

THE VANISHED KIMAK EMPIRE

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For the better part of a century, from 840 to 916, one power, the Kimak, dominated the heartland of Asia, controlled the key central portion of the Silk Road, and influenced events from China to Persia and Europe. In these respects, the Kimak were on a par with the Scyths and the Mongols. But the Muse of History is fickle, and in time, not only was their empire forgotten, but the very name "Kimak" vanished from historical ken.

Introduction

One of the grand achievements of twentieth century historiography is Bala Eshmukhambetovich Kumenkov's definitive work, *Gosudarstvo Kimakov IX-XI vv. po arabskim istochnikam* (The Kimak State of the IX-XI Centuries, according to Arabic sources), published in Alma-Ata, Kazakstan, in 1972. In this book, Kumenkov retrieved a lost history from the destructive clutches of time. Through skilled reconstruction, comparison, and analyses predicated upon a large compilation of data from numerous sources, including archaeological findings, Kumenkov delineated the spatio-temporal dimensions and patterns of the Kimak state, including Kimak towns in the Semirechie, and described some of the patterns of their cultural life. The Kimak polity can now be seen for what it was: one of the great pastoral nomadic empires of all time.

On a more solemn note, one must observe that the extensive archival, library, and scholarly infrastructure resources built and accumulated through a quarter of a millennium which Kumenkov used have become scattered or lost subsequent to the break-up of the Soviet Union, which means that such a deep historiographic work dealing with the Eurasian heartland may never again be possible.

It is thus important that, at the present juncture, some of Kumenkov's key chronological, geographic, and cultural discoveries about the Kimak be made available to the larger scholarly community. It is fitting that such a major discovery about the once-mighty Kimak empire will come to wider attention in this *Festschrift*

honoring Henry Schwarz's long and distinguished career of Central Asian scholarship.

Seen in broad perspective, the Kimak were one of the strong formative elements in Eurasian history. They began as a small Turkish pastoral nomadic group in the upper Irtysh, and gradually spread west into the Semirechie, the "seven rivers" region east and south of Lake Balkhash.

Historical events, and perhaps a strong leader whose name is lost to us, propelled the Kimak to great power. When Carolingian Europe had newly split asunder and Tang China was in terminal decay, the Kimak ruled an empire that extended from the Irtysh River and Altai Mountains in the east to the Black Sea steppe in the west. Northward it expanded into the fringes of the taiga, and southward it reached into the desert-steppe. Like the violent gale-force *ebi* winds of winter that howl for days on end out through the Dzungarian Gate, over the Alakol Steppe, and to Lake Balkhash (Prokh 1983: 235), a tumult of people and war suddenly descended on the Kimak, and their empire collapsed. The western Kimak in the Ural steppe became subordinate to the Kipchak who pushed the Pechenegs into the Ukraine; and the Semirechie Kimak retreated back to the upper Irtysh region. Then came oblivion. Although three centuries were to pass before the Mongols built their empire, it is possible that orally-transmitted memories of the Kimak's vast domain were one of the factors suggesting and guiding Mongol movements to the west.

Sources

Before turning to what is now known about the Kimak, it is important to briefly examine the sources that Kumenkov used. Kumenkov's bibliography lists 495 sources (Kumenkov 1972, hereinafter abbreviated as "K": 132-152). Discounting the six Marxist-Leninist "classics" obligatory for a Soviet work, Kumenkov's bibliography contains 489 sources in seven languages, including 307 items listed in the Russian bibliography, thirty of which are actually Arabic books or texts, and 150 works in the non-Russian bibliography. More than half of the Russian entries consist of research works, such as local museum and archaeology reports, (which would have had very limited circulation); and a significant portion of the works are rare by reason of their age. A significant portion of the non-Russian works are specialist materials which can

be found in only a very few research libraries. Three of the books which Kumenkov used are very rare [cf. Appendix 1].

The core of Kumenkov's work rests upon thirteen Arabic manuscripts, including two by Al-Idrisi, in the archives of the former Soviet Union [cf. Appendix 2]. Some early Arabic accounts of travel to the region inhabited by the Kimak have been published. Kumenkov used seven such books, two of which were books in Russian translation, and two of which were Arabic texts published with Russian introductions. Some of the manuscripts Kumenkov used date back a thousand years, while his most recent archaeological sources relevant to the Kimak were published in the late 1960s.

Time and Space

The Kimak occupied a significant portion of Central Asian time and space. They flourished in an era when the Arabo-Persian world was active in Central Asian trade, hence the importance of Arabic and Persian travelers' accounts. At the height of their power, the Kimak dominated the western portion of Central Asia and their power reached into Europe.

The chronology of the Kimak can best be summarized by a timeline [cf. Appendix 3].

