haplogroup H. Besides, the Indo-Europeanisation of southwest Europe is visible in the historical periods. Etruscans, if native of the Apennine peninsula for at least a great layer of their population, Basques and some Iberian groups now extinct, point to this fact.

The population of Germany goes from the Middle Neolithic to the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, with 22-39% more of East European hunter-gatherer related ancestry.<sup>1152</sup> This would show an early Indo-European dispersal. Genetic results also seem to link the Mittelelbe-Saale and the Corded Ware Culture.<sup>1153</sup> It is not problematic to identify those moving hunter-gatherers with PIE groups that had not yet started agricultural activities, and then withdrew under demographic pressure in Eastern Europe. Farmers of Middle-East-related-ancestry reached the north of the Black Sea during the revolution, and they and the local hunter-gatherers each contributed about half the ancestry of the later Yamnaya.<sup>1154</sup>

These genetic connections are confined to the Neolithic and its post periods, and have nothing to do with the earlier or earliest dispersal of human beings from Central Asia to Europe, India and the Americas

than that in present day Western Europeans (Lorkiewicz et al., “Between the Baltic and Danubian Worlds”, 8).

<sup>1150</sup> Brotherton et al., “Neolithic mitochondrial haplogroup H genomes”, 6. It is today the most frequent haplogroup in Western Europe, with more than a 40% share (Brandt et al., “Ancient DNA Reveals Key Stages in the Formation”, 261). If the Neolithic farmers did not die of a plague brought by the steppe people, as suggested by Reich, *Who We Are*, 113-114, as an irony.

<sup>1151</sup> Reich, *Who We Are*, 117, also believes that the Bell Beaker Culture stemming from Iberia and spreading over Western and Central Europe is interconnected with the CWC and Yamnaya.

<sup>1152</sup> Haak et al., “Massive Migration from the Steppe”, 210.

<sup>1153</sup> Brandt et al., “Ancient DNA Reveals Key Stages in the Formation”, 261.

<sup>1154</sup> Haak et al., “Massive Migration from the Steppe”, 210.

especially after the Last Glacial Maximum.<sup>1155</sup> This case is also the source of the Y-chromosome genetic diversity (containing M45-, M173-, and M17-derived lineages) of Central Asian origin, which started after the human settlement there some 40,000-50,000 years ago.<sup>1156</sup> Consequently, ancient Europe received migrations from the Near East at the time of the farming dispersal, and also later from Northern Eurasia. Those movements produced genetic results that are hardly collaborating with the archaeological and linguistic studies.<sup>1157</sup> A most significant linguistic obstacle preventing the connection of the ‘entire’ (and not local or regional) Indo-European dispersal with farming dispersal seems to be the fact that for cereals there are no corresponding words between European and Asian IE languages.<sup>1158</sup>

Furthermore, the place suggested as the IE homeland, Asia Minor or Anatolia is one of the best-known places in the world and all the known IE people were newcomers, with not a single native IE element. Genetic studies show migrations of early farmers from the Middle East to India, as mentioned above, in accordance with the advance wave model, but the subcontinent received a separate gene pool of East European origin beginning c. 4000 years ago, and their genes are different from those of the Middle East farmers.<sup>1159</sup>

The lack of expected linguistic traces in the neighbouring languages (mainly Kartvel and Semitic groups, as well as Urartu, Elam, Sumerian, etc.), in spite of some 20 examples of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, who assert that the PIE homeland was roughly in Azerbaijan,<sup>1160</sup> seems to be the most important defect of the Renfrew theory and also Kozintsev’s argument. According to their reconstruction, we need to see a close relation between

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<sup>1155</sup> And it is likely in connection with the spread of R1a1 (R. W. Schmidt and A. A. Evteev, “Iron Age Nomads of Southern Siberia in Craniofacial Perspective” *Anthropological Science* 122, 3 (2014), 144).

<sup>1156</sup> R. S. Wells et al., “The Eurasian Heartland: A Continental Perspective on Y-chromosome Diversity”, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 98, 18 (2001), 10247.

<sup>1157</sup> Chang et al., “Ancestry-Constrained Phylogenetic Analysis”, 196.

<sup>1158</sup> Mallory, “A European Perspective”, 181.

<sup>1159</sup> Reich, *Who We Are*, 148-152.

<sup>1160</sup> Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, 774-776. Of these, only half seem to be acceptable etymologies. That theory is supported also by Kozintsev, “Proto-Indo-Europeans”, 293-380, who believes PIE peoples migrated to the North of the Caucasus by leaving the Anatolian group to their West on the road. See also Reich, *Who We Are*, 109, 120.

PIE and especially Elam.<sup>1161</sup> We should seek not only linguistic traces, if it were true, but also such a map which PIE agriculturalists, constantly expanding with farm equipment in their hands, would fill firstly in the neighbouring South Caucasus and Mesopotamia before going to Ireland and Portugal.

Renfrew also argues that the ‘glottochronology’ method, which we mentioned in the Altaic family chapter and which is used for the chronology of related languages, shows only kinship, and does not specify time.<sup>1162</sup> He, therefore, feels completely free in terms of the chronology of the proto-languages, and takes the time when PIE starts to lose its unity as c. 7000 BC (for which other experts propose the years 4000-3000 BC). By doing this, he evades the responsibility of explaining the account of language division. His scenario of the IE dispersal does not match the archaeological findings either but, he believed that a language and a culture could not be matched anyway. Peoples from the same culture could speak different languages.<sup>1163</sup>

It is not the aim of this book to explain the origins or dispersal of Indo-Europeans in all their detail, but, as the dynamics of this expansion would give an idea about the later Turkic dispersal, it is good to have a look. The languages that constituted the IE family without the Anatolian group seem to keep their unity by 2500 BC at the latest but, most likely in the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC.<sup>1164</sup> From 2000 BC onwards, they had already spread into a very large area from Western Europe to the borders nearing India (and to the Altay Mountains, which we cannot accept for the many reasons above and below). This expansion was nothing like that of the Mongols, and they nearly made the whole of Europe, India, Iran, and West Turkistan theirs in the ethno-linguistic sense.

This, of course, was to a large extent done by making the local people adopt IE languages in the places they went to. As there is not a large time-lapse between the times when the language was not dismembered (c. 2500 and even later for the IE without the Anatolian group) and when the

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<sup>1161</sup> See George Starostin, “On the Genetic Affiliation of the Elamite Language”, *Mother Tongue* 7 (2002), 147-170, who studies a few Indo-European correspondences in terms of Nostratic.

<sup>1162</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 168.

<sup>1163</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 76.

<sup>1164</sup> Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, 761; Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 108-109; Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 48. Garrett suggests that IE language dispersal began in the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC (Garrett, “Convergence in the Formation of Indo-European Subgroups”, 143).

expansion happened (just after 2500 BC), a population explosion at home seems to be a reality. Or, one needs to see them as a “master race”, according to the elite-dominance model, which says that, even though low in number, they succeeded in dominating and transforming the great masses of ‘others’ both culturally and linguistically. This last one does not seem realistic. If one took some places between the Carpathians and the Don Basin as the area where they generated, it is very hard to imagine that other peoples in the rest of Europe in the same latitudes were different from them in their manner of life, considering the similarity of the geography. Therefore, it is necessary to appeal to Renfrew’s model of growth in populace thanks to learning about agriculture, but not overlook the fact that other neighbouring peoples also learnt about agriculture, and it did not stay as a monopoly.<sup>1165</sup>

It is widely believed that, not much earlier than the 10<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, agriculture first started in Northern Mesopotamia and jumped to the Balkans through Anatolia in the 7<sup>th</sup> millennium BC.<sup>1166</sup> It is likely that this happened – also – with migrations, and it is naturally expected that the increased population of Asia Minor would export some of its population to the outside. In that case, the Anatolian IE languages, Hittite, Luwian and Pala, which were considered to have separated from the PIE language around 3400 BC,<sup>1167</sup> might actually be natives of Anatolia as Renfrew

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<sup>1165</sup> According to Wells et al., “The Eurasian Heartland”, 10248, the haplotype M17 is a diagnostic Indo-Iranian marker, having its peak in the North of the Black Sea with 50%. Its frequency decreases eastward across Siberia to the Altays and Mongolia, and southward into India. But, the Persian speaking population of present-day Iran has little genetic influence from the M17-carrying Indo-Iranians. This may have been a case of language replacement through the “elite-dominance” model, say the authors. It is not clear to me, however, why we fail in finding this diagnostic Indo-Iranian marker among the populations speaking those languages. This wonder of mine is only about the position of the concerning haplotype; otherwise, it is clear that Persia and India replaced their older languages with that of a sufficiently crowded minority, and not of an elite. On the other hand, genetic movements in the northern zone of Andronovo shows the haplogroup T-lineage as the most likely genetic marker of that culture (Molodin et al., “Migrations in the South of the West Siberian Plain during the Bronze Age”, 101; see also Kozintsev, “Proto-Indo-Europeans”, 349), separating the Andronovo domain from the Indo-Iranians.

<sup>1166</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 147; Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 61.

<sup>1167</sup> Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, 758-759; Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 46.

suggested.<sup>1168</sup> However, as it is well-known that in Central and Eastern Anatolia there were non-Indo-European peoples in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> millennia BC, the Hittites and others could only be Western Anatolian. Thus, Hittites came to Central Anatolia afterwards (c. 2000 BC), and the first IE people that migrated from the northern Black Sea to the Balkans were likely their ancestors who spoke Anatolian-type IE languages.<sup>1169</sup> Therefore, IE dispersal should not be associated with the diffusion of agriculture that happened several millennia earlier.<sup>1170</sup>

Why did those people who first learned about agriculture in Mesopotamia, not increase their population and apply the advance wave model? They were surely not Indo-Europeans, since there was no trace of the latter in the earliest known periods. The model is surely true and logical, but it works together with many other elements of ethno-linguistic sociological processes. Maybe, an ethnic-one-language people that somehow attained the knowledge of agriculture in the X year BC, could not hold the information long enough (two hundred years is the calculation that Renfrew suggests)<sup>1171</sup> in its hand to increase its population by the way, to the extent that the population can no longer fit in the area they lived. Another people got the information from them, just after the Xth year and succeeded in the process, starting to disperse not only to remote areas without agriculture, but also to the lands of the people who had started farming before them, in the year X. Also, one cannot assume a linear and ordinate progression. It is not a rare occasion for a people that knew about agriculture to be destroyed by an invading force that had no knowledge of it.

We have mentioned above that the Mesopotamians who had advanced knowledge of farming, were destroyed by Semitic people who came from the desert. This is not necessarily considered as a civilisation downfall; one can assess this with an Ibn Khaldun-like approach as well. A large population of settled, farming folk could leave its place to the nomads as well. The arrival of Turks in Asia Minor was of this kind. That is why, we should neither fully apply the calculation that people who knew about agriculture moved approximately one km forward every year, nor to the view that those who moved forward were only one people. Thus, in contrast to Renfrew's constant and sturdy advance of the farming

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<sup>1168</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 55 ff.

<sup>1169</sup> B. J. Darden, "On the Question of the Anatolian Origin of the Indo-Hittites", *Greater Anatolia and the Indo-Hittite Language Family*, ed. R. Drews (Washington: Institute for the Study of Man, 2001), 220.

<sup>1170</sup> Garrett, "Convergence in the Formation of Indo-European Subgroups", 144.

<sup>1171</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 127.

population, Zvelebil and Dolukhanov estimated that the transition to farming occurred very slowly and took a long time to complete, the whole process lasting 1500-4000 years.<sup>1172</sup> One should also take into account the fertility of the soil, because, for instance, the population density of Western and Central Anatolia could never be the same.

I should predict that the knowledge of agriculture that jumped into the Balkans has seen a decent application area in the fertile plains there. The land, except for Greece and the Western Balkan belt, is very suitable for wheat farming. Therefore, it would allow the population increase that is expected.<sup>1173</sup> A theory of Middle and West Balkan natives acquiring knowledge of agriculture from the Anatolians who migrated to Thrace and further into Europe, and increasing their population in this way, is much more likely and in accordance with the course of history rather than, a theory that only one people that came from Anatolia increased in population, and the rest made no headway. Thus, on the western shores of the Black Sea, there appears to be a realm which Anthony called ‘Ancient (or Old) Europe’ (Gimbutas before him used the same term for the north of the Black Sea). The spread rate of agriculture supports my argument. The knowledge of farming that came into Thrace in c. 6500 BC, was in the steppes of the Black Sea in 5800 BC, and in the East Dnieper in 5200 BC,<sup>1174</sup> whereas, peoples to the west of the Black Sea were different, at least in culture, from those in the north of the same sea. The people of ‘Ancient Europe’ increased in numbers and became more civilised thanks to the agricultural economy. Those in the north were doing the same, albeit they were one step behind. According to Anthony and the researchers before him, chiefly G. Childe, who paved the steps of this idea, it was this later people who constituted the Proto-Indo-Europeans.

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<sup>1172</sup> Zvelebil and Dolukhanov, “The Transition to Farming”, 270.

<sup>1173</sup> The ancestors of Greeks who were speaking an Indo-European language came to Greece in a time observable by us today, after 2200 BC (Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 70-71); before that, there were non-Indo-European peoples living there. That they preserved their existence for about 4000 years after agriculture arrived in the Balkans and were then linguistically annihilated is a dead-end of the Renfrew model. If the IE homeland was in Anatolia, the migrant farmers would likely, at the first hand, exterminate or assimilate those natives of Greece according to the advance wave model. Therefore, positing an IE homeland in Anatolia is a very hard task.

<sup>1174</sup> Zvelebil and Dolukhanov, “The Transition to Farming”, 248; Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 119, 154-5, 159; Marija Gimbutas, “The Indo-Europeanization of Europe: The Intrusion of Steppe Pastoralists from South Russia and the Transformation of Old Europe”, *Word* 44, 2 (1993), 207; Brandt et al., “Ancient DNA Reveals Key Stages in the Formation”, 260.



However, a short Ice Age that was identified as lasting from 4120 to 3821 BC, has turned the structure of the Lower Danube upside-down. Excavations showed that because cold weather caused all the livestock and crops to perish, ‘Ancient Europeans’ were destroyed to a great degree along with all their settlements.<sup>1175</sup> Gimbutas completely rejected the effect of the weather change, and said entire settlements burning down were solely a military move.<sup>1176</sup> The ones who did this were probably the Proto-Indo-Europeans from Ukraine, who were affected by the same weather conditions and looking for a new home and food. Or, potentially those invaders could have been different people who came from the east of the Proto-Indo-Europeans. We need to observe their superior skills which have allowed this invasion.

Unlike the Balkans, there were horses in the Black Sea steppes. Here, the earliest taming of the horse seems to be from 4800 BC.<sup>1177</sup> The matter of when humans started riding horses is open to debate. According to Gimbutas, who argues that the date of the first horse taming was before 5000 BC, people started riding horses right after that.<sup>1178</sup> According to more solid evidence, the excavation findings show that here, humans were riding horses from 3700 BC onwards in the Botay area in the north of Central Asia, to the east of the Ishim River.<sup>1179</sup> Inhabitants of Ukraine are also assumed to have started riding horses on a date close to this.<sup>1180</sup> Their introduction to the horse, likely by those coming to the South Urals c. 4000 BC, coincided with the introduction of pastoral economy among the farmers.<sup>1181</sup> It was this superiority of mobility that seems to have allowed the Indo-Europeans who migrated to the West to acquire the Central and Eastern Balkans. However, it is important here not to mix the increasing mobility thanks to the horse with battling on horses. The cavalry emerged

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<sup>1175</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 225-8.

<sup>1176</sup> Gimbutas, “The Indo-Europeanization of Europe”, 209.

<sup>1177</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 200-201.

<sup>1178</sup> Gimbutas, “The Indo-Europeanization of Europe”, 207.

<sup>1179</sup> Something even more interesting, in the early period, is that nearly all the animals which were slaughtered/eaten here were horses. This is a very rare event in the world (David W. Anthony and D. R. Brown, “The Secondary Products Revolution, Horse-Riding, and Mounted Warfare”, *Journal of World Prehistory* 24, 2-3 (2011), 145).

<sup>1180</sup> Peter de Barros Dagaard et al., “The First Horse Herders and the Impact of Early Bronze Age Steppe Expansions into Asia”, *Science* 360, 6396 (2018), 3; Anthony and Brown, “The Secondary Products Revolution”, 143; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 137-8; Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 148; Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 220, 237.

<sup>1181</sup> Zvelebil and Dolukhanov, “The Transition to Farming”, 262.

in Eastern Eurasia close to 1000 BC,<sup>1182</sup> and “the earliest Iron Age burials associated with nomad-warrior cultures were identified in the eastern fringes of the Kazakh Steppe, in Tuva and the Altai region (9<sup>th</sup> century BC).”<sup>1183</sup>

It would be wrong to think that the early Indo-European level of social organisation was high. The most important evidence for this is that the languages coming from this root have very few common words to define a ruler or social leader.<sup>1184</sup> Therefore, it might perhaps be an error to see this invasion and the migrations which followed, to be state-level organised events. However, an early partition of the PIE community into three social classes as clerks, warriors, and producers (namely others),<sup>1185</sup> at the end shows that they were a warlike people. The very abundance of vocabulary regarding battle and weapons is a sign that they mastered this field.<sup>1186</sup> On this matter, their relationship with their neighbours to the East, and not those to the West should be taken into account.

The case of Armenians explicitly tells us that language dispersal should not be explained on simple grounds. A little group from Thrace passed into Anatolia and went as far as its easternmost borders (c. 1200 BC).<sup>1187</sup> They were omitted from numerous written records of the region (mainly Urartu, then Assyria) owing to their non-significance during the

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<sup>1182</sup> Drews, *Early Riders*, 48. Drews does not leave a huge gap between first riding the horse, and horseman warriors. He strongly opposes the views, on the other hand, that those steppe peoples were riding horses before 2000 BC, because there is no evidence (Robert Drews, *Early Riders. The Beginnings of Mounted Warfare in Asia and Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 16-7). Khazanov agrees to the idea that if they were herding horses, this could have only been done if the person was on a horse himself, but he carefully separates the appearance of mounted warfare (c. 1500 BC) from horse riding (Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 92).

<sup>1183</sup> Gnechi-Ruscione et al., “Ancient Genomic Time Transect from the Central Asian Steppe”, 1.

<sup>1184</sup> Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, 653-5; Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 125; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 80-1.

<sup>1185</sup> I mean the ideology of three functions of Dumézil. It was argued by others that this was universal, and not unique for Indo-Europeans. Dumézil himself was aware of this criticism, and he made the defence that, the special situation here was that the three-party structure turned into an ideology for Indo-Europeans (Dumézil, *Mythe et Épopée -I-*, esp. 629-634). A supportive evaluation of this could be found in Mallory (Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 130-135).

<sup>1186</sup> Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, 643.

<sup>1187</sup> Kozintsev, “Proto-Indo-Europeans”, 349, the inspiring source being Strabon - V-, 335-336 (II/14/14).

1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC.<sup>1188</sup> So, they were not mighty conquerors, elite-dominants, capable farmers or culturally superior to the natives of the region. Thus, they have not even made a recordable genetic contribution to the region,<sup>1189</sup> but they exist today as a formidable ethno-linguistic entity, whose language belongs to the IE family and whose blood has nothing to do with Indo-Europeans. On the other hand, the Hittites, having all the reasons and factors for ethnic dispersal and ‘sustainability’, virtually disappeared after they lost their state in Central Anatolia (c. 1200 BC) in the days when the nuclear – linguistic – ancestors of Armenians were moving towards the east. So, it seems that we need to refer to the abstract facts of ethnic and linguistic sociology. This, on the other hand, would prevent us from developing single models for any dispersal story, especially for great and comprehensive cases.

In the Neolithic Age, the cultures spreading along the north of the Black and Caspian Seas were not very different from each other. The question of whether to match a culture with an ethnic-lingual entity is another matter for debate. I have quoted the objection of Renfrew on this. Mallory and Anthony on the other hand, believe that if a certain culture has some features separable from others, it is possible to relate it to an ethno-lingual structure.<sup>1190</sup> An example of this sort is that, while the people of the Neolithic Black Sea steppes were feeding pigs, the Samara culture on the Volga River, where the first pots and jugs in Europe dated to 7000 BC were found, had none of them.<sup>1191</sup> To the East of this, in the steppes of Central Asia, the pig was not bred at all. The pig, which was assumed to have first become a pet in the Middle East in 7000 BC, reached the South Ural area by only 2000 BC.<sup>1192</sup> We mentioned this in the previous chapter.

One should notice that the native languages of the Caucasus which should have started dismembering well before the PIE started to split, have no traces of a considerable linguistic relation with PIE. This would imply that the PIE homeland and the Caucasus were not adjacent, and that there

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<sup>1188</sup> Strabon qualifies them as “the nation of the Armenians and that of the Syrians and Arabians betray a close affinity, not only in their language, but in their mode of life and in their bodily build.” (Strabon -I-, 153 (1/2/34)), and put the Georgian population, for example, aside. This should be widely due to Hurrian origins of the Armenian population.

<sup>1189</sup> Kozintsev, “Proto-Indo-Europeans”, 331.

<sup>1190</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 164-165; Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 103-104.

<sup>1191</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 152, 189.

<sup>1192</sup> Simoons, *Eat Not This Flesh*, 96.

was at least a buffer zone in between.<sup>1193</sup> That is why, an argument for an Indo-European home in the north of the Caucasus, and the Caspian, even their long-term settlement in that area, is very problematic. If the homeland was indeed there as Anthony suggests, or in the South Urals as Gimbutas says,<sup>1194</sup> in spite of the scarcity of relations with the Caucasus, then we should exclude those people in the Ukrainian steppes from being Indo-Europeans. Otherwise, there emerges a motherland from the Carpathians to the South Urals, and this suggestion would not be an answer to the question. It would only tell us about a phase after the expansion.<sup>1195</sup> Thus, the PIE home should not have reached the confines of the Caucasian natives.

At this point, I need to refer to PIE-Turkic linguistic relations, which have not been studied or considered likely due to some reasons like anachronism and geographical distance based on the established theories, according to which there was no Turkic but Proto- Altaic in the days of the PIE unity. But we do not know at all whether Proto- Altaic really existed in any period, except for perhaps a ‘fermenting’ minority.

The most striking connection between PIE and Turkic lies in the names of cardinal numbers, as it seems to me. Above in Chapter 5 we suggested that Turkic has more correspondences with IE numbers than with the Mongolian ones, giving the examples Tr. *beş* ‘five’, Per. *penč* and Slv. *pet*, *pyat*; Tr. *yedi* ‘seven’, Per. *heft*, Lat. *Septe*, etc.; Tr. *on* ‘ten’, Lat. *uno* ‘one’; Tr. *yüz* ‘hundred’, IE *sat* ‘hundred’. These are visible at the first glance.

English and French *premier*, German *primär*, etc., descend from the Latin *primus*. Slavic languages have a similar word: Rus. *pervyj*, Serb. *prvi*, Pol. *pierwszy*, etc., ‘first’. Even the English word *first* is related to the same source, PIE *\*per* ‘front’.<sup>1196</sup> Cf. OT *bir* (< *\*pir*) ‘one’. Let us look at Turkic ‘front’ in order to be more surprised: *ön* ‘the front of anything’.

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<sup>1193</sup> Current studies refer more to their relationship with the ‘Proto-Iranians’, rather than PIE (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, 811-4, 860).

<sup>1194</sup> She argues that, from 4500 BC onwards, from the east of the Don River to the Ural area, there was only one dominant culture (Gimbutas, “The Indo-Europeanization of Europe”, 208).

<sup>1195</sup> We need an area of 250.000-1.000.000 km<sup>2</sup> to posit a homeland for a linguistic unity. If the language spreads beyond it, it would start to produce different languages (Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 146).

<sup>1196</sup> A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Latine*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1951), 946; Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ ruskogo jazyka -III-*, 235.

And now the PIE word for ‘one’: *oin(os)*, as in English *one*, German *Ein*, Italian *uno*, French *une*. So, there is a cross-connection: PIE ‘front’ is Turkic ‘one’, and PIE ‘one’ is Turkic ‘front’. This is an impossible coincidence.<sup>1197</sup>

The same cross-connection exists between the names for ‘six’ and ‘eight’. PIE *sueks, seks* ‘six’<sup>1198</sup> looks like Turkic *sekiz* ‘eight’, and PIE *oktō(u)* ‘eight’<sup>1199</sup> is phonetically tied to Turkic *altı* < \**ašta* ‘six’. PIE ‘six’ is Turkic ‘eight’, and PIE ‘eight’ is Turkic ‘six’. This is also an impossible coincidence. PIE ‘four’ is reconstructed as *k<sup>w</sup>etuer-*, *k<sup>w</sup>etuōr-*, *k<sup>w</sup>etur-*, *k<sup>w</sup>etes(o)r-*.<sup>1200</sup> Especially Latin forms like *tetra* remind one of the Turkic *tört* ‘four’.<sup>1201</sup> The same is true for ‘seven’: PIE *septm̄* (\**sek<sup>wh</sup>-*),<sup>1202</sup> cf. OT *yeti/yetti* < \**sette* ‘seven’, and for ‘five’, too: PIE *penk<sup>w</sup>e*,<sup>1203</sup> cf. OT *beş* < \**peş* ‘five’. Within the same phonetic equation, OT *yiüz* < \**süz*/*\*sür?* ‘hundred’, cf. PIE *sat* ‘idem’. Below, there will be a discussion of the PIE *satem* group of languages. Turkic has *tek* ‘only; alone, solitary, odd (not even)’,<sup>1204</sup> which may be compared to Iranic *yek* and Sanskrit *yeka* ‘one’, but a direct phonetic relation seems to exist with PIE *dek<sup>m̄</sup>*, *dek<sup>m̄</sup>-t*, *deku-* (\**d<sup>ue</sup>-k<sup>m̄</sup>-t*) ‘ten’.<sup>1205</sup> Furthermore, in the presence of so many equations, the Turkic *eki/ekki* ‘two’ can be compared to PIE *ueik-3* ‘to come together, become equal’.<sup>1206</sup>

Thus, except for *üç* ‘three’ and *tokuz* ‘nine’, all Turkic names of cardinal numbers seem to have a connection with the concerning PIE roots in a way. This is a matchless case in linguistic relations. It is difficult to surmise an interaction via Aryan or Tocharian languages, since the Turkic forms are not similar to the equivalents in those languages, but to the reconstructed PIE words or their early forms in Western IE languages. And, if Turkic borrowed all of them, then we need to prepare the historical conditions necessary for such an intimate relation, non-comparably closer

<sup>1197</sup> Robbeets, “Swadesh 100 on Japanese, Korean and Altaic”, 17, writes that Turkic *bir* ‘one’ has Western equivalences, but it is likely coincidental.

<sup>1198</sup> Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 2995.

<sup>1199</sup> Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 2226.

<sup>1200</sup> Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 1812.

<sup>1201</sup> Róna-Tas suggests that OT *tört* (To.B *štuer*/To.A *štwar*) and *beş/bēş* (To.B *piš*, To.A *pāñ* < \**peñš*) were borrowed from Tokharian (Golden, *Introduction*, 32).

<sup>1202</sup> Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 2623.

<sup>1203</sup> Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 2328.

<sup>1204</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 475.

<sup>1205</sup> Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 564.

<sup>1206</sup> Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 3260.

to PIE than the so-called Proto-Uralic, Proto-Finnic or any individual Finnic language.

Also, we need to compare vocabularies of PIE and Turkic. The list below was gleaned from the Pokorny dictionary having all ‘\*’, and the Turkic equivalents are from Clauson. If any word did not occur in Old Turkic, we took only those with popular distributions in Turkic languages and without certain foreign etymologies. The distribution of the sibling words of the concerning PIE word in various IE languages or branches is significant for this study. This would enable us to evaluate the concentrations of relations of Turkic with individual IE languages. The abbreviations in the table are TO ‘Tocharian’, AR ‘Aryan/Indo-Iranian’, BS ‘Balto-Slavic’, GE ‘Germanic’, LT ‘Latin’, GR ‘Greek’, CE ‘Celtic’, and AN ‘Anatolian’.<sup>1207</sup> ‘Tur.’ in some entries in the first column signifies a Turkish form.

**Table 6:** Comparison of Turkic and Proto-Indo-European Vocabulary

Turkic word	PIE root	PIE cognates
abart- ‘to exaggerate’	abhro- ‘strong, mighty’	AR, GE, GR, CE
ot ‘grass, vegetation’	ades-, ados- (*heǵh-) ‘sort of cereal’	TO, GE, LT, GR, AN
ekin ‘a standing crop, a crop grown from seed and not yet reaped’	ades-, ados- (*heǵh-) ‘sort of cereal’	TO, GE, LT, GR, AN
é:t/é:d- ‘to organise, put in order’	ad- ‘to establish, put in order’	GE, CE
aǵla- ‘to weep’	agh-(lo-) ‘disgusting’	GE, CE
aǵla- ‘to weep’ aǵrıǵ ‘pain’	agh- (*heǵh-) ‘to fear’	GE, CE, GR
acıǵ ‘bitter, sour; grievous, painful’	agos- (*hege-) ‘fault, sin, *blood guilt’	AR, GE, GR
od ‘fire’	ai-dh-, i-dh- ‘to burn’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
aǵrıǵ ‘pain’	aig-1 ‘dispirited, sick, ill’	TO, BS, GE, LT, CE
i:g ‘illness, disease’	aig-1 ‘dispirited, sick, ill’	TO, BS, GE, LT, CE
ıvık ‘the female gazelle’	aiǵ- ‘goat’	AR, GR
aymaz ‘unaware, unconscious’ (-maz is the present tense 3 <sup>rd</sup> person negative verbal declension)	aig <sup>wh</sup> - ‘to be ashamed’	GE, GR

<sup>1207</sup> I’m grateful to Dr. M. Levent Yener for his help in preparing this table.

uvut ‘modesty, shyness’ uvtan- ‘to feel shy, be ashamed’	aig <sup>w</sup> h- ‘to be ashamed’	GE, GR
oku- ‘to call out aloud; to summon (someone Ac.), to recite or read aloud’	aik- ‘to call’	BS, LT, GR
ay- ‘to speak, to say, declare, prescribe’ ayit- ‘to make speak, to ask’	ai-5, oi- ‘important speech’	GE, GR, CE
ı̄şı- ‘to radiate light, glow’	aisk- ‘bright, shining’	BS, GE, CE
iste- ‘to wish; to wish for’	ais-1 ‘to wish for, search for’	AR, BS, GE, LT
isi:z ‘evil, bad’ ( <i>is</i> + negation suffix <i>-siz</i> )	ais-2 ‘to be in awe, to worship’	GE, GR
eye:gü: ‘rib’, Tur. eye ‘rib’	ak-, ok- (*hek <sup>w</sup> -) ‘sharp; stone’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
ok ‘arrow’	ak-, ok- (*hek <sup>w</sup> -) ‘sharp; stone’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
ağrıǵ ‘pain’	akru ‘tear’	AR, BS
ak- ‘to flow’ <sup>1208</sup>	ak <sup>w</sup> ā- (more properly ək <sup>w</sup> ā), ēk <sup>w</sup> -: ‘water, river’	GE, LT
açı- ‘to be bitter, to be painful, to feel pain’	ak <sup>w</sup> - ‘to hurt’	AR, GR
arpa: ‘barley’	albhi- ‘barley’	AR, GR
el ‘country, province; people, community (esp. one’s own people as opposed to foreigners)’	al-1, ol- ‘besides; other’	AR, BS, LT, CE
ol ‘that’	al-1, ol- ‘besides; other’	AR, BS, LT, CE
yal- ‘to blaze, burn shine’ al ‘scarlet’	al-4 ‘to burn’	AR, GE, LT, GR, CE
aba:/apa:/ebe:/epe: ‘ancestor; grandmother; mother; paternal aunt; elder sister; (presumably metaphor) midwife’	am(m)a, amī ‘mother’	TO, AR, GE, LT, GR
aba:/apa:/ebe:/epe: ‘ancestor; grandfather; father; paternal uncle; elder brother.	appa ‘father’	TO, GR
ar: ‘a large stinging insect, bee, wasp, hornet’	ardi-, řdi- ‘point, edge’	AR, GE, GR
o:r- ‘to mow (grass, etc.), to reap (crops)’	ar(ə)- ‘to plough’	TO, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE

<sup>1208</sup> From PIE the root for water, ocean, passed to Altaic, Pokorny claims: Tr. \*ōkū, Tungus \*(x)uK, Japan \*aki (Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 73).

u: ‘sleep’ uđı- ‘to sleep’	au-2, au-es-, au-s- ‘to spend the night, sleep’	GR
oluk (olok) ‘‘basically a hollowed-out tree trunk, hence trough, boat, and later gutter, etc.’’	au-lo-s (:ēu-l-) [*heu-l-] ‘tube, hole, *street, material’	BS, GE, LT, GR
yol ‘road, way’	au-lo-s (:ēu-l-) [*heu-l-] ‘tube, hole, *street, material’	BS, GE, LT, GR
o/ol ‘that; he, she, it’	au-4, u- (: uē-, uo-) ‘that; other’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR
a:ğ- ‘to rise (from somewhere Abl.), to climb (up something Dat.)’	aüğ-, uōğ-, aug-, ug- ‘to magnify, increase’	TO, AR, BS, GE, GR
ö:g ‘N.Ac. from ö:- ‘thought, meditation, reflection’, and, by extension, the organ of thought, ‘the mind’, and the ability to think wisely, ‘intelligence’ ö:- ‘to think; to think of (something Ace.)’. hence to remember’ (something Ace.)’	au-8, auēi- ‘to perceive, understand’	TO, AR, BS, GR, AN
Var ‘Dnieper’ arık ‘an irrigation canal’ ö:z ‘valley and the like’	au(e)-9, aüed-, aüer- (*aküent-: aüent-) ‘to flow, to wet; water, etc.’ aüer- ‘water, rain, river’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN
ısı:- ‘hot, heat’ ışı- ‘to gleam, radiate’	aües- ‘to shine; gold, dawn, aurora etc.’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
e:đ ‘good luck’	audh- ‘luck, possession, wealth’	GE, CE
ay- ‘to speak, to say, declare, prescribe’ ayıt- ‘to make speak, to ask’	au-6, aüed- ‘to speak’	TO, AR, BS, GR
ö:g-/öv- ‘to praise’	au-7, auē-, auēi- ‘to like; to help, *desire’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
er ‘early, premature’	āier-, āien- ‘day, morning’	AR, GE, GR
iğne ‘needle’	āik-, īk- ‘spear, pike’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR
ay ‘moon’ aydın ‘enlightened’	āi-4 ‘to burn’	GE, GR
eye:gü: ‘rib’, Tur. eye ‘rib’	ak-, ok- (*hek-) ‘sharp’	AR, GE, LT, GR, CE
o:t (o:d) ‘fire’	āt(e)r- ‘fire, *blow the fire’	AR, BS, LT



ata ‘father’	ātos, atta (ḥatta) ‘father, mother’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, AN
isi:- ‘to be hot’	ās-, there from azd-, azg(h)-: ‘to burn’	AR, GE, LT, GR
eye:gü: ‘rib’, Tur. eye ‘rib’	edh- (*heġw-) ‘sharp’	BS, GE, LT
ögüz ‘river’	eġhero- (*heġhero-): ‘lake, inner sea’	BS, GR
al ‘scarlet’	el-1, ol-, el- ‘red, brown (in names of trees and animals)’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
yaru:- ‘to be, or become bright; to shine’ yaruk ‘light, gleam; bright, shining’	erk <sup>w</sup> - ‘to shine; to praise’	TO, AR, CE, AN
e:r/ye:r ‘ground, Earth’	er-4 (er-t-, er-ḡ-) [*herġ <sup>w</sup> he] ‘earth’	AR, GE, GR, CE
küz (g-) ‘autumn’	es-en-, os-en-, -er- ‘harvest time, *summer, *autumn’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR
iđi: ‘properly ‘master, owner, but in Moslem texts often ‘the Lord’ (God); the synonymous word: is”	esu-s(:su-) ‘good, *noble, master, owner, lord’	LT, CE, AN
isi:- ‘to be hot’	eus- ‘to burn’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR
ö:g-/öv- ‘to praise’	eueġ <sup>w</sup> h- ‘to praise, worship’	AR, LT, GR
yuv- ‘to roll, rotate’	gag-, gōg- ‘a round object’	BS, GE,
kel ‘bald’ kaşġa ‘sometimes (of a man) bald-headed’	gal-1 ‘bald; naked, *callow (without feathers)’	BS, GE
yaliġ ‘naked’	gal-1 ‘bald; naked, *callow (without feathers)’	BS, GE
*kiç- ‘to irritate, tickle’	geid- ‘to tickle, stick’	GE
iġne ‘needle’	geiġ- ‘to prick, bite’	BS, CE
eġ- ‘to bend (something Acc.)’	gei- ‘to turn, bend’	AR, BS, GE, LT
kiş ‘winter’, Chuv. hıl	gel(ə)-3 ‘cold’	BS, GE, LT, GR
kap- ‘to grasp, or seize, with the hands, teeth, etc.’	ghabh- ‘to grab, take’	AR, BS, GE, LT, CE
kat- ‘to mix (two things)’, and more specifically ‘to add (something Acc.) to (something else Dat.)’	ghedh-, ghodh- ‘to join, make a bond’	AR, BS, GE

göt ‘ass, prat’	ghed- ‘to defecate; hole’	AR, GE, GR
eġ- ‘to bend (something Acc.)’	ghegh- ‘to curve, bend’	BS, GE
çelik ‘steel’	ghel(ē)ġh- ‘a kind of metal’	BS
yoğurt ‘yoghurt’	gherto- ‘milk, butter’	AR, CE
eğlen- ‘to have fun, fool’	ghleu- ‘to be joyful, to joke’	BS, GE, GR
kev-(g-) ‘to chew’	g(ī)eu-, ġ(ī)eu- ‘to chew’	TO, AR, BS, GE
ko:l ‘properly the upper arm’	gol-2 ‘branch’	BS
kele:gü: (g-) ‘an old animal name ending in -gü, field mouse, <i>Micromys minutus</i> ’	geli-, glī- ‘mouse’	AR, LT, GR
yal- ‘Pass. f. of *ya:-, d. 3 yak- 2 yan-; normally Intrans. ‘to blaze, burn, shine’ yula: ‘torch, lamp, and the like’	ġel-, ġelə-, ġlē-, (also *gelēi-) ġ(e)lāi- ‘light, to shine; to be joyful’	BS, LT, GR, CE
kemür- (g-) ‘to gnaw and the like’	ġembh-, ġmbh- ‘to bite; tooth’	TO, AR, BS, GE
çene ‘chin, jaw’	ġenu-2 f. and (ġenədh-:) ġonədh- ‘chin’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
yalġa:n ‘untruthful, a lie, a liar’	ġhal-, ġhal-ar- ‘flaw, defect’	BS, GE, CE
yal- ‘Pass. f. of *ya:-, d. 3 yak- 2 yan-; normally Intrans. ‘to blaze, burn, shine’ yula: ‘torch, lamp, and the like’	ġhel-1 ‘to shine; green, gold, blue, *sun’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
kılıç ‘sword’	ġhel-2 ‘to cut’	AR, BS, GE, GR, CE
ket (g-) ‘to go, usually specifically to go away’	gīht ‘gait, journey’	GE, CE
yurt (?yurd) ‘a camping site, tent’	ġherdh-, gherdh- ‘to encircle, enclose’	TO, AR, BS, GE, GR, AN
kazı- ‘both semantically and phonetically half-way between <i>kaz-</i> ‘to dig’ and <i>kaşı-</i> ‘to scrape’	ġher-2 ‘to scratch, scrape’	BS, GR
yérin- ‘to be distressed, miserable, to feel regret’	ġher-4 ‘to gripe, grab, enclose’	AR, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN
ko:d- ‘prob. an intensive f. of *ko:-; originally ‘a put down, abandon, give up’, thence more indefinitely ‘to put’ and the like’; Tur. koy- ‘to put; to pour’	ġheu- ‘to pour’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE

yit- ‘to stray, get lost’; hence by extension ‘to perish’ and the like’	ġheu-, ġheu-d- ‘to disappear, get away’ ġhē-1, ġhēi- ‘to be empty, lack; to leave, go out’	BS, GE, CE
ket-(g-) ‘to go, usually specifically to go away’	ġheu-, ġheu-d- ‘to disappear, get away’ ġhē-1, ġhēi- ‘to be empty, lack; to leave, go out’	BS, GE, CE
bol ‘plenty, wide’	bel-2 ‘strong’	AR, BS, LT, GE
pay ‘share, part, portion’ (cf. above)	bhag-1 ‘to divide’	TO, AR, BS
ba:ġ ‘‘Conc. N. from ba:-; ‘bond, tie, belt’, and the like; also ‘something tied or fastened together, bundle, bale’, etc.’’	bhasko- (*bhedh-sko) ‘bundle, heap’	LT, GR, CE
bük ‘thicket and the like’	bhāgó -s ‘beech’	BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
balkır- ‘to shine’ belgür- Intrans. Den. V. from belgü:- ‘to appear, become manifest’	bhā-1, bhō-, bhə- ‘to shine’	TO, AR, BS, GE, GR
patak ‘beating’ (Turkish only)	bhāt- bhət:- ‘to hit’	BS, GE, LT, CE
bük- ‘to bend, bow’, and the like’ (In trans.)	bhedh-2: ‘to bow, bend’	TO, AR, BS, GE
belgür- Intrans. Den. V. from belgü:- ‘to appear, become manifest’	bheleg:- ‘to shine’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR
parla- ‘to shine, gleam’	bher-5 ‘shining; brown’	TO, AR, BS, GE, GR
bük- ‘to bend, bow, and the like’ (In trans.)’	bheug-3, bheugh- ‘to bow’	AR, GE, CE
beġen- ‘‘to like, appreciate’	bheug-4 ‘to enjoy’	AR, LT
*böğ/büg ‘big’	bheu-, bheuə- (bhūā-, bhūē-), bhō u-, bhū- ‘to be; to grow’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
bu: ‘steam’	bhē- : bhō- ‘to warm, fry’	GE, GR
bö:g ‘a poisonous spider, tarantula’	bhouk <sup>w</sup> os ‘a kind of buzzing insect’	GE, LT
bük ‘thicket’ and the like	bhōgh- or bhāgh- ‘lowland, swamp’	BS, GE
birak- ‘leave, release’	bhreu-k- (-k-) ‘to strike; to throw’	BS

boz- ‘to destroy, damage, and the like’	bhrēu-1, bhrū- ‘to pierce, break’	GE, BS
tik- (d-) ‘basically to insert something, with a wide range of specialised meanings, e.g., to erect (a memorial stone), to plant (a plant), to sew (insert a needle), etc.’	deiġh- ‘to prick; tick’	GE, CE
tek ‘only; survives with some extended meanings, alone, solitary, odd (not even)’	dekṃ, dekṃ-t, deku- (*d̥ue-ḱṃ-t) ‘ten’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
tıl (d-) lit. ‘the tongue’; hence metaph. ‘an informer, information, particularly secret, information, language’	del-1 ‘to put by; to count, tell’	GE, GR
til- (d-) ‘to cut into slices’	del-3 (dol-), delə- ‘to split, divide’	TO, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
yé:l ‘wind also metaph. demoniacal possession’	del-4 ‘to rain’	GE, CE
tep- (?d-) ‘to kick (someone <i>Ace.</i> ) hence to stamp, clap, etc.’	deph- ‘to stamp, push’	BS, GR
té:r- (d-) ‘to bring together, collect, assemble’	derbh- ‘to wind, put together, *scratch, scrape, rub’	AR, BS, GE, GR
té:r- (d-) ‘to bring together, collect, assemble’	derə-, drā- ‘to work’	BS, GR
çek- ‘to pull’	deuk- ‘to drag’	GE, LT, GR, CE
daha (< *taqa) ‘that’	de-, do- ‘a demonstrative stem’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
teg- (d-) ‘properly to reach (a place <i>Dat.</i> ), but with various extended meanings from an early date, including ‘to attack (someone), to touch (something), to concern (someone), to be worth (i.e., to reach a price of, so much)’ dokun- ‘to touch, contact, handle’	dēg- ‘to grab?’	GE
taġla:- (d-) ‘Den. V. from da:ġ; ‘to brand (an animal)’, Tur. daġla- ‘stigmatise, sear, to fire’	dheg <sup>wh</sup> - ‘to burn, *day’	TO, AR, BS, LT, GR, CE
tel- (d-) ‘to pierce and the like’	dhel-1, dholo- ‘curve; hollow’	GE, GR, CE

yal- 'Pass. f. of *ya:-, d. 3 yak- 2 yan-; normally Intrans. to blaze, burn shine' yula: 'torch, lamp, and the like'	dhel-2 'light, shining'	GE, CE
yeŋ- 'to conquer (someone Acc.)'; Tur. yen- 'to beat, to defeat'	dhengh-1 'to press; to cover'	BS, GE, CE
teŋ 'lake' teŋiz (d-) 'large body of water, sea'	dhen-1 'to run, *flow'	AR, LT
tiŋ- '(of tears) to cease to flow'	dhen-1 'to run, *flow'	AR, LT
yeŋ- 'to conquer (someone Acc.)'; Tur. yen- 'to beat, to defeat'	dhen-3 'to hit, push'	GE
tü:b (d-) 'originally the root of a tree or plant; hence metaph. 'the foundation (of a structure); the bottom (e.g., of the sea); the ancestry or origin (e.g., of a man)' <sup>1209</sup>	dheu-b-, dheu-p- 'deep, *black, bottom, dark waters'	BS, GE, GR, CE
teg- (d-) 'properly to reach (a place <i>Dat.</i> ), but with various extended meanings from an early date, including 'to attack (someone), to touch (something), to concern (someone), to be worth (i.e., to reach a price of, so much)' dokun- 'to touch, contact, handle'	dheugh- 'to touch, press, milk'	AR, BS, GE, GR
tüt-/tüte:- 'to emit smoke or steam'	dheu-4, dheuə- (dhüē-, extended dhüē-k-, dhüē- s-) 'to reel, dissipate, blow, *smoke, dark, gray, deep, etc.'	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
to:z 'dust'	dheues-, dhüēs-, dheus-, dhūs- 'to dissipate, blow, etc. *scatter, dust, rain, breathe, perish, die'	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR
tik- (d-) 'basically to insert something, with a wide range of specialised meanings, e.g., to erect (a memorial stone), to plant (a plant), to sew (insert a needle), etc.'	dhēig <sup>w-</sup> -, dhōig <sup>w-</sup> -, dhīg <sup>w-</sup> - 'to stick, plant'	BS, GE, LT

<sup>1209</sup> From Slavic languages it passed to Altaic languages, Pokorny says (703).

yont- ‘to sculpt, fine away, sharpen’	dhō- ‘to sharpen’	AR, GE, GR
kar- (?k a:r-) ‘to mix (something with something else)’	kerə-, krā- ‘to mix; to cook’	AR, GE, GR
kır- ‘to scrape, strip (hair); to break, smash, annihilate and the like’	ker-4 and kerə-: krē- ‘to hurt, harm; to be’	TO, AR, LT, GR, CE
kes- ‘to cut, cut off, and the like’	kes- ‘to cut’	AR, GE, LT, GR, CE
küy-/kün ‘to catch fire, burn’	keu-2 ‘to shine, bright’ kēu-2 (: kəu-, kū-) ‘to light, burn’	AR, BS, GR, CE
kulkak ‘ear’ (< *kul- ‘to hear’)	kleu-1, kleuə-: klū- ‘to hear’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
sil- ‘basically to rub; to wipe; to smear (plaster or mud) on to (a building); to massage; to caress, stroke’	kleu-2: *klō[u]-: klū ‘to rinse, clean’	BS, GE, LT, GR
kalça ‘hip’	klou-ni- ‘hip’	AR, BS, GE, LT, CE
ki ‘that one, this one’	ko-, ke- (with particle ke “here”), k(e)i-, k(i)jo- ‘this’	BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
kör- (g- ) ‘basically to see’	krei- ‘to appear, show oneself’	AR, GR
küy-/kün ‘to catch fire, burn’	kuei-3 extended kuei-d-, kuei-s-, kuei-t- ‘shining; white’	AR, BS, GE, GR
*kōnen/gōnen- (< *kōn-) ‘to prosper, be content with life’	kūen- ‘to celebrate; saint’	AR, BS, GE
kus- ‘to vomit’	kūdh- ‘dirt’	BS, GR
kur- ‘the basic meaning seems to be something like to put (something) in working order with particular applications’	kwer-1 ‘to do’	AR, BS, GR, CE
berk ‘firm, stable, solid; the original form of the word which also appears as bek’ bek (?pek) ‘firm, solid , stable and the like’	magh-: māgh- ‘to be able; to help; power’	TO, AR, BS, GE, GR
bō:g ‘poisonous spider, tarantula’	maکو- or mok-o- (*mağho-) ‘a kind of fly’	AR, BS
ben/men ‘the 1 <sup>st</sup> Personal Singular Pronoun’	me-1 ‘1st personal pronoun (oblique stem)’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN

ba:l ‘honey’ (cf. below, a separate chapter)	meli-t ‘honey’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN
-me/-ma ‘negation suffix’ <sup>1210</sup>	mē-l ‘prohibitive particle’	AR, GR
boyın ‘the neck, sometimes specially the back of the neck’	mono- ‘neck’	AR, GE, LT, CE
buzā:ğū: ‘a calf, very old word ending in -ğū:’	mozğho-s ‘young bull’	GR (and Armenian)
ō:g ‘N.Ac. from ö:- ‘thought, meditation, reflection’, and, by extension, the organ of thought, ‘the mind’, and the ability to think wisely, ‘intelligence’	ok- ‘to think over, *understand’	GE, GR
oku- ‘to read’	ok <sup>w</sup> -, (*heğ <sup>w</sup> h-) ‘to see; eye’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
öl- ‘to die’	ol-(e)- ‘to destroy’	GR, LT, AN
omuz ‘shoulder’	om(e)so-s ‘shoulder’	TO, AR, GE, LT, GR
üşī:- ‘to be very cold, to shiver with cold’	oug-, ou-? ‘cold’	AR, BS, CE
ağız ‘the mouth’	ōus-l: əus- ‘mouth’	AR, BS, GE, LT, AN
eşid- ‘to hear’	ōus2: əus:- us- ‘ear’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR
besle- ‘to feed’ (from *bes ‘food’?)	pā-: pə- and pā-t-: pə-t- ‘to feed, graze’	TO, GE, LT, GR, CE
bış- (p-) ‘to come to maturity, ripen, cook’	pek <sup>w</sup> - (*k <sup>w</sup> ek <sup>w</sup> hō) ‘to cook’	TO, AR, BS, LT, GR, CE
bé:ş ‘beş’	penk <sup>w</sup> e ‘five’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN
ira:- ‘to be distant; to keep away (from something Abl.)’	per-2 ‘to go over; over’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN
bi:r ‘originally the Cardinal Number one’	per-2 ‘composition part pres- ‘before’, gen.-abl. of stem per-’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN
bar- ‘to go, often more specifically to go away’	per-2: B. per-, perə- ‘to carry over, bring; to go over, fare’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR
ber- ‘to give’	per-2: B. per-, perə- ‘to carry over, bring; to go over, fare’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR
parla- ‘to shine; to gleam, flare up’	peṽōr, pūr, gen. punés, loc. puṽéni ‘fire’	TO, BS, GE, GR, AN

