AN HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CENTRAL ASIA

YURI BREGEL

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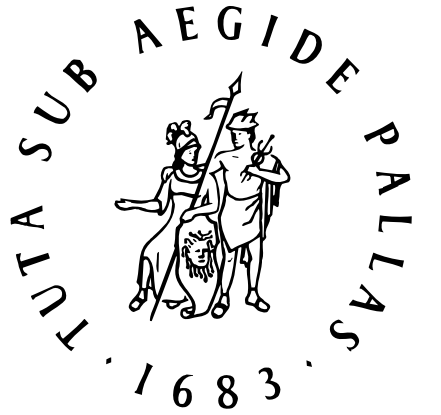
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PREFACE

The geographical and historical meaning of the term "Central Asia" is not as obvious as that of "Asia" or the "Indian subcontinent", and it requires a definition. Such a definition was given in the introduction to my *Bibliography of Islamic Central Asia*,[1] and, since nothing new has been offered in scholarly literature since then, I will repeat it here in a slightly modified form. In geographical terms, Central Asia extends from the Caspian Sea and the Ural river basin in the west to the Altay mountains and the Turfan oasis in the east, and from the limits of the steppe belt (where it borders the West Siberian forest, the taiga) in the north to the Hindukush and the Kopet-Dagh mountains in the south. But physical geography by itself (even less the contemporary political map of Asia) can hardly define this region, which should instead be approached as a distinct cultural and historical entity. From this standpoint, Central Asia can be defined as the western, Turko-Iranian, part of the Inner Asian heartland; its indigenous population consisted of various Iranian peoples, who have been mostly Turkicized by now, while its growing Turkic population has assimilated its indigenous Iranian culture to various degrees. Beginning with the 8th century A.D., Central Asia was gradually incorporated into the Islamic world (a process that now distinguishes it from the eastern part of the Inner Asian heartland, Mongolia and Tibet). As part of the Islamic world, it shares many cultural features with its Islamic neighbors to the south and to the west, but it combines them in a unique blend with the features it shares with the world of the Inner Asian nomads. It belongs to both of these worlds, being a border area for each of them.

The existing Western literature, both scholarly and non-scholarly, does not satisfy the need for historical maps of Central Asia, and it makes difficult a proper acquaintance with Central Asian history, to say nothing of its scholarly study. Various maps occasionally found in Western publications on Central Asian history usually deal with a specific limited area or period and in most cases are unsatisfactory. Maps accompanying some Russian publications of the 1940s through the 1970s are often better,[2] but they also do not show Central Asia (as defined above) as a whole, and cover only certain periods. It happens quite often that works on Central Asian history abounding in geographical names that are not found on modern maps, and even works on the historical geography of this region, fail to include any maps whatsoever.

An Historical Atlas of Islam, published in 1981,[3] includes just two partial maps of Central Asia.[4] A new, revised, edition of this atlas, published in 2002,[5] contains more Central Asian material: in addition to the two maps reprinted from the 1981 edition,[6] it has two maps for later periods, "Transoxania under the Timurids and Özbeks circa 905/1500" and "Transoxania in the 13th/19th century" (pp. 42a-42b), and two city maps.[7] *An Historical Atlas of China* by Albert Herrmann includes Central Asia, or parts of it, on a number of maps,[8] but these maps are somewhat sinocentric and already outdated.[9] The most recent new collection of historical maps of Central Asia was published in Tashkent, in Özbek, under the title *Ŭbzbekiston tarikhi atlasi* ("Historical atlas of Uzbekistan" [sic!], Tashkent, 1999; paperback). It contains 21 maps, of which 17 are historical maps of Central Asia compiled by E.V.Rtveladze and N.H.Hakimov.

When I began teaching graduate courses in Central Asian history at Indiana University in 1981, in the absence of any usable English maps, I had to prepare my own maps, which I showed as transparencies in class. In 1999 two of my graduate students, Ryan Gliha and John McKane, converted my hand-drawn originals into computer files, which were then published (in color printed form) in 2000.[10] This publication included 11 maps; the maps were not very elaborate, but they generated considerable interest, and from the feedback I received from readers I realized that both specialists and the general public needed much more detailed maps that would cover the entire history of Central Asia. Consequently, work on the atlas began in 2000, and was finished in February 2003.

The sources for the maps are too numerous to be listed here. They include all reliable general surveys of Central Asian history, and scholarly works on specific historical topics that contain significant historico-geographical information, with or without maps. Most of the cartographic sources are mentioned in the bibliographical notes to the individual maps below. The same notes also contain references to other works (mostly general surveys) in which the reader can find additional information on the period in question. More detailed bibliographical data concerning the Islamic period (8th century A.D. to 1917) can be found in the above mentioned *Bibliography of Islamic Central Asia*.

The transcription of geographical and personal Arabic and Persian names is simplified, for the benefit of non-specialists. It follows the system of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* as far as consonants are concerned, but without the diacritical marks and with the replacement of Ḳ with Q and Dj with J. The only special transcription signs used are ʿ for *ʿayn* and ʾ (rarely) for *hamza*. The transcription of vowels, for various reasons, is sometimes less consistent (but probably closer to their pronunciation), so that A is rendered as either A or E, I as either I or E, U is either U or O, and AY as either AY or EY. In the transcription of Turkic names, the letters Ä, Ï, Ö, and Ü are utilized. In the transcription of Russian names, the system of the Library of Congress is used, with the following changes: ДЖ is rendered as J (instead of DZH); Й is rendered as Y (instead of Ĭ); Ы is rendered as Ï (instead of Y); Э is rendered as È (instead of Ė); Ю is rendered as IU after consonants, but YU after vowels; Я is rendered as IA after consonants, but YA after vowels. On the maps of 19th-20th century Central Asia under Russian rule, the official Russian transcription of geographical names is reflected: thus, Kokand instead of Qoqand, Askhabad instead of Ashqabad, Kizil-Arvat instead of Qïzïl-Arvat, etc. (but Samarqand, not Samarkand); the official spelling of the names of cities (but not rivers) is also reflected on the map 47. For Chinese names, the Pinyin romanization is used throughout; in several cases the old Wade-Giles transcription (which is often more familiar to students of Central Asia) is given in parentheses.

The terms "Türk," "Türks" are used for the steppe empires of the 6th-8th centuries (called Qaghanates in the scholarly literature) and the dominant groups of their population; for all other ethnic groups who belong to the same linguistic family the terms "Turks," "Turkic" are used.

As the geographical basis for most maps was used a map of Central Asia found in an atlas of the Soviet Union published in Moscow in 1962

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[1] Pt. I, Bloomington, Indiana: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1995, pp. VII-VIII.

[2] Especially noted should be the maps attached to the multi-volume *Ocherki istorii SSSR*, Moscow, 1953-1956, and, in particular, maps accompanying the collected works (*Sochineniya*) by V. V. Bartol'd (in a separate envelope attached to vol. IX, Moscow, 1977; prepared by O. G. Bol'shakov).

[3] Ed. by William C. Brice, Leiden: Brill.

[4] "Transoxiana in the 10th & 11th centuries" (p. 24a) and "The Khʷarazm Shahs and Ghurids" (p. 24b); in addition, two general maps of the Middle East, in the mid-18th and in the 19th and early 20th centuries (pp. 26-27) include a part of Central Asia.

[5] *An Historical Atlas of Islam*, ed. by Hugh Kennedy, Brill: Leiden-Boston-Köln.

[6] See pp. 41a and 41b.

[7] "Marv (Marw)" (p. 43a) and "Harat circa 850/1447" (p. 43b).

[8] New edition, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966 (the first edition published in 1935 under the title *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*), includes Central Asia, or parts of it, on a number of maps: pp. 10-11 ("The Hsiung-nu or Huns in Central Asia, 176 B.C." and "128-36 B.C."; p. 16 ("China in Central Asia, 114 B.C—127 A.D."); pp. 18-19 ("Asia, ca. 100 A.D."); p. 23 ("Eastern, Central and Southern Asia, ca. 440 A.D."); pp. 26-27 ("Asia, ca. 610 A.D."); pp. 30-31 ("Asia, ca. 750 A.D."); p. 32 ("China in Central Asia, 660 A.D."); pp. 38-39 ("Eastern, Central and Southern Asia, 1141 A.D."); p. 40 ("Beginnings of the Mongol Empire—boundaries of 1234 A.D."); pp. 42-43 ("Asia under the Mongols, 1290 A.D."); pp. 46-47 ("Asia during the Ming dynasty—boundaries of 1415 A.D."); pp. 48-49 ("Eastern, Central and Southern Asia, 1760 A.D."); p. 50 ("Chinese Turkistan, 1820 A.D."); p. 51 ("The Manchu Empire and the European powers, 1644-1912 A.D.").

[9] Cf. the critical discussion by Paul Wheatley in the new edition, pp. vi-xxix.

[10] *Historical maps of Central Asia: 9th-19th centuries A.D.*, ed. by Yu. Bregel, Bloomington, Indiana: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2000 (Papers on Inner Asia, Special Supplement).

(*Atlas SSSR*, map on pp. 22-23). For the maps that use other base maps, the source is indicated in the bibliographical notes below. The geographical grid (parallels and meridians) could not be indicated for technical reasons; the grid shown on the maps is used for indexing only.

The maps show some basic elements of the political and ethnic history of Central Asia: sedentary states (for which either the names of these states or of their ruling dynasties are given); nomadic polities and the most important tribes, with their migrations; the routes of military campaigns and the sites of important battles; major rebellions; and the borders. The last category requires some explanation. There exists the opinion that in Islamic history political boundaries often changed rapidly, that dynasties and polities tended to appear and disappear quickly and that, therefore, showing these boundaries on a map with clear lines would be either misleading or confusing. This is, however, not always so, at least as far as Central Asia is concerned. It is true that "fixed" borders described in binational agreements and marked by proper boundary posts appeared in this region only at the end of the 19th century. But already many centuries before, various Central Asian states used to sign such agreements and knew how to protect their borders, usually by means of border patrols (such mobile patrols existed even in the Central Asian steppes). The problem is not that the borders were rapidly changing, but that we often do not know exactly where they were drawn. In the absence of precise information (which is mostly, but not always, the case), the borders of individual polities can be determined on the basis of information about the historical provinces that these polities included, because the borders of the provinces were usually well known and described in the sources, and they often coincided with natural boundaries such as rivers and mountain ranges. In any event, it should be kept in mind that the political borders indicated on the pre-19th century maps in this atlas are always approximate and often hypothetical, even though they are shown by solid lines.

The ethnic history of Central Asia is reflected in almost all the maps, and specifically on maps 36-39, showing the distribution of Özbek, Turkmen, Qazaq, and Qïrghïz tribes at the end of the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century. It was my intention to also include a general ethnic map of Central Asia (which could be based on two Soviet ethnic maps published in 1960-1962), but I came to the conclusion that these maps do not give an idea of the ethnic composition of the sedentary population of Central Asia before 1917 and are also unreliable in showing the present distribution of the sedentary population.

Each map is accompanied by an explanatory text on the facing page containing the most important facts of the political and ethnic history illustrated by the map. These texts are not intended to form a general survey of Central Asian history, because certain important aspects of this history (such as religion) could not be adequately reflected by the maps. The main purpose of the texts is to provide the general reader with some basic information on the major political events and processes that took place during each period covered by the maps; cultural history is only rarely referred to in the texts.

All the maps were originally hand-drawn by me, and the originals were then scanned and converted to computer files by the graphic designers of the Graphic Services group of the Instructional Support Services of Indiana University, Bloomington.

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who helped me in the preparation of this atlas: Bhuva Narayan, who assisted me in planning this publication; Professor Elena Davidovich (Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow), who gave her advice about the general approach to the maps, as well as some specific problems of pre-Mongol history; Professor Boris Litvinskiy (Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow) and Dr. Aleksander Naymark (Hofstra University) for their numerous suggestions concerning the maps dealing with archeology, pre-Islamic and early Islamic history; Professor Clifford E. Bosworth (University of Manchester) for sharing with me his opinion concerning the status of some mountain regions of Central Asia in the 10th-12th centuries; Professor Elliot Sperling (Indiana University), for his advice on the transcription of all Chinese names on the maps and in the texts; Professor William Fierman (Indiana University) for providing me information on the maps of the gas and oil pipelines used for map 47; Dr. Roman Zlotin (Indiana University) for supplying me copies of the Soviet maps of Central Asia from 1923-1926 used for map 46; Professor Devin DeWeese (Indiana University) for his extremely valuable editorial remarks and corrections to the texts accompanying the maps; Satish Pai and Nataliya Bregel (Boston), for their superb proofreading of these texts; my wife, Liliya (Liusia), who supported my work in various ways and patiently put up with almost every horizontal surface in our house (except floors) being taken over for mapmaking. Very special thanks go to the graphic designers at Graphic Services of Indiana University, Suzanne Hull, R. Bryan Smith, and Scott Taylor, who carried out an excellent job in preparing the computerized versions of the maps for the subsequent printing, and who made, upon my requests, repeated and numerous corrections until the maps acquired their final shape. Finally, I am grateful to Indiana University for the financial support that made it possible the assistance of the graphic designers, without whom I would hardly have been able to accomplish the work in such a relatively short time.

