

**BULLETIN OF NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN**

ISSN 1991-3494

Volume 1, Number 383 (2020), 172 – 177

<https://doi.org/10.32014/2020.2518-1467.21>

UDC 94"04/15":94(574)

**L. K. Zhusupova<sup>1</sup>, K. U. Torlanbayeva<sup>2</sup>, E. K. Zhusupov<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Pavlodar State University named after S. Toraygyrov, Pavlodar, Kazakhstan;

<sup>2</sup>University of Turan and Institute of History and Ethnology, Almaty, Kazakhstan.

E-mail: zusipova@mail.ru, torlanbayeva@mail.ru: laura\_zusip@mail.ru

**THE CONTENT OF POWER AND GOVERNMENT  
IN CENTRAL ASIAN NOMADS**

**Abstract.** The article submitted for publication contains an analysis of the power-management system of Central Asian nomads. The focus of such tasks as:

– Analysis of military power, the cult of a warrior in the history of the evolution of the tribal power of the leader in ancient and medieval Central Asia in the context of the theory of chiefdom, neoevolutionism, aggressive and commercial theories of political genesis, evolutionary theories of the matrilineal and patrilineal development of the society;

– Study and analysis of the power authority of the tribal power through the system of titles and ranks in the Hunnu, Turkic, Oghuz, Karakhanid, Khitan, Seljuqid states, description and study of the terminology of Chinese texts on ranks and ranks, functions of officials and tribal chiefs, the role of a titled aristocracy in the management system nomadic polities.

**Key words:** history, Central Asia, polities, power, titulatura, nomads.

Nomadism belongs to the components of the world-historical processes, and the territory of Kazakhstan was its key area, here cattle breeding was the main way of doing business. In the vast territory of the steppe zone of Central Asia, from the antiquity to the colonial era, nomadic politicians have played a significant role. According to written sources of authentic and external nature, nomad societies have left the original and local forms of political organization with inherent tribal relations as the most stable structure of social relations. As J. Haas writes: «The question of the origin of the state is mainly the question of how and why on the long way of the evolution of culture in society there were originally formalized institutions of governance» [1, p.19]. In our opinion, the study of the institution of political power reflects the problem of studying the institutions of governance in nomadic societies, as a variant of the evolution of the statehood of Central Asian peoples.

In the present article, we focused on the study of the content of the institution of power as a system of social and political management in the Central Asian nomads of the ancient and early medieval periods.

The purpose of this article is a comprehensive analysis of the content of power and control of the nomads.

To accomplish this, the following tasks were undertaken:

– Analysis of military power, the cult of a warrior in the history of the evolution of the tribal power of the leader in ancient and medieval Central Asia in the context of the theory of chiefdom, neoevolutionism, aggressive and commercial theories of political genesis, evolutionary theories of the matrilineal and patrilineal development of the society;

– Study and analysis of the power authority of the tribal power through the system of titles and ranks in the Hunnu, Turkic, Oghuz, Karakhanid, Khitan, Seljuqid states, description and study of the terminology of Chinese texts on ranks and ranks, functions of officials and tribal chiefs, the role of a titled aristocracy in the management system nomadic polities.

From the late Bronze Age and the Iron Age in the nomadic society, the cult of a warrior begins to claim the right of a centrally forming military power with the corresponding redistributive functions - leader,

leader, ruler. The cult of the warrior began to manifest itself in connection with the cultivation of the horse for war, revealed the great endurance and strength of men, the cult of the warrior became the leader in the culture of nomads. The image of Maude (Maodun) - shanuyu in the annals is exceptionally bellicose, it is a warrior, leader, ruler of the steppe power. His famous receiver was Laoshan-shanyu, whose image repeated the features of Mode, as a warrior, the winner of Yuezhi, Dunhu, Hun. The formation of the Hunnu Empire was accompanied by a change of political domination in the Steppe, the nomadic society acted under the name of the Hunnu, and the acts of conquering the Yuezhzhi and Dunhu were accompanied by military victories, migrations and the disappearance of their references in the chronicles in the territory under the subjugated Hun.