The rise of the Kimak empire began with a population movement out of the core area along the upper Irtysh.

Only after the Kimak appeared in the region between the Alakol circular-valley and the valley of the Ili River, and the transference of their capital to the Alakol, was the process of the bringing together of the Kimak Union finally completed. During the course of the events which have been described, in the territory from the Irtysh to the Dzungarian Alatau, a new Turkic state appeared in Central Asia, of which the nucleus was . . . the twelve Kimak tribes. (K: 47; this and all other translations by L.A. Kimball)

The peak development of the Kimak empire lasted seventy-six years, from 840 to 916, a duration of power strikingly similar to that of the later Mongol empire.

Very different from the western historiographic view is the Kimaks' own account of their origins:

The founder of the Tatars died and left two sons. The elder son ruled the tsardom and the younger son, Shad, began to envy him. Shad made an attempt on the life of his elder brother, but failed.

Fearing for his own life, Shad took a devoted slave and fled away from his brother. He went to a place where there was a large river and abundant wildlife. There he set up his tent encampment.

Every day Shad went out hunting with his slave. They dined on meat, made clothes from the fur of sables, squirrels, and ermine.

After some time there came to them seven men from the Tatar kinsmen: the first was Imi, the second Imak, the third Tatar, the fourth Baiandur, the fifth Kypchak, the sixth Lanikaz, and the seventh Adzhlad. These men pastured the herds and flocks of their masters. But in the places where once they had pastured their animals there was no more pasturage. And so, in search of pasturage, they had come to that place where Shad was.

Upon seeing these men approaching, the slave went to them and said "Irtysh!" (Halt!). And from that the river received its name, "Irtysh."

Recognizing the slave, the men halted and set up their tents. When Shad returned from the hunt he had a good catch with him, and feasted the men.

They remained there till winter. When the snow fell they could not go back. There was much grass there, and so they remained in that place all winter long.

When spring colors decorated the land, and the snow melted, they sent one man into the Tatar camp so that he could give the tribe news of what had happened.

When the messenger arrived he saw that the place was deserted, and there were no people there. An enemy had attacked, pillaged, and murdered all the people.

The remnants of the tribe came down out of the mountains and went to the messenger. He told his friends about the situation of Shad, and they all headed toward the Irtysh.

When they had arrived there, they all acknowledged Shad as their chief and began to pay homage to him. Other people, hearing the account of what had happened, also went there. In all, 700 people gathered.

For a long time they remained in servitude to Shad. Later, when their numbers had increased greatly, they spread out in the mountains and formed seven tribes which took their names from the seven original men. (K35-36, *ex* Bartol'd 1st ref 1897: 82-83, 105-106)

The geographic sphere of the Kimak encompassed broad reaches of horizontal zonation, as well as some altitudinal zonation. The great spread of horizontal zonation reached across the entire western portion of the Central Asian steppe [cf., Map, Appendix 4]. Several borders, some "fuzzy," limited the horizontal reach of the Kimak. To the north, Kimak control petered out on the fringes on the taiga. Eastward their power did not extend into the eastern portion of the Central Asian steppe in what is now Mongolia because attempting to do so would have provided few benefits, and would have put too many strains on the polity [Buell 1993]. In the southeast the Kimak did not cross the Altai and Tarbagatai Ranges, nor did they conquer the Ili Valley. In the south, some Kimak took up camel nomadization in the desert steppe, but they did not penetrate into the dense mountains separating them from what are now Afghanistan and Iran. In the southwest they did not inhabit the harsh desert east of the Caspian Sea. Kimak expansion westward apparently never reached west or north of the Black Sea steppe, although why this was so must remain a subject for future study.

In terms of altitudinal zonation, the Kimak would have used differing altitudes for winter and summer pasturage in the upper Irtysh. They would also have utilized medicinal herbs and other plants from mountain slopes, and gone hunting into the mountain fastnesses.

Kumenkov identified three main routes along which travelers and trade goods went to the Kimak: the Khanzhol Route, the Syr-Darya Route, and the Western Route. It is likely that there was also a fourth, eastern route.

The Khanzhol Route ran from Taraz. It

. . . was on the major trade route reaching from Turkestan to China. Arab geographers called the northern portion of that route the "Shashk" or "Turkic." (K: 48)

. . . the road went from Taraz to Kavaket. From Kavaket to the headquarters of the Kimak tsar was eighty days for the mounted traveler moving swiftly and carrying provisions with him. (K: 48-49, ex Mirsky 1948: 281, Ibn al-Fakikh n.d.: leaf 170b)

Between Taras and Kulan in the north lie sands; after the sands are deserts of sands and pebbles. Snakes live in them. (K:49, ex Kitab . . . Ibn Haukal 1889:205)

Tamin described the varied terrain of this route.