<sup>1210</sup> From PIE the prohibitive particle passed to Altaic, Pokorny says (2111).

ađak (< *padak) ‘leg, foot’	pēd-2, pōd- ‘foot, *genitalia’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN
es- ‘(of the wind) to blow; to blow (e.g., dust) about; to winnow (grain)’	pēs-1 ‘to blow’	BS, GE
i:k ‘spindle, distaff’, later it come, like ok, to be used for similar objects; Tur. iğ ‘spindle’	pik(h)o- ‘lump, knot’	AR, BS
böl- ‘to divide, separate, distinguish, etc’	plē-, plə- ‘to split, cut off’	GE
yīg-(?yī:ğ-) ‘to collect, assemble’	puk-2 ‘to enclose, put together’	AR, GR, CE
buğday ‘wheat, corn’	pū-ro ‘corn’	BS, GE, GR
sayru ‘patient, ill’	sāi- ‘pain, illness, injure, hurt, damage, disable’	GE, GR, CE
sağ ‘healthy’	sāno-s ‘healthy’	LT
yultuz ‘star; a generic term for fixed stars and planets’	sāuel-, sāuol-, suēl-, sūel-, sül-, (*sweğhuel-) ‘sun’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN
yen- ‘to beat, to defeat’	seğh-, seğhi-, seğhu- ‘to hold, possess; to overcome smbd.; victory’	AR, GE, GR, CE
sözle:- ‘Den. V. fro söz; ‘to speak, say’; Tur. söyle- ‘to say, to tell’	sek <sup>w</sup> -2 ‘to see, show; to speak’	TO, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN
sal- ‘basically to move (something Ace.), to put into motion’	selğ- ‘to throw away, pour out, send away, free’	AR, GE, CE
siğ- ‘to sink into (something <i>Dat.</i> ); to be absorbed, digested, and the like’	seng <sup>w</sup> - ‘to fall, sink’	GE
su:v ‘water’	seu-1, se <sup>w</sup> ə- : sū- ‘juice; liquid, *rain’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
seki:- ‘to jump’, Tur. sek- ‘to rebound, hop’	(s)kek-, skeg- ‘to spring, move quickly’	BS, GE, GR, CE
kađır- ‘to twist back, turn back (Trans.)’ Tur. kıvr- ‘to curl, bend, twist’	(s)ker-3 ‘to turn, bend; spring’	BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
semri:- ‘to be, or become, fat’	smeru- ‘grease, fat’	GE, LT, GR, CE
yar- (ya:r-) ‘to split, or cleave’ (with a sharp instrument) and the like’ yér- ‘to split (gently)’	(s)nadh- ‘to cut, slice’	GE, CE
böl- ‘to divide, separate, distinguish, etc’	(s)p(h)el-1 ‘to split, cut off, tear off’; board’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE



balkır- ‘to shine’ belgür- Intrans. Den. V. from belgü:- ‘to appear, become manifest’	(s)p(h)el-2 ‘to shine, shimmer’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR
kok- ‘properly to give out a smell of burning, hence by extension ‘to smell unpleasant or putrid, to stink’	süek- ‘to smell (well)’	GE, CE
kül ‘ashes, cinders’	süel-2 ‘to smoulder, burn’	AR, BS, GE, GR
sözle:- ‘Den. V. from söz; ‘to speak, say’ Tur. söyle- ‘to say, to tell’	süer-1 (also ser-?) ‘to speak’	BS, GE, LT
süt (-d) ‘milk’	süēid- (*kşüēid- < ğ <sup>w</sup> hēid-) ‘milk’	AR, BS
tak- ‘to fix, or attach (something Acc., to something Dat.)’	täg- ‘to put in order’	TO, BS, GR, CE
teg- (d-) ‘properly to reach (a place <i>Dat.</i> ), but with various extended meanings from an early date, including ‘to attack, to touch, to concern (someone), to be worth’	tek-2 ‘to reach, stretch out the hand, get’	TO, BS, GR, CE
dokun- ‘to touch, contact, handle’	tag- (or teg- : tog- : teg-) ‘to touch, gripe’	GE, LT, GR, CE
tav ‘anneal, correct heat’	tep- ‘warm’	AR, GE, LT, CE, BS, AN
tağla:- (d-) ‘Den. V. fro 2 da:ğ; to brand (an animal)’, Tur. dağla- ‘stigmatise, sear, to fire’.	tēg-, tæg- ‘to burn’	GE, GR
daha (< *taqa) ‘that’	to-1, tā-, tiō- ‘that, he (demonstr. base)’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
tıl (d-) ‘lit. the tongue; hence metaph. an informer, information, language’	tolk <sup>w</sup> - ‘to speak’	BS, LT, CE
tiren- (d-) ‘Refl f. of tire-; lit. to support oneself (on something); to resist’	treg- ‘to make an effort; force, battle; solid’	GE, CE
tık- ‘to thrust, squeeze, or cram (something <i>Acc.</i> , into something <i>Dat.</i> )’	tüāk-1, tuk- ‘to pull together, close up’	AR, GE, LT, GR
evir- basically ‘to turn (something Acc.); to overturn; to turn (the face, Acc., towards someone, Dat., or away from someone, Abl.)’,	tüer-1, tur- and tūr- ‘to turn, whirl’	AR, GE, LT, GR

evir- ‘to twist, turn (something Acc.)’ çevir- ‘to twist, or turn (something Acc.)’ <sup>1211</sup>		
tür- ‘to roll up (a scroll, one’s sleeves, etc.)’	ṭer-2: tur-, ṭerə- ‘to grab, to enclose’	BS, LT, GR, CE
sen ‘the 2 <sup>nd</sup> Per. Sing. Pron. ‘thou’	ṭũ ‘thou’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN
uv- ‘to crush, crumble, reduce to powder’	ub- ‘to drag, press’	AR, BS
ulı:- ‘basically (of a wolf) to howl’	ul- ‘to howl’	AR, BS, LT, GR, CE
yokaru: ‘crasis of *yoḳgaru:.. Directive form of 2 yok; upwards and the like’	upér, upéri ‘over, above’	AR, GE, LT, GR, CE
o: ‘surety, security, pledge’ urunçak Conc. N. from urun-; ‘deposit, security, pledge’	uadh- ‘pledge’	BS, GE, LT
yét- ‘to overtake, catch up with (someone Ace.)’	uādh-, uadh- ‘to go, march’	GE, LT
iğla:- ‘Den. V. fro *iğ; to weep’	uāğ-2 ‘to cry’	AR, BS, LT
buka: ‘bull’	uākā ‘cow’	AR, LT
ađruk (< *ađ ‘separate’) ‘basically divided, separated, hence usually different, other, superior to (others)’	uā-2 ‘apart’	LT
uza:- ‘to be, or become, long, or long drawn out’	ūd- ‘upwards; away’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
it- ‘to push, or shove, to push (it) over’ ı:d- ‘to send; to allow to go, to release’	uedh-1 ‘to push, hit’	AR, BS, GR, CE
i:k ‘spindle, distaff’	ueg- ‘to weave, bind’	AR, GE, LT, CE
u:- ‘there are a few early occurrences of this verb as an ordinary finite verb meaning to be capable and the like’	ueğ- ‘fresh, strong’ ueik-2 ‘force, energy (victory, battle, etc.)’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, CE
berk ‘firm, stable, solid; the original form of the word which also appears as bek’ bek (?pek) ‘firm, solid, stable and the like’	ueğ- ‘fresh, strong’ ueik-2 ‘force, energy (victory, battle, etc.)’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, CE

<sup>1211</sup> There is a separate chapter below on wheels and carts that examines these words in detail.

yığ- (?yığ-) ‘to collect, assemble (Trans.)’	ȳeik-3 ‘to come together, become equal’	BS, GR
bük- ‘to bend, bow, and the like (Intrans.); to feel aversion, be revolted by’	ȳeik-4, ȳeiğ- ‘to curve, bend; to go round, to exchange’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR
eg- ‘to bend (something Acc.)’	ȳei-1, ȳeiǰ-: ȳī- ‘to turn, bend, wind, *branch out’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN
beğen- ‘to like’	ȳek- ‘to wish’	AR, GR, AN
ya:l (d-) ‘a horse’s mane’; Tur. yele ‘mane’	ȳel-4, ȳelǰ- ‘hair, wool; grass, forest’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
a:l ‘device, method of doing something’; later it became pejorative only and meant specifically ‘deceit, guile, dirty trick’; yalğā:n ‘untruthful, a lie, a liar’	ȳel-5, ȳelǰ- ‘to deceive’	BS, GR, CE
yılığ ‘hot; warm’	ȳel-6 ‘warm’	BS
yeñ- ‘to conquer; to defeat’	ȳen- ‘to hit, wound’	GE, CE
ört-: ‘to cover, conceal (something Acc.)’	ȳerğ-1, ȳerğ- ‘to close, enclose’	AR, GR, CE
bur- ‘to twist, wind round, screw together, and the like’, burk- ‘to be wrinkled’	ȳer-3 B. ȳer-b- and ȳer-bh- (*sȳerk <sup>w</sup> -) ‘to turn, bend’, ȳer-3 F. ȳer-k- (*sȳerk <sup>w</sup> h-) ‘to turn, wind, bend’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE
üz- ‘to tear (something Acc.), to pull (it) apart or to pieces’	ȳer-3: I. ȳrei-, ȳreiğ- (*sȳereiğ <sup>w</sup> h-) ‘to be crooked (?)’	AR, GE, GR
er- ‘to reach, arrive; to meet(?)’	ȳer-4 (*sȳer-) ‘to find, take’	BS, GR, CE
yirt- ‘to tear, to pull to pieces and the like’	ȳer-7 (*sȳer-) ‘to tear’	AR, BS, GE, GR, CE
yaşa:- ‘Den. V. fro ya:ş ‘to live’	ȳes-1 (*sȳes-) ‘to stay, live, spend the night’	TO, AR, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN
ya:ş (?ñ-) ‘fresh, moist’	ȳes-3 (*sȳes-) ‘wet’	AR, GE, LT, GR
besle- ‘to feed’ (< *bes ‘food’)	ȳes-2 (*sȳes-) ‘to feast’	AR, GE, LT, CE, AN
ö:d ‘time, both as a point in time and a period of time’; in astronomical terminology apparently an hour’	ȳet- (*sȳet-) ‘year’	AR, BS, GE, LT, GR, CE, AN
biz ‘1 <sup>st</sup> Pers. Plur. Pronoun. we’	ȳē- 1 (*sȳē-) ‘we’	TO, AR, BS, GE, AN

eğ- ‘to bend (something Acc.)’	uəg-, uāg- (*suegh-) ‘to be bent’; uək- (: *uāk-) (*suek-) ‘to be bent’ uek-, ue-n-k- ‘to bend’	AR, BS, GE, LT, CE
er ‘man’ originally merely ‘a human male’	uīro-s (*sūiro-) ‘man; warrior’	TO, AR, BS, GE, LT, CE
ışı- ‘to gleam’ yula: ‘torch, lamp, and the like’	ulek-, ulk- (*sulek-) ‘to shine; fiery’	TO, AR, GR

There are 234 items here which have correspondences. This is quite a high number and difficult to imagine in conventional linguistic surveys between ‘non-related’ languages. No need to express qualities of the words; almost all of them belong to the first and second categories. And there is a clear concentration of verbs, which are hard to loan. That is, here we have traces of a very deep relation.

Of the IE groups, Germanic languages have 171 cognates, Greek 148, Balto-Slavic 144, Indo-Iranian 136, Latin 119, Celtic 115, Tocharian 52 and the Old Anatolian group (or merely Hittite) 28 cognates. The results are very surprising and far beyond reflecting the expected linguistic relations. The high number of Greek cognates may be due to an abundance of its old records; the same can be applied to Tocharian conversely: The small vocabulary available to us should be the reason for such a low number. In any case, Indo-Iranian having a decent old vocabulary recorded does not exhibit a particular position in terms of Turkic relations.<sup>1212</sup> Besides the championship of Germanic correspondences, the most interesting remark would be that, of the Balto-Slavic group, the bulk of the cognate words occurs in Baltic languages, and not in the Slavic branch. If we separated them, the result would be a high ratio for the Baltic and a lower one for the Slavic languages. This may be thanks to the especially Lithuanian habit of saving very archaic features.<sup>1213</sup> It is also noteworthy that if there is a Celtic word shared with Turkic, there is usually a Germanic cognate for it too.

<sup>1212</sup> See my quotation from Décsy in the next chapter. As for a pair-match, more specifically, when we compare Iranian and Turkic, the correspondences are far more than any of those ones. Those are examined to a great degree in the context of Iranian borrowings into Turkic. But, if the alleged Iranian or Indo-Iranian words shared with Turkic have no IE cognates in the European IE languages, then what should I do? We need a separate chapter in this book for Irano-Turcica, but since it would not contribute much to the genesis problem of the Turks, I abstained from doing it.

<sup>1213</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 82.

It is my mistake not to include Albanian in this census; there are interesting correspondences with that language, too. For example, OT *ya:ş* (?ñ-) ‘basically fresh, moist; from this, extended meanings have developed: fresh to green vegetables; moist to running with moisture; tears; and perhaps also fresh every year to a year of one’s life’; *yaşıl* (?*ya:şıl*) ‘of the colour of fresh vegetation, i.e., green’; cf. Alb. *dhâl-* ‘to blossom, be green’. Its shared words would not be less than Latin. An Illyrian context would easily explain this situation.

All in all, our historico-geographical prejudices do not fit the results.<sup>1214</sup> Turkic has relations or shares more with the geographically distant IE languages. Those few words shared with Hittite may represent Nostratic or Eurasiatic kinds of commonalities. This means that we essentially deal with some developments that occurred after the split of the Anatolian group. In any case, it seems that something happened in Europe which had deep impacts. If Turkic loaned all those – basic – words from IE, its Urheimat should be located somewhere close to the western IE languages, because the commonalities do not only reflect the results of special relations with the eastern IE groups, including Slavic. However, a Turkic primordial home on the western side of the IE (in Germany!) without an Anatolian group is really absurd and unimaginable. An alternative would be the penetration of some Proto-Turkic groups to Central Europe to interact mostly with Proto-Germanic communities. If those words were all relics of a Nostratic period, their distribution in various IE groups would be on a logical and regular mean.

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<sup>1214</sup> As for the prejudices, Kozintsev believes that PIE has relations with four language families: Uralic (thus Indo-Uralic that he believes in), Eskimo, Kartvelian and Semitic (“Proto-Indo-Europeans: The Prologue”, 296), clearly having been influenced by Dybo, who concludes that the ideas of landscape objects ‘must have been’ significantly different for speakers of Proto-Altaiic and PIE (Dybo, “Language and Archaeology”, 78). But Dybo omits underlining the correspondences in her own list between PIE and especially Turkic like PIE *\*tolH-* ‘earth, soil, plain place’, OT *çöl* ‘desert’; PIE *\*k(ʷ)ag(ʷ)hl-* ‘pebble’, CT *çakıl* ‘idem’; PIE *\*gʰh1or-* ‘mountain’, OT *or* ‘high’. Kozintsev may be right, since the bulk of the compared Turkic vocabulary above has no Altaic correspondences, if he bases it solely on Altaic, albeit he stresses that the genetic affinities of PIE points it to Siberia (*idem*, 302). This is also a case against the – holistic and discriminatory – Altaic theory. All in all, it seems that Turkic is closest to PIE, although I keep being sceptical about a close genetic relation behind the established Nostratic or Eurasiatic ties, since a bulk of those commonalities might represent loaning relations, which were products and inheritances of the dense relations especially in the early Bronze Age between Turkic and IE proto-societies.

If the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC was the age of dismemberment of the PIE unity without the Anatolian group, then our survey should focus on those days, and not on earlier or later dates, otherwise we need to extend the Proto-Turkic penetration as far as Greece, since the speakers of what later became the Greek language were in the southernmost parts of the Balkans at least in c. 2000 BC. Whether we deal with some radical developments resulting in those linguistic relations, or neighbourhood, or distant kinship, the nature of the common features signals some time before the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) branch had drawn its own unique path. It is believed that the Aryan branch separated from the PIE language around 2300 BC.<sup>1215</sup> In that case, some people who were the ancestors of Turkic people at least in the lingual sense should be in close relationship with Indo-Europeans around 2500 BC.

If archaeology and genetics could help to find some parallel evidences to those linguistic correspondences, we would be relaxed; otherwise, a Turkic relation with the western half of PIE, especially with those who would later give birth to the Proto-Germanic society will ever remain as a great problem in this research. Genetics seems to prove the above linguistic results. The genes of the steppe populations who have kurgan-type graves have similarities with those regions where principally ancestors of the Proto-Germanic group were supposed to live, and later they seem to have got the highest level in Norway and Sweden. In the places, where other proto-communities of Indo-Europeans (Celtic, Latin, etc.) may have lived, the genetic ties get weaker.<sup>1216</sup> The kurgans seem to be the key elements in understanding the framework.

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<sup>1215</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 49; Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 51; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov who have grouped Aryan branch together with Greek and Armenian (*Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, 762).

<sup>1216</sup> Leo S. Klejn, "The Steppe Hypothesis of Indo-European Origins Remains to Be Proven", *Acta Archaeologica* 88, 1 (2018), 201.

# CHAPTER 14

## KURGANS BETWEEN INDO-EUROPEANS AND TURKS

This chapter is indeed a thematic continuation of the previous chapter. I had to divide it solely for formal reasons. We need to go on archaeological and genetic evidences and data regarding the ethno-linguistic identity of the Central Eurasian peoples in their proto phases.

Once, I complained in correspondence with an esteemed American professor that the current theories on IE dispersal present, as if, a model of colonisation of an empty planet especially for Central Asia. This is excluding the BMAC (Bactria-Margiana Archaeologic Complex in the south of the Aral Lake toward Afghanistan), while in reality, human beings had settled everywhere. I was relaxed when I read the sentences of Francfort who says that non-Indo-European-speaking populations are not properly represented and regarded in reconstructions. “The focus of these seems to regard the Indo-European-speaking populations as isolated groups moving from a nuclear region in an otherwise uninhabited Central Asia.”<sup>1217</sup>

Then, who were living in the lower Volga area and to the east of it before the Indo-European family got divided? Or, who were the eastern neighbours of the PIE community? Why should we not think that there were neighbouring peoples who were linguistically related to the PIE community?<sup>1218</sup> And, where did the connections I mentioned above occur between the Turkic and Indo-European languages? The herding economies that were so quickly adopted across the Pontic-Caspian region after 5200 BC failed to interest the people of the North Kazakh steppes. According to Anthony, this frontier was perhaps based on different languages or

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<sup>1217</sup> Francfort, H.-P., “The Archaeology of Protohistoric Central Asia and the Problems of Identifying Indo-European and Uralic-Speaking Populations”, in *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, eds. Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugrian Society, 2007), 151-152.

<sup>1218</sup> Garrett, “Convergence in the Formation of Indo-European Subgroups”, 146.

language families.<sup>1219</sup> Also, it is not appropriate to separate them from the South Ural population for clear archaeological and genetic reasons.

The most characteristic archaeological relic of prehistoric, ancient and medieval Eurasia is surely the kurgan, simply a pit grave with a tumulus above. The term ‘kurgan culture’, implying that it unifies all the peoples owning it, was strictly criticised by Khazanov, who says that it is only an artificial and speculative construction, which unifies under one heading, many archaeological cultures which themselves are very different and from different periods.<sup>1220</sup> The word, of Turkic origin, spread in the scholarly world via Russian,<sup>1221</sup> in which the same graves are also called *yamna* ‘pit’. Though there are ideas to relate them to a Middle East origin,<sup>1222</sup> which is not impossible, kurgans in the known sense appeared firstly in the South Ural area at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC,<sup>1223</sup> and spread all over Central and Inner Asia as well as Central and Eastern Europe. There is not an established word to denote the kurgan-makers or kurgan-owners, as far as I know, thus I’ll offer to use the Turkish term and name *Kurganci* instead. Some ‘diasporas’ of the Kurgancis went as far as Scandinavia, Britain and Anatolia (via the Balkans, not being related with the Turks).

After the preliminary remarks of Gordon Childe, kurgans inspired Marija Gimbutas to develop a theory on the Indo-European roots. Thus, the Kurgan theory is today attributed mainly to her. She argued that the warriors with horses from the Volga-Ural area came to Europe in three main waves: the first in 3500 BC, and the definitive last one around 2400-2200 BC. They conquered the whole of Europe in these three waves, and therefore, they should be the ancestors of the later people speaking Indo-European languages. According to her, one can observe their invasion with the spreading of the kurgans. Moreover, the traces of the first invasion could be found in the kurgan-like graves going all the way to Ireland.<sup>1224</sup>

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<sup>1219</sup> Anthony, “Persistent Identity”, 25.

<sup>1220</sup> Khazanov, *Nomads and Outside World*, 90.

<sup>1221</sup> Fasmer, *Etimološki slovar’ ruskogo jazyka -II-*, 424.

<sup>1222</sup> Kozintsev, “Proto-Indo-Europeans”, 315.

<sup>1223</sup> Though Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 245, holds the opinion that those ‘modest kurgans’ in Dereivka of the Ukraine may be the earliest ones in the steppe.

<sup>1224</sup> Marija Gimbutas, “The Indo-Europeans: Archeological Problems”, *American Anthropologist* 65, 4 (1963), 821; idem, “The Indo-Europeanization of Europe”, 206 ff; David W. Anthony, “The Kurgan Culture, Indo-European Origins, and the Domestication of the Horse: A Reconsideration”, *Current Anthropology* 17, 4 (1986), 300-1; Reich, *Who We Are*, 119.



There is a genetic influx into Central Europe from the east in those days that can easily be matched with the Kurgan cultures,<sup>1225</sup> but, as will be seen below, the distribution of their genetic inheritance does not agree with the Indo-European wholeness, and only represents a foreign intrusion.

The greatest dilemma of the Gimbutas theory is the meaninglessness of choosing the South Ural region as an axis in terms of the power of horsemen. She herself argues that the horse was first tamed in Ukraine or Kazakhstan. If it was Ukraine, then, there is no point in bringing the invaders who have destroyed ‘Ancient Europe’ from far away. If it was Kazakhstan, then, according to her own homeland indicators, there is no necessity to think that those attacking Europe within those Kurganci waves were Indo-Europeans, because inhabitants of the Kazakh steppes were not Indo-Europeans in her theory. In addition, the genetic data from the Kurgancis in Eastern Europe, whose cultural area we know by the name Yamnaya, seem to have matched the ones of the Afanasievo Culture of Kazakhstan,<sup>1226</sup> which appeared c. 3700 BC onwards in the west of the Altay region. Genetic studies showed a west-east admixture of genes stretching from Central Kazakhstan even to Lake Baykal starting in the Pre-Bronze Age.<sup>1227</sup> This is compatible with the archaeological heritage of Afanasievo.

When the Afanasievo Culture emerged, the PIE community was still keeping its unity in the homeland, according to glottochronological estimations. On the other hand, the genes of the Anatolian group of Indo-Europeans, who migrated to Asia Minor before the Kurganci invasions of Eastern Europe, do not match those of the Kurganci Yamnaya people.<sup>1228</sup>

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<sup>1225</sup> Brandt et al., “Ancient DNA reveals key stages in the formation”, 261.

<sup>1226</sup> M. E. Allentoft et al., “Population Genomics of Bronze Age Eurasia”, *Nature* 522 (2015), 169; Clémence Hollard et al., “New Genetic Evidence of Affinities and Discontinuities between Bronze Age Siberian Populations”, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 167 (2018), 2, 8. Nearly all of the Afanasievo men sampled in genetic studies belonged to the sub-haplogroup R1b1a1a (Hollard et al., *idem*, 7). Afanasievo people symbolised the transition from the Stone Age to metals in the Minusinsk Basin in the Northwest Altay area. They even used iron before the Iron Age (A. P. Okladnikov, “Inner Asia at the Dawn of History”, in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 117-8). They are also responsible for introducing pastoralism into the Mongolian steppes, whose autochthonous dwellers were hunter-gatherers (Jeong et al., “A Dynamic 6,000-year Genetic History”, 892).

<sup>1227</sup> Jeong et al., “A Dynamic 6,000-year Genetic History”, 891.

<sup>1228</sup> Barros Dagaard et al., “The First Horse Herders”, 6; Kozintsev, “Proto-Indo-Europeans”, 325; Reich, *Who We Are*, 120.

The only plausible explanation would be that the Yamnaya people belong to a group genetically different from the PIE community, and are instead related to the Afanasievo people. Or, one should not count Hittites and the others as Indo-Europeans. The original land of the Yamnaya people was likely the area around Samara to the east of the mid-Volga, just to the west of the future Sintashta. It has nothing to do with the Pontic homelands of the Indo-Europeans. Its early stage was between c. 4000 and 3300 BC, the advanced phase was between 3300 and 2600, and the late period was between 2600 and 2300.<sup>1229</sup>

Gimbutas has seemingly no other reason than a passion for conquest for these kurgan people to leave their homes in the mid-Volga–Ural region and to come to Europe. She believes that they were sufficient in number to conquer and ethnically change the whole of Europe. For Carpelan and Parpola, their number is not important, and they introduced the PIE identity through elite dominance.<sup>1230</sup> Anthony and Ringe have an aphorism for this process: “The spread of IE languages was probably more like a franchising operation than an invasion.”<sup>1231</sup> Southeast and East Europe, the ‘Old Europe’ in Gimbutas terminology, also had a relatively dense and likely greater population in those ages, since they had learned about agriculture well before the invaders. Being aware of this fact, she notes that few people were controlling the huge population there and, finally the conversion of the whole of Europe was realised in the last third wave. Surely, the newcomers were not taking the places of the old? Living together for a couple of centuries and mutually sharing their cultures, all of them were eventually consolidated in the linguistic identity put forward by the ruling minority. She also suggests that it was the differences in the conquered peoples that were one of the reasons for the differentiation of the Indo-European languages.<sup>1232</sup>

The military and social organisational skills of the PIE people helped them to complete such a great mission. However, military superiority is an outcome which the human resource, geography and thus lifestyle create together. Peoples from the same area, not counting the times of temporary

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<sup>1229</sup> N. L. Morgunova and O. S. Khokhlova, “Chronology and Periodization of the Pit-Grave Culture in the Area between the Volga and Ural Rivers Based on 14C Dating and Paleopedological Research”, *Radiocarbon* 55, 2-3 (2013), 1286, 1294. In spite of Anthony, “Persistent Identity”, 24, who says that no Yamnaya house has ever been found to the east of the Don River.

<sup>1230</sup> Carpelan and Parpola, “Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal of Proto-Indo-European”, 67; Parpola, “The Coming of the Aryans to Iran and India”, 200.

<sup>1231</sup> Anthony and Ringe, “The Indo-European Homeland”, 214.

<sup>1232</sup> Gimbutas, “The Indo-Europeans: Archeological Problems”, 827-9.

ethnic passion usually growing under the leadership of a charismatic leader and continuing with its memories afterwards, tend to have similar levels of fighting capabilities. Germanic tribes were warlike but we should keep in mind that Saxony was under constant attack and pressure by the Western Slavic elements in the early medieval. Thus, Slavs extended their lebensraum at the expense of the Germans towards the west. As for the social organisational level, the same reasons are valid. What were the factors enabling the PIE masses to be in a higher level compared to their eastern or western neighbours on the same latitude? In the previous chapter, we quoted scholarly doubts about them having such a feature, based upon the lack of sufficient common IE words denoting rulers.

Moreover, being a superior warrior and administrator does not mean they will/can assimilate another crowded group. Apart from the cases of Gallia and Iberia, where the majority of dwellers adopted the Latin language, there is no solid example of a small group transforming a larger one. The Gimbutas theory necessitates the conditions of the mighty and long-enduring Roman Empire, which was almost unique in ancient history. Even the emergence of the Latin Americas has nothing to do with such a model. In contrast, however, Franks in Gallia, Normans in Britain, Varangians in Russia, Bulgars in the Balkans and Mongols everywhere in Eurasia, although being conquerors strictly controlling everything, disappeared linguistically in the end and faded away.

The principal deficiency of the kurgan theory seems to be that it keeps the investigation only in prehistory while there was no discontinuity in the kurgan history. It lasted until the domination of Islam and Christianity in Eurasia and likely the later Buddhism in Inner Asia. One should elaborate the kurgan-making in a holistic view, and try to match who did it in the known periods, and who stopped it, if they did, and for which reasons. Of all known peoples and ages, only the Balkan migrators to Anatolia after the collapse of the Hittites, like the Phrygians, set up kurgans, except for the Old Turks and their ethnic and cultural relatives. This should be explained. If the earliest Kurgancis were Indo-Europeans,<sup>1233</sup> one should explain why it was the Indo-Iranians moving to the east who stopped kurgan-making immediately after their migrations (neither the Andronovo pottery nor the kurgans cross the Kopet Dagh-Hindikush-Pamir-Tarim

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<sup>1233</sup> According to Carpelan and Parpola, “Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal of Proto-Indo-European”, 68, it is even associated with Greco-Armenian and Aryan branches which stayed at home and remained fairly uniform for a long time (c. 3500-2500 BC). However, none of them took that tradition to their new homes; they left it in a simultaneous and orchestrated way.

line)<sup>1234</sup> and how and why the Turks adopted it while their Aryan neighbours had no such custom. In Makkay's terms, it is now time to replace the "archaeologically ignorant theories of Gimbutas"<sup>1235</sup>.

Gimbutas thinks it is not necessary to see all three Kurganci waves as stemming from the same source, but they represent different Indo-European peoples from different places.<sup>1236</sup> Indeed, sprinkling kurgans by eastern peoples throughout the Black Sea steppes is a familiar scene for us. In historical periods, nations who entered Europe from the East have all done the same: Scythians/Sakas, Sarmatians, Iazyges, Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Hungarians, Pechenegs, Oghuz, Kipchaks... they all established dominance in the Black Sea steppes. Afterwards, if they could, they went down to the Lower Danube, but in every case, they continued to the Hungarian plains. It is interesting how the fields which have the remnants of Neolithic and Bronze Age Kurganci people and the distribution of relics of these above-counted peoples match almost perfectly.<sup>1237</sup>

However, apart from the Hungarians, who stayed on the coasts of the Don river for about 450 years, increased their population in a peaceful environment and, with a second move, went to Central Europe, none of these people succeeded in preserving their identities. They were more warlike than the East European natives and had a higher level of social organisation. For what reasons did the Indo-European kurgancis of Gimbutas succeed in this? Moreover, they not only preserved their identity, but also transformed linguistically almost the whole of Europe, which apparently had a dense population after the Neolithic agricultural revolution.

Only in the Danube area, were there found about 1000 kurgans from the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. Their structures are fairly familiar. An artificial height is created on top of the usual square pit in which the corpse is placed and, a human-shaped obelisk surrounds it. Nearly all of the bodies were male, mostly laid in the east-west direction with legs bent. This same burial method was also seen near Baykal, in the Karasuk

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<sup>1234</sup> Francfort, "The Archaeology of Protohistoric Central Asia", 154.

<sup>1235</sup> Makkay, "The Earliest Proto-Indo-European-Proto-Uralic Contacts", 337.

<sup>1236</sup> Gimbutas, "The Indo-Europeanization of Europe", 206.

<sup>1237</sup> A. Bulatović, "Cord Ware in the Central and Southern Balkans: A Consequence of Cultural Interaction or an Indication of Ethnic Change?", *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 42, 1-2 (2014), the map in 107. This is the map of the 1<sup>st</sup> wave. In the last wave, it seems that the stripped ceramic culture had spread all the way to inner Galicia and Greece (*idem*, 123, 132).

age.<sup>1238</sup> However, considering the large time lapse and the differences in the kurgans, there were variations in the way of entombment. Those kurgans of invaders in Eastern Europe (3300-2600 BC) are grouped under the name Yamnaya Culture, as before stated. It is highly interesting and noteworthy that the kurgans concentrate in Dobrudja,<sup>1239</sup> and this is perfectly suited to the geopolitics of the medieval Turkic migrations to the region.

It seems that the Kurgancis invading Eastern Europe did not massacre the natives, nor even expel them, and instead, they settled in a large area with lower populations and were assimilated in time, exactly as in the case of medieval Turkic migrations. Heyd notes that the Kurganci migration to the region was not ‘traumatic’ in terms of the natives. It appears that they lived in the plains and, did not bother their neighbours living in higher altitudes.<sup>1240</sup> Bulatović does not give much importance to the Asian nomads who were highly mixed ethnically in his opinion. He writes that these nomads further mixed with the Balkan natives,<sup>1241</sup> although, the male descendants of the Yamnaya with political or social power were more successful at competing for local mates than men from the local groups,<sup>1242</sup> making one recall the case of the Avars with Slavic women.

On the other hand, the physical anthropology of the deceased in the Balkans speaks for an intrusive population, according to Mallory. Studies on the kurgan burials in Romania, for example, have revealed that the kurgan males averaged up to 10 centimetres taller than the native Eneolithic population.<sup>1243</sup> So, they were not only intrusive but also came from far countries. To what degree would the populations of Romania (Old European?) and the Don Basin (Indo-European?) be different in

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<sup>1238</sup> Okladnikov, “Inner Asia at the Dawn of History”, 86-87. There are also views that their locations were not coincidental but, had cosmic meaning just like the Egyptian and Aztec examples. For example, in the Aržan kurgans found in Tuva, it was seen that the number and placing of the dead horses signified the seasons and the year (Leonid Marsadolov, “The Nomads of Saian-Altai (IX-VII Centuries BC), in *The Turks -I-*, eds. H. C. Güzel, C. C. Oğuz and O. Karatay (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 109-110, 113).

<sup>1239</sup> V. Heyd, “Yamnaya Groups and Tumuli West of the Black Sea”, in *Ancestral Landscape. Burial mounds in the Copper and Bronze Ages (Central and Eastern Europe – Balkans – Adriatic – Aegean, 4<sup>th</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC) Proceedings of the International Conference held in Udine, May 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> 2008* (Lyon: Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, 2012), 535-6, 539.

<sup>1240</sup> Heyd, “Yamnaya Groups and Tumuli West of the Black Sea”, 545.

<sup>1241</sup> Bulatović, “Corded Ware in the Central and Southern Balkans”, 132-3.

<sup>1242</sup> Reich, *Who We Are*, 240.

<sup>1243</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 240.

account of the geographical conditions? I have no data to compare average heights of the East Europeans and South Uralians in those ages, but if the difference does not point to a social class case (those buried in the kurgans were usually the better living, thus better eating aristocrats of those ages), it does point to such a fact that the Kurgancis came from remoter countries.

This is a decent ground to explain the similarities that we found in the previous chapter between Turkic and Indo-European languages. The Corded Ware Culture (c. 2900-2350 BC), which was almost contemporary with the Yamnaya and its western neighbour, but not a successor, was spread in the areas where nuclear communities of the mainly Balto-Slavic and Germanic branches are supposed to have lived.<sup>1244</sup> Anyway, Yamnaya influence played an important role in the formation of the CWC, although it is not a direct offshoot of the former.<sup>1245</sup> The CWC and the true Uralian Sintashta world, which will be dealt with below, have not only cultural connections, but also genetic agreements via Yamnaya.<sup>1246</sup> According to the estimations of Haak et al., the ancestry of the CWC was 79% Yamnaya-like, 4% West European hunter-gatherers and 17% early Neolithic remnants.<sup>1247</sup> It is not proper, however, to think that those Yamnaya-like peoples should all be associated with the steppe or Sintashta region. The steppe migrants might have mixed with East European agriculturalists on their way to Central Europe.<sup>1248</sup>

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<sup>1244</sup> It appeared in or soon expanded to the Baltic countries and Southwest Finland between 3200 and 3100 BC and in the Netherlands simultaneously (Carpelan and Parpola, “Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal of Proto-Indo-European”, 66).

<sup>1245</sup> Carpelan and Parpola, “Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal of Proto-Indo-European”, 67.

<sup>1246</sup> Allentoft et al., “Population Genomics of Bronze Age Eurasia”, 169; Klejn, “The Steppe Hypothesis of Indo-European Origins”, 201. Mallory thinks that Yamnaya is likely the source of the eastward expansion (of the Indo-Iranians), but it does not explain the westward expansion. So Yamnaya should be a Greco-Armenian-Indo-Iranian continuum (Mallory, “A European Perspective”, 187). Genetic affiliations of Yamnaya and Afanasievo seem to be against this view. The latter has nothing to do with that continuum, but allegedly with the centum speaking Tocharians, as he states. If one ties Afanasievo with the Indo-Iranians, then, according to genetic evidences, the Sintashta-Andronovo line would be free of the Aryan identity. I wonder why Mallory did not need to explain why the Greeks, Armenians and Indo-Iranians left the kurgan tradition that should have been inherited from the Yamnaya domain?

<sup>1247</sup> Haak et al., “Massive Migration from the Steppe”, 210; Reich, *Who We Are*, 110.

<sup>1248</sup> Haak et al., “Massive Migration from the Steppe”, 210.

However, this association in genes shows only the relationship between the restricted areas. The European population today has the descendants of the autochthonous Neolithic farmers to a great extent, and has little to do with the Yamnaya or Sintashta or Afanasievo cultures. Receivers of those Kurganci genes (R1 clades), which are from completely outside Europe in origins,<sup>1249</sup> were the dwellers of the CWC area after c. 2500 BC,<sup>1250</sup> and it seems those genes spread in the west of Europe, first with the Celtic dispersal and secondly and eventually with the *völkerwanderung* of the Germanic tribes and Alans at the end of antiquity (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD). After all, the stripes that emerged all of a sudden on the objects were not considered to be native, but brought from outside.<sup>1251</sup> My addition to this would be that the gene migrations from Asia into Northern Europe continued in the later ages, as we have seen in the previous chapters. These would show an increased portion of Asian genes in there, compared to the Bronze Age level. Consequently, the distribution of the R1 clade brought by the Kurganci population in the modern European populations does not permit it to be defined as an Indo-European marker.<sup>1252</sup>

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<sup>1249</sup> Although both R1a and R1b are the most popular in Europe (the former is widespread in Eastern Europe and the latter is concentrated in the western half of the continent), its origins are in Central Eurasia (Haak et al., “Massive Migration from the Steppe”, 208; Underhill et al., “The Phylogenetic and Geographic Structure”, 126). Underhill et al. suggest Northwest Iran to be the geographic origin of R1a (*idem*, 127).

<sup>1250</sup> David Reich, “Ancient DNA Suggests Steppe Migrations Spread Indo-European Languages”, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 162, 1 (2018), 47; Reich, *Who We Are*, 119; Brandt et al., “Ancient DNA Reveals Key Stages in the Formation”, 260; Underhill et al., “The Phylogenetic and Geographic Structure”, 127; Haak, “Massive Migration from the Steppe”, 208. About 75% of the late CWC population seems to have its origins in Yamnaya, documenting a massive migration into the heartland of Europe from its eastern periphery (Haak et al., “Massive Migration from the Steppe”, 207). Of course, not all of those migraters were to be of eventual Kurganci origin, but likely a great part of them represented an inter-Indo-European movement.

<sup>1251</sup> Bulatović, “Corded Ware in the Central and Southern Balkans”, 102. However, this author does not accept an entrance of population from outside into the Balkans.

<sup>1252</sup> Kozintsev, “Proto-Indo-Europeans”, 331. Indeed, such a marker does not exist at all, it seems. Kozintsev explains it, with reference to Balanovsky (2015), in such a way that “the first population to speak PIE must have possessed a spectrum of haplogroups which were shared (or identical) with its sister and neighbour populations that spoke other languages.” The linguistic result that we presented in

Faux has interesting results in his survey of Nordic genes. At least for linguistic reasons, we should accept that the Nordic populations eventually descend from the CWC area, which suits best and primarily the later Proto-Germans. Haplogroup R1b of the steppe origin (associated with Yamnaya) is the most common haplogroup in North European populations. Depending on the study, about 25% of males in Norway and Sweden are within the R1b1c category.<sup>1253</sup> The percentage of haplotype R1a that originated likewise in the Eurasian steppes and ancient Siberian populations<sup>1254</sup> was found in Norway and Sweden as being about 20%.<sup>1255</sup> These are significant numbers and in parallel with the linguistic results presented in the previous chapter that show a closer relation between Turkic and Proto-Germanic. R1a is the common lineage of the current Turkic peoples and the Scandinavian genes have their relatives mostly among the Altay Turks and Kyrgyz.<sup>1256</sup>

Thus, Comas writes that “it is interesting to note that Turks present shorter genetic distances to the British than to Central Asians, even though the Central Asian populations’ samples in the present study speak Turkic languages.”<sup>1257</sup> He means the Turks of Turkey. The differentiation from Central Asia is due to the Mongolic introduction primarily after the 13<sup>th</sup> century. We will deal with this in a separate chapter. The Turks of Turkey left Central Asia before the Mongolians came, and they just belong to a great extent to the Central Eurasian population stocks, who constantly exported their genes to Europe from the Neolithic to the late Medieval.

We should surmise a (new) demographic explosion accompanied by a rise of ethnic passion in the PIE community in the middle periods of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC to understand the following developments.<sup>1258</sup> The coincidence of the linguistically associated Proto-Greek and Aryan

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the previous chapter, together with these genetic cases should lead us to those neighbours primarily being Proto-Turkic speaking peoples.

<sup>1253</sup> Faux, “The Genetic Link of the Viking-Era Norse to Central Asia”, 23.

<sup>1254</sup> Brandt et al., “Ancient DNA reveals key stages in the formation”, 260.

<sup>1255</sup> Faux, “The Genetic Link of the Viking-Era Norse to Central Asia”, 24.

<sup>1256</sup> Faux, “The Genetic Link of the Viking-Era Norse to Central Asia”, 32.

<sup>1257</sup> David Comas, “Trading Genes along the Silk Road: mtDNA Sequences and the Origin of Central Asian Populations”, *American Journal of Human Genetics* 63, 6 (1998), 1829.

<sup>1258</sup> If Zvelebil and Dolukhanov’s suggestion is true, they might have had that explosion even before learning about agriculture. They claim that “such complex hunter-gatherer societies as in Eastern Europe would have been more productive and capable of supporting higher population densities than the more mobile, dispersed communities of Central and Western Europe” (Zvelebil and Dolukhanov, “The Transition to Farming”, 247).



dispersals or migrations shows that they experienced the explosion at home, and thus, it should be extended to the entire community. As before stated, the Aryan branch shows the most similarities with Balto-Slavic, and also has a connection with Greek.<sup>1259</sup> Thus, it seems likely that there was a differentiated Proto-Greco-Aryan group just in the neighbourhood (in the south) of the Proto-Balto-Slavic group entity at home. Furthermore, according to Garrett, the early patterning of early loans into Uralic suggests that even Indo-Iranian was already dialectally differentiated c. 2000 BC.<sup>1260</sup> The Proto-Greco-Aryans were not deeply affected by the Kurganci intrusions or at least by the last and most influential wave, as shown by cultural and genetic reasons. Their descendants had no kurganci and Kurganci genes.<sup>1261</sup>

This would signify that the ancestors of the people who speak these mentioned IE languages were situated to the east of the PIE area. To illustrate, if the homeland was between the Carpathians and the Don River, then, the ones closest to the Don River were the Aryans and, right next to them were the ancestors of the Balto-Slavic people towards the northwest. Looking at the similarities of the languages, the ancestors of Greeks and possibly Illyrians and Thracians whose language we do not know much about were situated to the southwest of the Aryans, along the Black Sea coasts.

The separation of the Greek and Balto-Slavic from the main group occurred respectively after 2500 BC.<sup>1262</sup> First, it is thought that it was the Greeks who left the main group in the north, and came down to the shores of the Aegean Sea from 2200 BC onwards; the differentiation of their language from the core Indo-European was right before that.<sup>1263</sup> This is concurrent with the Aryan movement to the east. The differentiation of the language should be related to the spreading of the people with the increased population. This was seen in the Aryans and Greeks. It is

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<sup>1259</sup> Kuzmina, *Otkuda prišli Indoarii?*, 252; Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 56.

<sup>1260</sup> Garrett, “Convergence in the Formation of Indo-European Subgroups”, 143.

<sup>1261</sup> The gene samples received in the Namazga site in Turkmenistan, clearly belonging to the Aryans, correspond to the genes of the European Neolithic farmers, but not to the genes of the Kurganci Yamnaya in Eastern Europe or of Afanasievo in Central Asia (Barros Dagaard et al., “The First Horse Herders”, 5-6). The very lack of R1a in Iran is also interesting in these terms (Kozintsev, “Proto-Indo-Europeans”, 330). Reich finds a mixture in India “distantly related to the Yamnaya” (Reich, *Who We Are*, 149).

<sup>1262</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 82.

<sup>1263</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 88; Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 51, 369.

possible that the Proto-Balto-Slavic dispersal to the northwest could correspond to that as well. This means that the search for new lands had already started from 2500 BC on.

We quoted above the idea that the Aryan branch had separated in 2300 BC at the latest. We see them around 1800 BC in Khorasan, as they demolished, in the succeeding days, the native cultures (BMAC) there and the Harappa culture on the Indus River.<sup>1264</sup> From then on, we have written sources. They seem to have at least a 500-year settlement in the north and east of the Caspian. One should pay attention to this movement. There seems to be no problem in implementing the advance wave model for the Aryans as they were surely high in number as they converted large areas of South Asia in the succeeding ages.<sup>1265</sup> Otherwise, it would be very hard to explain a great population's movement into Turkistan step by step for ages.

After the separation of the Proto-Greco-Aryan, the Kurganci invasion started. Considering the humid weather, it would not be problematic to assume that the latter too, had moved with the same population pressure. This movement that started in around 2400 BC (the third wave of Gimbutas), probably provoked the migration of Greeks by mingling in the already dense northern Black Sea. And it is not hard to reconstruct such a scene, that the Kurgancis advanced to the west crossing the middle courses of the Volga and by-passing the Aryan dwellers of the Lower Volga areas. They likely did not have much contact with the Aryans in the west of the Volga, apart from some border conflicts. This would explain the fact that they did not intermingle with the Greeks and Aryans in those phases, but with the masses further west containing Germanic, Balto-Slavic and perhaps Celtic, etc., proto-communities or their cores.

Although dialectal differentiations are indispensable everywhere, as long as groups of people do not go into separate geographical and geo-cultural units, their dialects do not diverge from the main language while in one area; instead, their inner unity increases. The Germanic linguistic unity ended, and new languages emerged only after the migration of

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<sup>1264</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 57, 266; Parpola, "The Coming of the Aryans to Iran and India", 206. Another stream of thought proposes the idea that they collapsed internally. According to this, the decline started from 1800 BC onwards and, in the 1600s, they did not exist anymore (Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 452-4). On the other hand, one does not need to be a Nazi to say that the Indus valley civilisations were demolished by the Aryans. Cf. Reich, *Who We Are*, 124-126.

<sup>1265</sup> Reich, *Who We Are*, 133-137, mostly through 'male' domination over the native female population.

Germanic tribes to other distant places, because the Proto-Germanic homeland was an optimum area (not more than one million km<sup>2</sup> in the above cited Mallory estimation) to keep a linguistic unity. And an optimum area would force varieties of all kinds to rasp into a formal unity, as in the case of French, which emerged by combining several languages and dialects on a Vulgar Latin base.

The birth of Ukrainian is related to the dispersal of the East Slavic masses to wide areas, and the change of cultural milieu under the Polish influence in the later ages. Even in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, all the Slavic peoples were able to understand each other. After they started dispersing and going to different places, new languages began to emerge and to differ from the proto-language and from each other. This means that the Proto-Slavic language kept its unity for more than 2000 years, despite constantly changing inside itself, because the Slavic homeland was not so large as to allow the birth of new languages.

This could be compared with the known 3500-year history of the Greek language. If the Hellenistic people in Bactria had not disappeared but kept their language up to today, their language would surely be completely unintelligible to the Greeks, and we would have had a linguistic group likely called ‘Hellenic’.

For the same reasons, we cannot today see even an ‘Aryan’ group of languages compared to Germanic, Slavic or Celtic, but countless Indic and Iranian languages. Dialectal separation from the PIE language was hastened to produce a separate Aryan language (2300 BC?) when they were separated from the main mass, and, furthermore, the people started to divide into two even during the course of their migration (2000 BC?), since they were spread to wide areas.

