

'Bir Kuşak Bir Yol' Kapsamında Çin-Türkiye İşbirliği Forumu
Türkiye 2. Çin Araştırmaları Konferansı

“一带一路”中土合作论坛
暨土耳其第二届中国学会议

论文集

27 Nisan 2017 – Ankara

2017年4月27日 · 安卡拉



中国对外文化交流协会
China International Cultural Exchange Association



东方文化研究计划
The Eastern Culture Research Project

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大会组织单位简介 Organize Komitesi Tanıtımı

中国对外文化交流协会

中国对外文化交流协会成立于1986年7月3日，是中华人民共和国文化和旅游部直接指导和支持下从事民间文化交流的非营利性全国社会团体，其宗旨是通过开展同各国之间的民间文化交流与合作，繁荣人类的文化事业，增进中国人民同世界各国人民之间的相互了解与友谊。协会在平等互利的基础上，同世界各国有关机构就人员互访，资料交换，举办文艺演出、展览、国际比赛和文化学术研讨等事项进行交流与合作。

协会成立以来，组织了几百起对外文化交流活动。如：协会代表团访问了匈牙利、土耳其、越南、瑞典、葡萄牙和菲律宾等40多个国家，同时也接待了匈牙利、法国和日本等近百个国家的访华代表团；已组派包括各个剧种在内的逾百个艺术团赴法国、瑞士、日本、葡萄牙、荷兰、西班牙等国和非洲访演；在法国和秘鲁等国家举办了《中国五千年文明展》等30余个展览；协会积极引进外国优秀文化，已邀请日本、法国、瑞士、德国和土耳其等近百个外国艺术团来华演出；另外，还举办了《罗丹艺术大展》、《外国人眼中的中国摄影展》等30余个各类展览。协会常年举办的国际艺术节等系列活动有青年艺术家推广扶持计划、中国国际青年艺术周、中国文化夏令营、东方快车和东方文化研究计划、艺术专业与管理人才国际交流项目等。

协会与各国文化界知名人士和热心文化交流事业的企业和民间机构建立了经常性的工作联系，如葡萄牙东方基金会、阿联酋迪拜阿维斯基金会、日本国际交流基金、日本日中友好会馆、越南越中文化交流中心、丹麦文化学会、匈牙利匈中经济文化交流发展协会、哥伦比亚卡利文化促进会和荷兰荷中友协等。

协会在与各国进行文化交流中坚持注重质量和社会效益，赢得了赞誉，也树立了协会特有的社会形象。



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中国文献中记载的回鹘汗国衰落 与蒙古帝国兴起时期的突厥人

中东科技大学 - 库比利·阿蒂克

从很久以前，突厥人在亚洲政治文化领域就一直发挥着重要作用。虽然突厥人使用不同的文本记下自己的语言并且为我们留下许多重要史料，但是，大部分与突厥人历史相关的文献都是采用非土耳其语记载的。其中，关于突厥各民族状况的已知最早记录，以及作为反映突厥各阶层的政治、社会和经济结构的详细记录，均是中国文献。

在中国、土耳其以及西方国家，突厥各民族在中国唐朝时期的历史一直被广泛研究。大部分一手、二手史料已经从汉语或其他语言翻译成土耳其语。^[1]除了这些翻译文献外，从土耳其共和国建立以来，还出现了大量关于突厥(Kök Türk)和回鹘汗国(Uighur Qaghanates)的出版物及论文。遗憾的是，在吉尔吉斯人入侵导致回鹘汗国灭亡之后，土耳其国内外就一直没有研究过突厥各族在东亚的历史。突厥各族的历史一直作为“伟大人民的历史”来对待处理。自从突厥人向西涌入中亚、伊朗、俄罗斯南部和小亚细亚以来，大部分关于突厥人历史的研究都转向突厥各民族在西方建立的各个新王朝。一些操突厥方言的部落仍然留在东亚，虽然数量不多，但在蒙古、西伯利亚南部都有发现。关于该时期东亚突厥部落的珍贵研究为数不多，其中之一就是 Isenbike Togan 的《草原部落的灵活性与局限性》(*Flexibility and Limitations in Steppe Formations*)。^[2]该书研究了克列惕(Kerait)部落，但是对于9世纪之后那些未建立过王朝或帝国的突厥部落的关注程度就非常有限。原因之一是史学家们把历史事件只看作是“伟大人民”的故事。因此，当涉及到成吉思汗和蒙古帝国兴起时，留在东亚的突厥部落在建立蒙古帝国过程中所发挥的重要作用却常常被忽略。契丹辽的情况也是如此。契丹辽娶回鹘萧部族女性为妻。回鹘族在建立辽以及晚些的金、元所起到的作用，都一直被弱化。尤其是在建立元朝过程中的作用，更是被弱化。因此，对留在从满洲里到阿尔泰山脉范围内东亚草原上的突厥各部落进行研究，将有助于填补这一空白，并且对突厥各族历史以及东段丝绸之路历史的研究，提供一个更全面的视角。

