

The Old Turkic Title *Buyruq* Reconsidered

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ABSTRACT

First attested among the administrative titles used in the Türk Qaghanate, the Old Turkic title *Buyruq* was used by various Eurasian steppe peoples and polities from the 6th to the 13th centuries. In this paper, examples of the title *Buyruq* seen in historical sources are identified and examined, while different views put forth by modern scholars up to the present day are also brought together. Apparently, instead of indicating a fixed ministerial office or a commandership, this title, generally understood as meaning ‘having received an order’, indicates a position for dignitaries that was bestowed by rulers upon officials who were holding numerous administrative titles and were also tasked with certain duties by their rulers.

KEYWORDS

Buyruq, titles, administrative organization, dignitaries, ministers, Türk Qaghanate, Eurasian Peoples, Old Turkic.

The earliest attestation of the Old Turkic title *Buyruq* is found in the inscriptions of the Türk (Tujue 突厥) Qaghanate, in which *Buyruq* 𐰆𐰇𐰏𐰐 is listed among the administrative titles used in this polity. Apart from the Türks, various Eurasian steppe peoples and polities between the 6th and 13th centuries such as the Türgish, Yenisei Kyrgyz, Uyghurs, Qarakhanids, Khazars, Bulgars, Magyars, Tatars, Naimans, Betekins and Kereyids are also witnessed to have used this title.

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Numerous modern scholars have presented different opinions on the title's meaning, but, a consensus on this matter of debate has not been reached so far. In this paper, examples of the title *Buyruq* seen in historical sources are identified and examined, and the different views put forth up to the present day regarding the meaning of this title are brought together. Although it is more common to render *Buyruq* as a type of fixed ministerial office or commandership, according to the conclusion reached in this study, the title *Buyruq* emerges as an office of a dignitary generally meaning 'having received an order'. Apparently, people holding numerous administrative titles were bestowed by their rulers with the title *Buyruq* upon their being tasked with duties.

THE TÜRK QAGHANATE

The title *Buyruq* is witnessed among various statesmen mentioned in the Türk inscriptions. Among the statesmen, Orkhon Inscriptions mention the Šadapit Bägs (*šadapit bäglär* ᠱᠠᠳᠠᠫᠢᠲᠤ ᠪᠠᠭᠯᠠᠷ) to the right, and the Tarqans, Buyruqs and Bägs (*tarqat buyruq bäglär* ᠲᠠᠷᠻᠠᠨ ᠪᠠᠭᠢᠷᠠᠭᠤ ᠪᠠᠭᠯᠠᠷ) to the left, as well as the Thirty Tatars (*otuz [tatar] ...ᠣᠲᠤᠵᠤ*) and the Bägs and people of Nine Oghuz (*toquz oyuz bägläri bodunü* ᠲᠠᠭᠤᠨ ᠪᠠᠭᠯᠠᠷᠢ ᠪᠣᠳᠤᠨᠦ) as vassals of the qaghan.² The parts of these inscriptions regarding early periods of the Türks mention that the earliest Qaghans and their Buyruqs (*buyruq* ᠪᠠᠭᠢᠷᠠᠭ) were wise and brave (BQI E4; KTI E3; Aydın 2017: 52, 80–81; Tekin 1968: 232, 264). Over time the narrative changed, indicating that ignorant Qaghans and ignorant Buyruqs

¹ Different readings and translations of the expression *tarqat buyruq bäglär* have been proposed in the literature. According to Thomsen (1896: 115), 'nobles et officiers tarkats' are mentioned here; besides, he has read the title *Buyruq* as *bujuruq*. Radloff (1987: I.31, 73) has considered translating this expression as 'ihr Beamten' to be sufficient enough. Orkun (1994: 22) has translated it as 'Tarkanlar, Buyruk beyleri'. Reading the title as *byjyryk* like Thomsen did, Malov (1951: 27, 33) has translated this expression as 'тарханы и приказные'. According to Doerfer (1965: §815, 364), *tarxat bujruq bäglär* means 'tarxan seienden bujruq-Fürsten' while the meaning of *bujruq bäglär* is 'der bujruq und die [ügä-]Bäge'. Reading the expression as *tarxat buyruk begler*, Clauson (1972: 387) has remarked that its translation should be 'the tarxans, officers and begs'. Ergin (2002: 2–3, 56–57) has translated this expression as 'tarkat, buyruk beyleri'. Tekin has given the translation of this expression as 'tarkans and buyruq lords' (1968: 231, 261) and 'Tarkan'lar ve kumandan beyler' (1988: 2–3). This expression has been translated by Berta (2004: 190) as 'tarkat bujruq bégek'. According to Ölmez (2012: 90), the translation of the expression seen in KTI S1 should be 'Tarkanlar, beyler, komutanlar'. However, he (2012: 134) has not given the translation of the title *Buyruq* in his edition of BQI N1, rather translating the expression *tarqat buyruq bäglär* as 'tarkanlar, beyler'. Reading the expression as *tarkat, buyruk begler*, Ercilasun (2016: 500–501, 544–545) has translated it as 'tarkanlar, yönetici beyler!'. Aydın (2017: 47, 74) has also translated this expression as 'tarkanlar, komutanlar (ve) beyler'.

² BQI N1; KTI S1–2; Aydın 2017: 47, 74; Tekin 1968: 231, 261. The text in BQI is partially eroded, with missing parts reconstructed from the parallel text in the KTI.

³ There are different readings and translations regarding this sentence and some scholars have maintained that a singular rather than plural *Buyruq* was meant here: Thomsen (1896: 98): *bujuruq* = 'officers'. Radloff (1987: I.5, 45): *byjyryk* = 'Beamten'. Orkun (1994: 30): *buyruk* = 'buyruklar'. Malov (1951: 29, 36): *byjyryk* = 'приказные'. Doerfer (1965: §815, 364): *bujruq* = singular *Buyruq*. Ergin (2002: 8–9, 32–33): *buyruk* = singular *Buyruq*. Tekin: *buyruq* = 'high official' (1968: 232, 264) and *buyruk* = 'kumandanlar' (1988: 8–9, 36–37). Berta (2004: 141, 193): *buyruq* = 'bujrukja[i]k'. Ölmez (2012: 80, 92, 123, 137): *buyruk* = 'komutanlar'. Ercilasun (2016: 508–509, 556–557): *buyruk* = 'yönetici'. Aydın (2017: 52, 80–81): *buyruk* = 'komutanlar'.



expressions ‘all the Buyruqs’ and ‘all the Buyruqs starting with Inner Buyruq Sábäg Köl Irkin’ are striking. This means that apart from the Buyruqs, there was an *Inner Buyruq* office situated on a higher level than the others. As the *Ič Buyruq* 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 is noted in the inscription to possess the title *Sábäg Köl Irkin* 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰠𐰏𐰤, this demonstrates that people in this office could also carry other administrative titles.

Apart from the inscriptions of the Türk Qaghanate, the title *Buyruq* is also found in Chinese sources that give information about the Türks. It is narrated in the *JTS* (3.60) that during the time when Išbara Qayan (Shaboluo Kehan 沙鉢羅可汗; Ashina Helu 阿史那賀魯), ruler of the Western Türks in the years 649–657, was yet known as *Išbara Yabyu* (Shaboluo Yehu 沙鉢羅葉護), he entered into Chinese service in the 2nd month of Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period's 22nd year (February 29–March 28, 648). One of the people in his retinue at that time was mentioned in this source as *Irkin Köl Buyruq* (*Sijin Qu Peilu* 俟斤屈裴祿)⁶. This person was also given the titles *Loyal and Martial General* (*Zhongwu Jiangjun* 忠武將軍) and *Great Irkin* (*Uluq Irkin*, *Da*

characters are usually confused with each other in the Chinese sources, thus *Pofu* 婆匐 should be the Old Turkic word *Sábäg*. He has also emphasized that the character *fu* 匐 was used for the Turkic title *Bäg*. If we consider *Pofu* to be its wrong form, Pelliot's view can be supported by looking at the Middle Chinese reconstructions of *Suofu*. For example, according to Pulleyblank (1991: 297, 98), *Suofu*'s Early Middle Chinese pronunciation was *sa-buwk*, while its Late Middle Chinese pronunciations were *sa-fhijywk* and *sa-fhuwk*. Schuessler (2009: 216, 112) has given the reconstruction of *Suofu*'s Middle Chinese pronunciation as *sâ-bjuk*. Baxter and Kroll (2017: 437, 118) have similarly reconstructed the Middle Chinese pronunciation of this name as *sa-bjuwk*. Stating that there is no information in regards to *Sábäg*'s meaning, Sümer (1999: 50) has expressed that this was probably a clan name, but actually there is an explanation for *Sábäg*'s meaning. The Uyghur Qatun mentioned by Pelliot was Pugu Huai'en's 僕固懷恩 daughter and Bögü Qayan's (r. 759–779) wife. The full version of her title is written as *Pomo Guang-qin Lihua Pijia Kedun* 婆墨光親麗華毗伽可敦 in the *JTS* (195.5204) while in the *XTS* (217A.6119) and *ZZTJ* (223.7145), it is *Suomo Guangqin Lihua Pijia Kedun* 娑墨光親麗華毗伽可敦. Although the *XTS* does not give any translations or explanations for this title, *JTS* and *ZZTJ* explain that *Pomo* 婆墨 means ‘to be loved’ (*de lian* 得憐) in Chinese. As Pelliot has already noted, this shows us that *Sábäg* as an adjective has derived from the Old Turkic verb *säb-* meaning ‘to love’ (*sev-* in Modern Turkish). Since this title is written as *sbg* 𐰽𐰺 in the BQI without its vowels, numerous scholars have read it as *Sábäg* and *Sábíg* respectively, as seen above. However, the various forms of this title seen in Chinese sources point to the reading *Sábäg*. As for the *Inner Buyruq* Sábäg Köl Irkin, he might belong to the Qarluq tribe mentioned in the Chinese sources as *Pofu* or *Suofu*, or perhaps he might be carrying a name also used among other Turkic peoples outside the Qarluqs.

⁶ Pelliot (1943: 45) has noted that the first two elements in this title, *Sijin Qu* 俟斤屈, could be compared with the title *Köl Irkin* (*Kül Irkin* according to Pelliot) of the early Türks. Stating that he agreed with this comparison, Hamilton (1955: 80) has written that *Sijin Qu Peilu*'s equivalent was most probably *Erkin Kül Buyruq*. The expression *yi qi Sijin Qu Peilu* 以其俟斤屈裴祿 seen in the text means either ‘his (Išbara Yabyu's) Irkin, Köl Buyruq’ or ‘his (Išbara Yabyu's) Irkin Köl Buyruq’, the latter appearing to this writer as more possible. Besides, when considering the title mentioned in BQI S14, it may be considered that the Turkic original of the title here should be *Köl Irkin Buyruq* or *Buyruq Köl Irkin* rather than *Irkin Köl Buyruq*, because it is probable that the order of the title's syllables might have been shuffled while being transferred into the Chinese text. *Peilu* 裴祿, seen within this title and equivalent of Turkic *Buyruq*, was pronounced as *bäj-ləwk* in Early Middle Chinese and *pfuaj-ləwk* in Late Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank (1991: 234, 201). Schuessler has not given the Middle Chinese pronunciation of *pei* 裴 (2009: 399), but has given that of *lu* 祿 as *luk* (2009: 159). Baxter and Kroll (2017: 336, 284) have reconstructed the Middle Chinese pronunciation of this title as *bwoj-luwk*. These Middle Chinese pronunciations really reflect the pronunciation of the title *Buyruq*.



