

THE SHARUKANIDS: HISTORY OF ONE KIPCHAK DYNASTY**Yaroslav Pylypchuk**

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Abstract: Many issues on the history of the Sharukanid dynasty, which led the Donetsk Kipchaks, among whom the Sharukanid clan and the Toksoba tribe dominated, are reflected in the Rus' chronicles. This research paper aims to give a detailed overview on the Sharukanid dynasty of Kipchaks, based on the Rus' chronicles and "The Tale of Igor's Campaign".

Relations with the Sharukanids were so important for Rus' that the chronicler recorded the complete genealogy of the representatives of this clan, from Sharukan to Yuri Konchakovich. Periods of peace alternated with periods of confrontation. Under Otrok (Atrak) and Yuri Konchakovich, the Kipchaks did not bother Rus', as they were busy with wars in Dashti-Kipchak. Confrontation with Rus' occurred during the reign of Sharukan and Konchak. Subsequently the Sharukanid clan was divided into smaller clans, and one of them was Eltukovo, near the borders of the Ryazan principality and Volga Bulgaria. The succession to the throne in the Donetsk union was ordered by Otrok, who secured it for his descendants, using experience borrowed from Georgia. During the reign of Otrok, the Sharukanids fought with the Kaepichis (rulers from the Kai clan), rivals of the Sharukanids. Yuri Konchakovich fought with other chiefdoms, the khanate of the Durut tribe and the confederation of Derbent Kipchaks. The stay of Otrok (Atrak) in Georgia can be dated back to 1118 - 1125, and the return to the Kipchak steppes was due to Syrchan's request to help in the war with the Kaepichi, which lasted until 1160. Taking advantage, the Kaepichi seized dominance in the Don region at the beginning of the 12th century.

Keywords: *Sharukan, Otrok (Atrak), Konchak, Yuri Konchakovich, Sharukanids, Toksoba, Donetsk Kipchaks*

INTRODUCTION

One of the most important problems in the history of the Kipchaks is the study of the charismatic clans of the Kipchaks. Peter Golden devoted two of his articles to particular clans (Olberlics and Urusobichs), and dedicated an overview of general tribes and clans [Golden 1990; Golden 1986; Golden 1997]. There are also several studies devoted to individual figures of Kipchach history, Konchak and Otrok [Seleznev 2012; Tsulaya 2008]. However, the issue of individual charismatic clans still remains poorly scrutinized. Even Petachiah of Regensburg, a German Rabbi, traveling across the expanses of Eastern Europe in the 12th century, noted that the Kipchaks do not have a single ruler, but there are separate influential families. In the 11th century, several chiefdoms were formed across the vastness of Eastern Europe, headed by charismatic leaders. The Donetsk

Kipchak Tribal Confederation was one of the most powerful Kipchak chiefdoms. Chroniclers named the leaders of this association, such as Sharukan, Syrchan, Otrok, Konchak and Yuri Konchakovich. This information miraculously found its way onto the pages of the Galician–Volhynian Chronicle. The chronicler recorded the Kipchak legend about Otrok and his stay in Georgia. The genealogy of Yuri Konchakovich was recorded in the chronicle [Петяхъ (2004); Ипатьевская (1962): 716; Жития царя царей Давида (1998)].

The Donetsk Kipchak Confederation

The greatest influence among the chiefdoms of the western part of Dasht-i Kipchak was the Donetsk Kipchak confederation, which was formed in parallel with the Bonyak chiefdom. Sharukan was mentioned among the leaders of this chiefdom. In narrative sources, the first mention of Sharukan appears in 1068 when describing the battle on the Alta River [Лаврентьевская (1962): 167–172; НПЛ (1950): 17, 186–190; Ипатьевская (1962): 156–161; Расовский 1940, 102-103]. There were other leaders among the Donetsk Kipchaks. One of them was Iskal (Sukal, Sakal), which was mentioned in the description of the events of 1061 [Kurat (1972): 77; Расовский (1940): 102]. The mention of Osen (Asen)'s death dates back to 1082, and the fate of Sharukan was shrouded in darkness by the beginning of the 12th century. [Прицак (2008): 240; Лаврентьевская (1962): 205; Ипатьевская (1962): 196]. It is logical to assume that the campaigns of 1078 against Pereyaslav and 1079 against the city of Voin were initiated by the Kai tribe, and not by Sharukan [Лаврентьевская (1962): 200, 204; НПЛ (1950): 18, 201; Ипатьевская (1962): 190-191, 195-196; Расовский (1940): 103]. O. Pritsak suggested that Asen is the name of the Kai clan among the Donetsk Kipchaks [Прицак (2008): 239–246]. The Kipchak expansion of the second half of the 11th century encountered opposition from Rus'. However, the Rusyns had a very difficult time at first. In 1080, the Kipchaks invaded the Novgorod-Seversky principality. In 1083, 8 thousand Kipchaks devastated areas near the city of Priluk. In 1092, the Kipchaks conquered the cities of Pesochen and Perevoloka [Расовский (1940): 103].

During campaigns in the steppes, Vladimir Monomakh and Oleg Svyatoslavich married their sons with the daughters of two Kipchak leaders who had the same names (Aepa) [Прицак (2008): 241]. It should be taken into account that the marriages of the sons of Vladimir Monomakh and Oleg Svyatoslavich with the Kipchak princesses had tactical significance and were directed against Sharukan and his sons. Not without the support of Vladimir Monomakh, the Oghuz-Torks and Pechenegs should have rebelled against the Kipchaks [Артамонов (2001): 618]. The alliance with the Aepichs provided for joint actions against the Sharukan clan. There is information about the campaigns of the Rusyns to the Seversky Donets in 1111 and 1116. [Прицак (2008): 218-220; Gökbel (2002): 649; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 67]. According to the assumption of G. and Ya. Fedorov, Otrok was supposed to become the khan of the Donetsk Kipchaks in the second half of the 1120s [Федоровы (1978): 240]. Then the embassy to Georgia, headed by Kobyzchi Ore, had a different purpose than just a reminder of the homeland. The opponents of Khan Syrchan (Otrok's uncle) should be the Kipchak leaders Aepa.