To the east of the Volga, the migratory Aryans were likely adjacent to the home of the Kurgancis in the South Ural area. After they exported a great proportion of their population to Eastern Central Europe c. 2400 BC, they should have been weakened at least in terms of their human resource. The Aryan dispersal towards the east started just after that. It was inevitable for the mainland Kurgancis to escape the fury of the Aryans moving forward under internal population pressure and in search of new territories to live on. The fertile and arable South Ural region was alluring for the invaders, though its climate was not as lovely as that of the warmer Southwestern Turkistan. The warfare capabilities of the Aryans were outstanding,<sup>1266</sup> as mentioned above, compared to the peoples of other

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<sup>1266</sup> In this course, Lubotsky thinks that the Indo-Iranian \**gadā* ‘club’ can be seen as an indication of Aryan military supremacy (Lubotsky, “The Indo-Iranian Substratum”, 307, 312). Cf. OT *çida/cida* ‘spear, javelin’ as a loanword from

regions in different latitudes, and they were not much humbler than the Kurganci, who had proved their might by invading the PIE homeland with the remaining IE groups in the 3<sup>rd</sup> wave. Here we have a military balance: The weakened but more warlike Kurgancis on the one hand, and the crowded and sufficiently warlike Aryans on the other.

It is now possible to follow the succeeding events from the written sources. The Rigveda chants which are the oldest scripts of the Indo-Aryan language were thought to have represented a language from c. 1500 BC.<sup>1267</sup> These scripts reflecting the vocabulary of a nation with horses and chariots, living in the steppes, with various elements such as the seven rivers, are thought to carry the memory of the Volga banks.<sup>1268</sup> There were also enemy (the Dāsa people) fortresses which they were trying to conquer. Even though it is not hard to identify these forts with the cities that the Aryans destroyed in the Turkmenistan-Pakistan line,<sup>1269</sup> it could be too hasty to interpret the cities of those peaceful people there as fortresses. Aryans had business with other real forts before. Besides, there are not seven rivers in the Khorasan region.

It is easy to understand why the Aryans who were strong and crowded in number, and spread along the Lower Volga, tried to continue forward to

Mongolian (*Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*, eds. V. M. Nadelyaev, D. M. Nasilov, E. P. Tenišev and A. M. Ščerbak (Leningrad: Nauka, 1969), 642). Sumerian also has *gidda* of the same meaning.

<sup>1267</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 45; T. V. Gamkrelidze and V. V. Ivanov, *Indoevropskij jazyk i indoevropcey* (Tbilisi: Izd. Tbilisskogo Universiteta, 1984), xlvii; M. Witzel, "Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Exchange in Prehistoric Western Central Asia", *Sino-Platonic Papers* 129 (2003), 4.

<sup>1268</sup> Witzel, "Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Exchange", 2, 50; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 179-82, 188.

<sup>1269</sup> Kuzmina, *Otkuda prišli Indoarii?*, 73 ff; Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 57; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 182 ff; Parpola, "The Coming of the Aryans to Iran and India", 215, 230. The enemy Dāsa people are described as having 'dark skin' in the Rigvedas, and the Aryans were successful in seizing their lands (Parpola, *idem*, 208). This is well suited to the BMAC (and Harappa) region and is confirmed by the existence of the later Dahae people mentioned by antique geographers in Turkmenistan (Parpola, *idem*, 220-221). I wonder, on the other hand, that if the nearby Dahae were there and not yet assimilated even two millennia after the Aryan invasion of the region, how the latter succeeded in the Iranisation of the great steppe by the regions beyond the Altays, according to the mainstream views? I also wonder about the conclusion of Parpola that the Dāsas, who were totally different from the Aryans in colour, culture, belief, lifestyle, etc., were also Aryans. The non-Aryan Sabara tribe among others, for instance, is counted among the Dāsa people and the latter were nevertheless Aryans (Parpola, *idem*, 261). I did not understand this at all.

the South Ural area for the above-mentioned reasons. Their movement might also have contained a blood feud, a response to the previous Kurganci invasions to the regions of or behind the Aryans. It was likely these people who are mentioned in the Sanskrit *Vedas* as enemies, having castles in steppe areas, and horses and chariots. This people we today call the Sintashtans, dwellers of the Sintashta Culture. Even though a bright layer of culture was seen in c. 2100 BC, the chronology of Sintashta is not certain; its past contains native peoples living there,<sup>1270</sup> therefore it likely represents a local cultural development. Sources of this development likely lie in the steppe. In the treeless steppe of the Southern Urals, the Abashevo culture was in direct contact and interaction with the Poltavka Culture of the open steppe. This resulted in the emergence of the rich and powerful Sintashta-Arkheim Culture which, on the basis of parallels in ceramic and metal artefact types, mainly continues the Abashevo Culture.<sup>1271</sup>

In the Sintashta area, not only military buildings were found but also 21 places which showed features of fortified accommodation units. On average there was a 23 km distance between them. They drew a border line in the south of the region to separate it from the conventional steppe.<sup>1272</sup> And the Rigvedas never say that the Aryans owned such fortresses.<sup>1273</sup>

The livestock of the Sintashtan people may shed light on the events of those days. Contrary to expectations, 50% of the herd was cattle, and 40% sheep. The bone structure of the people shows that their entire diet was meat and milk. This means that, despite the fertile fields and the prevalent rainy weather from 2400 to 1600 BC, they were not farming.<sup>1274</sup> Normally, sheep were dominant in the region from 4600 BC on.<sup>1275</sup> Cattle are not good for long-distance herding; in contrast, if within a short distance, the cattle can be fully nourished, then, they are more productive than sheep. Long-distance herding not being preferred, the fields remaining empty, and life remaining confined behind walls. All of this points to a long-lasting life of defence, and most of all that the open fields were not safe. This shows that they were pressed by a strong enemy for a long time.

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<sup>1270</sup> Lamberg-Karlowski, “Archaeology and Language”, 67-8.

<sup>1271</sup> Carpelan and Parpola, “Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal of Proto-Indo-European”, 95.

<sup>1272</sup> A. Stobbe et al., “Bronze Age Human-Landscape Interactions in the Southern Transural Steppe, Russia – Evidence from High-Resolution Palaeobotanical Studies”, *The Holocene* 26, 10 (2016), 3.

<sup>1273</sup> Parpola, “The Coming of the Aryans to Iran and India”, 212.

<sup>1274</sup> Stobbe et al., “Bronze Age Human-Landscape”, 14-6.

<sup>1275</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 62.

Well, it is time to interrogate: If the Sintashtans were Indo-Europeans, or Indo-Iranians as the only alternative, as commonly believed, did the ancestors of the Aryans in Rigveda besiege the fortresses of their relatives? Or, if they were probably Proto-Iranians as Anthony suggests,<sup>1276</sup> was it the internal strife of the Aryans, that is, did the Indo-Aryans attack the future Iranians in the castles? But I'm not sure the linguistic chronology permits the separation of such a Proto-Iranian group before 2000 BC. The fortresses were clearly built to protect the regions beyond them, from the steppe invaders, who were certainly Indo-Iranians. If they strived to conquer the lands of their relatives, why is there no mention of such a case, but the enemy are mentioned as a foreign race called Dāsa? Otherwise, did the Indo-Iranians built those fortifications against the sparsely populated and primitive hunter-gatherers of Southwestern Siberia? In that case, the Sintashta region proper would belong to the latter. And the content of the Rigveda may be identified as mostly concerning the Dāsa of the BMAC region, but also keeping memories of the far earlier conflicts with the Sintashtans.

Except for the Khorasan region, fairly represented by the brilliant Kelteminar Culture starting around 4000 BC, and having developed urban settlements contemporary to the Sumerian cities, the Sintashta Culture in the South Urals represents the most magnificent breakthrough in prehistoric Eurasia, with its extended version of the later Andronovo Culture. Since all cultures have to belong to the Indo-Europeans as a scholarly rule, Sintashta is also accepted as such either by counting it as a part of the IE homeland like Gimbutas does, or putting it on the road of the expansion of the Indo-Europeans as Mallory, Anthony and others do, or making them the core of the Indo-Iranians as Kuzmina suggests. Anthony tries to explain the matter in detail and says that the people who around 2100 BC settled in the fortified areas between Tobol and Yayık were the shepherds from the Lower Volga areas, from the Poltavka and Abashevo cultural regions.<sup>1277</sup>

I do believe myself that some significant elements from the Lower Volga wanted to intrude on those regions and they were Aryans, but the location of the Sintashta fortresses/cities and the records in the Rigveda make such a comment almost impossible. Besides, in contrast to Carpellan and Parpola, Anthony himself underlines differences between the Poltavka and Abashevo cultures and Sintashta. In the former ones, burial with

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<sup>1276</sup> Anthony, "Persistent Identity", 24.

<sup>1277</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 389-90.

weapons is not observed, whereas this was common in the latter. The Sintashtans who were decent miners had newer and different weapons.<sup>1278</sup>

Just like this, by overlooking details and contradictions such as these, apart from the Okunevo Culture which clearly belongs to Eastern Asiatic elements as shown by skeletons, all of the other Eurasian cultures are argued to be Indo-European, mostly despite chronological problems. In other words, wherever the latter went, there appear blossoms and development. Instead of detailed analysis, generalisations of the highest level are dominant in the current studies. Kuzmina who wrote a great book about the Andronovo Culture, which is a grown-up version of the Sintashta, gives the characteristics of Aryans as (1) not eating pig or sacrificing it, (2) the existence of camel, (3) the special place of horsemanship, the horse-drawn carriage, and the horse cult, (4) the fire cult, and (5) an economic structure in which agriculture and livestock went together.<sup>1279</sup>

It is more important to match these characteristics with those of the later societies known in the historical sources, rather than to list them for a Bronze Age community. It is not enough to say that people who had these characteristics were Aryans; it is necessary to check whether the people whom we are sure to be descendants of the Aryans carry these traits, besides checking which other peoples had them. We dealt with the pigs in Chapter 11. As stated there, from the more ancient Samara Culture in the Volga area onwards to the Asian side of the steppe, there are no pigs found. However, the people of the Black Sea steppes then, namely the PIE communities and their European neighbours used to like pigs. If this is an indicator for ethnic identities, the Sintashta and Andronovo having no pigs were totally different from their western neighbours, who were Indo-Europeans.

The existence or non-existence of camel could not be given as an ethnographic characteristic. The camel which cannot survive in the Eurasian steppe is not usually found in the north, except for the Mongolian deserts. It is found more in Turkmenistan, which is like the extension of the Middle East with its more desert-like climate, which developed a manner of nomadism looking more like the Middle Eastern kind.<sup>1280</sup> Therefore, camels are not widely found with Kazakhs, but they are important and fundamental to Turkmens.<sup>1281</sup> Both are Turkic peoples, whose tribal

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<sup>1278</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 395-6.

<sup>1279</sup> Kuzmina, *Otkuda prišli Indoarii?*, 222-3, 266.

<sup>1280</sup> Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 46.

<sup>1281</sup> Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 131, 137.

components separated from each other c. 1200 years ago, but it is not the camel that separated them.

Acquaintance with the horse is not exclusive to Indo-Europeans either, as written above. Dwellers of the Botay Culture which was very far from the surmised PIE homeland in its united period were likely the ones who first domesticated the horse.<sup>1282</sup> Moreover, the people around them knew this very well too.

The use of the war chariot was first seen in 2100 BC by the Sintashtans.<sup>1283</sup> This was not a technological secret and soon it reached the Middle East.<sup>1284</sup> The East Asiatic Okunevo Culture, which emerged chronologically before the Sintashta also had carts.<sup>1285</sup> Above, we have mentioned that the use of the first cart goes back to 3500 BC. The matter that needs to be discussed is not that all peoples who used chariots or carts were Indo-European, but instead, how to separate these people out (“finding features that actually separate different peoples”).

For the horse and fire cults we need to find correspondences from the written sources of the later ages, in accordance with the terms and conditions of Kuzmina. Both could be amply found in the Turks, and on the other hand, they should also be found in the Indo-Iranian or Tocharian entities, and preferably in Europe too. This does not mean that Indo-European speaking peoples were alien to the fire cult. In Chapter 11 we mentioned Hestia of the Greeks. However, I’m not sure of the presence, especially in the Iranian world, of a significant fire cult associated with the oven at home. The communal fire altars in ancient Persian Azerbaijan are not an answer to this question. It is interesting that Kuzmina uses in the Russian version of her book the Turkic word *oĉag* borrowed by Russian, just like *kurgans* are verbalised all over the world with this Turkic word.<sup>1286</sup>

The word *ocak* in Turkic has many more meanings than simply denoting the ‘fire’ or ‘the place where the fire burns’. It is the most valuable thing

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<sup>1282</sup> Barros Dagaard et al., “The First Horse Herders”, 3-4.

<sup>1283</sup> Anthony and Brown, “The Secondary Products Revolution”, 155; and the one who criticises them: Drews, *Early Riders*, 43.

<sup>1284</sup> Drews also had the question in his mind as to how come nomads of the steppes held the information of riding horses for two millennia? As they were riding from 4000 BC onwards and it was only seen in around 2000 BC in the Middle East (Drews, *Early Riders*, 19, 26).

<sup>1285</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 257.

<sup>1286</sup> The fact that most of the words related with a nomadic life and stockbreeding in Persian are Turkic (Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 207) is also meaningful in this course.



for a family, and thus for the society. Significant and sacred societal buildings and institutions are named with that word even today. For instance, *sağlık ocağı*, lit. ‘an oven of health’, but indeed ‘a cottage hospital’; *asker ocağı*, lit. ‘an oven of army’, but indeed ‘the institution of army’. The Turkish National Anthem uses the same word to express continuity of the presence and independence of the nation. For the horse cult among the Turks, I must refer to countless studies on this topic due to lack of space. I do not think there is a better cultural milieu describing man and horse as comrades than that in the Turkic culture. Well, these are cultural elements that might have been borrowed or developed later among the Turks, but all in all the Iranic peoples do not have them in history, or in their surviving culture today, or at least not at the level of the Turks.

To present a livestock herding and agriculture mixed economic structure as an ethnographic feature would suggest that the other nations either did not know stockbreeding or agriculture or both at once. We have already mentioned the travelling of the knowledge of agriculture to Europe. In Central Asia, this was known from 7000 BC onwards.<sup>1287</sup> Even before the Proto-Indo-Europeans emerged, agriculture was known in the Middle East, Central Asia, and Eastern Europe. To connect all these ancient civilisations to the later-coming Indo-Europeans would be in fact to argue that nearly all the people in Eurasia were Indo-Europeans before they emerged as an ethno-linguistic entity.

Another problematic subject is regarding the first great cultural milieu of Central Asia: The Afanasievo Culture which ended in around 2400 BC. As before stated, the problem is its emergence and who owns it. This culture which arrived at the western skirts of the Altay Mountains was immediately given to the Indo-Europeans, because it was a culture of the ‘white people’. The problem, however, is not the colour but the time, because the date of its commencement is constantly being updated to older periods. Nowadays, phrases such as, it started in c. 3000 BC, are not enough,<sup>1288</sup> and dates such as 3700 BC are articulated.<sup>1289</sup> A large group of experts gather around the view that founders of the Afanasievo migrated from the west (for instance, according to Anthony, from the Repin Culture of the lower Volga Basin, and according to Carpellan and Parpola, from

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<sup>1287</sup> Witzel, “*Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Exchange*”, 30.

<sup>1288</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 257.

<sup>1289</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 309; Anthony and Brown, “The Secondary Products Revolution”, 143-4.

the Khvalinsk Culture to the north of it),<sup>1290</sup> and were the ancestors of the later Tocharian people.<sup>1291</sup> On the other hand, they abstain from linking Afanasievo with Yamnaya for chronological reasons.<sup>1292</sup>

Francfort believes, however, that Afanasievo apparently has an ancient local Neolithic basis.<sup>1293</sup> He accuses the experts of the area of neglecting to a great extent the large number of images that are available, because their evidence refutes the standard Indo-European theory, which uses a few selected items.<sup>1294</sup> Underlining that they spoke either Uralic or Altaic, Francfort says that masks and masked, feather-headed or bird-headed anthropomorphic figures connected with monsters are quite frequent in the Afanasievo-Okunevo iconic system, and this is coherent with a vast complex of Asian cultures using masks. The symbolic system of the Afanasievo and Okunevo Cultures is not consistent with the Indo-European hypothesis.<sup>1295</sup>

Tocharians are a people from Eastern Turkistan who left us lingual sources from the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. The application of the name ‘Tochar’ for them is a scholarly reconstruction. They are associated with the Yüeh-chih people who, after taking the last blow from the Huns in the 160s BC in the north of China, migrated to the west. Some of the Yüeh-chih stayed in East Turkistan on the migration road, called by the Chinese the Lesser Yüeh-chih, and the majority went on migrating and arrived in West Turkistan to be the Great Yüeh-chih. Here, they allied with another three Central Asian nations and dismantled the Hellenic Bactrian Kingdom in Afghanistan, as before stated. Early Islamic sources called Northern Afghanistan as ‘Tukharistan’. A Uyghur script says that the text was translated from “Tovrı tili” (the Tovrı language). This name is recognised

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<sup>1290</sup> Dwellers of the Khvalinsk Culture seem to have R1a and R1b (Kozintsev, “Proto-Indo-Europeans”, 327, 330), tying them to their eastern neighbours of Proto-Sintashtans and to the later Yamnaya people.

<sup>1291</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 78-9; idem, “A European Perspective”, 189; Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 264-5, 309-311; Barros Dagaard et al., “The First Horse Herders”, 2; Christian Carpelan and Asko Parpola, “On the Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal of Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Uralic and Proto-Aryan in an Archaeological Perspective”, in *Language and Prehistory of the Indo-European Peoples. A Cross-Disciplinary Perspective*, eds. Adam Hyllested et al. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2017), 79; Parpola, “The Coming of the Aryans to Iran and India”, 235.

<sup>1292</sup> Carpelan and Parpola, “Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal of Proto-Indo-European”, 60. However, genetics does it.

<sup>1293</sup> Francfort, “The Archaeology of Protohistoric Central Asia”, 156.

<sup>1294</sup> Francfort, “The Archaeology of Protohistoric Central Asia”, 157.

<sup>1295</sup> Francfort, “The Archaeology of Protohistoric Central Asia”, 159, 162.

as ‘Tochar’, and the endonym of the people called Yüeh-chih by the Chinese is thought to be that.<sup>1296</sup>

*The Early Han Chronicle* mentions the Eastern Turkistan cities and countries in detail, especially their demographic facts, but there is not even one word of them being the Yüeh-chih, although it says that the nomadic Yüeh-chih were previously living in the area between the westernmost Chinese city Tun-Huang and the Tanrı (Tian-Shan) Mountains. It adds that the ones which could not go to the west while running away from the Huns, stayed in East Turkistan under Tibetan rule.<sup>1297</sup> Thus, the diversity of the ancient population of Eastern Turkistan is an expected case, and one should not think that before the Uyghurs came in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century AD, all of East Turkistan was constituted solely of Tocharians. As the sources found in Hotan show, there were also some Iranic elements in the region, who should have advanced eastward along the southern belt of Central Asia.<sup>1298</sup> Also, the presence of some Turkic elements there before the Uyghur migration is a possibility.<sup>1299</sup>

It seems that the very fragmentary structure of the region back then, with so many city states, promised nothing for the Chinese plans to organise a common attack on the Huns. So, they tried to contact the Great Yüeh-chih in the west, by sending the famous spy Chang Ch’ien, who went there but could not persuade them into a common operation.<sup>1300</sup> However, neither Yüeh-chih survived as an ethnic entity to the later ages and they were assimilated both in Eastern Turkistan and Afghanistan.

The Tocharian scripts were written in two different dialects which were very different from each other and almost impossible to understand, for the other part. To separate the two, the language whose relics were found in Turfan is called ‘Tochar A’ and, the other in Kucha is ‘Tochar B’. These separated from each other about 500 to 1000 years ago.<sup>1301</sup> There are about 750 years between the date of the scripts (the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD as

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<sup>1296</sup> Avodh K. Narain, “Indo-Europeans in Inner Asia”, in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 152; Róna-Tas, *An Introduction to Turkology*, 63.

<sup>1297</sup> *Çin Kaynaklarında Türkler*, 36.

<sup>1298</sup> Narain, “Indo-Europeans in Inner Asia”, 173-174.

<sup>1299</sup> YinQiu Cui et al., “Analysis of the Matrilinial Genetic Structure of Population in the Early Iron Age from Tarim Basin, Xinjiang, China”, *Chinese Science Bulletin* 54, 21 (2009), 3921, found out that the ancient Tarim Basin population is close to the extant Central Asian Turkic peoples, including Uzbeks and Turkmens, as well as the contemporary Uyghur population of the Xinjiang. See also Schmidt and Evteev, “Iron Age Nomads of Southern Siberia”, 141.

<sup>1300</sup> Ssu’ma Ch’ien, *Records of the Grand Historian*, 164-166.

<sup>1301</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 57.

the earliest) and the Yüeh-chih migration (the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC). That is, when they lived in the northwest of China, their language was likely unitary. However, it is hard to comprehend why such a great differentiation was on the scene, since, as a comparable case in the same territory, the Uyghurs living there for 12 centuries have not developed such dialectal differences. This should be well analysed. Narain suggests that Tochar A was most likely a dead language used only in religious ceremonies,<sup>1302</sup> which seems very plausible.

Tocharian is a *centum* group IE language like the Germanic, Celtic and Latin languages, as well as the Anatolian group, in contrast to the eastern Indo-Iranian or Balto-Slavic. The map distribution of the *centum* and *satem* groups exhibits a geographical regularity, however, things are complicated with the easternmost IE language Tocharian.<sup>1303</sup> It is very hard to explain such a migration of a group in the western part of the PIE community to East Asia. Perhaps Renfrew's suggestion that the *centum* form was the original and the *satem* emerged later on in the centre is explanatory,<sup>1304</sup> though his general neglect of linguistic chronologies will always remain a great problem. The case that the Hittite language, for instance, which broke away from the main group at an early age, was of the *centum*, supports this argument of it being original and older. Or perhaps, as Finnic, Ugric, Hungarian and Turkic are also all *satem* languages, that is, they use a \**sat* origin word for the number 'hundred', eastern IE languages belonging to *satem* might have borrowed it from any of those non-IE peoples. This is not out of the realms of possibility.

However, it would be hard to liaise the dating given to the Afanasievo Culture by the archaeological excavations and the linguistic archaeology. We have already quoted that, because the Anatolian IE languages (Hittite, Luwian, Pala) were much further away from the rest of the IE languages, their separation from the Pre-Proto-IE language should have been around 3400 BC. Tocharian is believed, in contrast, to have left the main group in a later stage. If this language kept its contact with the Greco-Armenian and the West European groups after the separation of the Aryan branch,<sup>1305</sup> then, the breakaway of Tocharian should have been just before 2000 BC, and after the separation of the Aryan group c. 2300 BC. Besides, Tocharians had no interaction with the Aryans in the earlier times, but only during the early medieval age. Therefore, we should not have them

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<sup>1302</sup> Narain, "Indo-Europeans in Inner Asia", 152; Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 57.

<sup>1303</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 58.

<sup>1304</sup> Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 108.

<sup>1305</sup> Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, 794.

touching each other during their migrations. In these circumstances, it is impossible to make an association between the Tocharians and the Afanesievo, which ended up in Inner Asia 400 years before the Tocharians set up their migration from Europe. Also, in classical theories, the long-enduring Afanesievo Culture should have had contacts in many ways with the succeeding Andronovo Culture. This surely happened, but if the latter was Indo-Iranian, then, the former cannot be Tocharian, and the two should not have had contact with each other.

Therefore, even if it was not a much later time, such as after 1000 BC as Mallory (previously Frye) suggested,<sup>1306</sup> a separation around 2000 BC, after the Aryan migrations, could be reasonable. Such a late migration would also explain their red hair and green eyes in illustrations, otherwise, a two or three millennia long stay in Inner Asia would be expected to end with the loss of their Europoid features with their intermingling with the local populations (according to the established theories), though isolated environments of the Eastern Turkistan oasis settlements provide the conditions for keeping people's biological features for longer durations than the expected averages.

That is why, it may be better to calculate that the Tocharians entered Asia just before the Aryans started to move eastward, and maybe the latter pushed them further east. There are chronologically close finds to support such a view. For example, there was a migration from the north around 1900 BC to Petrovka near Semerkand,<sup>1307</sup> which is clearly before the Aryan movement. To relate this or a similar migration not necessarily with the Aryans but with the ancestors of the Tocharians could be rational. Anyway, for almost all reasons, Tocharians seem unrelated to the Afanasievo Culture, and this view is supported by the genetic evidence put forward by Hollard et al., who saw no migrations from the Afanasievo area to the Tarim Basin<sup>1308</sup>

The approach of Narain to the Tocharians is related to his suggestion of an IE homeland. Very briefly, they represent the group that stayed at

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<sup>1306</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 61; idem, "A European Perspective", 191. He is in trouble with the chronological problems ("A European Perspective", 189).

<sup>1307</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 428-33.

<sup>1308</sup> Hollard et al., "New Genetic Evidence of Affinities and Discontinuities", 9. Moreover, ancient DNA analysis comprising the early Iron Age of the Tarim Basin, showed that their population genetics agree with those of the extant populations of the region (mainly Uyghurs and Kazakhs), as well as with those in Central Asia, including the Uzbeks and Turkmens (Cui et al., "Analysis of the Matrilineal Genetic Structure", 3920-3922).

home, according to Narain. Thus, *centum* represents the main dialect in the same way. The Yüeh-chih/Tocharians who were kicked out by the joint venture of the Huns and Wu-suns, settled in the upper Amu-Darya courses, and afterwards they invaded Afghanistan with their allies and evolved into the Kushan Empire in India.<sup>1309</sup>

In the previous chapter, we found that of the inherited PIE words of Tocharian, 52 coincide with Turkic. This may be due to, as we stated above, a relatively small lexicon. In any case, their long-enduring Inner Asian stay would be expected to result in a very intensive linguistic relation with Turkic. It does exist, but not in the expected degree, it seems. There are suggestions such as Toch. A *kom*, Toch. B *kaum* ‘sun’ > Tr. *kün* ‘idem’; Proto-Toch. *\*s(a)twēr* ‘four’ > Tr. *tört* ‘idem’; Toch. A *wiki*, Toch. B *ikam* ‘twenty’ > Tr. *yigirmi* ‘idem’.<sup>1310</sup> However, these do not necessarily represent just a Turko-Tocharian level relation, considering that they are shared at the PIE-Turkic level also. Besides, the latter example may represent a Turkic loanword in Tocharian, since only Turkic, and not any other IE language uses *\*ekki/iki for* ‘two’.

Indeed, borrowings from Turkic are widespread in Tocharian<sup>1311</sup> but, as I have said above, I do not think their quantity and quality are sufficient for a millennial-lasting neighbour relationship. That is why, I propose that when the Tocharians split from the PIE community at home, they went to the east through the south of Central Asia, without interacting much with the Turks who were living at those times mostly in the northern belts of Central Asia. Their isolated location in the south of Jungaria might have been a barrier for interaction with the Turks; however, with the rise of the Huns to influence both the north of China and Eastern Turkistan in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, conditions started to change. On the other hand, genetic relations of the Tarim Basin with Andronovo, and the very archaic sight of the Turkic loanwords in Tocharian might point to even earlier dates of interaction.

Maybe we should not exaggerate the Tocharians too much, to suppose a great multitude of people and to give them immense lands. They might have represented a case like the migratory ancestors of the Armenians (language) from the Balkans to Eastern Anatolia. The Tocharians also

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<sup>1309</sup> Narain, “Indo-Europeans in Inner Asia”, 153 ff.

<sup>1310</sup> For Tocharian borrowings in Turkic, the latest, see Anna V. Dybo, “Tjurko-toharskaja kontaktnaja leksika”, in *Aspekty altajskogo jazykoznanija* (Moskva: Ins. Jazykoznanie RAN, 2007), 1-31.

<sup>1311</sup> Dybo, *Hronologija tjurkskih jazykov*, 776-7.

have no genetic components to tie them to Western Eurasia or Europe.<sup>1312</sup> It may be for we identify wrong peoples with the Tocharians. A new study published after I completed this book revealed that genomes of the Tarim basin people in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> millennia, and thus, of the famous Tarim mummies, are related with the Upper Yenisey and Baikal regions. As formulised by the authors, “the material culture and genetic profile of the Tarim mummies from around 2100 BC onwards call into question simplistic assumptions about the link between genetics, culture and language and leave unanswered the question of whether the Bronze Age Tarim populations spoke a form of proto-Tocharian.”<sup>1313</sup> Therefore, supposing a later Tocharian movement c. 1000 BC might be more plausible.

Above, we expressed our wonder that most of the current IE hypotheses on the eastward dispersal are placed at the scene of empty and deserted Central Asian lands. Except for the Proto-Uralic community which was set up just to the north or northeast of the PIE home, as discussed above, it is not the business of the concerning scholars to deal with who were the inhabitants of the northern half of Central Eurasia in those days. Anthony keeps this attitude with an aggregated manner but, also acknowledges that in Western Kazakhstan from 4000 BC onwards, there was a group of horse-riders, stock breeders, and blacksmiths; apart from the BMAC people in westernmost Central Asia. According to him, they were not Indo-Europeans and, were the ancestors of people who formed the Botay-Terseke Culture in North Kazakhstan. As the Sergeika excavations showed, they were working with metal from at least 2800-2600 BC onwards.<sup>1314</sup>

It is understood that underneath this generalisation of the author, there lies the feature of not being Indo-European. In his terms, in the South Urals, there is an area of dispersal of the Indo-Iranians, that is, there was an X people there before the so-called IE dispersal. So, what is there in our hands to separate those two peoples in the South Urals and North

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<sup>1312</sup> David Comas et al., “Admixture, Migrations, and Dispersals in Central Asia: Evidence from Maternal DNA Lineages”, *European Journal of Human Genetics* 12 (2004), 502.

<sup>1313</sup> Fan Zhang et al., “The Genomic Origins of the Bronze Age Tarim Basin Mummies”, *Nature* (2021), 5.

<sup>1314</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 388-9. However, the genes of the Botay Culture dwellers who were to the east of Sintashta and emerged in much earlier times, also do not match with the Afanasievo people that came to the Altay area from somewhere in the west. This was explained by them passing by, and not interacting with the Botay people (Barros Dagaard et al., “The First Horse Herders”, 4).

Kazakhstan? One of the dynamics that made the Sintashta culture expand to such immense lands to produce the Andronovo Culture could be the ethnic affiliation of those peoples.<sup>1315</sup> The genetic data of these successor and predecessor cultures match up; they further show an association with the Yamnaya Culture, but not with the Indic and Iranic populations that descended from the Aryans, as above stated.<sup>1316</sup>

Before coming on to the Andronovo, it is appropriate to look at some results of Witzel, who revealed and identified some vocabulary that he believes to be a legacy of the Kelteminar cultural environment. The latter was almost completely wiped out 3700 years ago in the aftermath of the Aryan invasions and its writing is yet to be understood/read; simply, we do not currently know the language. Of the words Witzel found, *\*gur* ‘wheat’ that passed from the Burushaski to Aryan<sup>1317</sup> could be compared to Turkic *bulgur* (term used for wheat which is processed in a certain way). Again, from the same source, the verb *\*bhiṣ-* ‘to heal’ coincides with Turkic *piṣ-* ‘to be cooked’. The verb was mentioned above, regarding the similarities between Turkic and PIE. Another word is *pard* ‘leopard’,<sup>1318</sup> that would match with the Turkic *pars* ‘idem’. We dealt with this Turkic word above, as it occurs in Herodotus.

If these suggestions of mine are correct and, if these words are not Turkic borrowings from the Kelteminar Culture via an Indo-European intermediation, then, this would mean a kind of relation, genetic or geographic, between the ancestors of Turks and dwellers of the Kelteminar environment. A good candidate for this relation would be the people of Northern Kazakhstan before the IE dispersal, which Anthony relates to the Botay and, which I saw as the kindreds of the Sintashtans. On the other hand, the styles of the Kelteminar relics look like those of the Neolithic cultures of South Urals and Western Siberia.<sup>1319</sup>

Since the South Uralian population spread eastward during the Afanasievo days, it is not difficult to set up a connection between the BMAC and Altay areas. Francfort observes an integrity in the iconography from Bactria to the Altay and marks them as non-Indo-European.<sup>1320</sup> This might also have had genetic dimensions. A male of the upper strata from

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<sup>1315</sup> Sintashta and Andronovo males belonged mostly to the R1a clades (Hollard et al., “New Genetic Evidence of Affinities and Discontinuities, 9).

<sup>1316</sup> Reich, “Ancient DNA Suggests Steppe Migrations”, 54.

<sup>1317</sup> Witzel, “*Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Exchange*”, 31-2.

<sup>1318</sup> Witzel, “*Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Exchange*”, 55.

<sup>1319</sup> Kozintsev, “Proto-Indo-Europeans”, 339.

<sup>1320</sup> Francfort, “The Archaeology of Protohistoric Central Asia”, 163.



the Pazyryk Age (4<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC) belonged to haplogroup HV2, whose major distribution area is the same as the BMAC region.<sup>1321</sup>

As said before, the Andronovo Culture, which is the most renowned formation of Eurasian prehistoric ages, in fact represents the advanced phase in which Sintashta and other sister-cultures such as Petrovka spread to the south and east. From its core area on the upper Tobol River, Sintashta expanded eastwards across the northern steppes into the old Botay region.<sup>1322</sup> Perhaps the expansion of grasslands as a result of climatic changes was a stimulus in this process of dispersal.<sup>1323</sup> The Andronovo started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century BC and ended in the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC, and included almost the whole of Central Asia up to the skirts of the mountainous south, except for the ancient Kelteminar zone in today's Turkmenistan. All of this dispersal area is not considered as one culture, but a coming together of local cultures which adopted the Andronovo features.<sup>1324</sup> Although it spread along the South Siberian belt, it did not enter the Taiga area of Siberia.<sup>1325</sup> This may be due to the lifestyle and cultural unity of the bearers of the Andronovo Culture.

It was not just the Sintashta Culture, however, that was spreading in the steppe. The Seymo-Turbino Culture right to the west of the Altay which had wonderful metal craftwork, and was clearly a sibling of the earlier Afanasievo Culture also started pushing to the west.<sup>1326</sup> The Botay Culture or its southern extensions, which were quite distinct from Yamnaya and Sintashta,<sup>1327</sup> were sandwiched between them. We quoted the genetic results showing that the Sintashta and Afanasievo were tied to each other, though not directly, but Botay was distinct. The latter was likely a Paleo-Siberian people, if not Samoyedic. Furthermore, at the end,

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<sup>1321</sup> A. S. Pilipenko and V. Kobzev, "Mitochondrial DNA Studies of the Pazyryk People (4<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> Centuries BC) from Northwestern Mongolia", *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 2 (2010), 234-235.

<sup>1322</sup> Anthony, "Persistent Identity", 26.

<sup>1323</sup> Jeong et al., "A Dynamic 6,000-year Genetic History", 893.

<sup>1324</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 435 ff.

<sup>1325</sup> Okladnikov, "Inner Asia at the Dawn of History", 83.

<sup>1326</sup> Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies*, 30. The Seymo-Turbino Culture is also seen as the culture of Sintashtan migrants who were lured by the mines in the Altay area (Carpelan and Parpola, "On the Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal", 84). This is evidenced by the craniofacial variations of the Tagar and Pazyryk populations, which have Western Eurasian connections through the Y haplogroup R1a1 (Schmidt and Evteev, "Iron Age Nomads of Southern Siberia", 144-145). The Seymo-Turbino also spread to Eastern Siberia (Okladnikov, "Inner Asia at the Dawn of History", 83).

<sup>1327</sup> Anthony, "Persistent Identity", 25.

the Seymo-Turbino environment too, replaced its own characteristic features with those of the Andronovo to produce a cultural unity throughout the northern steppe belt.<sup>1328</sup>

We may reconstruct such a picture in accordance with the genetic evidence: The Proto-Sintashta population of the South Urals exported a significant part of its population towards the steppe and expelled their cousins in the steppe to more eastern areas to create the Afanasievo cultural formation at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC. Later, towards the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium, the Sintashta culture in the west and the Seymo-Turbino culture descending from the Afanasievo in the east, started expanding simultaneously, and the South Siberian belt and the Kazak steppes attained an almost ethno-linguistic unity. The movement of the Andronovo Culture or the aggrandised Sintashta to South Siberia is dated between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>1329</sup> In that course, this migration wave strongly influenced the gene pool of the Baraba population, which was stable before that for a millennium, in the transitional period from the Bronze to the Early Iron Age.<sup>1330</sup>

Above, we underlined the comment that the watery and fertile land in the South Ural area should have triggered a population growth from 2400 BC on, first to compensate the Kurganci migrations to Europe (24<sup>th</sup> century BC) and then to produce the necessary human source for enabling the Andronovo expansion (19<sup>th</sup> century BC). Or, Proto-Sintashtans did not likely go to Europe, but their pressure on the parts of the steppe held by the Afanasievo related folk, together with the newly emerging Okunevo pressure from the east in the same days, caused a great number of the Afanasievo people to migrate to Europe, since their genes are shared with the Yamnaya population. Therefore, with the whole of the Andronovo field not necessarily being from one ethnic root, one should see the Sintashta expansion all the way to the Kazakh steppes not only as a cultural transmission, but also as an application of the advance wave model, containing the exodus from their own homes. Thus, the Southern Ural field was densely populated throughout the whole Bronze Age but,

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<sup>1328</sup> Molodin et al., “Migrations in the South of the West Siberian Plain during the Bronze Age”, 101.

<sup>1329</sup> Okladnikov, “Inner Asia at the Dawn of History”, 84.

<sup>1330</sup> Molodin et al., “Migrations in the South of the West Siberian Plain during the Bronze Age”, 105. R1a is not the only connection between the South Urals and Altays. Haplogroup U5a1 particular to the former area has also been found in the Pazyryk skeletons (Pilipenko and Kobzev, “Mitochondrial DNA Studies of the Pazyryk People”, 234).

around the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, it began to drop.<sup>1331</sup> The chronology is well suited to the Andronovo expansion.

Genetic studies prove this almost universal case: Migration of a considerable population and intermingling with the local population. After the Andronovo elements settled in the Southwest Siberian plains just in the earliest waves of their expansion, we find four kinds of craniological types, three of them belonging to the migrants of the Palaeo-Caucasian type, and one belonging to the local Mongoloid population.<sup>1332</sup>

The Andronovo expansion also explains very well the situation and location of the Aryans who were, at that time, to the east of the Caspian and, flowed into today's Iran and India. After the unsuccessful Sintashtan wars which happened around 2100 BC, this large warrior multitude slid to the south of the Aral Lake around the 18<sup>th</sup> century BC. By dismantling firstly, the cultures in Turkmenistan and Afghanistan, and then in Pakistan, they started to settle in those areas. The Sintashtans who had defended their lands, were relieved after the Aryans left to go south. The combination of good weather and these stable surroundings brought cultural progression, having good technical fundamentals. One can only guess at this point whether it was the Sintashtan pressure after they increased their force or the Aryans' search for new lands and boons that pushed the Aryans to the south (and southeast). Anyway, the Iranic Central Asia that was confined to the western and southern shores of this continent-like region in the early medieval does not seem very different even at the beginnings of the Indo-Iranian presence there.<sup>1333</sup>

In this way, with the rise of the Andronovo to expand to the east of the lower Volga, the connection of Aryans with the Indo-European mass in the north of the Black Sea was completely cut off. Aryans probably spoke a

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<sup>1331</sup> Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies*, 30. The population in the area started increasing once again from the 6<sup>th</sup> century (*idem*, 30) onwards, as we quoted in Chapter 10, to relate it to the Sarmatian expansion. Hence, following the times of increasing populaces would take us to fewer faulty outcomes.

<sup>1332</sup> Molodin et al., "Migrations in the South of the West Siberian Plain", 101.

<sup>1333</sup> Lalueza-Fox et al. point out the consequences of the lack of relation between the Aryans and the steppe, in reference to Bamshad et al. 2001: "The only sequence of Indian origin that was observed, belonging to the M4 haplogroup, originates from a site in the south of Kazakhstan. This fact could correspond to an independent Indo-Iranian genetic infusion into the steppes" (C. Lalueza-Fox et al., "Unravelling Migrations in the Steppe: Mitochondrial DNA Sequences from Ancient Central Asians", *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 271 (2004), 945). Comas et al., too, defines the sequences of Indian origin as 'a tiny fraction' ("Admixture, Migrations, and Dispersals in Central Asia", 501).

common language until 1800 BC.<sup>1334</sup> After this, they separated into two arms which we call today as Iranian and Indic. The Sanskrit words in the tongue of the ruling class of Hurri-Mitanni state in the Middle East between 1500 and 1300 BC, make one think that this separation happened even before this date. It seems more likely that the Proto-Indo-Iranian language was the early form of Sanskrit and, that the Iranian branch represents a deviation from this. Thus, we see at a very early age such as the 17<sup>th</sup> century BC, forms which are prescribed to Sanskrit. Anthony claims that the Indic branch emerged in the contact zones of Central Asia.<sup>1335</sup> This would mean that they were more in front of the migratory mass (and thus they have the stories of war with the Sintashtans), and the group that formed the Iranian languages were more to the back. Hence, the coming of the latter from Westernmost Turkistan to Iran was much later (around 1000 BC) than the arrival of other Aryan groups to India.<sup>1336</sup>

To identify the group that was more in front, closer to the Sintashtan front and to the Western Kazakh steppes, Sanskrit would help to explain the abundance of Sanskrit loanwords in Proto-Turkic. Décsy found 4585 Old Turkic words descending from Proto-Turkic, and recognised 313 foreign words. Of those, he attributes 166 to Sanskrit, 28 to Persian and 28 to Sogdian.<sup>1337</sup> These Sanskrit words do not contain those Buddhist vocabularies of the early Middle Ages. Since the Turks did not have direct cultural relations with India in the known periods, the means for this interaction should be located to earlier times. Such a great number as 166, exactly half of all the foreign words, forces us to look for circumstances to put Indo-Aryans and Proto-Turks in an adjacent territory for a plausible duration. This could only be between the split of the Aryan branch from the PIE core and the settlement of the Indo-Aryans in India. Thus, it seems, we have to put some elements of Proto-Turks in western parts of the Kazakh steppes and preferably in the South Urals to provide the conditions for such an encounter.

As for the results of Décsy, claiming that only 85 of the foreign words in Proto-Turkic came from Chinese, these are very engrossing. And those Chinese borrowings have not survived to the contemporary Turkic languages to a great degree. Décsy himself potentially attributes the reason for their fading to maybe only the highest class of the society of that day

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<sup>1334</sup> Carpelan and Parpola, “On the Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal”, 83; Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 408.

<sup>1335</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 454.

<sup>1336</sup> Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, 814.

<sup>1337</sup> Gyula Décsy, *The Turkic Protolanguage: A Computational Reconstruction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 90.

knowing and using these words.<sup>1338</sup> Even so, this number is actually quite low compared to the Sanskrit and Iranian borrowings, considering the long ages of interaction of Turks with the Chinese mainly during the Hunnic, Kōk Türk, and Uyghur periods, and considering that we have the Old Turkic records from the easternmost Turks, and not from the ‘West Turkic’, which did not leave considerable linguistic relics, and is expected to have had even more Indo-Iranian and fewer Chinese elements absorbed into the language. Neither the quantity nor quality of the Chinese origin words in Turkic is enough to assert such a theory that Turks emerged in the east of the Altays, just in the neighbourhood of China. The Turkic Urheimat should and must be away from China and be sought within the Andronovo framework.

Despite that, the evidence from the chronologies and interconnections of the Eurasian pre-historic cultures do not allow to develop such ideas as prescribing Iranian (and not even ‘Indo-Iranian’) affiliations to the Andronovo culture. It is greatly held in the scholarly world that the bearers of the Andronovo Culture that filled the immense area between the Volga banks and the Altay region in the E-W direction, and the South Siberian belt and the mountain ranges separating Central Asia from India in N-S direction, were Iranian peoples. It is interesting that there is no modelling for such a dispersal, but only a pre-acceptance. I know only one noteworthy exception. In the article he wrote in 2002, Lamberg-Karłowski asked a simple question: If the Andronovo people were Aryans, why did they have no cultural similarity with their contemporary Indo-Iranians, whom we know to be certainly Aryans? Or was the Andronovo Culture which had many sub-cultures completely Aryan?<sup>1339</sup>

In the postface of the same article, Mallory objected to this by saying that it would be impossible for the Andronovo people to be Turkic as at the time the whole steppe was filled with Aryans. He believed that he made everything clear with this explanation.<sup>1340</sup> But, what we need to learn is how the whole steppe was full of them, and how do we know that they were Aryans? Anthony, on the other hand, as if he had not read the criticism of Lamberg-Karłowski to Kuzmina at the beginning of the article, said that the Sintashta-Andronovo and Rigveda-Avesta Cultures had similarities; stockbreeding was important to both of them, ‘milk and honey’ were seen as a symbol of wealth, they sacrificed cattle and horses, used carts, and blessed the war.<sup>1341</sup> These ethnographic features which

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<sup>1338</sup> Décsy, *The Turkic Protolanguage*, 90.

<sup>1339</sup> Lamberg-Karłowski, “Archaeology and Language”, 74.

<sup>1340</sup> Lamberg-Karłowski, “Archaeology and Language”, 79.

<sup>1341</sup> Lamberg-Karłowski, “Archaeology and Language”, 75.

were ‘not seen’ in other peoples, hint at the logic of Anthony’s approach to the matter of Indo-European expansion in his own book written a few years later.

However, when the topic is the real distinctive features, i.e., the differences in the concerning material cultures, Mallory himself noted that the Andronovo was different from Indo-Europeans, especially the grey pots exclusive to the latter were not found in the steppes.<sup>1342</sup> He explained the reason for this divergence with the Harappa Culture in the Indus valley influencing the Andronovo people and changing them.<sup>1343</sup> It is difficult to understand how the Aryans who entered this culture in Pakistan and destroyed it were not affected, but their relatives living far away in the Kazak steppes were affected. Well, various societies may have various responses to cultural flows. Furthermore, the Andronovo started around the 19<sup>th</sup> century BC, its arrival to the southern plains of Turkistan took four centuries, and the Harappa Culture disappeared as of the 17<sup>th</sup> century BC. The chronology of events does not explicitly permit such a relation between the Harappa Culture and the steppe.

Accepting the Andronovo, and thus the succeeding Scythian and Sarmatian realms as Indo-Iranian formations would mean that either Turks expelled them from Central Asia or Turkic replaced their language(s) in the AD periods. The second does not seem to be the case as the Indo-Iranian-speaking populations have great genetic differences; otherwise, it would have been reflected among the Turks or ‘Turkified Indo-Iranians’. However, genetic diversity is lower among the Turks.<sup>1344</sup> So, history, archaeology and other usable sciences should explain how and when the few Turks expelled the ‘great’ Iranic population from its Central Asian lands.<sup>1345</sup> Or, what is more plausible, the Andronovo was a Proto-Turkic culture as shown by all the above evidence.

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<sup>1342</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 263.

<sup>1343</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 265.

<sup>1344</sup> Begoña Martínez-Cruz et al., “In the Heartland of Eurasia: The Multilocus Genetic Landscape of Central Asian Populations” *European Journal of Human Genetics* 19 (2011), 221-222, explain it with the Turks having a more recent common origin compared to the Indo-Iranians. See also B. Yunusbayev et al., “The Genetic Legacy of the Expansion of Turkic-Speaking Nomads across Eurasia”, *PLoS Genetics* 11, 4 (2015), 14.

<sup>1345</sup> Genetics does not say precisely when westward expansions of the Turks began: Martínez-Cruz et al., “In the heartland of Eurasia”, 216. Referring to them, Palstra and his colleagues guess that it should have been well before the Turko-Mongolic expansions in the medieval: Palstra et al., “Statistical Inference on Genetic Data”, 1417. But here is a contradiction in their modelling, according to which, subsequent westward migrating peoples may have been more easily absorbed into already

Mallory says that the interface between the evidence of the comparative linguistics and the (pre)historical sciences of archaeology or ancient DNA analysis is already fragile enough.<sup>1346</sup> In our proposal, comparative linguistics agrees with archaeology and genetics, and the three support and explain the known historical periods and the known ethnological structures of the concerning regions and domains. And again, Mallory says: “Over time we have come to know more and more and that our earlier, simpler, and more alluring narratives of Indo-European origins and dispersal are all falling victim to our increasing knowledge.”<sup>1347</sup> Now, we know more, and it is time to leave those old-fashioned theories which were developed back then based on narrower data and perspectives.

All in all, I want to emphasise the case of glottochronology against geno-chronology. For instance, the mutation R1a < R1 is estimated to have happened 25,000 years ago.<sup>1348</sup> It predates the ages of the Eurasiatic or Nostratic, if all the concerning languages stem from one and the same source in accordance with these theories. This means, it would be possible for all populations of Indo-European, Uralic, Altaic, etc., to bear the same ancestral haplotype(s). Thus, we cannot be confident *a priori* to assign a haplotype to a certain people or linguistic family. In our case, however, R1a and R1b entered Europe after a certain date, which can easily be equated and connected with the entrance of the Kurganci peoples. It is not wrong at the first glance to associate them with the Indo-Europeans, but not all IE peoples bear it (especially the Anatolian group which had separated from the PIE body earlier than the arrival date of the Kurgancis to Eastern Europe, as well as the Greeks, Italics, and perhaps Illyrians and Indo-Iranians).<sup>1349</sup> That the presence of R clades in Europe can be easily linked to the CWC heritage (mainly Germanic and Balto-Slavic, as well as the Celtic masses) shows that it was likely borrowed from outside the IE community, mostly through the male lines. Therefore, the original carriers of R1a and R1b, namely the South Uralian population, do not seem to be Indo-Europeans. On the other hand, the common and widespread presence of the R clades among the Turkic populations enables us to tie them with the South Uralians.