Yuri Bregel
Bloomington, Indiana
February 2003

Bibliographical notes

General

For the Islamic period (maps 9-44) a detailed bibliography (monographs and articles published before 1989) is to be found in the *Bibliography of Islamic Central Asia*, compiled and edited by Yu. Bregel, pt. I-III, Bloomington, Indiana: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1995 (Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 160). In the notes below *only* cartographic sources are given, as well as some general and reference works (mostly in English) not included in the above mentioned bibliography.

For the geographical base the following maps have been used:

- for maps 1-12, 14-16, 18-32, 34-39, 45: the map "Sredniaya Aziya i Kazakhstan," in: *Atlas SSSR*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 22-23;
- for maps 2, 43, 47: the map "Kazakhstan i Sredniaya Aziya," in *Atlas SSSR*, Moscow, 1984, pp. 60-61, with corrections based on the maps of Central Asia in *The Times Atlas of the World*, 9th comprehensive edition, London, 1994, plates 27 and 43;
- for maps 13 and 17: the map of Asia published by the National Geographic Society (March 1971);
- for maps 44 and 46: 7 maps "Rossiya: Aziatskaya chast'" and "RSFSR (SSSR): Aziatskaya chast'" published in Petrograd (Leningrad) in 1923-1926.

Three maps by O. G. Bol'shakov attached to the Collected Works by V. V. Bartol'd (see above, Preface) were also consulted: "Sredniaya Aziya v IX-XIII vv.," "Sredniaya Aziya XIX - nach. XX v.," and "Vostochnïy Turkestan i vostochnaya Sredniaya Aziya v srednie veka."

Map 1

The map is based on the physical map of Central Asia published in *Atlas SSSR*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 22-23. Cities are given as of the middle of the 19th century.

On the physical features of Central Asia see further: R. N. Taaffe, "The geographic setting," in: *The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia*, ed. by D. Sinor, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 19-40; "Central Asia: I. Geographical survey," in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. V, 1992, pp. 159-161.

Map 2

No single published map as a whole could serve as a basis for map No. 2. Among the available maps, the following were used: *Sredniaya Aziya v rannem srednevekov'e*, ed. by G. A. Brïkina, Moscow: Nauka, 1999 (Sredniaya Aziya i Dal'niy Vostok v epokhu srednevekov'ya) (maps on pp. 51, 79, 94, 115, 132, 145, 152, 164); *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II, ed. by J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri and G. F. Etemady, Paris: UNESCO, 1994 (maps 3, 4, 6, 7); *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, ed. by B. A. Litvinsky, Zhang Guang-da and R. Shabani Samghabadi, Paris: UNESCO, 1996 (maps 1, 2, 5-7); archeological map of Khorezm attached to the book: S. P. Tolstov, *Po sledam drevnekhorezmiyskoy tsivilizatsii*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1948; *Nizov'ya Amu-Dar'i, Sarïkamïsh, Uzboy: Istoriya formirovaniya i zaseleniya*, Moscow, 1960 (Materialï Khorezmskoy èkspeditsii, fasc. 3) (map after p. 146); Yu. F. Buriakov, *Istoricheskaya topografiya drevnikh gorodov Tashkentskogo oazisa (Istoriko-arkheologicheskiy ocherk Chacha i Ilaka)*, Tashkent, 1975 (map on p. 13).

Concise general surveys of the archeology of Central Asia, with further references, are found in the following publications: V. M. Masson, "Archeology V. Pre-Islamic Central Asia," in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. II, 1987, pp. 308-317; G. A. Pugachenkova and E. V. Rtveladze, "Archeology VII. Islamic Central Asia," in: *ibid.*, pp. 322-326; N. H. Dupree, "Afghanistan VIII. Archeology," in: *ibid.*, vol. I, 1985, pp. 530-544; *Vostochnïy Turkestan v drevnem i rannem srednevekov'e. Ocherki istorii*, ed. by S. L. Tikhvinskiy and B. A. Litvinskiy, Moscow, 1988, pp. 17-78 (map on p. 18).

Map 3

Our map follows the maps included in the most detailed study of Alexander's campaign: J. Seibert, *Die Eroberung des Perserreiches durch Alexander den Grossen*, [pt. 2] *Karten*, Wiesbaden, 1985 (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas der Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, No. 68), maps 23-24. For other general reference works on this period see: A. H. Dani, "Alexander's campaign in Central Asia," in: *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II, ed. by J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri, and G. F. Etemadi, Paris: UNESCO, 1994, pp. 67-88; P. Briant, "Alexander the Great," in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I, 1985, pp. 827-830.

Map 4

No existing maps could be used for this map.

For general works on this period see: P. Bernard, "The Greek kingdoms of Central Asia," in: *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II, ed. by J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri, and G. F. Etemadi, Paris: UNESCO, 1994, pp. 99-129; G. A. Koshelenko and V. A. Pilipko, "Parthia," *ibid*., pp. 131-150; K. Enoki, G. A. Koshelenko and Z. Haidary, "The Yüeh-chih and their migrations," *ibid*., pp. 171-189; P. Leriche, "Bactria.i. Pre-Islamic period," in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I, 1985, pp. 339-343.

Map 5

No existing maps could be used for this map.

For general works on this period see: Ma Yong and Sun Yutang, "The Western Regions under the Hsiung-nu and the Han," in: *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II, ed. by J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri, and G. F. Etemadi, Paris: UNESCO, 1994, pp. 227-246; B. N. Puri, "The Kushans," *ibid*., pp. 247-263; N. N. Negmatov, "States in north-western Central Asia," in: *ibid*., pp. 441-456; Y. A. Zadneprovskiy, "The nomads of northern Central Asia after the invasion of Alexander," in: *ibid.*, pp. 457-472; Ying-shih Yü, "The Hsiung-nu," in: *The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia*, ed. by D. Sinor, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 118-149.

On the recent data concerning the Kushan chronology see J. Cribb, "The early Kushan kings: new evidence for chronology. Evidence from the Rabatak Inscription of Kanishka I," in: *Coins, art, and chronology: Essays on the Pre-Islamic history of the Indo-Iranian borderlands*, ed. by M. Alram and D. E. Klimburg-Salter, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999, pp. 177-205.

Maps 6-10

No existing maps could be used. For general works on these periods see:

(Map 6) A. H. Dani and B. A. Litvinsky, "The Kushano-Sasanian kingdom," in: *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, ed. by B. A. Litvinsky, Zhang Guang-da and R. Shabani Samghabadi, Paris: UNESCO, 1996, pp. 103-118; E. V. Zeimal, "The Kidarite kingdom in Central Asia," in: *ibid.*, pp. 119-133; B. A. Litvinsky, "The Hephthalite Empire," in: *ibid*., pp. 135-161; Zhang Guang-da, "The city-states of the Tarim basin," in: *ibid*., pp. 281-301; *idem*, "Kocho (Kao-ch'ang)," in: *ibid*., pp. 303-314; L. R. Kyzlasov, "Northern nomads," in: *ibid*., pp. 315-325; A. D. H. Bivar, "Hayāṭila," in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. III, 1971, pp. 303-304.

(Map 7) D. Sinor, "The First Türk Empire (553-682)," in: *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, pp. 327-335; D. Sinor, "The establishment and dissolution of the Türk empire," in: *The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia*, ed. by D. Sinor, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 285-310.

See also: G. Goibov, *Rannie pokhodï arabov v Sredniuyu Aziyu (644-704 gg.)*, Dushanbe, 1989.

(Map 8) S. G. Klyashtorny, "The second Türk Empire," in: *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, pp. 335-347; D. Sinor, "The establishment and dissolution of the Türk empire," in: *The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia*, pp. 310-316.

(Map 9) A. H. Jalilov, "The Arab conquest of Transoxania," in: *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. III, pp. 456-465.

(Map 10) C. Mackerras, "The Uighurs," in: *The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia*, pp. 320-342.

Maps 11-12

These maps are partially based on the map "Transoxiana in the 10th & 11th centuries" by C. E. Bosworth in *An Historical Atlas of Islam*, map 24 (a) (republished in the new edition of the atlas as map 41a). See also a detailed survey of the historical geography of the southern parts of Central Asia: Sh. S. Kamaliddinov, *Istoricheskaya geografiya yuzhnogo Sogda i Tokharistana po araboyazïchnïm istochnikam IX—nachala XIII vv.*, Tashkent: Uzbekiston, 1996 (without maps!).

Also consulted were the maps in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp. 93 (map 2) and 139 (map 3), and in *Istoriya tajikskogo naroda*, vol. II/1, Moscow: Nauka, 1964.

For general works see also: R. N. Frye, "The Samanids," in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, pp. 136-161; C. E. Bosworth, "Sāmānids," in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. VIII, 1995, pp. 1025-1029; N. N. Negmatov, "The Samanid state," in: *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, pt. 1, ed. by M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth, Paris: UNESCO, 1998, pp. 77-94; E. A. Davidovich, "The Karakhanids," in: *ibid.*, pp. 119-143; P. B. Golden, "The Karakhanids and early Islam," in: *The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia*, ed. by D. Sinor, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 343-370.

See especially two articles by the late B. D. Kochnev: "Les frontières du royaume des Karakhanides," in: *Études karakhanides*, Tachkent—Aix-en-Provence, 2001 (Cahiers d'Asie centrale, No. 9), pp. 41-48 and a map on p. 70 (of a special importance for the borders of the Qarakhanid Qaghanate) and "La chronologie et la généalogie des Karakhanides du point de vue de la numismatique," in: *ibid.*, pp. 49-69.

Maps 13-17
Map 13 is partially based on the map "Map showing the extent of the Ghaznavid empire in 1030 A.D." attached to the book by C. E. Bosworth *The Ghaznavids: Their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran, 994:1040*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ., 1963 (reprinted in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, Cambridge University Press, 1975, p. 167). Map 17 is partially based on the map "The Khʷārazm Shahs and Ghurids" by C. E. Bosworth in *An Historical Atlas of Islam*, map 24 (b) (republished in the new edition of the atlas as map 41b).

For general works see also: C. E. Bosworth, "The political and dynastic history of the Iranian world (A.D. 1000-1217)," in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, Cambridge University Press, 1968, pp. 1-202; C. E. Bosworth, "The Ghaznavids," in: *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV, pt. 1, Paris: UNESCO, 1998, pp. 95-117; A. Sevim and C. E. Bosworth, "The Seljuqs and the Khwarazm Shahs," in: *ibid.*, pp. 145-175; K. A. Nizami, "The Ghurids," in: *ibid.*, pp. 177-190; D. Sinor, "The Kitan and the Kara Khitay," in: *ibid.,* pp. 227-242.

Maps 18-20
No existing map could be used as a whole, but the following maps were consulted: V. L. Egorov, *Istoricheskaya geografiya Zolotoy Ordï v XIII-XIV vv.*, Moscow: Nauka, 1985, maps 1-2 (after p. 232).

For general work on this period see: J. A. Boyle, "Dynastic and political history of the Il-Khans," in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, Cambridge University Press, 1968, pp. 303-421.

See also M. Biran, *Qaidu and the rise of the independent Mongol state in Central Asia*, Surrey: Curzon, 1997 (a map on p. 115 was utilized for my map 19).

Maps 21-24
No existing map could be used as a whole. For general works on these periods see: B. F. Manz, *The rise and rule of Tamerlane*, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989 (and a map on p. 26); three chapters by H. R. Roemer in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986 ("The Jalayirids, Muzaffarids and Sarbadārs," pp. 1-41; "Tīmūr in Iran," pp. 42-97; "The successors of Tīmūr," pp. 98-145).

As geographical base for map 23 the map of Asia was used published by the National Geographic Society (March 1971).

Maps 25-31
No existing map could be used as a whole, but the following maps were consulted: "Kazakhskoe khanstvo v XV-XVII vv.," in: *Istoriya Kazakhstana*, vol. 2, Almatï, 1997, p. 313; "Kazakhstan v XVIII v.," in: *Istoriya Kazakhskoy SSR*, vol. 3, Alma-Ata, 1979, after p. 81; "Kazakhstan v pervoy polovine XIX veka," in: *ibid.*, after p. 186. For map 30 the following map was consulted: I. Stebelsky, "The frontier in Central Asia," in: *Studies in Russian historical geography*, vol. 1, Academic Press, 1983, p. 150 ("The Siberian defence line").

For general works on these periods see: R. McChesney, "Central Asia VI: In the 10th-12th/16th-18th centuries," in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. V, 1992, pp. 176-193; Yu. Bregel, "Central Asia VII: In the 12th-13th/18th-19th centuries," in: *ibid.*, pp. 193-199. The work by V. V. Trepavlov, *Istoriya Nogayskoy ordï*, Moscow, 2001, does not contain maps, but is important for the reconstruction of the political map of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq in the 15th-17th centuries.

Map 32
The map is partially based on the map in N. A. Khalfin, *Politika Rossii v Sredney Azii (1857-1868)*, Moscow: Nauka, 1960.

For general works on this period see: Yu. Bregel, "Central Asia VIII: The Russian conquest of Central Asia and the first decades of Russian rule," in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. V, 1992, pp. 199-205.

Map 33
The map is based on the map attached to the book by V. Lobachevskiy, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie Turkestanskogo voennogo okruga: Khivinskiy rayon*, Tashkent, 1912, and on the map "Khorezm in the 17th–early 19th centuries" attached to the book Shir Muhammad Mirab Munis and Muhammad Riza Mirab Agahi, *Firdaws al-iqbāl: History of Khorezm*, translated from Chaghatay and annotated by Yu. Bregel, Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Map 34
The map is partially based on the map "Sredniaya Aziya v XVII veke" attached to the book *Materialï po istorii Uzbekskoy, Tajikskoy i Turkmenskoy SSR: chast' I: Torgovlia s Moskovskim gosudarstvom i mezhdunarodnoe polozhenie Sredney Azii v XVI-XVII vv.*, Leningrad, 1932, and on the map in the article by A. N. Zelinskiy, "Drevnie puti Pamira," in: *Stranï i narodï Vostoka: Geografiya, ètnografiya, istoriya*, Moscow: Nauka, 1964 (after p. 106).