Probably, after Vladimir Monomakh and David the Builder died, the agreement between the Kai leaders and the Kyiv princes had expired. As a rule, steppe chiefs

entered into personal agreements with their neighbors. Using the help of the Rusyns, the Kaepichi could significantly push back the Sharukanids, which forced Syrchan to ask Otrok for help. If power was transferred to Otrok from uncle to nephew, then upon his return we observe the transfer of power from father to son, which indicates significant changes in Kipchak society [Ипатьевская (1962): 716].

As for the name *Аера*, László Rásonyi and Omeljan Pritsak considered it to be a derivative of *Qay-oba*, since the original “k” was dropped in some Kipchak dialects, as in the case of the Kimaks, whom the Turks called *Yemeks* [Golden (1997): 108–109]. Vladimir Monomakh sought to weaken the Kypchaks as much as possible by making campaigns against their cities and removing their main population, the *Yasses* (Don Alans) [Прицак (2008): 220]. Thus, the foundations of the economy of the Donetsk Confederation exploded. The fact that Syrchan was able to persuade Otrok to return to his native steppes indicates the presence of Kipchak possessions near Georgia [Ипатьевская (1962): 716]. The Kuban and Sal steppes could have been under the rule of Syrchan. The dynasty of descendants of Asen and Girgen dominated for some time the former possessions of the Sharukanids on the Seversky Donets and Don. After some time, the Sharukanids, Otrok and Konchak, recaptured their former nomadic lands from the Kaepichs. This happened between 1125 and 1160. [Жития царя царей Давида (1998); Ипатьевская (1962): 507, 716].

In addition, the Rusyns pressed the Kipchaks. In 1109, David Ivorovich fought against the Kipchaks on the Donets of Seversk [Лаврентьевская (1962): 283-284; Ипатьевская (1962): 260; Расовский (1940): 111; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 67]. According to Vladimir-Suzdal sources, the Kipchaks then made another raid. Svyatopolk, Vladimir Monomakh and David Svyatoslavich responded to this with another campaign in 1111 [Лаврентьевская (1962): 289; Расовский (1940): 111; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 67]. The Rusyns conquered enemy cities and captured a lot of livestock. On the way back they were attacked by the Kipchaks, but the Rusyns were able to repel their attack [Ипатьевская (1962): 266-273]. In 1125, Mstislav Vladimirovich repelled their raid on Baruch and pursued them to Polksoten [Ипатьевская (1962): 289-290; Лаврентьевская (1962): 295–296; Расовский (1940): 114]. In 1153, Mstislav Izyaslavich pursued the Kipchaks to the Psel River [Лаврентьевская (1962): 340; Ипатьевская (1962): 465]. In 1152, during the reign of Izyaslav Mstislavich in Kyiv, the Rusyns made a campaign against the Kipchaks on the Orel and Samara rivers [Расовский (1936): 121].

The raids of the Donetsk Kipchak Confederation on Rus' were less intense than the raids of Bonyak or Togortak-Tugorkan. Among the events of the 11th century, one can only mention the campaign of Sharukan, which ended with the battles on the Alta and Snovi rivers [Прицак (2008): 32; Лаврентьевская (1962): 167–172; НПЛ (1950): 17, 186–190; Ипатьевская (1962): 156-161]. The second time, in August 1107, the troops of Sharukan and Bonyak were defeated near the city of Luben on the Sula River [Прицак (2008): 41; Лаврентьевская (1962): 281–282; Ипатьевская (1962): 258–259; Расовский (1940): 110; 246, 68–69; Селезнев (2012)]. The last mention of Sharukan is dated in the chronicle 1107 [Прицак (2008): 41-42; Лаврентьевская (1962): 281–282; Ипатьевская (1962): 258–259; Расовский (1940): 110, 112; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 68–69; Селезнев (2012)].

The Toksoba Tribe of Kipchaks and Kaepichi

Among the Dasht-i Kipchak tribes, Toksobas were mentioned quite often. Ibn Khaldun and an-Nuwayri called him the first among the Dasht-i Kipchak tribes. He was also mentioned by Ibn Duqmaq and Abu Hayan. P. Golden gave the following forms of the name of this tribe: tqsbâ for ad-Dimashqî, tqsbâ (Toqsoba) for an-Nuwayri and Abu Hayan, tgsbâ (Toğsoba) for Ibn Khaldun. Researchers have made assumptions about the origin of the ethnonym “Toksoba” [Кумеков (1990): 118–119, 127; Тизенгаузен (1884): 540–541; Golden (1997): 119]. In particular, S. Akhinzhanov suggested that Toksoba is Toksan-oba. There were a huge number of Kipchak families and clans, and what we know is only the tip of the iceberg [Кумеков (1993)].

The ethnonym “Toksoba” is recorded in the oikonymy and toponymy of Moldova [Бушаков (1991): 132]. The Toksoba division was in the Baybakty clan of the Bayuly clan of the Alchin tribe of the Junior Zhuz of the Kazakhs. It was also among the Kyrgyz Sayak tribe [Бушаков (1991): 133]. The Uran (slogan) of the Uzbek and Karakalpat Kipchaks was “Toksaba!” [Бушаков (1991): 133]. The Toksoba tribe is mainly known from Arab sources, and, according to them, it dominated the western part of Dasht-i Kipchak [Кумеков (1990): 118–119, 127; Тизенгаузен (1884): 540–541; Маркварт (2002)]. P. Golden classifies Toksoba as a “wild Cuman”. In his opinion, there are three variants of the etymology of the name of the tribe: Tokuz-oba, Tukhs-oba and the Mongolian Togusun. From our point of view, the most likely version is about “nine genera” [Golden (1979/1980): 299; Golden (1997): 119-120]. In 1152, the Toksoba, together with other Kipchaks, acted as allies of Yuri Dolgoruky against the Grand Duke Izyaslav [Ипатьевская (1962): 455; Golden (1979/1980): 300]. The Toksoba dominated the Donetsk Kipchak confederation [Golden (1979/1980): 305-307]. Other tribes were also under their rule. One of these tribes was the Targil tribe. Ahsikendi remembered this tribe. In the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle it is mentioned as Targol. The Targil-Oba tribe was an ally of Konchak in 1185 [Golden (1997): 119; Ипатьевская (1962): 644]. The leader of the Tarew clan, Azguluya, was killed during one of the campaigns of Vladimir Monomakh [Golden (1997): 119]. Perhaps the most famous among the tribes under the rule of the Sharukanids was the Terter-Oba tribe, which is known as the Tertrobychi. In our opinion, it can be compared with the Durut tribe [Golden (1997): 119].