Sijin 大俟斤) at the same time.⁷ According to the *JTS* (194A.5177), *XTS* (215B.6053) and *ZZTJ* (213.6779), Bilgä Qayan (Xiao Sha 小殺 [Little Šad], Mojilian 默棘連, Tujue Pijia Kehan 突厥毗伽可汗 [Türük Bilgä Qayan]) sent one of his dignitaries titled *Buyruq Čor* (*Meilu Chuo* 梅錄啜)⁸ in Kaiyuan's 開元 15th year (January 27, 727–February 14, 728) as his envoy to China.⁹ This person was a *Great Minister* (*Da Chen* 大臣)¹⁰ according to the *JTS* (194A.5177), *XTS* (215B.6053), *CFYG* (975.11450b, 11455a) and *ZZTJ* (213.6779, 214.6809), while serving as a *Minister* (*Chen* 臣)¹¹ according to the *THY* (94.1697). This *Buyruq Čor* later poisoned Bilgä Qayan in the year 734 and caused his death (*CFYG* 975.11455a; *JTS* 194A.5177; *THY* 94.1697; *XTS* 215B.6054; *ZZTJ* 214.6809).

TÜRĞISH AND KYRGYZ

Relying on a study of Mori, Donuk (1988: 12) has implied that this title was also used among the Xiongnu 匈奴. However, such an expression cannot be found in the aforementioned section of Mori's (1978: 221–222) work, where it is stated that the people ruling tribes subordinate to the Xiongnu were mentioned in the Chinese sources as *Wang* 王 (*King, Prince*).¹² Apart from the

⁷ For *İšbara Yabyu* mentioned here to be Ashina Helu, see also Chavannes 1903: 33. This information in the *JTS* is not found in the *XTS* (2.47). Dobrovits (2011: 9–10) thought that no records about the usage of the title *Buyruq* in the Türk Qaghanate existed during the First Qaghanate period, and the mentioning of *Buyruqs* for the First Qaghanate period in the 8th century inscriptions was an extrapolation for the conditions of that period. However, the statesman Irkin Köl *Buyruq* found within the retinue of *İšbara Yabyu* is an example of the usage of this title before the Second Qaghanate period.

⁸ While examining the title *Buyruq* among the Uyghurs, Chavannes and Pelliot (1912: 267) have determined that the Turkic equivalent of *Meilu* 梅錄 seen in this title was *Buyruq*. Pelliot in another study (1943: 45), as well as numerous scholars like Ligeti (1998: 208), Chang (1968: 176, 197), Kafesoğlu (2002: 127–128), Taşağıl (2014: 374, 376, 379), Gömeç (2016: 262, 272), Togan, Kara & Baysal (2006: 60–61, 312, 314) and Ekrem (2007: 165) have also agreed with this view, accepting the equivalent of *Meilu* seen among the Türks and Uyghurs as *Buyruq*. According to Pullyblank (1991: 210, 201), *Meilu*'s pronunciation was *mäj-luawk* in Early Middle Chinese and *muaj-lywk* in Late Middle Chinese. Schuessler (2009: 159, 105) has given the Middle Chinese reconstruction of *Meilu* as *mwai-ljwok*. Baxter and Kroll (2017: 298, 284) have reconstructed the Middle Chinese pronunciation of this title as *mwoj-ljowk*. As with the example of *Peilu* seen above, here *Meilu*'s Middle Chinese pronunciations reflect the title *Buyruq*.

⁹ This information is also given in the *CFYG* (975.11450b); however, here it is recorded that *Buyruq Čor* (*Meilu Chuo* 梅錄啜) was sent to China in the 11th month of Kaiyuan's 14th year (November 29–December 27, 726). Yet, records about *Buyruq Čor*'s mission in the *ZZTJ* (213.6779) are to be found within the records of the 9th month of Kaiyuan's 15th year (September 20–October 18, 727).

¹⁰ This title was translated by Liu as 'Großwürdenträger' (1958: I.178, 228, 260) and 'Groß-Minister' (1958: I.417), while Taşağıl (2014: 374) translated as 'büyük vezir'.

¹¹ Liu (1958: II.622) has translated the title *Chen* 臣 here as 'Minister'. Hucker (1988: 122) has stated that the equivalent of the title *Chen* was 'Minister' and this title was a term with a broad meaning used for people who held positions in the government. However, this term does not have a precise meaning like the term *guan* 官 used for officials and etymologically its real meaning is 'subordinate', 'servant' or 'slave'. According to Hucker, this title was a term used by officials who carried it in the documents written to their superiors, corresponding to the expressions 'your minister' or 'your humble servant'. In this case, the title *Chen* can also be compared with statesmen serving the sultans in the Ottoman Empire who spoke of themselves as *qulunuz* (*kulunuz*, 'your servant'). Hence, Togan, Kara & Baysal (2006: 153) have also stated that the word *chen* means 'bende, kul'.

¹² For examples, see: Loufan, Baiyang Wang 樓煩 · 白羊王 (Kings of Loufan and Baiyang; *HS* 94A.3766; *SJ* 110.2906; *TD* 194.5303, 5316; *ZZTJ* 18.604) and Baiyang, Loufan Wang 白羊 · 樓煩王 (Kings of Baiyang and Loufan; *ZZTJ* 12.383, 18.604; the word *Wang* is not written in *TD* 194.5306); Hujie Wang 呼揭王 (King of Hujie; *HS* 94B.3795; *ZZTJ* 27.868), Wusun Wang 烏孫王 (King of Wusun; *HS* 94A.3773; *SJ* 123.3168; *TD* 194.5318; *ZZTJ*



Türk Qaghanate, the title *Buyruq* was also used by other groupings and polities like the Türgish, Yenisei Kyrgyz, Uyghurs, Qarakhanids, Khazars, Bulgars, Magyars, Tatars, Naimans, Betekins and Kereyids. According to the Orkhon Inscriptions, the Qaghan, Buyruqs and lords (*buyruqi bägläri* 𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰸:𐰽𐰺𐰽) ¹³ of the Türgish were killed during the campaign organized by Qapγan Qayan (r. 691–716) on the Türgish (BQI E16; KTI E19; Aydın 2017: 57, 85; Tekin 1968: 234, 266).

20.656) and Kangju Wang 康居王 (King of Kangju; *HS* 94B.3802; *TD* 195.5335; *ZZTJ* 28.909). Yap (2009: 349) has written that the *King of Hujie* mentioned in the *ZZTJ* was a member of the Xiongnu dynasty named *Luanti Lai* 樂提來. However, this person is mentioned in both the *HS* (94B.3795) and *ZZTJ* (27.868) only as *Hujie Wang Lai* 呼揭王來 (*Lai*, *King of Hujie*). Besides, the name of the dynasty ruling the Xiongnu Empire is written in the *HS* (94A.3751) as *Luandi* 攣鞬. Although it is not openly stated in the sources that he is a member of the Xiongnu dynasty, he must have been in as much as he was able to declare himself as *Hujie Chanyu* 呼揭單于 in 57 BC (*HS* 94B.3795; *ZZTJ* 27.868). In this case, it is more possible that, instead of being a person from the Hujie tribe who ruled this tribe on behalf of the Xiongnu, he could have been a member of the Xiongnu dynasty who was sent from the imperial centre to administer this tribe. Apart from this, Ögel (1981: II/146) has also stated that the equivalent of *Hujie* could be *Uyghur*. Previously, De Groot was also of the same opinion (Hamilton 1962: 56). The Xiongnu subjugated the lands of the kings of Loufan and Baiyang during the early years of Modu Chanyu's 冒頓單于 reign (209–174 BC) (*HS* 94A.3750; *SJ* 110.2890; *TD* 194.5303; *ZZTJ* 11.373), and Hujie and Wusun during Modu Chanyu's reign again (*HS* 94A.3757; *SJ* 110.2896; *ZZTJ* 14.467). As to the Kingdom of Kangju, it was subjugated later, this time directly by Zhizhi Chanyu 鄯支單于 to himself during his own reign (56–36 BC) (*HS* 94B.3802, 96A.3892; *TD* 195.5334–5335; *ZZTJ* 28.909). While translating the record in the *ZZTJ* regarding the Hujie subjugation by the Xiongnu (14.467), Yap (2009: 107) gave the name *Hujie* 呼揭 as *Huqi*. It should also be noted here that the expressions *Loufan*, *Baiyang Wang* 樓煩、白羊王 in the Chinese texts have been translated by Watson as 'the ruler of Lou-fan and the ruler of Po-yang' (1968: 162) and 'the kings of the Po-yang and Lou-fan tribes' (1968: 195), by Onat, Orsoy & Ercilasun (2004: 7, 24–25) as 'Lou-fan ve Pai-yang beyleri', by Yap (2009: 163) as 'Xiongnu vassal Kings, *Loufan Wang* and *Baiyang Wang*', and by Otkan as 'Lou-fanların Ak Koyunlu Beyi' (2018: 66) and 'Lou-fanların (Pai-yang Wang) Ak Koyunlu Beyi' (2018: 80). As to the expression *Baiyang*, *Loufan Wang* 白羊、樓煩王 in the *ZZTJ*, Yap has translated it as 'the *Baiyang* and *Loufan* tribes' (2009: 77) and 'The Kings of *Loufan* and *Beiyang*' (2009: 163). Mori (1978: 221) was of the opinion that two different tribes named *Loufan* and *Boyang* were meant here. Yap (2009: 69, 77) also shared this opinion. Ögel (1981: I/373) gave these as two kingdoms named *Lou-fan* and *Pei-yang* (*Beiyang*). Baykuzu also noted that *Loufan* and *Baiyang* were two principalities (2012: 43), of *Baiyang* (*White Sheep*) and *Loufan* during their vassalage to the Xiongnu, while *Loufan* was both a toponym and a Xiongnu tribe (2012: 72). The comma in the Chinese expression did not exist in the original texts of the sources and they were inserted by modern editors of the *Zhonghua Shuju* editions. Apart from these, *King of Xiutu* and *King of Hunye/Kunye* were also listed in the Chinese sources that discussed the kings ruling various regions of the Xiongnu Empire as *Wang*. In these sources, the title *King of Xiutu* and the region *Xiutu* ruled by him was written as *Xiutu* 休屠 (*HS* 28B.1612, 55.2479; *SJ* 111.2930) and *Xiutu Wang* 休屠王 (*HS* 28B.1644, 55.2482, 94A.3768–3769; *SJ* 110.2908–2909, 111.2933; *TD* 194.5316; *ZZTJ* 19.630, 632–634). The other title and the region he ruled were mentioned in the *SJ* (110.2909, 111.2930, 2933, 2945) as *Hunye Wang* 渾邪王, in the *HS* as both *Hunye Wang* (55.2479, 2482) and *Kunye Wang* 昆邪王 (28B.1644, 94A.3769), in the *TD* (194.5316) as *Kunye Wang*, and in the *ZZTJ* as *Hunye* (19.633–634, 20.656) and *Hunye Wang* (19.630, 632–633, 636, 20.656, 658). Mori (1978: 221) stated that he considered the *Xiutu* 休屠 and *Hunye/Kunye* 渾邪/昆邪 seen in these titles as tribal names like *Loufan*, *Boyang* and *Hujie*. According to Wu Mu 武沐, these two Xiongnu tribes were actually Yuezhi 月氏 tribes who did not migrate westwards and got subjugated by the Xiongnu during the reign of Modu Chanyu (Baykuzu 2012: 77). Baykuzu (2012: 76–77) regarded these as *Hunye* (*Hunxie*) and *Xiutu* tribes just as Mori did. For the titles *King of Xiutu* and *King of Hunye* seen among the Xiongnu, see also Ögel 1981: II/635–642. Mori (1978: 222) noted that Xiongnu kings (*Wang*) were also described as *Da Chen* in the Chinese sources. This is what caused Donuk (1988: 12) to think that the title *Buyruq* was used by the Xiongnu. However, none of the examples seen above were *Buyruqs*; here it should be stated that this writer has never come across in any records that this title was used by the Xiongnu as well. Finally, the terms *Chen* and *Da Chen* were used by Chinese historians for a wide array of early Turkic titles, not just *Buyruq*. Hence, associating the title *Buyruq* with a fixed ministerial office and relying solely on the Chinese equating of *Da Chen* with *Buyruq* would be quite misleading.