The entire journey goes through steppe, sands, wide long valleys with much pasturage and water-sources; there the Kimak pasture their flocks and herds. (K: 49 *ex* Minorsky 1948: 281)

Kumenkov identified these descriptions with the later Khanzhol Route, i.e. "Khan's Road," which was the most important branch of the medieval trade route going from the Talas-Chuiisk Valley to the Irtysh River. Thus, Tamin was describing the journey over the steppe near Taras, then north through the Miounek Sands and across the Betpak-Dala Plateau before turning northeast through central Kazakstan to the Irtysh (K: 50).

The Syr-Darya Route ran in part through the Syr-Darya riverine system.

From Zhankent (Yangikent) it went northeast to the downstream part of the Sarys and Chu Rivers. Then the route followed the left bank of the Sarys and at the Tasotket Ford crossed to the right bank. At the place of Kara-Zhara the road turned off to the Kangir River, then it went through the Ultausk Steppe, the Arganatinsk Steppe, through the river valleys of the Karakengir and Tersakkan, then to Zharkaing it went along the shore of the Ishim River. Then it went along the lower reaches of the Ishim . . . then cut into the more northerly steppe, and entered the valleys of the Tobol and Irtysh Rivers. (K: 52-53 *ex* Margulan 1946: 76)

The Western Route is known from a brief mention in Gardizi. "From the land of the Yenisei Kyrgyz a route ran west to the Kimak and Karluks" (K:53 *ex* Bartol'd 1897: 86; according to Buell 1993 these Kyrgyz were a different group from the Kirghiz of today).

The Khanzhol and Syr-Darya Routes linked the Arabo-Persian world of Southwest Asia to the Kimak, and hence are the best described. The Western Route linked the Kimal with what later became Mongolia.

It is likely that there was also a fourth route, the Eastern Route, which ran eastward, linking the European and Byzantine world with the Kimak, and Kumenkov's sources did not mention it. All of the trade and travel routes were important for the Kimak economy.

Culture and Economy

The Kimak economy was classic Central Asian pastoral nomadism, but also showed the Turkic pattern of widely varied local economic specialization and adaptation [Buell 1993]. The key animal was the horse and the main subsistence animal was the sheep.

In his wide-ranging comparative study of pastoral nomadism in Africa and Eurasia, Barfield developed the concept of the "key animal" in pastoral nomadism. The key animal must meet four criteria.

1. The animal must be well adapted to the regional ecological conditions so that large numbers can be supported . . .
2. The key animal must be a necessary component of everyone's herd. An animal cannot become the cultural focus of a pastoral society if its ownership is restricted to only a minority of households . . .
3. The key animal's pastoral requirements take precedence over other stock . . .
4. The key animal must in some way define a nomad's social, political, or economic relation to the world. What really sets a key animal species apart from the other animals that nomads raise is the way it structures their relations with the larger world. (Barfield 1993:10-11)

The Kimak considered the horse their most valuable animal and used it for transportation, hunting, and war (K: 90). At the time of the Kimak emergence, and later, there were huge herds of horses on both sides of the Irtysh. Finds in Central Kazakhstan Turkic burials suggest that the two main types of horses in the Kimak herds were a hard, short type with a massive head and short thick neck and tall riding horses with small heads and thin legs, probably like the prestigious racing horses known from Kurgan burials (K: 91).

When they moved into the northeastern Semirechie, one group of Kimak shifted to camel herding. The camel became both their key animal and their main subsistence animal. In those sandy and infertile areas the camel is the best animal, but only in the southern region, because it cannot overwinter north of the 50th parallel (K: 91).

As the subsistence animal, fatty-tailed sheep provided meat for food, oil for cooking, and tallow for light. At various times and places, the herds included other animals, such as goats and cattle.

Travelers' accounts, and large quantities of cattle-bones found in graves in the region of the Upper Irtysh, point to the importance of transhumance pastoralism there. Cattle drive poorly and have to be overwintered in pens at permanent winter settlements. It seems to have been the poorest Kimak, perhaps ones so poor they had no horses, who herded cattle (K: 93).

Basic herding concerns remained central throughout the Kimak ascendance. Food and water for the herds were crucial, so the Kimak moved along the routes that provided the best pasturage at each time of the year. They wintered on the steppe between the Emba and Ural Rivers, but summered near the Irtysh. The summer home of the Kimak khans was in the town of Imak, somewhere on the middle Irtysh (K: 89-90 *ex* Bartol'd 1930 leaf 18b, Minorsky 1937: 100-310). Cattle had to be taken out of deep snow or there would be *dzut*, massive die-off. Horses, too, were vulnerable. "If the snow is hoof-deep they lead their horses to the area alongside the Ural River" (K: 90 *ex* Bartol'd 1930 leaf 18b, Minorsky 1937: 100, Minorsky 1942).