It can be assumed that the return of Otrok's battle-hardened warriors added strength to the Sharukanids. By 1160, the ethnonym “Kaepichi” was mentioned along with the Berendichs as part of the “Chyornie Klobuki”, which meant that the war had been lost by the Kai before this. [Ипатьевская (1962): 507; Golden (1984): 70-72]. The height of the enmity between the Kaepichs and the Sharukanids should have occurred in the 1120s - 40s. By the end of the 1150s, the Kai should have finally lost the war and migrated to the Kiev Principality. In addition, the text of the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle included a fragment of a Kypchak epic song about Otrok. It is thanks to this that unique evidence about the Sharukanid clan has come to us [Ипатьевская (1962): 716].

The Sharukanids and Georgia

Considering that Otrok established contact with David the Builder even before moving to Georgia, we can assume that he did this through mediation one of the coastal

cities' residents. The largest city closest to Georgia and at the same time accessible to the Kipchaks was Matarkha, where the Khazars, Kasogs and other peoples lived [Мургулия (1984): 45]. During the resettlement of the Kipchaks to Georgia, David was forced to take hostage the leaders of the Alans and Kipchaks in order to ensure the safe passage of the Kipchaks through the territory of Alania. Considering that Alania was divided into two parts, the opponents of the highlanders and Kipchaks were the Western Alans. Data from the Georgian chronicler allow us to assert that the kingdom of David the Builder and Otrok's khanate were separated from each other only by the lands of Caucasian Alania. The Georgian source mentioned the poverty of the Kipchaks. Obviously, the Kipchaks, led by Otrok became impoverished, since they were forced to migrate from their lands to the territory of the Don region [Жития царя царей Давида (1998); Цулая (2008): 131-132; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 102, 105].

Ya.A. Fedorov and G.S. Fedorov assumed that the "Iron Gate" of the Ipatiev Chronicle is the "Elkhot Gate" [Я.А. Фёдоров, Г.С. Фёдоров (1978): 231]. According to another hypothesis, the Kipchaks crossed through the Karsk Gate (Mamison Pass), and not through the Iron Gate, as indicated in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle [Мургулия (1971): 46-47; Golden (1984): 69]. The Georgian Ingilois considered the passage through the Kumukh Gorge to Hereti to be the "Iron Gate". The Kipchak settlements and the Kipchak-chay River were recorded there [Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 61]. However, the mention of the Turks about Temir-kapi (Turkic - Iron Gate), that is, the Derbent Pass, seems more justified. It should be noted that evidence of the Kipchak presence in Georgia reached Rus' not in the Georgian, but in the Kipchak epic tradition. The time of migration of the Kipchaks to the South Caucasus was in 1118. Researchers accept this point of view with some reservations. S. Anchabadze and M. Murgulia indicated that the resettlement took place during 1118 - 1120. In general, this idea has been popular in Georgian historiography since the time of I. Javakhishvili. P. Golden reports that the resettlement took place around 1118. In his opinion, it was much more difficult for the Georgians to win victories before 1118 than after the migration of the Kipchaks [Анчабадзе (1960): 114; Мургулия (1971): 49-53; Папаскири (1982): 93; Golden (1984): 57-59, 62-63; Gökbel (2002): 650; Расовский (1940): 113-114; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 57-62, 101-105, 112-115]. An alternative hypothesis was expressed by N. Kotlyar, who dates the migration of the Kipchaks to Georgia to 1111-1112. [Котляр (1969): 23].

The story about Otrok's return to Donets of Seversk in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle contains traces of the Kipchak epic. Arriving in Georgia on behalf of Sirchan, Ore, with songs and incense "Evshan (sagebrush) Potions", convinced Otrok to return to his homeland [Ипатьевская (1962): 716]. After Otrok left the Georgian lands, the number of Kipchaks in the South Caucasus should have decreased significantly. However, some Kipchaks played a prominent role in Georgian politics. Georgian sources mention two leaders of Turkic origin, Kubasar and Kutlu Arslan [Golden (1979/1980): 305, note 53; Golden (2001): 49]. In the service were the so-called "former Kipchaks," that is, the descendants of the Kipchaks of Otrok. They accepted Christianity and integrated into Georgian society [Golden (2008): 326]. After the events associated with the struggle for power in Georgia between David Soslan, Queen Tamara and Yuri Andreevich, the "former Kipchaks" lost their influence at court [Golden (1984): 64, 82-83]. Georgia's relations with the Dasht-i Kipchak nomads were not only allied.