¹³ Thomsen (1896: 104): *bujuruq* = 'officers'; Radloff (1987: I.13, 52–53): *буйрук* = 'Beamten'; Orkun (1994: 38): *buyruk* = singular *Buyruq*; Malov (1951: 30, 38): *буйрук* = 'приказные'; Giraud (1960: 82–83): *buyruq* = plural *Buyruq* but according to Doerfer (1965: §815, 365) it is singular *Buyruq*; Ergin (2002: 14–15, 38–39): *Buyruk* =



Aydın's (2018: 47) translation is approximately in this form; the only difference is that he gave the expression *Tarduş Uluy* as *Tarqan Qutluy*.²⁴ In the 4th line down, the *buyruq* 𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰸 of Qaghan's son *Bilgä Töliš Great Bilgä Šad* (*Bilgä Töliš Uluy Bilgä Čad*)²⁵ was mentioned as one who is carrying the title *Čabiš Sängün* according to Tekin (1983a: 807, 811, 1983b: 48, 52).²⁶ According to Orkun (1994: 164–165) and Aydın (2018: 52), *Buyruqs* (*buyruq* ... 𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰸)²⁷ of the Uyghurs are mentioned in Shine Us N4.²⁸ In the 2nd–3rd lines of the Suji Inscription, after telling us that he is a son of the Kyrgyz (*qırqız oylı* 𐰽𐰺𐰽𐰸:𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰸), the inscription's owner gave his title as *Boyla Qutluy Yaryan* 𐰽𐰺𐰽𐰸:𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰸:𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰸, while he also noted that he is the *buyruq* 𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰸 of a person titled *Qutluy Baya Tarqan Ögä* 𐰽𐰺𐰽𐰸:𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰸:𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰸 (Aydın 2018: 86; Ölmez 2012: 289–290).²⁹ The title *buyruq*

²⁴ Klyashtorny (1982: 342, 344) has made a quite different reading and translation in this line as well; according to his study, the title *Buyruq* is not mentioned in this sentence. Berta (2004: 247, 254, 265) gave the transcription of the section in this line before Az Sipa Tay Sängün as *tänrim qanım oylı ...ly isiy y...wqı* and translated it as 'Tengrim, kánom fia ...', while Mert (2009: 188) read the person's title whose *Buyruq* was Az Sipa Tay Sängün according to Tekin as *Bilge* ... [Kut]luğı isig y.... However, both Berta and Mert, agreeing with Tekin, gave the title *Az Sipa Tay Sängün*. Şirin's (2009: 480) reading is also like Tekin's, as well as Ölmez (2012: 253, 258) who read the part before *Az Sipa Tay Sängün* as *teñrim kanım oğlı bilge [tarduş ulug bilge kutluğı isig [yär kutluğı ...] buyruki* and translated it as 'Efendimiz hanımızın evladı Bilge Tarduş, Ulug Bilge Yavgu; sıcak yer (?) saadeti komutani'.

²⁵ Tekin (1983a: 807, 811, 1983b: 48, 52) and Şirin (2009: 481) read the word *Töliš* within this title as *Tölis*; Ölmez's (2012: 253, 258) reading is *Töliš*.

²⁶ As the beginning part of this line is quite damaged, Klyashtorny (1982: 342, 344) could not read here the titles before *Čabiš Sängün* and the part regarding *Čabiš Sängün* to be a *Buyruq*. Berta (2004: 247, 255, 265) made the transcription of the line up to the end of *Sängün* as *tänrim qanım oylı* . [(30x)] . γ yi [(5-6x)] wdwrjwn ... *čabiš sänwn* and gave its translation as 'Tengrim, kánom fia Udurgun Csabis szengün'. Mert (2009: 189, 190) also left the part in this line mentioning the Qaghan's son as blank, stating that only the part *bu-* is legible in the section regarding him being a *Buyruq*, and he demonstrated that the reading *-yruqı* is solely a guess, although in his translation he included the title *Buyruq*. Şirin's (2009: 481) reading is like Tekin's; however, the person she gave as *Udurğan* is someone different from *Čabiš Sängün* the *Buyruq* of Qaghan's son *Bilgä Töliš Great Bilgä Šad*, and instead she states that this *Uduryan* is the *Qutluy* of that son. Ölmez's (2012: 253, 258) reading and translation in the section of the line until the end of *Sängün* is slightly different from those of others: *teñrim kanım oğlı [bilge töliš ulug bilge čad kutluğı] ...kutluğı udargan buyruki] çavış senün* ('Han efendimizin evladı Bilge Töliš Ulug Bilge Čad, saadeti ..., saadeti Udarğan, komutani, Çavış-generalı'). Aydın (2018: 48) read this part of the inscription as follows: *teñrim kanım oğlı <...> bodunka <...> udurğan <...> çavış senün bodunı* ('İlahi (yüce) hanımın oğlu <...> halkına <...> Udurğan <...> general Çavış'ın halkı').

²⁷ *Buyruq* = 'komutan' according to Aydın (2018: 52).

²⁸ *buyruku* ?] = 'buyruğu' according to Orkun (1994: 164–165). The parts read by Orkun and Aydın as *buyruq* in this partially damaged line were left blank by Malov (1959: 34, 39) and Ölmez (2012: 268, 274). Mert (2009: 213, 215, 218) read this word as *boyla*.

²⁹ The original form of the text is *kırkız oğlı men, boyla kutlug yargan men, kutlug бага тарқан үгә buyrukı men* according to Orkun (1994: 156), who translated the expression *ögä buyrukı* mentioned here as 'buyruklarının ügesi'. Malov (1951: 76–77) gave the text as *Qırqız oylı män boıla qutluy jaryan män qutluy бага тарқан ögä buırıqy män* and translated it as 'Я сын киргизский. Я – бойла, высокий судия. Я – ога-буорук (приказчик, приказный) счастливого бага-тархана'. However, Doerfer (1965: §815, 364–365) objected to translating the text in this way and suggested that the expression *qutluy бага тарқан үгә buyrukı män* should be translated as 'des heilvollen *Baya tarxans ügä* (Berater) und (sozusagen) *buırıq* (Hauptberater) bin ich'. Regarding the sentence in which the *buyruq* in the inscription gave his own title, Clauson also gave it as *Kutluğ Bağa: Tarxan Öge: buyruki: men*. Separating the word *buyruq*, Clauson (1972: 387) noted that here the meaning should be understood as 'I was K.B.T.Ö's officer'. Gömeç (1997: 45) gave the equivalent of the expression *Kutlug Baga Tarkan Öge buyrukı men* as 'Kutlug Baga Tarkan'ın Öge buyruğuyum'. Berta (2004: 320, 322) translated these lines in the inscription as 'A kirgiz [nép] fia [vagyok] én, *Bojla Kutlug Jargan* [vagyok] én. *Kutlug Baga Tarkan Öge* bujukja [vagyok] én'. Şirin (2009: 474) read the title *Boyla* as *boyla*. Dobrovits (2011: 13) noted that the *buyruq* mentioned in the inscription is from the retinue of someone titled *Ögä*. According to Ölmez (2012: 289–290) who gave the original text as *kırkız oğlı men buyla kutlug yargan men kutlug бага тарқан öge buyrukı men*, its translation is 'Kırgız evladiyim. Buyla Kutlu Yargan'ım, Kutlu Baga Tarkan Öge'nin komutanıyım'. Apart from reading the title as *Boyla*



𐰽𐰺𐰸³⁰ is mentioned in the 4th line of the 2nd Khoit Tamir Inscription (Aydın 2018: 74).³¹ Aydın (2018: 88) writes that someone named *Qunč* or *Uqunč* mentioned in the 1st–2nd lines of the 2nd Qara Balghasun Inscription is a Buyruq ([u]qunč buyruqı ärtim 𐰽𐰺𐰸:𐰽𐰺𐰸𐰸𐰸) ^{32 33}

There are also records in the Chinese sources dealing with the Uyghurs regarding the usage of the title *Buyruq* in the Orkhon Uyghur Qaghanate. The *JTS* (195.5206) mentions an Uyghur military unit that joined the Rebellion of Pugu Huaïen 僕固懷恩 in China during the 1st year of Yongtai 永泰 (January 26, 765–February 13, 766), but later gave up the operation upon the death of Pugu Huaïen and became allies with the Tang 唐 Dynasty (618–907) again. The title of one of the commanders of this unit is recorded in the *JTS* as *Minister Buyruq Great Sängün (Boy)la Tarqan (Buyruq Uluy Sängün Boyla Tarqan; Zaixiang Meilu Da Jiangjun Luo Dagan 宰相梅錄大將軍羅達干)*³⁴. It is interesting that there are records both in the Uyghur inscriptions and in Chinese sources regarding people carrying the title *Tarqan* being tasked as *Buyruq*. According to the *XTS* (217A.6121), during the beginning of Alp Qutluq Bilgä Qayan's (He Guduolu Pijia Khan 合骨咄祿毗伽可汗; Tun Baya Tarqan; r. 779–789) reign, there was one great and one small Buyruq (*da xiao Meilu 大小梅錄*)³⁵ among some of the Uyghur leaders (qiuzhang 酋長) in China. The title of the envoy sent by the Uyghurs to China in the 6th year of Zhenyuan 貞元 (January 20, 790–February 7, 791) is written in the *JTS* (195.5209) as *Dabi Teqin Meilu Jiangjun 達比特勒梅錄將軍*, in the *XTS* (217A.6125) as *Dabei Tele Meilu Jiangjun 達北特勒梅錄將軍* and in the *ZZTJ* (233.7522) as *Dabei Tele Meilu 達北特勒梅錄*.³⁶ The *ZZTJ* (235.7574) has noted that an

previously read by Ölmez as *Buyla*, Aydın's (2018: 86) reading of this sentence is the same as that of Ölmez and his translation is similar: 'Kırgız oğluyum (Kırgızlardanım?)'. (Ben) Boyla Kutlug Yargan(ım). Kutlug Baga Tarkan Öge'nin komutanıyım.'