Another key facet of Kimak life was hunting. The Kimak hunted for food, trade, and war. Birds, antelope, and other game added to their diet (K: 92). Some Kimak hunters lived in the forest in "houses amidst large trees" and wore clothes sewn from animal skins (K: 93 *ex* Abu . . . al-Idrisi leaf 18b, Bartol'd 1897: 84, 107, Minorsky 1942:20).

These northern Kimak were semi-settled. "In winter they dwell in an earth house or semi-subterranean house, they go commercial hunting into the taiga for sable and ermine, traveling on skis" (K: 104 *ex* Minorsky 1942: 20). The furs of ermine, sable, fox, and marten were important wares, sold to foreign merchants for salt, though there were also Kimak merchants who traded in foreign lands (K: 92). Large group hunts served as training for war. Pride, prestige, and leadership intertwined with the use of falcons, hawks, golden eagles, and hunting dogs, and with the pursuit of beasts of prey, including the tiger and snow-leopard (K: 92-93).

Fishing played a minor role in the Kimak economy, though there were many large fish in the Gamash [Irtysh] River. Al-Idrisi

noted that the Kimak ate rice, meat, and fish (K: 93 *ex* Abu . . . al-Idrisi n.d.: leaf 69a).

There was also another major aspect of Kimak economic life: Kumenkov stresses that, in looking at the Kimak, scholars have ignored the fact that Al-Idrisi describes settlements and agriculture as well as nomadic life (K: 88).

Under the Kimak, agriculture and settled town culture characterized the northeastern Semirechie (K: 108) and many travelers' accounts describe the nature and stages of the journey to those towns. Through minute, closely-reasoned analysis of many such accounts, Kumenkov was able to take Al-Idrisi's map of the Kimak region in the Semirechie (Ma, Appendix 5), and re-interpret it, with additions, in modern cartographic form (Map, Appendix 6).

Kimak towns arose from a symbiosis of local Turkic, mostly Kimak, populations and cultural elements with pre-existing autochthonous culture, and with cultural elements from elsewhere in Central Asia (K: 108). The characteristic feature of Kimak towns was that all were well-fortified, and a prince-chieftain headed a garrison in each (K: 97). Towns were situated on lake shores, river banks, in border areas, and in impregnable mountain areas. A fortified wall with an iron gate surrounded the largest town, that of the Khakan, where the aristocrats also lived (K: 99 *ex* Abu . . . al-Idrisi n.d.: leaf 68a). Up in the hills stood castle-forts surrounded by moats (K: 99 *ex* Abu . . . al-Idrisi n.d.: leaf 66a).

At the height of the Kimak empire, agriculture, trade, and crafts formed integral parts of the economy. The Kimak on the steppe of the Syr-Darya had commerce in sheep for meat and skins (K: 96). The Kimak presence on the Volga enabled them to utilize the major trade routes that ran there, and may have put them in contact with the Byzantine and Viking worlds (Buell 1993). Although the Kimak had copper coins, most trade was done by barter (K: 96).

The Kimak grew millet, beans, rice, wheat, barley, peas and grapes. The word for "millet" was *taru* (K: 94 *ex* *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar* 1894: 9, Zajaczkowski 1945: 17) and so the word for "farmer" was *tarigchi* (K: 94 *ex* Makhmud . . . al Kashgari 1915-1917 II: 43). The Kimak had abundant honey, and a ring found in a Kimak grave in the region of the Irtysh was in the form of a stylized bee (K: 94 *ex* Arslanova 1968: 108).

The Kimak made cheese and they made beverages from rice, millet, barley, and honey (K: 95 *ex Puteshestviia . . . Karpini . . . Rubruka* 1957: 95). The Moslem analysts scarcely mention fermented mare's milk beverages, some of which probably were distilled to high potency. Kumenkov points out that it is impossible to tell whether it was particular groups within the Kimak who farmed, or whether separate tribes specialized in agriculture (K: 93).

Kimak crafts supplied pastoral-nomadic needs. The Kimak made clothes, yurt-covers, and many other items from felt, fashioned bows and arrows, weapons, quivers, saddles, and many items of decoration and ornamentation. Much of the craft-work took place in towns (K: 96). The Kimak worked iron and gold. "They gather and wash gold in water . . . they wash it out, then run the gold grains with mercury and float it in dung" (K: 97 *ex Abu . . . al Idrisi* n.d.: leaf 68b). The Kimak khans wore golden crowns and clothes sewn with gold (K: 97 *ex Abu . . . al-Idrisi* n.d.: leaf 68a).