Z. Papaskiri suggests that diplomatic relations between Georgia and the Donetsk Kipchaks were established between 1107 and 1109. The researcher claims that Guarandukht from the Kipchaks was the second legal wife of David IV the Builder. By the time the Kipchaks resettled, she had already been married to the Georgian king for several years [Papaskiri (1982): 85–89]. M. Tsurtsunia suggests that David the Builder married Guarandukhta at the end of 1104 or the beginning of 1105, after the church council in Ruiz-Urbnis. She was considered the legitimate wife of the Georgian king, and besides, the clergy allowed David to marry a non-Christian. The Georgians maintained relations with the Kipchaks even before 1104, which means that David the Builder had the intention of using the Kipchaks against the enemies of Georgia even before the defeat of Sharukan in the Battle of Lubny in 1107. However, he realized his plan only in 1118, when he facilitated the resettlement of Otrok's Kipchaks to Georgia. The reason for Otrok's decision to move to Georgia was numerous defeats in battles with the Rusyns. This means that the possessions of the Donetsk Kipchaks, even before the campaigns of Vladimir Monomakh, were located in the North Caucasus, near the Kuban River and the Caucasian Mineral Waters. According to M. Murgulia, the Kipchaks of Otrok rolled back from Donets of Seversk basin to the upper reaches of the Terek and Kuban. It is interesting that the first written mention of the Kipchaks was the testimony of Synodik No. 4 of the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos, written in 1074. The death of Arseny Kipchak (Arseny Kivchagisai) was mentioned there. Even earlier mentions of them are unreliable and corrections by later editors of early Georgian written monuments [Tsurtsunia (2012): 169–188; Цулая (2008): 135, 137; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 66-67, 81, 87, 89-91, 109; Мургулия (1984): 8-14].

G. Tsulaya compared the name Sharukan (Sharagan-i) with the name Sharagas of the Armazi bilingual (the Stele of Serapeitis). The name Sharagas was considered as an Alanian. M. Janashvili compared Sharganis with Sharukan. However, in the Georgian source it was not about him, but about Atrak Sharganis-dze, that is, Otrok from the Sharukan clan. The identity of these figures was proved by Y. Tsintsadze. According to G. Tsulaya, the name Guarandukhta was not Kipchak, since it was of Middle Persian (Pahlavi) origin. It was a common custom among Georgians to change the name of a daughter-in-law [Цулая (2008): 122, 130–131, 135–136; Мургулия (1984): 11].

Researchers had different opinions regarding the origin of the name Sharukan. I. Dobrodomov, for example, was of the opinion of its Bulgarian origin, Omeljan Pritsak considered it proto-Mongolian. In his opinion, it was derived from the Mongolian *sir(a)qan*. Interestingly, in Hungarian the word *sárkány* meant “dragon”. The leader Tugorkan in Russian epics had the name Zmeevich. In the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle, which describes the victory of the Rusyns over the Kipchaks on the Sutin River (Sut-su, Molochnaya), the Kipchak leaders were compared to snake heads. G. Tsulaya rightly considers the comparison of the Kipchaks with snakes to be an allegory. At the same time, a Georgian researcher suggests that the name Sharukan should have been borrowed by the Kipchaks from the Alans. It is interesting that in the “Instructions of Vladimir Monomakh” the prince was proud of the fact that he had pardoned the two Sharukanid brothers. They are not mentioned by name, but with a high degree of probability they can be identified with Sogr and Syrchan. It is curious that the prince also pardoned Asen's four brothers, who belonged to the Kaepichi clan competing with the Sharukanids. In

total, Vladimir Monomakh concluded 19 peace treaties with the Kipchaks [Прицак (2008): 30-31, 185, 219; Ипатьевская (1962): 255; Цулая (2008): 136-137; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 63–64; Селезнев (2012)].

The Georgian chronicler used the epithet “*umtavresi*” in relation to Otrok. The Georgians called their princes, as well as the leaders of neighboring tribes, Mtavars [Анчабадзе (1960): 124; Golden (1984): 58]. There is reason to assert that the possessions of the Sharukanids should have covered the North Caucasian steppes. Evidence in favor of this is the similarity of the stone Kipchak sculptures of the Don region with their North Caucasian counterparts, as well as the fact that Otrok Sharukanovich after some time unhinderedly returned to the Azov steppes [Гераськова (1991): 99-100; Ипатьевская (1962): 716].

Among Otrok's achievements were his common campaigns with the Georgians against the South Caucasian Muslims. In our opinion, there were 15 thousand Kipchak warriors throughout Georgia [Golden (1984): 73]. In 1120, the Kipchaks, together with the Georgians, opposed the Seljuk Turks in the Battle of Bardav on the Kura River. In 1121, Kipchak warriors took part in the Battle of Didgori [Анчабадзе (1980): 342; Мургулия (1971): 53; Golden (1984): 73; Golden (2001): 47–48; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 116-119, 130-136]. In 1122, with their help, the city of Tbilisi was liberated [Анчабадзе (1980): 342; Golden (1984): 73; Golden (2001): 48; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 137-138]. They also carried out deep raids. The attack of the Kipchaks and Georgians in 1123 was aimed at Shirvan [Анчабадзе (1980): 342; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 120-121, 126-129, 139-141, 144-148]. The consequence of joint campaigns of Georgians and Kipchaks was not only victories over Muslims and the settlement of Kipchaks in Georgia, but also Turkic borrowings into the Georgian language. Thus, the Kipchak word “*chalash*” was used to designate the vanguard of troops [Golden (2001): 100–101].

There are different assumptions regarding the size of Otrok's army. Matthew of Edessa mentioned 15 thousand Kypchaks in the Georgian army during the Battle of Didgori [Golden (1984): 73]. According to other sources, there were 40 or 45 thousand Kipchak warriors in Georgia. Researchers assumed that, together with migrant families, there could be 200 - 225 thousand [Golden (1984): 62]. I. Javakhishvili believed that 40 thousand families moved to Georgia. This hypothesis was supported by Sh. Meskhia, S. Malakatia, R. Metreveli. Some researchers, in particular M. Dumbadze, A. Kikvidze, S. Anchabadze, argued that about 45 thousand Kipchak families resettled. Z. Papaskiri suggests that, most likely, there were 40 thousand migrant families, and does not include the corps of monasp (guards) among them. According to M. Murgulia, there were 50 thousand Kipchaks in the service of the Georgians in 1123. The issue of the number of Kipchak settlers is still debatable [Мургулия (1971): 44; Папаскири (1982): 94; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 94-96]. According to I. Javakhishvili's hypothesis, the Kipchaks were settled in Kartli, an area that especially suffered from the raids of the Seljuk Turks. S. Eremyan and K. Chkharataishvili suggested that the Kipchaks were settled in the region of Archa and Haghartsin. According to Sh. Meskhia, the Kipchaks were settled not only in Kartli, but also in Lower Kartli in Somkhiti [Папаскири (1982): 95-97].