In Turkic society, every man who reached the age of initiation became a warrior (Turkic *er*) - this is all a free adult male population, capable of carrying arms. Before reaching the *er*-warrior age, boys, teenagers, and male children were in the category «*oyu, uri*», among which «*beg oyu*», born with «prescribed» status [2, p.145], are distinguished. According to Yu.A. Zuev on the hundredth organization, in which the «hundred» is the second division of the decimal system, the oldest form of the calculation of the tenthsystem of the military-tribal organization of the Turkic society, this age group performed intelligence and alert functions with respect to the tribe, but its main purpose was to teach military affairs in chapter with a respected warrior. The transition to the age group of an adult member of society enshrined the military's military and rank functions, given titles. Age stratification was reflected in the ethnosocial organization of the entire Turkic society [3, p.95-100].

Kagan stood at the head of the category of *er*-warriors, i.e. Turkic society-troops and thought worthy to manage it. Moreover, it was not just an army - it was a Turkic *el*, a kaganate. Among the category of *er*-warrior Turkic memorials highlight the most illustrious *alp-er* - hero warriors. The warrior-hero became the key figure in the epic tales of the Turkic peoples. The main function of the kagan and its troops was the non-economic activity «to acquire» (the Turkic *qazy* - to earn, conquer) the means of subsistence, this function is assigned to the kagans, and is connected with distribution (distribution) and redistribution (redistribution) mechanisms.

In the world outlook, there is also a process of asserting the legitimate right to the power of the clan in the male line, associated with the cult of the heavenly deity. The appearance of the idea of the Father-Heaven is fixed in the Indo-European cultural tradition, in which the Father-Heaven is the supreme Indo-European deity [4, p.791-792]. A.K. Akishu holds the hypothesis that from the 1st millennium BC. and right up to the early Middle Ages throughout the whole of Central Asia, one of the religions was Saka Mithraism - the polytheistic religion with the cult of the god Mitra - the solar god, the guarantor of the union of different types: «Saka Mithraism was basically a» male «religion, an essential role in it belonged to the warrior-horsemen» [5, p.25,28]. This «religion» on the vast territory of cattle-breeding societies contributed to the cult of the rider-rider cult, which can be traced through archaeological materials: burials with horses, tsar's burial mounds, lack of armament items in burial mounds, which indicates the ranking of a society where only warriors had burial rights with weapons [6, p.71].

For the Turkic authentic written heritage, a unique case of a clear representation of the origin of the male warrior and male offspring from the heavenly deity is recorded. The "heavenly" origin of the male warrior father (Turk *er*) is fixed in the Yenisei inscription (E-53), which originates from the area in the right-bank part of the middle reaches of the river. Eleget [7, p.279-281]. In this lapidary inscription is transmitted the idea of the allocation of kinship in the male line (the blue sky - the husband - the male offspring - the husband-warrior). The relationship of the father is based on the idea of the heavenly-solar tradition as opposed to the lunar-terrestrial, maternal, prior tradition and the whole complex of representations of the Sarmatian-Yueji period. His Turkic written fixation on the stone is the most significant confirmation of the strengthening of the position of father's law among the nomadic tribes of the Central Asian steppes. The sovereign power of the Turkic Khagans was based on the connection of the kagan with the deity of Tengri, "unbegottenness" and "heavenliness" is affirmed by the prerogative of only the Khagans of Ashina [8]. Genealogical legends about the origin of Usun and Ashin repeat each other, pointing to the distinctive feature of their socio-political organization and world view.

The cult of the warrior formed the social, political and ideological foundations for the formation of the supreme authority of the leaders. According to the theory of chiefdom, tribal chiefs became the basis of the

centripetal power, which helped develop the many other leaders endowed with this or that title, functions, rank, but belonging to the same tribal system of relations.

Chinese chronicles have fixed a complex and harmonious system of the tiutulno-ranking system of the Hunnu Empire. In studies on the project, a group of Sinologists gave their vision of this structure in the form of a hierarchy of titles and ranks. Relying on Chinese sources, the founder of the Hunnish state Mete (Mode Shanuy), the kagan ruled the country, dividing it into four parts. The central part of the rules itself, and gave the remaining parts to his sons, the eastern part of the left Bilge khan, the western part to the right Bilge khan, and the far-landed lands gave the khans to the Western Khan bearing the title. Total 24 levels of rulers were in power in the Hun state and subordinated to the Great Khagan. Approximately, they can be listed: the left wing of the Bilge kagan, the right wing of Bilge Khan, the yabgu (the chief vizier), the kut of the left wing, the right wing kut, the left wing han, the khan of the right wing, the left wing of the Ulug Sangun (general), the right wing of the smiley sung, smile tutk bek of the left wing, uluk tutuk bek of the right wing, uluk kazyna bek of the left wing, uluk kazyna bay of the right wing, batys khan, tumen basses, thousandths, centurions, foremen, and others.