³⁰ *Buyruq* = 'komutan' according to Aydın (2018: 74). According to Aydın's (2018: 88, 232) edition, the title *Buyruq* is written here not as 𐰽𐰺𐰸 as seen in other Old Turkic inscriptions, but as 𐰽𐰺𐰸.

³¹ According to the readings of Radloff (1987: 1.268), Orkun (1994: 307) and Malov (1959: 53–54), who used the older classification, numbering this inscription as the 10th Khoit Tamir Inscription, the title *Buyruq* is not mentioned here.

³² *Buyruq* = 'komutan' according to Aydın (2018: 88).

³³ Ölmez (2012: 238–239) read the name in the first line as the title *kunču[y]* (*qunčuy*) and translated the title *buyruk* as 'komutan'. Dobrovits (2011: 13) also read this name as *kunçi* and noted it to be the title *qunčuy*, thinking that a *buyruq* in the retinue of a *qunčuy* (princess) is described here in this expression.

³⁴ Mackerras (1968: 47) gave this title as 'the Chief Minister and *Mei-lu*, Grand General *Lo Ta-kan*'. However, according to Çandarlıoğlu (2004: 91), *Mei-lu* and *Great General Lo Ta-kan* are two different people. Gömeç (1997: 41) is also of the same opinion. *Luo Dagan* 羅達干 is seen as the Uyghur chieftain (Huige Shouling 迴紇首領) commanding this unit. Besides, there is another person carrying the title *Minister Jiela Boyla Tarqan (Zaixiang Jiela Peiluo Dagan 宰相揭拉裴羅達干)* among the commanders of the army (*JTS* 195.5205–5206). In this case, it can be considered that the title *Luo Dagan* was actually *Peiluo Dagan* 裴羅達干, which is *Boyla Tarqan*, while the character *pei* 裴 was probably dropped as a mistake. Relying on Hamilton's study on the Uyghur politics of the post-840 period, Mackerras (1968: 163) also accepted the Turkic equivalent of the title used in the Orkhon Uyghur Qaghanate and recorded in the Chinese sources as *Meilu* as *Biruq*. A discussion on the form *Biruq* as the form of *Buyruq* seen in the post-840 period is presented in detail below. As to the equivalent of the title *Zaixiang* in Chinese, it can be translated as 'Grand Councilor' and directly as 'steward' and 'minister' according to Hucker. For the explanation regarding this title, see Hucker 1988: 514–515. Mackerras (1968: 159) also translated this title as 'Chief Minister'.

³⁵ Chavannes and Pelliot (1912: 267) have noted that the *Meilu* 梅錄 seen here is *Buyruq*. Pelliot (1943: 45) also included the same view in another study.

³⁶ According to Pulleyblank (1991: 69, 33), the *Dabi* 達比 seen within the title of this person was pronounced *dat-pji'* in Early Middle Chinese and *that-pji'* in Late Middle Chinese. Schuessler (2009: 284, 233) has reconstructed the Middle Chinese pronunciation of this title as *dât-pi^h*. Baxter and Kroll (2017: 72, 15) have given the Middle Chinese reconstruction of *Dabi* as *dat-pjiX*. As to *Dabei* 達北, it was pronounced as *dat-pək* in Early Middle



Uyghur envoy coming to China in the 8th month of Zhenyuan's 12th year (September 6–October 5, 796) was a Buyruq (Meilu 梅錄). According to the *JTS* (195.5211), there was a Buyruq (Meilu 梅錄) in the Uyghur legation that went to China one year after (821) the Chinese emperor Tang Xianzong's 唐憲宗 (r. 805–820) death.³⁷

LATER UYGHUR POLITIES

It is observed that the usage of the title *Buyruq* continued in the Yellow (Ganzhou 甘州) Uyghur Kingdom and the Qocho (Gaochang 高昌, Turfan) Uyghur Kingdom following the fall of the Orkhon Uyghur Qaghanate in 840. Caferoğlu (1968: 54, 56) has mentioned examples of *Buyruq*, as well as its metathesized form *Buryuq*³⁸ in the Uyghur period, as seen in Uyghur documents. In some Uyghur documents this title is used with the meanings 'official' and 'governor', while Clauson (1972: 387) has presented examples of usages of the title *Buyruq* in Uyghur texts. A *Köni Buryuq*, that Clauson translated as 'the upright officer', is also mentioned in a Manichaean Uyghur document, in which it is seen that *Buyruq* is written as *Buryuq*. Clauson has translated the expression *ötrü elig bæg buyruqların oqıp* seen in a Buddhist Uyghur document as 'then the king summoning his officers'. A title in the form of *Qoço Buyruqı* meaning 'Governor of Qocho' is mentioned in a list of Uyghur officials and the title *Buyruq* is mentioned in another section of the same document. In another document, it is observed that the expression *Buyruq Bägi* is used with the meaning 'Governor'³⁹, with two people named *Bušači* and *Otči* carrying this title. Clauson has also cited other examples of *Buyruq* seen in published Uyghur documents. Doerfer (1965: §815, 365) has noted that the title was used among the Uyghurs for close advisors of rulers just like in the Türks and this tradition continued unbroken into the Qarakhanid period. Şirin (2006: 228) has also presented examples of the usages of this title in Uyghur documents. Wilkens (2021: 210), translating *Buryuq* and *Buyruq* of Uyghur texts as 'Minister, Beamter, (c) Prokurator || bakan, memur, (H) vekil; Befehlshaber || komutan, amir; auch Äquivalent von Skt. *purohita* || Skt. *purohita*'nın da eş değeri; auch eines der sieben Juwelen (Skt. *saptaratna*) || yedi mücevherden biri de (Skt. *saptaratna*)', also gives examples of their usages.⁴⁰

Chinese and as *that-puǎk* in Late Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank (1991: 69, 31). Schuessler (2009: 233, 112) has given the Middle Chinese reconstruction of this title as *dât-pək*. Baxter and Kroll (2017: 72, 12) have reconstructed the Middle Chinese pronunciation of *Dabei* as *dat-pok*. *Dabei*'s Middle Chinese pronunciation reflect a word ending with a *-ɣ/-q* sound. There is a word in Old Turkic meaning 'service, to serve' and seen in forms like *tapay*, *tapıy*, *tapuy* or *tabuq* (Clauson 1972: 437). The aforementioned title can be considered to be connected with this word, but making a certain assertion is difficult at the moment. Apart from that, as is well known, *Teqin* 特勤 and *Tele* 特勒 are equivalents of Old Turkic *Tigin* (Erkoç 2008: 128–136, 142), while *Jiangjun* 將軍 is the equivalent of *Sängün* (Erkoç 2008: 195–198). Mackerras (1968: 83) has translated the title in the *JTS* as 'Mei-lu, General Prince Ta-pi'.

³⁷ Mackerras (1968: 111) has translated the expression seen in the Chinese text as *Meilu Sima* 梅錄司馬 as 'some *mei-lu* and a superior administrator'. However, Mackerras (1968: 151) has explained that this expression can also be translated as 'a *mei-lu* who was concurrently a superior administrator'.

³⁸ Pelliot (1943: 45–46) has explained that, over time, the title *Buyruq* went through changes and metathesis in Turkic, becoming *Biruq* and *Buryuq*. On this matter, see also Hamilton 1955: 79–80, 150; Şirin User 2006: 228.

³⁹ 'Kanzler-Fürst' in Doerfer (1965: §815, 363).

⁴⁰ Wilkens' (2021: 210) examples are as follows: *buryuk ärdini* Minister-Kleinod (Skt. *pariñayakarātna*) || bakan mücevheri (Skt. *pariñayakarātna*); *buryuk inanç* Minister und Vertrauter || bakan ve güvenilir arkadaşı; *buryuk amanç* Minister₂ || bakan₂; *buryuk bütrük* Minister und Befehlshaber || bakan ve komutan; *buyruklar bəglär* die



A *buyruq* is mentioned in the 5th line of 13.02.09 in the Uyghur document numbered Berliner Turfantexte 13.02 in the VATEC (Vorislamische Alttürkische Texte: Elektronisches Corpus) database, and this term has been translated by Zieme into German as ‘Minister’ (Berliner Turfantexte 13.02). The title *buyruq*⁴¹ is also seen in the Manichaean Uyghur fragments numbered MTT616, MTT620, MTT 621 and MTT 625 found in the Manichäisch-Türkische Texte collection, again in the VATEC database (MTT 616, 620, 621, 625). The famous AY is the Uyghur translation of a Buddhist text whose biggest manuscript is currently kept in the Asiatic Museum (Азиатский Музей) (which is now a part of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg). In the AY the title *buryuq* is mentioned 18 times in total in 90 (4th line)⁴², 143 (1st line)⁴³, 417 (1st line)⁴⁴, 508 (9th line)⁴⁵, 555 (5th line)⁴⁶, 622 (21st line)⁴⁷, 623 (2nd line)⁴⁸, 624 (4th, 6th, 8th, 15th and 21st lines)⁴⁹, 625 (19th line)⁵⁰, 635 (3rd line)⁵¹, 637 (21st line)⁵² and 638 (1st and

Befehlshaber und die Begs || komutanlar ve beyler. Wilkens (2021: 204) has not examined the metathesized form *buryuq* in detail and instead he has merged it with its correct form *buryuq*. For examples regarding the usage of the title *Buyruq* in post-840 Uyghur polities, see also Dobrovits 2011: 13–14.

⁴¹ Zieme has translated this title as ‘Minister’ here as well (MTT 616, 620, 621, 625).

⁴² In AY 90/4 (Book II, folio 28b) *qatunlar tigiltär bağlär buryuqlar* (*Qatuns, Tigins, Bägs, Buryuqs*) are listed among the titles forming the administrative organization (Kaya 1994: 102).

⁴³ Kaya (1994: 124) has read the expression in AY 143/1 (Book III, folia 9a) as *azrua buryuklari*, while Ölmez (1991: 36) has read it as *ezrua buryuklari* and translated it as ‘Brahmā maiyeti’.

⁴⁴ In AY 416/22–23 (Book VI, folio 7b) and 417/1 (Book VI, folio 8a) *qatunlar tigiltär bağlär buryuqlar inančlar tayančlar arqası* (‘hatunlar (kraliçeler), prensler, beyler, vezirler topluluğu’ according to Ayazlı) are counted among the titles forming administrative organization in the court (*ordu qarşı içintäki*). This expression is seen in the Chinese translation of AY as *Fu yu gong nei Houfei Wangzi cai nü juanshu* 復於宮內后妃王子嫔女眷屬 (‘The queen, princes, harem women and retinue within the court’). Nobel has translated this expression into German as ‘der Königin in seiner Residenz, den königlichen Prinzen, den Harems-frauen und dem Gefolge’, which has been translated into Turkish by Ayazlı as ‘saraydaki kraliçe, prens, haremdeki kadınlar ve maiyet’ (Ayazlı 2012: 86, 169, 206, 369, 377; Kaya 1994: 240–241).

⁴⁵ The expression *uluy azrua buryuqlari* is seen in AY 508/8–9 (Book VIII, folio 6b) (Kaya 1994: 278).

⁴⁶ In AY 555/5 (Book VIII, folio 32a) *uluy bağlär buryuqlar* (*Great Bägs and Buryuqs*) are counted within the administrative organization (Kaya 1994: 298).