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present nomadic populations, possibly due to a similarity in cultural practices (*idem*, 1417). If the Central Asian steppes were full of Iranian nomads, then they should have assimilated the westward migrating nomadic or nomadising Turks.

<sup>1346</sup> Mallory, “Twenty-First Century Clouds over Indo-European Homelands”, 148.

<sup>1347</sup> Mallory, “Twenty-First Century Clouds over Indo-European Homelands”, 152.

<sup>1348</sup> Underhill et al., “The Phylogenetic and Geographic Structure”, 130; Haak, “Massive Migration from the Steppe”, 208.

<sup>1349</sup> Haak, “Massive Migration from the Steppe”, 210.

## CHAPTER 15

### OLD TURK FATHER WAS A FARMER

Golden analysed the lexical material of Turkic relating to the topography, flora and fauna to detect clues for the location of the primordial homeland of Turks, by fulfilling the will of H. Eren.<sup>1350</sup> I want to cite him directly:

It was located in a cold, northerly climate, subject to snow (*kar*), hail (*toli*), ice (*buz*), fog (*tuman*) and rain (*yağ-* ‘to rain’), one in which “whirlwinds” of snow (or sand, *kasırka*, *kasırku*) were not unknown. There were “snow storms” (*tipü* or *tüpi*, *kâd* > *kay*, *borâğan*) as well as other forms of extreme, inclement weather. It was a land of mountains (*tağ*, *kır*), massive rocks or rock piles (*korum*), cliffs (*kaya*), forests and dense thickets (*orman*, *yış*), groves of woods or thickets (*bük*) around flowing water valleys (*öz*), ravines (*yar*), flatlands and plains or steppes (*yazi*, *çayır*), with sand (*kum*) in some places, swamps or saltmarshes (*kak*) in others and traversed by rivers (*ögüz*, *yırmaq* ‘big river’, *özen* ‘brook’) and lakes (*köl*). Larger bodies of water were not unknown (*teniz/tengiz* ‘sea’, *talay* ‘ocean, sea’). The area had an abundance of ‘wild game’ (*keyik*, e.g. *elig* ‘roe’, *buğu* ‘(male) deer’, *sığın* ‘stag’, *buñğak/muyğak/mungak* ‘female of *sığın*’, *ıvık* ‘gazelle’, *yegeren* ‘antelope’, *bulan* ‘elk’, *kulan* ‘wild ass/onager’, *tonguz* ‘wild boar’, *arkar* ‘mountain sheep/ram’, *teyiñ* ‘squirrel’, *kođan*, *tabuřkan* ‘hare’, *kiř* ‘sable’, *kama* ‘beaver’, *tilkü* ‘fox’, as well as predatory animals such as lions (*arslan*), tigers (*bars*) and panthers (*irbiř*, *yolbars*). There is an extensive vocabulary for domesticated animals, closely tied to the pastoral nomadic economy followed by the Proto-Turks: horses (*at* as well as *ađır* ‘stallion’, *bé*, *biye* ‘mare’, *kasrak* ‘young mare’, *baytal* ‘barren mare’, *kulun* “colt up to two years of age”, etc.), cattle (*ıud*), cows (*iñek*, *sıđır* ‘milk-cow’), oxen (*öküz*), rams and sheep (*koç*, *koyn*, *kozi* ‘lamb’), camels (*teve*, *buğra* ‘male camel’, *ingen* ‘female camel’), asses (*eřkek*), swine (*çuçka*), dogs (*ıyt*, *köpek*, *kançık* ‘bitch’, *eker* ‘wolfhound’), cats (*piřik*, *çetük*, *maçı*). There are also numerous words for different kinds of falcons (*toyğan* [*toğan*], *laçın*, *toğrı*), some of which were probably trained by humans for hunting and other birds (e.g. *bürküt* ‘golden eagle’), reptiles, fish and insects. There is also a rich vocabulary for trees (*terek* ‘poplar’, *toğarak* ‘white poplar’, *emen* ‘oak’, *kađın* ‘birch’, *kađı* ‘pine’, *böř*

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<sup>1350</sup> Eren, “Türklerin Ana Yurdu Sorunu”, 687.



‘cedar’, *kebrüç* ‘ash tree’, \**yerük* ‘alder’ as well as berry-bearing trees, plants, etc., cf. *yımurt* ‘cherry-tree’, grains (*tariğ* ‘cereals, millet’, *yögür* ‘millet’, *koňak* ‘coarse millet’, *buğday* ‘wheat’, *arpa* ‘barley’, etc.) attesting a familiarity with agriculture (*tarlağ* ‘ploughed field’, *azal* ‘wooden plough’, *sarpan* ‘plough’, *orğak* ‘scythe’, etc.).<sup>1351</sup>

This proposition is actually commonly used in researches on finding homelands of peoples. It was applied for most of the branches of the large language families. If a people, and consequently its language emerged in a place, the language should have appropriate words to explain the animals, plants, weather and any reality of that geography. For example, Turkic has a word for fagus (a type of tree), but not for date palm. There is not a Turkic word for giraffe either. Thus, ancestors of the Turks did not see that animal. On the other hand, we cannot expect to find words for snow storms in languages close to the equator.

Golden chooses the territory to the east of the Mongolian steppes, namely Manchuria as the best alternative suitable for such a vocabulary, apparently under the influence of the Altaic theory, though he often shares sceptical approaches too about it in his various other works. Such a location would necessitate closer ties not only with Mongolian, but also with Manchu-Tungus, if not Korean, and a destined intimate relation with Chinese would leave its traces in Proto and Old Turkic, as it happened in those other ‘Altaic’ languages. As explained in the previous chapters, we do not have this kind of intimate relationship with these languages. Furthermore, familiarity with agriculture is expected to end up with abundant correspondences in agricultural terminology among the mentioned languages. We need to elaborate them to see if this is the case.

Bülent Gül wrote a very good doctoral dissertation on agricultural words in Old Turkic.<sup>1352</sup> Besides, I got the book of Tenišev et al. published in Moscow (2006). Dr. Gül dedicated the first chapter of his thesis to the geography of those terms; however, he tried to suit the vocabulary to a predetermined location, the East Eurasian steppes, and thus there are many shortfalls. We should look for lands for the words, and not vice versa. These are the Old Turkic terms related to agriculture picked up from Gül’s thesis:

Agricultural verbs: *tari-* ‘to plough the field, to cultivate’ , *äk-* ‘to plant, to cultivate’, *sür-* ‘to plough the field’, *sabanla-* ‘to plough’, *aktar-* ‘to dig ground for planting/cultivating’, *anukka ber-* ‘to get field ready for

<sup>1351</sup> Golden, “Ethnogenesis in the Tribal Zone”, 89-91.

<sup>1352</sup> Bülent Gül, “Eski Türk Tarım Terimleri”, unpublished doctoral study (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2004), various pages.

cultivation', *ota-* 'to weed out', *saç-* '(seed) to shed', *kämiş-* 'to shed, to spill', *kıylat-* "to fertilise with horse dung", *tüzäklä-* 'to fertilise', *suwa-* '(ground) to irrigate', *arıklan-* 'channelling', *kırla-* '(water channel) to dig', *büt-/bit-* 'to sprout, seed starting to come out from the earth', *bış-/biş-* 'to grow, to mature', *ün-* 'to sprout (for a plant)', *uruyla-* 'to separate from the seed', *yetil-* 'to grow, to mature', *köyül-* 'to mature', *biç-/biç-* 'to saw, to mow', *or-* 'to saw, to mow', *sawur-* 'to hurl, to fork (the harvest, the batch)', *yelär-* '(wheat, etc.) to hurl in the wind', *tögül-* 'to blend, to batch', *ögi-* 'to grind', *tart-* 'to grind in a mill', *algä-* 'to sift', *yıy-* 'to pile the crop'.

Agricultural words: *tarıyçı* 'farmer, planter, harvester', *äkinçi* 'farmer, harvester', *sabançı* 'ploughman, farmer', *tägirmençi* 'mill man', *ögitçi* 'grinder man', *tarıylay* 'farm, field', *äkinlik* 'farm, field', *orun* 'cropland, field', *ähiz* 'field left for fallow', *örtgün* 'blending place', *hirmen/hurman* 'threshing place', *indir/ırdın* 'threshing place', *oru (öru?)/örü* "the hole dug for preserving wheat, turnip, etc.", *ügürlük* "the place where the wheat is kept", *tarıyly* 'wheat warehouse', *amaç* 'plough, farming equipment', *saban*, *bukursı* 'wooden plough', *türü* 'digging fork', *arık* 'stream, canal, brook', *oryak* 'sickle', *baştar* 'sickle', *dibek*, *dögen* 'tool used in threshing', *kondıy* 'tool used for threshing', *sokyu/soku* 'maul/mallet of the mortar', *tövgüç* 'maul/mallet of the mortar', *yaba*, *keli* 'wheat mortar', *savırğaç/savragıç* "tool used for hurling the crops", *tägirmen* 'mill', *koyuş* 'water hole, mill hole', *oluk*, *tayar* 'sack', *tayarçuk/tayarçık* "a small sack where one puts wheat, etc."

Agricultural names: *tarıy* 'grain, corn', *äkin* 'grain, cereal', *uruy* 'seed; harvest', *äbin* ~ *ävin* 'grain piece', *arpa*, *başak*, *bulyur*, *buğday*, *konak* 'corn, maize', *tügi* ~ *tügü* 'corn, maize', *tobun* 'cut wheat', *tuturyan* 'rice', *ügür* 'corn', *uçuk* 'strawed wheat', *yarma*, *yasmuk* 'lentil', *käpöz* 'cotton', *pamuk*, *käntir/kändir* 'cannabis', *kätän* 'linen', *bägni* "a drink made from wheat, maize, etc.", *boza*, *suwsuş* "drink made from wheat and rice", *kavık* 'bran', *käbäk* 'bran', *käwük* 'straw', *talkan* 'flour, roasted grain', *banak* (*mayak*) 'manure', *kıy/kık* 'manure', *tärs* 'manure, dung', *tüzäk* 'dung, turd'.

Savelyev lists Proto-Turkic agricultural vocabulary as cereals: *\*darıg* 'corn (millet?)', *\*ügür* 'millet', *\*arpa* 'barley', *\*bugday* 'wheat', *\*konak* 'millet'; grain production: *\*urug* 'seed', *\*ebin* 'grain (seed)', *\*(i)un* 'flour', *\*tögi* 'millet groats', *\*etmek* 'bread'; pulses: *\*burçak* 'bean, pea', *\*yasmık* 'lentils'; vegetables: *\*sogan* 'onion'; tools and technology: *\*or-* 'to reap, to harvest (a crop)' > *\*orlag* 'sickle', *\*kētmen* 'hoe, mattock', *\*sa(r)pan* 'plough', *\*ek-* 'to sow', *\*tırmak* 'harrow', *\*kerki* 'adze,

mattock’, *\*tari-* ‘to cultivate (ground)’,<sup>1353</sup> underlining that such non-derived verbs as *\*ek-* ‘to sow’, *\*or-* ‘to reap, to harvest (a crop)’ and *\*tari-* ‘to cultivate (ground)’, an abundance in the names for cereals, definitely point to a tradition of agriculture in the Proto-Turkic community.<sup>1354</sup>

These are words recorded before the 12<sup>th</sup> century. There is also a long list of words from after the 12<sup>th</sup> century which one may argue were used in older times as well, because of their distribution in many Turkic languages. Some words here, such as *harman* and *amaç*, are visibly foreign words but, it is seen that Turkic has more than enough words for an agricultural society. This means that the proto-language emerged in an area where agriculture was being practised. Farming being learnt from others does not necessarily mean that the related words were imported. For example, ‘wheat’ was found in nature, so people could have named it before they started farming wheat or cannabis. However, when a new good comes to a certain place, it usually comes with its name as well, such as ‘tomato’ and ‘potato’ from the New World.

The non-borrowed agricultural terms of Turkic would point to the geography in which the Proto-Turkic society lived. I would add bees and honey to the above list, which have been effectively used by the modern generation of scholars for the same purposes in Indo-European and Uralic studies. The next chapter will be about these for Turkic. Besides, there are some fruit names like *alma* ‘apple’, *üzüm* ‘grapes’, *aluç* ‘hawthorn’, *erük* ‘plum’ and *yigde* ‘silverberry’. They altogether point to a place with some cold weather and a fair amount of wetland where agriculture can be practised. This, in fact, makes our job a lot easier in the Asian circumstances. There were not many places that were like this. Indeed, it seems, we have only two alternatives: Manchuria and the South Urals.

Well, East Asia is home to one of the world’s nine homelands of agriculture, and thus Robbeets wants to apply the advance wave model or the language-farming dispersal hypothesis for the Altaic languages (virtually only for Turkic).<sup>1355</sup> Manchuria really responds well to the

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<sup>1353</sup> Alexander Savelyev, “Farming-Related Terms in Proto-Turkic and Proto-Altaic”, in *Language Dispersal beyond Farming*, eds. M. Robbeets and A. Savelyev (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2017), 133.

<sup>1354</sup> Savelyev, “Farming-Related Terms in Proto-Turkic and Proto-Altaic”, 133, 140. Dybo surveys some plant names in Proto-Turkic, but her standard is to have Altaic equivalences, and thus she too fails to find reliable correspondences: Anna V. Dybo, “Bazı Otsu Bitki Adlarının Ana Türkçe Arketipleri ve Ana Altayca Kökleri”, *VI. Uluslararası Türk Dili Kurultayı Bildirileri 20-25 Ekim 2008* (Ankara: TDK, 2013), various pages.

<sup>1355</sup> Robbeets, “Proto-Trans-Eurasian: Where and When?”, 20.

universal criteria that the highest frequencies of populations and language families are found at low latitudes with the second mode at mid-latitudes ~40-45° and it is thanks to the agricultural capabilities of the lands here.<sup>1356</sup> However, the agricultural terminology of the ‘Altaic’ world does not seem to stem from a common root. Proto-Turkic *arpa* ‘barley’ is a loan in Mongol, Tungus and Japanese, whereas wheat is loaned from Indo-European to Tungus, Korean and Japanese, if true, and not to Turkic and Mongol.<sup>1357</sup> Cf. in this discourse, horse is in Chinese, Korean, Mongol, etc., from Indo-European, if true, but not in Turkic.<sup>1358</sup>

Robbeets compares Proto-Turkic *\*sür(ü)*- ‘to rub, smear’ with Proto-Tungus *\*suru-* ‘to grind’ and Proto-Japanese *\*sura-* ‘to grind, rub’ (then to reach *\*suru-* ‘to grind’ in ‘Proto-Trans-Eurasian’ (PTEA)).<sup>1359</sup> However, that meaning of the Turkic verb is restricted to Turkey, and its original meaning is ‘to drive away, to drive on’.<sup>1360</sup> Even if there is such an eventual proto-word going deep into ‘Altaic’ and meaning ‘to have st. touched st. other’, it is not necessarily classified as an agricultural term. Likewise, she compares PT *\*pö:r-* ‘to plait, weave’ (Old Turkic *ör-* ‘to plait (hair or other fibers)’ ) with Proto-Japanese *\*ora-* ‘to weave’ to reach PTEA *\*pö:rə-* ‘to weave’,<sup>1361</sup> which is a good equation, but I’m not sure that we should add *\*p-* before all vowels. The problem is, however, that people do not need to wait to learn about agriculture in order to start weaving something. That is, its inclusion in agricultural terminology is not certain. Her examination of PT *\*yik-* ‘to crush, demolish, destroy’ (< PTEA *\*niku-* ‘to crush, knead’)<sup>1362</sup> among agricultural terms is by no means acceptable.

Her colleague Savelyev finds that the only plausible parallel that is present in all three branches of Altaic is represented by PT *\*tari-* ‘to cultivate (land)’, Proto-Mongol *\*tari-* ‘to sow, to plant, to plough’ and Proto-Tungus *\*tari-* ‘to cultivate’, and quotes the idea that the Turkic word

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<sup>1356</sup> Drew H. Bailey, Marcus J. Hamilton and Robert S. Walker, “Latitude, Population Size and the Language-Farming Dispersal Hypothesis”, *Evolutionary Ecology Research* 14 (2012), 1060, 1064. The potential for agricultural production is maximised at these latitudes due to the length of growing seasons, moderate temperatures, rainfall patterns and extensive soil development, according to the authors.

<sup>1357</sup> Robbeets, “Proto-Trans-Eurasian: Where and When?”, 28-31.

<sup>1358</sup> Robbeets, “Proto-Trans-Eurasian: Where and When?”, 34-36.

<sup>1359</sup> Robbeets, “The Language of the Transeurasian Farmers”, 114.

<sup>1360</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 844.

<sup>1361</sup> Robbeets, “The Language of the Transeurasian Farmers”, 113.

<sup>1362</sup> Robbeets, “The Language of the Transeurasian Farmers”, 115.

was borrowed for written Mongolic as *tari-*, from which it entered Tungusic, i.e., Evenki *tari-* ~ *tare-*, Solon *tari-*, Manchu *tari-*, Nanai *tari-*, Ulcha *tari-* ‘idem’. Meanwhile, he also claims that it is a Proto-Altai agricultural term.<sup>1363</sup> Such a perfect phonetic and semantic equation, however, is full of doubts for an inherited word in an environment where we are in very bad conditions to find reliable words to prove the genetic relationship of those languages. It should be a relatively recent loanword from Turkic to the others. Furthermore, the Turkic *tari-* ‘to cultivate (land)’ should be studied in connection with *tar-* ‘to disperse, divide up st.’, and both seem to be related in a way to the Indo-European group of words, from which the English verb *tear* (< *tare*) descends.<sup>1364</sup>

According to Savelyev, a less striking comparison involves PT *\*or-* ‘to reap, harvest, mow’ and Proto-Tungus *\*oro-hta* ‘(dry) grass, hay’.<sup>1365</sup> What about the Proto-Slavic *\*orà-* ‘to plough’, with Baltic, Greek and Latin cognates that we pointed to in Chapter 12? This is no more distant than the Tungus word.

I want to cite the result of Savelyev here: “I did not reveal reliable Altaic connections for Turkic agricultural words. However, the agricultural core-vocabulary seems to preserve more Altaic cognates than the lexicon of pastoralism, although the latter is far better represented in Turkic. Further, the Turkic pastoralist vocabulary has more of a secondary nature than the agricultural one. In general, the very limited number of agricultural terms reconstructible to Proto-Altai can be attributed to a loss of the farming-related lexicon in the daughter languages over time after the break of Altaic; they may have lost the words along with the tradition after climate change and the shift to pastoralism.”<sup>1366</sup>

Who lost what? These cannot be the non-Turkic Altaic peoples for geographical reasons as well as for their partial or not-at-all transition to a pastoral economy. If the reason is a transition to pastoralism, then it matters for the Turks, who, according to those consequences, lost the inherited Altaic agricultural terminology, and later reinvented it in pastoral conditions, however, with their own sources: They did not refer to the ancestral Altaic vocabulary, and abstained from borrowing it from other (mainly Indo-European or Chinese) neighbours. This is impossible. If

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<sup>1363</sup> Savelyev, “Farming-Related Terms in Proto-Turkic and Proto-Altai”, 138.

<sup>1364</sup> Mallory, “Twenty-First Century Clouds over Indo-European Homelands”, 149, believes that there is still a substantial amount of shared agricultural vocabulary between European and Asian languages. I would add to his list *\*wokeha* ‘cow’, Tr. *buka* ‘bull’.

<sup>1365</sup> Savelyev, “Farming-Related Terms in Proto-Turkic and Proto-Altai”, 138.

<sup>1366</sup> Savelyev, “Farming-Related Terms in Proto-Turkic and Proto-Altai”, 139.

there is no evidence to relate, then we say there is no relation, until we prove that those evidences were wiped out. Proto-Turkic has a relatively good vocabulary denoting farming activities, those are native words mostly and not shared by the so-called Altaic sisters. This empirical case should be evaluated within its own terms, and this is backed by paleo-archaeology.

A popular idea on the spread of agricultural production to the northern zones of Central Eurasia favours relatively late dates. According to Mallory, there is really no serious evidence for arable agriculture (domestic cereals) even in the east of the Dnieper until after c. 2000 BC.<sup>1367</sup> Khazanov takes agriculture to the South Urals in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC.<sup>1368</sup> After that, it was predominant there by the time of the rise of the proper nomadic pastoralism at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, which was backed by the fact that in the Bronze Age, long-term settlements were the norm in the lands of future nomads.<sup>1369</sup> Another idea that we cited above accepts that farming crossed the Dnieper to the east after 5200 BC.<sup>1370</sup> In any case, that knowledge was held by the Sintashtans and their close forefathers, at least. This explains, in accordance with my theory of a Turkic Urheimat in the South Urals, (1) the heavily independent stance of Turkic agricultural terminology, (2) the Indo-European connections of several Proto-Turkic agricultural words, (3) the lack of connection with the ‘Altaic’ zone’, (4) the strange case that the concerning Hungarian terminology almost perfectly matches the Turkic relevant vocabulary, and (5) the relatively rich Turkic terminology for sedentary life.

Indeed, in Chapter 4 we listed the bulk of the concerning Hungarian vocabulary that can be included in the basic word lists. It is worth citing some of it plus some of the secondary words (mostly from Róna-Tas and Berta) here once more: Hu. *ág* ‘branch’, Tr. *ağaç* (< *yığaç*) ‘tree’; Hu. *alma* ‘apple’, Tr. *alma* ‘idem’; Hu. *általag* ‘barrel (wooden container)’, Tr. *altılıg* ‘containing six’; Hu. *arat-* ‘to mow’, Tr. *or-* ‘to mow, reap’; Hu. *árok* ‘ditch, canal’, Tr. *arık* ‘idem’; Hu. *árpa* ‘barley’, Tr. *arpa* ‘idem’; Hu. *balta* ‘hatchet, axe’, Tr. *balta* ‘idem’; Hu. *bertű* ‘grain’, Tr. *\*bürtik* ‘idem’; Hu. *boglya* ‘stack of hay’, PT. *\*bogul* ‘idem’; Hu. *bojtorján* ‘burdock’, Tr. *\*balturğan* ‘idem’; Hu. *bor* ‘wine’, Tr. *bor* ‘idem’; Hu. *bors*

<sup>1367</sup> Mallory, “Twenty-First Century Clouds over Indo-European Homelands”, 151.

<sup>1368</sup> Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 90-91.

<sup>1369</sup> Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 91.

<sup>1370</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 119, 154-5, 159; Gimbutas, “The Indo-Europeanization of Europe”, 207; Brandt et al., “Ancient DNA Reveals Key Stages in the Formation”, 260.

‘pepper’, Tr. *burç* ‘idem’; Hu. *borsó* ‘pea, bean’, Tr. *burçag* ‘idem’; Hu. *boza* ‘a kind of beer’, Tr. *boza* ‘a kind of beverage’; Hu. *búza* ‘wheat’, Tr. *buğday* ‘idem’; Hu. *bükk* ‘beech’, Tr. *bük* ‘beech, forest, thicket’; Hu. *cigle* ‘a kind of willow’, Tr. *çig* ‘a plant, curtain made of it’; Hu. *csákány* ‘pick-axe, mace’, Tr. *çak-* ‘to strike’; Hu. *csalit* ‘thicket, brushwood’, Tr. *\*çalit* ‘idem’; Hu. *csiga* ‘snail, pulley’, Tr. *çikri* ‘rouet, pulley’; Hu. *csiger* ‘a wine of low quality, a fruit wine’, Tr. *çagir* ‘unfermented grape juice, wine’; Hu. *csomak* ‘a carpenter’s axe with a long helve’, Tr. *çomak* ‘cudgel, mace’; Hu. *csutka* ‘cornucub’, Tr. *çotuk* ‘a plant’s stem unearthed’; Hu. *dara* ‘grist, groats, soft hail’, Tr. *tariğ* ‘crops, millet, sowing’; Hu. *dio* ‘nut, walnut’, Tr. *yagak* ‘idem’; Hu. *eke* ‘plough’, Tr. *ek-* ‘to sow (seed)’; Hu. *enő* ‘community work in agriculture’, Tr. *\*üneg* ‘mutual help’; Hu. *gyékény* ‘bulrush’, Tr. *yeken* ‘rush’; Hu. *gyertyán* ‘hornbeam’, Tr. *cartagan* ‘candle’; Hu. *gyom* ‘weed’, Tr. *yoğ* ‘idem’; Hu. *gyopár* ‘cudweed’, Tr. *yıpar* ‘fragrance, musk’; Hu. *gyümölcs* ‘fruit’ Tr. *yemiş* ‘idem’; Hu. *gyümölcsény* ‘hawthorn’, Tr. *yemşen* ‘idem’; Hu. *gyűrű* ‘a kind of tree similar to the maple or cornel’, Tr. *yerik* ‘alder’; Hu. *káka* ‘bulrush, club-rush’, Tr. *\*kaki* ‘names of different plants’; Hu. *kalokány* ‘a water plant’, Tr. *\*karlığan* ‘name of a plant’; Hu. *kender* ‘hemp’, Tr. *kendir* ‘idem’; Hu. *kepe* ‘shook, sheaves placed crosswise, also a unit of grain paid or given’, Tr. *kepi-* ‘to dry somewhat’; Hu. *kocsány* ‘stem, stalk’, Tr. *koçan* ‘cornucob’; Hu. *komló* ‘hops’, Tr. *kumlak* ‘hop’; Hu. *komócsin* ‘timothy-grass, phleum’, Tr. *kamış* ‘reed’; Hu. *kóró* ‘dry stalk of weed’, Tr. *kuru-* ‘to be or become dry’; Hu. *kökény* ‘blackthorn’, Tr. *köken* ‘idem’; Hu. *kőrís* ‘ash tree’, Tr. *küyriç* ‘idem’; Hu. *körtvély* ‘pear’, Tr. *kertme* ‘idem’; Hu. *ocsú* ‘chaff’, Tr. *\*uçok* ‘something that flies’; Hu. *ontok* ‘crumb (of bread)’, Tr. *untak* ‘powder, groots’; Hu. *ör-* ‘to grind, mill’, Tr. *evir-* ‘to turn’; Hu. *sarló* ‘sickle’, Tr. *çarla-* ‘to grind, whet’; Hu. *sárma* ‘a type of wild onion’, Tr. *sarımsak* ‘garlic’; Hu. *seprő* ‘broom’, Tr. *sipir-* ‘to broom’; Hu. *seprő* ‘draff, lees’, Tr. *çöp* ‘sediment, dregs’; Hu. *sör* ‘beer’, Tr. *şıra* ‘idem’ (< Sanskrit); Hu. *sapu* ‘bucket, wooden pail (with a handle)’, Tr. *sap* ‘stem’; Hu. *szőlő* ‘grape, wine grape’, Tr. *\*yelek* < *ye-* ‘to eat’; Hu. *tapló* ‘tinder fungus’, Tr. *toplak* ‘name of several kinds of plants’; Hu. *tár* ‘warehouse, magazine’, Tr. *tavar* ‘livestock, property’; Hu. *tarló* ‘plough field’, Tr. *tariğlag* ‘a cultivated field’; Hu. *tátorján* ‘name of several kinds of plants’, Tr. *tatıran* ‘(salt) steppe’; Hu. *telek* ‘a piece of land, field, parcel, patch’, Tr. *til-* ‘to cut into slices’; Hu. *torma* ‘horseradish’, Tr. *\*turma* ‘radish’.

The same is true for the animal terminology too, including the husbandry terms and the concerning product names. Also taking into consideration that the Hungarian vocabulary of zoology, especially almost

all bird names, is shared with Turkic, all these correspondences point to a common and long-term habitation, if not to common roots, somewhere arable and suitable for sedentary life. Although the bulk of the above words are clear loanwords in relatively later ages (esp. from Kumans), this intensity cannot be explained solely by loaning relations, and this situation cannot be compared with Mongolian, for example, in terms of the linguistic ‘forget-not-forget’ phenomenon; that the latter, forever being the neighbours of the Turks by this day, forgot almost the entire terminology, and that the Hungarians, who are supposed to have been in a transitory relation with the Turks and to have assimilated some Turkic groups through the medieval days, forgot their Uralic fauna and flora vocabulary and replaced them with Turkic ones. This is hardly an explanation for these data.

The qualification of those common words, both fauna and flora, would likewise indicate a cold region, suitable for farming and a settled life. The best alternative seems to be the plains to the east of the mid-Volga, and the sedentary lifestyle is backed by the concerning Turkic vocabulary. Dybo lists these words in Proto-Turkic: *\*(h)eb* > *eb* ‘home, house’, *\*biar-k* > *bark* ‘house, building’, *\*gel* ‘house’, *yū/urt* > *yurt* ‘home’ (now ‘tent’ in Central Asia), *\*kol(s)* > *koş* ‘hut’, *\*ağil* ‘corral’, *\*korım* > *kurum* ‘corral, fence’, *\*otag* ‘marquee’ (now ‘room’), *\*alaçuk* ‘hut, cabin’, *\*opa* > *oba* ‘clan, nomadic settlement’, *\*dâm* ‘wall of a stationary dwelling’, *\*çatur* ‘tent’, *\*terme* ‘tent’, *\*dura* ‘watch-tower’, *\*ordo* ‘qaganal dwelling, tent; army’, *\*orun* ‘place, qaganal post’, *\*balyk* > *balık* ‘town, city’, *kent* ‘city’.<sup>1371</sup> Of these, *dâm*, *çatur*, *dura* and *kent* are clearly loanwords from Indo-Iranian languages; *balık*, *gel* and *terme/terem* have correspondences in Hungarian and Ugric, and *ağil* and *korım* have Hungarian equivalents, likely as borrowings. Dybo suggests that *alaçuk* was loaned from Chinese. In any case, Turkic has its own terminology sufficient to express the basic terms for home, house and settlement.

The latest notion is significant in our survey, since it gives an idea about the lifestyles and circumstances of the proto-society. The proto and Old Turkic word for ‘town, city’ is *balık* and this has survived only in a few examples, replaced everywhere with foreign words, chiefly with the Sogdian *kent* ‘city’ and Arabic *şahr* ‘idem’. Interestingly, during the Old Turkic periods, *balık* was recorded only in the east.<sup>1372</sup> This is interesting but not decisive enough to judge, because Hungarian, Vogul and Ostyak have corresponding words. Sinor wrote a detailed paper and concluded

<sup>1371</sup> Dybo, “Material’nyj byt rannyh turok”, 231-251.

<sup>1372</sup> Thus, Mahmud of Kashgar classifies it as being “in the dialect of heathens”: Mahmud al-Kāşyārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -I-*, 290.



that Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus borrowed it from Turkic,<sup>1373</sup> and after comparing the Turkic word with Vogul *pēl*, Ostyak *pūgəl* and Hungarian *fal*, Turkic took it from the Proto-Ugric root *palyV*.<sup>1374</sup>

However, Tyler compared this word of the ‘Ugric’ world, before Sinor, with the Dravidian *palli* ‘village’.<sup>1375</sup> Even this is not the end of the study. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov argued for an Indo-European lineage of the word \**phel-* ‘fortress, fortified city’.<sup>1376</sup> This, to my point of view, is a remark made without considering the semantic width. In fact, Mahmud of Kashgar recommended an etymology for the Turkic *balık*: *bal* ‘mud’.<sup>1377</sup> There are several words in various Indo-European languages, seemingly of the same root, from Latin *palus* ‘swamp’ to English *pool*. Thus, the Hungarian *fal* ‘wall’ and *fal* ‘village’ should not be considered separately and, Latin *vallum* ‘wall’ should also be included in this comparison.<sup>1378</sup>

<sup>1373</sup> Jankowski, “Altaic Languages and Historical Contact”, 352, found out that both language families had no stems to produce that word, which thus proved to Sinor that it was directly borrowed from Turkic in the meaning of ‘town’.

<sup>1374</sup> Sinor, “The Origin of Turkic Balıq”, 101.

<sup>1375</sup> S. A. Tyler, “Dravidian and Uralian: The Lexical Evidence”, *Language* 44, 4 (1968), 800. Many words in his Ural-Dravid pairing such as *pajz* ~ *pal* ‘plenty’, *äcä* ~ *acc* ‘father’, *wal’ka* ~ *väl* ‘red, white’, *täm-* ~ *tev-* ‘to fill’ (cf. Tr. *tüm* ‘whole’), *kele* ~ *kēl* ‘to speak’ (cf. Chuv. *kele-* ‘to speak’), *ekä* ~ *akk* ‘grand-father’ (cf. Tr. *aka*), *emä* ~ *amma* ‘mother’ (cf. Tr. *eme*), *ime-* ~ *cīmp-* ‘to suck’, *piłz-* ~ *pay-al-* ‘to divide’, *kol* ~ *kuy* ‘hole’, *por-* ~ *pur-* ‘to turn’ (cf. Tr. *bur*), *morz-* ~ *mur-* ‘to break’ (cf. Tr. *vur-* ‘to hit’), *wolō-* ~ *ul-* ‘to be’, *ur* ~ *ur-a* ‘power, force’, *ulak* ~ *ul* ‘house’ (cf. Tr. *ağıl*), *šurz* ~ *tor* ‘herd’, *tu-wl* ~ *tū-v-al* ‘hair, wire, quill’, *jutta-* ~ *caṭṭa-* ‘to add, to join’, *kolō-* ~ *kol-* ‘to die’, *tak-al-* ~ *tak-al-* ‘to stick, to attach’, *appō* ~ *app* ‘father’ (cf. Tr. *apa*) are visibly shared with Turkic, too. Parpola relates the Dardic *kuz<sup>9</sup>ra* ‘horse’ with Dravidian languages (Parpola, “The Coming of the Aryans to Iran and India”, 243). Why not consider the Turkic *kısrak* ‘mare’? A comparison of Turkic and Dravidian languages would give a better idea on this matter. This shows that Proto-Turkic was in the same milieu as the ‘Uralic’ and Dravid languages or, at least not far away.

<sup>1376</sup> Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, 648.

<sup>1377</sup> Mahmud al-Kāšyārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -I-*, 290. See also Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov “B”*, 59. Thus, Stachowski proposes *bal(y)k* ‘wall made of clay’ (Marek Stachowski, “European *Balkan(s)*, Turkic *bal(y)k* and the Problem of Their Original Meanings”, in *Current Trends in Altaic Linguistics: A Festschrift for Professor Emeritus Seong Baeg-in on his 80th Birthday*, eds. Kim Juwon and Ko Dongho (Seoul: Altaic Society of Korea, 2013), 617).

<sup>1378</sup> Witzel noted that the word *išt* ‘brick’ was borrowed by the Indo-Iranian languages from the Kelteminar Culture (Witzel, “Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Exchange”, 29-30). It could not be claimed that Aryans did not know how

Therefore, I have to add the Turkic *bal* ‘mud’ to Golden’s list of geographical words. The existence of the same logical connection in ‘mud’ and ‘town’ shows that Proto-Turks lived close or were adjacent to the Ugric peoples, Hungarians and the Proto-Indo-European core, somewhere in a watery and swampy environment. The South Urals is a good choice for this. They lived there by practising farming, and used the earth there to put up walls from adobe and bricks.

It seems that the semantic story of ‘mud and town’ will never have an end. Once, I was working on the verbal groups ‘to fire, shine, blaze, etc.’, as their connection with the notions of ‘height’ and thus ‘mountain, hill’ took my attention. In Chapter 11 we dealt with a part of these. Turkic *tav* ‘heat’ and *tav* ‘mountain’, *tepi-* ‘to dry’ and *tepe* ‘hill’, *balk-* ‘to shine’ and *balkan* ‘mountainous zone, forest’,<sup>1379</sup> *kor* ‘ember’, or ‘high’, Slavic *gore-* ‘to fire’ and *gora* ‘mountain’, Proto-Dravid *\*pal-* ‘to shine’ and *\*val* ‘height’, Sumerian *uru* ‘fire’ and *ure* ‘mountain’, *kur* ‘mountain’, Manchu-Tungus *kurgi-* ‘to fire’ and *ure* ‘mountain, hill’, *horon* ‘upper’, *hur* ‘forest’, Fin *karventää* ‘to fire’ and *vuori* ‘mountain’, *korkea* ‘high’ are some examples of this semantic equation.

The reason for and origin of that study of mine were an objection to the forever translation of the Kök Türk word *yış* as ‘forest’, as the word was used in the Kök Türk inscriptions to denote places of various quality. Their rulers lived in the Central Mongolian steppes in a properly nomadic way, but also called their central land likewise as *yış*. I suggested that it meant altogether ‘forest, mountain, land, county, country’. Interestingly, the above words meaning ‘heat’ and/or ‘height’ have homonymous or

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to make an adobe. However, it could be argued perhaps that they experienced semantic transitions such as mud > adobe > wall > house/fortress as being very different from, for example, the Greek experience (*polis*), because a relationship between the Sanskrit words *palvala* ‘pool’ or *palvalyá* ‘swamp’ and ‘city’ is not known, as far as I know; *\*p<sup>h</sup>el* related Sanskrit *pur* ‘city’ is argued to be related with ‘cliff’ (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, 648; though Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 120, relates *pur* with Greek *polis* and Lithuanian *pilis*). I believe in the possibility that *pur* came from the word meaning ‘fire’. Cf. also Coptian *pr*, Hurri *pur(u)li* ‘house’ (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *idem*, 645). Maybe, *pol* ‘large room’ could be linked to the meaning ‘mud’. *Vairi* ‘lake’ could also be thought to be related to this. As for the earliest Iranians, according to Avesta, the first king Yima made an adobe and from that, constructed a square fortress which had an 800-metre side-length. However, the name of this was *vara* (Kuzmina, *Otkuda prišli Indoarii?*, 72). Cf. Hu. *vár* ‘castle’, *város* ‘city’, borrowed from Iranic.

<sup>1379</sup> Stachowski proposes *balýk + an* > *balkan* “mountains with swampy forests” (“European *Balkan(s)*, Turkic *bal(yk)*”, 618).

phonetically close relations with some words meaning ‘place’ or ‘settlement’. Cf. Tr. *kor* ‘ember’ and *korgan* ‘castle’, *yaru-* ‘to shine’ and *yer* ‘earth, place’, *köy-* ‘to burn’ and *köy* ‘village’, Proto-Dravida *pal-* ‘to shine’ and *palli* ‘village’, Slavic *gore-* ‘to fire’ and *grad/gorod* ‘city’, Hungarian *orr* ‘peak’, *erdő* ‘forest’ and *ország* ‘country’, Mongolian *oruy* ‘hill, peak’ and *oron* ‘country’, Manchu-Tungus *ure* ‘mountain, hill’ and *kur* ‘place, country’, *urī-kīt* ‘settlement’, Sumerian *ure* ‘mountain’ and *uru* ‘town, village’, *dág* ‘shining, bright, clear’, *dág* ‘residence, dwelling place’. These examples can be increased by adding samples from Indo-European languages and likely also from the Semitic domain. In order not to use too much of the space of this book, I confine myself to these examples, and hope for further studies in this semantic area, though I have a paper published in 2008.

The utmost consequence would tell us that humanity, at least the Old World without Africa, as to my illiterate level of knowledge, is interconnected via this semantic sequence, the origin of which goes perhaps to pre-Neolithic phases. Turkic joins this sequence with all its related words.

## CHAPTER 16

### BEE WOLF AND THE TURKS\*

It is a modern age cliché that Turks are associated with and mentioned as having the companionship of the ‘grey wolf’, taking its origins from the deep layers of its history (we mentioned ‘she’, especially in Chapter 7). Some comparative works and ideas referring to some other communities having wolves in their cultural past (Dacia, Etruria, etc.),<sup>1380</sup> claimed to have found connections between them and Turks, but since the fauna of the wolf is immense and thus not usable in ethno-linguistic and cultural comparative studies, for the latter seeks restrictive measures and ways, I have remained sceptical in referring to wolves while studying the origins of the Turks. My stance is that if we deal with a very detailed and particular motif containing ‘wolf’, then it can be used in reference to cultural interactions, and not to origins primarily.

On the other hand, names denoting wolves can be used while surveying linguistic relations, just as it was the case for the entire vocabulary or even morphological units of a language. Thus, we cited above the Hungarian words *farkas* ‘wolf’ and *féreg* ‘worm’ to compare with Turkic *böri* ‘wolf, worm’ (for taboo reasons, Turks use the same word for worms and wolves!). The Hungarian etymological dictionary of the Academy rejects Turkic and Iranian origins for *farkas*,<sup>1381</sup> and relates it to Fin-Ugor roots. Likewise, correspondences of *féreg* are present in a few Ugric and Finnic languages.<sup>1382</sup> This is right but the matter should not be studied in such simple ways. Proto-Iranian/Avestan *vəhrka* ‘wolf’ (or Sanskrit *vṛka* ‘idem’)

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\* The ‘bee’ part of this chapter was presented at the *1<sup>st</sup> International Symposium on Agriculture and Food in the Turkish World*, held in Izmir, December 19-21, 2019.

<sup>1380</sup> Parpola, “The Coming of the Aryans to Iran and India”, 218, finds out that the wolf was very important for the Aryans, however, his examples are entirely those describing their enemies associated with the wolves, and not with themselves.

<sup>1381</sup> Indeed, there is almost not even one *f*-beginning Hungarian word in the concerning dictionaries or works, that is not connected to a Turkic word. We showed above that there is a clearly visible Turkic *b*-, Finnish *p*- and Hungarian *f*-equation in a bulk of samples.

<sup>1382</sup> Benkő et al., *A Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótára -I-*, 846, 891-892.

is not necessarily the origin of the Hungarian word, in spite of the clear phonetic and semantic resemblances, but the agreement of the Turkic, Hungarian, Finnic, Ugric and Indo-European words should be pointing to a non-accidental fact. On the other hand, it is time for the students of Hungarian linguistics to take *farkas* and *féreg* together. If the Proto-Hungarians were a nation of the steppe for a while, it is not strange that they shared the same taboo as the Turks.

Well, none of the mentioned languages or families might have needed to borrow ‘wolf’ from each other, though it is rightly possible in linguistic relations, and the case may imply that their linguistic ancestors shared a common root or linguistic area. I do not mean and offer a Turko-Indo-Uralic macro-family, but they should have at least a geographical proximity, regardless of their eventual linguistic affiliation. The best place for this is the ‘Volga-land’ extending on both sides.

“The 13<sup>th</sup> Warrior” of Antonio Banderas was filmed in 1999. The story is based on scenes from the Nordic tales. The Vikings eventually succeed in beating their enemies, the Dog-Head men, with the help of Ahmad ibn Fadlan (Banderas), an Arabian diplomat meeting the Viking gang on the mid-Volga. That diplomat is indeed a historical personality, who visited the Volga Bulgar in 921, from whose book we have quoted several sentences throughout this book.

Of the old records, the most detailed account about the Dog-Head men is given in the Oghuz epic of Rashid-al-Din, under the name *İt-Barak*. My doctoral student Emre Erzincan studied them, scanning all ancient and medieval sources, including those in ancient Egypt, India and China, in communication with D. Gordon White, author of the book *Myths of the Dog-Man*. He even scanned American literature to trace the origins of the Hollywood wolf-man and especially the moonlight motif. One of his conclusions was that those producers of the concerning layer of the primary Turkic ethnogenetic tale were in close connection with the ‘unknown’ lands around the Uralic ranges.<sup>1383</sup> While Biblical traditions, including the medieval Islamic geography, were locating the land of Gog and Magog there, ancient Turks and other peoples of Northern Eurasia placed the Dog-Head-Land in the same region. Which people produced or exploited this ‘simulacrum’ is a matter of debate,<sup>1384</sup> what primarily matters to us in this study is, however, who received the first-hand

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<sup>1383</sup> See Emre Erzincan, *İt-Baraklar. Korkunç Bir Efsane mi, Yoksa Tarihi Bir Gerçek mi?* (Ankara: Akçağ, 2018), 148-159.

<sup>1384</sup> We quoted above from Herodotus that the Northeast European Neuri, once a year, used to be turned into wolves, and after remaining so for a few days returned again to their former shape: Herodotus, II, 307 (IV/105).

accounts of it? The Turks were not remote from the Dog-Head-Land in the Urals in their ancient periods (Cf. the name *İtil* ‘Volga’: *it* ‘dog’ + *il* ‘land’?). Leaving the guidance of the she-wolf or the assaults of the Dog-Head or Wolf-Men in moonlight aside and to other studies, we need to focus on the bee, which supplies more concrete information usable in our survey.

Those working on the Khazars are familiar with the word ‘honey’ mentioned often and regularly in Islamic sources as an export product of this country. Muqaddasi of the 10<sup>th</sup> century depicts Khazaria as “abundant in sheep, honey and Jews.”<sup>1385</sup> Some sources, by the way, add that honey was imported from the Volga Bulgars to Khazaria, and from there transferred to the Islamic countries.<sup>1386</sup> Today, Bashkirian honey is very famous. It is funny, but there is no need to associate it with the Hungarian honey through the historical Hungaro-Bashkirian connection.<sup>1387</sup>

According to Crane’s maps and figures, Khazar and Bulgar countries (lower and mid-Volga basin) were the easternmost places where people were occupied with bee-keeping in the ancient and medieval world. Arctic Europe and the northern half of Asia, including the deserts and steppes of Central Asia were bee-less in the exact sense.<sup>1388</sup> The honeybee was introduced into Siberia about 230 years ago. It was the dark-coloured forest bee *Apis mellifera mellifera* L., or the Middle Russian race.<sup>1389</sup>

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<sup>1385</sup> Mukaddesî, *İslam Coğrafyası (Ahsenü't-Takâsîm)*, trans. D. A. Batur (İstanbul: Selenge, 2015), 355.

<sup>1386</sup> Information on the Khazar economy can be read in Thomas S. Noonan, “Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar Khaganate”, in *The World of the Khazars*, eds. P. B. Golden, H. Ben-Shammai and A. Róna-Tas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 207-244.

<sup>1387</sup> See for a discussion on historical perspective, Erward Tryjarski, “Beekeeping Among the Turks”, *Acta Orientalia* 32 (1970), 241-277.

<sup>1388</sup> Eva Crane, “The Past and Present Importance of Bee Products to Man”, in *Bee Products Properties, Applications, and Apitherapy*, eds. Avshalom Mizrahi and Yaacov Lensky (New York: Plenum, 1997), 3; idem, *The World History of Beekeeping and Honey Hunting* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 1999), 13.

<sup>1389</sup> Crane, *The World History of Beekeeping*, 366; Nadezhda V. Ostroverkhova et al., “A Comprehensive Characterization of the Honeybees in Siberia (Russia)”, in *Beekeeping and Bee Conservation: Advances in Research*, ed. Emerson D. Chambo (Rijeka: InTech, 2016), 1. The latter established in their genetic study that 64% of the bee colonies in Southern Siberia and the Altay region originate on the maternal line from the Middle Russian race, 28% of the colonies originate from southern (mainly Uzbekistan) subspecies, and 8% were mixed bee colonies (idem, 7, 10).

Finnic and Ugric peoples living in Northeast Europe and Northwest Siberia loaned the words for bee (*\*mekše*) and honey (*\*mete*) from the Indo-Europeans, rightly from Indo-Iranians who were living to their south in the Bronze Age.<sup>1390</sup> That well suits the (reconstructed) pre-historical framework; there seems to be no problem. Perhaps people living to the east of the Southern Urals did not learn about the bee and honey for many millennia, but the IE words advanced eastward with the migration/dispersal of the Ugric branch. Then, not having bees there, ancestors of the Vogul and Ostyaks forgot about them, and Proto-Hungarians living to their south kept the words, for their lands were eligible.

As for Eastern Asia, China, Korea and Japan were/are within the borders of the bee-lands. Chinese *mì* ‘honey’ (< *\*mit*) is a loanword from Tochar B *mit* ‘honey’ < Proto Indo-European *\*medhu*.<sup>1391</sup> This cannot be taken as certain and may be merely a coincidence. Korean has its own *k:ul* for honey (*skúr*, *pskúr* < *\*skúr*). In spite of other suggested Altaic cognates and the ultimate *\*šjōgV* ‘juice’,<sup>1392</sup> none of the concerning words have the same meaning. The Japanese word *hachimitsu* ‘honey’ was derived from *hachi* ‘bee’.

The Common Turkic word for honey is *bal*, with the expected Chuvash version *pil*, which can easily be reconstructed as *\*bal*, perhaps *\*pal* with a slightly long vowel in Proto-Turkic. It occurs from the 11<sup>th</sup> century on. Mongolian *bal* ‘honey’ is a loanword from Turkic.<sup>1393</sup> It is suggested that the Turkic *bal* is a borrowing from Indo-European; however, instead of the geographically closer Sanskrit *mahdu*, Avestan *mađu* or Slavic *med*, it resembles Latin *mel*, Greek *meli*, Hittite *milit*, Albanian *mjal* and Armenian *metr* ‘honey’.<sup>1394</sup> This is a paradox. Stachowski resumes the case with the sentence “for *bal* IE loaning, a Latin or Italic influence on Turkic is not admissible.”<sup>1395</sup> On the other hand, even with the known *b ~ v* transitions, PIE *\*medhu* > Tr. *bal* needs further phonetic explanations for the known and relatively short period of Old Turkic, if the latter did not take it from the Greek or Latin. PIE > Old Turkic loans are impossible for time and space reasons in the conventional views; if it was taken in the

<sup>1390</sup> Carpelan and Parpola, “Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal”, 114.

<sup>1391</sup> Carpelan and Parpola, “Emergence, Contacts and Dispersal”, 117.

<sup>1392</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary*, 41, 1336.

<sup>1393</sup> Severtjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov -B-*, 47; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 330.

<sup>1394</sup> Taken from Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 2033-2034.

<sup>1395</sup> Stachowski, “European *Balkan(s)*, Turkic *bal(yk)*”, 615.

Proto Turkic period, then, we need to adjust the geography of the Proto-Turks to be closer or adjacent to the PIE.