For the Turkic period, a system of titles for Western Turks, Turgeshes, Oguzes, Karakhanids and Seljukids was described. In several Chinese chronicles a list of Turkic titles, eastern and western Turks is given. Traditionally, these titles are presented in order of decreasing the power of their owners. In Zhou Shu, Bei Shee and Sui Shu, the list of these record of the main «ranks and titles» is as follows: after the kagan and his wife katun are listed yabgu (Chinese hu), shad/chad (Chinese sha/shee/cha), tegin (Chinese Tele, Tetzin), Elteber (Chinese Sylefa) and Tudun. In Tan Shu, in addition to the titles mentioned above, there are chor (Chinese zho/cho), apa (Chinese abo), and Irkin (Chinese sytzin).

In the old version of Tang shu (Tszyu Tan Shu), the title of Tarkan is also mentioned. From these schematic lists of Chinese chronicles it is clear that the highest title was considered to be kagan. The place and significance of katuns, whose title invariably accompanies the title of kagan, has not been determined. Then the titles yabgu, shad and tegin are important. The title yabgu-kagan was fixed and became the hereditary title for the rulers of the western side of the Turkic kaganate, i.e. Western Turks. The Arab-Persian authors preserve information about the titles of the Oguzes, the main components of which were yabgu (jabgu, baigu), kol-erkin (erkin), shubashis, inalas, orki, tarhans and beks.

The system of titles and ranks in the management system of the Huns and Turks was not differentiated from tribal relations, moreover, it had an inherited character and only when the empire was added as a super-identity did the system of governors in the agricultural regions of the empire arise.

In 907 the East Mongolian tribes of the Khitan managed to create their powerful Khanate called Kidan-Liao, the Liao state. Studies Bakhtiyar Tursunov [9], who studied the state structure and administrative-military ranks, set out a systemized system of titles and ranks taken from the Khitan.

1. Organ sofa (the central seat of the government), there were institutions of military affairs, administration, industry, internal affairs of the khanate rate, laws and institutions for punishment, order control bodies.

2. The body for the protection of the khan horde, performed the functions of protecting the khan's stakes and protecting government objects.

3. The establishment of the officials of the khan's tent (Horde), performed the functions of overseeing the rioters, providing the khan's tent with papers, feathers, ink, seals, lamps and everything necessary.

4. Establishment of the community of the khan's tent (household, khan's clan), consisting of: soldiers of personal protection, responsible for the security of the khan's family, heirs of the throne, heads of the tents of the princess-malik, officials.

5. The tent of strangers - this body directed the affairs of the elders of subordinate peoples like Bukhai and Shy.

6. The establishment of the Horde was responsible for various cases of permanent and temporary hordes.

7. The tribal organ, this body ruled over the Khitan and other settlements, was appointed by the imperial decree in different places by local governors-governors.

8. The military affairs body, which included the main military headquarters, which was headed by Vali Ahdi and heirs, bodies under the leadership of the viziers and commanders-in-chief. The same body included

the Eastern District, the Western District, the Great Sangun, the headquarters of military defenders, the military institutions of the Khitan and the conquered tribes.

9. The body of military campaigns carried out the functions of planning military campaigns, intelligence, commanding the right, left and central wings-troops.

10. The body for the supervision and development of goods of artisans, pastoralists and the maintenance of especially valuable birds and animals.

Such a complex management system in the Liao Empire was determined by the influence of China, the desire to balance the management system of pastoral and agricultural areas. In the western regions of Central Asia, we also note the increasing complexity of the system of titles and management, including agricultural and pastoral areas.