[1] 关于唐朝关于土耳其的文献的土耳其译文，请参阅：Wolfram Eberhard, *Çin'in Şimal Komşuları* (安卡拉：Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996); Isenbike Togan, Gülnar Kara, 和 Cahide Baysal, *Çin kaynaklarında Türkler: Eski T'ang Tarihi, Chiu T'ang-shu, 194A: "Türkler" bölümü: Açıklamalı Metin Neşri* (安卡拉：Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006); Edouard Chavannes, *Batı Türkleri, Tarih Dizisi* (安卡拉：Selenge, 2007); Mau Tsai Liu, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Doğu Türkleri, Tarih Dizisi* (安卡拉：Selenge, 2007).

[2] Isenbike Togan, 《草原部落的灵活性与局限性：克列惕可汗与成吉思汗，土耳其帝国及其遗产 15》*Flexibility and Limitation in Steppe Formations: The Kerait Khanate and Chinggis Khan, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage 15* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

中国价值最高、最重要、也可能是最知名的史料就是正史(官方史书,官修史书)。正史中,只有司马迁著的《史记》^[3]和欧阳修著的《新五代史》^[4]被译成其他语种。除了这两部官修史书外,《后汉书》^[5]《旧唐书》^[6]和《元史》^[7]中一些关于中国北方游牧部落的章节也被翻译成其他语言。这些官修史书研究的重点主要是“专论”,汉语中称之为“列传”。官修史书中包含某些片段、“本纪”或真实记录,就像是一个朝代统治者的编年史,从该王朝的开国皇帝开始写起,一直到该王朝的灭亡。在某些部分,“本纪”能提供一些关于突厥各部落作为草原的次级政治力量在辽代和金代所起到作用的线索。在这一时期,我们看到靺鞨、回鹘及其他突厥部落都积极遣使前往辽国及后来的金国,并与之结盟或进行战争。回鹘与契丹结盟抗击党项西夏,后来成为金的诸侯国,但还继续与契丹保持联系,例如契丹在中亚建立了喀喇契丹(黑契丹)国(Qara Khitai)。其他例子还包括,突厥部落曾是西夏与草原部落联盟克列惕部(Keraits)、乃蛮部(Naimans)和昂古兹部(Önggüts)之间联络人。这些事件在官修史书中都有据可查。不但关于突厥部落的某些“列传”为我们提供了非常珍贵的信息,“本纪”部分或其他部分也为我们提供了一些可能散佚的零星信息,填补了“列传”中的空白。

除了官修史书外,个人编纂的“野史”有时也能为我们提供正史中遗漏的信息。尤其是辽、金的野史中包含一些还需要加以分析的信息。因为这些部落起源于游牧或半游牧联盟,他们将突厥各部落纳入自己的体系。正如突厥(Kök Türks)和回鹘或任何其他游牧联盟,都不是只包括一个种族或语言群体,而是一个由不同种族和不同语言部落组成的群体,尤其契丹便是由几个突厥部落组成。上文提到,契丹外戚萧姓家族就是回鹘血统。此外,契丹还包括“希(xi)”和其他突厥部落。由于这些野史的存在,正史中关于这些部落的列传和其他信息可以进行验证,正史中缺失的信息也可以加以完善。关于辽代,《契丹国志》^[8]就是野史中的主要代表作,该书由叶隆礼撰写于十三世纪。该书不但披露了契丹自己定义的契丹人及其信仰与血统,而且澄清了契丹和其邻国之间(包括突厥各部落)的关系。关于金代的类似作品《大金国志》^[9]也是此类野史的另一个很好案例。除了这些关于辽代、金代的史书外,其他野史中也有涉及草原游牧民族的相关主题。譬如在宋代文献中我们也可以看到出使使节关于各部落的