Like any other culture, the Kimak lived a life rich with customs, observances, beliefs, song, poetry, language, and dreams. But most examples are irrevocably lost; only a few tantalizing glimpses remain.

The Kimak were literate. "Thin reeds grow there, and they write with them" (K: 109 *ex Ibn al-Fakikh* n.d.: leaf 176a). The Kimak used reed pens to write the Old Turkish script. A bronze mirror with Old Turkic writing found near Urdzhar in the Tarbagatai Mountains, dates to the time of the Kimak (K: 109 *ex Bernstam* 1948: 108-110). A large bronze mirror with runic writing has been found in the region of the Irtysh, and dated to the 9th-10th centuries (K: 109). It may well be that literate Kimak had works of law, religion, history, and epic poetry in their possession, but none have survived.

The fundamental core of Kimak religion was Turkic shamanism. Tengri, "sky, sky-god," had special importance, as did fire, which was sacred, cleansing, and the protector of the home (K: 109 *ex Abu . . . al-Idrisi* n.d.: leaf 68a). The Kimak cremated their dead, and cremation burials have been found near the Irtysh. The sun and stars had special importance, as did mountains and certain places or objects which were considered to have special powers for good or ill. The Irtysh River itself was worshipped as "the god of men" (K: 110 *ex Bartol'd* 1897: 83). Kimak shamans had *yada*, "rain stones," which were used to bring rain when it was

needed (K: 112 *ex* Ibn al-Fakikh n.d., leaf 17a, Makhud . . . al Kashgari 1915-1917 III: 2).

Accounts of Turkic khans, probably including the Kimak khan, describe his special role as high priest and bearer of prophecy.

For the tsar (Khakan of the Turks) there is a specific day on which they light a huge fire (a bonfire). The tsar speaks an oracular phrase into the fire. Then he looks intently staring into the fire, then he lifts his important face out of the fire. If [his face becomes] yellow-colored, it is a sign of fertility and good, if [it becomes] white there will be harvest failures, if it [becomes] green there will be illness and epidemics; and if it becomes black-colored, that indicates the death of the tsar or a distant journey. When the latter happens, he [the tsar] hastens to go on a journey or a raid. (K: 110 *ex* Vasif-shakh n.d.: leaf 48b, Shabib al-Karani n.d.: leaf 151b).

Certain architectural or geographic features were important in Kimak religion. Al-Idrisi mentions temples in the Kimak capital on the Irtysh, but provides no details (K: 111 *ex* Abu . . . al Idrisi n.d.: leaf 68b).

The Kimak erected many statues. These were believed to have special power, and were honored accordingly.

All the Kipchak tribes, when they happen to go there, bow down twice in front of this unique statue. Whether they have come mounted or on foot, they bow to it as to a creator. A horseman who drives his horse to there takes an arrow out of his quiver in honor of it. Shepherds who drive their flocks there leave a sheep behind. (K: 111-112 *ex* Bartol'd 1897: leaf 20, Nizami 1940: 315-318).

The Kimak also prayed to certain rocks with figures on them. Some of these may have been the rock drawings found in the territory where the Kimak once lived, such as the drawings of human footprints and horse hooves in the Karkaralinsk Mountains, and in the Arganat Mountains of the Ulutausk region (K: 111 *ex* Margulan et al. 1966: 10).

Most Kimak were shamanists, but other religious influences also existed. Moslem burials have been found in the region near the Irtysh (K: 112 *ex* Ageeva 1959: 50-53 and Fedorov-Davydov 1966: 201-202). Manichaeism probably reached the Kimak from the Uighur of the Yenisey Kirghiz. The Kirghiz were on the southern Siberian

trade route, which reached across Eurasia to Korea, and the Kirghiz may have received Manichaeism from traders or missionaries traveling that route (Buell and Anastasio, forthcoming). Al-Idrisi's statement that the Manichaean Kimak lived "in the thickets and forests" suggests that they were well north of the Kimak-Uighur border in the Semirechie [K: 111 *ex Abu* . . . al-Idrisi n.d.: leaf 68a]. Why Manichaeism was particularly strong among the Kimak who were hunters in the taiga, or in the mountainous regions, must remain a topic for future study.

Conclusion

The overall picture which emerges of Kimak culture is that of a Turkic pastoral nomadic group, with Turkic religion, writing, and socio-political organization, which expanded outward into much of western Central Asia. There they established a major empire and added on new cultural features, such as agriculture and non-shamanic religion. When the Kimak empire collapsed, the added population suffered decimation and dislocation. In the face of that disaster, it is likely to have been the core of "folk" Turkish shamanic and pastoral nomadic cultural features which lingered on; but, in the end the Kimak vanished utterly. *Sic transit gloria mundi*.