On the other hand, if the Turkic *bal* necessarily descends from an IE source, then (Proto) Turks would have taken it earlier than the so-called Uralic peoples, since PIE *\*medhu* < *\*melit*.<sup>1396</sup> Of course, this is not out of the realms of possibility, as long as we suppose a PT-PIE contact in the early Bronze or late Neolithic Age.

The history of the word *bal* poses a great problem within itself, and perhaps this problem presents a solution. According to Mahmud of Kashgar, recording this word for the first time in c. 1073, the word belongs to the dialects of Suvars, Kipchaks and Oghuz, while Turks (in general) call it *arı yağı* ‘bee butter’.<sup>1397</sup> Those three Turkic peoples, from South and Southwest Siberia, should not have known about honey 1000 years ago! Interestingly, linguistic records earlier than Mahmud of Kashgar do not have the word at all. Well, runic inscriptions may not have the content to use that word, but the countless Uyghur ‘paper’ documents, which contain rich texts on social life never used it in their vocabulary. Instead, they use two loanwords from Sanskrit.<sup>1398</sup> The earliest available Turkic records (8<sup>th</sup> century on) are from the Easternmost Turks, Kök Türks, Uyghurs, Kyrgyz, etc., as we underlined above. We can compare their position with that of the earlier separating Uralic peoples – if they are –, Samoyeds and Ob-Ugrics. Simply, perhaps they too migrated to the lands where bees cannot go, and then forgot about the bee and honey? The absence of *bal* in Kök Türk and Old Uyghur also clarifies the very phonetic similarity of the Mongolian *bal*: It was loaned possibly in the late Medieval. This also cancels a hypothetic Proto-Altai effort concerning this word.

According to *EDAL*, PT *\*bal* ‘honey’ is cognate with Mong. *\*milaya-* ‘to smear with oil’ and Manchu-Tungus *\*mala* ‘sesame oil, plant oil’, all going to Proto-Altai *\*malV*.<sup>1399</sup> The meaning of honey can be extended to some drinks, especially juice (cf. Persian *may* ‘fruit’ or English *mead* < PIE *\*medhu*), but pure oil is something totally different. Various extensions of the Mongolic word have nothing to do with ‘honey’: Middle Mong. *malija-* ‘to offer’, *mali’an* ‘service’; Western Mong. *milaya-*, Kh. *malā-*, Buryat *mila* ‘satiety’, *milān* ‘birthday’; Kalmuk *melé-*, *malī-*, *malā-* ‘to smear with oil (on occasion of birth, etc.)’.<sup>1400</sup> On the other hand, Turkic has no such semantic extensions and cognate words with *bal*. If it was a

<sup>1396</sup> Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 1998.

<sup>1397</sup> Mahmud al-Kāšghārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -II-*, 228.

<sup>1398</sup> Tryjarski, “Beekeeping among the Turks”, 244.

<sup>1399</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*, 41.

<sup>1400</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*, 897-898.



Proto-Altaic word, various cognate words, even verbs would be expected to be present in Turkic too. Thus, it seems likely that Mongolian received only *bal* ‘honey’ from Turkic, and the other words have nothing to do with it.

Korean has *pəl* ‘bee’, which is regarded as being tied in with our work.<sup>1401</sup> This word seems to come from the root *\*pār* ‘bee’, as examined below. If there were no Middle Korean *pār* ‘bee’, it could be suggested as being related to the Proto-Manchu-Tungus *\*pīlu-* ‘to soar; to drop (of leaves)’ and Proto-Mongolian *\*hele-* ‘to soar’, reconstructed to Proto-Altaic *\*pīle* ‘to fly, soar, flap’, together with Proto-Japanese *\*pirū(n)kap* in *EDAL*.<sup>1402</sup> Otherwise, the non-existence of the true cognates for Tr. *bal* in Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus is troublesome.

Of the recounted Turkic tribes, Suvars lived on the territory westward from the Tobol River. Kipchaks were just to their east, on the Upper Irtysh basin. The Oghuz union was formed in the Western Kazakh steppes, just to the south of the former two, with additions from South Siberian Turkic tribes. Our word seems to be restricted to that area. This restriction is due to biological reasons, rather than being a linguistic case. If zoological reports are precisely true, then Suvars were on the eastern edge of the European beekeeping territorial unity. From there the word should have spread to other Turkic peoples, including those living in and around the Altay ranges. As beekeeping was then far from today’s density, domestic or wild honey production should have had a slow dispersal towards the closer east. If bees can live today in Southern Siberia, why not in the past?<sup>1403</sup> This would explain the existence of the concerning terminology in Turkic as native vocabulary.

The name of the people is not important. Here is a lingua-genetic case. Proto-Turks or a group of them lived in the beekeeping area from an unknown time on, maybe early medieval, maybe much earlier. In contrast to the Uralic peoples, they did not need to borrow foreign (Indo-European) words for honey, because they already had one. We could mark this as a

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<sup>1401</sup> In reference to Räsänen, E. V. Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskikh jazykov. Obštjetjurkskie i mežtjurkskie osnovy na glasnye* (Moskva: Nauka, 1974), 187.

<sup>1402</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*, 1142.

<sup>1403</sup> There are claims that there were wild bees in the Urals and in Southern Siberia in the Bronze Age (Elena E. Kuzmina, “Contacts Between Finno-Ugric and Indo-Iranian Speakers in the Light of Archaeological, Linguistic and Mythological Data”, in *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, eds. Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugrian Society, 2007), 291).

particular case, without making overall evaluations, if the Turkic word for bee was not in the same situation as the Uralic borrowed words. Bee in Turkic languages is *arı*, with a few *hari* variations.<sup>1404</sup> *Arı* is more widespread than the word *bal* ‘honey’, by including the far eastern Yakut.

The occurrence of the word in Khalaj, a Turkic dialect spoken in Southern Iran, in the form *hari* is directly associated with the Proto Turkic form *\*parı* (cf. Common Turkic *ayak* ~ Khalaj *hadak* ‘foot’ < Old Turkic *adak* < Proto-Turkic *\*padak*).<sup>1405</sup> Thus, the association of *EDAL* of this word with Proto-Tungus *\*perē-* ‘bumble-bee’ (however, attested only in Evenki), Proto-Mongol *\*herbekei* ‘butterfly’, Proto-Korean *\*pār* ‘bee’ and Proto-Japanese *\*pāti* ‘bee’<sup>1406</sup> would have a solid base. The presence of the Turkic cognate in Yakut means that it was also common among the Eastern Turks, since the Yakuts were separated from them. The statement of Mahmud of Kashgar that Turks (other than Suvars, Kipchaks and Oghuz) call honey *arı yağı* (bee oil) also reinforces the popularity and common character of this word among all the Turks.

However, the cases of Mongol and Manchu-Tungus are troublesome. The former has butterfly instead and the latter has it only in one (northern) dialect. Both language families have a common word directly for bee: Proto-Tungus *\*žuge-* ‘wasp, bee’ and Proto-Mongol *\*žogej* ‘bee’ (< *\*žuge*).<sup>1407</sup> This can be explained by the absence of bee in the territories of the two people in the ancient times and with the transfer of the so-called Altaic word to other meanings.

Meanwhile, the existence of related words in the so-called Finno-Ugric languages should be observed carefully. We have *\*perma* ‘Bremse’ in a widespread way, including the Saami languages.<sup>1408</sup> Formerly, Räsänen paid attention to the Finnish *paarma* ‘gadfly’, Lapp *pòaru*, Mordvin *puromo* and Mari *porṃā* ‘bee’.<sup>1409</sup> They are hardly unrelated to the Proto-Turkic *\*parı*. Their situation can be compared to the Mongol and Manchu-Tungus cases: If there is no bee around, the word is applied to some other insects. So, the Turkic word has connections beyond the so-called Altaic

<sup>1404</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 196-197; Severtjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov (glasnye)*, 186-187.

<sup>1405</sup> Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, 197, makes it Proto-Altaic.

<sup>1406</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*, 175, 1135-1136. On the other hand, Japan has *ari* ‘ant’ in the related group of words (*idem*, 312).

<sup>1407</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*, 1552.

<sup>1408</sup> Károly Rédei, *Uralisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 373.

<sup>1409</sup> Severtjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov (glasnye)*, 187.

domain, and reaches the ultimate borders of the Finnic languages. Cf. also Ugric *pöls* ‘Bremse (Insekt)’,<sup>1410</sup> which can be compared to the above-mentioned Proto-Altaiic *\*pʷile* ‘to fly, soar, flap’.

The original meaning of the now Ural-Altaiic word *\*parV* is difficult to identify; however, the fact that if there is bee around the word is given to it (Turkic, Korean, Japan, and perhaps Tungus), and if not, it is assigned to gadfly or butterfly or any other fly (Uralic, Mongolian) may show that it originally meant bee. If there is a word for honey, there should be one for bee, too, as an Old Turkic idiom says: *asal kayda erse bile arısı* ‘Wherever there is honey, there is a bee with it’.<sup>1411</sup>

The very popularity of the word throughout Eurasia excludes borrowing *arı* from Old Indian *alīh* ‘bee, scorpion’;<sup>1412</sup> in contrast, maybe it was loaned from a Proto-Turkic source to Sanskrit. This also explains the case of Arabic *ary* ‘honey’. In spite of the debates on the vowel quality of the Turkic word,<sup>1413</sup> Turkic has no expressed long *a-*, and the Arabic form is almost the same as the Turkic pronunciation. If not coincidental, it could be the result of a medieval interaction. The word is not widespread in Arabic; the expected words for bee and honey are respectively *nahl* and *asal*. It might be a Turkic loanword, since Turkic veterans, especially from the honey abundant Khazaria, were in the service of the Abbasid caliphs from the late 8<sup>th</sup> century on in great numbers.<sup>1414</sup>

Nor is the Persian word *ary* ‘making honey (a bee)’ a popular one. Steingass marks it as an Arabic loanword.<sup>1415</sup> In contrast to the great majority of Indo-European languages, Persian is very irregular in keeping the concerning inherited words. This may be due to their ancestors’ long stay in ‘Ariana’, the bee-less Western Turkistan in the late Bronze Age. That the word has *a-* at the beginning shows that it was borrowed from Turkic in a relatively late time, after the *hari* > *arı* change, which we may date to early medieval.<sup>1416</sup> Thus, Arabic might have loaned it from Old Persian, as the other possibility.

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<sup>1410</sup> Rédei, *Uralisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 416.

<sup>1411</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*, 197.

<sup>1412</sup> Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov (glasnye)*, 187.

<sup>1413</sup> See Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov (glasnye)*, 187.

<sup>1414</sup> See for instance Peter B. Golden, “Khazar Turkic Ghulāms in Caliphal Service: Onomastic Notes,” *Archivum Eurasie Medii Aevi* 12 (2002-2003), 15-27.

<sup>1415</sup> Francis Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), 40.

<sup>1416</sup> The contemporary Khalaj *hadak* ‘foot’ is *adak* in Old Turkic during the Kök Türk age. Thus, OT was an *adak* language in Poppe’s terms (*Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, 59, in spite of the claims of Doerfer that OT had *h-*, but did not use it

Turks were/are central in the Ural-Altaic world. Considering that they have the popular word for bee and particular word for honey in their languages, without any borrowing relation, we can eventually conclude that the Turks emerged in an area liveable for bees. If one insists that the Turks loaned it from an Indo-European source (a 'Nostratic' approach may be more appropriate), it should have occurred very early, not later than the Sarmatian age, and it cannot be in the east of Inner Asia for biological reasons. Thus, at least some of the Turks should have been living in the South Ural region in those days, even if the Turkic Urheimat was not in that region.

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in script. See for a discussion Gürer Gülsevin, "Eski Türk Yazıtlarında Kelime Başında /h-/ Sesi Gösterilmiş miydi?", *Türk Dünyası Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi* 42 (2016), 127-136). If the phonetic correspondence is true, Old Persian might have loaned it as early as, at least, the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

## CHAPTER 17

### WHEELS AND CARTS OF THE ANCIENT TURKS\*

Recently, scholarship invented ‘wheel’ and started to use ‘cart’ in homeland studies. As D. Anthony is the trailblazer representative of this approach, it contains a very solid logic and seems very productive in working on the Neolithic peoples of Western Eurasia. The existence of cognate words for wheel and cart in various Indo-European languages implies that Proto-Indo-European was spoken at the time when carts were invented, and the separation into sister (proto-) languages came afterwards. Since we know archaeologically about the story of the cart, then it is possible to set a chronology. In accordance with this, late PIE was spoken after wheeled vehicles were invented, that is after 4000-3500 BC, and the Anatolian IE languages might have been separated before wheels were invented.<sup>1417</sup>

The method is excellent, but I’d like to express my doubts as to whether those words are the names of those innovations suggested by their inventor(s), or, the applications of pre-existing words with close meanings, to the new tool. People might have had some words for round things even well before the production of the first wheel, or some verbs expressing rolling, turning, etc. Garrett suggests that a semantic shift from the concrete ‘wheel’ to abstract ‘circle, cycle’ is plausible but the reverse shift is unusual at best.<sup>1418</sup> Why? Basic adjectives stem from and signify concrete things and being circular is as concrete as the circular thing.

In that context, I’ll survey some Turkic words. Turkic has several words, a group of which is seemingly cognate for the meaning we are studying here. *Çevür-* ‘to twist, or turn (something Acc.)’, is practically synonymous with *evir-* and *tevir-*. *Tevir-* is older than *çevür-*.<sup>1419</sup> All three verbs attest in Old Turkic and are now used in modern Turkic languages.

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<sup>1417</sup> Anthony and Ringe, “The Indo-European Homeland”, 202.

<sup>1418</sup> Garrett, “Convergence in the Formation of Indo-European Subgroups”, 145.

<sup>1419</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 14, 398, 443.

If these are cognates, *evir-* should be related to a third form, since *t-* > 0- and *ç-* > 0- or vice versa is not known. *\*k-* could be a good candidate, for *k-* > 0- is possible and widespread. Thus, we have the plausible *\*kevür-* > *evir-*.<sup>1420</sup> But there is no way to formulate *\*kevür-* > *tevir-* > *çevir-* as a parallel development to *k-* > 0-. Only the transition *\*kevür-* > *çevir-* or *tevir-* > *çevir-* seems possible. Perhaps we should assume two ultimate roots with *k-* and *t-*, both the equally possible proto-form of *ç-*, unless there was not such a development as *evir-* < *\*kevür-* > *çevir-*. Just as, today the reiterative *evir-çevir-* is used in the meaning ‘to manage things, affairs’, but *tevir-* is put aside, meaning ‘to have st. capsized, to knock over’.<sup>1421</sup>

For *\*kevür-*, Turkish has the verb *kıvr-* ‘to twist’. It does not occur in OT and is not widespread in the Turkic languages of today. There is recorded OT *kıyk* “crooked, cut on a slang”, but from the root *kıy-* (< *kıd-*) ‘to cut into pieces’.<sup>1422</sup> The ‘crooked’ meaning of the word *kıyk* might have come from another root like *\*kiv-* ‘crook, curl, bend’, and this may help Gülensoy to fortify his etymology *kıvr* < OT *kiv* ‘pull, correct, adjust’.<sup>1423</sup> But OT has only the adjective *kıval* ‘well-shaped’, and there seems to be no way to reach a verbal root *\*kiv-* from that meaning. Though the *-ır* part of the word is redolent of the transitive suffix *-ır*, the case is hardly so, and the root form of the verb seems to be *kıvr-*. Thus, Turkic might have preserved a relic of a proto-form in this case.

Of the *t-* form, we have in OT *tegre* ‘surroundings’, *tegirmi* ‘round, circular’, *tegrek* ‘ring, circle’, *tegirmen* ‘a rotary mill’, etc., with their phonetic variations (the consonants *-v-* and *-g-* are alternates of each other in Turkic).<sup>1424</sup> OT ‘wheel’ does not attest in any text before the 12<sup>th</sup>

<sup>1420</sup> The same does exist in PIE: *\*kert-*, *\*kerət-*, *\*krāt-* (extension from *ker-*<sup>7</sup>) ‘turn, roll, wind’, *\*uer-*<sup>3</sup>: *\*uer-t-* ‘to turn, wind’ (Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 1550, 3352). Cf. in Turkish *köreke*, *öreke*, *örek*, etc., ‘spindle’ (Gülensoy, *Köken Bilgisi Sözlüğü (A-N)*, 556).

<sup>1421</sup> Interestingly, the neologies in Turkish for ‘evolution’ and ‘revolution’ are respectively *evrim* and *devrim* of the *evir-* and *tevir-* roots.

<sup>1422</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 676.

<sup>1423</sup> Gülensoy, *Köken Bilgisi Sözlüğü (A-N)*, 520.

<sup>1424</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 485-486; Severtjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskih jazykov "V" "D"*, 172-173. Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary*, 1360, suggests the root *\*deg-/dög-/dog-* ‘round’ for this word (Altaic *\*tegá* ‘round’), but not even one of the derived words is without *-r*. Thus, *\*tVr* seems the best to explain the eventual roots. All of the Mongolian examples under *\*tegá* are clear loanwords from Turkic. Japanese *\*tanka* ‘hoop, rim’ and Korean *\*thi/\*thə* ‘reel, spool; to spin, to round’ seem to be related to Turkic *tö(n)-* ‘come back, return’ rather than to this group.

century (in contrast to chariot), but today Turkic languages and dialects have their concerning words all derived from the *tevir-* root: Turkish *teker*, Turkmen *tiğir*, Bashkir *tegermes*, Tatar *tegermeç*, Kazakh *döngелек*, and Kyrgyz *döngölök*.<sup>1425</sup> These are literary forms. Any of them can be found in any local dialect. For instance, in Turkey you may find forms like *tengerlek* associated with the Kazakh and Kyrgyz forms.

Of the *ç-* form, Turkish, Uzbek and Uyghur have *çember* ‘circle, hoop’ and Kazakh *şenber* ‘id.’, but the others have ‘circle’ derived from the *t-* form: Bashkir *tüngerek*, Tatar *tögerek*, Turkmen *töverek*, Kyrgyz *tegerek/tögörök*.<sup>1426</sup> Also of the *ç-*, we have Turkish *çevre*, Kyrgyz *çöyrö*, and Uyghur *çöre* ‘surroundings’.<sup>1427</sup> The nonsensical dispersion of the latter shows that it was once common in all Turkic languages, but some of them replaced the word with Arabic equivalents (*etraf*, *muhit*), and some others used instead the *t-* form words for ‘surroundings’.

Of the *0-* form, Turkic languages have the popular cognate verb *eğir-* ‘to surround, encircle’, devoted to spinning wool and similar things.<sup>1428</sup> OT has the word *evre* ‘again, in return’ of the same origin.<sup>1429</sup> *Evren* ‘universe’ is a revolving dome in ancient Turkic comprehension, thus OT has that word of the same origin. *Evren* also became the name of the dragon revolving around the universe, and ‘a dome-shaped oven’ was also so-called.<sup>1430</sup> OT *evriliñsiz* ‘‘which cannot be turned back (or aside); an epithet applied usually to the believer’s mind’ is, also, of this root.<sup>1431</sup> The word *kirmen* ‘spindle’ is thought to have derived from that verb: *egir-men* > *kirmen*,<sup>1432</sup> if not a fossilised word of *k-* origin.

Of the *\*k-* form, Turkic seems to have indirectly related verbs too. The verb *kur-*: The basic meaning seems to be something like ‘to put (something) in working order’ with particular applications, whose commonest is ‘to string (a bow)’; and it usually means ‘to erect (a building, tent, etc.)’, ‘to

<sup>1425</sup> *Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Sözlüğü*, 866-867.

<sup>1426</sup> *Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Sözlüğü*, 124-125.

<sup>1427</sup> *Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Sözlüğü*, 126-127.

<sup>1428</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 113. This may not be certain, if here it is not an accidental case. Old (and new) Turkic has the verb *eg-* ‘to bend, bow’ (Clauson, *ibid.*, 99). Despite it being a transitive verb, the deverbal causative suffix *-ir* can be added to stress the quality of the act. For instance, *eğir-*, however, would define not only an act of 360 degrees (turn, revolve, rotate, spin, etc.), but also making st. curve, thus the adjective *eğri* ‘curve’ was produced from that verb. This semantic way would relieve us, if there was not *iğ* ‘spindle’.

<sup>1429</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 13.

<sup>1430</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 13.

<sup>1431</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 15.

<sup>1432</sup> Gülensoy, *Köken Bilgisi Sözlüğü (A-N)*, 321.

establish (a society etc.)'.<sup>1433</sup> Though not recorded so in OT, the meaning 'managing' of the reiterative *evir- çevir-* gets closer to the meaning 'to establish, set up'.<sup>1434</sup> Thus, in the proto-language *\*kur-* might have originally meant 'to twist'. *Kur* 'belt, girdle'<sup>1435</sup> is certainly a cognate word. *Kar-* 'to mix' should also be related to the same group, since mixing is a 'rotary' act. That OT verb, however, survived only in Uzbek and Southwestern Turkic.<sup>1436</sup> The word *küvrüg* 'drum' may be related to its pulley, since the expected onomatopoeic morphology for such a tool is extinct from this word. So, neither cognate lexeme of the *k-* form is scanty in Turkic.

How should we interpret this case? Turkic word(s) for 'wheel' seem to have derived only from *tevir-*, though there were alternatives. Especially the verb *çevir-* is very suitable to produce a name for round and turning things. There are examples like the mentioned *çember* 'hoop', but no 'wheel'. This may be because Turkic does not like synonyms and this also directly shows the linguistic unity of the (Common) Turkic realm roughly by the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Export-words indicate this fact. The Mongolian language loaned the verbal root as *tögüri-*, *tögüre-* 'okružat', obrazovat' krug',<sup>1437</sup> as well as words of the same origin like *tögürig* 'circle' and *togurin* 'surroundings'. Interestingly, there are few phonetic variants of the Mongolian equivalences. This shows that it is a relatively late and unique copy from Turkic.

Starostin et al. differ in their reconstructed *\*debir-* 'to capsize, subvert' from *\*tegre* 'surroundings'.<sup>1438</sup> Suggested Altaic cognates of the former are one-syllabic and semantically unrelated, while the latter, taken back to Altaic *\*t'égè(-r)* 'edge, border' has nothing to do with this meaning and with the so-called Altaic counterparts. An inter-Altaic survey seems fruitless except for the aforesaid Mongolian copying. Besides, the original meaning has to contain not 'subverting', but 'rolling', since the cognate word *tür-* 'to roll' does exist in Turkic.

There is a group of Altaic words for 'carriage': Proto-Mongol *\*terge* 'vehicle', Proto-Tungus *\*turki* 'sleigh', and Proto-Korean *\*tärkö* 'light carriage'.<sup>1439</sup> These may contain a metathetic form of the Turkic *tegrek* 'wheel', that was loaned in the early ages of the linguistic relation and has

<sup>1433</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 643.

<sup>1434</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 14.

<sup>1435</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 642.

<sup>1436</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 642.

<sup>1437</sup> Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskih jazykov "V" "D"*, 173.

<sup>1438</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary*, 1409-1410.

<sup>1439</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary*, 1433.



undergone a slight semantic change, because any Turkic ‘carriage’ of the *\*t-* form is not known. The very closeness of the three Altaic forms and the lack of verbal roots to produce them in those languages should let us observe a chain of copying in this case. The same may be true for Mongolian *teŋgelek* ‘axle’, likely a loanword from Turkic *\*deŋgil*.<sup>1440</sup> On the other hand, Japanese has *\*dər-* ‘twist’ and Korean *\*tôr-/tūr-* ‘revolve, surround’.<sup>1441</sup> The existence of these verbs does not seem to contribute to our debate and is likely related to a Nostratic level.

Relatives of the Turkic *tevir-* and *tür-* are not only Japanese and Korean verbs. English words *tour* and *turn* are also associated with them. They were taken from French, and thence Latin.<sup>1442</sup> One can find many cognates of them in other Indo-European languages: Armenian *darj* ‘turn, reversal, return’, Osset *t’iur* ‘twiddled, twisted, rotated, revved, revolved’, Old Irish *tarathar*, Welsh, etc., *taradr* ‘borer’, Albanian *tjer* ‘spinné’, *drodha* ‘turn round, turn together, twine, spin’, Old High German *drüen* ‘turn, work a lathe’, and Greek τόρνος ‘circle’. Their ultimate proto-form is reconstructed as *\*tere-*, *\*trē-*, *\*ter(e)-d-* ‘to turn, to bore’.<sup>1443</sup> Thus, English today has *tire*.

The most striking counterpart comes from the Semitic languages Arabic and Hebrew: *\*dVwVr-* and its duplication *\*dVrdVr-* ‘turn, rotate, round’. So, except for the derived words with certain morphology, like the above-mentioned Mongolian words copied from Turkic, it is difficult to speak about the loaning of this verbal root that appears simultaneously in Ireland, Japan and Arabia. Almost everybody in the Old World had and has concerning verbs and words likely descending from the same source.

But the Dravidian might have a different case. Its equivalences are amazing: Tamil *tikiri* ‘circle, circular form, wheel, potter’s wheel, the discus weapon, chariot, car’; Kannada *tiguri*, *tigari*, *tiguru* ‘a wheel, esp. a potter’s wheel’; Tulu *tagori* ‘potter’s wheel’,<sup>1444</sup> but there are no verbal roots to derivatize them. The very similarity with the Turkic forms may recall a very late relation, maybe in the Late Medieval; however, we need

<sup>1440</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary*, 1365. Cf. Korean *\*thøj* ‘axle’.

<sup>1441</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary*, 1379-1380, group the two with the Turkic verb *dola-* ‘wrap round’, whereas Turkic *tevir-* and *tür-* are the most convenient ones for such a relation.

<sup>1442</sup> Ayto, *Word Origins*, 513, 520-521.

<sup>1443</sup> Collected from StarLing database at <http://starling.rinet.ru>.

<sup>1444</sup> Taken from Thomas Burrow and Murray Barnson Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: OUP, 1984), 278, who do not consider any relation with Turkic. I’m grateful to Mr. İbrahim Ergün for drawing my attention to this equivalence.

to explain the means of such a relation reaching as far as the Tamil region. There is no moderate way for this relation. Either medieval or pre-Aryan, since there does not seem to be a Sanskrit or Persian mediation, as claimed by de la Fuente to exist in many of the Dravidian-Turkic lexical equivalences,<sup>1445</sup> apart from one claim that Avestan *čaxra* or Sanskrit *čakra* ‘wheel’ was loaned and turned into the concerning Turkic and Dravidian words. Perhaps there seems to be no historical probability or possibility of direct contact between Turkic and Dravidian, but meditation through a lost world, that of the Bactria-Margiana culture(s) may be explanatory. In any case, Proto-Turkic speakers then should be somewhere in the west of Asia.

The phonetic diversity and semantic scope of the Turkic words surveyed here show their existence in Proto-Turkic, while the restricted semantic and phonetic space in Mongolian and Dravidian points to a high probability of copying. The Indo-Iranian lexemes are also not far from being problematic. Together with Gk. κύκλος ‘circle’, Toch. A *kukäl*, B *kokale* ‘cart’, and Old English *hwēol* ‘wheel’ (with other Germanic variations), the mentioned Avestan and Sanskrit words *čaxra* and *čakra* are to go to *\*k<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>lo-*, *\*k<sup>w</sup>ok<sup>w</sup>lo-* in PIE,<sup>1446</sup> clearly before the split of Tocharian and likely after the split of the Anatolian (Hittite, Luwian, Pala) languages. However, the making of *\*k<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>lo-* is unique, thought to be derived from the root *\*k<sup>w</sup>el<sup>-l</sup>*, *\*k<sup>w</sup>elə-* “to turn; wheel” by reduplication, zero-grade root and thematic vowel.<sup>1447</sup> That is, it was certainly produced by contemporary scholars, but we are not sure whether PIE speakers did the same. There is no problem with the root *\*k<sup>w</sup>el<sup>-l</sup>*, *\*k<sup>w</sup>elə-*. Almost all IE languages today have their heritage in this or that way. English *wheel* and its relatives could have descended directly from that root.

PIE has another root *\*ker* producing verbs and adjectives concerning “to twiddle, twist, rotate, revolve”;<sup>1448</sup> for instance, the Latin origin

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<sup>1445</sup> José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente, “Some Thoughts on Dravidian-Turkic-Sanskrit Lexical Comparisons”, *Türkbilig* 24 (2012), 66.

<sup>1446</sup> Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 1801-1802.

<sup>1447</sup> Anthony and Ringe, “The Indo-European Homeland”, 205, though it is not impossible. Cf. Semitic languages have the forms *\*dVwVr-* and *\*dVrdVr-* ‘to turn, rotate, round’ (quoted from the StarLing database). The second verb seems to be a duplication of the former/essential. In the same way, Hebrew *kir<sup>h</sup>kūr* “circle, circuit, roundabout way; whirl”, and Arabic *krkr* “to turn the millstone”, of the root *\*karV* “to twist, turn around, return” (Aharon Dolgopolsky, *Nostratic Dictionary* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 870).

<sup>1448</sup> Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 2698.

English words *curve* and *car*.<sup>1449</sup> This PIE *\*ker* coincides with Proto-Turkic *\*kevir*. Cf. Hungarian *kör* ‘circle’, *környék* ‘surroundings’, *kerék* ‘wheel’, *kerek* ‘round’. One may add Hu. *kevere-* ‘to mix’ and Tr. *kar-* ‘to mix’ (cf. PIE *\*kērā-*, *krā-* ‘to mix’).<sup>1450</sup>

The PIE roots *\*k<sup>w</sup>el-* and *\*ker* should be cognate,<sup>1451</sup> but PIE does not seem to have a root *\*kek-* to produce Greek *kuklos*; Tochar *kukäl* or Iranian *čaxra*, except for the afore-mentioned ‘duplication’ which is reserved to only one case. Maybe the (Pre-Western) Turkic *\*keger/keg(e)re* ‘wheel’ is expectable as a probable source of Greek, Tocharian and Indo-Iranic words before 2300 BC, when Greek and Indo-Arian were still within the PIE unity. Tocharian might have loaned it independently, but not in later times.

This is not a strange case. Indo-Europeans had another word for ‘wheel’: *\*ret(h)*. It was very popular in all IE languages: Sans. *rátha-*, Iranian *raθa-* ‘cart’, Latin *rota* ‘wheel’, Alb. *rota* ‘wheel’, Ir. *roth* ‘wheel’, Welsh *rhod* ‘wheel’, Old High German *rad* ‘wheel’, Lith. *rātas* ‘wheel, circle’, Ltv. *rats* ‘wheel’.<sup>1452</sup> *\*ret(h)* is more widespread and seems to be the essential word for ‘wheel’ when it was first invented and denominated, and *\*k<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>lo* is likely a copying from the Proto-Turks. This is not to say that one of them learned about the wheel from another. It might have been invented in many places independent of each other, and even the first speakers on the Earth would have given a name to round things, transferring it later to ‘wheel’ and thereafter to ‘cart’.

Interestingly, Turkic languages lack the lexeme for ‘cart’ of the before-mentioned productive roots at least for the recorded periods. The common word today among the Turks, including the controversial Chuvash, is *araba*. Its etymology has been much debated, mostly to tie to an Arabic

<sup>1449</sup> Ayto, *Word Origins*, 93, 166.

<sup>1450</sup> Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 1704. This root also seems to be Nostratic. Cf. above Semitic *\*karV* ‘to twist, turn around, return’.

<sup>1451</sup> According to the StarLing database, PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>el-*, Altaic *\*k<sup>w</sup>ulo*, Uralic *\*kulke* and Chukchee-Kamchatkan *\*kəvlə-* are cognates, together with the Kartvelian *\*k<sup>w</sup>er-*. I’d add a reminder here of the existence of the Arabic word *ḥVwVr* ‘to return’. Although the Proto-Turkic form *\*kul-* is suggested to mean ‘to roll, fall; round’ in Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary*, 850, the given Turkic lexemes mean ‘to fall, drop, collapse, etc.’, and occur only in Central Asia, but not in Siberia, in the Oghuz group and in the mid-Volga (Tatar and Chuvash). I do not object to such an expected word in Proto-Turkic, but draw attention to the current dispersion and meanings of the cognate words. Indeed, there is only one word, *kola-*, used in the whole of Central Asia.

<sup>1452</sup> Anthony and Ringe, “The Indo-European Homeland”, 203; Pokorny, *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, 2507.

root. Its very popularity throughout Eurasia and its existence in the non-Muslim Turks of the far north and in some eastern Finno-Ugric languages (Cheremish, Votyak, Vogul, Ostyak),<sup>1453</sup> also in Russian, contradicts the fact that the word does not occur before the 13<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, such a remote dispersion of an Arabic loanword is interesting, though its absence in Old Turkic supports the copying possibility.

The lack of an inherited lexicon in Turkic languages for ‘cart’ is troublesome enough. Of course, they did know about and use carts as shown by archaeological excavations and the testimony of external sources. A South Siberian tribal unity of the Turks in the early medieval was called Kao-ch’ê (lit. ‘High Carts’) by the Chinese. Its Turkic name was transcribed as T’ieh-le by the same Chinese source. Some scholars suggested that this second name meant nothing but \**tegrek* ‘cart’, being the Altaic cognate of the above-mentioned Mong. *terge* (and other counterparts).<sup>1454</sup> This is a nice etymology; Kao-ch’ê might be a translation of the original Turkic name. Some would find support for this idea from the ethnonym Kanġli of the late medieval.

For a kind of carrier, the only Old Turkic record is *kaŋa/kaŋlı* ‘wagon, cart, carriage’.<sup>1455</sup> Some Siberian Turkic languages keep the original meaning, while everywhere else it replaced the aforesaid *araba*. In Turkish, today the word *kaġni* means only ‘tumbrel’. The word first occurs in the dictionary of Mahmud of Kashgar (written c. 1073) as *kaŋlı* ‘a wagon for carrying loads’,<sup>1456</sup> and in a 13<sup>th</sup> century document, in the Uyghur/pre-Islamic *Legend of Oghuz* it is written as *kaŋa*. Oghuz is the legendary emperor of the Turkic mythical golden age, and eponymous ancestor of the so-called medieval tribal union. According to the legend, a capable and wise soldier in his army by the name of Çosun invented a vehicle to carry the booty. It was a large and good carriage. Others imitated him and made the same thing. But, while moving, their carts were clattering like ‘kaŋa kaŋa’; Oghuz Khan liked this and called that group *Kaŋaluġ* (‘those with *kaŋa*’), from which the ethnonym *Kaŋlı* stems.<sup>1457</sup>

This onomatopoeic explanation within the text of the legend may be nothing more than a realistic folk-etymology, since there is no lexical root

<sup>1453</sup> Sevortjan, *Etimologiĉeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov (osnovy na glasnye)*, 164-165.

<sup>1454</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 93-94.

<sup>1455</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 638; *Drevnetjurkskij slovar’*, 418.

<sup>1456</sup> Mahmud al-Kāshġārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects -I-*, 343.

<sup>1457</sup> Danka Balázs, “The Pre-Islamic Oġuz-nāmā. A philological and linguistic analysis”, unpublished doctoral dissertation (Szeged: University of Szeged, 2016), 101, 103.

to produce that word. Although the word is included in the lexical domain of some Siberian Turkic dialects (Koybal, Sagay, Khakas, etc.),<sup>1458</sup> it does not seem that any non-Turkic language around had copied it. Also, the Yakut and Chuvash languages, which were split from the sprache of the Turkic mass earlier than the others, have not had this word. One can posit such a scenario that the word was cogitated at the earliest in the mid-Medieval in Central Asia and South Siberia. The Kök Türks or Eastern Uyghurs have not had this word either, thus it was not loaned to Mongolian. For the same reasons, the Proto-Hungarians, who separated from Khazaria and migrated to the west before the birth of *qaṅa*, did not hear about that word (despite the fact that they did not have to copy it, because they had their own lexemes for carts).

Such a scenario would lead us near to the etymology of Clauson, who has an interesting thesis on the root of the word *kaṅli*. He suggests that the name of the Turkic tribe Kaṅlı turned into the name of the vehicle, which was invented by them and thereafter known by their name. “It is surely equally possible that the wagon got its name *kaṅli*, because it was the Kaṅlı tribe that introduced wagons of this kind into the Turkish world.”<sup>1459</sup> This does not seem unique, for the Nogay Turks called a kind of big chariot *macar arba*, literally ‘Hungarian chariot’. The Nogays, nomadic wanderers of the Black Sea steppes during the Golden Horde, saw and adopted it from the Hungarians. The word passed later to the Kumuk and Kalmuk languages.<sup>1460</sup> Clauson gives other universal examples, too, for transferring ethnic or personal names to devices.

It would be magnificent to know the technical features of *kaṅli* as a kind of wagon, but this would not help us to connect the name to the homonymous tribal name, which is never mentioned in the sources before the 12<sup>th</sup> century. There are detailed lists of Turkic peoples and tribes in medieval sources, especially in the compendium of Maḥmud al-Kāšġārī, but nobody knows about such a tribe then. We have *Kang* of ancient Central Asia, and the dispersed *Kangar* of almost all ages, but the *Kaṅli* lived in a restricted zone, both in time and land. It seems it was a new formation in the pre-Mongol conquest days. Unless we make sure that the three ethnonyms are related to each other, we cannot attribute the word *kaṅli* of the 11<sup>th</sup> century to the *Kaṅli* tribe, which was formed in the next century.

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<sup>1458</sup> Levitskaya et al., *Etimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskih jazykov* “K” “K”, 259.

<sup>1459</sup> Gerard Clauson, “The Name Uyğur”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3, 4 (1963), 148.

<sup>1460</sup> Levitskaya et al., *Etimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskih jazykov* “K” “K”, 260.

The tribe Kaḡlı indeed represents a crystallisation within the Kipchak mass to the north of the Aral Lake. A distinguishing feature of them related to chariots is difficult to observe for any geographical reason, because such a reason was completely absent, since their land was only an ordinary part of the Great Steppe. In addition, sources do not mention any chariot connection to their name or lifestyle. Instead, it is my opinion, that the Kipchak leader *Kaḡlı* of the 11<sup>th</sup> century mentioned by Mahmud of Kashgar as a “name of an important man of Qifçak”<sup>1461</sup> may be the eponymous ancestor of the tribe. It is not a custom of Mahmud to mention the names of his contemporaries in his dictionary; this is one of the very rare cases. Of course, the name of the man did not mean ‘chariot’; his name has potentially several other meanings. The total result we have now is the cancellation of the Clauson theory for the ethnonym, but a continuation on the road for a linguistic chronology.

I’d suggest such a retrospective chronology: The word *araba* ‘chariot’ entered into Turkic languages in the late medieval and became very popular both in Central and Western Eurasia, as it was copied by almost all Turkic and many non-Turkic languages. Seemingly, it replaced the word *kaḡa/kaḡlı*. The latter was likely an onomatopoetic neologism in medieval Central Asia, and did not pass to Mongolian or other surrounding languages. Perhaps the term *kaḡa/kaḡlı* was produced to describe ‘a kind of’ carrier, as implied by the earliest records, and not to replace the previous general term for carts, which does not attest in any Turkic or non-Turkic source. Taking into account the semantic parallels in other languages and early copying by some neighbours, we may conclude that the general term for carts had something of a *\*teger(V)* appearance, from the expected verbal root. It would not be very fruitful to debate on the precedence of either the *\*tegir-* or *\*tevir-* forms, since it does not matter much in Turkic. What is clear is that all the names and adjectives are of the *-g-* form. If there is a relationship on the Nostratic level, *\*tevir-* would certainly be the older form. This, however, would not help to set a chronology. Interestingly, look-alikes in other languages are also with the *-g-* form: Mong. *tögürig* ‘circle’, Tamil *tikiri* ‘circle, wheel’, Avestan *čaxra*, Sanskrit *čakra* ‘wheel’, etc. These languages belong to groups totally independent of each other, both genetically and geographically. If the resemblance is not accidental, then there should be a bounding and common source for them. Thanks to the abundance of look-alike verbal roots and their derivations, Turkic is a good candidate to be the source. If

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<sup>1461</sup> Maḡmud al-Kāšġārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, 343.

so, the Dravidian and Aryan connections point to the existence of *\*teger(V)* ‘wheel’ in Turkic at least c. 2000 BC.

On the other hand, the formation of the PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>lo-* is also sceptical, if it is not a cognate of *\*h<sub>2</sub>eks-* ‘axle’. Considering the Greco-Aryan unity or closeness within the PIE family,<sup>1462</sup> positions of the concerning ‘cognates’ can be easily deduced. Maybe, the Old English *hwēol* and Old Norse *hvél* ‘wheel’ should be related not to *\*k<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>lo-*, but directly to the verbal root *\*k<sup>w</sup>el-*. Then, only the Greco-Aryan and Tochar groups had *\*k<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>lo-* and our job gets easier in that way. Considering the time span between them, the very closeness of the Greek and Tochar forms does not need to mean a legacy of shared ancestors. Otherwise, we would expect a more ‘irregular’ dispersion of the word in all IE languages, except for the Anatolian group. Proto-Greek and Proto-Tocharian might have copied the word separately and in distinct areas from the same source. Proto-Tocharian might and should have borrowed it in the east, since the European data do not provide parallel examples from other centum languages, and the near-future Greco-Aryans likely received it while they were keeping their unity, thus in the Black Sea steppes or coasts, where Yamnaya fashion had started to gain popularity for a long time.<sup>1463</sup> In any case, the latter would happen c. 2300 BC at the latest, just on the eve of the split of the Indo-Iranian branch from the rest.<sup>1464</sup> Maybe the kurgan-owners invading Eastern Europe between 2400 and 2200 and expelling the Proto-Greeks from the Black Sea steppes<sup>1465</sup> were the ultimate source of the word, which would be something like *\*keg(e)re* in its simplest pronunciation. On the other hand, the absence of cognate words in the true Yamnaya-CWC heritage would always remain a great problem in this survey.

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<sup>1462</sup> Anthony and Ringe, “The Indo-European Homeland”, 207.

<sup>1463</sup> Mallory identifies the “highly mobile Yamnaya groups” as the ancestors of Greeks, Armenians, Iranians and Indo-Aryans (Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 241). I’d read it as an intrusion of the Kurgancis into the future Greco-Aryan society. In spite of this archaeological and linguistic match of Mallory, the Yamnaya kurgan population of the Early Bronze Age (3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC) had a genetic similarity to the members of the Corded Ware Culture (Klejn, “The Steppe Hypothesis of Indo-European Origins Remains to Be Proven”, 195-196, 201; Haak et al., “Massive Migration from the Steppe”, 208), as mentioned above; and neither Greeks nor Indo-Iranians had kurgans as far as I know.

<sup>1464</sup> It seems that there is a consensus on this date: Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 39; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, 762; Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 51.

<sup>1465</sup> Gimbutas, “The Indo-Europeans: Archeological Problems”, 821-824, by transmitting content of P. Bosch-Gimpera’s book.

To sum up, human beings, from the dawn of their existence, should have had words for round things and actions. One-year-old babies can differentiate between geometrical shapes; primitive people were also surely capable of doing this. And this has nothing to do with the wheel or cart. Thus, the presence of a reconstructed root for wheel or cart does not necessarily indicate their presence at that time. Previous words with close meanings might have been applied to the newly invented devices, as is done still especially in the computer sector. Branches of a proto-language might have done this independently of each other. But if there are clear morphological features and phonetic peculiarities, one should pay attention.  $*t^w or/*t^w ur$  is a popular verbal root throughout the Nostratic region, but the development to  $*t(V)v(V)r-$  >  $*t(V)g(V)r-$  seems to have happened in Turkic. Thus, unless otherwise, examples are suggested and proved, words of this stock with a similar or close shape should be studied in relation to Turkic. The same is true for the parallel  $*k(V)g(V)r-$  root. The existence of Dravidian and Indo-European words for 'wheel' of this kind would imply a westerly presence of Proto-Turks. The South Urals and the western half of the Kazakh steppe are a good candidate for such a location, whence linguistic contacts both with the Indo-European homeland and with the lands of the Dravidian speaking peoples were possible.



## CHAPTER 18

# BLONDE AND UGLY: HOW WERE THE ANCIENT TURKS?

It seems one of the reasons which inspired the attachment of the Turks to the Altaic family is that the slanting eye (Mongoloid) is dominant in the Eastern Turks. This feature was considered to point to a different human race, and different genes. The Western Turks with no so-called Mongolian features, therefore, according to this view, lost their original physical features and became 'white' by mixing up with other peoples. However, the earliest known example of the classic European blond hair mutation is in the 'Mongoloid' zone, from the Lake Baykal region of Eastern Siberia from 17,000 years ago.<sup>1466</sup> Thus, genetic research has proven that during the Bronze and Iron Ages, more than half of the South Siberian population had coloured eyes.<sup>1467</sup> As for the Afanasievo region, Hollard et al. estimate that 79% of the people had blue eyes.<sup>1468</sup>

More recent history makes it easier for one to argue for a convenient view; meaning, the Eastern Turks (Huns, Kök Türks, Uyghurs, etc.) who were originally 'white', after many generations of interaction with the Mongols and Chinese, changed in appearance and adopted the Mongoloid features, and therefore, the East Asian genes. Thus, the earliest east-west expansions coincide with the rise of the Xiong-nu,<sup>1469</sup> or rather with the

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<sup>1466</sup> Reich, *Who We Are*, 96.

<sup>1467</sup> Ch. Keyser et al., "Ancient DNA Provides New Insights into the History of South Siberian Kurgan People", *Human Genetics* 126, 3 (2009), 404, 408. On the other hand, Kozintsev, "Proto-Indo-Europeans", 323, gives the ratio that the population migrating from South Siberia to the North Caucasus had a blue eye-colour as 49%. Maybe we should differentiate between the newcomers and natives of the North Caucasus, who intermingled and constituted a new community, in the author's terms. Those may be local elements, since such a great proportion of coloured eyes in the Middle East is not known as far as I know.

<sup>1468</sup> Hollard et al., "New Genetic Evidence of Affinities and Discontinuities", 7.

<sup>1469</sup> Lalueza-Fox et al., "Unravelling Migrations in the Steppe", 945. The Xiong-nu themselves, having Sarmatian-related ancestry, seem to have settled first in the Altay-Sayan region and started receiving East Asian genes that were dominant

migration of the ‘nuclear’ or ‘royal’ Scythians that we dealt with previously. The Qitan and Mongol invasions respectively from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries onwards, or truly the ethnic processes after the collapse of the Uyghurs in Central Mongolia, have reinforced this situation and spread into more westerly regions in Central Asia.<sup>1470</sup> The Westernmost Turks, who were less affected by this, preserved their original looks. This is visible even in Central Asia. Compared to the other Turks, the Turkmens and Uzbeks show a lower contribution from East Asian populations.<sup>1471</sup> This is because the Mongolian tribes did not settle among them so much after the 13<sup>th</sup> century as is known from historical sources.

In the study of Hodoglugil and Mahley, it is observed that when the East Asian genes which are seldom found in the Turks of Turkey are removed from the Uyghurs, Kyrgyz and Hazaras (a Persian speaking people living in Afghanistan, however their language has changed in recent ages), and the Middle Eastern genes which are seldom found in the latter are removed from the Turks of Turkey, there remain the same genes.<sup>1472</sup> Those genes belong to the west of the Altay world, and are related to the Central Eurasian origins of the Turks, as I have suggested from the beginning of this book on.

We will go back to the genetics. If our theory that the nuclear Turks emerged in the South Urals and dispersed along the South Siberian belt and in the Central Eurasian steppes in the earliest phase is accurate, then we should expect a high frequency of colourful eyes and hair among them, too. Thus, firstly we need to elaborate the written sources of the pre-13<sup>th</sup> century, when Central Asia was invaded by the Mongols, whose entire population was assimilated among the Turks, and therefore left a considerable genetic inheritance.

The Persian geographer Istakhrî, who wrote the book *Kitâb 'al-Masâlik wa'l-Mamâlik* (The Book of Roads and Countries) in the year 951, the Arabian writer Ibn Khawqal who wrote *Sûrat 'al-Ard* in the year 977 (he cited the above book to a great extent), and Yaqut al-Hamawî who was a

then in the population of the rest of Mongolia (Jeong et al., “A Dynamic 6,000-year Genetic History”, 896).

<sup>1470</sup> Approved by the genetic studies: Martínez-Cruz et al., “In the Heartland of Eurasia”, 222; Lalueza-Fox et al., “Unravelling Migrations in the Steppe”, 945; Jeong et al., “A Dynamic 6,000-year Genetic History”, 900. See also Bennett and Kaestle, “Investigation of Ancient DNA from Western Siberia”, 152.

<sup>1471</sup> Martínez-Cruz et al., “In the heartland of Eurasia”, 220.

<sup>1472</sup> U. Hodoglugil and R. Mahley, “Turkish Population Structure and Genetic Ancestry Reveal Relatedness among Eurasian Populations”, *Annals of Human Genetics* 76, 2 (2012), 20.

follower of Istakhrî, with his book *Mujam'al-Buldân* that he finished in 1228, all say the same thing: "Khazars do not look like the Turks, since they are black haired."<sup>1473</sup> The source of this provision was probably their grand teacher Abu Zaid al-Balkhî (922). But the point that I am making is the opposite definition: "Turks are not black haired."

These authors wrote chapters on the Oghuz, Kipchaks, Pechenegs, Karluks, Uyghurs and Kyrgyz, as well as some other tiny groups, as outstanding Turkic groups of their time. They also included the Khalajs saying that they looked like Turks. It is doubtful that Ibn Khawqal visited Khazaria and saw the Khazars proper there, except perhaps for some individual cases in other countries (he gives the most actual account on the decline of Khazaria). Istakhrî travelled a lot, but there is no evidence that he went to Khazaria. The attribution of black hair may well be an error caused by the naming of *Kara* (Black) *Khazar* that they learned from their oral sources in some way. The two writers, who met and talked with each other, seemingly mixed up the adjectives *Kara* and *Ak* (Black and White) used in the Turkic dual political and ethnic organisational system, as a colour of skin. As they misunderstood this, they added the sentence: "These Black Khazars, they look like the Indians".<sup>1474</sup> Therefore, this invalidates their assumption that the Khazars were black-haired. So, they knew that Turks were coloured in eye and hair, and the name Black Khazars gave them a wrong impression that these Khazars looked different than the other Turks, namely they were black-haired and dark-skinned, like the Indians.