⁴⁷ In AY 622/21 (Book X, folio 12b; the famous *Story of the Hungry Leopard* found on 607–627 of Book X) *buryuqlar inančlar* (‘kumandanlar’ according to Gulcalı) are seen among the state officials in Ilig Bäg’s (ruler) retinue. According to the story, the ruler leaves the city with his *buryuqs* and *inančs* to find his lost sons (Gulcalı 2015: 100, 120; Kaya 1994: 327). The expression *buryuqlar inančlar* is given in the Chinese version of the story as *da chen* 大臣 (Gulcalı 2015: 198).

⁴⁸ A *buryuq* (‘kumandan’ according to Gulcalı) who comes to the ruler and gives him news about his two lost children being found, is mentioned in AY 623/2 (Book X, folio 13a) (Gulcalı 2015: 100, 120; Kaya 1994: 327).

⁴⁹ An official carrying the title *buryuq* is mentioned in AY 624/4, 6, 8, 15 and 21 (Book X, folio 13b) as the person who gives the ruler and his wife Qatun news of the death of their younger son Mahasatve. It is also noted in 4 and 20–21 of the text that this person was an *ikinti buryuq* (*second buryuq*, ‘ikinci kumandan’ according to Gulcalı) (Gulcalı 2015: 102–103, 121; Kaya 1994: 327). In the Chinese version of the story, the title *buryuq* is written as *chen* 臣 and *di er da chen* 第二大臣 (‘great minister of the second rank’), while the title *ikinti buryuq* is written as *di er chen* 第二臣 (‘minister of the second rank’) (Gulcalı 2015: 198).

⁵⁰ *Buryuqlar* (‘kumandanlar’ according to Gulcalı) and *bağlär inančlar* (‘vezirler’ according to Gulcalı) who try to comfort the ruler and his wife who have received the news of their son’s death are mentioned in AY 625/18. The story’s Chinese version gives the title *buryuqlar* as *da chen* 大臣 and the expression *bağlär inančlar* as *da chen deng* 大臣等 (‘those of the great minister rank’ or ‘great ministers and others’) (Gulcalı 2015: 198, 205). As also shown by Gulcalı (2015: 255–257), the expressions *chen* and *da chen* are used in the text’s Chinese version as corresponding to both titles *buryuq* and *inanč*.

⁵¹ In AY 635/3 (Book X, folio 19a), *buryuqlar bağlär* are counted among state officials (Kaya 1994: 331).

⁵² A *buryuq* is described as Ilig Bäg’s (ruler) aid in AY 637/21 (Book X, folio 20a) (Kaya 1994: 333).



9th lines)⁵³, while the title *buyruq* is mentioned 3 times in total in 195 (8th and 13th lines)⁵⁴ and 555 (19th line)⁵⁵ (Kaya 1994: 449, 452). The *Story of Good and Bad Princes* in Uyghur Turkic recorded in a document numbered 3509 kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France's Pelliot chinois collection in Paris mentions the Tigin's *inančlari buyruqlari*⁵⁶ in VIII.7 (Hamilton 1971: 12). This title is also encountered in Uyghur texts written with Brahmi letters (Aydın 2018: 121). As to the documents from post-840 Uyghur polities written in the Old Turkic (Turkic Runic) script, the title *Buyruq* is mentioned in only one text that has been found to date by this author. The title *Buyruq* 𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰩 is written in the 2nd, 3rd and 6th lines of the Side A of a manuscript fragment in Old Turkic script numbered Mainz 377, found in Turfan and currently kept in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung's Mainz Collection (Mainz 377; Sertkaya 1985: 144, 157; Yıldırım 2016: 509–510).

Alongside their own documents, records about the Uyghur usage of the title *Buyruq* after 840 are also seen in the sources of their foreign neighbours. The Turkic title *Biruq* (*Buyruq*) is witnessed in a Khotanese document as *birūka*- (Bailey 1979: 207). Bailey has also emphasized that the title *Biruq* is paired with the title *Ögä* in Khotanese documents and the two titles are mentioned together. The 4th line of the Khotanese side of Sino-Khotanese document numbered 2898 in Bibliothèque nationale de France's Pelliot chinois collection contains the expression *aŭgavā u birūkām* (*Ögä and Biruq*). Similarly, the titles *uha:va u birūka* (*Ögä and Biruq*) can be seen in the 103rd line of the Khotanese side of Sino-Khotanese document numbered Ch 00269 in the British Library's Stein collection in London.⁵⁷ In the 60th–61st lines of Ch 00269, people titled *Biruq Čin Tutuq* (*birūkä cġnā ttähä:*), *Biruq* (*birūkä*) and *Biruq Düm Toŋa* (*birūkä düm ttāmga*) are counted among a group of state officials who left Şacū (Shazhou 沙州), killed the Qaghan (khaḡ:nä) in Kāmācū (Ganzhou 甘州) and enthroned Taysi Tigin (*ttaysi dagyġnā*) (Ch 00269.60–61; Bailey 1948: 618, 622). It is recorded in the *Jiu Wudaishi* 舊五代史 (138.1842) that Chen Fuhai 陳福海 carrying the title *Tutuq* (*Dudu* 都督) came as an envoy from the Yellow Uyghurs⁵⁸ to the Later Tang (Hou Tang 後唐) Dynasty (923–937) in China on the 7th month of Qingtai's 清泰 2nd year (August 2–31, 935). This person received the title *Huaihua Commander* (*Huaihua Langjiang* 懷化郎將)⁵⁹ in an edict published in the next month (September 1–30, 935) in which he is men-

⁵³ The *buryuq*, aid of Ilig Bäg seen in the previous example, is mentioned again in AY 638 (Book X, folio 20b) (Kaya 1994: 333).

⁵⁴ The *bäglär buyruqlar inančlar* ('beyler, amirler, memurlar' according to Ölmez) are counted twice in AY 195/8 and 13 (Book III, folio 35a) among the titles forming the administrative organization (Kaya 1994: 143; Ölmez 1991: 75).

⁵⁵ *Buyruqs* inside the country (*il içintäki buyruqlar*) are mentioned in AY 555/18–19 (Book VIII, folio 32a) (Kaya 1994: 298).

⁵⁶ According to Hamilton (1971: 12), *inančlari buyruqlari* = 'ses féaux et ses ministres'.

⁵⁷ Ch 00269.103; PC 2898.4; Bailey 1939: 91, 1948: 620, 653. As seen above, the mentioning of the titles *Ögä* and *Buyruq* in the 2nd–3rd lines of the Suji Inscription (Aydın 2018: 86) looks similar to the examples seen in Khotanese texts.

⁵⁸ Previously, Donuk (1988: 12) was of the mistaken opinion that this envoy came from the Turfanese Uyghurs instead of Ganzhou Uyghurs. However, as also expressed by Pelliot (1943: 45) and Hamilton (1955: 146, 150), those who sent this envoy were the Ganzhou Uyghurs, also known as the Yellow Uyghurs.

⁵⁹ Hamilton (1955: 79) has translated this title as 'colonel qui aime la civilisation'.



tioned as *Biruq Tutuq Chen Fuhai* (*Milu Dudu Chen Fuhai* 密錄都督陳福海)⁶⁰. It is written in the same edict that Kōl *Biruq Apa* (*Qu Milu Abo* 屈密錄阿撥)⁶¹, envoy responsible for inspection (*jian shi* 監使), was also granted the title *Lance Officer Surrendering to Virtue* (*Guide Sige* 歸德司戈)⁶² (*Jiu Wudaishi* 138.1842–1843). A *Biruq* (*Miliu* 密六)⁶³ coming from the Yellow Uyghurs as an envoy in 967 and described as *Minister* (*Zaixiang* 宰相)⁶⁴ is mentioned in a Chinese document numbered 3272 currently kept in Bibliothèque nationale de France's Pelliot chinois collection. According to the document, this *Biruq* should go back to Suzhou 肅州 from where he came and prepare a treaty that would ensure the arrest of bandits from his own tribe (*buluo* 部落; Pelliot chinois 3272.1b; Hamilton 1955: 150). It is also recorded in the *Xin Wudaishi* 新五代史 (74.916) that the state minister (*guo xiang* 國相)⁶⁵ of the Yellow Uyghurs carried the title *Biruq Tutuq* (*Meilu Dudu* 媚祿都督)⁶⁶. Later in the Mongol period, the name of an Uyghur *Qara İyaç Buyruq* has been written in Chinese as *Hala Yihachi Beilu* 哈刺亦哈赤北魯⁶⁷ in his biography in the *Yuanshi* 元史 (124.3046–3047).⁶⁸

⁶⁰ Chavannes and Pelliot (1912: 266–267) have thought that the equivalent of *Milu Dudu* 密錄都督 in this title could be *Buyruq Tutuq*. However, Pelliot (1943: 45) noted in one of his later studies that he hesitated in this matter and *Milu's* 密錄 equivalent should be *Biruq* (<*Buyruq*), showing Maḥmūd al-Kāšyārī's explanation which is mentioned below. Hamilton also agreed with Pelliot's view (1955: 79) and accepted the equivalent of this title as *Biruq* (1955: 150).

⁶¹ Pulleyblank (1991: 260, 213, 201) has reconstructed the Late Middle Chinese pronunciation of *Qu Milu* 屈密錄 as *k^hyt mit-lywk*. According to Schuessler (2009: 314, 304, 159), this title was pronounced *k^hwət mjet 3-ljwɔk* in Middle Chinese. Baxter and Kroll (2017: 375, 304, 284) have given the Middle Chinese pronunciation of *Qu Milu* as *khjət mit-ljwɔk*. The *-t* sound at the end of syllables in Middle Chinese have been used as the equivalent of more than one sound in the writing of Old Turkic names. Among these are the sounds *-r*, *-l* which is very close to it, and *-ø*. In this case it may be stated that the Middle Chinese pronunciations given above reflect the Old Turkic title *Kōl Biruq*. Hence, Hamilton (1955: 80, 146, 150) has also expressed that the title *Qu Milu Abo's* equivalent could be *Kiil Biruq Apa*.

⁶² Hamilton (1955: 80) has translated this title as 'officier des petites lances qui se soumet à la vertu'.

⁶³ According to Pulleyblank (1991: 213, 198), the Late Middle Chinese pronunciation of *Miliu* 密六 was *mit-liwk*. Schuessler (2009: 304, 188) has given the Middle Chinese reconstruction of this title as *mjet 3-ljuk*. Baxter and Kroll (2017: 304, 279) have reconstructed the Middle Chinese pronunciation of *Miliu* as *mit-ljuwk*. Like in the *Qu Milu* sample seen above, the *Miliu* here reflects the Old Turkic title *Biruq*. Hamilton (1955: 150) has also determined that the equivalent of this title was *Biruq*.

⁶⁴ The term *Zaixiang* in the text has been translated by Hamilton (1955: 150) as 'grand ministre'.

⁶⁵ Hucker (1988: 230) has given the equivalents of the Chinese title *Xiang* 相 as 'Minister' and 'Grand Councilor', noting that this title was a rank that had been given since the Late Antiquity in China and only to the great officials in a ruler's central administration.