Kumenkov's work has laid the foundation for Kimak studies, but much remains to be done. Most urgent is an English translation of Kumenkov's work to make his full findings available to more scholars. Searches through Byzantine, European, Chinese, and other accounts might reveal new information about the Kimak. In time, new research and analysis will reassess Eurasian history in light of the great influence once exerted by the Kimak empire.

Appendix One

THREE RARE BOOKS

Akhmad ibn al-Manini. *Al-fatkh al-vakhbi ala tarikh Abu nasr al Utbi*. Cairo, 1268 [A.H.]

Al-Manini. *Sharkh al-Yamini al-musamma bi-l-fatkh al-bakhbi ala tarikh Abu Nasr al-Utbi II*. Cairo, 1869.

Kun, H. *La langue des Kiptchaks d'après un manuscrit arabe d'Istanbul* . . . Phototype reproduction. Budapest, 1942.

Appendix Two

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

NOTE: The following two location abbreviations occur: GPB is the Public Library named M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina and IV AN SSR is the Institute of Eastern Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

- Abu Abdallah Mukhammad ibn Muhammad ash-Sharif al-Idrisi. *Nuzkhat al-mushtak fi-ikhtirak al-afak* manuscript GPB Ar. N.S. 176
- Abu Abdallah Mukhammad ibn Muhammad ash-Sharif al-Idrisi. *Kitab Rudzhar*. Photocopy of the manuscript in the V. Kolarova Library, Sofia, Bulgaria
- Basif-shakh. *Adzhaib al-duniia*. Manuscript IV AN SSSR, V-613.
- Zakariya al-Kazvini. *Asar al-bilad va akhbar al-ibak*. Manuscript IV AN SSR, D-174.
- Zakaiya al-Kazvini. *Adzhab al-makhlykat*. Manuscript IV AN SSR, D-370
- Ibn al-Vardi. *Kharidat al-abshaid va faridat al-garaib*. Manuscript GPB No 114 (according to the catalogue of B. Dorn).
- Ibn al-Fakikh. *Kitab akhbar al-baldan*. Photocopy of the Meshed manuscript IV AN SSSR, FV-202.
- Ibn Iias. *Nashk al-azkhar fi garaib al-aktar*. Manuscript IV AN SSR, V-1055
- Ibn Said al-Magribi. *Dzhugrafiia*. Manuscript IV AN SSSR, S-591
- Sipakhi-zade al-Brusavi. *Audakh al-masalik ila marifat al-buldan va-l-mamalik* Manuscript IV AN SSSR, B-1031.
- Shabib al-Kharrani. *Dzhami al-funun va salvat al-makhzun*. Manuscript IV AN SSSR, B-792.
- Shams ad-din Sufi. *Nakhbat ad-dakhr fi adzhaib al-barr va-l-bakhr*. Manuscript IV AN SSSR, V-781
- Shevef ad-din Iezdi. *Zafar-name*. Manuscript GPB, PNS-234

Appendix Three

TIMELINE OF KIMAK HISTORY

(Compiled from K: 98-129)

First Century, B.C.

- Chinese annals speak of Gegun living along the southern Yenisei and northern Mongolia (Bernshtam 1948: 194)

Mid 600s A.D.

- Yan'mi tribe became part of the western Turkestan Khanate, and lived on the Lower Irtysh region of the northern Altai mountains
- The region near the Irtysh and the Altai region were part of the Western Turkish Khanate

656

- The Turkish Khanate fell, and the group living in the region near the Irtysh and the Altai became the nucleus of the Kimak Union

700s

- The Kimak lived on the Irtysh between the Altai and Tarbagatai Mountains
- From the first half of the 700s to the 900s there was a Karluk State in the western Semirechie

After 766

- During wars for power there the Oguz left the Semirechie and went to the lower reaches of the Syr-Darya and near the Aral Sea; some went to the borders of Takherich
- Kimaks moved into the land between the Tarbagatai and western Altai mountains which the Karluks had abandoned

Circa 766-821

- The Kimak moved in two directions: northwest (mostly with the Kipchak) to the southern Urals and southwest (into the northeastern Semirechie)

700s-800s

- The Kimak strengthened their position, controlling the territory from the central Irtysh to the Dzungarian Gate
- Movement to borders of northern settlements of the Samarudsk State for mercantile reasons

Early 800s

- Some Kimak moved into northeastern Semirechie

813

- Al-Fadl ibn Sakhlem was destroyed in the region of Otrar by the Karluks, and fled to the Kimak

First half of the 800s

- Kimaks were in the northeastern Issyk-Kul area
- The residence of the Kimak khan, the place called Tamim, was located eighty-one days journey from Taraz
- The Kimak moved into the northeastern Semirechie
- Kimak-Kipchak moved west from the Irtysh and reached the southern Ural Mountains; then the Kipchak separated off