Kipchaks After the Return of Otrok From Georgia and Konchak Sharukanid

It can be assumed that Otrok could transfer possessions in the steppes of the North Caucasus to his uncle Syrchan. These territories were obviously one of the wings of the Donetsk Kipchak Confederation. In the light of the evidence of the Georgian chronicle and the research of Georgian scientists, it is quite clear that the chronicler's insertion that the Kipchaks were driven beyond the Don and Obeza (into Georgia) is a panegyric to Vladimir Monomakh. Only part of the Kipchaks, led by Otrok, moved to Georgia. At the same time, the Kipchaks continued to control both the Azov and North Caucasian steppes. Evidence of the same story about Otrok in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle, which was of Kipchak origin, gives grounds to assert that not all Kipchaks moved to Georgia [Ипатьевская (1962): 715–717; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 58–59, 70; Мургулия (1984): 6].

The first of the Donetsk Kipchak khans who decided to resume raids on Rus' was the grandson of Sharukan and Otrok's son Konchak. This person is one of the most significant in the history of Rus' and the Dasht-i Kipchaks. He was mentioned in the "Tale of Igor's Campaign" as "filthy Konchak," that is, this khan remained a pagan. For his campaigns in Rus', he received many negative epithets from Russian scribes when describing his campaign in 1179. Konchak was called "an evil boss", "a detractor to devout Christians and all churches", "a godless prince". In 1185 he was called "the wicked, the godless and the damned." Rarely has one nomadic leader had so many abusive epithets. The Rusyns feared Konchak, whose campaigns against Rus' were often successful. It is clear that Konchak was not inferior in his talents to his grandfather Sharukan [Селезнев (2012)].

Y. Seleznev believes that Konchak made a campaign against Rus' in 1170. However, Konchak was first mentioned in 1172. Actually, Konchak is mentioned under this year in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle. He acted as the head of the family and as an ally of David Rostislavich, and came to his aid in Vyshgorod. In this city, he was besieged by the troops of Mstislav Izyaslavich of Kyiv and Vasilko Yaropolchich of Lutsk. Konchak did not lose his resolve. His warriors made forays, which eventually forced the enemies to retreat to Kyiv, and then to Bolokhov. After this, the Kipchaks retreated to their native nomads, devastating the lands of Rus' on their way [Ипатьевская (1962): 548; Селезнев (2012)]. In addition to the actions near Ksnyatin, the Donetsk Kipchaks made a campaign against the Pereyaslavl land and approached the city of Pesochen [Ипатьевская (1962): 548, 555; Селезнев (2012)]. In 1174, Konchak, together with Kobyak, made a campaign, plundering the outskirts of the cities of Srebryany and Barucha, and when the army of the Seversk prince Igor Svyatoslavich approached them, the nomads retreated beyond Vorskl and avoided battle. The Kypchaks of Konchak, thus, limited themselves to the destruction of the border lands [Плетнева (1990): 157; Kurat (1972): 85–86; Gökbel (2002): 649; Ипатьевская (1962): 568–570; Селезнев (2012)].

The campaign of 1179 was directed against Pereyaslav. The Kipchaks retreated with a large number of captured Rusyns. The chronicle mentions that Igor Svyatoslavich's soldiers killed and captured many Kipchaks. However, this may simply be an insertion by a chronicler who wanted to portray the state of affairs better than it actually was. It is unlikely that Igor Svyatoslavich encountered detachments larger than the Kipchak

rearguard departments, that is, at best, the prince caught up with some hundred Kipchaks and freed some of the captured Rusyns [Ипатьевская (1962): 612–613; Плетнева (1990): 157; Gökbel (2002): 649]. In 1180 or 1181 Konchak had already acted in alliance with Kobyak and Igor Svyatoslavich against the Rostislavichs. Kipchak detachments moved to Drutsk, and from there to Vyshgorod. With the help of the Kipchaks, Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich took the Kiev throne. The troops of Konchak and his allies of the Russian princes moved to Lobsk. However, on the Chertory River, their troops clashed with the squad of Rurik Rostislavich. The defeat of Konchak and his allies was crushing. The Kipchaks were partially killed in the battle, partially drowned in the river, and partially captured. Thanks to the description of this campaign, we know that Kozl Sotanovich and Konchak's brother Eltut died in the battle on this river. Byakoba, Tatur, Kunyachuk, and Chugai were captured. Konchak himself and Igor Svyatoslavich escaped in a boat to Gorodets, located near Chernigov [Ипатьевская (1962): 618–624; Плетнева (1990): 158; Селезнев (2012)].

In 1183, Konchak wanted to attack Rus', but, having learned about the concentration of Rusyn troops, he did not carry out his intention. In February of the same year, the detachments of Konchak and Gleb Tireevich raided Dmitriev. However, the Rusyns responded with a campaign against the Kipchaks in Khiria, where the Kipchak troops were defeated. The “Black Klobuki” also acted against the Kipchaks [Плетнева (1990): 158-159; Ипатьевская (1962): 628–634; Селезнев (2012)]. However, already in 1184 Konchak was preparing for a great campaign against Rus'. He specially invited some “busurmenin” to build equipment for the siege of cities, and he even built a “shereshir” (tir-i charkh). But the Rusyns learned in advance about the intentions of the Kipchaks and, in order to destroy them, carried out a raid on Khorol, and the “Busurmenin” was captured by them. Konchak was forced to flee again [Плетнева (1990): 159; Kurat (1972): 86; Ипатьевская (1962): 634–636; Селезнев (2012)].