For a general work on the Central Asian trade in the 16th-17th centuries see A. Burton, *The Bukharans: A dynastic, diplomatic and commercial history, 1550-1702*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997, pp. 363-543.

Map 35
The section of the map showing the regions north of the upper course of the Amu-Darya is based on the maps in the book by B. Kh. Karmïsheva, *Ocherki ètnicheskoy istorii yuzhnïkh rayonov Tajikistana i Uzbekistana*, Moscow: Nauka, 1976, pp. 42-43, 74-75, 88-89. For the central part of the Zerafshan basin see the map in *Ètnograficheskie ocherki uzbekskogo sel'skogo naseleniya*, Moscow: Nauka, 1969, p. 23. For the northern regions of modern Afghanistan the map is based on G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan*, Lund—Leipzig, 1939 (with a map). For Ferghana, the map is partly based on an ethnic map of Ferghana compiled by Daniel Prior (Indiana University).

Maps 36a-b
No existing map could be used as a whole. Partially utilized were the maps in the article: Yu. Bregel', "Ètnicheskaya karta Yuzhnoy Turkmenii i Khorasana v XVII-XVIII vv.," in: *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta ètnografii AN SSSR*, vol. XXXI, Moscow, 1959, pp. 14-26.

Map 37
This map is based primarily on the map "Karta rasseleniya rodoplemennïkh grupp turkmen v dorevoliutsionnïy period" in: *Narodï Sredney Azii i Kazakhstana*, II, Moscow, 1963, after p. 16, with additions from other sources for the regions beyond the borders of the former Soviet Union.

Map 38
This map is based on the maps in the book: V. V. Vostrov, M. S. Mukanov, *Rodoplemennoy sostav i rasselenie kazakhov (konets XIX—nachalo XX v.)*, Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1963, pp. 115, 123, 130, 133, 141, 146, 150, 156, 161, 167, 171, 176, 180, 184, 188, 192, 197, 202, 207, 211, 216, 220, 225, 229, 234, 239, with my additions for the Qazaqs in Xinjiang.

Map 39
This map is based on the following maps: "Karta dorevoliutsionnogo rasseleniya rodoplemennïkh grupp kirgizov," in: *Narodï Sredney Azii i Kazakhstana*, II, Moscow, 1963, after p. 176, and the map by S. M. Abramzon, "Rodoplemennoy sostav kirgizov Sin'tszian-Uygurskoy avtonomnoy oblasti Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki," in: *Trudï Kirgizskoy arkheologo-ètnograficheskoy èkspeditsii*, vol. II, 1959, after p. 332.

Map 40
This map is based on the map "Plan Bukharï VIII-XIX vv." by O. G. Bol'shakov, attached to the Collected Works by V. V. Bartol'd (with corrections based on a review by E. A. Davidovich in *Drevnost' i srednevekov'e narodov Sredney Azii (istoriya i kul'tura)*, Moscow: Nauka, 1978, pp. 104-111, and on oral suggestions by A. Naymark), combined with a map by O. A. Sukhareva in her book *K istorii gorodov Bukharskogo khanstva (istoriko-ètnograficheskie ocherki)*, Tashkent, 1958, after p. 96.

Information on public buildings (on the map) and on the conditions in Bukhara in the 19th century (in the text) is based on the books by O. A. Sukhareva: *Bukhara: XIX—nachalo XX v. (Pozdnefeodal'nïy gorod i ego naselenie)*, Moscow: Nauka, 1966, and *Kvartal'naya obshchina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukharï (v sviazi s istoriey kvartalov)*, Moscow: Nauka, 1976.

Map 41
This map is based on the map "Plan Samarkanda IX-XIX vv." by O. G. Bol'shakov, attached to the Collected Works by V. V. Bartol'd, and an article by O. A. Sukhareva, "Oboronitel'nïe stenï Samarkanda," in: *Kul'tura i iskusstvo narodov Sredney Azii v drevnosti i srednevekov'e*, Moscow: Nauka, 1979, pp. 85-95 and ill. 34 on p. 170.

Map 42 (a-b)
These maps are based on the maps in the book by L. Man'kovskaya, V. Bulatova, *Pamiatniki zodchestva Khorezma*, Tashkent, 1978 (ill. 29: "Gorod Khiva. Skhema raspolozheniya pamiatnikov" and ill. 30: "Ichan-kala. Skhema raspolozheniya pamiatnikov") and the city map of Khiva: *Khiva: Plan goroda*, Tashkent, 1991.

Map 43
No existing map could be used as a whole. The following maps were consulted: "Karta-skhema raspolozheniya pamiatnikov arkhitekturï Sredney Azii," in: G. A. Pugachenkova, *Sredniaya Aziya: Spravochnik-putevoditel'*, Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1983, pp. 426-427; L. Yu. Man'kovskaya, *Arkhitekturnye pamiatniki Kashkadar'i*, Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 1979, p. 19; L. Man'kovskaya, V. Bulatova, *Pamiatniki zodchestva Khorezma*, Tashkent, 1978, map on p. 87; W. Ball and J.-C. Gardin, *Archaeological gazetteer of Afghanistan*, t. II, Paris, 1982, maps 78-116.

Map 44
This map is based (for the administrative borders) on the map in: V. I. Masal'skiy, *Turkestanskiy kray*, St. Petersburg, 1913 (Rossiya. Polnoe geograficheskoe opisanie nashego otechestva, vol. XIX).

Map 45
This map is based mainly on the maps in *Grazhdanskaya voyna i voennaya interventsiya v SSSR: Èntsiklopediya*, Moscow: Sovetskaya èntsiklopediya, 1983 (in particular, maps after p. 208 and on pp. 377 and 379).

Map 46
This map is based on the following maps: (1) *Administrativnaya karta RSFSR. Aziatskaya chast'*, Petrograd, [1923]; (2) *Administrativnaya karta RSFSR. Aziatskaya chast'* [2nd ed., borders as of May 1, 1923], Petrograd, 1923; (3) *Administrativnaya karta RSFSR. Aziatskaya chast'* [4th ed., borders as of July 1, 1924]; (4) *Administrativnaya karta SSSR. Aziatskaya chast'* [5th ed., borders as of November 20, 1924]; (5) *Administrativnaya karta SSSR. Aziatskaya chast'* [10th ed., borders as of September 1, 1925]; (6) *Administrativnaya karta SSSR. Aziatskaya chast'* [11th ed., borders as of January 1, 1926].

Map 47
This map is based on the map "Kazakhstan i Sredniaya Aziya" in *Atlas SSSR*, Moscow, 1984 (with corrections based on the maps of Central Asia in *The Times Atlas of the World*, 9th comprehensive edition, London, 1994, plates 27 and 43). The crude oil and natural gas pipelines are given according to the maps: *Oil and gas infrastructure in the Caspian Sea region*, Central Intelligence Agency, March 2001; *Crude oil infrastructure in FSU Central Asia* and *Natural gas infrastructure in FSU Central Asia* (the last two available on the Web).

Abbreviations

(used on the maps, in the accompanying texts, and in the index)

can.	canal
I.	island
Kh.	khanqah
L.	lake
Md.	madrasa
Mq.	mosque
Ms.	mausoleum
Mts.	mountains
Mz.	mazar
Pen.	peninsula
R.	river
Ra.	range

General legend



MAPS

1. THE PRINCIPAL GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES AND PROVINCES

Central Asia as defined for this publication (see the Preface) consists of two major geographical areas: the western part that includes the Turan plain east of the Caspian Sea and the Kazakh Upland north of it, stretching eastward to the foot of the Tien-Shan and Pamir-Alay mountains and southward to the Kopet-Dagh mountains; and the eastern part that includes the high plateaus of the Tarim basin and the Junghar basin (separated from one another by the Tien-Shan mountains, while the Tarim basin is separated from the even higher Tibetan plateau by the Kunlun range). These two main parts of Central Asia are often conveniently called Western and Eastern Turkestan (cf. below). The mountain systems that lie between the western and the eastern parts of Central Asia are formed by the ranges radiating from the Pamirs mostly on east-west axes. The highest peaks in these mountains reach 7,496 m in the Darvaz chain (in Western Turkestan) and 7,719 m in the Kongur chain (in Eastern Turkestan). Some of these ranges made the movement of people in a longitudinal direction (especially in the Pamir-Alay) difficult, but these barriers were mostly not impenetrable.

Central Asia as a whole is characterized by an extreme continental climate, with high aridity that increases from north to south and from the mountains to the plains. Accordingly, Central Asia is divided into three main natural regions: steppe, desert, and mountains. The steppe zone, which lies approximately north of the Aral Sea, the Sïr-Darya river, and the Tien-Shan mountains, is a part of the great steppe belt stretching across the Eurasian continent from Manchuria in the east to Hungary in the west. The northern part of the steppe consists of grasslands that gradually become forest-steppe bordering the Siberian forest (taiga) in the north; most of the steppe belt is, however, semidesert or desert-steppe, with very few rivers, sparse vegetation, and some salt pans and salt lakes. South of the steppe belt lies the desert zone, which occupies the largest part of Central Asia and encompasses three major deserts, the Qara-qum, Qïzïl-qum, and Taqla-Makan, as well as a number of smaller areas of sand desert, and the dry Üst-Yurt plateau.

With the exception of the Irtïsh river and its left tributaries that belong to the Arctic Ocean drainage and flow through the northern grasslands, all Central Asian rivers are of internal drainage. In the western part of Central Asia, two major rivers, the Amu-Darya and the Sïr-Darya, flow, respectively, from the Pamirs and the Tien-Shan to the north-west and empty into the Aral Sea (but cf. map 47). In the eastern part the main river is the Tarim, with its tributaries that rise in the Kunlun, Pamir-Alay, and Tien-Shan mountains; it falls into the "wandering" lake Lop-nor (a remnant of an ancient Lop Sea). Other rivers that do not belong to the basins of the Amu-Darya, Sïr-Darya, and Tarim dry up in blind deltas in the sands. All major Central Asian rivers are fed by melting snow in the mountains (in spring) and especially the melting ice of numerous mountain glaciers (in summer). The Amu-Darya, in its lower course, has changed its riverbed repeatedly. In prehistoric times it probably fell into the Caspian Sea, instead of the Aral Sea; the dry bed known as Uzboy is the remainder of this ancient course, and the flow of water through it, at least partially, was renewed several times during the historic period, most notably in the early 13th and late 14th centuries. The delta of the Amu-Darya was characterized by frequent changes in the direction and configuration of the various arms of the river (sometimes these changes were man-made). For a certain time during the first and early second millenium A.D. the Amu-Darya and the Sïr-Darya had a common delta, and later on the arms of the Sïr-Darya delta would also change their configuration. The Tarim also had a migratory delta whose arms would change and sometimes entirely dry up.

Most of the Central Asian plains in the desert zone have a very fertile yellow loess soil, but, because of the extremely dry climate, it can be used for agriculture only with the help of artificial irrigation (dry farming has existed mostly in the piedmont areas, but it has never been of major importance). Such agriculture developed in the central parts of Central Asia since the second millenium B.C., and it has remained the economic basis of the Central Asian civilization. At about the same time, pastoralist stock-breeding developed in the steppe areas. The sedentary population lived in oases in the irrigated river basins, which became the centers of agriculture and urban life, while the stock-breeders nomadized in the steppes. These two groups were never isolated from one another, however, and, in many ways, they were dependent on one another. The urban centers in the oases developed a sophisticated civilization whose influence spread far into the steppes. But militarily and politically the nomads were predominant for many centuries, due to their superior mobility and military prowess.

The desert zone of Central Asia can also be described as a "sedentary zone," because it was the area in which all the settled rural and urban population was located. But in this "sedentary zone" the oases occupied only a small part of the area, and they were interspersed with steppe and desert, which could be quite close even to the major population centers (like Bukhara and Khiva). Therefore, throughout historic times, groups of nomads, sometimes very substantial ones, could be found within the "sedentary zone," occupying these ecological niches, while the areas of sedentary population would almost never form a large compact territory. In some desert regions the sedentary population was concentrated in relatively small isolated oases surrounded by vast expanses of desert, as was the case in Eastern Turkestan.