840

- Massive Central Asian disruption occurred
- The Kirghiz destroyed the Uighur Khanate in what is now Mongolia; this led to population movements, and the Kipchaks appeared in the northeastern region of the Oguz
- Unrest led to the Karluks and the Kimaks fighting for the northeastern Semirechie; the Kimaks won
- The Uighur Khanate disintegrated
- Karluks retained power in the Ili Valley even after the Kimak State had formed

After 840

- Former Uighur units joined the Kimak
- The Kimak State formed

- Kimaks lived in the region between the Alakal'sk basin and the Ili River; the Kimak capital was transferred to Alakal
- The Kimak Union became complete
- Kimak lived in the Aral Sea region. Oguz leaders, in union with the Kimaks and Karluks, ruled the Syr-Darya and near-Aral steppe; they drove out the Pechenegs who had lived there
- Kimaks allied with the Oguz and Khazars; they drove the Pechenegs out and then ruled the Ural-Volga interriverine area
- Kimak towns formed in the northeastern Semirechie; they were founded at the encampment sites of the southern and southwestern expansion

Circa 840-916

- The Kimak State had four broad migration areas: West (southeastern Urals to the Near Aral Steppe); South (Central Kazakhstan to the northern areas near Lake Balkhash, including parts of the northeastern Semirechie); East (western Altai to Kulundinsk Steppe); North (to the forest-steppe belt)
- The Kimaks were not the bulk of the people everywhere
- The most compact centers of the Kimaks were in two places: the middle reaches of the Irtysh and northeastern Semirechie
- When the Kimak State stabilized, it had on its borders to the: West, the Oguz group; South, the Toguz-Oguz, Karluks; and East, the Kirghiz

916

- Formation of the Liao State triggered turmoil in Central Asia
- Population movements westward through the Dzungarian Gate led to the break-up of the Kimak State
- Kimaks moved west from the region of the middle Irtysh. The western branch of the Kimaks, the Kipchaks, moved into the Oguz area in the Syr-Darya Basin, the western region near the Aral Sea, and the northern region near the Caspian Sea. As a result, the Oguz fled west to southern Russia, near the area of the Black Sea steppe.

- One portion of the Kimak became dependent on the Kipchaks and moved with them to the southern Russian steppe
- One branch of the Kimaks returned to their ancestral land on the Irtysh

Latter 900s

- Some groups of Kimak moved southward to Turkestan, into the pre-Islamic region
- Some Kimak kept their former migration areas west to the Ural River and southeast to Tokus-Guzor (Uighur) territory in the region whose northern border was south of the Dzungarian Range

900s-1000s

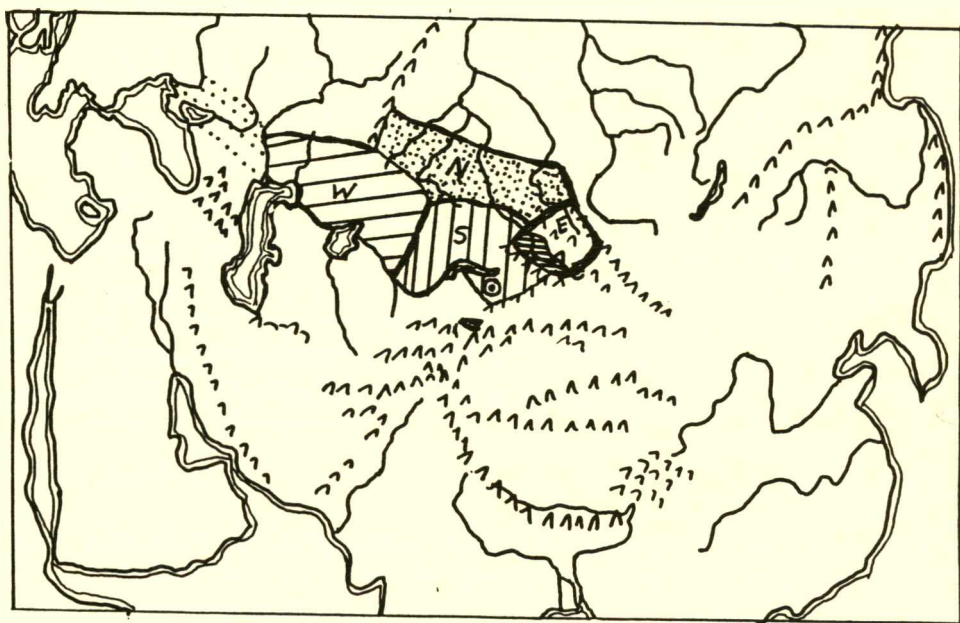
- Intermixed migration of Kimak and Oguz in the Emba and Ural River area, to the Caspian Sea