After this victory, the Olgovichs decided to launch a campaign against the Kipchaks in 1185. At first, the Russian princes followed the “Izyum Road”. From near Salnitsa, the Rusyns headed to the Volchaya River and captured prisoners in the area of the Kayala River. This territory was already closer to the possessions of the Burj Ogly, against whom the Olgovichs successfully fought. This can explain the fact that the Rusyns, having captured prisoners, did not expect to meet a worthy rebuff and did not take precautions [Плетнева (1990): 160–164; Kurat (1972): 87–89; Gökbel (2002): 649; Ипатьевская (1962): 636–651; Лаврентьевская (1962): 397–398; Селезнев (2012)]. However, Igor Svyatoslavich did not take into account a number of factors. In 1183, during one of the campaigns of the Rostislavichs, Kobyak died [Ипатьевская (1962): 628-634]. The march of the Rusyns into the depths of the Kipchak nomads should have caused concern in the steppes. Under these conditions, Konchak felt the opportunity to consolidate other Kipchaks around him. In addition to the Konchak tribe, it-ogly, targil-oba, burj-ogly, ulash-ogly and terter-oba (durut) took part in the war [Плетнева (1990): 163; Ипатьевская (1962): 641, 644; Селезнев (2012)]. Surrounded by superior enemy forces on Kayal, the Rusyns were defeated.

Igor Svyatoslavich was captured by Chilbuk from the Targil (Targolovo) tribe, and his son was captured by Kopti from Ulash-Ogly [Ипатьевская (1962): 644]. Konchak, who had his own interest in the Olgovichs of Seversk, ransomed them from captivity. True, in

the chronicle and “The Tale of Igor’s Campaign” there was a different version of events. Igor Svyatoslavich was credited with escaping from Kipchak captivity. However, the description of the escape contained a number of implausible details. It is indicated that the Kipchak Christian Lavor (Ovlur) helped him escape. At the same time, one must understand that in this way this Kipchak would have brought Konchak’s revenge against his family and clan, and he himself would certainly have been executed. Igor Svyatoslavich was at Konchak’s headquarters as an honorary prisoner. The headquarters was placed on the Kamenny Torets River. The first Russian outpost was on the Denka of Seversk, in its upper reaches. At the same time, the troops of Konchak’s ally (Khan Gzak) devastated Poseimye, and Konchak - Pereyaslavshchina. The chronicler indicated that the guards drank too much kumiss and fell asleep, and Lavor gave the prince his horse. However, according to the same story, the prince drove his horse and walked to the Donets for eleven days. At the same time, they should look for Igor Svyatoslavich the next morning after his escape. The Kipchaks lived in these lands and should have known their country like no one else. Igor Svyatoslavich was a stranger in their country. The sentries could catch up with Igor Svyatoslavich. The prince and his son were most likely bought by relatives [Ипатьевская (1962): 649-650].

The story about the flight of Igor Svyatoslavich in “The Tale of Igor’s Campaign” is even more fantastic than in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle. The Russian author ignored the chronicler's data that the prince traveled on foot for many days. The story took on epic features. The prince attributes assistance from God, and he himself is metaphorically compared to a wolf and a falcon. It was stated that he fled with Lavor (Ovlur) on horseback and that Igor hunted birds during his flight. Further we read that Ovlur and Igor drove their first horses. The question is: where would Igor and his friend get new horses and why, in this case, were they not seized by the owners of the horses from whom they were supposed to steal these animals? It should be taken into account that the border lands of Rus' at that time should have been occupied by the Kipchaks, and the garrisons of the cities of Rus' were blocked. It goes without saying that Igor Svyatoslavich had to eat while fleeing, but it was possible to fish rather than hunt relatively unnoticed. The Kipchaks must notice this hunter. We read that Lavor (Ovlur) and Igor Svyatoslavich arrived in Donets on horses. However, the chronicler did not point out such a fact [Слово о полку Игореве; Ипатьевская (1962): 648-650, 653].

Moreover, the “Tale of Igor’s Campaign” states that Igor Svyatoslavich left his son in captivity and that Gzak and Konchak had a dialogue. Gzak wanted to kill Igor Svyatoslavich, and Konchak was credited with the intention to marry Vladimir Igorevich to his daughter. In 1187, he actually married his daughter to Vladimir Igorevich. However, this marriage was much more in the interests of Igor Svyatoslavich, who was born with a strong steppe ruler. The author of “The Tale of Igor’s Campaign” also attributed to Gzak the horror of the Rusyns and Igor Svyatoslavich. The Galician-Volhyn chronicler indicated that, on the contrary, Gzak moved to the Novgorod-Seversk principality, which was owned by Igor Svyatoslavich. The historicity of the data in “The Tale of Igor’s Campaign” in some cases leaves much to be desired [Слово о полку Игореве; Ипатьевская (1962): 648, 653, 659; Плетнева (1990): 166]. Prince Igor no longer made campaigns against the Donetsk Kipchaks. His campaigns were aimed mainly at Burj-ogly, which weakened the position of Konchak’s competitors. In 1185, Konchak

attacked the Rims (the Kursk Principality), and in 1187 he fought in Rus' and on the Chernigov border [Плетнева (1990): 165–166; Ипатьевская (1962): 648, 653; Селезнев (2012)]. After this, the Sharukanids tried not to fight with the Rusyns. Konchak's power grew so much that he was able to transfer the throne to his son, Yuri Konchakovich. In all likelihood, Konchak's son converted to Christianity [Ипатьевская (1962): 716, 740-741]. Yuri no longer made campaigns against Rus'. The Kipchaks of the Sharukanids could participate in the campaigns of their allies, the Olgovichs of the Seversky and Chernigov, in particular in 1202 or 1203. Only through a balanced foreign policy did Konchak manage to avoid defeat by the Rusyns. The bet on an alliance with the Olgovichs gave him the opportunity to protect his nomads from the great campaigns of the Rusyns [Плетнева (1990): 130, 153; Селезнев (2012)].