A more complex system of titles and management is fixed in the states of the Karakhanids and the Seljukids. B. Kochnev, the coins identified on the coins engraved in the Karakhanid era were divided into three groups: Turkic (2846 times - 64.8%); Arab (used 1406 times - 31.9%); Persian-Tajik (used 144 times - 3.3%) [10, p.32]. The scientists identified five main Turkic titles, which are found on the coins that survived to us from the Karakhanids - khakan (kagan) or khan, ig, tegin, yoga and jog [11, p.9].

The Arab titles of the Karahanids are represented by such titles as sultan (sultan ash-Sharq wa-sin «sultan of the East and Sina» and ulug sultan as-salatin «great sultan of sultans»), malik ([al-] malik al-Islam, al-malik al-Mashrik, malik al-Mashrik wa-s-Shin), amir (amir al-madarah, «amir amirs», mawla amir al-mu'minin «client of the Amir believers») [10, p.22]. The Persian-Tajik titles were characterized by the titles of dikhkan, pakhlavan (pakhlavan ash-Shark), shah, padha [x], shahanshah, malikshah (malikshah al-a-zam), sanjar (sanjar al-a'zam) [10, p.23].

The highest dignitary in the empire of the Great Seljuks was her ruler - the Sultan. The first Seljuqid, who took this title, became Togrul bey, who, after another victory over Mesud Gaznevi in 1038, ascended the throne in Nishapur [11, p.28]. In Nishapur and Beihaq the Khutb was read. In it, along with the name of the Abbasid caliph, his name was also mentioned, as well as the title – «The Great Sultan» («Sultan-ı a'zam») [12, p.329]. Thus, in the environment of the Oguzes, which belonged to the Kynyk Seljuq tribe, a new, already not Turkic, and Arabic title – «Sultan» was applied to the ruler, formerly known as «yabgu».

The Seljuks, in contrast to their predecessors Oghuz and Karahanids, had a management system based not on the bridle structure of political power, but based on the agricultural system. In managing the empire, the Seljuk sultan relied on the Great Sofa, which, in his absence, was headed by the Grand Vizier. This state body consisted of the following divans:

– *Divan-ı Tuğra ve İnşâ* (Divan-ı Tuğra ve insha). The main task of this department was the preparation of texts of the decrees of the Sultan, other documents of national importance, the conduct of diplomatic correspondence, correspondence with the rulers of the vassal states, governors of the provinces, and so on. The documents became valid after they were sealed by the seal (tuğra) of the sultan. The custodian of the stamp was the head of the divan, a keeper - *tuğrayî* (tuğrai).

– *Divan-ı İstifâ* (Divan and istif). The department dealt with financial issues, kept records of the state's revenues and expenditures, drafted a budget, and so on. The sofa had a widely ramified apparatus in the provinces. Its purpose was to ensure the collection of taxes on time and in certain sizes for each province. The person who answered before the vizier and the sultan for collecting taxes in each province was her governor - *amid* (amide). The representative of the sofa in the provinces was a dignitary called *müstevfi* (muestevfi).

– *Divan-ı İshrâf-ı Memâlik* (Divan-ı ishraf ve memimalik). He exercised control over the activities of government officials in the capital (and even in the palace) and in the provinces. The Department also collected information on the internal political situation in the country. The dignitary, who headed the sofa, was called *müşrif* (mushrif).

– *Divan-ı Arz* (Divan-ı Arz). The main functions of the sofa were the registration of the payroll of the armed forces, the calculation and payment of the salary of the standing army, the provision of the army with weapons, equipment, uniform, food, fodder, etc. The sofa did not exercise command functions, did not participate in the decision on the use of armed forces. He was in charge of their condition. To this end, this sofa was required to carry out regular inspections of the army, holding reviews and parades. He was headed by *ârız* (aryz) [27, p.509-510; 13, p.156; 11].

**Conclusion.** Thus, in the comparative typological analysis of the institution of political power in different periods (antiquity and the Middle Ages), one can trace the complication of forms of government, the evolution of governance institutions, including stages: the consolidation of military power as the basis for the formation of supreme power, which was an undifferentiated system of functions. Over time, the supreme authority authorizes the development of the titular rank system into a tribal management system, which leads to a gradual de-differentiation of the functions of supreme power.