The majority of the sedentary population of Central Asia was concentrated in five regions: the Zerafshan and the Qashqa-Darya river valleys (known as Soghd in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times), Khorezm (the area of the lower course of the Amu-Darya, with its delta), Ferghana (the fertile basin in the middle course of the Sïr-Darya), Chach, or Shash, together with Ilaq (the area in the basin of the Chirchik and the Ahangeran, right tributaries of the Sïr-Darya), and in the area of Balkh, south of the Amu-Darya. All regions between the middle and upper course of the Amu-Darya and the Sïr-Darya were known in Islamic times as "Māʾ warāʾ an-Nahr" (in simplified transcription, Mavarannahr), lit. "That which is beyond the River" (i.e. beyond the Amu), which corresponds to the "Transoxiana," or "Transoxania" ("That which is beyond the Oxus") of classical authors; the name Mavarannahr was used in Central Asia until as late as the early 20th century. The region to the south of the upper course of the Amu-Darya and north of the Hindukush mountains was known in the Islamic period as Tokharistan; this term was used also in a wider sense, including also the highlands north of the upper course of the Amu-Darya. The Amu-Darya was traditionally considered the border between Iran and Central Asia, and the lands south of it belonged to Khorasan—the north-eastern province of Iran; the actual political boundaries would only seldom run along the river, and, since the Özbek conquest, the parts of Khorasan north of the Kopet-Dagh and east of the Murghab mostly belonged to different Central Asian states. There was another geographical term, Turkestan (or Turkistan, lit. "The land of the Turks"), loosely applied to Central Asia or to different parts of it. It changed its meaning with the changes in the ethnic composition of the population and state boundaries, and it is actually misleading for the early periods of Central Asian history, when no Turks were yet historically attested; but by the end of the 19th century three parts of Turkestan were usually distinguished: Western (or Russian), Eastern (or Chinese), and Afghan Turkestan. The terms Eastern and Western Turkestan can still be conveniently used to distinguish between two major geographical and historical regions of Central Asia, although the term Eastern Turkestan is often used only for the Tarim basin, excluding Jungharia—the region north of the Tien-Shan. Separate parts of the Tarim basin region have been known only under the names of the cities that were their centers (in pre-Islamic times, city-states), although sometimes the name Kashghar, or Kashgharia, was applied to Eastern Turkestan as a whole. The steppe lands of Central Asia, north of the Aral Sea and the Sïr-Darya, became known to the Islamic geographers under the names of the nomadic peoples who were dominant in these steppes. Accordingly, beginning in the 8th century A.D. the steppe region was called "the Steppe of the Ghuzz" (i.e. Oghuz), and, beginning in the 11th century, it became "the Steppe of the Qïpchaqs" (Dasht-i Qïpchaq in Persian). This latter name remained in the local usage down to the 19th century, although the Qïpchaqs disappeared as the dominant ethnic group in the steppes after the Mongol conquest.

A separate part of the steppe belt of Western Turkestan is the region between the Tien-Shan in the south and Lake Balkhash in the north known under its Turkic name Yeti-su (or Zheti-su) or, in Western literature, under the Russian version of this name, "Semirech'e"—literally, "Seven rivers."



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1. THE PRINCIPAL GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES AND PROVINCES

2. MAJOR ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES

Central Asia has thousands of archeological sites, beginning from the paleolithic down to the recent Islamic. The prehistoric sites are outside of the scope of this atlas, which begins with the end of the Achaemenid period.

Archeological work began in Central Asia during the last decades of the 19th century, with the first Russian (mostly amateurish) archeological excavations in Western Turkestan and western and Russian scholarly expeditions in Eastern Turkestan. During the following century archeological work developed on a large scale, especially in the former Soviet Central Asia, but also in Eastern Turkestan and Afghan Turkestan. In the former Soviet Central Asia some archeological work was done since the 1920s, but large scale and systematic archeological work began since the mid-1930s, by several major long-term expeditions from Moscow, Leningrad (now St.Petersburg), and Tashkent. In Eastern Turkestan the study of archeological remains was undertaken, since the 1890s, by a number of relatively short-term expeditions of British, Russian, German, French, Japanese, and (lately) Chinese scholars. In Afghan Turkestan archeological excavations were begun in the 1920s, originally by French scholars, and later also by American, Japanese, Italian, Russian, and Afghan archeologists. As a result of these multinational efforts, numerous archeological discoveries have been made. Ancient and medieval remains that have been discovered range from single objects, like weapons, utensils, coins, and works of art, to single structures, like temples, palaces, and fortresses, to entire settlements and cities. Material produced by the excavations comes from all historical periods. A number of ancient and medieval cities of Central Asia has been systematically studied by archeologists. In the city of Penjikend, which ceased to exist in the 8th century A.D., almost 50% of its territory has been excavated.

- Pre-Islamic sites
- Islamic sites
- Sites having both pre-Islamic and Islamic strata

Historical names of the same sites are given in square brackets. The names of archeological sites coinciding with the modern placenames are given in italics.

Archeological sites by regions:

Northern Khorasan (S. Turkmenistan):

1. Mashhad-i Misriyan ("Mestorian") [=Dihistan]
2. Taq [=Yazïr, Durun]
3. Nesa (2 sites: pre-Islamic and Islamic)
4. Anau
5. Köhne Kaahka
6. Köhne Serakhs
7. Yaz-depe
8. Köhne Kishman [=Kushmeyhen]
9. Old Merv (4 sites: Erk-qala – pre-Islamic, Giaur-qala – pre-Islamic, Sultan-qala – Islamic, Bayram-Ali-khan-qala – Islamic)

Khorezm (including lower Sïr-Darya and Uzboy):

10. Beleuli
11. Ush-quduq
12. Dev-Kesken [=Vezir]
13. Qanga-qala
14. Ighdï-qala
15. Talaykhan-Ata
16. Hayvan-qala
17. Toq-qala
18. Giaur-qala [=Mizdahqan]
19. Tash-qala [=Gurganj]
20. Küzeli-ghïr
21. Shahsenem
22. Qalalï-ghïr II
23. Qalalï-ghïr I
24. Köhne-Uas
25. Zmukhshir [=Zamakhshar]
26. *Khiva*
27. Topraq-qala
28. Qavat-qala
29. Qïrq-qïz-qala
30. Bazar-qala
31. Janbas-qala
32. Qoy-Qrïlghan-qala
33. *Hazarasp*
34. Baraq-Tam
35. Jankent [=Yangikent]
36. Altïn-asar
37. Tompaq-asar
38. Zhalpaq-asar
39. Babish-Mulla
40. Chirik-rabat
41. Tagisken
42. Jana-qala [=Jend]

Middle Amu-Darya:

43. Jigirbend
44. Darghan-Ata
45. Daya-Khatïn [=Rabat Tahiriya]
46. Shay-Zengir-depe
47. Odey-depe
48. Yassï-depe
49. Khazarek-depe
50. Üsti-qala
51. Old Farab
52. Khoja-Idat-qala
53. Zuhra-i Tahir [=Nevida]
54. Shor-depe
55. Shor-depe I-II
56. *Kerki*

Mavarannahr (Soghd, Ustrushana, Pamir), and Tokharistan:

57. Paykend
58. Jar-tepe [=Varakhsha]
59. *Bukhara*
60. Yangi Vardanzi [=Vardana]
61. *Nur-Ata*
62. Qurghan-tepe
63. Qala-i Dabus [=Dabusiya]
64. Rabinjan-tepe [=Arbinjan]
65. Ishtikhan
66. Durman-tepe
67. Afrasiyab [=Samarqand]
68. Kuldor-tepe [=Maymurg]
69. Talibarzu
70. Jar-tepa
71. Kaynar-su [=Penjikent]
72. Old Kitab
73. Yer-Qurghan [=Nakhsheb]
74. Shulluk-tepe [=Nakhsheb]
75. Kuhna Pazdi [=Bezda]
76. Kasba
77. Qala-i Tepe
78. Mugh
79. Gardani-Hisor
80. Shahristan
81. Chil-Hujra
82. Buzghala
83. Tilla-tepe
84. Dilberjin
85. *Balkh*
86. Balalïq-tepe
87. Zar-tepe
88. Old Termez
89. Ayrtam
90. Talashkan-tepe
91. Dalverzin-tepe
92. Khalchayan
93. Budrach
94. Shahr-i nau
95. *Dushanbe*
96. Tup-khana
97. Yavan
98. Munchak-tepe
99. Lagman [=Halaverd]
100. Ajina-tepe
101. Kafïr-qala
102. Shuturmula
103. Takht-i Sangin
104. Ayvaj
105. Qala-i Zal
106. Sayyed
107. Ay-Khanum [=Antiochia on the Oxus]
108. Jar-tepe
109. Surkh-Kotal
110. *Bamiyan*
111. Begram [=Kapisa]
112. Vanch-qala
113. Kafïr-qala
114. Kaahka
115. Yamchun
116. Vrang
117. Ratm
118. Varshez
119. Toquzbulaq
120. Patkhur
121. Mienakuh

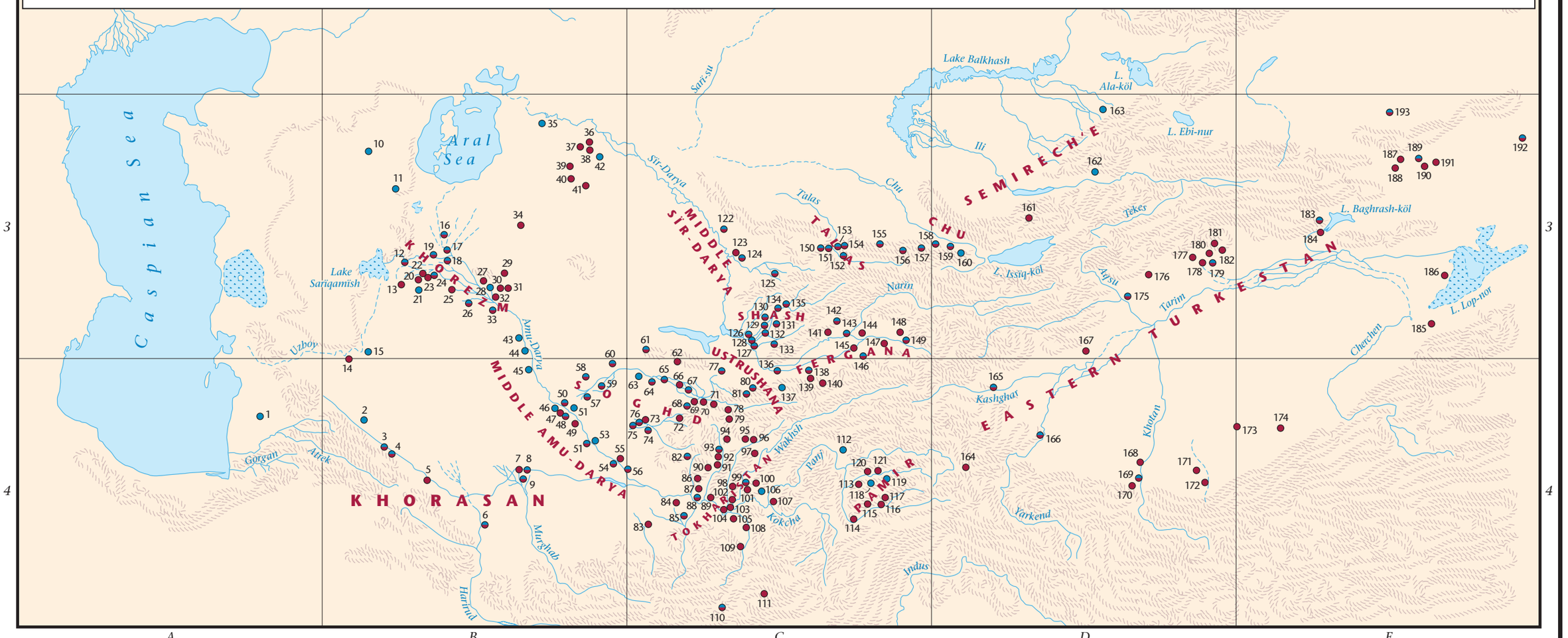
Middle Sïr-Darya, Shash, Ferghana, Talas, Chu, Semirech'e:

122. Chuy-tobe [=Shavgar]
123. Kuyruk-tobe
124. Otrar-tobe [=Otrar]
125. Sayram [=Isfijab]
126. Chinaz
127. Shahrukhiya [=Benaket, Shahrukhiya]
128. Kanka [=Kharashket]
129. Khanabad-tepe [=Nujket]
130. Ming-Ürük [=Chach, Binket]
131. Kavardan [=Kabarna]
132. Ulkan-Toy-tepe [=Nuket]
133. Imlak [=Tunket]
134. Khojikent
135. Burchmula
136. *Khojend*
137. Qarabulaq
138. *Isfara*
139. Qala-i Bolo
140. *Sokh*
141. *Chust*
142. Kasan-tepe [=Kasan]
143. Akhsiket
144. Eylatan
145. Marhamat
146. Quva [=Quba]
147. Dalverzin
148. Shurabashat
149. Uzgen [=Uzgend]
150. Bek-tobe [=Juvikat]
151. Juvan-tobe [=Taraz]
152. Sadïr-qurghan [=Shelji]
153. Qos-tobe
154. Tortkol-tobe [=Lower Barskhan]
155. Lugovoe [=Kulan]
156. Aspara [=Ashpara]
157. Sokuluk [=Jul]
158. Krasnaya Rechka [=Nevaket]
159. Aq-Beshim [=Suyab]
160. Burana [=Balasaghun]
161. Issïq
162. Ucharal
163. Antonovskoe

Eastern Turkestan:

164. *Tashqurghan*
165. *Kashghar*
166. *Yarkend*
167. Tumshuq
168. *Ravak*
169. *Khotan*
170. Yotkan
171. Khadalik
172. Balavaste
173. Old Niya
174. Endere
175. *Aqsu*
176. Qïzïl
177. Okhur
178. Qumtura
179. *Kucha*
180. Qïzïl
181. Sübashi
182. Simsim
183. *Qarashahr*
184. Shorchuk
185. Miran
186. Loulan
187. *Turfan*
188. Yar-Khoto
189. Qocho (Qara-Khoja)
190. Idiqut-shahri
191. Astana
192. *Qomul (Hami)*
193. Bishbalïq (Beiting)