⁶⁶ Pulleyblank (1991: 210, 201) has made the reconstruction of *Meilu's* 媚祿 Late Middle Chinese pronunciation as *mi²-lɔwk*. Schuessler (2009: 288, 159) has given the Middle Chinese reconstruction of this title as *mji² 3-luk*. According to Baxter and Kroll (2017: 299, 284), *Meilu* was pronounced *mjiH-luwk* in Middle Chinese. These Middle Chinese pronunciations reflect the title *Biruq* as well. Hence, Hamilton (1955: 80, 150) has stated that the equivalent of *Meilu* 媚祿 should be *Biruq* instead of *Buyruq*.

⁶⁷ The *Beilu* 北魯 seen in this title was pronounced as *puij²-lɔ²* in Early Mandarin according to Pulleyblank (1991: 31, 200). Schuessler's and Baxter-Kroll's studies do not contain the Mongol-period pronunciations. However, according to Schuessler (2009: 57, 112), this title was pronounced *pək-luo³* in Middle Chinese. Baxter and Sagart (2017: 12, 283) have also given the Middle Chinese pronunciation of *Beilu* as *pok-luX*. As demonstrated by Pulleyblank (1991: 200–201) too, syllables ending with *-k* sounds in Middle Chinese had this sound dropped in Early Mandarin. As this case is also considered, the Early Mandarin form reconstructed by Pulleyblank can be said to be reflecting the title *Buyruq*. However, Pelliot has noted that he was inclined to think that the *Meilu* here reflects *Buyruq's* metathesized form *Biruq* (1943: 46).

⁶⁸ For the title *Buyruq* used among the Uyghurs, see also Donuk 1988: 12; Hamilton 1955: 146, 150; Pelliot 1943: 45.



QARAKHANIDS, KHAZARS, BULGHARS AND MAGYARS

The title *Buyruq* is observed to have been used among the Qarakhanids, who were one of the polities that continued the administrative organizational traditions of Türk and Uyghur qaghanates. The 11th century Turkic-Arabic dictionary *Dīwān Luyāt al-Turk* written by Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarī (Ali Emīrī Arabī 4189.190; 1982: 290) gives the explanation of the word *Bīruq* بِرُوق as follows: ‘Name for the one who specifies the stations of courtiers. Its root-form is: *buyruq* which means ‘Command’, since he commands them to do this.’⁶⁹ Another meaning of this word was ‘official carrying out an order’, which was used for this title in a military context. This title is given in the *Qutadyu Bilig* written by Yūsuf Xāšš Ḥājjib as *türk buyruqı*⁷⁰ in the 1163rd verse and *ögä buyruqı*⁷¹ in the 2941st verse (Arat 1947: 133, 304). As we saw before, a *bīrükä düm ttāmga* (Bīruq Toṅa from the *Düm*) belonging to a Turkic people called *Düm*⁷² is mentioned in the 61st line of Ch 00269’s Khotanese side.⁷³ As noted by Kafesoğlu (2002: 176), there was an *Ūr* at the head of each seven Magyar tribes. Donuk (1988: 12) has also expressed that the Khazars ruled these seven Magyar tribes rendered subordinate to themselves through the use of their *Buyruqs*. As noted by Donuk (1988: 12–13), the title *Buyruq* passed to Bulghar Turkic as *w.yr.g*, which itself became a loanword in Hungarian as *uuruy*, which formed the origin of the word *Ūr* meaning ‘chieftain’ in Hungarian. Indeed, in the §73 (fol. 208b) of Ibn Faḍlān’s (Aḥmad bin Faḍlān bin al-‘Abbās bin Rāšid bin Ḥammād) travel report, a person named *Viryiy*⁷⁴ is mentioned, who became the ruler of a part of the Suvars (Suwār, Sabars) that were vassals of the Volga Bulghars (Frye 2005: 59, 100; Togan 1966: 75). According to Togan (1966: 75), this name reflects the title *Buyruy* or *Buyruq*; however, Doerfer (1965: §815, 365–366) objected to this view. Giving it as *viruğ*, Dobrovits (2011: 9, 14) has accepted its equivalent as *Buyruq* like Togan did. Noting that this title was not witnessed among the Danubian Bulghars who used an older ranking system, Dobrovits has guessed, based on some data from Hungarian, that the title *Buyruq* could have been used in Bulghar Turkic. Likewise, as Dobrovits (2011: 14) also emphasized, there is no information regarding the direct usage of the title *Buyruq* among the Khazars; he noted, however that the simple lack of sources could be the reason. Again according to Dobrovits (2011: 14–15), the word *bíró* meaning ‘judge, referee’ in modern Hungarian and ‘city administrator, village headman’ in old Hungarian might have been borrowed from Turkic as *buyruq* > *bīruq*/**bīruy* > *bíró*.⁷⁵ Touching on Hungarian lit-

⁶⁹ Kāšyarī (Ali Emīrī Arabī 4189.526; 1984: 246) has written that the verb *buyur-* is from the Oghuz dialect.

⁷⁰ According to Arat, *türk buyruqı* = ‘türk veziri’ (Arat 1947: 133; Arat 1959: 94).

⁷¹ According to Arat, *ögä buyruqı* = ‘has-müşâvir’ (Arat 1947: 304; Arat 1959: 216).

⁷² According to Bailey (1939: 88–89), the people mentioned in Khotanese documents as *düm* and *dū* were a Turkic or Turkified grouping, who could be representing the Long 龍 people seen in Chinese texts. This people has been mentioned as *hve:hvara u dümta* (*Uyghurs and Dūms*) in P 2741.69, another Khotanese document. Bailey has presented other examples of this people’s name being mentioned in Khotanese documents as well.

⁷³ Ch 00269.61; Bailey 1939: 88–89, 1948: 618, 622. Bailey (1939: 88, 1948: 618) has written the Khotanese form of the title *Bīruq* as *bīrūki* in one of his studies published in 1939, but as *bīrūkā* in another work published in 1948.

⁷⁴ This name (ویرغ) was written as *Wiryig* by Togan (1966: 75), *Viriğ* by Doğan (1954: 74), *Virâğ* (İbn Fazlan 1995: 64) and *Virağ* (2010: 35) by Şeşen, and *Wirigh* by Frye (2005: 59, 100).

⁷⁵ Dobrovits (2011: 15) has explained that the *-uq* particle at the end of words loaned from Old Turkic into Hungarian changed as *-uy* > *-uw* > *-ó* during this process and has presented examples regarding this case (*qazuq* > *karó*, *qumlaq* > *kumló*, *quruq/quruy* > *kóró*).



erature dealing with the problem of whether there is a relation between the words *buyruq* and *bíró*, Dobrovits has claimed that following the loan of the word *buyruq* into Hungarian as *bíró* it was also associated with the verb *bír-* used in Hungarian with the meaning ‘to possess something’.

TATARS, NAIMANS, BETEKINS AND KEREYIDS

It is observed that among the Turko-Mongol polities established in Mongolia after the Orkhon Uyghur Qaghanate, the title *Buyruq* was used mostly within the titles of rulers. The name of a Tatar ruler during the reign of Toyrıl Oŋ Qan's (To'oril Ong Qan) grandfather was written by Rašid al-Dīn Faḍlullāh-i Hamadānī (1373: 115; 1998: 62) as *Navur Buyuruq Xan* ناور بویروقت خان in his work *Jāmi' al-Tavārīḫ*.⁷⁶ According to *SHM* §141 (2004: 63, 518), an alliance was formed in 1201 against Temüjin Qan (Činggis Qan, Genghis Khan; r. 1206–1227), ruler of the emerging Mongols. Buyiruq Qan (Buyilu Hei 不亦魯黑), ruler of the Güčü'üd branch of Naimans, was a member of this alliance. This Naiman ruler is mentioned in *Jāmi' al-Tavārīḫ* as *Buyuruq Xan* بویروق خان (Rašid al-Dīn Faḍlullāh-i Hamadānī 1373: 92, 124; Rashiduddin Fazlullah 1998: 51, 67). Again according to the *Jāmi' al-Tavārīḫ*, Naiman rulers were called *Küšlüg Xan* کوشلوق خان or *Buyuruq Xan* بویروق خان in the earlier periods. The reason why they were called *Buyuruq* was because this word meant ‘commander (*farmān dihandā* فرمان دهنده)'; each ruler also had his own name given by his mother and father (Rašid al-Dīn Faḍlullāh-i Hamadānī 1373: 126; Rashiduddin Fazlullah 1998: 68). The title of this Naiman ruler is written as *Buluyu Han* 不魯欲罕 in the *Yuanshi* (1.6). Nakas has noted that the second and third characters were placed wrongly, and the correct form of this title should have been *Buyulu Han* 不欲魯罕. However, Pelliot (1943: 46) has expressed that there was no misspelling here because this name was written in that form more than once in the text. According to him, the equivalent of this title and *Buluyu Han* 卜魯欲罕 in Chinese texts should have been *Buruyuq-qan* or *Buryuq-qan*, in which the *Buyruq* > *Buryuq* metathesis seen in Uyghur texts might have occurred. According to the *Jāmi' al-Tavārīḫ*, the ruler of a people named *Betekin* living close to the Naimans before Čingiz Xan (Činggis Qan) carried the title *Qadīr Buyuruq Xan* قادیر بویروقت خان (Rašid al-Dīn Faḍlullāh-i Hamadānī 1373: 130; Rashiduddin Fazlullah 1998: 70). Again, according to the *Jāmi' al-Tavārīḫ*, the grandfather of Kereyid ruler Oŋ Xan (Toyrıl Oŋ Qan) was named *Maryuz* مرغوز and he was called *Buyuruq Xan* بویروقت خان (Rašid al-Dīn Faḍlullāh-i Hamadānī 1373: 115; Rashiduddin Fazlullah 1998: 62). As to *SHM* §150 (2004: 73), the title of Toyrıl's (To'oril) father was *Qurčaqus Buyiruq Qan* (Hu'erchahusi Buyilu Han 忽儿察忽思不亦鲁罕). The same person is mentioned in *Jāmi' al-Tavārīḫ* as *Qurčaqus Buyuruq Xan* قرقچاقش بویروقت خان (Rašid al-Dīn Faḍlullāh-i Hamadānī 1373: 91; Rashiduddin Fazlullah 1998: 51). It is interesting that the title *Buyruq* used among early Turkic peoples for officials later started to be used within the titles of rulers among peoples like the Tatars, Naimans, Betekins and Kereyids. Perhaps in these cases, this title was used with the meaning

⁷⁶ Pelliot (1943: 53) has remarked that the *Navur* seen in this title is the writing style applied by Rašid al-Dīn for the word *Na'ur* (modern *Nuur*) meaning ‘lake’ in Mongolian. Thackston (1998: 62) has also written the word as *Na'ur*. As to Doerfer (1965: §815, 363), echoing the Persian text, he has given it as *Nāvūr*.