The meaning of the transformation in the management system consisted in adapting to the influences of the agricultural management system and incorporating the rollepline relations in the system of centralized management. These observations allow the researchers to conclude that in the Marxist theory the social class nature of social development overlooked the stability of the economic specialization of the cattle-breeding society, the existence of political organization and socio-economic integrity. Moreover, the search for class has formed a theoretical approach, which defined two opposing societies in Central Asia: sedentary and nomadic. This view did not allow us to consider the processes occurring in nomadic empires in integrity, always separated the agricultural and cattle-breeding population in their development, revealed various levels of cultural development, and the absence of mutual influences on the management system.

**Analysis methodology is based** on the application of the theories of political genesis, evolutionism and neo-evolutionism

**The result** of the study was the conclusion that there is a complication of management forms, the evolution of governance institutions, including stages: the consolidation of military power as the basis for the formation of supreme power, which was an undifferentiated system of functions. Over time, the supreme authority authorizes the development of the titular rank system into a tribal management system, which leads to a gradual de-differentiation of the functions of supreme power. The transformations in the management system of the nomads were associated with the adaptation to the influences of the agricultural management system and incorporating the rollepline relations in the system of centralized management.

Л. К. Жусупова<sup>1</sup>, К. У. Торланбаева<sup>2</sup>, Е. К. Жусупов<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>С. Торайғыров атындағы Павлодар мемлекеттік университеті, Павлодар, Қазақстан;

<sup>2</sup>Университет «Туран» және Ш. Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты, Алматы, Қазақстан

### **ОРТАЛЫҚ АЗИЯ КӨШПЕНДІЛЕРІНІҢ МЕМЛЕКЕТТІК БАСҚАРУ ҚҰРЫЛЫМЫ**

**Аннотация.** Мақалада Орталық Азия көшпенділерінің мемлекеттік басқару құрылымы жүйесіне талдау жасалынған. Төмендегі мәселелерді шешуді көздейді:

– Қоғамның аталық және аналық даму тізбектеріндегі эволюциялық теория, политогенездегі басқын-шылдық пен сауда теориясы, неоэволюционизм басымдығы теориясы қолданылуы тұрғысынан Орталық Азия ежелгі, ортағасырлық тарихындағы әскери билікке талдау жасау, оның ішінде қарапайым жауынгерден көсемдік билікке дейінгі билік сатыларының жоғарылауы мәселесі;

– Ежелгі хұндар, түріктер, оғыздар, Қарахандықтар, кидандар, селжүктер мемлекет теріндегі атақтар мен дәрежелер жүйесі арқылы тайпаларды басқару билік құзыреттеріне талдау және зерттеу жүргізу; қытайлық мәтіндердегі шенеуніктер міндеттемелері, атақтары мен дәреже деңгейлері атау ұғымдарына талдау жасау һәм зерделеу; көшпенділер қауымындағы билік басындағы ақсүйектердің маңыздылығын қарастыру;

Талдау әдістеме негізіне политогенез, эволюционизм, неоэволюционизм теориялары қамтылған.

Зерттеу нәтижелері ретінде биліктің басқару сатыларының біртіндеп жоғарылауы, күрделенуі, даму тарихы мәселесі арнайы қарастырылады; оның ішінде мемлекеттік билік міндеттері арасындағы әскери биліктің жоғары билік қалыптасуындағы орны кеңінен сөз болады. Уақыт өткен сайын жоғары биліктегілер атақ, дәрежелердің даму жүйесін заңды түрде мойындап, тайпаларды басқарып тұрған мемлекеттік билік міндеттерінің жіктелуіне жол ашады. Мұндай бейімделушілік егіншілер қауымының ықпалы арқылы пайда болды және отырықшы мемлекеттік басқару жүйесіне ру-тайпалық қарым-қатынастар құрылымы енгізілді.