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2. MAJOR ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES

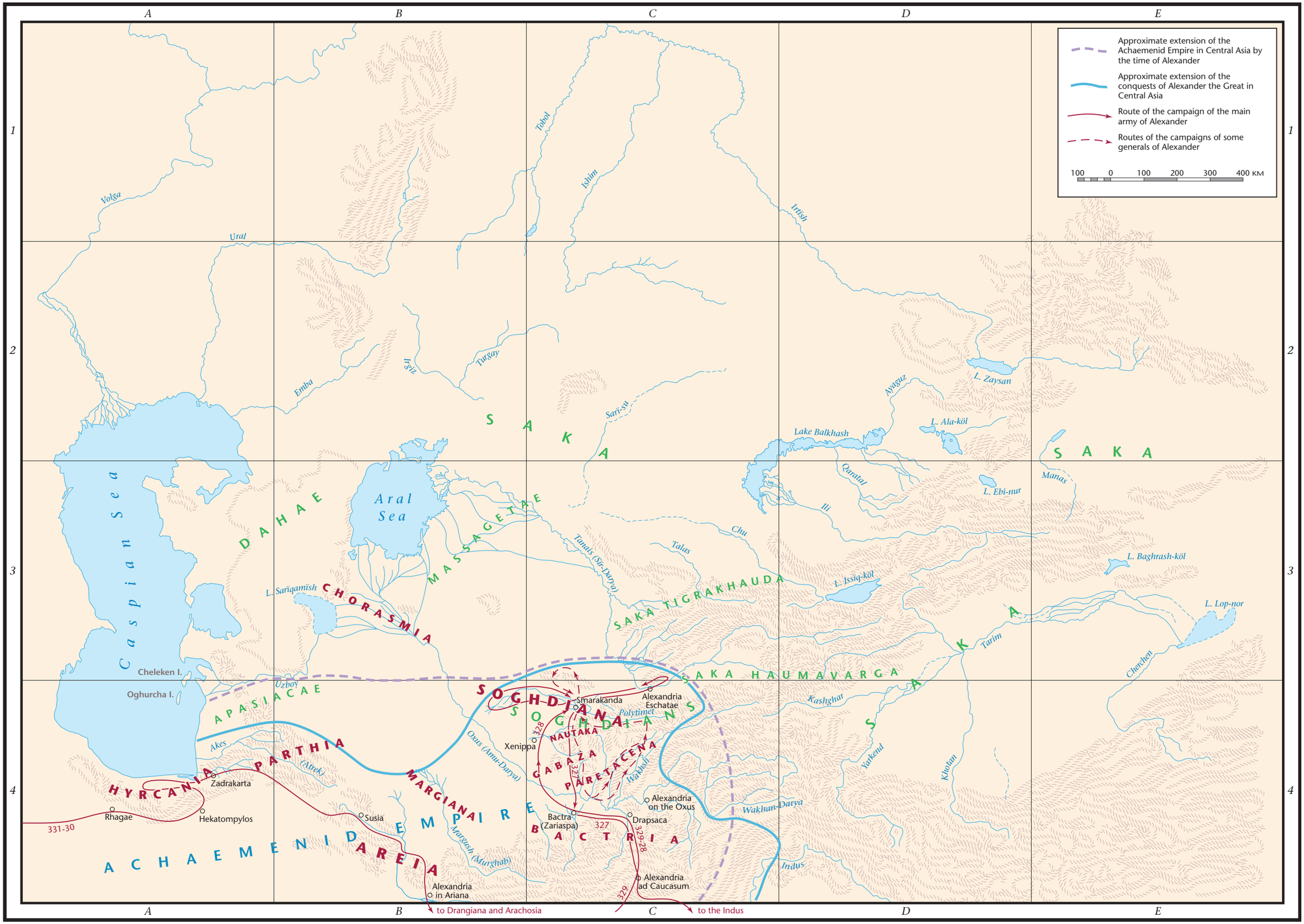
3. CENTRAL ASIA AT THE TIME OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT (4TH CENTURY B.C.)

The first reliable (though still rather scanty) historical information on Central Asia comes from the first half of the 6th century B.C., when all the regions south of the Aral Sea in the western part of Central Asia were included into the Persian Empire of the Achaemenids. By this century notable progress in the development of agriculture based on artificial irrigation had taken place in the major river valleys, and the first large cities had begun to emerge in Soghd, Bactria, Margiana, Parthia, and, probably a little later, in Chorasmia (Khorezm). These regions were inhabited by sedentary peoples speaking languages that belonged to the eastern branch of the Iranian linguistic group: Soghdians, Bactrians, Parthians, and Khorezmians. The steppes were dominated by nomadic tribes whose language (or languages) belonged to the same group and who were collectively called Scythians by the Greek authors and Sakas by the Persians. Apparently, the Sakas, as well as a different Indo-European people, Tocharians, known from the later period, also inhabited the eastern part of Central Asia, although there is no reliable information on Eastern Turkestan for the middle of the 1st millenium B.C. Several distinct groups (confederations?) of the Sakas were mentioned in Old Persian Inscriptions and by Greek authors, such as Massagetae, Apasiacae, Dahae, Saka Tigrakhauda ("the Sakas who wear pointed hats") and Saka Haumavarga ("the Sakas who boil *haoma*," an intoxicating drink), but there is often conflicting information on their location; the map shows their approximate locations in the 4th century B.C.

The first Persian campaign into Central Asia took place in 530 B.C. under Cyrus II, who tried to subdue the Massagetae living at that time, apparently, east of the Caspian Sea; in this campaign Cyrus' army was utterly defeated and he was killed. The route of the campaign and the place of the battle are unknown, but the year 530 B.C. is the first firmly established date of Central Asian history. Some time after the death of Cyrus his conquests in Central Asia (and elsewhere) were lost by the Achaemenids, but they were completely recovered by Darius II in 522 B.C. (the second firmly attested date in Central Asian history), after which he also subdued a part of the Sakas. After that all the sedentary regions of western Central Asia as well as some of the Saka lands remained as satrapies (provinces) of the Persian Empire. According to Herodotus (III, 92-93), Bactria formed the 12th satrapy of the empire, while the Parthians, Chorasmians, Arians, and Soghdians were included into the 16th satrapy. The Central Asian satrapies remained a part of the Achaemenid empire until the end of its existence, with the exception of Chorasmia (Khorezm) which became independent at the beginning of the 4th century B.C.; Central Asian contingents served in the Achaemenid army.

The Achaemenid empire was destroyed by Alexander the Great in the military campaigns that lasted from 334 to 327 B.C. The route of these campaigns is described by Greek authors. The last Achaemenid king, Darius III, who fled from Alexander having lost several battles, was killed by his commanders from eastern satrapies in 330 B.C. in the region of Damghan. The fight against Alexander was continued under the satrap of Bactria, Bessos, who proclaimed himself king under the name Artaxerxes; he was, however, soon deposed by his allies, delivered to Alexander, and executed. Alexander crossed the Oxus (Amu-Darya) and captured the main urban center of Soghd, Smarakanda (in Greek transcription—Marakanda). But the war was continued under the leadership of a Soghdian chief, Spitamana (recorded in the Greek sources as Spitamenes), in alliance with neighboring nomads, and Alexander had to spend the following three years in Central Asia fighting the determined resistance of Bactrians, Soghdians, and Sakas. Only after the death of Spitamana at the hand of Massagetae chieftains in the fall of 328 B.C. was Alexander able to pacify the country, but he had to lure to his side the local aristocrats by appointing them to administrative posts and encouraging marriages between his Greek and Macedonian companions and the local noblewomen; he himself married the Bactrian (or Soghdian) princess Roxana in the spring of 327. During the campaign in Bactria and Soghdiana, Alexander also began to recruit Iranian levies into his army. The only sedentary region of Central Asia that was not affected by Alexander's conquest was Khorezm. The son of the Khorezmian king Phrataphernes, named Pharasmanes, came to Alexander with a small cavalry force offering his submission, together with that of the Massagetae and Dahae, and expressing his readiness to guide Alexander to the Black Sea if the latter would campaign there; Alexander declined the offer but concluded a friendly pact with the Khorezmians.

Of special importance for the future history of Central Asia was the Greek colonization that already accompanied the military campaigns and continued after them. Alexander settled military colonists, probably veterans, who came with him from Greece and Macedonia, in the newly established garrisons, citadels, and towns that were founded for military, administrative, or commercial purposes and then mostly became provincial centers; some of them took the place of already existing towns that were now populated (or repopulated) by the colonists. They became known under the designation of Alexandria. Out of seventy of them mentioned in the sources, the following were in Central Asia: Alexandria of Margiana, the capital of Margiana (on the site of the later Merv; however, some scholars doubt that such an Alexandria actually existed, because Alexander never came to Margiana); Alexandria in Ariana, capital of Ariana (Areia), identified with Hare/Herat; Alexandria of Bactriana, identified with Bactra/Bahl/Balkh; Alexandria ad Caucasum, capital of Paropamisadai, usually identified with Begram (according to some, with either Bamiyan or Charikar); Alexandria on the Oxus, identified with the archeological site Ay-Khanum (see map 2); Alexandria Eschatae ("the Farthest"; possibly near, or on the site of, modern Khojend on the Sïr-Darya). The main area of Greek colonization in Central Asia was Bactria, and it was there that a new Hellenistic culture, based on a fusion of local and Greek traditions, developed (see map 4).



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3. CENTRAL ASIA AT THE TIME OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT (4TH CENTURY B.C.)

4. 3RD-2ND CENTURIES B.C.: PARTHIA, BACTRIA, AND THE YUEZHI

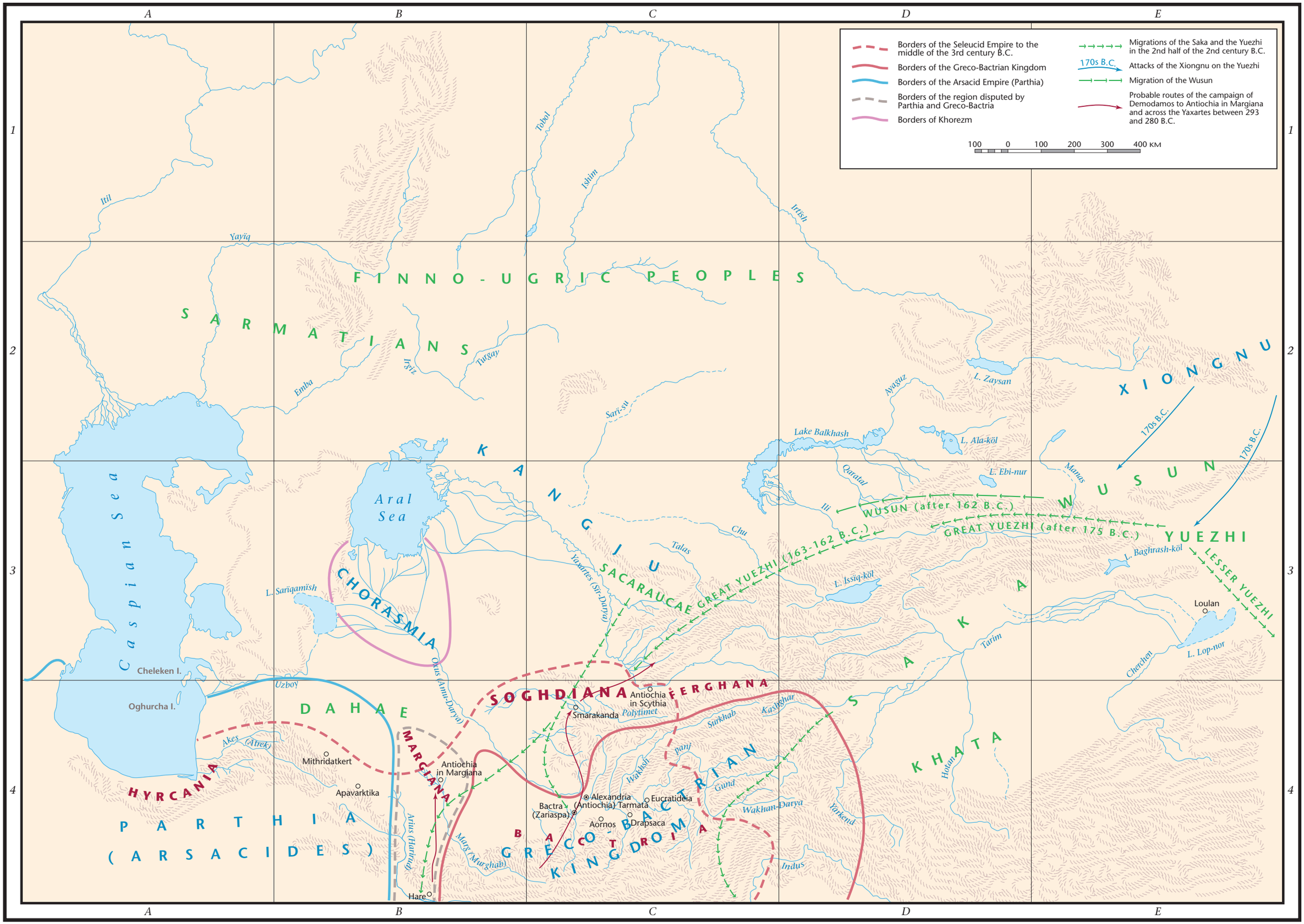
After the death of Alexander (323 B.C.) and the wars between his generals that lasted for two decades, his empire was finally divided into three separate states: one with the center in Macedonia, another one with the center in Egypt, and the third one, with the center in Mesopotamia; the latter, under Seleucus I and his descendants, included Iran and the regions of Central Asia that had been conquered by Alexander. Antiochus, the son of Seleucus and the daughter of Spitamenes (see map 3), became co-ruler with his father in charge of the eastern regions of the empire, apparently with his residence in Bactra, the capital of Bactria. During the reign of Seleucus, Bactria and Margiana apparently suffered from attacks of nomads from the north (whose origin is unknown), and Alexandria in Margiana and Alexandria Eschatae were destroyed. It is believed that the military campaigns of the Seleucid general Demodamos in Margiana and as far as the Yaxartes (Sïr-Darya) between 293 and 280 B.C. were a response to these nomadic inroads. Alexandria in Margiana was restored as Antiochia in Margiana (however, according to another theory, Antiochia was the first city built by the Greeks in Margiana), and Alexandria Eschatae was rebuilt as Antiochia in Scythia. Long ramparts which were used to defend the oases of Antiochia in Margiana, of Marakanda (Smarakanda) in Soghd, of Bactra, and of Alexandria in Aria were built or restored. During his own reign (281-261 B.C.) Antiochus I was occupied with the affairs of the west of his empire, while new Greek colonies were being established along the main route from Mesopotamia to Bactra. There was a continuing influx of Greek colonists from the west, the Hellenization of Bactria and Parthia advanced considerably, and their economy flourished.