‘giving order’ instead of ‘receiving order’.⁷⁷ Apart from the peoples that are examined in this paper, as also stated by Pelliot, Doerfer, Clauson and Şirin, although the words *buyruq*, *buyruq*, *buyuruq* and *buyuruq* exist in Turkic dialects of Chaghatay, Khwarezm, Kipchak, Ottoman, Kyrgyz, Kazakh and Qaray, they are used in these dialects not as a title usually, but only with the meaning ‘order, command and decree’ (Clauson 1972: 387; Doerfer 1965: §815, 363; Pelliot 1943: 46; Şirin User 2006: 228; Toparlı-Vural-Karaatlı 2007: 39).⁷⁸

MODERN SCHOLARLY OPINIONS ON THE TITLE *BUYRUQ*

There are many different opinions on the meaning of the Old Turkic title *Buyruq*⁷⁹. Its meaning has been given by the following scholars as such:

- Thomsen (1896: 98–99, 104, 110, 115, 131): ‘officier’⁸⁰;
- Radloff (1987: I.5–6, 13, 22–23, 31, 45–46, 52–53, 72–73): ‘Beamter, Fürst’⁸¹;
- Orkun (1994: 788): ‘buyruq, âmir, komutan’;
- von Gabain: ‘Befehlshaber, Minister’ (1950: 306) and ‘kumandan, vekil’ (2000: 271)⁸²;
- Malov (1951: 33, 36, 38, 41, 77): ‘приказный, приказчик’⁸³;
- Nobel (Ayazlı 2012: 206): ‘Gefolge’;
- Györffy (1960: 176): ‘Gefolge’;
- Doerfer: ‘Reichskanzler, Großwesir; Befehl’ (1965: §815, 362–363), ‘Kanzler’ (1965: §815, 363), ‘Hauptberater’ (1965: §815, 365);
- Hamilton (1971: 14, 114): ‘ministre, chancelier’;
- Saferoğlu (1968: 56): ‘kumandan, âmir’;
- Древнетюркский словарь: ‘распорядитель’ (1969: 105), ‘приказный (титул и должность)’ (1969: 121, 125);
- Clauson (1972: 387): ‘officer’;

⁷⁷ Dobrovits (2011: 14) thought that the rulers among Naimans carrying the title *Buyuruq Khan* (*buyruq qaghan* according to him) were kings whose ties with their old rulers were cut and they started ruling their tribes on their own. Among the explanations made by Çağbayır (2007: 712) for the word *buyruq*, one is ‘buyurma yetkisi bulunan amir’ and the other is ‘hükümdar’. These explanations clarify the usage of the title *Buyruq* as a title for rulers among the Tatars, Naimans, Betekins and Kereyids.

⁷⁸ Clauson (1972: 387) has noted that this word is still encountered in one or two 14th century Ottoman texts as being used with the meaning ‘official’, but the meaning ‘order, command’ was used as its normal equivalent starting from the next century. For the forms of the word *buyruq* meaning ‘order, command, decree’ and the verb *buyur-* meaning ‘to order’ in modern Turkic languages and dialects, see Gülensoy 2007: 189.

⁷⁹ Regarding the issue of whether this title should be read *Buyruq* or *Buyuruq*, the author of this paper used the readings of Orkun (1994: 788), Tekin (1988: 131), Ölmez (2012: 311), Ercilasun (2016: 669) and Aydın (2017: 150); these readings are contrary to those of Thomsen, Radloff, Malov and Klyashtorny. As to Ergin, although he gave this word in the index of his work as *Buyruğ* (2002: 92), he wrote it correctly as *Buyruq* in the main text (2002: 2, 8, 14, 22, 32, 34, 38, 54, 56).

⁸⁰ Thomsen (1896: 98–99, 104, 110, 115, 209) read the word as *bujuruq*.

⁸¹ Radloff (1987: II.180) also explained this title as such: ‘eine hohe Würde; vielleicht die über unterworfenen Völker eingesetzten Befehlshaber’. He gave this word as *buyüruq* in one place (буырук in 1987: I.7) and *buyuruq* in nine places (буйрук in 1987: I.31, 73, буйрук in 1987: I.5, 13, 23, 45, 47, 53, 71, 73).

⁸² A. von Gabain (1950: 306, 2000: 271) has noted that this title was also written as *buryuq* and *pyuruq*.

⁸³ Just like Thomsen, Malov (1951: 27, 29–30, 32, 41, 76, 1959: 19, 23) has also read this title as *buyuruq*.



Tekin: ‘court official’ (1968: 280), ‘high official’ (1968: 264, 280), ‘official’ (1968: 280), ‘kumandan, âmir’ (1983a: 810, 827, 1988: 3, 9, 13, 19, 37, 39, 43, 55, 131), ‘commander’ (1983b: 62);
 Klyashtorny (1985: 154): ‘commander’⁸⁴;
 Sertkaya (1985: 150): ‘Befehlshaber’;
 Ergin (2002: 92): ‘bir unvan, vezir, nazır, yüksek memur, buyruk’;
 Sümer (1999: 59): ‘yüksek saray memuru’;
 Zieme: ‘Minister’ (BT 13.02.09.05; MTT 616, 620, 621, 625);
 Tietze (2002: 402): ‘buyurucu, amir; emir verilen kimse, memur, ve dolayısıyla kudretli kimselerin unvanı’;
 Çağbayır: ‘Hakanın yanına derecesine göre büyükleri alan ve yer gösteren görevli, teşri-fatçı; buyruk’ (2007: 589; for *bıruq*), ‘kumandan; vekil’ (2007: 708; for *buryuq*), ‘kumandan; bakan; buyurma yetkisi bulunan amir; emir; önder; bakan; mühürdar; vekil; müşavir; vezir’ (2007: 712; for *buyruq*);
 Şirin (2009: 521): ‘kumandan’;
 Mert (2009: 181, 183): ‘kumandan’;
 Dobrovits (2011: 12): ‘üst rütbeli görevli’;
 Ayazlı (2012: 302): ‘kumandan, vekil, amir’;
 Ölmez: ‘amir’ (1991: 75), ‘komutan’ (2012: 90, 92–93, 95, 98, 137–138, 140, 146, 238–239, 247, 256–258, 290, 2018: 62, 82–84, 189), ‘kumandan, amir’ (2012: 311, 2018: 237) and ‘maiyet’ (1991: 36);
 Gulcalı (2015: 120–122, 198): ‘kumandan, vekil, amir’;
 Ercilasun (2016: 501, 509, 517, 529, 545, 557, 565, 589, 669): ‘yönetici, yüksek memur’;
 Aydın (2017: 47, 52, 57, 63, 74, 81, 85, 99, 150, 2018: 43, 46–47, 52, 74, 86, 88, 121): ‘komutan’⁸⁵.

Hamilton (1971: 114) explained the origin of the title *Buyruq* as the root *buyur-* ‘ordonner, commander’ + *-oq* suffix in the resultative and perfect sense. Similarly, Doerfer (1965: §815, 362–364) noted that this title derived from the verb *buyur-* ‘befehlen’. According to him, the vowel *-u-* in the second syllable of the verb *buyur-* fell and thus the title *Buyruq* emerged, while the form *buyuruq* started to appear again much later such as in the Ottoman period by the way of imitation. According to Doerfer, the expression *buyruq bağlār* seen in the inscriptions describe all the officials among the Türks responsible for the administration of the empire; thus, it is stressed in the inscriptions that the *Buyruqs* should be wise and brave. According to him, the *Buyruqs* were state officials lower in rank than the rank *Ögä* (*Ügä* in Doerfer) and each Qaghan had only one *Buyruq* as his advisor.⁸⁶ Clauson (1972: 387) explained that the word *Buyruq* comes from the

⁸⁴ Klyashtorny (1982: 341–345) read this title as *buyuruq*.

⁸⁵ *İç Buyruq*, title of Sábäg Köl Irkin mentioned in BKI S14 as seen above, has been translated by Clauson (1972: 387) as ‘domestic officer’, by Tekin (1988: 54–55) as ‘Hassa Komutani’, by Ercilasun (2016: 589) as ‘has memurlar’ and by Aydın (2017: 99) as ‘karargâh komutani?’. As to the title *İç Buyruq Başı* mentioned in Tariat W6, it should be translated as ‘içerdeki komutanların başı’ according to Ölmez (2012: 253, 257) and ‘İç (işlerinden sorumlu) komutan’ according to Aydın (2018: 46).

⁸⁶ For the detailed study on the word *buyruq*, see Doerfer 1965: §815, 362–366. Doerfer opposed translating the word *buyruq* seen in the Turkic inscriptions in plural forms and claimed that the qaghans had only one *buyruq* (1965: §815, 363–365). He has also demonstrated in which forms and which meanings the word *buyruq* was loaned from Turkic into Arabic, Finno-Ugrian, Caucasian and Slavic languages (1965: §815, 365).



root *buyur-* and means ‘Commanded’. Hamilton has given the equivalents of *Buyruq* as well as its descendent *Birūq* as ‘ministre’ (1955: 79–80) and ‘chambellan, ministre’ (1955: 150). Györfly (1960: 176–177) explained the title *Buyruq* as ‘military retinue’ and thought that this title was the equivalent of the title *Nökör* (*Nöker*, personal units of the ruler) seen among the later Mongols.⁸⁷ According to Tietze (2002: 402), the title *Buyruq* was formed from *buyur-* + nominalizing suffix *-uq*. Examining the title *Buyruq* and citing the literature related to the topic, Şirin (2006: 227–229) explained that this title derived from the root *buyur-* and that the suffix *-q* described the situation that emerged at the end of the verb. Şirin (2006: 228–229) also emphasized that the first historical text in which the verb *buyur-* is recorded was the *Diwān Luyāt at-Turk*⁸⁸ and it is not seen in Turkic texts before it, but this does not mean that this verb did not exist in Old Turkic. Dobrovits (2011: 8) was of the same opinion. Gülensoy (2007: 189) demonstrated that the word *buyruq* evolved as *buy(u)r-uq > buyruq*. Aydın (2019: 188; 2018: 121) also examined this title and cited the literature dealing with it.

Donuk (1988: 12) noted that the title *Buyruq* was identified by various scholars as ‘advisor, vizier’ and ‘minister’; Gömeç (1997: 23; 2000: 4), Koca (2002: 832) and Taşağıl (2014: 329, 379) have also given the meaning of *Buyruq* as ‘Bakan (Minister)’. The *JTS* has mentioned Inner and Outer Ministers (Nei Wai Zaixiang 内外宰相)⁸⁹ (195.5204) and some Outer Ministers (Wai Zaixiang 外宰相)⁹⁰ (195.5211) in the Uyghur administrative organization. In the *XTS* (217A.6113) it is written that, as with the Türks, the Uyghurs possessed six Outer Ministers (Wai Zaixiang 外宰相) and three Inner Ministers (Nei Zaixiang 内宰相).⁹¹ Kafesoğlu compared this information with the expression *İç Buyruq* referred to above, thinking that the title *Zaixiang* 宰相 mentioned here and translated by Liu (1958: I.430) as ‘Minister’ was the equivalent of *Buyruq*, hence *Buyruq* meant ‘Minister’.⁹² Again, based on Liu’s (1958: I.417, II.622) description of *Buyruq* Çor (who poisoned Bilgä Qayan) as ‘Minister’, Kafesoğlu (2002: 265) gave the equivalent of *Buyruq* as

⁸⁷ For Györfly’s examination regarding the title *Buyruq*, see 1960: 169–179.

⁸⁸ For the verb *buyur-* in the *Diwān Luyāt at-Turk*, in which it is described as belonging to the Oghuz dialect, see Ali Emirî Arabî 4189.526; Maḥmūd al-Kāşyari 1984: 246.

⁸⁹ Mackerras (1968: 39) also translated this expression as ‘the inner and outer chief ministers’.