An interesting aspect of Konchak's biography is the mention of him in the First Novgorod Chronicle. It states that the Kipchaks of Konchak and Daniil Kobryakovich destroyed the inhabitants of Kyiv. However, there are good reasons to doubt the authenticity of these data. Even in the Vladimir-Suzdal Chronicle the names of the Kipchak leaders are not specified, but the names of the Russian princes who took Kyiv are well known. There were no loud words about the conquest of the city's population, but it was indicated that Podol was burned, churches, Tithes and Sophia of Kiev, were robbed, and many people were taken prisoner. In the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle, Konchak was last mentioned in 1201. Moreover, Daniil Kobryakovich was not mentioned at all in this chronicle. The sons of Kobryak were not mentioned by name in 1183. The Kipchak leader Daniel is mentioned in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle only under 1183 and without a patronymic. He is not identical with Danila Kobryakovich. It is unlikely that Daniil Kobryakovich took part in the events of 1222, which the Novgorod chronicler speaks of, since he is not mentioned in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle. It is not a fact that Daniil Kobryakovich did not exist at all. And the name Tatakhaer in "Yuan-shi" is not Daniel, but Tatur. As we see, Konchak could hardly have participated in the events of 1203. Most likely, together with the Olgovichs and Rurik, Yuri Konchakovich could have attacked Kyiv, in relation to whom, unlike Konchak, the chronicler did not accept abusive epithets. The devastation of Kyiv was significantly exaggerated by the Novgorod chronicler, and the role of the Kipchaks was not decisive in this. The Kipchaks only took what they usually took part in strife, prisoners and set fire to the suburb, Podol [Селезнев (2012); Ипатьевская (1962): 632, 716–717; Лаврентьевская (1962): 418, 445–446, 504; НПЛ (1950): 45, 62, 240, 265–266; Храпачевский (2004): 500].

Konchak's "peacefulness" had its own explanation. He could act as a unifier of the Kipchak tribes. Konchak eliminated competitors in the struggle for supreme power. Eltut could have been a co-ruler of Konchak in earlier times [Ипатьевская (1962): 623]. In addition, when the activity of the Sharukanids increased in Rus', their presence was almost not felt in the Caucasus. When they were defeated by the Rurikovichs, the center of their possessions moved to the south, closer to Georgia and Azerbaijan.

The Donetsk Kipchak Confederation After Konchak Sharukanid's Rule

It was arduous to keep tribes of different origins in one confederation, as confirmed by the data, cited above. Sharukan, Aepa and Asen did not have sufficient charisma to unite

the Kipchaks around themselves. Otrok increased his authority due to victories in Georgia and could rule the North Caucasian steppes [Ипатьевская (1962): 716]. It would be fairer to call the ruling dynasty of the Donetsk Kipchaks the Otrokids, since it was Otrok who laid the foundations for the power of this state. Konchak handed over a strong state to his son Yuri [Ипатьевская (1962): 740-741].

The Galician-Volyn chronicle does not mention Yuri's pagan name, most likely this detail was not important for the chronicler. However, we can reconstruct it according to Arab chronicles. Thus, Rukn ad-Din Baybars I, in accordance an-Nuwayri and Ibn Khaldun, knew about Akkubul, the leader of the Kipchak Toksoba. Considering that both rulers lived in the first half of the 13th century, it is logical to assume that this is the same person. Akkubul is a Kipchak name, and he could have received the new name Yuri during baptism [Тизенаузен (1884): 541; Ипатьевская (1962): 740-741]. The compilers of "Yuan-shi" even mentioned Yulitzi's son Tatahaer. The last name can be compared with the Kipchak name Tatur. This was the name of one of Konchak's relatives, killed by the Rusyns. Yuri Konchakovich could have named his son in honor of his uncle [Храпачевский (2004): 500; Тизенгаузен (1884): 541].

Arab chroniclers reported that there was a long-term enmity between the Durut and Toksoba tribes, in particular, Kotyan's son Mangush died while hunting when Akkubul met him [Тизенгаузен (1884): 541]. In this passage, in a veiled form, the conflict between the Kipchak tribes is reported. The hostage of this discord could be the tribes of "non-wild Cumans", who were supposed to take sides. We do not know whether they retained their independence, since from the time of Kaloyan's death until the siege of the city of Chorlu, the participation of the Kipchaks in the wars on the Balkan Peninsula was limited to insignificant military contingents of mercenaries [Павлов (2000)].

After victories over the Caucasian Alans and Kipchaks, the Mongol corps of Subedei Bogatur reached the Don. The Galician-Volhyn chronicler, who narrated in detail about the events in the Kipchach steppe, did not report the death of the Kipchak leader, but only his flight: "In the summer of 6731, an unheard-of army came, the godless Moabites who were called the Tatars, came to the Polovtsian land. The elder Polovtsian, Yurgia Konchakovich, the greatest of all Polovtsians, could not stand against their face, and while running, he and many were beaten to the Dnieper River" [Ипатьевская(1962): 740]. A Chinese source also mentioned these events. According to the Yuan-shi, the opponents of the Mongol commander were the Kipchak rulers Yulitzi (Yuri) and Tatakhaer (Tatur, Totur). In the battle that took place on the Bustzu River, they were defeated, and Yulitzi's son was wounded and hid in the forest. It was published by Subedei Bogatur that "slaves of the Kipchaks" who went over to the side of the Mongols, after which most of the people of Yulitzi submitted to the Mongols [Храпачевский (2004): 500].

It is reasonable to assume that peace on the borders of Rus' in the 13th century was due not to the peacefulness of the Kipchaks, but to the brutal struggle between the Kipchaks in the Eastern European steppes. On the eve of the Mongol conquest, Yuri Konchakovich could try to unite the western part of Dasht-i Kipchak, and it can be argued that he partially succeeded, since the only real opponent of Yuri-Akkubul was only Khan Kotyan [Тизенгаузен (1884): 541].