Nevertheless, the Khazars are described by some other sources as blond or at least coloured-eyed. Ibn 'Abd-Rabbihî recorded that Khazars were light-skinned, black-haired and had blue eyes.<sup>1475</sup> Ibn Said al-Maghribî agreed with him saying that Khazars had blue eyes, red hair, light skin and large bodies.<sup>1476</sup> As Dunlop puts it, these are all attributes of northern peoples. Muqaddasî, who was a contemporary of, but independent from Istakhrî and Ibn Khawqal, joined 'Abd-Rabbihî and al-Maghribî by saying that the Khazars looked like the Slavs.<sup>1477</sup>

Ibn al-Nadîm was a bibliopole in 10<sup>th</sup> century Baghdad, and during his life, saw the Caliphs' Turkic veterans, who were in great numbers, in the streets of the capital. He writes that Turks are small-eyed and fairly

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<sup>1473</sup> Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 139, 158, 167.

<sup>1474</sup> Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 158, 167.

<sup>1475</sup> Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, 10.

<sup>1476</sup> Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, 11.

<sup>1477</sup> Mukaddesî, *İslam Coğrafyası (Ahsenü't-Takâsîm)*, 376.

blond.<sup>1478</sup> The thing that we need to understand from the above is that in the eyes of the writers of the Middle East, Turks were largely known for their coloured hair. Considering they were living side by side with the Turks and especially, as they were seeing so many Turks in Baghdad, there should not be a mistake in this definition.

One of the most important figures of the golden age of the early Islamic geography, Abu Said Gardizî, gave detailed information about various Turkic tribes and countries. One of these is on the Kyrgyz who were at that time, the one which was the furthest away in the east. It is very valuable as it is the first time since the Kōk Türk scripts and Chinese sources, that the Turks are discussed in such a detailed manner. According to this, the red-haired and light-skinned Kyrgyz looked so much like the Slavs. He narrates some stories about reasons for this similarity.<sup>1479</sup> At the time, the Kyrgyz were living in the plains in the north of the Altay Mountains. The Khakas people today are their remnants left in Siberia.<sup>1480</sup>

Thanks to the commercial relations between the Kyrgyz country and Muslim Central Asia in the medieval, Muslims were not unaware of Southern Siberia. What makes this information even more accountable is that Chinese sources which were very far away both in terms of time and place, gave the same information: They were red-haired, green-eyed and light-skinned, and considered the black-haired ones amongst themselves to be unfortunate.<sup>1481</sup> There was also another Turkic tribe to the north of the Kyrgyz, which was called Po-ma (Red-Horsed) in the Chinese translation. It seems as if they had a difference in dialect with the Kyrgyz, but were looking just the same.<sup>1482</sup> Such an ethnic name/attribution can be found elsewhere too, but there are ways to tie them to the Oghuz tribe *Alayuntlu*, whose name means the same.

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<sup>1478</sup> İbn al-Nadîm, *Al-Fihrist* (Beirut: Dâru'l-Ma'rife, 1978), 29.

<sup>1479</sup> Şeşen, *İslam Coğrafyacıları*, 71-72. A detailed study on the accounts of Gardizî can be found in A. P. Martinez, "Gardizî's Two Chapters on the Turks", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1982), 109-217.

<sup>1480</sup> This red-hairness is also seen in the legends from the Khakas area. Also, there is still a Khakas tribe named *Kızıl* 'red' (Viktor Butanayev and Irina Butanayeva, *Yenisey Kırgızları*, trans. Y. Gümüş (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2007), 66-8; Mehmet Kıldıroğlu, *Kırgızlar ve Kıpçaklar* (Ankara: TTK, 2013), 139-40).

<sup>1481</sup> Eberhard, *Çin'in Şimal Komşuları*, 67. A tradition from Barthold onwards, just because of them being blonde, without any other proof, considered the Kyrgyz to be a Turkified Ugriç people, the Yenisei Ostyaks proper (Vladimir V. Bartol'd, *Kırgız. İstoričeskij očerik* (Frunze: Kirgizskoe Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo, 1927), 10; followed in recent times explicitly by Harmatta, "A türkök eredetmondája", 393).

<sup>1482</sup> Kıldıroğlu, *Kırgızlar ve Kıpçaklar*, 93.

We mentioned the ancient Wu-sun in Chapter 3, whom the Chinese sources described as ‘ugly’, as they were red-haired and green-eyed just like the Kyrgyz.<sup>1483</sup> As we wrote there, their remnants live scattered among the contemporary Turkic peoples. Chinese sources do not separate between the Huns and Wu-suns in terms of culture and customs, and never point to any similarity with the supposedly Indo-European Yüeh-chih: “Later, becoming more powerful, they refused any longer to attend the gathering of the Xiong-nu court, though still acknowledging themselves part of the Xiong-nu nation”.<sup>1484</sup> As expected, although there is no linguistic evidence in hand to separate them from the Huns or other Turkic peoples, just because of their colour; they were named as Iranian by some authors.<sup>1485</sup> They are also the known ultimate source of the wolf cult among the Kök Türks, because the Wu-sun had the same she-wolf story as the Kök Türks, and that figure is thus attributed to an Iranian influence. Was not the latter capable of creating even a wolf story in their own capacity?

Physical descriptions are rarely found in Chinese and Islamic sources. In other sources as well, rather than the colour of their hair or eyes, they tend to talk more about a wide face, a flat/sunken nose, and small eyes. These were found to be more interesting to the Middle Easterners and Europeans. There are not many descriptions of special figures in Chinese sources either. The only considerable one that I know of is the description of the Kök Türk qagan Mukan (553-572). The Chinese envoys were scared to make eye contact because of his glassy eyes; he had a great rage.<sup>1486</sup>

My colleague Prof. Alimcan İnayet, originally from Eastern Turkistan, narrated to me an interesting anecdote. According to the Kök Türk inscriptions, their armies went all the way to the Shang-tung ‘plain’ in Northeast China. With today’s name, the province of Shandong is known as a special case of blue-eyed Chinese. There are not enough sources to make a proper point, but this may be useful to keep in mind.

It will be recalled that this description of Kök Türks contradicts the Kül Tigin sculpture and the numerous pictures in the Uyghur artworks, which continued in Iran and Anatolia during the Saljukid period as an artistic tradition and transferred to the Ottomans as miniature art.

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<sup>1483</sup> Eberhard, *Çin’in Şimal Komşuları*, 105.

<sup>1484</sup> Ssu'ma Ch'ien, *Records of the Grand Historian -II-*, 267. See also the early *Han-shu: Çin Kaynaklarında Türkler*, 45.

<sup>1485</sup> Harmatta, “A türkök eredetmondája”, 389; Golden, “The Ethnogenic Tales of the Türks”, 16-18.

<sup>1486</sup> Especially *Chou-shu*, which defines him with the sentence “His eyes were shining like marble”: Liu, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Doğu Türkleri*, 19.

However, the sculpture represents a slanting-eyed, round-headed classical Turkic person, not a Chinese.<sup>1487</sup> The aforesaid Mukan died in 572 and Kül Tigin was born in 684. It is not known how many Chinese or Mongolian grannies the latter had. In the course of time, the Mongoloid appearance should have increased. Mukan belonged to the first generation of Kök Türks, who spread eastward to Central Mongolia from the Altay zone, and they were likely not mixed up much with the Easterners then.<sup>1488</sup> As it can be recalled from the Ergenekon saga, the Türk tribe came to the Altay area from the South Urals in c. 100 AD. They lived in Ergenekon (inner parts of the Altays) for about four hundred years, being isolated from the world, and only emerged in the time of Mukan's grandfathers. When they moved eastward to Ötüken (Central Mongolia), they found themselves in a far denser Mongoloid crowd, regardless of Turkic or Mongolian being spoken. Uyghurs who were known as the Nine Oghuz in Islamic sources were originally not ethnically different from the Kök Türks. They were the Turks of the Eastern Steppes as well, likely representing a regrouping of the Hun age remnants. Thus, they should have faced a Mongolic influence even before the Kök Türks. Regarding them, Bilge Qagan says in his inscription: "The Nine Oghuz were my own people. Since Heaven and Earth were in disorder, and since they were green with envy, they started hostilities (against us)."<sup>1489</sup>

Compared to the Kök Türks and Uyghurs, the above-mentioned Wusun, Kyrgyz and Po-ma people, who did not pass to the east of the Altay-Jungaria line, are described as "coloured" in Chinese sources. By the way, it should be noted here that, just like the nations of today's Siberia regardless of their ethnic affiliation, Turks' eyes were small before as well. As black hair and eyes are given by dominant genes, they only changed the colour of the Turks, not so much the size or shape of their eyes. In the earlier ages, this was only affecting the Turks in the east, however, with the migrations to the west of the Qitans in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Mongols in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and Oirats/Kalmuks in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, this dominant gene

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<sup>1487</sup> If the Chinese did not draw them like themselves by habitude, the drawings from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC which showed that the Huns also had a wide face, low/sunk forehead, and slanting-eyes (Klyästormny, *Kadim Avrasya'nın Bozkır İmparatorlukları*, 41).

<sup>1488</sup> Visible in their genetic diversity showing a Sarmatian-like ancestry: Jeong et al., "A Dynamic 6,000-year Genetic History", 896.

<sup>1489</sup> Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 276.

spread to Central Asia too. Of course, the beginnings of this interaction can be taken even to the Okunevo Age in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC.<sup>1490</sup>

In any case, it is very significant that the Tagar population of the Minusinsk Basin, the immediate ancestors of the Kyrgyz, and their contemporary Pazyryk population representing the Xiong-nu are closely related to each other based on craniofacial variation, according to a study of Schmidt and Evteev. The Pazyryk folk, who seem to have been assimilated among the Türk tribesmen coming to the area after Christ, show great similarity with today's Kazakh population, and also with the Yakut in regard to females.<sup>1491</sup>

It is not possible to say that the Central Asian Turks were Mongolified ethnically. On the contrary, the Mongols migrating among them were Turkified. However, their dominant genes spread amongst the Turks far more than their initial numbers. As a result, the coloured eye and hair genes disappeared in time to a great extent. Nevertheless, it is still possible to find coloured-eye people even in the northern steppes.

As for the early Western Turks, that is, those living to the west of the Altay-Jungaria line, who had no close connection with the Chinese and the Mongolians, they are described as 'coloured' on every possible occasion. Since the Kuman-Kipchaks are a resume and conglomeration of the Western Turkic realm, excluding mainly the Bulgars, Oghuz and Pechenegs, it is sufficient to have a look at them. Egyptian producers filmed a TV serial on the early Mameluke sultans who were the absolute lords of Egypt between 1250 and 1517. Mamelukes became the first power in the world to stop the Mongolians definitely, and before they took power in their hands, they reconquered Jerusalem and crushed the 3<sup>rd</sup> crusading army in the 1170s and 1180s as veterans of Salah al-Dîn, founder of the Ayyubid dynasty. The Mameluke state was ruled indeed by a military oligarchy. It

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<sup>1490</sup> According to genetic studies, there was an admixed population from both East and West Eurasia in the Altay Mountains during the Bronze Age: Clémence Hollard et al., "Strong Genetic Admixture in the Altai at the Middle Bronze Age Revealed by Uniparental and Ancestry Informative Markers", *Forensic Science International: Genetics* 12 (2014), 206. As for Southern Siberia, by the Early Metal Period the mtDNA pool structure was already mixed and consisted of both Western and Eastern Eurasian haplogroups in near equal proportions (Molodin et al., "Migrations in the South of the West Siberian Plain during the Bronze Age", 98).

<sup>1491</sup> Schmidt and Evteev, "Iron Age Nomads of Southern Siberia", 139, 142-3, 146. It was not only the Pazyryk citizens, but the entire Kazakh steppe that had that similarity. The haplogroup composition differs slightly between modern Kazakhs and prehistoric samples that originate from prior to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (Lalueza-Fox et al., "Unravelling Migrations in the Steppe", 945).

would have been striking for everybody watching the film serial, to see that some of those ruling elites of Egypt, especially the legendary commander Baybars, were cast with blond actors. This is due to the loyalty of the producers to the sources, which give a detailed description of those medieval personalities. And those veterans of Kuman-Kipchak origin came to the Middle East from the Central Eurasian steppes, mostly from what is today Kazakhstan.

As one of the interesting exceptions in the history of ethnic names, the word *Kuman* was translated in the medieval as 'blond' to the languages of the sources. Ethnic names are not usually translated and are taken as original. The early Rus' called the Kumans *Polovcy* 'pale ones' (sg. *Polovec*), and this was transferred into other languages with the same meaning: Polish *Polowczy, Plawci, Plauci, Plavci*, Czech *Plawci, Plavci*, Serb *Plavi*, Latin *Pallidi, Flavi*, German *Valwen, Valewen, Valben, Balwen*, German Latin *Valani, Valoni, Falones, Phalagi, Valvi, Valui*, etc. Hungarians borrowed the Rus' term as *Palócz*. It is also interesting that the Armenians who were unaware of the custom in Europe applied the translated name *Xarteaš* 'blond' to them.<sup>1492</sup> The Turkic tribe recorded in medieval sources as *Sarığ* 'yellow, blonde' is thought to be connected with the Kumans.<sup>1493</sup> The reason that the Rus' called them blond points to the fact that they were looking different and weird for the Rus', as Gumilëv puts it, which signals the great ethnic difference between them and the Rus'.<sup>1494</sup>

The Oghuz, ancestors of the Turks living now in the Balkans and Middle East, including Turkmenistan, should not be exemplified from this survey. Well, the ratio of blonds among them is today much lower compared to Central, North and East European peoples, but it rises in the countryside where people live in more isolated communities (especially Alawis who have not usually intermingled with the Sunni Turks, and Yörüks, who were managing a nomadic life until the recent ages). After all, the Turkic impression in the Middle East that I wrote above was made in a greater portion by looking at the Oghuz, because they were the direct and closest neighbours of the Muslims during the early Middle Ages. The coming of the aforesaid Kuman-Kipchaks to the Islamic countries was much later than the 10<sup>th</sup> century, when the quoted books usually describing the Turks as blonds were written.

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<sup>1492</sup> Stojanov, *Kumanologija*, 46.

<sup>1493</sup> Golden, *Introduction*, 274-276.

<sup>1494</sup> M. I. Artamonov, *Istorija Hazar* (Leningrad: Izd. Gosudarstvennogo Ėrmitaža, 1962), 421. Gumilëv noted this in his mentor Artamanov's book.



Indeed, the story of colour begins with Oghuz Qagan, the eponymous ancestor of the Oghuz tribal union. According to the ‘pre-Islamic’ version of the Oghuz saga, the hero is described thus: “the complexion and face of that child was blue, his mouth was fire-red, his eyes were scarlet, his hair and eyebrows were black”.<sup>1495</sup>

Works until now on this matter were not done in an analytical manner to explain such a baby with a blue face and scarlet eyes, except for Pelliot’s helpless conclusion that it looks like a ‘monstrueux’,<sup>1496</sup> despite the fact that the following sentence says “He was more beautiful than wonderful fairies”. Following the phrases, it was generally believed that the text points to Oghuz having had some heavenly features in his face and that his eyes were hazel. However, the phrases are clear and without any metaphor. I am of the belief that the Uyghur copier or writer of the saga had simply made an error in writing. Beauty is normally defined with red cheeks. The blueness of the face would only describe the rotting of death, and would at best describe a handsome zombie, or, if the phrases are taken *mot à mot*, Oghuz Qagan looked like one of the characters in James Cameron’s ‘Avatar’, if not a Smurf. In short, it seems to me there is a confusion which is small itself but huge in effect. When one changes the placement of the two adjectives, the problem is solved: “a gorgeous boy with red cheeks and blue eyes”.

Ahmad ibn Fadlan, mentioned in the previous chapter in connection with Antonio Banderas, is the person among all the early authors who best knows about the early Oghuz, among whom he had been for a certain time. He tells about one of their leaders called Etrek, son of Alptogan.<sup>1497</sup> The word *etrek* means ‘red-haired’,<sup>1498</sup> and is also found among the Kipchaks. Leaving all the other important Turkish figures such as Sarı Saltuk and Saru Khan aside (*sarı, saru* ‘yellow, blond’), the founder of the Ottoman state, Osman Gazi had hazel eyes, and the second ruler, his son Orhan was a blond proper, his mother being the daughter of a Turkmen religious leader. In this term, *The Book of Dede Korkut*, written in Anatolia, continuously describes ‘beautiful infidel (Greco-Roman and/or Georgian in the context) girls’ as black-eyed, and some individual Oghuz heroes of the story as hazel-eyed. My personal inquiry is that, of the very few blonds in the population of Iran, all of them are Turks. In Turkmenistan,

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<sup>1495</sup> Balázs, *The Pre-Islamic Oğuz-nāmā*, 41.

<sup>1496</sup> Paul Pelliot, “Sur la légende d’Uğuz-khan en écriture ouïgoure”, *T’oung Pao*, Second Series, 27, 4-5 (1930), 253.

<sup>1497</sup> İbn Fazlan, *İbn Fazlan Seyahatnamesi*, 37.

<sup>1498</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 65.

one of the largest tribes is called *Ersari* 'men blond', though they lost their colourful features to a great extent during their long stay in those lands.

Of course, there is no blond race in the world. On the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea, bloneness reaches its peak, decreasing gradually eastward and westward and sharply as it moves southward. Blondness does not follow nations or languages. While the Finns and Estonians, who are linguistically different from their Indo-European speaking neighbours, are very intensely yellow, the Italians and Greeks speaking Indo-European languages are brunettes. The Spaniards are generally even darker, closer to the Arabs.

Therefore, it is not possible and convenient to make clear remarks on specific physical features of different historical peoples. There is no nation in the northern world which one can characterise with complete bloneness. The same is true for the Turks who were originally a part of the northern world. It is hard to ascertain a ratio in a given time interval, but we can confidently say in the light of paleo-genetic studies and those written materials that 'dark' features eroded the blond physical characters in the course of time. The intermingling of the ancient eastern Turks with local Mongoloid peoples in the east was likely the determinant beginning of this process. The radical change in Central Asia, however, seems to have happened after the Mongolian invasions in the late medieval.

Researchers discovered that Turkish and Japanese 'bacteria' causing tuberculosis were genetically related to each other. It was a tantalising result for the believers of the Altaic theory, for a closer study of the chronology displayed the Mongols were the original owners and source of the ancestral bacterium c. 1200 AD, and it had nothing to do with connecting Turks and Japanese.<sup>1499</sup> Anatolia is the westernmost and Japan is the easternmost land of Asia, both occupied by the Mongols in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Those bacteria were surely not the only thing carried by them.

Well, it may be claimed that the Turks originally had East Asian genetic components and absorbed Central and Western Eurasian ones during their westward dispersal, as implicitly said in linguistic-based theories. The problem is that East Asian components are not widespread among the Turkic populations, are completely absent among the Western Turks, and are entirely a newcomer to the west of the Altay. As we stated above, the earliest influx of East Asian genes to the Turkic population should have started with the arrival of the earliest Turks there in the Bronze Age. However, those genes did not move to Central Asia for a

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<sup>1499</sup> Guislaine Refrégier et al., "Turkish and Japanese Mycobacterium Tuberculosis Sublineages Share a Remote Common Ancestor", *Infection, Genetics and Evolution* 45 (2016), 469.

long time. None of them appear even in East Kazakhstan before the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, as mentioned above. This suits the earliest Saka or perhaps Xiong-nu migrations from the north of Mongolia, as we mentioned in Chapter 11.

Today, mitochondrial haplotypes among modern Kazakhs are seen, according to two separate studies, as 45-31.7% East Eurasian and 50-63.4% West Eurasian.<sup>1500</sup> As for the Uyghurs in Eastern Turkistan, the ratio of West Eurasian haplogroups drops considerably to 30%,<sup>1501</sup> as expected, since the Uyghurs migrated there from Central Mongolia in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. This east and west grouping is significant, because, of the total 29 sequences found in Central Asia, only two can be found in both the East and West of Eurasia. 17 of them are West Eurasian.<sup>1502</sup>

As for the westernmost Turks in the Middle East and the Balkans, eastern components decrease to a negligible degree. Uzbekistan also has fewer of them, compared to the steppe Turks (Kazakh, Kyrgyz, etc.).<sup>1503</sup> This is because the Mongolians had not been there *en masse*. Although they invaded these regions too, their population was too low compared to the crowded Oghuz-Turkoman masses and also to the sedentary local population. In line with the logic of the wheel and carts in Indo-European studies, this case shows that the Turkic world of Central Asia faced a Mongolian genetic influx, characterised by haplogroup C, after the separation of the Oghuz branch, which happened in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1504</sup> The evident candidate is clearly the rise of the Mongols in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, many of their tribes migrating to the Kazakh steppes. This also means that before the coming of the Mongols, the genetic structure of the Central Asian Turks was almost the same as that of the Oghuz (excluding the

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<sup>1500</sup> Lalueza-Fox et al., “Unravelling Migrations in the Steppe”, 945. See also Comas et al., “Admixture, Migrations, and Dispersals in Central Asia”, 500-501.

<sup>1501</sup> Yao Yong-Gang et al., “Phylogeographic Differentiation of Mitochondrial DNA in Han Chinese”, *American Journal of Human Genetics* 70, 3 (2002), 649. On the other hand, in terms of genetic variances, the Uyghurs are different from the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz only with a non-significant change of 0.46% (Comas, “Trading Genes along the Silk Road”, 1828, 1830; Martínez-Cruz et al., “In the Heartland of Eurasia”, 221).

<sup>1502</sup> Comas, “Trading Genes along the Silk Road”, 1827.

<sup>1503</sup> Quintana-Murci, Lluís et al., “Where West Meets East: The Complex mtDNA Landscape of the Southwest and Central Asian Corridor”, *American Journal of Human Genetics* 74, 5 (2004), 838-839. See also Martínez-Cruz et al., “In the Heartland of Eurasia”, 220.

<sup>1504</sup> In contrast to the Central Eurasian genomes found in abundance among the North Europeans, it never reached there (Faux, “The Genetic Link of the Viking-Era Norse to Central Asia”, 29).

Middle East components of the last 1000 years), as we stated in the beginning of this chapter. Therefore, genetic studies seem to approve what is written in old books.

# CHAPTER 19

## RIVERS OF BABYLON: MIDDLE EAST CONNECTIONS

Kozintsev takes the hypothetical Indo-Uralic family, regardless of the fact that the Uralic proto-language is still far from being reconstructed or even proved, and that Indo-European and Uralic commonalities are in a very poor stance for a suggestion of a genetic relation, and compares it with Proto-Kartvel and Proto-Semitic, as well as Proto-North-Caucasian, to claim that they are interrelated. His essential focus is that there was a migration from the Middle East to the north of the Caucasus, whose actors formed the Maikop and Novosvobodnaja cultures. They were Indo-Europeans. The northern Khvalinsk culture had southern roots and the Yamnaya stemmed from the Khvalinsk, and thus Indo-Europeans are originally from the south of the Caspian Sea.<sup>1505</sup> Reich says the same thing: “From 7000 until 5000 years ago, we observed a steady influx into the steppe of a population whose ancestors traced their origin to the south – as it bore genetic affinity to the ancient and present-day people of Armenia and Iran – eventually crystallising in the Yamnaya, who were about a one-to-one ratio of ancestry from these two sources.<sup>1506</sup> Further genetic evidence in this discourse is likely the case of the haplogroup T, which is widespread throughout Western and Central Eurasia, with varying degrees of prevalence among Turkic populations. It is thought to have emanated from the Middle East.<sup>1507</sup>

Besides the other archaeological and genetic data, the fact that it is likely that the oldest kurgans are to be found in Üçtepe, Azerbaijan, as proto-forms of the Maikop kurgans,<sup>1508</sup> supports this claim. But it is not the only thing that was connecting the Middle East with the Eurasian steppes. It is known that features belonging to the Middle East went

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<sup>1505</sup> Kozintsev, “Proto-Indo-Europeans”, 309, 312-313, 348.

<sup>1506</sup> Reich, *Who We Are*, 108-109.

<sup>1507</sup> Bennett and Kaestle, “Investigation of Ancient DNA from Western Siberia”, 151.

<sup>1508</sup> Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 233.

towards the Ural region through the Kelteminar culture in Khorasan,<sup>1509</sup> as early as the Maikop culture movements. Later, around 2100 BC, a group from the Iranian highlands migrated to Khorasan during the last periods of the BMAC, and enlivened the place. They later spread into the northeast and established cities in the middle regions of Amu Darya.<sup>1510</sup> According to a formulation, well before the last movements, the Ural-West Siberian ‘ethno-cultural province’, that is the Proto-Uralic ethno-cultural area had been formed in the late Mesolithic as a result of a mixture of indigenes and newcomers from the Aral region.<sup>1511</sup>

There is no need to go as far as the spread of modern human beings to Eurasia and the Americas through the Middle East, or the Proto-Nostratic being in the Middle East c. 10,000 or more BC in some views;<sup>1512</sup> it is well known and appreciated that during the late Neolithic and early part of the Bronze Age, there was not only a cultural, but also a population influx from the Middle East to Central Eurasia. Then, it is normal and necessary to compare Central Eurasian entities with the Middle East formations.

The Sumerian word *giš* has many meanings: tree; forest; wood; wooden implement; sceptre; tool; organ; penis; man; plough; and natural phenomenon.<sup>1513</sup> It is not difficult to reconstruct such a semantic chain:

Tree > wood > tool (from wood) > to work (with tool) > work  
 tool (from wood) > organ > penis > to pee.

Tuna compares Sumerian *giš* ‘tree’ (> ‘forest’) with Old Turkic *yış* ‘forest’.<sup>1514</sup> It is a perfect correspondence, but that is not all. Tuna took only one meaning of the Sumerian word. If we apply the phonetic rule Turkic *ø- ~ Sumerian g-* suggested by Tuna (see below), then we find Turkic *iş* ‘work’. In Common Turkic it is used today mostly as *iş* (> *işle-* ‘to work’), but the old form is in that way.<sup>1515</sup> This is also a perfect

<sup>1509</sup> Okladnikov, “Inner Asia at the Dawn of History”, 65.

<sup>1510</sup> Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel and Language*, 421.

<sup>1511</sup> L. L. Kosinskaya, “The Neolithic Period of North-Western Siberia: The Question of Southern Connections”, in *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, eds. Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio (Helsinki: The Finno-Ugrian Society, 2007), 265.

<sup>1512</sup> See for instance Renfrew, “World Linguistic Diversity and Farming Dispersals”, 87.

<sup>1513</sup> John A. Halloran, *Sumerian Lexicon. A Dictionary Guide to the Ancient Sumerian Language* (Los Angeles: Logogram, 2006), 17, 24.

<sup>1514</sup> Osman N. Tuna, *Sümer ve Türk Dillerinin Tarihî İlgisi ile Türk Dili'nin Yaşı Meselesi* (Ankara: TDK, 1997), 7.

<sup>1515</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 254.

equation. Cf. Sum. *do-* ‘to do, make, build’, *do* ‘tool’. Furthermore, Turkic also has the verb *işe-* ‘to pee’, apparently derived from *\*iṣ* with the suffix *-a*. Then, *\*iṣ* should be something like ‘male organ’, if not ‘urination’. It was not recorded, however, in Old Turkic. Instead, we have *çiṣ* ‘urination, defecation’ and *çişe-* ‘to pee’ (used for children).<sup>1516</sup> Cf. also Ostyak *kös-* and Mari *kəž-* ‘to pee’. This second word *çiṣ* and its verbal form make the case more complicated and interesting, for it agrees with the Old Turkic *yış* ‘forest’, which survives in some oriental Turkic languages or dialects (Yakut *sis*, Khakas *cıṣ*, Shor *çıṣ*, Teleüt *d’iṣ*, Kyrgyz *cıṣ*, etc.).<sup>1517</sup> Therefore, a mysterious semantic and phonetic relation through the unexpected notions ‘tree’ and ‘urination’ connects Turkic and Sumerian.

Or, I wonder what the Grimm Brothers would think, if they knew that the Sumerian words for ‘frog’ and ‘prince’ are the same, *nir*, which semantic equation is also visible in Turkic with *bäkä* ‘frog’ and *baga*, *bäg* ‘lord’. How should we regard these cases? Well, Sumerian ceased to be spoken as at c. 2000 BC, while the earliest records of Turkic go only to the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. The wise caution of many scholars that two languages with so many time and space gaps cannot be compared cannot and should not be taken seriously.<sup>1518</sup> We compare languages of the Maldives and Shetland, in the circumstances of the Old World before the age of geographic discoveries, and find relations between them. It is certain that Turkic existed well before the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, and it was very conservative mainly for the sake of its agglutinative structure. If one disregards results and focuses only on some prerequisites that are applied arbitrarily, then it is only scholasticism. If so, there should be a guiding list or table to make clear which languages can be compared with which others. In accordance with that approach, only a few languages (Akkadian, Hurrian, Hittite, Sanskrit, etc.) can be compared with Sumerian. Then, of course, it would stay as an isolated language in the middle of the Afroasiatic zone. I’m not aware of any objection to the Elamo-Dravid comparisons, on the other hand, and I’m not aware of ancient linguistic records of the Dravidian languages. Elamic and Dravidian seem to be in the same position as Sumerian and Turkic in this sense, and even worse, since Dravidian languages have no old records.

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<sup>1516</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 430-431.

<sup>1517</sup> Osman F. Sertkaya, “Y1s (Y1ṣ?) / Yis<sup>1</sup> / Yis / Yiṣ Kelimesi ve Akralar1 Üzerine”, *S. Ü. Türkiyat Araṣtırmaları Dergisi (A. B. Ercilasun Armađanı)* 13 (2003), 2-3.

<sup>1518</sup> For example, Dietz O. Edzart, *Sumerian Grammar* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 2.

What prevents us from a Turko-Sumerian comparison is not the gaps but that Turkic is not an independent or isolated language or language family according to well-established views, and by the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC, at least, it should go back to a proto-language, from which some other languages are also descended. Thus, it is better to make comparisons in wider frameworks in those opinions. However, since the nature of the Ural-Altai zone, or even the Uralic and Altaic zones separately, does not permit us to reconstruct reliable proto-languages, it is an almost impossible mission. If one takes the entire vocabulary, that is, hundreds of thousands of words of the north of Eurasia, then even casual resemblances will constitute a great amount, and almost all Sumerian words will perhaps be linked to any word there<sup>1519</sup> (though in Indo-European comparisons there is no such a result as far as I know). This would be the same as assigning all people bearing a certain haplogroup to a certain origin, and would not be helpful in our survey, because proto-languages (Uralic and Altaic, if there) in the Ural-Altai zone are not younger than Sumerian. The entire Ural-Altai world cannot have descended from the Sumerians for chronological reasons, and the Sumerians were hardly split from that greater family for morphological reasons. Instead, it seems better to compare Sumerian with individual languages, and to search for a gravity point or region. Ural-Altai languages are tied to each other with very weak lexical correspondences, and this makes parts of them open to deep foreign influences or interactions, which do not necessarily matter to the other parts.

Well, it is widely acknowledged that Sumerian studies are not free of nationalistic enthusiasms. There is a competition in the scholarly world, amateur or professional, to link them to one's own nationality. Everybody wants 'the first civilised people' to be their ancestors, while the Sumerians stay closer to "of nobody" in contrast to "of everybody". Bomhard, an adherent of the Nostratic theory, concludes that Sumerian does not appear to be a Nostratic daughter language in its own right. Rather, the evidence seems to indicate that it is a relative of Nostratic.<sup>1520</sup> In that sense, Sumerian stands with the Elamite language, its eastern neighbour, with which there is no close genetic relation.<sup>1521</sup> The old discourse connecting

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<sup>1519</sup> Cf. Simo Parpola recently presented Uralic etymologies for over three thousand Sumerian words (Peter Z. Revesz, "Sumerian Contains Dravidian and Uralic Substrates Associated with the Emegir and Emesal Dialects", *WSEAS Transactions on Information Science and Applications* 16 (2019), 8).

<sup>1520</sup> Allan R. Bomhard, "On the Origin of Sumerian", *Mother Tongue* 3 (1997), 83.

<sup>1521</sup> Some other scholars think that Elamite was close to the neighbouring Zagros languages of peoples of what is today South Azerbaijan: Mede and their



Elamite with the Dravidian languages of South Asia has nowadays been abandoned to a great degree. Starostin warns that the Elamite case markers alleged to exist in the Dravidian zone are also shared by Altaic and Uralic, and identifies that dead language as a bridge between Nostratic and Afro-Asiatic.<sup>1522</sup>

Sumerian is an agglutinative language. In that sense, it stands apart from the Hamito-Semitic and Indo-European languages and gets closer to the Ural-Altaic and Dravidian group, but there are some traits strange to them. For instance, *lu-gal* ‘man great’ > ‘great man’, namely ‘king’, but *nam-lu-gal* ‘kingdom’. In the classical Ural-Altaic structure, it would be inversely *gal-lu-nam*. Sumerian phonology, especially the vowel system is known through the Semitic Akkadian and thus it may not adequately reflect the original case.<sup>1523</sup> That is, it might have had a richer vowel capacity. As for suffixes, the Sumerian dative *-ra* is the same as those in Turkic and Hungarian. The ablative *-ta* exists in Turkic, too. The comitative

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predecessors the Mannas, Kassites, Gutians, Lullubians, etc., who did not leave any text for us to decipher, as well as the Hurrians. They are altogether thought to be closer to the East Caucasus languages (N. B. Jankowska, “Asshur, Mitanni and Arrapkhe”, in *Early Antiquity*, ed. I. M. Diakonoff (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 232; Diakonoff, “Media”, 71; idem, “Early Despotisms in Mesopotamia”, in *Early Antiquity*, ed. I. M. Diakonoff (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 90).

<sup>1522</sup> Starostin, “On the Genetic Affiliation of the Elamite Language”, 149, 168. He seems right, for some Elamite basic words seem to have Turkic correspondences: El. *sa-an* ‘blood’, Tr. *kan* ‘idem’; El. *kura-* ‘to sear, bake’, Tr. *kuru-* ‘idem’; El. *pu-ur* ‘claw, nail’, Tr. *barmak* ‘finger’; El. *ba-at, pa-at* ‘foot’, Tr. *\*pad-ak* ‘idem’; El. *uk-ku* ‘head’, Tr. *ög* ‘brain’. Previously Koşay had suggested Turkic equivalents to some Elamite words like El. *atta* ‘father’, Tr. *ata* ‘idem’; El. *bali-be* ‘statue of god’, Tr. *balbal* ‘rough statue or rock erected on tomstones’ (though it might be a loanword in Turkic), El. *la-gitta* ‘to go’, Tr. *git-* ‘idem’; El. *ike* ‘brother’, Tr. *eke* ‘elder brother’; El. *kitti* ‘fortunate’, Tr. *kut* ‘heavenly favour’; El. *kit-ti* ‘to hide’, Tr. *kiz* ‘secret’, *kizle-* ‘to hide’; El. *korpi* ‘shoulder, arm, hand’, Tr. *kor* ‘arm’; El. *kukki* ‘sky’, Tr. *kök* ‘idem’; El. *kulla/kula* ‘to beg’, Tr. *kol-* ‘idem’; El. *kut* ‘to bring’, Tr. *ketir-* ‘idem’ (indeed from *keltür-*); El. *pari/paru* ‘to move away, to arrive’, Tr. *bar-* ‘to arrive at’; El. *sak* ‘son’, Tr. *çağa* ‘idem’; El. *te-en* ‘to hear’, Tr. *tn-* ‘to hear, listen to’; El. *tikka* ‘to put, to plant, to situate’, Tr. *tik-* ‘to plant, erect, put’; El. *tu-un* ‘spirit, life’, Tr. *tin* ‘soul, life’; El. *uta* ‘to cross over’, Tr. *ut-* ‘idem’ (Hamit Z. Koşay, *Elamca-Türkçe Dil Akrabahğı. Elamisch-türkische Sprachverwandschaft* (Ankara: Çankaya Mat., 1937), various pages). They point to a substantial relation, not perhaps very close, but significant to a great degree.

<sup>1523</sup> Gábor Zólyomi, *An Introduction to the Grammar of Sumerian* (Budapest: ELTE, 2017), 31.

-*da* can be compared to the Turkic word *de/da* ‘also, with’. The equative -*gin* can be compared to Tr. deverbial adjective maker -*gin* with a loose semantic connection, and perhaps to Tr. instrumental -*in*.<sup>1524</sup>

Of the 100-word Swadesh list, I could find these 30 concepts and 34 words that may have Turkic correspondences: Sum. *men*, *mae* ‘I’, Tr. *men* ‘idem’; Sum. *zae* ‘thou’, Tr. *sen* ‘idem’; Sum. *nen* ‘this’, Tr. *ney* ‘thing’; Sum. *ur* ‘hero’, Tr. *eren* ‘male, soldier, troops’, *är* ‘man, warrior’; Sum. *mah* ‘great’, Tr. \**maḡ* ‘idem’; Sum. *mušen* ‘bird’, Tr. *kuş* ‘idem’; Sum. *giš* ‘tree’, Tr. *yış* ‘forest’; Sum. *urin* ‘blood’, Tr. *irin* ‘pus, fester’; Sum. *uš* ‘blood’, Tr. *öz* (*su*) ‘secretion’; Sum. *sig* ‘wool, body-hair’, Tr. *yüñ* ‘wool’; Sum. *silig* ‘hand’, Tr. *elig* ‘hand’; Sum. *ubur* ‘breast’, Tr. *kögüz* ‘breast’; Sum. *geštug* ‘ear; to hear’, Tr. *eşid-* ‘to hear, listen to’; Sum. *gal-* ‘to live’, Tr. *yaşa-* ‘idem’; Sum. *udi-* ‘to sleep’, Tr. *udl-* ‘idem’; Sum. *uš-* ‘to die’, Tr. *öl-* ‘idem’, cf. also Tr. *uçmak* ‘paradise’; Sum. *gaz-* ‘to kill’, Tr. *ez-* ‘to crush’; Sum. *nud-* ‘to lie’, Tr. *yat-* ‘idem’; Sum. *dur-* ‘to sit’, Tr. *tur-* ‘to stay, stand’; Sum. *sum-* ‘geben’, Tr. *sun-* ‘to offer, present’; Sum. *di-* ‘to speak’, Tr. *te-* ‘to say, tell’; Sum. *kid* ‘Sonne’, Tr. *kün* ‘sun, day’; Sum. *šeg* ‘rain’, Tr. *çiğ* ‘dew’; Sum. *sulu* ‘avenue, path, trail, road’, Tr. *yol* ‘road’; Sum. *kur* ‘mountain’, Tr. *or* ‘high’; Sum. *šeg* ‘frost’, Tr. *çiğ* ‘snowslide’; Sum. *giğ* ‘night’, Tr. *keçe* ‘night’; Sum. *dug* ‘good’, Tr. *yeğ* (cf. also Hu. *jó*) ‘idem’; Sum. *sag* ‘right’, Tr. *sağ* ‘right; alive’; Sum. *esi*, *esig* ‘good, fine’, Tr. *esen* ‘good, happy’, Sum. *bar-* ‘to burn, shine’, Tr. *parla-* ‘to shine’; Sum. *izi* ‘fire’, Tr. *ısı* ‘heat’; Sum. *du-* ‘voll sein, füllen’, Tr. *to-l-* ‘to be or become full’.

Amanžolov compares the Sumerian *sag* ‘head’ with the ‘head’ (indeed ‘helmet’) meaning of the word *Türk*, and ties the former to the ethnic name *Sak/Saka* through a semantic tradition suggested by him.<sup>1525</sup> This is a nice connection, but entirely hypothetical. The well-known Chinese account that an apex of the Altaic mountains looked like a helmet, which was called ‘turk’ in the language of the Kök Türks, and the latter took their name for the sake of it is doubtful for two reasons. Such a word recorded in a way in Turkic languages is not known at all, and the same Chinese sources inform us that the Türk tribe came from the west. Although they might have been called by another name before coming to the Altay world, our study showed that there was, according to ancient Western sources, a certain Türk people in the west, exactly where the Chinese indicate. Instead, one may go on the interchangeable meanings of ‘front’ and ‘right’ in Turkic, in which the word *sag* ‘right’ might have once also meant

<sup>1524</sup> Suffixes were compiled from Zólyomi, *An Introduction to the Grammar of Sumerian*, esp. 40.

<sup>1525</sup> Amanžolov, *Istorija i teorija drevnetjurkskogo pis'ma*, 39-40.

‘front’. Thus, we may reach the meaning of ‘head’, and connect it to the Sumerian *sag* ‘head’. But these are also purely hypothetical.

Maybe a few of them like Sum. *du-* and Tr. *tol-* can be dismissed, but 30 is a good number for two unrelated languages and well above the inter-Uralic and inter-Altaic averages. It is very interesting that Turkic has more basic words shared with Sumerian than Mongolian. Although the glottochronology makes it possible to tie Sumerian with Old Turkic, regarding the very time span between them, nevertheless I keep the suspicion of a genetic relation, mainly for morphological reasons. Differences in morphology are, however, less significant compared to similarities. They mainly contain the use of prefixes or pre-words. We should keep in mind that Hungarian today uses prefixes (only in deverbial production) as productive as the Slavic languages. The case that the Sumerian adjective comes after the described word is not even a great difference. English and French are totally opposite to each other in that application. Besides, Sumerian word order is SOV,<sup>1526</sup> as usual in the Ural-Altaic realm, and in contrast to the neighbouring Semitic languages. The morphology or structural logic of a language can change within itself or under foreign influence. (New) Persian left many traits of Old Persian and has got closer to Turkish, and in Azerbaijan, having almost the same vocabulary and even pronunciation as Turkey, people adopted many Persian and then Russian linguistic forms.

Thus, Kramer diminishes those reasons by saying that “Sumerian resembles not a little such agglutinative languages as Turkish and Hungarian, and some of the Caucasian languages.”<sup>1527</sup> The problem is mainly with the vocabulary, due to which Sumerian stands alone in his view. However, the above basic words and the below list of words, almost all of which belongs to the first and second categories, show that, considered together with the average or minimum glottochronology estimations, there is not much of a problem with the vocabulary.

Suspicion over the Sumerian language’s genetic relation with Turkic is indeed the general stance in Turkey. Contrary to other Turkic countries, where some scholars claimed to have found hundreds of correspondences between Sumerian and Turkic as evidences of a genetic relation (in parallel with several Hungarian researchers claiming to have done the same for Hungarian), Turkish scholars are unflappable at that point, but not lazy. Now it is easier and encouraging that the first comprehensive Sumerian dictionary, with an Akkadian comparison, was published in

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<sup>1526</sup> Bomhard, “On the Origin of Sumerian”, 76.

<sup>1527</sup> Samuel N. Kramer, *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture and Character* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), 306.

Turkish. The most significant study in this area was however produced in the USA. Tuna, himself an adherent of the Altaic theory and a pupil of N. Poppe, found some regular sound changes between Sumerian and Turkic, containing the equivalences of 168 words, and presented a paper at the American Oriental Society in 1971. Since he had to use both German and English lexicons, and not a single dictionary, the meanings of the Sumerian words below are given with them, and the Turkic words were translated by me, mostly relying on Clauson.

**Table 7:** Comparison of Sumerian and Turkic Vocabulary

**1. Sum. *d-* ~ Tr. *y-, ø***

***Sumerian***

*dar-* ‘spalten, zerschneiden, zerstören’  
*dib* ‘Band’  
*dir-* ‘zerspalten, zerstören, umwerfen’  
*diriğ-* ‘to be excessive, to be too much’  
*dirig-* ‘to accumulate’  
*dirig* ‘zerspalten, zerstören, umwerfen’  
*dirra* ‘Hülfe’  
*dugud-* ‘to be heavy, be important’  
*dulum* ‘misery, suffering’  
*tab-* ‘verschlissen’  
*taga* ‘Feind, Peiniger’  
*tar-* ‘to cut, to break’  
*tir* ‘country’  
*tu-* ‘waschen, baden, libieren’  
*tul* ‘Brunnen, Graben, Kanal’

***Turkic***

*yar-* ‘to split, or cleave’  
*yip* ‘cord, thread, string’  
*yir-* ‘to split’  
*yirig, irig* ‘rough, harsh’  
*irk-* ‘to collect or assemble’  
*yurik* ‘torn, rent’  
*yarı* ‘help’  
*yogun* ‘thick and the like’  
*yulug* ‘tearing out; ransom’  
*yap-* ‘to cover, shut, shut up’  
*yagu* ‘enemy’  
*yar-* ‘to split, or cleave’  
*yir* ‘ground, earth, land, place’  
*yu-* ‘to wash’  
*yul* ‘a spring, fountain’

**2. Sum. *g-* ~ Tr. *y-, ø***

*gamar* ‘wichtig sein’  
*garim* ‘Fluss-Aue’  
*gaz-* ‘to crush’  
*geme* ‘Magd’  
*gi* ‘Rohr’ ‘reed(s)’

*gid-* ‘entfernen’  
*gid-* ‘drängen’  
*gig-* ‘to be ill, ache, hurt, give pain’  
*giš* ‘wood, tree’  
*gišig* ‘door’

*ağır* ‘heavy’  
*ar(i)k* ‘an irrigation canal’  
*ez-* ‘to crush, pound’  
*eke* ‘elder sister’  
*ı* ‘something between a plant and a tree’  
*id-* ‘to send, allow to go, release’  
*it-* ‘to push, shove’  
*iğ* ‘illness’  
*yış* ‘tree, forest, mountain’  
*eşik* ‘door’

*giškim* ‘willow’  
*gud* ‘ox’  
*gukin-* ‘Ökumene’  
*gur-* ‘ernten’

*gurun* ‘Ernte’

### 3. Sum. *m-* ~ Tr. *k-*

*mal-* ‘to stay’  
*marun* ‘Ameise’  
*maš* ‘Grenze’  
*maš* ‘Zwilling’  
*mir-* ‘anger’  
*mu* ‘name, fame’  
*mud* ‘blood’  
*mulu* ‘man’  
*mušen* ‘Vogel’

### 4. Sum. *n-* ~ Tr. *y-*

*nad-* ‘sich niederlagen, beschlafen’  
*nad-* ‘to lie down, rest’  
*nanga* ‘district’  
*niggig* ‘taboo’  
*nigin* ‘Summe’  
*nunuz* ‘bead’  
*nurum* ‘Licht’<sup>1528</sup>

### 5. Sum. *s-* ~ Tr. *y-, ø*

*sar-* ‘to write’  
*sig* ‘prime, good’  
*sig* ‘wool, body-hair’  
*silig* ‘hand’  
*sulu* ‘avenue, path, trail, road’  
*šeg* ‘rain’  
*šir-* ‘singen and spielen’  
*siš, šiš* ‘palace lady’  
*šur* ‘wild’  
*šurim* ‘half’  
*zag* ‘border, shoulder, outer edge’

*yılgin* ‘tamarisk’  
*ud* ‘bovine, ox’  
*ökün* ‘a heap’  
*or-* ‘to mow (grass, etc.), reap (crops)’  
*orum* ‘reaping grass’

*kal-* ‘to stay’  
*karınça* ‘ant’  
*kaş* ‘edge or side of something’  
*koş* ‘a pair of something’  
*kız-* ‘to be angry’  
*kü* ‘fame’  
*kan* ‘blood’  
*kul* ‘slave’  
*kuş* ‘bird’

*yad-* ‘to spread out’  
*yat-* ‘to lie down’  
*yaña* ‘the bank of any river’  
*yığ-* ‘to prevent’  
*yığın* ‘pile, stack’  
*yinçü* ‘pearl’  
*yaruk* ‘brilliant, shining’

*yaz-* ‘to write’  
*yig* ‘good, better’  
*yün* ‘wool’  
*elig* ‘hand’  
*yol* ‘road’  
*yag-* ‘to rain’  
*yır* ‘melody’  
*işi* ‘princess, lady’  
*yoz* ‘wild’  
*yarım* ‘half’  
*yaka* ‘the edge, or border’

<sup>1528</sup> It seems to have a Semitic connection as well.