By the middle of the 3rd century B.C. the governors of Parthia and Bactria seceded from the Seleucids. In Parthia the new independent ruler was soon killed as a result of an invasion from the north by the nomadic Parni, under Arsaces, who founded a new Parthian kingdom. In Bactria it was its satrap Diodotus who founded the new independent state known in the historical literature as the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. Both new kingdoms successfully withstood the attempts of the Seleucids to reconquer them. The most serious attempt was made by the Seleucid Antiochus III in 208 B.C., when he set out for an eastern campaign, defeated Parthia, and besieged the Bactrian king Euthydemus in Bactra (Zariaspa); the siege lasted for two years, and in the end Antiochus left, recognizing Bactria's independence. After this Parthia and Greco-Bactria pursued their own territorial expansion, Parthia mainly to the west, to Mesopotamia, and Greco-Bactria to the south, into India. Their borders shifted with the success or failure of their military campaigns. The northern limits of Parthia extended up to the Uzboy bed of the Oxus (Amu-Darya), while in the east Parthia captured from the Greco-Bactrian kingdom the provinces of Margiana (with the city of Antiochia in Margiana) and Aria (with the city of Hare/Antiochia in Aria). The northern border of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom ran along the Oxus (Amu-Darya), probably from the latitude of the later Amul (Charjuy) up to the place west of Antiochia Tarmata (Termez), then turned north and then east along the Hisar range; the limits of its maximum expansion to the east are not quite clear, but it is assumed that the Greeks did not reach the Tarim basin. The southern expansion of Greco-Bactria, beyond the Hindukush mountains, began under king Demetrius I, around 185 B.C. While Demetrius was in India, a Greek noble named Eucratides rebelled and overthrew Demetrius around 171 B.C., after which Eucratides continued the conquests in northern India. The Indian possessions of Greco-Bactria soon became a separate Indo-Greek kingdom that later disintegrated into a number of small principalities, the last of which survived until the first years A.D.

There is very little historical information on the situation in the sedentary regions of Central Asia north of Parthia and Bactria during the same period. Chorasmia (Khorezm) which became independent already before the end of Achaemenid rule (see map 3) seems to have prospered economically, to judge from archeological data, but no historical data on it are available. Not much more is known about the history of Soghdiana during this time. It is not even clear what its relationship to Bactria was, or whether the Soghdian cities recognized the authority of the Greco-Bactrian kings (earlier Soghd had been included into the Seleucid empire); there is, instead, some evidence to the contrary. Similarly, there is no information on Ferghana, and the hypothesis that it was a part of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom remains unsubstantiated.

By the middle of the 2nd century B.C. there was a growing threat of invasion of the sedentary regions by the nomads from the north. The names of these nomadic groups are known primarily from Chinese sources, due to the Chinese interest in, and closer relations with, the regions lying north and west of China that developed in the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. under the Han dynasty. In the north-eastern periphery of Central Asia the most important such group was Xiongnu (in older transcription Hsiung-nu), whose chieftains united under their leadership a number of other nomadic groups and by the end of the 3rd—early 2nd centuries B.C. established a polity that is usually considered the first historically attested nomadic "empire"; its center was in Inner Mongolia. Some scholars believe that the Xiongnu language (or languages) belonged to the Turkic (or at least "Altaic") family, but this is far from being proved. To the south-west of the Xiongnu, in the area later known as the Gansu corridor, and farther west, to the Tien-Shan mountains, lived a powerful nomadic group known to the Chinese as Yuezhi (in older transcription Yüeh-chih). The Yuezhi are usually equated with the Tokharians of western sources, i.e. a people who spoke an Indo-European, but not Iranian language. North of the Yuezhi and to the north of the Tien-Shan was another nomadic people called in Chinese sources Wusun, of unknown ethnic origin and linguistic affiliation; the Wusun had mostly hostile relations with both the Yuezhi and the Xiongnu. Eastern Turkestan and the regions between the Tien-Shan and the middle course of the Yaxartes (Sïr-Darya) were, as before, inhabited by various groups of the Saka, the westernmost of whom was probably called Sacaraucae in Western sources. The region north of the middle and lower course of the Yaxartes, up to the Aral Sea, was occupied by people (possibly Indo-European, and evidently numerous) called Kangju in Chinese sources. Finally, the steppes to the north-west of the Aral Sea were inhabited by the Sarmatians, who had replaced the Scythians in the 3rd century B.C.

The turmoil in the steppes of Central Asia began with the southwestern expansion of the Xiongnu in the 170s B.C. The Yuezhi, after their defeat by the Xiongnu in about 176 B.C., split into two groups, of which the smaller one, the "Lesser Yuezhi," migrated to the south-east, to the northeastern limits of Tibet, while the Great Yuezhi attacked the Wusun, their neighbors to the west, who retreated to the Ili valley. The Yuezhi migrated farther south-west, on their way displacing some Saka groups from Eastern Turkestan and the Sacaraucae from the Middle Yaxartes; the Saka migrated, through the Pamirs, to northern India, while the Sacaraucae and others came to the eastern limits of Parthia and eventually to the Helmend river basin that from then on became known as Sakastan, later Sistan. In the course of their migration the Saka destroyed the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. The last king of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom, Heliocles, ruled until about 141 B.C. The Yuezhi soon followed the Saka into Bactria, having passed through Ferghana. In the second half of the 130s B.C. the Great Yuezhi occupied the regions north of the Oxus (both northern Bactria and Soghdiana), while the part of Bactria south of the Oxus disintegrated into a large number of city-states recognizing the supreme authority of the Yuezhi. As distinct from Bactria, Parthia successfully withstood the nomadic attacks, and during the reign of Mithridates II (123-87 B.C.) it reached an unprecedented might.



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4. 3RD-2ND CENTURIES B.C.: PARTHIA, BACTRIA, AND THE YUEZHI

5. 1ST CENTURY B.C.—2ND CENTURY A.D.: PARTHIA, THE KUSHANS, THE HAN, AND THE XIONGNU

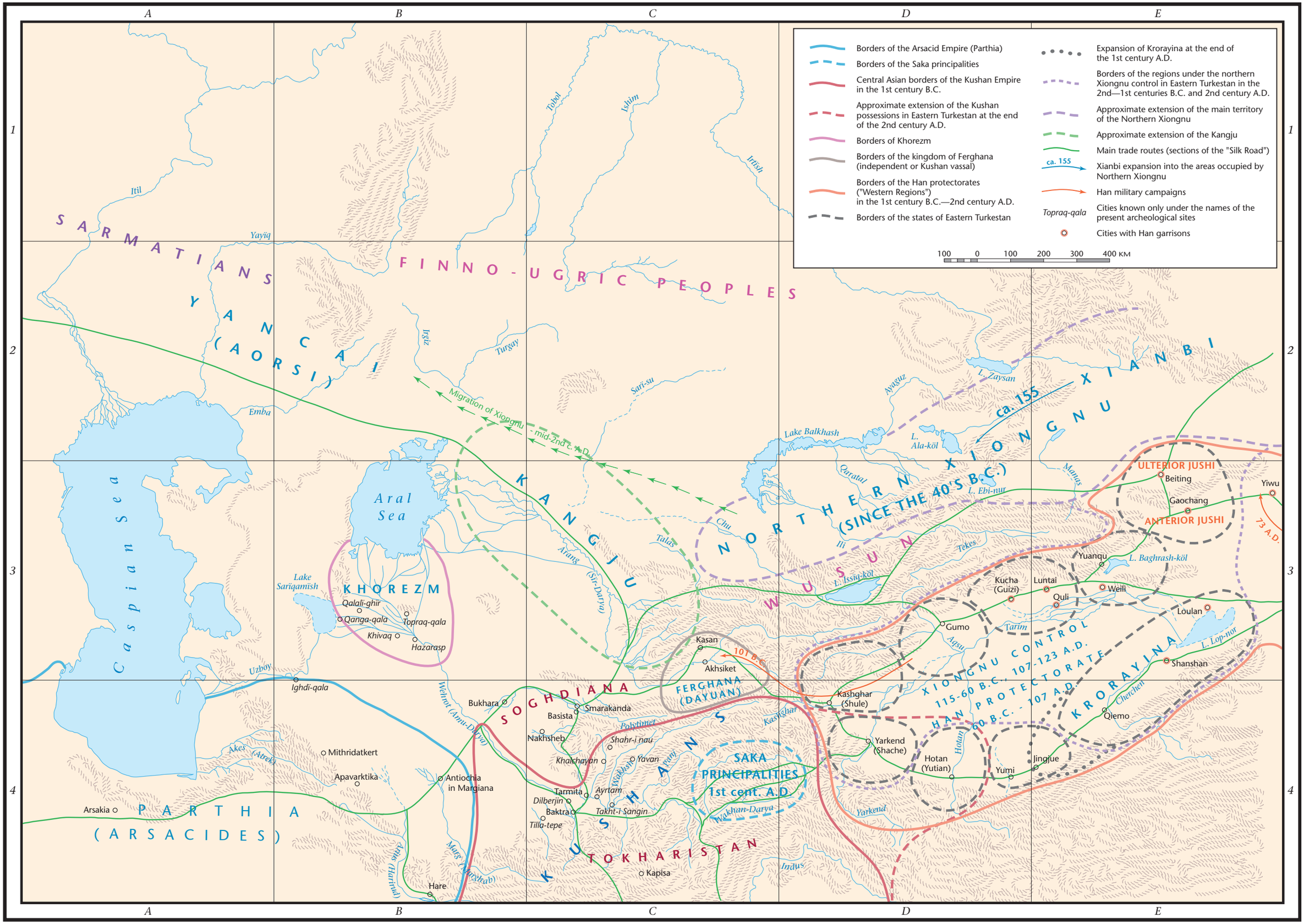
Some time after having established themselves in the former Bactrian territory north of the Oxus (see map 4), the Yuezhi crossed the Oxus and occupied the rest of the former Greco-Bactrian kingdom. Initially, the territory captured by the Yuezhi was divided into five independent kingdoms, or principalities, each under a ruler with the title of *yabghu*. Probably at the end of the 1st century B.C. or in the early 1st century A.D. the *yabghu* of one of these principalities, which was called Kusana, or Kushana (possibly a tribal name, according to some scholars), conquered the other four, thus founding a new royal dynasty, with rulers of Yuezhi (Tokharian?) origin, known in the historical literature as that of the Kushans. The political history of the Kushans was until recently rather obscure because of the problem of their chronology; only a newly discovered Kushan inscription has allowed scholars to establish with greater certainty the names and the succession of their first kings. Certain facts concerning the territorial expansion of the Kushans are established with some certainty. The name of the *yabghu* who defeated the other four *yabghu*s and made himself the first king of the Kushans was Kujula Kadphises, who reigned from 30 to 78 A.D. Under him the Kushan kingdom conquered the regions of Kabul and Kashmir. His son, Vima Takto (78-90 or 78-110 A.D.), and grandson, Vima II Kadphises (90-100 or 110-120 A.D.), continued the expansion in India and conquered vast areas there, down to Mathura in the south. Vima Kadphises was succeeded by his son, Kanishka I (100-126 or 120-146 A.D.), the most famous king of this dynasty (which is often called "the Great Kushans"). Under him the Kushan empire reached its greatest might, although the limits of its expansion are very debatable. The center of the empire was, probably, in Purushapura (modern Peshavar). The regions north of the Hindukush mountains, which had been included into the Greco-Bactrian kingdom, retained their great importance also under the Kushans, and Bactra may have been the second capital of the empire. The northern borders of the Kushan empire are not clear. They seem to have coincided more or less with the borders of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom (cf. map 4); in the middle course of the Amu-Darya the Kushans held a narrow stretch of land along both banks of the river up to the latitude of the later Amul. Khorezm was certainly independent (and so too was Ferghana, under its own kings); the same is true with Soghd, divided into four or five separate principalities. In the west, the border with Parthia remained more or less stable, while the Saka satraps of Sind seemed to have recognized Kushan authority. In the east, the Kushan expansion into the Tarim basin collided with the expansion in the opposite direction of China, under the Han dynasty.