The fact that the North Caucasian territories continued to remain under the control of the Kipchaks is confirmed by data from the Arabic sources. An-Nasawi pointed out that in 1227, Emir Jalal ad-Din managed to negotiate an alliance with Khan Gürge (Gurka, Gur Khan) [Маркварт (2002)]. The latter can be identified with Yuri Konchakovich. It can be assumed that the Derbent Kipchaks came under the rule of the Donetsk Kipchak Confederation after the events of 1222–1223. Having lost a significant number of warriors, and perhaps also some of the power elite, they were unable to confront their neighbors to the west. The joint campaign of Yuri Konchakovich and Jalal ad-Din was directed against the states of the South Caucasus. The Khorezme and Kipchaks made an attempt to get Derbent [Маркварт И. (2002); Nasawi (1996): chapter 77]. However, the Emir of Derbent was able to defend the city.

The chronicles mention the name *Eltukovoe*. They were first mentioned in 1146 by the Galician-Volhyn chronicler [Ипатьевская (1962): 339]. Bushakov compares the ethnonym “Eltuk” with the oikonym “Eltok” in Crimea and the Eltok family of the Middle Zhuz of the Kazakhs [Бушаков (1991): 138]. After the Battle of Kalka, the Mongols returned to their summer nomads in the Don region. The Eltuk tribe roamed this region [Иванов(2006): 495]. V. Ivanov points out that the Kipchak possessions in this region were located in the Don, Khorp and Medveditsa basins. Their northern borders are marked by “Polovtsian Babas” on the Bitug and Khorper Rivers [Иванов 2006, 495]. Similar and synchronous monuments were found on the territory of the Saratov and Samara regions [Иванов (2006): 495]. These Kipchaks did not import Bulgarian goods. V. Ivanov believes that the reason for this was the presence of Pechenegs and Oguzes in Volga Bulgaria [Иванов (2006): 495-496, 502-503; Гарустович, Иванов (2001): 108]. D. Rasovsky assumed that the Kipchak attacks on the lands that later became the Ryazan principality began immediately after they captured the steppe expanses of Eastern Europe. The researcher associated the construction of the city of Pronsk and ramparts on the left bank of the Proni River with the Kipchach expansion for protection from attacks by nomads [Расовский (1940): 102].

The Eltukov Kipchaks supported supporters of the complete independence of the Ryazan principality. The first clash with the Suzdal people occurred in 1177, when Vsevolod the Big Nest fought against the Ryazan prince Gleb. On the Koloksha River he encountered the Kipchaks [Лавретьевская (1962): 383-385]. In 1181, the allied troops of the Novgorodians, northerners and Kipchaks moved to the Vladimir-Suzdal principality and were stopped on the Lena River [Лавретьевская (1962): 388]. The compiler of the Nikon Chronicle reported on the Kipchak campaign against Ryazan in 1195 [Патриаршая или Никоновская (1965): 23]. However, this report has not been confirmed by any other source. Novgorod chroniclers reported on the campaign of the Vladimir-Suzdal prince Vsevolod against the Olgovichs. Together with the Murom, Ryazan and hired eastern Kipchaks, he fought against the Olgovichs, who, in turn, themselves called on the Kipchaks (Eltukovo) for help [Патриаршая или Никоновская (1965): 30; НПЛ (1950): 43, 235-236].

The Vladimir-Suzdal Principality considered the Ryazan Principality as a zone of its influence and cruelly punished everyone who tried to make Ryazan an enemy of Suzdal. The campaign of Vsevolod the Big Nest on the Don (Donets of Seversk) in 1199 was directed against the Eltuk Kipchaks [Кудряшов (1948): 134; Лавретьевская (1962):

414-415]. The allied Suzdal residents of Ryazan in 1206 made a campaign against the Kipchaks [Лаврентьевская (1962): 425]. The Vladimir-Suzdal Monomakhovichs were attacked in the Pereyaslavl land by the Kipchaks in 1210 and 1215. During one of the clashes, Vladimir (son of Vsevolod) was captured [Лаврентьевская (1962): 435, 438].

The Ryazan princes Oleg and Gleb, with the help of mercenaries from Eltukov, killed most of their relatives in the city of Isada. According to the Novgorod chronicler, these events took place in 1218 [Гагин; НПЛ (1950): 58]. However, Gleb Vladimirovich's attempt to take possession of Ryazan was unsuccessful. A supporter of an alliance with Suzdal, Ingvar Igorevich, defeated him. Ingvar Igorevich made a campaign against Kipchak territory and won a convincing victory [Гагин; Лаврентьевская (1962): 444]. In 1229, an ally of the Suzdal people, the Moksha kanazor (prince) Puresh, used the Kipchaks against the Erzyan inyazor (prince) Purgas [Лаврентьевская (1962): 451–452].

CONCLUSION

The Donetsk Kipchaks were dominated by the Sharukanid clan and the Toksoba tribe. Relations with the Sharukanids were so important for Rus' that the chronicler recorded the complete pedigree of the representatives of this clan - from Sharukan to Yuri Konchakovich. Periods of peace alternated with periods of confrontation. Under Otrok and Yuri Konchakovich, the Kipchaks did not bother Rus', as they were busy with wars in Dashti Kipchak. Confrontation with Rus' occurred during the reign of Sharukan and Konchak. The Sharukanid clan was divided into smaller clans. One of these clans was Eltukov, near the borders of the Ryazan principality and Volga Bulgaria. The succession to the throne in the Donetsk unification was not ordered by Otrok, who secured it for his descendants, using experience borrowed from Georgia. During Otrok's reign, the Sharukanids fought with the Kaepichs (rulers from the Kai clan), rivals of the Sharukanids. Yuri Konchakovich fought with other chiefdoms, the khanate of the Durut tribe and the confederation of Derbent Kipchaks. Otrok's stay in Georgia can be dated back to 1118–1125, and his return to the Kipchak steppes was due to Syrchan's request for help in the war with the Kaepichs, which lasted until 1160. The Kaepichi seized dominance in the Don region at the beginning of the 12th century.

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