[3] 司马迁,《史记》(北京:中华书局,2005);司马迁, *The Grand Scribe's Records: The Memoirs of Pre-Han China*, trans. Tsai Fa Cheng (Bloomington: 印第安纳大学出版社,1994);司马迁, *Records of the Grand Historian*, trans. Burton Watson (纽约:哥伦比亚大学出版社,2011)。

[4] 欧阳修,《二十四史·新五代史》:(北京:中华书局,2000),欧阳修, *Historical Records of the Five Dynasties*, trans. Richard Davis, 2nd ed. (纽约:哥伦比亚大学出版社,2013)。

[5] 汉语版参阅:范晔等,《后汉书》(北京:中华书局,1976)。英语版参阅:John E. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome: A Study of the Silk Routes During the Later Han Dynasty 1st to 2nd Centuries CE: An Annotated Translation of the Chronicle on the "Western Regions" in the Hou Hanshu* (Hill, John E. 《从玉门关到罗马:东汉时期1—2世纪的丝绸之路研究,后汉书中西域编年史译注》) (Seattle: BookSurge Publishing, 2009)。土耳其语版,参阅:Ayşe Onat, *Çin Kaynaklarında Türkler: Han Hanedanı Tarihinde "Ban Bölgeleri," Türk Tarihinin Kaynakları 4* (安卡拉: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2012)。

[6] 汉语校注版参阅:刘昫,《旧唐书》,200卷,二十四史:(北京:中华书局,1975)。除了土耳其语版外,《旧唐书》还有其他译文版本:Edouard Chavannes, *Documents Sur Les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1942); Mau Tsai Liu, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken*, Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen 10 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1958)。

[7] 汉语校注版参阅:宋濂,《二十四史·元史》:(北京:中华书局,2000)。

[8] 《契丹国志》汉语校注版参阅:林荣贵,贾敬颜,契丹国志,第一版,中国史学基本典籍丛刊(北京:中华书局,2014)。

[9] 《大金国志》汉语校注版参阅:宇文懋昭、崔文印,《大金国志校证》,第1版,中国史学基本典籍丛刊(北京:中华书局,1986)。

报告。尤其是关于北朝政治动乱期间的报告中关于留在草原的突厥各部落的政治结构及其他细节的描述,为我们提供了珍贵的信息。^[10] 其中一个部落是昂古兹部(Önggüts),说一种突厥方言,信仰景教(聂斯托利安教),他们在女真金国担负了边境守备部队的职责,也被称为Aq鞑鞑或白鞑鞑。在蒙古入侵早期,宋朝驻喀喇鞑鞑或其他鞑鞑的使节中就有昂古兹部落(Önggüts)的人。除此之外,在其他任何文献都没有发现关于居住在内蒙古中部地区和甘肃部分地区昂古兹部落的信息。

除了这些相对常规的来源之外,中国文人作品中也常有关于突厥各部落的日常生活或社会生活其他方面的记载。这些文人或是任职于汉族曾与其他少数民族接壤的北方边境省份,或是担任北方或西北地区的使节,他们留下的日记或游历笔记,澄清了关于突厥历史中各种不同的细节问题。正如曾陪同成吉思汗西征的耶律楚材撰写的旅行笔记《西游录》。^[11]

中国文献中其他例子都能直接或间接为我们提供关于留在欧亚草原东部未西迁的突厥各部落的信息。关于这些部落以及其他部落在这一时期更详细的信息,也能为我们提供了解蒙古在该地区崛起的线索。尽管这些部落没能建立自己的帝国,但他们在历史中仍然发挥过重要作用。而且,要全面了解该时期的历史,中国关于他们的记载也值得史学家们关注。在中国宋、元时期的文献中较多地提及了这些部落,而在唐朝文献中则相对较少。但是,那些出使北方的外交使节,或进行与这些部落完全不相关的政治谈判人员,可能会引用到此地区及其部落相关的社会、政治和经济结构方面的信息。虽然这些文献被儒家伦理的偏见所曲解,但从史学家来说,对这些文献的批判性解读可能会为我们提供常规来源中所缺失的一些深层信息。