**Түйін сөздер:** билік, көшпенділер, Орталық Азия, атақ-дәрежелер.



Л. К. Жусупова<sup>1</sup>, К. У. Торланбаева<sup>2</sup>, Е. К. Жусупов<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Павлодарский Государственный университет им. С. Торайгырова, Павлодар, Казахстан;

<sup>2</sup>Университет «Туран» и Институт истории и этнологии им. Ч. Ч. Валиханова, Алматы, Казахстан

## СОДЕРЖАНИЕ ВЛАСТИ-УПРАВЛЕНИЯ У ЦЕНТРАЛЬНО-АЗИАТСКИХ КОЧЕВНИКОВ

**Аннотация.** Проводится анализ системы власти-управления у центрально-азиатских кочевников. В центре внимания такие задачи, как:

– анализ военной власти, культ воина в истории эволюции надплеменной власти вождя в древней и средневековой Центральной Азии в контексте применения теории вождества, неозволюционизма, завоевательной и торговой теорий политогенеза, эволюционистские теории матрилинейного и патрилинейного развития социума;

– изучение и анализ властных полномочий надплеменной власти через систему титулов и рангов в государствах хунну, тюрков, огузов, караханидов, киданей, сельджукидов, описание и исследование терминологии китайских текстов о рангах и чинах, функциях чиновников и родоплеменных вождей, роль титулованной аристократии в системе управления кочевыми политиями;

Методология анализа основана на применении теорий политогенеза, эволюционизма и неозволюционизма.

Результатом исследования стали выводы о том, что прослеживается усложнение форм управления, эволюция институтов управления, включающие в себя этапы: укрепление военной власти как основы для формирования верховной власти, представлявшей собой недифференцированную систему функций. С течением времени верховная власть санкционирует развитие титульно-ранговой системы в надплеменную систему управления, что приводит к постепенной дифференциации функций верховной власти. Трансформации в системе управления кочевников были связаны с приспособлением к влияниям земледельческой системы управления и включения родоплеменных отношений в систему централизованного управления.

**Ключевые слова:** история, Центральная Азия, политии, власть, титулатура, кочевники.

### Information about authors:

Zhusupova Laura Kuandykovna, Doctor of History, Professor of Pavlodar State University named after S. Toraygyrova; zusipova@mail.ru; laura\_zusip@mail.ru; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2992-3963>

Torlanbaeva Kenzhe Uskenbaevna, Doctor of History, Institute of History and Ethnology named after C.Ch. Valikhanova and professor at Turan University; torlanbayeva@mail.ru.

Zhusupov Estay Kuandykovich, Ph.D., professor of Pavlodar State University named after S. Toraygyrova.

## REFERENCES

- [1] Haas J. Ways to statehood - Alternative ways to early statehood. Vladivostok: Dal'nauka, 1995. P. 19-23.
- [2] Tishin V.V., Seregin N.N. Age differentiation in ancient Turks of the VI-X centuries: the experience of complex analysis // *Ethnographic Review*, 2016, N 1. P. 136-152.
- [3] Zuev Yu.A. On the forms of ethnosocial organization of nomadic peoples of Central Asia in antiquity and the Middle Ages: a motley horde, a hundred (comparative-typological study). // *Sat. sci. works, Military art of nomads of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (the era of antiquity and the Middle Ages)*. Almaty, 1998. P. 49-100.
- [4] Gamkrelidze T., Ivanov Vyach. Sun. Indo-European language and Indo-Europeans. Tbilisi: Science, 1984. T. II. 578 p.
- [5] Akishev A.K. Saka Mithraism // *Tamyr*, 2000. N 1 (2). P. 24-33.
- [6] Bazarbaeva G.A., Dzhumabekova G.S. Artistic bronzes of Zhetysay. Almaty: Young people Kazyna, 2013. 120 p.
- [7] Kormushin I.V. Türkic Yenisei Epitaphs. (Texts and Studies). M. 1997. (in Russ.).
- [8] Malov S.E. Monuments of ancient Turkic writing. M.L.: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1951. 452 p.
- [9] Tursyn B. The position and power of the Karakidan Khanate. - Almaty, 1997.
- [10] Kochnev B.D. The numismatic history of the Karakhanid Khaganate (991-1209). Part I. Source study / Answer. editor V.N. Nastich. Reviewers – B.A. Litvinsky, E.A. Davidovich. [Scientific publication]. M.: OOO Publishing house "Sofia", 2006. 344 p.
- [11] Sevim A., Merçil E. Selçuklu Devleti Tarihi. Siyaset, Teşkilât ve Kültür. Ankara: TTK, 1995. 599 p.
- [12] Ocak A. Selçukluların Dinî Siyaseti (1040-1092). İstanbul, 2002. 445 p.
- [13] Köymen M.A. Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu Tarihi. Cilt III. Ankara, 2001. 532 p.