*zal-* ‘hell warden, glänzen’  
*zalog* ‘glänzen; hell’

### 6. Sum. *s-* ~ Tr. *ç-*

*sag* ‘small child’  
*sag-* ‘schlagen’  
*sipad* ‘shepherd’  
*šab-* ‘durchschneiden’  
*Šulpae* ‘a God’s name’  
*zibin* ‘insect’  
*zid* ‘truth, upright, just’  
*ziz* ‘emmer (wheat)’

*yal-* ‘to blaze, burn, shine’  
*yaluḫ* ‘flame’

*çağa* ‘new-born’  
*çak-* ‘to strike’  
*çoban* ‘shepherd’  
*çap-* ‘to hit, to hit and cut’  
*çolpan* ‘the planet Venus’  
*çibin* ‘a fly’  
*çın* ‘reality, truth’  
*çeç* ‘grain split from the straw/hay’

### 7. Sum. *u-* ~ Tr. *kV-*

*ubur* ‘weibliche Brust’  
*ud* ‘day, time’  
*ud* ‘Sturm’  
*udu* ‘sheep’  
*umah* ‘Sumpf’  
*umun* ‘Gewölk’  
*un* ‘people, folk’  
*ur-* ‘to found, establish’  
 establish’  
*ur-* ‘to sweep away’  
*uru-* ‘to protect, to look after’  
*urugal* ‘grab’  
*ušan* ‘bird’  
*ušub* ‘Vogelnest’

*kögüz* ‘breast’  
*kün* ‘day; sun’  
*kad* ‘snowstorm’  
*koñ* ‘sheep’  
*kömek* ‘swamp, marshy place’  
*kümün* ‘men, person, people’  
*kün* ‘people’  
*kur-* ‘to erect (a tent, etc.),  
*kürü-* ‘to shovel’  
*koru-* ‘to protect, save’  
*kurgan* ‘Grabhügel’  
*kuş* ‘bird’  
*kuş eb* ‘bird house’

### 8. Consonants after the first vowel: Sum. *-d-* ~ Tr. *-d-*

*adakur* ‘ein opfergefäß für Getränke’  
*gid-* ‘entfernen’  
*gid-* ‘bad, stinking’  
*gud* ‘ox’  
*iduga* ‘perfume’  
*kad-* ‘knüpfen; binden; festflügen’  
*kid-* ‘to split, cut into pieces’  
*kudim* ‘silver or goldsmith’  
*nad-* ‘sich niederlagen, beschlafen’  
*ud* ‘time (in general)’

*adak* ‘goblet’  
*id-* ‘to send, allow to go, release’  
*id-/yid* ‘scent, fragrance’  
*ud* ‘bovine, ox’  
*yidiğ* ‘smell, foul-smelling’  
*kada-* ‘annageln, befestigen’  
*kid-* ‘to split, cut into pieces’  
*kuyum* ‘argente’  
*yad-* ‘to spread out’  
*öd* ‘time, season, weather’

*ud* ‘Sturm’  
*udi-* ‘to sleep’

*kad* ‘snowstorm’  
*udi-* ‘to sleep’

**9. Consonants after the first vowel: Sum. -d- ~ Tr. -n-**

*dugud* ‘schwer’  
*kid* ‘Sonne’  
*mud* ‘blood’  
*sipad* ‘shepherd’  
*sud-* ‘to be long, lengthen, prolong’  
*tugdu* ‘knot, tie’  
*ud* ‘time (in general)’  
*udu* ‘sheep’  
*zid* ‘truth, upright, just’  
*šid* ‘number, voting board’

*yogun* ‘thick and the like’  
*kün* ‘sun, day’  
*kan* ‘blood’  
*çoban* ‘shepherd’  
*sun-* ‘to lengthen’  
*tügün* ‘knot’  
*kün* ‘sun, day’  
*koñ* ‘sheep’  
*çın* ‘reality, truth’  
*san* ‘number, counting’

**10. Consonants between vowels: Sum. -m- ~ Tr. -k-**

*amaš* ‘Schafhürde, Umfriedung, Stall’  
*geme* ‘Magd’  
*imma* ‘two’  
*umun* ‘schwer, gewichtig’  
*umuš* ‘discernment’

*agıl* ‘stable’  
*eke* ‘elder sister’  
*ikki* ‘two’  
*yogun* ‘thick and the like’  
*ukuš* ‘understanding’

**11. Sum. -r ~ Tr. -z**<sup>1529</sup>

*bur-* ‘to spread abroad, disperse, undo’  
*gur-* ‘zerbrechen, zerschneiden’

*har-* ‘to dig, dig quickly’  
*mir-* ‘anger’  
*sar-* ‘to write’  
*sur-* ‘to squeeze, press out’  
*šur* ‘wild’  
*ur* ‘liver, spirit, mood’  
*ubur* ‘weibliche Brust’

*buz-* ‘to destroy, damage’  
*üz-* ‘to tear, pull apart, pull into pieces’  
*kaz-* ‘to dig’  
*kız-* ‘to be angry’  
*yaz-* ‘to write’  
*süz-* ‘to filter’  
*yož* ‘wild’  
*öz* ‘soul, self, spirit’  
*kögüz* ‘breast’

<sup>1529</sup> As remembered, this is the pivotal point that separates Common Turkic (the Z language) from Bulgaro-Chuvash (the R language). Therefore, indeed the suggested Sumerian forms agree with the R group. Kenanidis and Papakitsos also suggested phonetic rules that Sumerian has regular connections with the r-Turkic: Ioannis Kenanidis and Evangelos C. Papakitsos, “Yet Another Suggestion about the Origins of the Sumerian Language”, *International Journal of Linguistics* 5, 5 (2013), 30-44.

**12. Sum. -š ~ Tr. -l**

*amaš* ‘Schafhürde, Umfriedung, Stall’  
*ašša* ‘six’  
*gišge* ‘shadow’  
*giškim* ‘willow’  
*tuš-* ‘seat, to sit’  
*uš* ‘Fundament’  
*uš-* ‘dead, to die’

*agil* ‘stable’  
*altu* ‘six’  
*kölige* ‘shadow’  
*yilgin* ‘tamarisk’  
*ol(ur)-* ‘to sit’  
*ul* ‘fundament’  
*öl-* ‘to die’

**13. Sum. -ae ~ Tr. -n**

*mae* ‘I’  
*zae* ‘thou’  
*Šulpae* ‘a God’s name’  
*ulia* ‘Grass, Futter, Pflanze’

*men* ‘I’  
*sen* ‘thou’  
*çolpan* ‘the planet Venus’  
*öleñ* ‘grass, a grassy meadow’

**14. Sum. -g ~ Tr. -ñ**

*ašag* ‘field’  
*bulug* ‘Grenze, Grenzgebiet’  
 of the world’  
*dag* ‘daybreak, morning, dawn’  
*kalag* ‘to be strong, have power’  
*nig* ‘whatsoever, thing’  
*sig* ‘wool, body-hair’  
*zalog* ‘glänzen; hell’

*alañ* ‘level open ground’<sup>1530</sup>  
*buluñ* ‘corner, angle, a quarter’  
  
*tañ* ‘dawn’  
*kaluñ* ‘massive, dense, thick’  
*neñ* ‘thing, property’  
*yüñ* ‘wool’  
*yaluñ* ‘flame’

**15. Sum. -m ~ Tr. -k**

*alim* ‘Steppentier, Widder’  
*alim* ‘König’  
*dilim* ‘Schale, Napf’  
*garim* ‘Fluss-Aue’  
*izim* ‘Feuer, Hitze, heiss’  
*kurum* ‘food-ration, food supply’  
*nurum* ‘Licht’  
*šurum* ‘a cattle stable’  
*um* ‘Mutter’<sup>1531</sup>

*elik* ‘roe-buck’  
*ilig* ‘having a realm, king’  
*yalig* ‘a horse’s mane’  
*ar(i)k* ‘an irrigation canal’  
*isig* ‘hot, heat’  
*azuk* ‘food, provisions’  
*yaruk* ‘brilliant, shining’  
*sürüg* ‘herd’  
*ög* ‘mother’

<sup>1530</sup> There is also Sum. *alag* ‘area, field, space’ which agrees more with the Turkic word.

<sup>1531</sup> It seems to have a Semitic connection as well.



Some other correspondences, including several examples above, are directly visible, without assuming a noteworthy phonetic change:

<i>agar</i> ‘lead (metal)’	<i>agir</i> ‘heavy’
<i>azgu</i> ‘neck-stock (for use with animals)’	<i>asku</i> ‘suspender’ < <i>as-</i> ‘to hang’
<i>bulug</i> ‘Grenze, Grenzgebiet’	<i>buluŋ</i> ‘corner, angle, a quarter of the world’
<i>di-</i> ‘to speak’	<i>ti-</i> ‘to tell, say’
<i>dag</i> ‘daybreak, morning, dawn’	<i>taŋ</i> ‘dawn’
<i>dingir</i> ‘God’	<i>Teŋri</i> ‘God’ <sup>1532</sup>
<i>du-</i> ‘voll sein, füllen’	<i>to-l-</i> ‘to be or become full’
<i>dug-</i> ‘to pour out’	<i>tök-</i> ‘to pour out’
<i>dur</i> ‘seat’	<i>tör</i> ‘the most prestigious place in the room’
<i>eš-</i> ‘to blow’	<i>es-</i> ‘to blow’
<i>gim</i> ‘like, just as’ <sup>1533</sup>	<i>kipi</i> ‘like’
<i>hum</i> ‘Lager, Stall’	<i>kom</i> ‘stable, stall’ <sup>1534</sup>
<i>iduga</i> ‘perfume’	<i>yidiŋ</i> ‘smell, foul-smelling’
<i>kad-</i> ‘knüpfen; binden; festflügen’	<i>kada-</i> ‘annageln, befestigen’
<i>kaš-</i> ‘galoppieren’	<i>kaš-</i> ‘to run away’
<i>kaš</i> ‘urin’	<i>kašan-</i> ‘(livestock) to urinate’
<i>ki-</i> ‘machen’	<i>kıl-</i> ‘to do, make’
<i>kid-</i> ‘to split, cut into pieces’	<i>kıd-</i> ‘to split, cut into pieces’
<i>kiri</i> ‘garden, field’	<i>kır</i> ‘plain, steppe, wilderness’
<i>ku-</i> ‘wergen, lagen, gründen’	<i>ko-</i> ‘to put, leave’
<i>kur</i> ‘land’	<i>kuru</i> ‘land, earth, place’
<i>kur-</i> ‘to protect, shelter, watch’	<i>kori-</i> ‘to protect, save, guard’
<i>nig</i> ‘whatsoever, thing’	<i>neŋ</i> ‘thing, property’
<i>sag</i> ‘good’	<i>sag</i> ‘sound, healthy; right’
<i>sakhar</i> ‘a sort of vessel’	<i>sagir</i> ‘a conical vessel to put wine’ <sup>1535</sup>

<sup>1532</sup> This word is a common noun in Sumerian meaning ‘god’. The greatest Sumerian god’s name was Enki. This word was made from a combination of *an* ‘sky’ and *ki* ‘earth’. I proposed in my previous studies that *Teŋri* could likewise have been a combination of two relevant words in Turkic, such as *\*tan* ‘sky’ and *\*gir* ‘earth’.

<sup>1533</sup> Emelianov, “Akkadian Loanwords in Sumerian Revised”, 486.

<sup>1534</sup> Rather than with the form *köm*, this should be an Armenian loanword in Turkish. It does not occur in the other Turkic zones, but in various Indo-European languages. Thus, I must disagree with Tuna.

<i>sig</i> ‘dünn’	<i>sig</i> ‘shallow, shoal’
<i>sum-</i> ‘geben’	<i>sun-</i> ‘to offer, present’
<i>tah-</i> ‘hinzufügen’	<i>tak-</i> ‘to fix, attach’
<i>te(ga)-</i> ‘to attain, reach, touch upon’	<i>teg-</i> ‘to reach, touch upon’
<i>tibira</i> ‘metal’	<i>temir</i> ‘iron’
<i>tin</i> ‘Leben’	<i>tin</i> ‘breathe, spirit’
<i>tuku-</i> ‘weben, Kleid’	<i>toku-</i> ‘to weave’
<i>tuku-</i> ‘schütteln, wanken’	<i>toku-</i> ‘to hit, beat’
<i>u</i> ‘Schlaf’	<i>u</i> ‘sleeping’
<i>u</i> ‘Zehn’	<i>on</i> ‘ten’
<i>ud</i> ‘time (in general)’	<i>öd</i> ‘time, season, weather’
<i>udi-</i> ‘to sleep’	<i>udı-</i> ‘to sleep’
<i>umuş</i> ‘Werk’	<i>yumuş</i> ‘task, duty, mission’
<i>gur-</i> ‘ernten’	<i>or-</i> ‘to mow (grass, etc.), reap (crops)’
<i>urgu</i> ‘lager’	<i>örge</i> ‘tent pavilion’
<i>uş</i> ‘Verstand’	<i>us</i> ‘mind’
<i>uş</i> ‘Werk’	<i>iş</i> ‘work’
<i>zag</i> ‘right side’	<i>sag</i> ‘right, the right-hand side’
<i>zibin</i> ‘Insekt’	<i>çibin</i> ‘fly’

Tuna lists among them a few Mongolian correspondences as well, like Sum. *mulu* ‘Fuss’, Mon. *köl* ‘foot, leg’; Sum. *tag-* ‘fangen, jagen’, Mon. *daga-* ‘to follow, accompany, travel with’; Sum. *ubur* ‘teats’, Mon. *öbür* ‘breast, bosom, front, lap’; Sum. *uri* ‘jener Tag, ferner Tag’, Mon. *uri-d* ‘before, formerly, in advance’.<sup>1536</sup> But the correspondences are far from pointing to an Altaic level connection, as Tuna appreciates.

We may add some further words with direct or easily visible phonetic equivalences like Sum. *abba* ‘father’, Tr. *aba* ‘idem’; Sum. *adda* ‘father’, Tr. *ata* ‘idem’; Sum. *aş-* ‘to desire’, *aşte* ‘desired object’, Tr. *iste-* ‘to want, seek’; Sum. *baba* ‘old man’, Tr. *baba* ‘father’; Sum. *bi* ‘with, together with’, Tr. *bi-len* ‘with, together’; Sum. *buluh-* ‘to fear, be afraid’, Tr. *belin* ‘fear’; Sum. *bur-* ‘to bore through, to pierce’, Tr. *bur-* ‘to wring, twirl, twist’; Sum. *bur-* ‘to spread out, to cover over’, Tr. *bürü-* ‘to cover up, wrap, suffuse’; Sum. *da-* ‘to be enemy’, Tr. *yagı* ‘enemy’; Sum. *dála* ‘thorn, needle’, Tr. *del-* ‘to ream, drill’; Sum. *dih-* ‘to press, to push’, Tr. *ük-* ‘to tuck’; Sum. *dub-* ‘to break, destroy’, Tr. *töv-* ‘to beat’; Sum. *dul-* ‘to cover, close’, Tr. *yaş-* ‘to cover, hood’; Sum. *e* ‘home, house, family,

<sup>1535</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 814, suggests it is a loanword from Persian ‘cup, goblet’.

<sup>1536</sup> All derived from Tuna, *Sümer ve Türk Dillerinin Tarihi İlgisi*, 5-25.

room', Tr. *eb/ev* 'house, home'; Sum. *gal-* 'to live', Tr. *yaşa-* 'to live' (as written in the Swadesh discussion above); Sum. *gidda* 'spear, lance', Tr. *çıda* 'spear, lance'; Sum. *gud-* 'short; to be short', Tr. *kit* 'scarce, short'; Sum. *gul-* 'to destroy', Tr. *yol-* 'to pluck, tear, rive'; Sum. *gur-* 'to break', Tr. *kır-* 'to break'; Sum. *gur-* 'to bend, twist, turn, roll up', Tr. *kavır-* 'to bend, curl, twist'; Sum. *haza-* 'to seize, grasp, take hold of', Tr. *kaz-gan-* 'to gain'; Sum. *kad-* 'to weave', Tr. *kad-* 'to append tightly'; Sum. *kur-* 'to enter', Tr. *kir-* 'to enter'; Sum. *pa* 'top part, hill', Tr. *baş* 'head'; Sum. *par-* 'to go or pass by', Tr. *bar-* 'to reach, arrive'; Sum. *peš-* 'to cut into pieces, break, destroy', Tr. *biç-* 'to crop, cut up, mow'; Sum. *sal-* 'to set free, to release, to let go', Tr. *sal-* 'idem'; Sum. *šar-* 'to bring together', Tr. *sar-* 'to wrap, twine, encircle'; Sum. *tab-* 'to fire, burn; brand', Tr. \**tab-* 'to heat; brand'; Sum. *tah-* 'to add', Tr. *tak-* 'to attach'; Sum. *tar-* 'to disperse, scatter; untie', Tr. *tar-* 'to scatter'; Sum. *tud-* 'to be born, bear', Tr. *tog-* 'to be born'; Sum. *tud-* 'to beat, hit, strike', Tr. *töv-* 'to beat'; Sum. *uru* 'high', Tr. *or* 'high place, high'; Sum. *uru* 'fire', Tr. *kor* 'cinder, ember, coal'; Sum. *uru-* 'to dry', Tr. *kuru* 'dry'; Sum. *us* 'edge, side', Tr. *uç* 'edge'; Sum. *ul-* 'to bloat out, swell', Tr. *uluğ* 'great'; Sum. *ušgi* 'revenge', Tr. *öç* 'revenge'; Sum. *utul-* 'to grass, to graze an animal', Tr. *otlat-* (< *ot* 'grass') 'to grass' and Sum. *ušum* 'dragon', Tr. *yılan* (Proto-Bulgar *dilom*) 'snake'.<sup>1537</sup>

Contrary to Marcel's objection that we need regular and 'reduced' phonetic correspondences between Turkic and Sumerian, otherwise, with so many equations all languages can be compared,<sup>1538</sup> I think the correspondences here are sufficiently clear and reduced in number. Such examples as Sum. *tud-* 'to be born, bear', Tr. *tog-* 'to be born'; Sum. *tud-* 'to beat, hit, strike', Tr. *töv-* 'to beat' or Sum. *uru* 'high', Tr. *or* 'high place, high'; Sum. *uru* 'fire', Tr. *kor* 'cinder, ember, coal'; Sum. *uru-* 'to dry', Tr. *kuru* 'dry' are formidable to point to direct semantic descents and regular sound changes. They may be helpful even to the students of Sumerian phonetics. Those words written in a simple vowel system might indeed have some other tones.

If there is a relation found between an ancient language and another language whose records started much later than the former, logically, as one goes back in time, this relationship should increase. Coincidental similarities could be identified (for instance, Hu. *ház* 'house', Ger. *Haus* 'idem') but, if there are too many similarities, talking about coincidences

<sup>1537</sup> Emelianov, "Akkadian Loanwords in Sumerian Revised", 490, gets *ušum* from Akkadian *bašmu* 'type of snake'.

<sup>1538</sup> Marcel Erdal, "Türkçenin Hurriceyle Paylaştığı Ayrıntılar", *V. Uluslararası Türk Dili Kurultayı -I-* (Ankara: TDK, 2004), 930.

is not rational. As Ruhlen states, there can be an accidental similarity between the two languages, but this accident would not repeat.<sup>1539</sup> If one is to object to the connections then, claims should not be made by showing the time span as an excuse or by referring to some generalisations such as “Turkic is Altaic, Hungarian is of Ural family”. The relations should instead be disproved by careful analysis.

It is noteworthy that the  $-r \sim -z$  and  $-l \sim -\check{s}$  equations, which are the characterising features separating the two fundamental branches of Turkic, occur also in Turko-Sumerian correspondences. That means, the Sumerian forms agree with Bulgaro-Chuvash forms or, in our acceptance, with the expected Proto-Turkic forms. Apparently, there are no common cultural words, except for the words for ‘God’, because the ecosystems of Sumerian and Turkic are totally different from each other. When we extend the Swadesh list, it seems the commonalities will lessen in proportion, and as long as we add more verbs, we will get more common items. As we discussed in the Uralic and Indo-European chapters, focusing upon verbs might be a far better indicator for distant language relationships. People tend to change organ names or adjectives or kinship terms and refer to at least metaphors in daily life, but it is not easy to invent verbs, except for extending their semantic scopes. Therefore, the abundance of verbs in Turko-Sumerian commonalities might show a distant relation. We need to make a careful analysis and description of that relation.

Tuna asserts that Sumerian is not genetically related to Turkic, and those shared items counted above seem in the Sumerian language to be outsiders, borrowed from another language, likely from a form of Proto-Turkic.<sup>1540</sup> I would also suggest thinking about a converse situation: Could the Central Eurasian language Turkic have been differentiated from other relative Eurasian (Ural-Altaic) languages due to the presence of a considerable layer of Middle Eastern origin?

The isolation of Sumerian is not a ‘natural’ case. Though there are similar examples, those are the results of changes in the linguistic neighbourhood as in the case of Bask, which is seemingly the remnant of a widespread family or group covering a great deal of Western Europe, if ancestors of the Basks did not move there in a very remote past. Indeed, the isolation of Sumerian is an agnostic theory. Well, its eastern neighbour was Elamite and the western side of lower Mesopotamia was inhabited by Semitic peoples. What about the north and northeast? Except for a few

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<sup>1539</sup> Ruhlen, *The Origin of Language*, 11.

<sup>1540</sup> Tuna, *Sümer ve Türk Dillerinin Tarihi İlgisi*, 41, 47.

words and several personal names, we do not know much about the languages of Northern Mesopotamia and North-western Iran (Southern Azerbaijan). The former region was inhabited by the Subarians before the Semitic invasion and the ethnic cleansing. Their name is likely the origin of the epithet ‘Sumer’ in the language of the Semitic Akkadians. The famous king Hammurabi (1728-1686 BC), who conquered and enslaved Subarians, describes Subarian as a ‘complicated language’.<sup>1541</sup> This means we should separate it from Sumerian, which was known and still used in Babylonian courts and educated circles.

However, nor were the Sumerians natives of the region. They likely came to Southern Mesopotamia c. 3500 BC, and a great many place names there have no Sumerian etymologies. A developed agrarian culture known basically from the Al-Ubayd excavations was the former owner of the region. If the early Sumerian narrations about their relations with the city of Aratta in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea bear some ethnic tones, then their origins in the Kelteminar region in Turkmenistan may be a possibility.<sup>1542</sup> This would explain (1) the isolated position of Sumerian, since we do not know about the language of Kelteminar, or in a wider sense, of the Bactria-Margiana cultural complex,<sup>1543</sup> (2) the Turkic, Hungarian or Ural-Altai connections, and (3) perhaps the self-appellation of the Sumerians.

Sumerians called themselves ‘K(i)engir’. Amanžolov compares it with the name of the Central Asian river Kengir (Kazakh *Keñir*), and assumes a migration from Central Asia to lower Mesopotamia, thus claiming that Sumerians were Turkic in origin.<sup>1544</sup> Such a migration is not known archaeologically, in regard to my poor knowledge, except for the mentioned Sumerian tales, but the word has an interesting history in Central Asia and the Middle East. The region where the river is located, namely east of the Sir Darya, was called *Keñeras* in early Turkic

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<sup>1541</sup> Ignace J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 85.

<sup>1542</sup> Kramer, *The Sumerians*, 40-43. He does not refer to Kelteminar, but recalls the nearby Ural-Altai World.

<sup>1543</sup> There are suggestions to locate Aratta in Afghanistan, regarding its mining potentials (Ju. B. Jusifov, “Rannie kontakty Mesopotamii s severo-vostočnymi stranami (priurmijskaja zona)”, *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1 (1987), 20). The author’s inclination to put it near the Urmia Lake in Southern Azerbaijan (*idem*, 21-23) does not seem likely, for there were no known city states like Aratta in that region, and that name does not occur in other documents regarding the region, as seen in his lack of further evidence.

<sup>1544</sup> Amanžolov, *Istorija i teorija drevnetjurkskogo pis'ma*, 41-42.

inscriptions,<sup>1545</sup> and from there emerged the core of the Pecheneg formation, the three *Kangar* tribes, as it was recorded in a Byzantine source.<sup>1546</sup> Togan asserts that the two tribes, Kangar and As, were living in unity in the Sir Darya–Aral Sea territory in the Kök Türk times.<sup>1547</sup> We have discussed in Chapter 9 the South Kazakhstan location of the ancient As people. There is no problem with this identification. Interestingly, today the Kyrgyz tribal union *Azık* has a sub-tribe called *Kangır*.<sup>1548</sup> During the Middle Ages, this tribe was seen as being under the Kipchaks with the name *Kangar* or *Kongur*.<sup>1549</sup> However, this name may be related to *Kang*, the ancient name of South Kazakhstan: *Kang är* ‘the Kang people’, and thus, the river might have been named after the people, although we know nothing for certain.

Such a case would be the end of the Sumerian ethnonymic connection with Central Asia, since the name there was derived from *Kang*, and was not a continuation of the prehistoric \**Kengir* (for Central Asia), if there was not a similar named tribe in Western Iran. The *Kenger* or *Kengerlü* is a Turkmen tribe recorded in the new ages in both South and North Azerbaijan. It would not be difficult and wrong to assume that they came from Central Asia in the Saljukid period (11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries), however, a similar name was recorded in the same region well before the Turkic migrations, and even before the Islamic period. One Armenian and two Syriac sources from the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries tell of a *Kangar*- people between Lake Sewan and the Kura River, exactly where the modern Kenger tribesmen scattered.<sup>1550</sup> It is a hard task to relate them to the later Turkmen tribe, though not impossible. A Turkic tribe from Central Asia, living in the vicinity of the once mighty Sassanid Empire, might have taken refuge in Iran, and settled on the western frontier as guards in the early medieval, likely during the White Hun hegemony in Central Asia. We do not need to have them assimilated immediately; after the Turkification of the region, they should have joined the Turkmen mass. This is plausible.

It is even hard to suppose that a part of the Sumerians, who ceased speaking their own language c. 2000 BC, saved their consciousness of

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<sup>1545</sup> Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 269.

<sup>1546</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 171.

<sup>1547</sup> Togan, *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş*, 53.

<sup>1548</sup> Karataev, *Kırgız Etonimder Sözdüğü*, 84.

<sup>1549</sup> Peter B. Golden, “Kıpçak Kabilelerinin Menşesine Yeni Bir Bakış”, *Uluslararası Türk Dili Kongresi 1988 Bildirileri* (Ankara: TDK, 1996), 58.

<sup>1550</sup> Omeljan Pritsak, “The Pečenegs: A Case of Social and Economic Transformation”, *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 1 (1975), 212.

identity together with their national name 'Kenger' for several millennia, and appeared in the mentioned sources of the early Medieval, and were then Turkified after the 11<sup>th</sup> century. There are some examples of preserving ethnic names for such a long time, like Assyrian-Syriac, Hebrew, Arab and Greek, but those are separate and *sui generis* cases. The mountainous Zagros region of West Iran is a good place to escape assimilation/Persianisation, as in the case of the Kurds, but the fundamental problem is that the Sumerians would have been assimilated well before the coming of the Persians. In any case, it seems the ethnic name Kenger will continue keeping its mystery until there is a satisfactory explanation.

Thus, we need to focus on the Subarians, not necessarily to search for the sources of Turkic correspondences in the Sumerian language, since the latter might have received them in Western Central Asia, but for some other reasons that make the Subarians a 'cryptic' people. They are the earliest known people of what is today Northern Iraq. In contrast to other ancient Middle East peoples, interestingly there remain no linguistic records from them. There are a good many onomasticons recorded by their neighbours, mainly Akkadians, but not words. Their names were recorded in forms such as *Subar*, *Šubar*, *Šubir*, etc.<sup>1551</sup> At the beginning, their lands seem to have been adjacent to the Sumerians, and many Subarians in the borderland seem to have been assimilated among the Sumerians according to the earliest Sumerian records.<sup>1552</sup> It is even possible that the first known Sumerian dynasty was named after the Subarians.<sup>1553</sup> This would explain why the Semitic tribes used the appellation *Subar* > *Sumar* for the Sumerians, who used to call themselves K(i)engir. The association of the Subarian and Hurrian peoples was an old debate, but later, experts of the topic separated them.<sup>1554</sup>

The first known Akkadian attacks started under Sargon (2276-2221 BC), and continued forever in the hands of the later Babylonians and Assyrians. The last Assyrian war with them was in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century BC, when, it seems, the Subarians left their lands on the lower Zab River. They constantly retreated during that long process, and emptied Northern Iraq. The content of geographical designations of the Babylonians, who called all of the north as Subar country, and the later Assyrians who called only

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<sup>1551</sup> O'Callaghan, Roger T., *Aram Naharaim: A Contribution to the History of Upper Mesopotamia in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1968), 42.

<sup>1552</sup> Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 33; Kramer, *The Sumerians*, 40.

<sup>1553</sup> Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 31.

<sup>1554</sup> O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, 39 ff; Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 48.

the east of the Tigris Subartu,<sup>1555</sup> because they had seized Subar lands to the west of the Tigris, shows this constant ethnic withdrawal. In the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, there remained a Subarian statelet in Anatolia between the Upper Tigris and Lake Van, which did not survive long either.<sup>1556</sup> It was an ethnic cleansing, as reflected in the ‘slave’ meaning of the ethnonym Subar acquired in those days.<sup>1557</sup>

Dhorme in 1911 suggested that, on the one hand, the people named Σάζειρες in Herodotus might have been related to the Subarians of the Middle East, and to the Savirs/Suvars of medieval Central Eurasia on the other hand. He recalled that other classic works had written it in the Σάπειρες form, and the Herodotus form was mistaken.<sup>1558</sup> Indeed, even the Herodotus form is understandable through a Kartvelian mediation, in which the prefix *sa-* means ‘land, country’, and Σάζειρες would thus mean ‘land of the Sapeirs’.

We touched upon the Suvars several times above, especially concerning the Hungarians in Chapter 6 and the early Turks in Eastern Europe in Chapter 8. We noted that the modern historiography relies on the account of Priscus, and gets the Suvars from the eastern parts of Central Asia in the early 460s AD. However, there was no Suvar recorded in that region in a way, while Ptolemy was telling of ‘Savari’ and ‘Suardeni’ in the east of the mid-Volga in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Later in the Middle Ages we find their homelands in Southwest Siberia on the Tobol and Ishim rivers.<sup>1559</sup> Can we envisage a migration of the Iraqi Subarians northward through the Caucasus, and then eastward to Southeast Siberia, on the line that was repeated several times in archaeological times? Such a migration wave is known in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC from the North Caucasus to that

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<sup>1555</sup> Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 88. Gernot Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, trans. J. Barnes (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1989), 8, believes that in later times the term Subarian referred to the Hurrians.

<sup>1556</sup> Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 39-47. There are some ‘popular’ claims that the name of the Kurdish tribe *Zebari* descends directly from Subar, but it is hard to prove, although not impossible.

<sup>1557</sup> O’Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, 43.

<sup>1558</sup> O. P. Dhorme, “Soubartou-Mitani”, *Revue d’Assyriologie et d’Archéologie* 8, 3 (1911), 99. I became aware of this text thanks to a note in Gelb’s *Hurrians and Subarians*. Without knowing about Dhorme’s proposal, and that several Hungarian – especially diaspora – researchers wrote similar things, I had written the same in one of my earlier papers.

<sup>1559</sup> In his famous article published in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Patkanov found many place names and names of heroes from the local narrations, and had them related to the Suvars, whom the medieval sources locate in the same places (S. Patkanov, “A sabirok nemzetisége”, *Ethnographia* 11, 8 (1900), 337-343).



region to start the transformation of the local culture with the Andronovo base to produce Sarmatians.<sup>1560</sup>

It is not hard to fit the Subarian chronology with this. With every step, they left some of their folk behind and the main mass continued advancing and likely crossed the Caucasus in a few waves. As for the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, their remnants were in the southeast corner of Anatolia and in western parts of south Azerbaijan, and in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC they were in North Azerbaijan to settle between Georgia (Kolkhis) and Media, in Herodotus' description. That they did not survive in Azerbaijan to the age of classical geographers, since the latter do not mention them, suggests that even the remnants went to the north, if they were not assimilated quickly or not annihilated by some neighbouring forces, about which we know nothing.<sup>1561</sup> Even if there is no such case as to connect the Mesopotamian Subarians with the Eurasian Suvars, the Sapeirs of Azerbaijan wait for a good explanation. Until a better explanation emerges, I need to assume that they represent the phase between Mesopotamia and Eurasia.

While inquiring about Hungarian origins, we quoted the most mysterious sentence of Konstantinos Porphyrogenitus (10<sup>th</sup> century): "(Hungarians) were not called Turks at that time, but had the name 'Savartoi asphaloi' for some reason or other."<sup>1562</sup> The olden times in accordance with the 10<sup>th</sup> century in the context should have referred to the pre-5<sup>th</sup> century AD, since, after that, Suvars and Onogurs, from which the bulk of Hungarians emerged, were separate entities. Before that date, Onogur or Ogur never occurs in any source, but Suvars are mentioned by Ptolemeus. This may show, as implied above in the concerning chapters, an encompassing and hegemonic character of the Suvars then in the south Urals or Southwest Siberia. And maybe Parpola is right in defining the Sargat culture (5<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC) in between the rivers Tobol and Irtish as the ancestral land of the Hungarians.<sup>1563</sup> That region is, on the other hand, the homeland of the Suvars, and this would explain the Konstantinos sentence.

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<sup>1560</sup> Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, 50-51.

<sup>1561</sup> Their presence in Azerbaijan was not so humble in the days of Herodotus: "From the Kolkhis it is an easy matter to cross into Media: There is but one nation between, the Saspis; to pass these is to be in Media." (Herodotus -I-, 135, IV/23). They are mentioned with the same gravity as the (proto-)Georgians and Medians.

<sup>1562</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 171.

<sup>1563</sup> Asko Parpola, "The Problem of Samoyed Origins in the Light of Archaeology: On the Formation and Dispersal of East Uralic (Proto-Ugro-Samoyed), *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 264 (2012), 295.

It is hard to tell whether the *-t(V)* in Konstantinos hides a memory of the ancient Akkadian *Subartu* and Babylonian *Subarda* (Sumerians called *Subarki*), all meaning ‘Subarland’. I could not find in my readings a Semitic word or suffix, *da/ta/du/tu* to denote ‘land’. It is used only for the Subarians, and thus may be a genuine word of theirs. A tradition from Németh on proposes it to be an old Hungarian diminutive,<sup>1564</sup> but it is not certain whether we should be content with only Hungarian. The forms *Sevordik*’ in Armenian and *Sāwardiyya* in Arabic<sup>1565</sup> sources seem to keep the same *-d(V)*, as well as the *Suardeni* of Ptolemeus.

At the end of Chapter 15, we called attention to a semantic connection of the notions ‘mountain’ and ‘land, country’ (together with ‘heat’). Old and Common Turkic *tav* ‘mountain’ is studied by linguists as an isolated word with a unique meaning. It is one of the most widespread Turkic words and was not borrowed by other languages. This is an unexpected case; it should have had some semantic extensions during such a long time, as happened to the word *yış* ‘forest; mountain; land’. We dealt with, in the above parts, the homonymic *tav* ‘heat’ in Turkic. It semantically coincides with ‘mountain’, but curiously a ‘land’ is absent. Can we dare to see that meaning in the last syllable of *Subarda*? Well, this is entirely hypothetical and suggests a winding way, but we need to look for every detail and possibility. Besides, Sumerian has such homonymic words with the concerning meanings: *dag* ‘shining, bright, clear’ and *dag* ‘residence, dwelling place’. It can be taken to Subarian too.

Another weak piece of evidence or clue is that many Subarian personal names seem to have a suffix *-lu* designating geographical origins.<sup>1566</sup> This can be compared to the Common Turkic suffix *-luğ/-lüğ/-liğ/-liğ* with the same function. Perhaps *Aranzu* or *Aransuh*, the Subarian name for Tigris, may contain Turkic *suw* ‘water, river’, however, this is not provable.

The Hungarian reference of Konstantinos is associated with the abundance of Hungaro-Sumerian lexical correspondences. Since the studies in this area have mostly been done by ‘outsiders’ of the linguistic science, in contrast to Turkey, the official academy in Hungary rigidly deprecates them. For example, a small note of A. Zakar in the year 1971 caused a great discussion in the academic field, with all of them being on the opposition side. Zakar argued that in another of his studies he had found that in the Sumerian grammar which he summarised in 58 titles, 55 had corresponded with Hungarian, and 29 titles with the Turkic

<sup>1564</sup> Németh, *A Honfoglaló Magyarország Kialakulása*, 193.

<sup>1565</sup> Golden, “Some Notes on the Etymology of *Sabir*”, 52.

<sup>1566</sup> Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 100.

languages.<sup>1567</sup> As I could not access that work of his, I would like to clarify that, in contrast to all the other scholars who have rejected it right from the beginning, I will not comment on a work that I have not read. Zakar argued that, amongst the hundred-word list of Hymes (that was commonly used before the Swadesh list), 57 of them had correspondences in Hungarian. This is a number hard to believe, and as one of the objecting scholars reminded us, it is double the amount between Germanic and Slavic. Furthermore, if this is the case, it would mean that Hungarian and Sumerian separated around 47 AD.<sup>1568</sup> Leaving aside the exaggerations and mistakes, it is certain that we speak of some visible things. Holistic approaches would not contribute to the study; it would be more appropriate to invite the ‘amateurs’ to the scientific zone to learn more about the methods, if they are not skilful in this area. Otherwise, we might be deleting some significant and brilliant results also. I will keep on hoping that some ‘official’ scholars in Hungary will do what Prof. Tuna has done in Turkey.

Indeed, it is very normal that Hungarian will interfere in the Sumerian issue, since it is the language that has the utmost shared basic vocabulary with Turkic, or vice versa. This would also give a clearer idea on the debates as to whether Turko-Hungarian commonalities are borrowings or ancestral. The below list is a compilation and selection from Toth’s 2007 dictionary, which has 1042 entries allegedly shared between Hungarian and Sumerian. A great number of them are not true correspondences; also, it is not a good work for the reason of not giving the meanings of Sumerian words and not explaining the alleged connections. Anyway, it has many inspiring proposals. I also added some of my earlier findings. The Turkic column is entirely my own addition, the main references being to the dictionary of Róna-Tas and Berta (2011).

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<sup>1567</sup> András Zakar, “Sumerian-Ural-Altai Affinities”, *Current Anthropology* 12, 2 (1971), 215.

<sup>1568</sup> W. H. Jacobsen’s contribution to the debate: Zakar, “Sumerian-Ural-Altai Affinities”, 217.

Table 8: Comparison of Hungarian, Sumerian and Turkic Vocabulary

Hungarian	Sumerian	Turkic
<i>ág</i> 'branch, stick'	<i>á</i> 'wing, side'	<i>ağaç</i> 'tree'
<i>agy</i> 'brain'	<i>ugu</i> 'skull'	<i>uk-</i> 'to understand'
<i>akar-</i> 'to want'	<i>ag-</i> 'to like, to fancy'	<i>ög</i> 'thought; mind'
<i>ál</i> 'fake, imitation'	<i>alam/alan</i> 'statue', <i>alak</i> 'form'	- <i>al</i> 'device, deceit, trick'
<i>áll-</i> 'to stop'	<i>gal</i> 'to be, be located'	<i>kal-</i> 'to stay'
<i>anya</i> 'mother'	<i>ama</i> 'mother'	<i>ana</i> 'mother', <i>eme</i> 'aunt'
<i>ár</i> 'price, worth'	<i>har(-ra)</i> 'ring, bracelet'	-
<i>árnyék</i> 'shadow'	<i>ar-</i> 'to shine'	-
<i>ás-</i> 'to dig'	<i>al-zu</i> 'pickaxe'	<i>ey-</i> 'to grub up'
<i>asszony</i> 'woman'	<i>gašan</i> 'woman, lady'	-
<i>anya</i> 'father'	<i>ada</i> 'father'	<i>ata</i> 'father'
<i>balta</i> 'axe'	<i>bal</i> 'axe'	<i>balta</i> 'axe'
<i>bir-</i> 'to own, to rule'	<i>bur</i> 'responsible, authority'	<i>buyur-</i> 'to order, to command'
<i>bor</i> 'wine'	<i>bur-</i> 'to distil'	<i>bor, bar</i> 'wine'
<i>bőr</i> 'leather'	<i>bar</i> 'fur, leather'	-
<i>család</i> 'family'	<i>sal</i> 'uterus'	-
<i>csap-</i> 'to hit, to bump'	<i>šub-</i> 'to damage, to ruin'	<i>çap-</i> 'to hit, strike'
<i>csata</i> 'war'	<i>šudul/šudun</i> 'yoke, oppression, headlock'	<i>çat-</i> 'to attack, lash into'
<i>csej</i> 'cheat, order'	<i>šilig</i> 'crime, sin'	<i>çel-</i> 'to trick, cheat someone'

<i>csillag</i> ‘star’	<i>zalat</i> ‘to shine, brighten’	<i>yäl-</i> ‘to brighten’ <i>yıldız</i> ‘star’
<i>csinos</i> ‘beautiful’	<i>šen</i> ‘clean, bright’	-
<i>csökken-</i> ‘to decrease’	<i>sig-</i> ‘to decrease’	<i>çök-</i> ‘to kneel down’
<i>csúcs</i> ‘zenith, peak’	<i>šuš</i> ‘high officer’	-
<i>csurog-</i> ‘to drop, leak, flow’	<i>šur-</i> ‘to drop, flow’	<i>sz-</i> ‘to leak, ooze’
<i>dagád-</i> ‘to inflate, puff, expand’	<i>dugud</i> ‘mass, pile’	<i>yogun</i> ‘dense’
<i>dal</i> ‘song, tune’	<i>tal-</i> ‘to cry, to shout out’	-
<i>dal</i> ‘song, tune’	<i>gala</i> ‘mourner, bald, singer’	-
<i>dög</i> ‘carrion’	<i>tag</i> ‘sacrifice, victim’	-
<i>dől-, dől-</i> ‘to drop’	<i>dül-</i> ‘to decrease, drop’	<i>tüş-</i> ‘to drop’
<i>dönte-</i> ‘to topple, take down’	<i>tun-</i> ‘to topple, take down’	<i>tön-</i> ‘to turn, rotate’
<i>e, ez</i> ‘this’	<i>e</i> ‘this’	-
<i>edény</i> ‘jug’	<i>edin</i> ‘pot, jug’	-
<i>él-</i> ‘to live’	<i>gal-</i> ‘to live’	<i>yasha-</i> ‘to live’
<i>emse</i> ‘to scatter the seeds’	<i>anse</i> ‘piece, grain’	-
<i>erő</i> ‘force, power’	<i>uru-</i> ‘to be strong’	<i>erk</i> ‘power’
<i>ész</i> ‘wit, mind’	<i>uš</i> ‘wit, mind’	<i>us</i> ‘mind’
<i>fa</i> ‘tree’	<i>pa</i> ‘branch, leaf’	<i>bağ</i> ‘vineyard, garden’
<i>far</i> ‘butt’	<i>bar</i> ‘back side’	-
<i>fog-</i> ‘to capture’	<i>pag-</i> ‘to encircle, to surround’	-
<i>für-</i> ‘to twist’	<i>bur-</i> ‘to pierce’	<i>bur-</i> ‘to twist’
<i>gázol-</i> ‘to crush’	<i>gaz-</i> ‘to crush’	<i>ez-</i> ‘to crush’
<i>görbe</i> ‘round’	<i>gar</i> ‘round, wheel’	<i>karwi</i> ‘recurved’
<i>gurul-</i> ‘to turn, rotate, spin’	<i>gur</i> ‘to rotate, spin, turn’	<i>kavir-</i> ‘to twist, curl’
<i>gyékény</i> ‘reeds, marshy place’	<i>gi</i> ‘straw, withe’	-

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<i>gyil-</i> ‘to kill’	<i>gel-, gi-</i> ‘to kill’	<i>öl-</i> ‘to die’
<i>gyífite-</i> ‘to gather, collect’	<i>gukin</i> ‘total, sum’	<i>yıǵın, ökün</i> ‘pile, total, all’
<i>has</i> ‘belly’	<i>has</i> ‘belly’	-
<i>hasıta-</i> ‘to tear, divide’	<i>has-</i> ‘to break, to tear’	<i>kaşı-</i> ‘to scrape’
<i>hat</i> ‘six’	<i>aş</i> ‘six’	<i>altı</i> ‘six’
<i>hát</i> ‘back, behind’	<i>has</i> ‘back, behind’	-
<i>hid</i> ‘bridge’	<i>id</i> ‘river, stream’	-
<i>hon</i> ‘homeland’	<i>gun</i> ‘homeland, country’	<i>kün</i> ‘public, community’
<i>húz-</i> ‘to scratch’	<i>hur-</i> ‘to dig, grub up’	<i>kaz-</i> ‘to dig’
<i>idó</i> ‘time’	<i>itu</i> ‘month’	<i>öd</i> ‘time’
<i>igaz</i> ‘real’	<i>igi</i> ‘seeable, in front of sight’	-
<i>ir-</i> ‘to write’	<i>i-ge en</i> ‘really’	<i>yaz-</i> ‘to write’
<i>izza-</i> ‘to shine, glow, be hot’	<i>sir</i> ‘a writing’	<i>ısı</i> ‘warm, heat’
<i>jég</i> ‘ice’	<i>izi</i> ‘fire, heat’	<i>çig</i> ‘snowslide’
<i>jó</i> ‘good’	<i>şeg</i> ‘snow’	<i>yeg</i> ‘good, better’
<i>jó</i> ‘good’	<i>dug</i> ‘good’	<i>yeg</i> ‘good, better’
<i>kör</i> ‘ring, loop’	<i>sig</i> ‘good’	<i>kavir-</i> ‘to twist, curl’
<i>köt</i> ‘to tie’	<i>gur-</i> ‘to turn, spin’	<i>kad-</i> ‘to tie tightly’
<i>lök-</i> ‘to push’	<i>kad-</i> ‘to tie’	-
<i>magas</i> ‘high’	<i>lah-</i> ‘to pull, to carry’	<i>may</i> ‘big’
<i>más</i> ‘other’	<i>mah</i> ‘big’	<i>başka</i> ‘other’
<i>mi</i> ‘us’	<i>maş</i> ‘half’	<i>bi(z)</i> ‘we’
<i>nev, nedü</i> ‘moist, wetness’	<i>-me</i> ‘ours’	-
<i>nyug-</i> ‘to rest’	<i>nag-</i> ‘to water’	<i>yat-</i> ‘to lay down’
<i>nyig</i> ‘weight’	<i>nud-</i> ‘to lay down’, <i>nad</i> ‘bed’	<i>yük</i> ‘weight; load’
	<i>nig</i> ‘belonging, wealth’	

<i>ország</i> ‘country’	<i>uru</i> ‘city’	<i>kuru</i> ‘land, earth’
<i>őr-</i> ‘to protect’	<i>ur-, uru-</i> ‘to protect’	<i>koru-</i> ‘to protect’
<i>öl-</i> ‘to kill’	<i>gel-, gi-</i> ‘to kill’	<i>öl-</i> ‘to die’
<i>őrlől-</i> ‘to grind’	<i>ara-</i> ‘to grind’	<i>evir-</i> ‘to turn a wheel’
<i>örül-</i> ‘to be happy’	<i>ar, ara</i> ‘happy’	<i>öröm</i> ‘joy, happiness’ < * <i>ör-</i>
<i>örvény</i> ‘swirl, whirlpool’	<i>uru</i> ‘flood’	<i>örmen</i> < <i>egür-</i> ‘to spin’
<i>rém</i> ‘fear’	<i>rim</i> ‘enemy’	-
<i>sár</i> ‘mud’	<i>sahar</i> ‘dust, earth’	<i>saz</i> ‘reeds’
<i>szab-</i> ‘to cut, to mow’	<i>šab-</i> ‘to cut’	<i>çap-</i> ‘to strike’
<i>száll-</i> ‘to fly’	<i>dal-</i> ‘to fly’	<i>tal-</i> ‘to dive (also used in air)’
<i>szán-</i> ‘to give, to allocate’	<i>sum-</i> ‘to give’	<i>sun-</i> ‘to offer, to present’
<i>széles</i> ‘wide, large’	<i>sal-</i> ‘to lay, spread’	<i>sal-</i> ‘to loosen’
<i>szel-</i> ‘to divide, slice’	<i>sil-</i> ‘to divide, separate’	<i>til-</i> ‘to slice, divide’
<i>szemel-</i> ‘to choose, sort’	<i>sim-</i> ‘to filter, select’	-
<i>szorít-</i> ‘to step, squeeze’	<i>sur-</i> ‘to step, squeeze’	<i>tar</i> ‘narrow, tight’
<i>szúr-</i> ‘to stab, to stick’	<i>sur</i> ‘pole, post’	-
<i>szűk</i> ‘narrow’	<i>sig</i> ‘narrow’	<i>siğ</i> ‘shallow’
<i>szül-</i> ‘to give birth’	<i>su</i> ‘family’	<i>töl</i> ‘offspring, sperm’
<i>szűr</i> ‘to filter’	<i>sur-</i> ‘to filter’	<i>süz-</i> ‘to filter’
<i>támaszta-</i> ‘to support’	<i>tum-</i> ‘to support’	-
<i>temet-</i> ‘to bury’	<i>temen</i> ‘base, foundation’	-
<i>tér</i> ‘place, area’	<i>túm-</i> ‘to bury’	<i>yer</i> ‘place’
<i>tó</i> ‘lake’	<i>tír</i> ‘country, area’	-
<i>tör-</i> ‘to break’	<i>tul</i> ‘pool’	<i>tar-</i> ‘to tear, to split’
<i>tud-</i> ‘to know’	<i>tar-</i> ‘to tear, split’	-
	<i>zu-</i> ‘to know’	-

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<i>tū</i> 'needle'	<i>tī</i> 'arrow'	<i>tūġ</i> 'needle'
<i>ujj</i> 'finger'	<i>u</i> 'finger'	-
<i>úr</i> 'master, mister, lord'	<i>ur</i> 'hero'	<i>er</i> 'man'
<i>varjū</i> 'crow'	<i>buru</i> 'crow'	-
<i>vár-</i> 'to wait'	<i>uru-</i> 'to protect, to watch'	<i>koru-</i> 'to protect'
<i>vér</i> 'blood'	<i>uri</i> 'blood'	<i>irin</i> 'pus, fester'
<i>ver-</i> 'to hit, to beat'	<i>bir-</i> 'to tear, to crumble'	<i>ôz</i> 'secretion'
		<i>ur-</i> 'to hit'



Of the 100 items here, 69 also have Turkic equivalences. The list can be extended with words like Sum. *gim* ‘as, like’, Tr. *kibi/kimi?* and Hu. *kép* ‘image, picture’. Since I selected them randomly, taking only plausibility into consideration, and not whether they had Turkic connections, this proportion may represent the average for longer or shorter lists, too. No more than two-thirds of the Hungarian lexical domain here is shared with Turkic, but two-thirds of the words shared between Hungarian and Sumerian are also present in Turkic. This is meaningful. Some grammatical correspondences like the Sumerian dative *-ra* and Hungarian *-ra*, shared also by Turkic, can be added as well.