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[10] 《两宋出使蒙古》汉语校注版和不同语种版参阅: Daya Peng, 黑鞑事略校注 [Heida Shilue Jiaozhu] (兰州: 兰州大学出版社, 2014); Yuanzhong Cao, 蒙鞑备录 [蒙鞑备录校注: 北方蒙古和鞑鞑研究报告] (北京: 北京 Airusheng shuzihua 技术研究中心, 2009); Hong Zhen, Guoxiong Wang, and Hong Meng, *Mэн-да бэй-лу: "Полное описание Монголо-Татар": факсимиле ксилографа [Men-da bei-lu: "Polnoye opisaniye Mongolo-Tatar": faksimile ksilografa: Meng Da Bei-lu: "Full description of the Mongol-Tatar": facsimile woodcut]*, ed. Lazer Isacovich Duman, trans. Nikolai Munkuev (莫斯科: Nauka, 1975); Peter Olbricht 和 Elisabeth Pinks, *Meng-Ta Pei Lu Und Hei-Ta Shih-Lieh: Chinesische Gesandtenberichte Über Die Frühen Mongolen 1221 Und 1237*, ed. Erich Haenisch, *Asiatische Forschungen* 56 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980).

[11] 耶律楚材, 西游录, 向达校注 (北京: 中华书局, 1981).

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TURKS IN THE CHINESE SOURCES BETWEEN THE COLLAPSE OF THE UIGHUR QAGHANATE AND THE RISE OF THE MONGOL EMPIRE

Kubilay Atik^[1]

Turkic peoples have been an important player in the political and cultural arena of Asia since very early times onwards. Despite the fact that Turkic peoples have used different scripts to write in their own language and have left us many important materials, the majority of the sources related to the history of the Turks remain to be in languages other than Turkic dialects. Among these, Chinese sources have an important place both for being among the earliest known records regarding the Turkic peoples and for being meticulous about the political, social and economic structures of the Turkic societies.

The history of the Turkic peoples has been studied widely both in China and Turkey as well as the west for the period covering the Tang dynasty. Most of the primary and secondary sources have been translated into Turkish from Chinese or from the translations in other languages.^[2] In addition to these translations, there have been numerous publications as well as dissertations on the K k T rk and Uighur Qaghanates in Turkey beginning from the early years of the republic. Unfortunately, the history of the Turkic peoples in East Asia after the collapse of the Uighur Qaghanate as a result of the Kyrgyz invasions has not been studied in detail both in Turkey and abroad. The history of the Turkic peoples has been approached as the “history of the great men”. Since the influx of Turkic people’s westwards towards Central Asia, Iran, Southern Russia, and Anatolia, the majority of studies on the history of the Turks shifted towards the new dynasties established by the Turkic peoples in the west whereas some tribes speaking Turkic dialects remained in East Asia and can still be found in parts of Mongolia and southern Siberia though in small numbers. One of the few precious studies about the Turkic tribes in East Asia for this period is Isenbike Togan’s *Flexibility and Limitations in Steppe*

[1] Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli University, Department of History

[2] For translations of the Tang sources on the Turks into Turkish see: Wolfram Eberhard, *Çin'in Şimal Komşuları* (安卡拉: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996); Isenbike Togan, Gülnar Kara, and Cahide Baysal, *Çin kaynaklarında Türkler: Eski T'ang Tarihi, Çhiu T'ang-shih 194A: "Türkler" bölümü: Açıklamalı Metin Neşri* (安卡拉: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006); Edouard Chavannes, *Bah Türkleri, Tarih Dizisi* (安卡拉: Selenge, 2007); Mau Tsai Liu, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Doğu Türkleri, Tarih Dizisi* (安卡拉: Selenge, 2007).

Formations^[3] which observes the Kerait tribe. But the general interest on the Turkic tribes who did not establish dynasties or empires after the 9th century is very limited. One of the reasons is the historian's approach to the past events as the story of great men. But when dealing with Jinggis Khan and the rise of the Mongolian Empire, the role that the Turkic tribes who remained in East Asia and played a very important role in the forging of the Mongolian Empire is mostly overlooked. The same is valid for the Khitan Liao Dynasty who took their brides from the Uighur Xiao clan. The Uighurs' role on the establishment of the Liao Dynasty and later on the Jin and especially the Yuan dynasties have been limited mostly to the Yuan dynasty. Therefore, a research on the Turkic tribes who remained on the East Asian steppe stretching from Manchuria to the Altai mountains would help to fill a gap and have a more comprehensive approach to the history of not only the Turkic peoples but also the eastern section of the silk road.