Early 1000s

- Waves of migration out of Central Asia caused the Kimak to lose hegemony
- The Kimak remained in their Irtysh territory, on the left bank, then the very name "Kimak" vanished

1200s

- The Karluk Khan sent 6,000 men to Chinggis Khan
- The Mongol descent on the Kipchak put the final end to the last remnant of the Kimak State

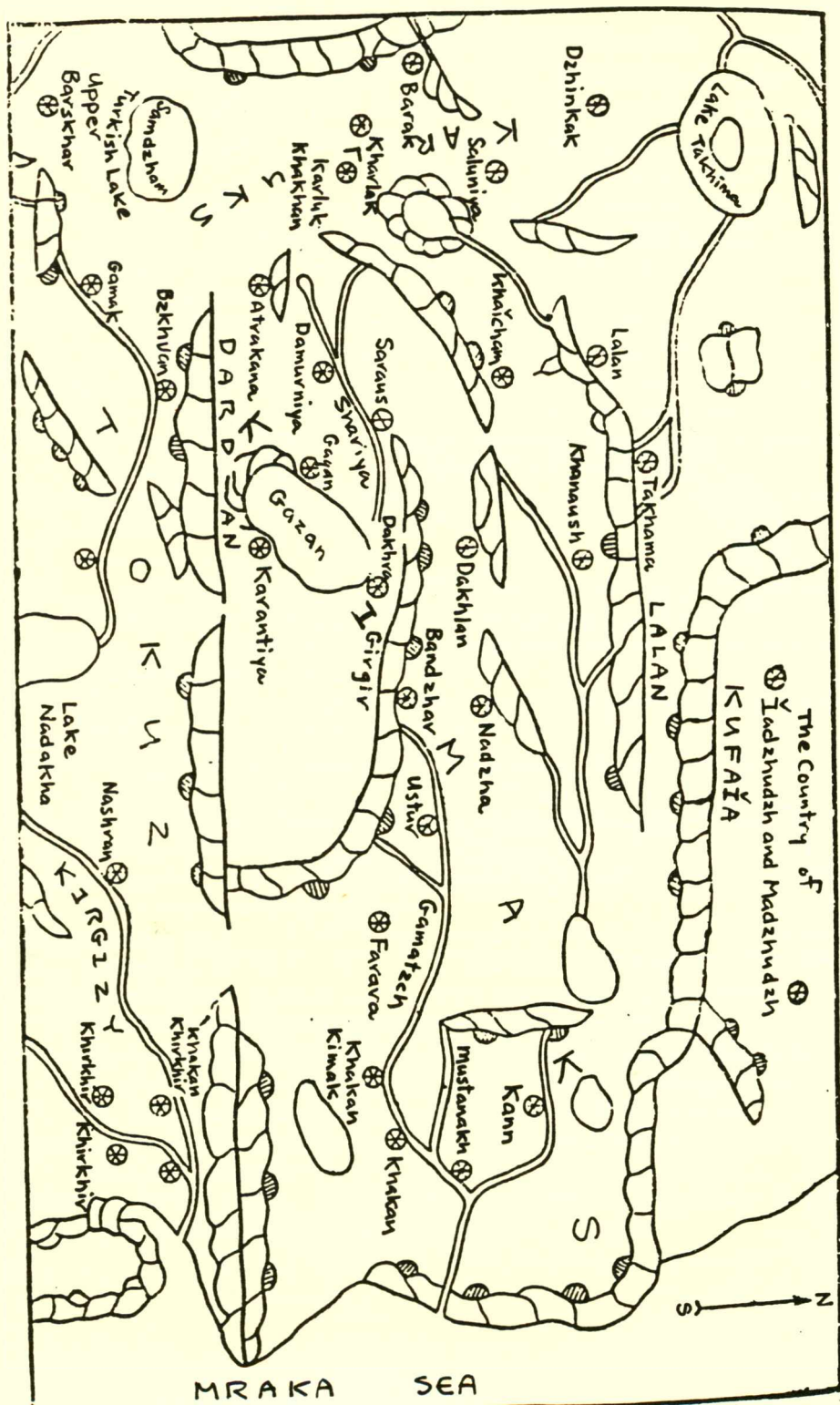


Appendix 4 MAP OF THE MAIN KIMAK REGIONS

- ⊙ The capital at Tamim, in the Semirechie
- ▨ The original, and also final refuge, area of the Kimak on the Irtys
- ▤ The extension into the Black Sea steppe

Appendix Five

Al-Idrisi's Map of the Kimak Region (K:69)



Appendix Six Kumenkov's Modern Interpretation of Al-Idrisi's Map (K:72)



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In the text, the entry following *ex* is the source or sources which Kumenkov cited.

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