In the 2nd century B.C., at the time when the Xiongnu drove out the Yuezhi from Eastern Turkestan, this region was divided among more than thirty city-states (nine of which were predominant), each occupying a separate oasis along the northern and southern rims of the Taqla-Makan desert; Chinese authors called them "Walled city-states of the Western Regions." When the Xiongnu were at the height of their power, in the early 2nd century B.C., they collected tribute from these city-states. By the end of the same century, the Xiongnu were losing their position in this region to the Han. In 121 B.C. the Han established their control over the Gansu corridor—the main link between China and Eastern Turkestan. As early as in 101 B.C. the Han general Li Guangli campaigned already as far as Ferghana; he did not conquer it, but, after a long siege of the capital (apparently Kasan), he received as tribute a large number of horses. After continuing defeats, the Xiongnu withdrew from Eastern Turkestan, and in 60 B.C. the Han established the post of "Protector General of the Western Regions," an official subordinate to the central government, in charge of all the oasis-states of the Tarim basin; the Han also founded a number of small military agricultural colonies, where soldier-farmers were settled. But Han rule was indirect: the local dynasties remained in place (receiving a formal investiture from the Han emperor), and they often pursued independent policies in their relations with one another. Thus, in the first half of the 1st century A.D., the principality of Shache (Yarkend) achieved hegemony in the south of the Tarim basin, while in the 60s A.D. Yutian (Hotan) and Loulan strengthened at the expense of Yarkend. After the end of the Western (or Early) Han dynasty in China, as well as during the reign of Wang Mang (9-23 A.D.) and the following years, down to the middle of the 1st century A.D., China lost its position in the "Western Regions." However, owing to the activity of the Later Han general Ban Chao (73-102 A.D.), Han authority was restored, and in 94 A.D. it was recognized by all the city-states of the "Western Regions." In 74 A.D. the Kushans took part in the subjugation of Yarkend, in alliance with Ban Chao, but in 90 the Kushans attacked Ban Chao (through the Pamirs) and were repelled. Later Han authority in the "Western Regions" declined again. Formally, the Chinese protectorate over the "Western Regions" existed until 107 A.D. In 107-123 A.D. the northern part of the Tarim basin was dominated by the Northern Xiongnu (see below), while Hotan was probably occupied by the Kushans. The Xiongnu were defeated in 126 A.D. by Ban Chao's son, Ban Yun, who was given the title "Secretary General," instead of Protector General, of the "Western Regions." This was the last success of the Han in Eastern Turkestan. The internal situation of the Han empire deteriorated in the middle of the 2nd century A.D.; the dynasty fell in 220 A.D., but it had already lost the "Western Regions" in the 180s A.D. The Kushans took advantage of the fall of the Han and the weakening of the Chinese positions in the Tarim basin and incorporated at least the southwestern part of this region into their empire sometime in the early 3rd century A.D.

Kushan rule was of great importance in the cultural history of Central Asia, India, and China. Mahayana Buddhism spread widely in the Kushan empire and beyond, but their rule was also distinguished by religious tolerance and patronage of the arts; it was under the Kushans that the syncretistic Gandhara and Mathura schools of art developed. The Kushan period was also marked by the flourishing of international trade along the "Great Silk Road" (or, better, "Route)" which connected China with Central Asia, Parthia, and the Roman Empire. (The name "Great Silk Road" was first introduced by K. Richthofen in 1877; it was given because of the special importance of silk in China's international trade, as well as in her relations with neighboring nomads.) During the Kushan period, the route was dominated by Indian merchants and colonists, but it was of great commercial and political importance for the Han, whose expansion in Eastern Turkestan was intended primarily to ensure the safety of this road for Chinese trade. Of the two main branches of this road in Eastern Turkestan, the southern one, from Lop-nor to Hotan and Yarkend, was of greater importance during this period. The northern branch (through Luntai and Qarashahr, Kucha, and Kashghar) was either threatened by the Xiongnu or was in their hands; the nomadic Xiongnu, however, were interested not so much in profits from trade, as, especially, in the agricultural products of this area.

In the wars between the Han and the Xiongnu that had continued since the 3rd century B.C., the Han gained a decisive advantage as early as in the 1st century B.C., when the Xiongnu became tributary to the Han. In 48 A.D. the Xiongnu split into two groups known as the Southern and the Northern Xiongnu. The southern tribes submitted to the Han (and later were gradually absorbed in China). The Northern Xiongnu, whose main territory was now in the Ili valley and Jungharia, tried to compete with the Han for the domination of the "Western Regions"; but in 155 A.D. they were crushed by the Xianbi (in old transcription Hsien-pi), a new nomadic confederation that had emerged in Mongolia; after this the Xiongnu migrated westward.

Farther west, in the middle and lower course of the Sïr-Darya, the mixed nomadic-sedentary polity of the Kangju continued to exist until the 3rd century A.D. It also included the region of Chach and had some close ties with Chorasmia (Khorezm) to the west and Dayuan (Ferghana) to the east, and Soghd was apparently its dependency. It was sufficiently strong to withstand (in the mid-1st century B.C.) the attacks of the Wusun from the east and, in turn, to subjugate a Sarmatian group northwest of the Aral Sea called Yancai in Chinese sources and Aorsi by the Greek authors.



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5. 1ST CENTURY B.C.—2ND CENTURY A.D.: PARTHIA, THE KUSHANS, THE HAN, AND THE XIONGNU

6. 3RD-6TH CENTURIES A.D.: THE SASANIDS, KIDARITES, AND HEPHTHALITES

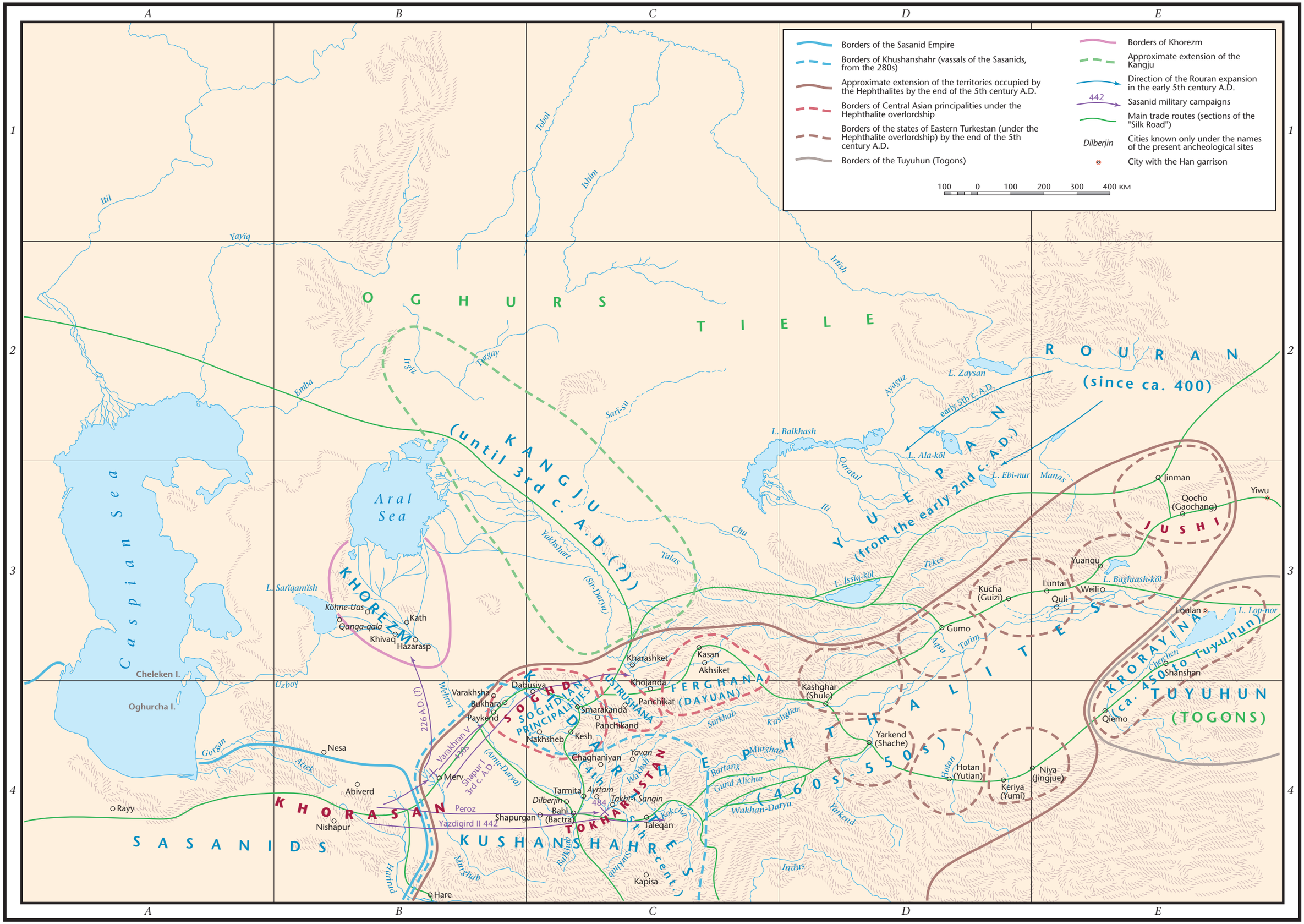
A new period in the history of Central Asia is marked by the emergence of the Sasanid state in Iran, replacing Arsacid Parthia; by the fall of the Kushan empire under the pressure of the Sasanids from the west and of new nomadic conquerors from the north (resulting in the rise first of the Kidarites and later of the Hephthalites); by the withdrawal of China from Eastern Turkestan; and by the first appearance of Altaic (or Turkic)-speaking groups in the northern steppes. Unfortunately, the political history of Central Asia during this period is in many cases even more obscure than that of the preceding period, and the identification of some major ethnic groups and dynasties which newly appeared on the Central Asian scene is open to quite different interpretations.

The Sasanids came to power in 224 or 226, when the founder of the dynasty, Ardashir I, after defeating the last Arsacid, was proclaimed king in Ctesiphon on the Tigris. He established his control over Sakastan, while Merv was ruled by a semi-independent king. Kushan rule continued in India, in the Indus valley. Under the son of Ardashir, Shapur I (241-271), the Sasanid expansion in the east continued. The Sasanids tried to establish their direct authority in the former Kushan lands on the Bactrian plane and in the Kabul valley, but, being unable to do so, established Kushanshahr, a "Kushan kingdom" (or even kingdoms) including Bactra and Merv, ruled by semi-independent kings until the end of the 4th century. The famous inscription of Shapur on the so-called "Kaʿba of Zoroaster" claims that his state had expanded up to the boundaries of Soghd and Shash, to which a military campaign of Shapur was directed. There is, indeed, numismatic evidence of the Sasanid occupation of at least the oasis of Bukhara, lasting for a long period. But nothing is known about events in Transoxania and Kushanshahr (except for the dates of rule of various *Kushanshahs*) during the rest of the 3rd century and the first half of the 4th. In the middle or the second half of the 4th century there appeared a new nomadic group, of unknown origin, called Chionites by Byzantine sources, probably connected with the previous westward movement of the Northern Xiongnu. The same group is called in some sources Kidarites, or Kidarite Huns, and, according to one hypothesis (not yet proven), the ruling dynasty of the Chionites was called the Kidarites, from the name of its founder, Kidara. The Chionites/Kidarites came to Transoxania from the north, probably after first defeating Kangju and then capturing Soghd; at the end of the 4th century and in the early 5th century they conquered the regions south of the Hindukush, including the central and western Panjab. Apparently they still remained in Soghd at that time: the Sasanid king Varahran V (Bahram Gur), during a war with them in the 430s, allegedly crossed the Amu-Darya and accepted their submission. But already in the middle of the 5th century the Kidarites were replaced by another, more powerful, nomadic group that became known as the Hephthalites (Haytal of the later Islamic writers). The circumstances of the emergence of the Hephthalites remain unclear, as does their ethno-linguistic affiliation (they probably included mixed Altaic and Iranian elements). It seems, in any case, that they overran the Kidarites from the east; according to one widely accepted theory, their initial homeland was in Badakhshan, and later their main base was Tokharistan. The Sasanid king Yazdigird II (438-457) fought the Hephthalites several times. King Peroz perished in battle with the Hephthalites in 484, and his army was routed. In the north, they conquered Soghd at the end of the 5th or in the early 6th century. In the east, they subjugated all the city-states of Eastern Turkestan between 479 and 509, with the sole exception of the region of Krorayina (centered in the Lop-nor area), which had an Indian-speaking population; a small independent kingdom emerged there at the end of the Kushan period, in the 2nd quarter of the 3rd century, but in the middle of the 5th century it was conquered by the Tuyuhun (Togon), possibly a proto-Mongolic people, related to the Xianbi, from the Koko-nor area (the north-eastern fringes of Tibet). In the south, the Hephthalites conquered vast territories in northern India. It seems that in most cases various local dynasties in the regions conquered by the Hephthalites continued to exist, paying tribute to the new paramount rulers and submitting to their control.