One of the most valuable and important and perhaps the most well-known type of the Chinese sources is the official histories. Among these, the only official histories to be translated into other languages are the *Shiji*^[4] of Sima Qian and the New History of the Five Dynasties of 欧阳修^[5]. Other than these two official histories, parts of *Hou Hanshu*^[6], *Jiu Tangshu*^[7], and *Yuanshi*^[8] have been translated into different languages as far as the nomadic tribes to the north of China are concerned. The focus of the studies on these official histories are mostly the monographies or *zhuan* (传) as they are called in Chinese. An official history has certain sections and *benji* (本纪) or the veritable records act as the chronicles of a dynasty's rulers beginning from the founder and ending with the collapse of the dynasty. The *benji* in some cases can give us clues about the role that the Turkic tribes played as secondary political actors on the steppe during especially the Liao and Jin dynasties. During this period, we see Tatar, Uighur and other Turkic tribes actively sending envoys to the Liao and later the Jin courts and allying or fighting against these dynasties. The Uighurs allied with the Khitans against the Tangut Xi Xia state, and later on became vassals to the Jin state but also continued to keep

[3] Isenbike Togan, *Flexibility and Limitation in Steppe Formations: The Kerait Khanate and Chinggis Khan, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage 15* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

[4] Sima Qian, *史记 [Shiji: Historical Records]* (北京: 中华书局, 2005); 司马迁, *The Grand Scribe's Records: The Memoirs of Pre-Han China*, trans. Tsai Fa Cheng (Bloomington: 印第安纳大学出版社, 1994); 司马迁, *Records of the Grand Historian*, trans. Burton Watson (纽约: 哥伦比亚大学出版社, 2011).

[5] 欧阳修, *新五代史 [Xin Wudaishi: The New History of the Five Dynasties]*, 二十四史: The Twenty-Four Histories (北京: 中华书局, 2000); 欧阳修, *Historical Records of the Five Dynasties*, trans. Richard Davis, 2nd ed. (纽约: 哥伦比亚大学出版社, 2013).

[6] For a Chinese version see: Ye Fan et al., *後漢書 [Hou Hanshu: The Book of Later Han]* (北京: 中华书局, 1976). For an English translation see: John E. Hill, *Through the Jade Gate to Rome: A Study of the Silk Routes During the Later Han Dynasty 1st to 2nd Centuries CE: An Annotated Translation of the Chronicle on the "Western Regions" in the Hou Hanshu* (Seattle: BookSurge Publishing, 2009). For a Turkish translation see: Ayşe Onat, *Çin Kaynaklarında Türkler: Han Hanedanı Tarihinde "Batı Bölgeleri," Türk Tarihinin Kaynakları 4* (安卡拉: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2012).

[7] For an annotated Chinese version see: Liu Xu, ed., *后唐书 [Jiu Tangshu: The Old Book of Tang]*, 200 vols., 二十四史: The Twenty-Four Histories (北京: 中华书局, 1975). In addition to the translations into Turkish, the following translations of *Jiu Tangshu* are also available: Edouard Chavannes, *Documents Sur Les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux* (Paris: Librairie d' Amerique et d' Orient, 1942); Mau Tsai Liu, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken*, Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen 10 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1958).

[8] For an annotated Chinese version see: Song Lian, *元史 [Yuanshi: History of Yuan]*, 二十四史: The Twenty-Four Histories (北京: 中华书局, 2000).

their contacts with the Khitans who established the Qara Khitai state in central Asia as an example. Other examples can be given as the alliances between the Xi Xia and the steppe confederations of the Keraites, Naimans and Önggüts. We can follow all these events in the official histories. While certain monographies about these tribes give us very valuable information, the benji sections as well as other sections also give us bits and pieces of information that might be missing and complete the gaps in the monographies.

Other than the official histories, the “unofficial” histories written by individuals also sometimes give us information that is missing in the official histories. Especially the unofficial histories of the Liao and the Jin dynasties contain information that still needs to be analyzed. Since these were originally nomadic or semi-nomadic tribal confederations, they included Turkic tribes within their ranks. Just as the Kōk Türks and Uighurs or any other nomadic confederation did not include only a single ethnic or linguistic group but rather was a gathering of tribes from different ethnic and linguistic origins, especially the Khitans consisted of several Turkic tribes. Their consort clan Xiao was of Uighur origin as mentioned before. But they also included Xi and other Turkic tribes and the monographs and other information in the official histories about these tribes can be verified or the missing information in the formal histories can be completed thanks to these histories. For the Liao dynasty, *Qidan Guozhi*^[9] is one of the main examples of such histories. Written by Ye Yongli during the 13th century, this history brings new light not only to the Khitan people and their beliefs and origins as defined by the Khitans themselves, this source also sheds light on the relations between the Khitans and their neighbors including the Turkic tribes. A similar work about the Jin dynasty is *Dajin Guozhi*^[10] written is another good example of these private histories. In addition to these histories about the Liao and Jin dynasties which also cover topics related to the nomadic steppe tribes, we also have Song dynasty documents such as envoy reports to the tribes especially during the times of political turmoil on the Northern dynasties give us valuable information about the political structure as well as other details of the Turkic tribes who remained on the steppe.^[11] One such tribe is the Önggüt tribe who spoke a Turkic dialect and who were Nestorian Christians. They acted as border garrisons for the Jurchen Jin dynasty and they were alternatively called as Aq Tatars or White Tatars. The Song embassies to the Qara Tatars and other Tatars during the early Mongol invasions included the Önggüts and there is information about