⁹⁰ Mackerras (1968: 111) translated this title as ‘chief ministers’.

⁹¹ Similarly, according to the *XTS* (217B.6148), the Kyrgyz (Xiajiasi 黠戛斯) had seven ministers (*zaixiang*). These records in the *XTS* also look similar to the expression *Nine Buyruqs* (*toquz buyruq*) mentioned in Tes S4 (Aydın 2018: 37; Ōsawa 1999: 160–161) and Tariat S4 (Aydın 2018: 43; Katayama 1999: 169, 171) which provide information regarding Uyghur administrative organization.

⁹² It is seen that Uyghur statesmen called *Zaixiang* by the Chinese sources did not necessarily carry the title *Buyruq* all the time. For examples, it is stated in the *JTS* (195.5205–5206) that the Uyghur statesmen Moduo Baya Tarqan (Moduo Mohe Dagan 磨咄莫賀達干), Tun Baya Tarqan (Tun Mohe Dagan 墩莫賀達干), Hudu Bilgä Sängün (Hudu Pijia Jiangjun 護都毗伽將軍), Jiela Boyla Tarqan (Jiela Peiluo Dagan 揭拉裴羅達干) and *Buyruq* Uluy Sängün (Boy)la Tarqan (Meilu Da Jiangjun Luo Dagan 宰相梅錄大將軍羅達干) were all *Zaixiang*, but it is observed that only one of them was a *Buyruq*. These statesmen that were *Zaixiang* were listed in the *XTS* (217A.6120) as ‘Moduo Baya Tarqan, Tun Baya Tarqan and others (Moduo Mohe Dagan, Tun Mohe Dagan deng 磨咄莫賀達干、墩莫賀達干等)’. The Uyghur Minister Hudi Bilgä Sängün (Huige Zaixiang Hudi Pijia Jiangjun 迴紇宰相護地毗伽將軍) and the Minister *Buyruq* Uluy Sängün (Zaixiang Meilu Da Jiangjun 宰相梅錄大將軍) were, as seen above, also mentioned in the *JTS* (195.5206) in the same place. Tun Baya Tarqan (Dun Mohe Dagan 頓莫賀達干), who killed Bögü Qayan and ascended to the Uyghur throne, was described in the *JTS* (195.5208) and *XTS* (217A.6121) as Bögü Qayan’s minister (*zaixiang*). An Ādiz Tutuq (Xiedie Dudu 跌跌都督, governor of the Ādiz tribe) is mentioned in the *XTS* (217A.6123) as the minister (*zaixiang*) of the Uyghur Qaghan. Again in the *JTS* we encounter the statesman Uyghur Great Minister İl Ögäsi (Huige Da Jiang Xie Ganjiasi 迴紇大相頡干迦斯) who fought with the Tibetans (Tubo 吐蕃; *JTS* 195.5209), and is also mentioned as *Uyghur Great Commander İl Ögäsi* (Huige Da Jiang Xie Ganjiasi 迴紇大將頡干迦斯; *JTS* 195.5208).



‘Bakan’. As mentioned above, the inscriptions describe the rank *Buyruq* as an important position very close to the Qaghans. However, the term ‘Minister’ we use today has the meaning of a high official specialized in one field (such as *Minister of Defence*, *Secretary of Agriculture*, *Minister of Education*, *Foreign Minister*, etc.). We do not possess any certain finds regarding *Buyruqs* having such a characteristic. Besides, it has been claimed that other usages of the term *Ič* (Inner) in the Türk Qaghanate existed as *Ič Čor*, which is seen within the title *Köl Ič Čor*. However, there were other scholars who read this title as *Köllig Čor* > *Köli Čor*, *Kül İč Čor* and *Küli Čor*.⁹³

As to Sümer (1999: 34), he objected to the translation of *Buyruq* as a high military rank or commander, noting that *Buyruq* was a title carried by statesmen who always accompanied the Qaghans. According to Clauson (1972: 387), *Buyruq* was an official title in the early periods, which was a general term used for all officials who received orders from the Qaghans, dealing with civilian or military matters. Hence, he has always translated the word *Buyruq* seen in the examples given above as ‘Officer’. Şirin (2006: 227–228) accepted the opinions of both Clauson and Kafesoğlu, emphasizing that Clauson’s explanation was the most plausible. As already mentioned, Ergin gave one of the meanings of *Buyruq* as ‘Yüksek Memur (High Officer)’. Having conducted one of the significant studies on the title *Buyruq*, Dobrovits (2011: 10–12) stated that those who carried the title *Buyruq* in the Second Türk Qaghanate were high-ranking officials who were in the retinue of rulers together with Tarqans and Şadapīts, thus having significant places in the administrative system of the empire. In his view, *Buyruqs* filled an important role among Central Asian Turks during their process of early state formation. When ruling dynasties separated from tribal organization and started possessing independent power elites by relying on their own retinues, they formed their retinues from these *Buyruqs*. *Buyruqs* carried out various duties given to them by the ruler or their ministers and top officials while still not tasked with significant duties. Dobrovits has likened the *Buyruqs* with the *Comes*⁹⁴ in the Carolingian Empire.⁹⁵ The author of this paper is also inclined to the opinion that the equivalent of *Buyruq* is ‘High Official’. Hence, as we can also see in the case of the title *Bäg*, some titles could possess a wider and more general meaning (Erkoç 2008: 155–165). In this case, it would be more proper to translate the Old Turkic title *Buyruq* more as ‘Official’ or ‘Bureaucrat’ like Clauson did, rather than ‘Minister’ or ‘Commander’. Apart from that, we can also consider that the Old Turkic equivalent of the Arabic title *Amir* could be *Buyruq* rather than *Bäg* as generally thought, because both words derived from the verb ‘to order’.⁹⁶

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it can be stated that the title *Buyruq* was used during the 6th to the 13th centuries by various Turko-Mongol and steppe groupings and polities such as the Türks, Türgish, Kyrgyz, Uyghurs, Qarakhanids, Khazars, Bulgars, Magyars, Tatars, Naimans, Betekins and Kereyids.

⁹³ Aydın 2017: 129–131, 134–140; Erkoç 2008: 171–172; Mert 2015: 3, 35, 48–49, 51, 53–54, 56–58, 65–69, 71, 74–79, 90; Ölmez 2012: 199–205; Şirin User 2009: 135–136.

⁹⁴ Dobrovits (2011: 12) has explained the *Comes* as such: ‘Bunlar ilk olarak imparatorların maiyetinde bulunup onları temsilen çeşitli görevleri üstlendikten sonra önce vali ve sonra doğrudan kontrolden çıkıp yarı müstakil vasallar oldular.’

⁹⁵ For another work of Dobrovits on the title *Buyruq* that he wrote in Hungarian, see 2002: 49–61.

⁹⁶ For detailed explanations regarding *Buyruq* to be the equivalent of *Amir*, see Şirin User 2006: 228.



This title derives from the verb *buyur-* meaning ‘to order’. Numerous and varied opinions regarding the meaning of this title have been put forth so far. When historical sources are examined, it is observed that people who carried this title held various offices such as advisor, envoy, ruler, commander, official, chamberlain, governor and assistant. In some cases, Buyruqs served other rank-holding people apart from the Qaghans. Besides, this title was not a separate title among administrative titles seen in Turko-Mongol polities such as *Yabyu*, *Šad*, *Tigin*, *Irkin*, *Iltäbär*, *Čor* and *Tarqan*; on the contrary, it was given to people who held various titles. Hence, it can be observed in various sources that people possessing titles like *Apa*, *Čabiš*, *Čor*, *Irkin*, *Ögä*, *Sängün*, *Tarqan*, *Tigin* and *Tutuq* carried the title *Buyruq* at the same time.

Regarding the historical process of this title’s usage, it is first encountered in the Türk Qaghanate, where Buyruqs were significant officials standing next to the Qaghan and dealing with the affairs of the state, and there was an Inner Buyruq on top of them. Chinese sources describe Buyruqs of the Türk Qaghanate to be ministers while officials carrying this title went to China as envoys. Apart from the Qaghans, other members of the Türk dynasty also had Buyruqs in their retinues. Buyruqs of the Türgish Qaghans seem to have functioned similar to those of the Türks; although the Kyrgyz also used this title, its meaning and function among them is unknown. Inscriptions from the Orkhon Uyghur Qaghanate frequently mention Buyruqs serving the Qaghans and other members of the dynasty, but differing from the Türk Qaghanate, the Uyghurs had Heads of Inner Buyruqs and Great Buyruqs as well. Chinese sources contain records indicating that Uyghur Buyruqs acted as military commanders and envoys in China. According to documents from the later Uyghur polities in Gansu and Qocho, Buyruqs served as officials, officers, governors and ministers of Uyghur rulers and princes. Khotanese and Chinese sources mention Uyghur Buyruqs functioning as state officials, ministers and envoys during this period. Uyghur, Khotanese and Chinese sources also demonstrate that the title *Buyruq* was sometimes written as *Buryuq* and *Biruq*. The Qarakhanids, continuing administrative traditions of the Türks and Uyghurs, used *Buyruq* and *Biruq* for officials, both in administrative and military contexts.

Although there is no direct evidence of the usage of *Buyruq* in the Khazar Qaghanate, Hun-garian terms like *Ūr* (‘tribal chieftain’) and *Bíró* (‘city administrator, village headman’) might have been Old Turkic loanwords borrowed from the Khazars. A *Viryiy* (*Buyruq*) appears to have ruled over the Suvars, one of the vassals of the Volga Bulgars. Various Turko-Mongol polities established in Mongolia after the Orkhon Uyghur Qaghanate such as the Tatars, Naimans, Betekins and Kereyids appear to have used the title *Buyruq* (witnessed in the sources as *Buyuruq*) exclusively for their rulers, a major shift from the earlier Türk, Uyghur and Qarakhanid administrative traditions. Among these polities, this title was always used combined with the title *Khan*. The reason why *Buyruq* became a title of rulers during this period might be because it was used with the meaning ‘giving order’ instead of ‘receiving order’. The word *buyruq*, written with a variety of forms, continued to be used in later Turkic dialects such as Chaghatay, Khwarezm, Kipchak, Ottoman, Kyrgyz, Kazakh and Qaray, not as a title usually, but only with the meaning ‘order, command and decree’.

The conclusion reached in this study implies that, instead of being only the equivalent of the terms ‘Minister’ or ‘Commander’, the title *Buyruq* indicated a position held by high officials who carried various administrative titles but were tasked by their rulers, generally meaning ‘having received an order’.



ABBREVIATIONS

AY: *Altun Yaruq*; BQI: Bilgä Qaghan Inscription; CFYG: *Cefu Yuanguai* 冊府元龜; E: Eastern Side; HS: *Hanshu* 漢書; JTS: *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書; KTI: Köl Tigin Inscription; MTT: Manichäisch-Türkische Texte; N: Northern Side; r.: reigned; S: Southern Side; SHM: *The Secret History of the Mongols* (*Mongyol-un Ni'ucha Tobčiyān, Yuanchao Mishi* 元朝秘史); SJ: *Shiji* 史記; TD: *Tongdian* 通典; THY: *Tang Huiyao* 唐會要; W: Western Side; XTS: *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書; ZZTJ: *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑.

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