I would recall once more the glottochronological distances. It seems Hungarian is not behind Turkic in sharing the basic Swadesh vocabulary. Here we deal with a threesome divergence. In spite of this, they share about 30% of their core vocabulary, and this is enough to be inspired to group them as a family, though very fancy. But we know nothing about a historical relation between the Sumerians and North Central Eurasia. Instead, there are evidences, weak or satisfactory, to tie the Subarians with that region, and hypothetically we are to accept Subartu as the source of the relation.

The Turkic connection with the Middle East is not confined to the Sumerians and Subarians. Late studies revealed a substantial relation of the Hurrian with Turkic. The Hurrians were a people of Southeast Anatolia marking the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC. They extended their state called Mitanni, however,<sup>1569</sup> to Syria and southern parts of Anatolia. At the beginning of the research history, the scholars identified the Hurrians with the Subarians, but later they tended to separate them as two distinct peoples, though their languages seem to be related to each other, as mentioned above. The studies that are done to relate their language, indeed the language of their northern relatives, the Urartians, which was not the same but close to Hurrian,<sup>1570</sup> with the Caucasus, rightly the Kartvelian group, did not produce verifiable results, though a remote and comprehensive supra-family is always in question. The language of the Urartians, the pre-Armenian people of Eastern Anatolia, was not a continuation of Hurrian, instead both descended from a root language; both split from it during the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC.<sup>1571</sup>

Hurrians’ Indo-Aryan connection seems to be much exaggerated especially by Indo-European students. Hurrians had a rich cast of

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<sup>1569</sup> Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 75. There was not a people called Mitanni, but a state of the Hurrians.

<sup>1570</sup> Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 90.

<sup>1571</sup> Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, 4, 41.

pantheons, both their own and those adopted from their surroundings, and a late document recounts the names of Mitra, Varuna and Indra, as well as a few other Sanskrit words. This can be commented on in such a way that a splinter of the Indo-Aryans joined them,<sup>1572</sup> perhaps as ‘elite’ allies or veterans. Otherwise, if the Hurrians were ruled by Indo-Aryans, there would be more linguistic records and they would be scattered along a wide time span.<sup>1573</sup> The appearance of these IE elements is in a latter phase of Hurrian history, between 1500 and 1300 BC.<sup>1574</sup>

Erdal made some lexical, morphological and grammatical investigations and concluded that Turkic is closer to Hurrian than Mongolian, and in general Turkic stays closer to it rather than the languages of the Ural- Altaic zone.<sup>1575</sup> Morphologic features, many grammatical applications and especially some suffixes of Hurrian are almost the same as in Turkic.<sup>1576</sup> Ünal found more lexical commonalities: Hur. *ag-* ‘to rise’, Tr. *ag-* ‘idem’; Hur. *ašti* ‘wife, woman’, Tr. *eş* ‘partner, wife’; Hur. *aşuḫi* ‘meal, repast’, Tr. *aş* ‘meal, supper’; Hur. *attai* ‘father, grandfather’, Tr. *ata* ‘father, grandfather’; Hur. *ḫini* ‘son’, Tr. *ini* ‘brother’; Hur. *işši* ‘horse’, Tr. *eşgek* ‘donkey’; Hur. *iştani* ‘inside, middle, in between’, Tr. *iç* ‘inner’; Hur. *itk-* ‘to clean; clean’, Tr. *iduk* ‘sacred, divine’; Hur. *kud-* ‘to drop, lay to the floor’, Tr. *kod-* ‘to put, to lay’; Hur. *nan-* ‘to win’, Tr. *yen-* ‘to win’; Hur. *paḫi* ‘head’, Tr. *baş* ‘head’; Hur. *pal-* ‘to know, to recognise’, Tr. *bil-* ‘to know, to recognise’; Hur. *şavali* ‘year’, Tr. *yıl* ‘year’ (cf. above discussion on Persian *sal* ‘year’); Hur. *şindi* ‘seven’, Tr. *yeti* < \**sitti* ‘seven’; Hur. *şiu/şeu* ‘water’, Tr. *suw* ‘water’; Hur. *tab-/tav-* ‘to anneal, to mould (metal)’, Tr. *tav* ‘heat’; Hur. *tali* ‘tree, wood’, Tr. *tal* ‘branch, stick (of a tree)’; Hur. *ti-* ‘to say, to speak’, Tr. *ti-* ‘to say, to speak’; Hur. *timeri* ‘darkness’, Tr. *tün* ‘night’, *tüner-* ‘to darken’; Hur. *zikk-* ‘to break’, Tr. *yık-* ‘to demolish, to shatter’; Hur. *yul-ud-* ‘to release, to unravel’, Tr. *yul-*, *sal-* ‘to release, to unravel’; Hur. *zurki* ‘blood’, Tr. *yürek* ‘heart’.<sup>1577</sup> Maybe the word *alu* “everything from a tiny hamlet to a large town”<sup>1578</sup> is also

<sup>1572</sup> Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, 18-19, 57.

<sup>1573</sup> Erdal, “Türkçenin Hurriceyle Paylaştığı Ayrıntılar”, 935. He thinks that Hurrians borrowed those terms when they were in their Western Turkistan abode, in his theory, before migrating to Eastern Anatolia.

<sup>1574</sup> Parpola, “The Coming of the Aryans to Iran and India”, 204.

<sup>1575</sup> Erdal, “Türkçenin Hurriceyle Paylaştığı Ayrıntılar”, 936. He, on the other hand, strictly rejects any Turko-Sumerian connection.

<sup>1576</sup> Erdal, “Türkçenin Hurriceyle Paylaştığı Ayrıntılar”, 932-934.

<sup>1577</sup> O. Ünal, “Sözde Karca Kelimelerin Kökeni ve Türkçedeki Hurri-Urartuca Leksikal Alıntılar Üzerine”, *Türkbilig* 34 (2017), 45-55.

<sup>1578</sup> Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, 44.

connected with the widespread Turkic word *avl(u)* ‘stable; garden; village’.

These are well behind the Turko-Sumerian correspondences. Gelb also separates the Hurrian language from the Subarian, solely, however, based on the onomasticon since there are no other linguistic relics from the latter. Ethnic and linguistic relatives of the Hurrians should be sought among the Zagros people in the east – Gutians, Lullubians, Kassites and even Elamites – in his view.<sup>1579</sup> Today, Elamites can easily be exemplified from the survey. What are the reasons not to connect those remaining people with the Subarians living in the adjacent region to the west of the Zagros ranges? And why make Subarian an isolated language, for no relatives of it would remain in that case?

It is hard to make a logical formulation of these known, little known and unknown elements altogether. I would like to offer such a very simplistic way of thought: Sumerian was related to the West Central Asian cultures, which were likely not very distant from the Ural-Altaic realm. Subarian constituted a family together with Hurrian, Urartian and the unknown Zagros languages. We deal with thousands of years, which are sufficient to make them wholly independent languages, although the Zagros languages might have had a relation at the dialectal level with Subarian. A good many of the Sumerian correspondences with Turkic and Hungarian might have been brought from Central Asia, but we need to regard Sumerian borrowings from Subarian as well. I do not want to refer to the old theories connecting the name *Hurri* with Turkic (*Hur* ~ *Gur* ~ *Ogur* ~ *Oguz*), recently pronounced again by Erdal, who called attention in the same way to the Turukki people of the Western Zagros zone, who were Hurrians in his view,<sup>1580</sup> but stood geographically closer to the Subarians. And, Turkic and Hungarian connections with the Middle East should be investigated on the base of the latter.

This, of course, does not mean a perfect match between the Subarians or the linguistic family to which they belonged and the proto-people of Eurasia who later gave birth to the Proto-Turkic and Proto-Hungarian groups. I could not agree with Aġasioġlu’s view of naming the old and native population in the Zagros region (he uses the word ‘Urmu’ for the defined area) as “Proto-Turkic”.<sup>1581</sup> He comes to the conclusion that “the place where the Proto-Turkic language emerged is the Urheimat of the

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<sup>1579</sup> Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 88.

<sup>1580</sup> Erdal, “Türkçenin Hurriceyle Paylaştığı Ayrıntılar”, 936. Also, Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, 14.

<sup>1581</sup> Firidun Aġasioġlu, *Doqquz Bitik. Azərbaycan Türklerinin İslamaqədər Tarixi - II-* (Bakı: Aġrıdaġ, 2014), 208-218.

Turkic people". Instead, I have to tend towards such a configuration that the population migrating from the south and the local population groups of Eurasia had undergone a process of pidginisation and/or creolisation. Proto-Turks and Proto-Hungarians had been formed in Central Eurasia well before the arrival of Subarian elements, which represent the latest of several earlier waves.

Mesopotamia is the home of agriculture and is quietly capable of 'producing humans' as a fertile region. This is associated with farming dispersal. In our case, the pressure and assaults of the warlike and dynamic wanderer peoples, in Khaldunian terms, seem to have expelled the peaceful and populated agrarian natives of the region to the other parts of the world,<sup>1582</sup> the northern and eastern directions being the only alternative routes. Anatolia was then full of Indo-European origin peoples coming from the Balkans, in addition to its aboriginal inhabitants. An earlier diaspora of the Subarians might have gone even to India before the Indo-Aryan invasion, as Togan suggested. A certain Subar people lived as a Munda tribe between Madras and Calcutta.<sup>1583</sup> Plinius informs us about the *Suari*, who then lived around Agra.<sup>1584</sup> This is, of course, only a proposal and prediction. The resemblance of the name may not matter.

In any case, a creolisation brought about by the Middle East elements might have caused a lexical divergence of Turkic and Hungarian from their sister languages, to produce the current sight. Indeed, Agostini found some Semitic correspondences in Hungarian and some other Finnic and Ugric languages, but wrongly attributed them to a Hebrew influence under the Khazarian rule, not knowing about the circumstances and characteristics of the age, and also not explaining why regional Turkic and North Caucasian languages did not get them.<sup>1585</sup> Besides, some 15-20 correspondences are clearly sufficient to start a survey of relation, but not enough to set up the making process. Though he was sceptical of establishing a Uralic node, and was very familiar with Sinor's findings relating Altaic and particularly Turkic to the Uralic zone, he did not realise the special positions of Turkic and Hungarian, and did not know that Proto-Turkic also had several Semitic correspondences, which could not be taken under Khazaria, but were much earlier.

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<sup>1582</sup> Wilhelm, too, explains the later Hurrian counter-dispersal to the lands controlled by Semitic peoples with the same population pressure (Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, 42).

<sup>1583</sup> Togan, *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş*, 404.

<sup>1584</sup> *The Natural History of Pliny -II-*, 46.

<sup>1585</sup> Paolo Agostini, "Language Reconstruction Applied to the Uralic Languages", *Migracijske Teme* 15, 1-2 (1999), 105 ff.

In the presence of difficulties for reconstructing Proto-Altaic or Proto-Uralic, and in the presence of further agglutinative families or groups in Eurasia such as Proto-Dravidian, Elamite, the Zagros group, BMAC and Sumerian, and perhaps others swallowed up, mainly by Turkic during its expansion phases, it is hard to guess that all of them, even all of the Ural-Altaic group descend from a unique proto-language, if not within some 10.000 to 20.000 years of time depth. Even that is not certain, for we need meanwhile to use some space for relating them to the Indo-European, Caucasian and Paleo-Siberian languages at least. No need to think that the sister languages of a proto-language have a straight course during the divergence process. Internal and external factors might have caused some extra influences on some regions and languages. This is surely the main reason for the observed irregularities, mostly visible in terms of the lexical stock of Turkic and Hungarian. It is encouraging that the Turko-Indo-European and Turko-Sumerian commonalities given in this book in two separate chapters share not a considerable part. Apart from the ‘Nostratic’ heritage, if the Turkic and IE interaction producing those lists happened in the late Neolithic and early Bronze Age, that is, before the supposed creolisation of the Turko-Hungarian zone under the Subaric influence, then the lists will not overlap to a great degree, and it seems like that is what we have. A further elaboration is necessary, however, to have a better view.

Once upon a time, when I was young, the relevance of Turkish *büyü* ‘magic’ ~ Greek *magia* ‘idem’ and respectively *büyük* ‘big’ and *mega* ‘idem’ attracted my attention. Learning that *magia* was a loanword from the Mede of ancient Iran was not the end, but the true beginning of the story. The clerical class of the Medes, which also constituted a tribe according to Herodotus, was called *mag*; and their esoteric doctrines became a source of some European words through Greek and then Latin, such as English *magic*, *meditation*, *medicine* and *remedy*. The mags were also known for their magical and medical abilities. Semitic languages also borrowed *mag-* to produce Hebrew מגוס/*mgws* ‘magician’ and Arabic مجوس/*mjws* ‘magician, fire worshipper’.<sup>1586</sup> Pre-Median peoples rendered it to the Elamites as *magus*.<sup>1587</sup> The Akkadian and Elamite connection

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<sup>1586</sup> Ernest Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English* (Haifa: The University of Haifa, 1987), 315. Cf. also מג occurring in מג רב/*rabmug* ‘chief magician’ a loanword from Akkadian (*idem*, 313). Klein classifies *mug* as an unknown origin word; it is, however, nothing more than a dialectal version of the same word.

<sup>1587</sup> Muhammad A. Dandamayev, “Magi”, accessed July 13, 2020, [www.iranicaonline.com](http://www.iranicaonline.com).

shows that the word has nothing to do with Iranian peoples. According to Parpola, there is a Sanskrit word *māyā* ‘majic’ associated with the Dāsa.<sup>1588</sup>

The Mede established a state and then an empire in Western Iran just on the eve of the Persianisation (9<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC). They are accepted today as an Iranian group without any considerable proof, except for the tribal name *Arizanti*, which may contain the name *Ari*, but this is not certain as Diakonoff underlines,<sup>1589</sup> although it is not impossible that some Iranian elements might have been included in their populace, since, the Persians, living then in what is today Southeast Iran were also under their dominion. First of all, the national name of the Medians (*Māda*) was by no means Iranian, as well as personal names recorded in Assyrian sources, besides those in Herodotus.<sup>1590</sup>

If the Mede, who are described by Herodotus as totally different from Persians, were Iranian, then questions arise as to what happened to the authentic West Iranian peoples and when their assimilation happened. The rich Mesopotamian sources do not tell of the coming of new peoples just to their east prior to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. Instead, older peoples of the region were still there: The Gutians just to the west of Medea, Hurrian remnants around Lake Urmiya, the Kassites to their south in the mountainous Luristan, and the Elamites in their lands adjacent to the Kassites.<sup>1591</sup>

It seems that it is best to define Medea as the latest considerable state formation of the West Iran natives. Dāiukku (Deioces), the last king of the Manna, one of the Zagros peoples mentioned well before the coming of the Indo-Iranians to Central Asia, was also the first king of the Mede.<sup>1592</sup> Therefore, their language should be of the Zagros group like the Subarians and other easterner folks. Unfortunately, apart from about ten tribal names, a dozen proper names, and a few words all recorded by outside sources, there is no relic of their language. Thus, those few words are very precious.

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<sup>1588</sup> Parpola, “The Coming of the Aryans to Iran and India”, 227.

<sup>1589</sup> Diakonoff, “Media”, 74-75.

<sup>1590</sup> Diakonoff, “Media”, 57, 79.

<sup>1591</sup> Diakonoff, “Media”, 43-44.

<sup>1592</sup> Diakonoff, “Media”, 80, 106, accepts it reluctantly. For all that, he states that the real founder of Medea was his successor Bartatua (Phraortes) (*idem*, 109). The resemblance of this name of the above-mentioned Scythian hero Bartatua (however, Protothyes in Herodotus) is interesting. Moses Khorenats’i relates from earlier sources the names of four former rulers of Medea prior to Dāiukku: Varbakēs, Mawdakīs, Sawsarmos, Artikas (*History of the Armenians*, 110).

Although the Magi class was thoroughly exterminated by the Persians, who afterwards started to celebrate that day as their national holiday,<sup>1593</sup> the former survived as a transformed entity in pre-Islamic Persia. Sassanian *mōbed* (< \**magu-pati* “chief mag”) is a derivation of that word.<sup>1594</sup> *Moy-mard* ‘magus’<sup>1595</sup> of the same period reflects either a vocal change during the Sassanians, or perhaps is related to a local variation, regarding the Akkadian form *mug* mentioned above. The word survived in Persian to later and modern ages as *moy*.<sup>1596</sup>

Turkic cannot be exempted from this survey; regarding the ancient Zagros people, roughly speaking, they have rendered that word to European and Semitic languages and transmitted it directly to Persian. We may start with a funny semantic connection within Turkish idioms: *göz boya-* lit. ‘to dye an eye’, *göz bay-* ‘to faint an eye’ and *göz bağla-* ‘to tie an eye’, perhaps also the not widespread *göz boğ-* ‘to strangle an eye’, all denoting magic, namely, to influence somebody with magic-like ways and tricks. The same can be observed in other Turkic languages, too. Cf. Kazakh *köz bayla-* ‘to deceive’. The verbs are entirely absurd to express such a meaning, but phonetically closer. This reminds us that there was once upon a time indeed only one verb meaning ‘to make magic’; it was forgotten as an independent verb, and was transferred to phonetically closer verbs within idioms. There is not a recorded Old Turkic word \**bag-*/*\*bog-* with that meaning, but there should be one in accordance with the accumulation of resembling verbs.

Etymological dictionaries do not consider the semantic connection of these verbs, and study them separately from each other. For ‘magic’, they rightly focus on OT *bögü* ‘sage, vizard’ and *bögüle-* ‘to make magic, bewitch’. Severtjan takes it as a deverbal name with the suffix *-ü (-i)*, and proposes a verbal root \**bük-*.<sup>1597</sup> *Bögü* was rendered to Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus.<sup>1598</sup> Starostin et al. construct an Altaic root as \**bògé* “wise, sacred”, however, only the Turkic word has that meaning.<sup>1599</sup> Hungarian *bűbáj* ‘witchcraft’ is a binomial and indeed contains two separate words, *bű* ‘magic’ and *báj* ‘charm’. The second one is tied to

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<sup>1593</sup> Herodotus, II, 103, 105 (III/79).

<sup>1594</sup> Dandamayev, “Magi”.

<sup>1595</sup> David N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1986), 56.

<sup>1596</sup> Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 1346.

<sup>1597</sup> Severtjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov “B”*, 294.

<sup>1598</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 324;

<sup>1599</sup> Starostin et al., *An Etymological Dictionary*, 368.

Turkic *ba-* ‘to tie, fasten’.<sup>1600</sup> This again seems absurd in meaning. ‘Magic’ is not ‘tied’, but ‘made’. If it is a direct loanword from Turkic, then it is not usual to compose such a word *bögü ba* in its bare form, and there should be a verbal extension. Therefore, Hungarian *báj* ‘charm’ may represent the lost Turkic *\*bag* ‘magic’.

Thus, the Turkic *\*bag* and *bög/büg* forms coincide with the Zagros *mag* and *mug*. Whether loanword or ancestral, this is far from being accidental. Returning to the other Turkic word *\*büg* meaning ‘big, great’, Sumerian has *mah* ‘great’. We do not know such a word in the Zagros languages, including Subarian, but Old Persian seems to have borrowed *mahy* ‘bigger’ and *mahist* ‘biggest’ from ‘any’ language,<sup>1601</sup> which still survives in modern Persian. Its source should be the local languages of Western Iran, because Persian had no contact with the then ‘dead’ Sumerian to borrow directly from it.

As we discussed in Chapter 11, another word of the Mede that we know is *spak*, “the Medean name for a dog”.<sup>1602</sup> Curiously, a similar word does exist in Russian, or East Slavic: *sobako* ‘dog’. Since it is not found in the other Slavic languages, and there is no Indo-European correspondence, the word is clearly a borrowed one. Nor is it found in any Semitic, Finnic, etc., language. Whence did it come to Russian, and why to Russian? Semantically and phonetically the closest, indeed the only alternative seems to be the Turkic *köpek* (< *köbek*) ‘dog’.<sup>1603</sup> A Turkic word in Russian is plausible and easy to explain. But what about the *k- ~ s-* change that is not known in historical periods?

Russian itself answers this question. There are some other similar cases in Russian. Not distinguished from the other Slavic languages, Russian decimals are simple and regular: *desjaty* ‘ten’, *dvadcaty* ‘two ten(s), twenty’, *tridcaty* ‘three ten(s), thirty’, and so on. The only exception is *sorok* ‘forty’ (< Common East Slavic *\*syrkb*), which was received from Turkic *kir* ‘idem’ according to Fasmer.<sup>1604</sup> I would like to add *seryj* ‘gray’ as another parallel, cf. TR. *kir* ‘gray’. This may help us solve the problem of ‘dog’.

<sup>1600</sup> Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 83-85, 190; Benkö et al., *A Magyar nyelv*, 400.

<sup>1601</sup> MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, 53; Durkin-Meisterernst, *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, 228.

<sup>1602</sup> Herodotus -I-, 143 (1/110).

<sup>1603</sup> Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ russkogo jazyka III*, 702-3, tried every way possible to find an explanation.

<sup>1604</sup> Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ russkogo jazyka III*, 723.



These are clearly not the results of an internal Russian or East Slavic development, in which there is no such rule as to change *k-* from Turkic borrowings to *s-* in many other examples. Here is a particular group of words, whereas, Turkic has such a relation within itself. Cf. Turkish *kan-* ‘to fall for, believe, be deceived’ ~ *san-* ‘to suppose, presume’; *kemik* ‘bone’ ~ Old Turkic *sünük* ‘idem’. This equation, which has not yet been realised and examined in Turkic studies, is crucial for the names of both Subarians and Suvars. Some Sumerian texts prefer to use the name *Hubur* for the Subarians.<sup>1605</sup> The name of the mysterious Kabar people, who left the Khazarian union and joined the Hungarians,<sup>1606</sup> otherwise not occurring in any other record, should be related to the Suvars, the central entity tying Hungarians with the Khazars. A thorough examination would reveal, it seems, many other examples of this kind. In any case, it can be concluded here that a Turkic dialect having *s-* instead of *k-* in some relevant words, has rendered those words to the East Slavic area. Chronology is not important. It might have happened during the Common Slavic age, and the words might have remained local, likely among the eastern parts of the Slavic core. We showed in Chapter 12 some converse cases in terms of this equation like the Common Slavic *\*konь* ‘end, turn’ and Turkic *son* ‘end’. This *k-* ~ *s-* change has abundant examples especially in Turko-Hungarian correspondences.

The third Mede word that we know is *qara* ‘public, people, community’.<sup>1607</sup> Aalto identified the word as Old Persian and, queried a potential Semitic root.<sup>1608</sup> He was wrong in taking the word as Persian, which only borrowed it from the Medean, and since, it has no an expected Sanskrit equivalence. On the other hand, *kara* is found in both contemporary and Old Turkic languages with the same sound and with the meaning ‘public, crowd, mass’.<sup>1609</sup> Thus, Proto-Turkic seems to have loaned or inherited that word from the Zagros region.

The fourth word of the Mede to examine is the nickname or adjective used for the last Medean king *Dahak*: *Azi* or *Aži*, thus *Azdahak* or *Aždahak*. This man was mentioned a lot in early Islamic Iranology as a

<sup>1605</sup> Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 93-94, 96-99, investigated it in detail.

<sup>1606</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 175.

<sup>1607</sup> Diakonoff, “Media”, 115.

<sup>1608</sup> Pentti Aalto, “Iranian Contacts of the Turks in pre-Islamic Times”, in *Studia Turcica*, ed. Lajos Ligeti (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 191.

<sup>1609</sup> *Drevnetjurkskij slovar*, 423-424; Z. M. Əliyeva, “Türk Dillərində «Qara» Sifətinin Semantik Təkamülü”, *Türkologiya* 1 (1994), 57. Likely the mysterious *kara* in the Turkic doublet *kara budun*, which lit. means ‘black people’, but indeed signifies ‘commoners’, is also the same word.

representative of the cruel typology, and the old Armenian, Georgian, etc., sources were not posterior to the Islamic ones. The Persian national epic as in the form transferred to the Islamic period reserves a great space for his deeds. Aždahak had terrible amounts of pain because of two tumours on his nape; he was recommended to kill two young persons each day, and to rub the brains of these youngsters on his nape. At last, the awaited hero, Faridûn opposed him, hit his head with an iron stick and caused him to faint. He then tied him up and took him to the Dunbâvend Mountain in the north of Tehran.<sup>1610</sup>

The story of Aždahak and Faridûn is found more or less everywhere around the area. The original sources mention Aždahak as a human, but when the subject became storified, Aždahak with the two tumours on his nape became a monster, or truly a dragon with three heads eating humans every day. Thus, his name meant ‘dragon’ in the course of time and was borrowed by medieval Turkic peoples, too, in the forms *Ajdahak* and *Ajdaha*.

Herodotus gives the earliest and realistic accounts about him. The last Median king *Astiages*, as it occurs in his book, was toppled by his grandchild from a Persian named Cambyses. The grandchild’s name was Kyros. Astiages was arrested by him and jailed in a towering castle. Astiages was so cruel that even his own people and army turned against him.<sup>1611</sup> We told of this personality in Chapter 11 about the Scythians.

Interestingly, a similar scene takes place in the Oghuz epic of the medieval Turks:

In that forest there was a big [monster]. It constantly ate the livestock and the people. It was a big bad beast. It had oppressed the people with suffering (lit. trouble and torture). Oghuz Qagan was a manful and tempered man. He wanted to hunt down this monster. One day, he went to hunt. He rode with javelins, bow and arrows, as well as with sword and shield. He took a deer. He tied that deer to a tree with a willow twig, then went away. After that it became morrow. He came at dawn-break, and he saw that the [monster] has taken the deer. Then he took a bear. He tied it to a tree with his gold-ornamented waist belt, then went away. After this it became morrow. He came at dawn-break and saw that the monster has taken the bear. Then he stood at the root of the tree himself. The monster came and struck the shield of Oghuz with its head. Oghuz struck the monster’s head with his spear and killed it. He cut its head off with sword, took it and went away.<sup>1612</sup>

<sup>1610</sup> Cf. Saint Georgios also kills a dragon in this manner.

<sup>1611</sup> Astiages was dethroned by Cyrus, father of Darius (Herodotus, I, 171 (I/130)).

<sup>1612</sup> Danka, *The Pre-Islamic Oğuz-nāmā*, 45-49.

Faridûn and Oghuz start their heroic career by killing a monster, indeed a ‘man-ster’, and end up by allocating their dominions to their sons.<sup>1613</sup> The last act or figure by no means belongs to the Persian culture, but is clearly borrowed from Turkic political culture, for which it was a norm and rule to give to the sons some parts of the imperial lands.<sup>1614</sup> And the former act or figure is conversely a cultural export from Iran to the early Turks. Since the scene of killing the monster is radically different from that told in the Persian epic written down in various books of the early Islamic period, we may surmise that Turks received it earlier than the rise of Islam, and produced their own version of dehumanisation.

Well, what about the nickname *aži* of the Medean king? It occurs in Proto-Iranian in that form and it is possible to reconstruct a true PIE root *\*ang<sup>w</sup>(h)i* ‘snake’ on the basis of the cognates such as Greek ἄχις, Latin *anguis*, Armenian *iž*, Lithuan *angis* and Russian *už*, all meaning the same.<sup>1615</sup> This perfectly suits the context, since Aždahak was a three (later seven) snake-headed monster. However, new studies have shown that a similar monster-killing scene also exists in Sumerian narrations. Ninurta, who was using a spear just like Oghuz and Faridûn, killed the monster-human *Asakku/Azag*, described as having shark-like teeth, who was massacring the people. In doing this, like the other two, he did a great favour for humanity.<sup>1616</sup> The content corresponds to both the Turkic and Persian tales, and the name *Azag* to the Iranic *Aži*. Perhaps we should comment on this as a good coincidence: An Iranic word well suited to the name of a Mesopotamian or Sumerian monster.

The name of the monster in the Turkic version is *Kıyant*. We dealt with this in Chapter 8 to compare with the Greek *Giants*. The Sumerian *Asakku/Azag* is associated with Old Turkic *adgu* ‘bear’, which participates

<sup>1613</sup> Faridûn divides his world-empire during his own lifetime among his three sons. He gives the western lands to Salm, his eldest son, the north and the east, namely Turan and China, to Tur, but the central clime, which includes Eranshahr, he gives to his youngest and favourite son, Eraj (Yarshater, “Iranian National History”, 372).

<sup>1614</sup> This is normal and there are perhaps some other epic elements to be regarded in the Central Asian connection. For example, the legends of Zal and Rustam, articulated in the Persian national epic, are probably of Saka origin (Yarshater, “Iranian National History”, 346).

<sup>1615</sup> Rastorgueva and Edelman, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ iranskih jazykov -I-*, 297; J. R. Russell et al., “Aždahā”, in *Encyclopedia Iranica* -III/2- (New York: Columbia University, 1987), 191-192, 195.

<sup>1616</sup> Erdoğan, Hasan G., “Uygurca Yazılmış Oğuz Kağan Destanı’nın Sümer Bağlantıları”, in *Prof. Dr. Mehmet Alpagu Armağanı -I-*, ed. B. Çelik (Ankara: Nobel, 2020), 445-447.

in the cast of the Turkic epic as a victim of Kiyant, as seen just above. The bear is the symbol of monstrosity in Turkic culture. The etymologically uncertain Turkic word *aziğ* ‘molar’ may give an idea. Clauson explains it as “a large tooth or tusk of a human being or animal, originally canine tooth, later usually molar”.<sup>1617</sup> Canine teeth and molars are different and separable things. Sevortjan relates *azulu* ‘wild, cruel’ to that word,<sup>1618</sup> however, it may not be true to derivate the latter from *az-* ‘to go astray, lose one’s way’, in spite of the presence of *azgun* ‘dissolute, wild, ferocious’ from that verbal root, for grammatical reasons. Instead, *azulu* seems to hide *aziğ* within it, and ‘molar’ has nothing to do with ‘going astray’. In reference to the canine tooth, molars in Proto-Turkic might have been called ‘bear teeth’, and thus *aziğ* ‘molar’ might be related to *adgu* ‘bear’ with phonemes interchangeable in Turkic languages, and may even represent the archaic form of the latter, getting closer to the Sumerian name.

This is a long and roundabout way, but it would not be strange to find one more basic word of Turkic to have a Sumerian connection, in the presence of hundreds of others. If so, and if the *aži* epithet of the Medean king is only the fitting of an Iranian word to an existing native word inherited from the Sumerian ages, then we have one more Turkic connection of the Mede language.

Words travel a lot, so do the customs but, if the main subject, the core of a saga was found in unexpected places, then, one needs to seriously think about this. In our case, either the Medean Aždahak or the Sumerian Azag seems to have entered (Western) Turkic tales in some way. Therefore, there was a strong relationship, continuous or transient, here between northern Central Eurasia and the Middle East both in time and base wise, which one cannot restrict solely to the Medeans there.

Strabon says that the name of the river Tigris means in the Mede language ‘bow’.<sup>1619</sup> In Chapter 17 we have seen the Turkic verb *tevir-* ‘to twist, or turn (something Acc.)’ and the *tegir-* words meaning ‘round’. There seems to be a distant relationship; however, since *tevir-* has many ‘Nostratic’ correspondences, this relationship may bear some other dimensions, too.

Consequently, almost all Medean words available to us can be explained in a Turkic connection in this or that way. This is never to say that Medeans were of Proto-Turkic stock. They were one of the ancient Zagros peoples, whose earlier splinters (Subarians and also likely some

<sup>1617</sup> Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 283.

<sup>1618</sup> Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskih jazykov -glasnye-*, 97.

<sup>1619</sup> *The Geography of Strabo -V-*, 329 (XI/14/8).

other earlier groups) migrating northward caused a creolisation in northern Central Eurasia, which ended up by making the proto forms of the Turkic and Hungarian languages. This is not surprising. After Landsberger discovered and published personal names of the Gutians, a pre-Medean Zagros people, and underlined their Turkic appearances, his colleague and disciple Balkan continued on the same track. Especially some kings' names like *Yarlagan*, *Tirigan*, *El-Uhumeš*, *Şarлак* and *Kurum* attract attention.<sup>1620</sup> But, as we do not know their meanings and the Gutian language at all, this may be casual, in spite of the fact that Sumerian, Elamite or Semitic personal names cannot be explained in Turkic so easily, but the Gutian names can be. Thus, even though the forms are similar, I am cautious about using this method to diagnose words when we do not know their meanings. However, if their association with Turkic is to be found by the support of other sources from the region, then, we would give a little more consideration to liaising these names with Turkic.

To summarise again, most likely, we should talk about a two-layered ethno-linguistic structure in Central Eurasia. A combination of the people of the Middle East and the people of the South Urals seems to have produced the proto-form of the Turkic and Hungarian entities. The making of them was not bound to the Middle East contribution, of course. They were in the making well before and during the Sintashta age. Those contributions likely changed only the colours of the concerning languages. This two-layered ethnic structure is the reason behind the two-layered language as well. Normally, for a notion, there should only be one word. The other words should explain the sub-types of that notion. For example, if the word *köpek* 'dog' is the name of that animal, *it* 'dog' should define a breed of dog or vice versa. Normally, in a pure language, there should not be any perfect synonym for a word. There are many word pairs such as this one ('dog') in Turkic, which Prof. Gürer Gülsevin suggested calling 'equal doubles' (personal conversation). A careful analysis and comparison of the Turkic and Indo-European commonalities might help to decompose those layers to a certain degree, for they likely belonged to that original South Uralian layer.

On the other hand, it is possible to envisage a greater family of Zagros-Kelteminar-Dravidian-Ural-Altaic. This may be the source of a considerable quantity of the correspondences. Today, linguists talk about the relations of the Dravidian of the Southern Asia especially with Uralic. Why not add,

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<sup>1620</sup> Kemal Balkan, "Eski Önasya'da Kut (veya Gut) Halkının Dili ile Eski Türkçe Arasındaki Benzerlik", *Erdem* 6, 16 (January 1990), various pages.

at least hypothetically, the lost and unknown agglutinative languages in the southern crescent of the Caspian Sea to the known ones?

## CONCLUSION

It is not a proper act to add the abstracts of each chapter here, but I have to recall each one in a few sentences. Indeed, we have a lot of conclusions, all pointing in the same direction, both separately and altogether.

Firstly, the Altaic theory is not yet proven and cannot be referred to in such a restrictive sense as to bound the surveys for a Turkic homeland and genesis within the borders of the Altaic domain. Structural resemblances between the so-called old and new members of the family may be pointing to a remote fermenting factor, however their lexical properties mostly exhibit traces of chain borrowings, and the positions of the 'new' members Korea and Japan are not so very different from the positions of the classical members Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus. First of all, Turkic and Mongolian have no tight ties indicating a genetic and linguistic relationship, nor do any other Altaic pair in a satisfactory level. It is certain, however, that the Turkic homeland should be sought not far from the region starting with the Altaic ranges. Regarding the chain borrowings, the primary Turks should have been located in the west of the Altays. The ancient genetic studies also show that peoples east and west of the mountains belonged to separate roots, but started to intermingle in the course of counterattacks both by the eastern and western elements in various periods.

A significant proof of the fact that the Turks emerged in an area outside the classical Altaic world comes from the absence of a Chinese loanword stratum in Proto-Turkic except for a few debated cases. A neighbourhood with China would surely end with the borrowing of at least several Chinese words, as it is the case with the other 'Altaic' languages. Of them all, Turkic is divergent; it has no traces of such ancient linguistic relations with China, and this has to be considered while looking for their origins.

The West of the Altays is associated with the Uralic and Indo-European realms. Nor is the Uralic theory in a better situation compared to the Altaic. A common Uralic vocabulary sufficient to reconstruct a Uralic proto-language is still far from being realised, and even individual members of the family do not stand close to each other and, moreover, there is no regularity which is explainable for instance with the chain borrowings. Thus, Hungarian has troubles with its twin sisters Khanty and

Mansi, which have separate ties with the geographically distant Finnish, which in turn has separate ties with Hungarian. It may perhaps be better to define the Uralic world as a group of languages related to each other with particular connections. This shows, in any case, the presence of a founding or fermenting element which had a deep impact in relating all the concerning languages to each other. However, this does not necessarily mean that the current Uralic languages have emanated from one and the same source.

Turkic has strict ties with the languages of the Uralic group, which does not have structural features that are sharply distinct from the 'Altaic' languages. Indeed, our primary problem is with the lexical domain, in terms of which, both wings of the Ural-Altaic entity behave in the same way. Therefore, in cases where we do not find chain borrowing relations, it would be more convenient to refer to the oldest 'fermenting' factors or to the eventual proto-language, if it ever existed once. Only a small part of the relations of Turkic with Hungarian can be attributed to areal interaction for three reasons:

1) They are very intense both in quality and quantity, surely more than those between Turkic and Mongolian. Hence, the few centuries of the common history and neighbourhood of Turks and Hungarians envisaged by the established views are not enough to explain its making, especially when compared to the Turko-Mongolian neighbourhood which has never ceased to exist since the 'creation'.

2) All Uralic languages, including those far distant Saamic and Balto-Finnic ones, also have resemblances with Turkic. They are very irregular in nature, and hard to attribute to historical relations. It cannot be claimed that they were altogether borrowed via the Hungarian or Volga-Uralic languages, since Hungarian was in relation with them after it left the South Urals, when it entered into a relationship with Turkic. There does not seem to be a channel to forward Turkic words to further Uralic or Finnic languages, because, as just said above, there seems to be no case of regularity and/or chain borrowing.

3) The Volga-Uralic languages, both Finnic and Ugric, have been in constant intimate relations with Turkic languages in that region for thousands of years, at least from the Bulgar age on. However, they have no correspondences with Turkic comparable to those in Hungarian, which was allegedly in contact with Turkic, or truly with the Proto-Bulgars, in a restricted time space, and assimilated some Turkic groups in today's Hungary. This also needs a satisfactory explanation.

Thus, it seems that we need to focus on the linguistic relations, if not on a common genetic background, in a remote and distant past, going



almost as far as the ‘united’ Uralic age, if it ever existed. There does not seem to be a base to claim the presence of a Proto-Turko-Uralic, but the general relations of Turkic with the Uralic and the particular connections with the Volga-Uralic, especially with Hungarian should be considered in terms of the prehistoric times. This has been proven by studies of ancient genetics. And thus, we need to reserve a home for the Proto-Turkic formation near the eastern elements of the ‘united’ or the ‘just dismembered’ Uralic domain. This second proposal would agree with our first proposal, since somewhere west of the Altays would be somewhere east of the Urals.

The former theories confining Turkic and Turks to the Altaic world have prevented us from investigating the relations of Turkic with Indo-European languages, except for those adjacent (Indo-)Iranian and Tocharian, and almost except for the word ‘ox’. However, even if Turkic was an Altaic language, when it was separated, the Proto-Indo-European without the Anatolian branch was still keeping its ‘almost’ unity. Thus, there seems to be no barrier for comparing Turkic with PIE, even according to the mainstream views. This had to be done.

The comparison of Turkic with Iranian, Indic and Tocharian languages would not contribute much to our historical knowledge, except for reminding us that there would have been relations in the Aryan times, too. Turkic has not had special relations with Sanskrit in known times, except for some religion-based local cases, due to the geographical separateness, but the concerning material shows a more intimate relation encompassing the entire Turkic domain. Therefore, a long-enduring neighbourhood of the Proto-Turks with the Indo-Aryans somewhere west of Central Asia would be a good answer for this case, which would be backed by the geographical closeness of Proto-Turkic to the Uralic languages. The South Urals and the Western Kazakh steppes would be a good choice for such a scene.

The presence of Proto-Turkic or its core in the South Urals going back to such ancient times as the early Bronze Age or even earlier, regarding the chronology of Proto-Uralic, would enable us to make comparisons of Turkic and Proto-Indo-European without the Anatolian IE languages. Really, as we presented a preliminary list in the concerning chapter, there is an intensive linguistic relation with the European IE, which has nothing much to do with the special relations of Turkic with the Indo-Iranic branch, and excludes the Anatolian IE languages. This is meaningful and would help us set up a rough chronology: namely, c. 3000 BC, about the beginning of the Eurasian Bronze Age.

The results of the archaeological studies provide us with a parallel case, a human movement from the South Urals to Central Europe, where the western borders of the Indo-European world were then likely to be found. The kurgan making peoples from the South Urals crossed the Volga, conquered the Black Sea steppes, founding the Yamnaya cultural horizon, and reached the confines of Western Europe, influencing the Corded Ware Culture region, in several waves. They brought the R clade genes to Europe, which are quite popular today, but were completely absent c. 3000 BC. According to some popular theories, these Kurgancis were the true Indo-Europeans who have transformed Europe. However, they came after the separation of the Anatolian group. Since the Hittites and others are doubtlessly Indo-Europeans, then the Kurgancis of the South Urals can by no means be IE, as their genetics do not match those of the Anatolian branch. Thus, not the Kurgancis, but the invaded East and Central European peoples should be the Proto-Indo-Europeans. Besides, no known Indo-European people have had the kurgan tradition, and none of the dispersing IE branches took it to their new abodes. There are no kurgans in Iran, India, Greece or Italy. On the other hand, Turks everywhere kept that strict tradition. Otherwise, experts of the area should explain why and how the IE peoples left kurgans and why Turkic peoples adopted that out-of-mode practice. It is very significant to observe that the archaeology and genetics of the kurgan studies support each other, and the overall result is a perfect match with the dispersion of our linguistic results.

Indeed, historical sources provide the bulk of material against the established Altaic case. From the earliest records on, it is possible to find Turkic traces in Eastern Europe, hidden not only in onomastics and several cultural items, but also in many words occurring in the region, whose meanings are given in the sources. There is no need to even back them up with the genetic evidence. They all belonged to the Scythians and Sarmatians. They spoke in the same language (group). Sarmatians came from the South Urals and Scythians were their relatives from the eastern parts of the Kazakh steppes. The Iranian tribes that came to the Black Sea steppes from the west of Central Asia centuries after the Sarmatians were separate and distinct ethnic groups and their identity does not make the 'Nordic' Sarmatians, thus Scythians, Iranian peoples.

Scytho-Sarmatians are in a critical position in this survey, since they stand just between the historical and prehistoric peoples of Central Eurasia. With a few exceptions like the Alans and Aorsi, whose original lands are well-known and who are separate from the Scytho-Sarmatians, these historical peoples (Scytho-Sarmatians) were the ancestors of the

Turkic peoples and the Hungarians. The fact that there is still not an explanation for the absence of a transformation or transition in Central Eurasia from Iranian to Turkic, backs this case. The mainstream views (had to) suggest such a case that the Turks from beyond the Altays came to the Central Eurasian steppes and changed its ethno-linguistic colour in favour of themselves, and it had to be in AD periods, that is, in the visible historical ages.<sup>1621</sup> But we cannot see such a transition, and cannot comprehend how such a great ethnic transformation in a continent-like region happened so silently, without leaving any trace. Today's Kazakhstan population is genetically and culturally the same as those in the Scythian age, who were in their turn, the inheritors and continuators of the previous Andronovo and Karasuk cultural horizons, who in turn go back to the Proto-Sintashta and Afanasievo cultures. The eastward migrations of the Bronze Age populations to South Siberia and the Kazakh steppes remind one that the eventual source of the formation should be sought somewhere in the South Urals and the western Kazakh steppes.

It seems that the elements that started the creation of the Turkic ethno-linguistic entity were also shared by the regions where the later Hungarians would emerge. They were also present to a lesser degree among the Proto-Uralic society. The consolidation of their identity seems to be related to the emergence and rise of the Sintashta world. The fertile lands and suitable climatic conditions, together with the coming of agriculture likely at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC, let them increase their population. Better social organisation and a higher level of technologies helped them conquer the surrounding lands populated by other peoples. It was difficult in Eastern Europe, truly the Black Sea steppes, which was the homeland of the Proto-Indo-Europeans with great possibility, and contained a dense and significant population. The newcomers represented by the kurgan tradition would eventually be assimilated among them, but in the less populated east, the circumstances were more favourable. The Proto-Turks were of sufficient number to keep their identity among the minor populations of Southern Siberia and Kazakhstan, and even to assimilate the natives into their own identity. This process is first seen especially in the Afanasievo dispersal of the early 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC and then the Andronovo expansion of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC. The Afanasievo in the Kazakh

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<sup>1621</sup> For instance, Quintana-Murci et al., "Where West Meets East", 828, say that westward migrations of Turkic peoples had started by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, however, they do not give genetic evidence. As for our historical knowledge, it is not true, of course. If the authors mean the Xiong-nu, their migrations started much earlier, massively in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, and there were surely other waves in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, after the eventual collapse of the Xiong-nu polity.

steppe and Yamnaya in the Black Sea region were from the same source. Therefore, the Andronovan conquerors, if so, went along the ways that had been cleared and paved by their relatives many centuries before, and it was thus not difficult to unify the Kazakh steppes under one ethno-linguistic identity. After that, the historical times begin together with the Scythians, and the entire history is soundly realised on the same ethno-cultural ground.

The social conditions appearing in the steppe after the transition to pastoral nomadism proper, accompanied by the mounted cavalry c. 1000 BC contributed to keeping the linguistic unity through an immense geography. The continuous inter-migrations because of both economic and political reasons and especially the strict rule of endogamy (marriage between those related within the last seven generations was prohibited in accordance with *töre*, traditional law of the steppe society) seem to have mixed the steppe folk forever, and prevented the appearance of local dialects that would turn into languages in the long term. Instead, their language remained understandable for everybody along the 5,000 km steppe belt. It is unique in the world and related to the social conditions of the region, and not to any particular characteristic of the Turkic language. Proto-Turkic was seemingly an -r language. Its traces are seen in the old layers of the borrowings in the adjacent languages. However, a fashion starting likely after the collapse of the Xiongnu in the east (3<sup>rd</sup> century AD) turned that -r into -z, and became dominant in the steppe in the course of time. Some Turkic groups in the periphery or outside the steppe world remained in the old dialect. The historical Bulgars, Ogurs and likely Suvars were of that kind. They were however assimilated among the other Turks or foreign peoples. The only remnant of the -r language today is that of the Chuvash living just to the east of Moscow, well distant from the steppe influence. A similar fashion happened in the Late Medieval, when the steppe region faced the phonetic development that linguists call ‘Kipchakisation’, and likewise the Turkic peoples in the periphery or outside the steppe remained unaffected by that process.

The linguistic unity of the Turks was also reflected in the genetic diversification of the Turkic peoples, who kept their genetic and cultural integrity to a great degree. Martínez-Cruz et al. explain it with the fact that the Turks dispersed at relatively late dates compared to the Indo-Europeans.<sup>1622</sup> I would refer to the social circumstances in the steppe to explain this, rather than to the dates of dispersal. And, according to the

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<sup>1622</sup> Martínez-Cruz et al., “In the Heartland of Eurasia”, 221-2. See also Yunusbayev et al., “The Genetic Legacy of the Expansion of Turkic-Speaking Nomads”, 14.

same authors, the clustering analyses showed that most individuals from Turkic countries had large membership coefficients into one Central Asian cluster and smaller membership coefficients into the East Asian cluster. This pattern likely reflects the existence of an ancestral group of Turkic speakers.<sup>1623</sup>

Early Proto-Turks in the east had settled in the Altay-Sayan ranges and in the plains to their north.<sup>1624</sup> From there they entered relations with the local peoples genetically different from themselves. The latter were ancestors of the later Mongolian and Tungusic peoples, some parts of them being continuously assimilated among the Turks. Thus, an influx of East Asian genes started to be seen in Turkic blood. However, it always remained minimal until the late Medieval, the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD, when the Mongols under Genghis Khan started to invade the rest of the world. Therefore, in the regions where the Mongolian tribes have migrated and eventually assimilated among the Turkic mass, the East Asian genetic diversifications are in a relatively high degree with the Turks there, while among the other Turks, who did not host the Mongolian visitors so much, it is lower or completely absent. Thus, almost all Turkic peoples are defined in pre-Mongol sources as colourful in hair and eye. This changed in Central Asia towards ‘black’, but has been kept among the western Turks both in Turkey and Volga-Ural. However, under the dominant character of the ‘black’ genes, the Turkish population resembles more and more the Middle Easterners.

Proto-Turkic, as well as Proto-Hungarian seems to have had some Middle Eastern linguistic connections. It is proved by the genetic and archaeological studies as before stated. However, those elements seem to constitute a layer in the concerning languages, and not the entire languages. This layer separates Turkic and Hungarian from the other Ural-Altai languages, although many words of Middle Eastern origin seem to have jumped to the other Ural-Altai languages as well. Advanced studies and comparisons would reveal many facts and secrets of this relation.

The famous comedian Jim Carrey made a nice movie named ‘Yes Man’. Our hero gets the advice that if he says yes to everything, life would be much better for him. The things that he said yes to were quite ordinary things from daily life. However, when they all came together, they caused our hero to be suspected of terrorism and to be interrogated. Some acts that did not actually exist, or were wrongly interpreted, were considered altogether by the FBI, causing the belief that he had relations with terrorists.

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<sup>1623</sup> Martínez-Cruz et al., “In the Heartland of Eurasia”, 222.

<sup>1624</sup> Thus, they were and are largely of the haplogroup R1a lineage: Faux, “The Genetic Link of the Viking-Era Norse to Central Asia”, 40.

Do we do the same thing in science? Some ideas are based on wrongly assumed or not-yet-proven facts, and when they gain common acceptance in a way, the concerning scholarship sometimes marks them as the ultimate trues. The widespread ideas on Altaic-based Turkic origins and homeland seem to be of that kind.

In this book, I did not just gather together some leads that did not exist but were only presumed. Here, with their explanations, I am talking about hundreds and even thousands of clues. They are all proven. A person that argues that these do not exist should disprove every single one of them, and attribute the last one left over to luck. Only then, could the contents of this book be denied.

All the leads show us that the Turkic identity was formed in the area to the east of the Volga River, in the steppe and forest-steppe zone of the South Urals. The local population in these regions was naturally the essential layer of the later Turks and also Hungarians. However, the linguistic, genetic and archaeological results show that they received some Middle-Eastern elements in various phases. This is the genesis story of the Turks.

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