[9] For an annotated Chinese version of *Qidan Guozhi* see: Yan Jiajing and Gui Linrong, 契丹国志 [*Qidan Guozhi: History of Khitans*], 1st ed., 中国史学基本典籍丛刊 [Zhongguo Shixue Jiben Dianji Congkan: Basic Collections of Chinese Historiography] (北京: 中华书局, 2014).

[10] For an annotated Chinese version of *Dajin Guozhi* see: Yuwen Mao and Yin Cuiwen, 大金国志校证 [*Dajin Guozhi Xiaozheng: History of Great Jin with Annotations*], 1st ed., 中国史学基本典籍丛刊 [Zhongguo Shixue Jiben Dianji Congkan: Basic Collections of Chinese Historiography] (北京: 中华书局, 1986).

[11] For annotated Chinese versions and translations into different languages of two Song Missions to the Mongols see: Daya Peng, 黑鞑事略校注 [*Heida Shilue Jiaozhu*] (兰州: 兰州大学出版社, 2014); Yuanzhong Cao, 蒙鞑備錄 [*xiaozhu Mengda Beilu Xiaozhu: A Refined Report on the Mongols and Tatars to the North*] (北京: 北京 Airusheng shuzihua jishu yanjiu zhongxin, 2009); Hong Zhao, Guoxiong Wang, and Hong Meng, Мэн-да бэй-лу: “Полное описание Монголо-Татар”: факсимиле ксилографа [*Men-da bey-lu: “Polnoye opisaniye Mongolo-Tatar”: faksimile ksilografa: Meng Da Bei-lu: “Full description of the Mongol-Tatar”: facsimile woodcut*], ed. Lazar Iseevich Duman, trans. Nikolai Munkuev (Moscow: Nauka, 1975); Peter Olbricht and Elisabeth Pinks, *Meng-Ta Pei Lu Und Hei-Ta Shih-Lüeh: Chinesische Gesandtenberichte Über Die Frühen Mongolen 1221 Und 1237*, ed. Erich Haenisch, *Asiatische Forschungen* 56 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980).

the Önggüt tribes who lived in central parts of Inner Mongolia and partly in Gansu that cannot be found anywhere else.

In addition to these more conventional sources, small references to the tribes, or details of their daily life or other aspects of their social life can sometimes be gathered in literary writings of the Chinese literati who either served on the Northern border provinces where Han Chinese have lived side by side by other ethnicities to this day, or the diaries or journey books of the envoys to the Northern and Western regions shed light on different details about the history of the Turks as can be seen in the Xiyoulu^[12] which is the journey diary of Yelü Chucai who accompanied Jinggis on his Kharazmian campaign westwards.

Other examples can be given about the Chinese sources which directly or indirectly provide us information about the Turkic tribes who did not immigrate westwards and remained on the eastern part of the Eurasian steppe. More meticulous studies about these tribes along with tribes of other ethnicities for the period will also give us clues about the rise of the Mongol power in this region and despite not being able to establish empires of their own, these tribes played important roles in history nonetheless and Chinese sources about them deserve attention for the historian to have a more complete picture of this period. They seem to be present in Chinese literature of the Song and Yuan era, though to a lesser extent compared to the Tang period, but people who joined embassy missions to the north or sometimes political and philosophical treatises completely unrelated to these tribes may cite information related to the social, political or economic structures of this area and the tribes within it. Although these works will be tainted by prejudices of the Confucian elite and cannot be trusted at their face value from a historian's point of view, a critical reading of such works might provide us some further information that is missing in the more conventional sources.

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[12] Chucai Yelü, 西遊錄 [*Xiyoulu: Record of Journey to West*], ed. Da Xiang (北京 : 中华书局, 1981).

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