During the period when the southern part of Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan were dominated by the Hephthalites, the nomadic population of the northern steppes continued to change. The Xianbi, who, in the 1st century, contributed to the final defeat of the Northern Xiongnu (resulting in their westward migration), were replaced, around 400, by a new confederation known from the Chinese sources as Rouran (Jou-Jan in the old transcription), whose language was apparently Mongolic. To the west (or south-west) of them there was a remnant of the Xiongnu called Yuepan by the Chinese; some scholars believe that their language was Turkic. More likely was the Turkic linguistic affiliation of the large tribal group known from Chinese sources as Tiele, which was widespread in the steppes north of Lake Balkhash by the 6th century. Farther west, the Kangju confederation had already disappeared in the 3rd century, probably destroyed in the course of the Xiongnu migration. The situation of Khorezm during the early Sasanid—Hephthalite period is uncertain: the chronicle of the Arab historian Tabari (late 9th–early 10th century) claims that Khorezm was captured by the Sasanid Ardashir I, but the inscription on the Kaʿba of Zoroaster does not mention Khorezm at all. It is possible that there existed, especially in the 3rd-4th centuries, some kind of vassal relationship of Khorezm to the Sasanids, but it is equally possible that it was completely independent.

The period shown on the map was the time when Altaic-speaking (and, specifically, Turkic-speaking) nomadic peoples began to spread westward through the steppes of Central Asia, replacing (and, probably, partially assimilating) the earlier Iranian-speaking nomadic groups. This process, which had begun already with the dissolution of the Xiongnu polity and their westward migration (see map 5), became complete at the time of the Türk Qaghanate (see map 7).

The Great Silk Route continued to flourish under the Hephthalites, with one significant change: Soghdian merchants began to dominate the trade along this route, replacing the Indian merchants. Soghdians began to establish their trade and agricultural colonies along the Great Silk Route, which gradually made them an important element of the population of Eastern Turkestan and northern China. By the 6th century their influence was already strongly felt in the political and cultural life of these regions as well (cf. map 7).



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6. 3RD-6TH CENTURIES A.D.: THE SASANIDS, KIDARITES, AND HEPHTHALITES

7. 6TH-7TH CENTURIES A.D.: THE SASANIDS, SOGHD, AND THE FIRST TÜRK QAGHANATE

In the middle of the 6th century a new nomadic state, the Türk Qaghanate, emerged in Mongolia; it played a major role in the history of Central Asia. Its origin is usually traced back to the clan Ashina (this name is known only from Chinese sources), which was among a group of the late Xiongnu tribes that lived in the region of Turfan during the first half of the 5th century. In 460 they were attacked by the Rouran, who resettled them to the Altay region. Here the Ashina gradually united under their leadership some local tribes, and the new confederation which initially included ten (later twelve) tribes adopted the name Türk (whose etymology is unclear and has more than one explanation). Initially they were tributaries of the Rouran, but after 534, when Bumïn became their chieftain, they moved farther east, to the Yellow River, and in 545 they established an alliance with the Chinese dynasty of the Western Wei (of Xianbi origin). After this Bumïn subdued a large group of Turkic-language tribes farther north, who called themselves Oghuz and whom the Chinese called Tiele, and then defeated and destroyed the Rouran. In 551 Bumïn was proclaimed the supreme ruler of the Türk and adopted the title *qaghan* that was previously the title of the Rouran rulers. Hence the nomadic empire founded by the Ashina dynasty is called in modern literature the Türk Qaghanate.

Bumïn Qaghan died in 553. Under his younger son and successor, Mughan Qaghan (553-572), and his uncle, Ishtemi (552-575), the Türk Qaghanate greatly expanded both to the east and to the west. In the east, it subdued the Mongolic tribes of the Qitan in Manchuria and made the two states of northern China its tributaries. In Eastern Turkestan the Hephthalite overlordship was replaced by Türk suzerainty. In the west, as a result of Ishtemi's far-flung campaigns, the Qaghanate established its hegemony over the nomads of the western steppes, including the Volga basin, up to the borders of the Byzantine Empire in the Crimea and the Caucasus. In Central Asia, the Türk Qaghanate collided with the Hephthalites. Here it initially found an ally in the Sasanid king Khosrow I Anushirvan, under whom the much strengthened Iran concluded a peace with Byzantium and stopped paying tribute to the Hephthalites. The alliance was strengthened by the marriage of Khosrow to the daughter of Ishtemi. Between 560 and 567 Khosrow I invaded the Hephthalite territory and captured the regions south of the Amu-Darya, while Ishtemi captured the territory north of the Amu-Darya: Chach, Soghd (Samarqand, Kesh, and Bukhara), and Ferghana. In a battle with the Türk army (usually dated as 563) the Hephthalites were defeated and their king killed. (This was not yet the end of the Hephthalites: they still remained in Tokharistan, both south and north of the Amu-Darya, where they formed several principalities that remained independent until the Arab conquest; in the early 8th century the Arabs encountered their rulers, who had the title *yabghu*.) The alliance between the Türk Qaghanate and the Sasanids did not last long: in 588, after Ishtemi, a large Türk army invaded Tokharistan, supported by the local Hephthalites, but it was defeated near Hare (Herat) by the Sasanid general Bahram Chubin. After this a peace was concluded, and the Amu-Darya remained the border between the Türk Qaghanate and Iran.

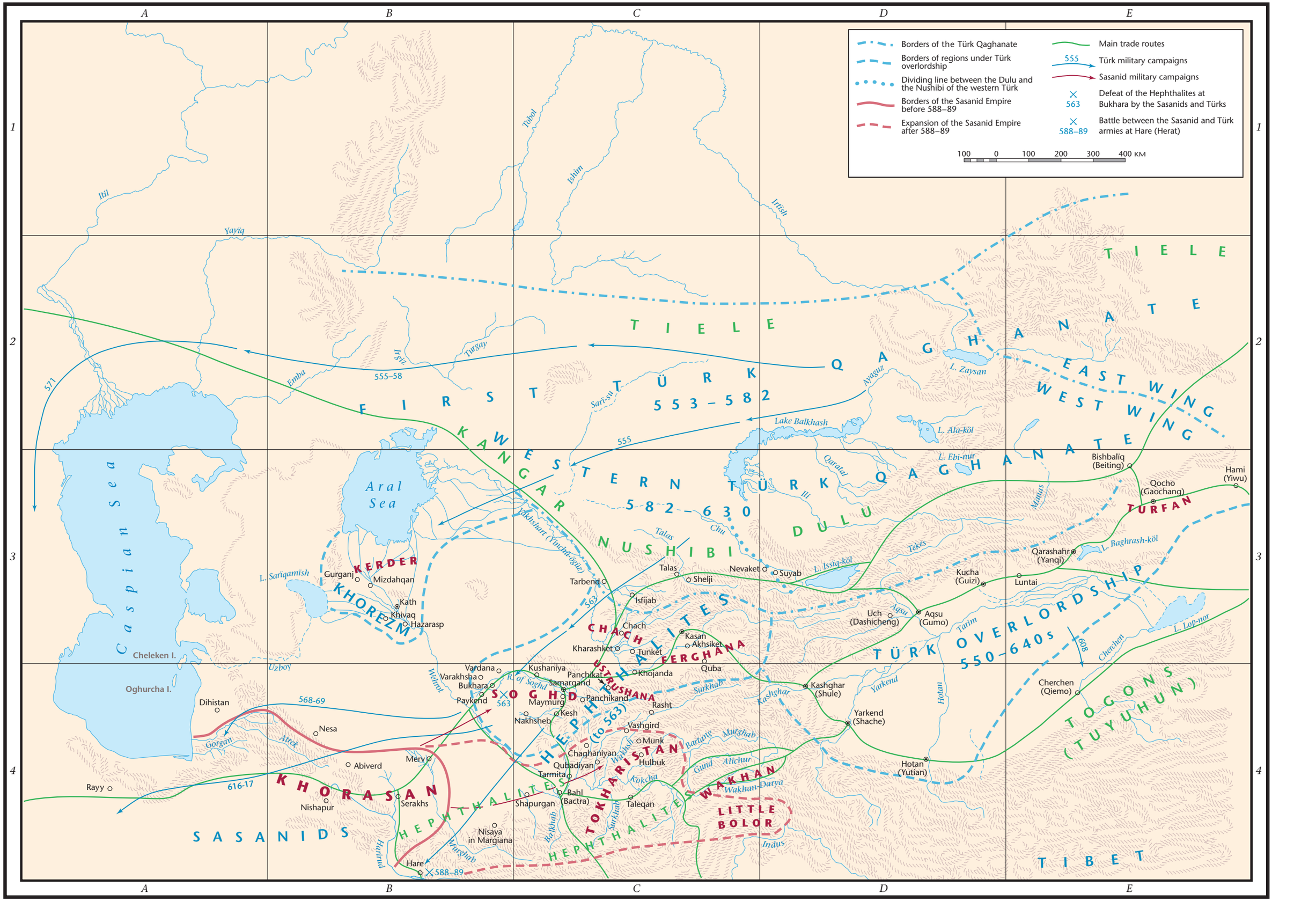
From the very beginning, the Qaghanate had a bipartite structure, as was characteristic of many Inner Asian tribal confederations and nomadic states, from the Xiongnu down to the Mongols: it was divided into two wings, the eastern and the western, each with its own Qaghan, and while the Qaghan of the eastern wing, whose center of power was in Mongolia, was the supreme ruler, the Qaghan of the western wing was nominally his co-ruler, with the title of *Yabghu-Qaghan*; the Yabghu-Qaghan belonged to the junior line of the Ashina clan. The tribes of the western wing formed ten administrative units called *oq* 'arrow', and they were divided, in turn, into two groups, whose names are known only from the Chinese sources: the western, Nushibi, and the eastern, Dulu. A similar division of tribes into the western (Tardush) and the eastern (Tölis) wings also existed in the eastern wing of the Qaghanate.

After 582 the two wings of the Qaghanate, following a protracted war between them, split into two independent qaghanates, the eastern and the western. During the second and third decades of the 7th century the eastern qaghans took advantage of the civil war in China and the fall of the Sui dynasty (618) by constantly raiding Chinese territory. But the Tiele (Oghuz) tribes rebelled, and in 630 the last eastern ruler, El Qaghan, was taken prisoner by the Chinese and died in captivity. Thus the Eastern Qaghanate came to an end. Some Turkic tribal groups which had been included in the Eastern Qaghanate were now resettled to the northwestern borders of China (now under a new dynasty, Tang; see map 8) and began to serve as confederates in the Tang army.

During the same period the authority of the qaghan of the Western Qaghanate strengthened, albeit briefly. Ton Yabghu-Qaghan (618-630), at the beginning of his reign, changed the system of the Qaghanate's control of the local rulers of Soghd: he made them his governors (with the title *tudun*), with the qaghan's representatives controlling tax collection. Ton Yabghu-Qaghan resumed a vigorous external expansion of the Qaghanate. His predecessor had already extended his authority over the entire Tarim basin; Ton Yabghu-Qaghan conquered the whole of Tokharistan, which he entrusted to his son, and then, acting as an ally of the Byzantine Empire in the war with the Sasanids, he participated in the campaign of the emperor Heraclius in the Caucasus (627-628), where the Türk army captured Derbend and Tbilisi. His despotic rule, however, alienated the Türk tribes, and he was killed in 630; a long internecine war followed, in which the tribes of the Dulu and Nushibi fought each other, each group proclaiming its own candidates as qaghans. As a result of this war the Qaghanate lost all its possessions west of the Sïr-Darya by 634, and after 638 it split into two kingdoms with the border between them along the river Ili. From 640 to 657 the intertribal and interdynastic wars continued and were exacerbated by the general uprising of the Oghuz (Tiele) in the north, until the army of the Tang invaded Semirech'e, defeated the troops of the western tribes, and captured the last qaghan, who died two years later in captivity.

Thus, the First Türk Qaghanate actually ceased to exist, both in the east and in the west, in 630, though the agony of the Western Qaghanate lasted until 657. The First Türk Qaghanate played an extremely important role in the political and ethnic history of Central Asia. Its conquests were accompanied by the migrations of Turkic tribes, which spread over vast territories of Eurasia. Due to the Qaghanate's westward expansion, Turkic tribes completely replaced the Iranian nomads in the northern steppes.

There was, however, a simultaneous peaceful expansion of an Iranian ethnic element in the opposite direction that had already begun under the Hephthalites. By that time Soghdian merchants became instrumental in the trade in silk and other luxury items on the Great Silk Route. Soghdian trade colonies along the Great Silk Route flourished; some of them became significant cities whose population, engaged not only in commerce but also in agriculture, became ethnically mixed. Dozens of Soghdian colonies spread as far as Mongolia and north-western China (the region of Ordos), and Soghdians became advisors and instructors of the Türk rulers. The first Turkic alphabet used in the so-called runic inscriptions of the 7th-8th centuries was probably developed in the middle of the 7th century on the basis of the Soghdian alphabet (however, there are also other theories of its origin), and Soghdians served as interpreters and ambassadors in diplomatic missions that travelled from the Qaghanate to Iran and Byzantium. With the penetration of the Turks into the oases of Eastern and Western Turkestan, a gradual mutual assimilation of the nomadic Turkic and the sedentary Iranian population began which was to continue into the 20th Century.



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7. 6TH-7TH CENTURIES A.D.: THE SASANIDS, SOGHD, AND THE FIRST TÜRK QAGHANATE

8. THE SECOND HALF OF THE 7TH CENTURY: EARLY ARAB RAIDS, THE TÜRGESH QAGHANATE, THE TANG EXPANSION, AND TIBET

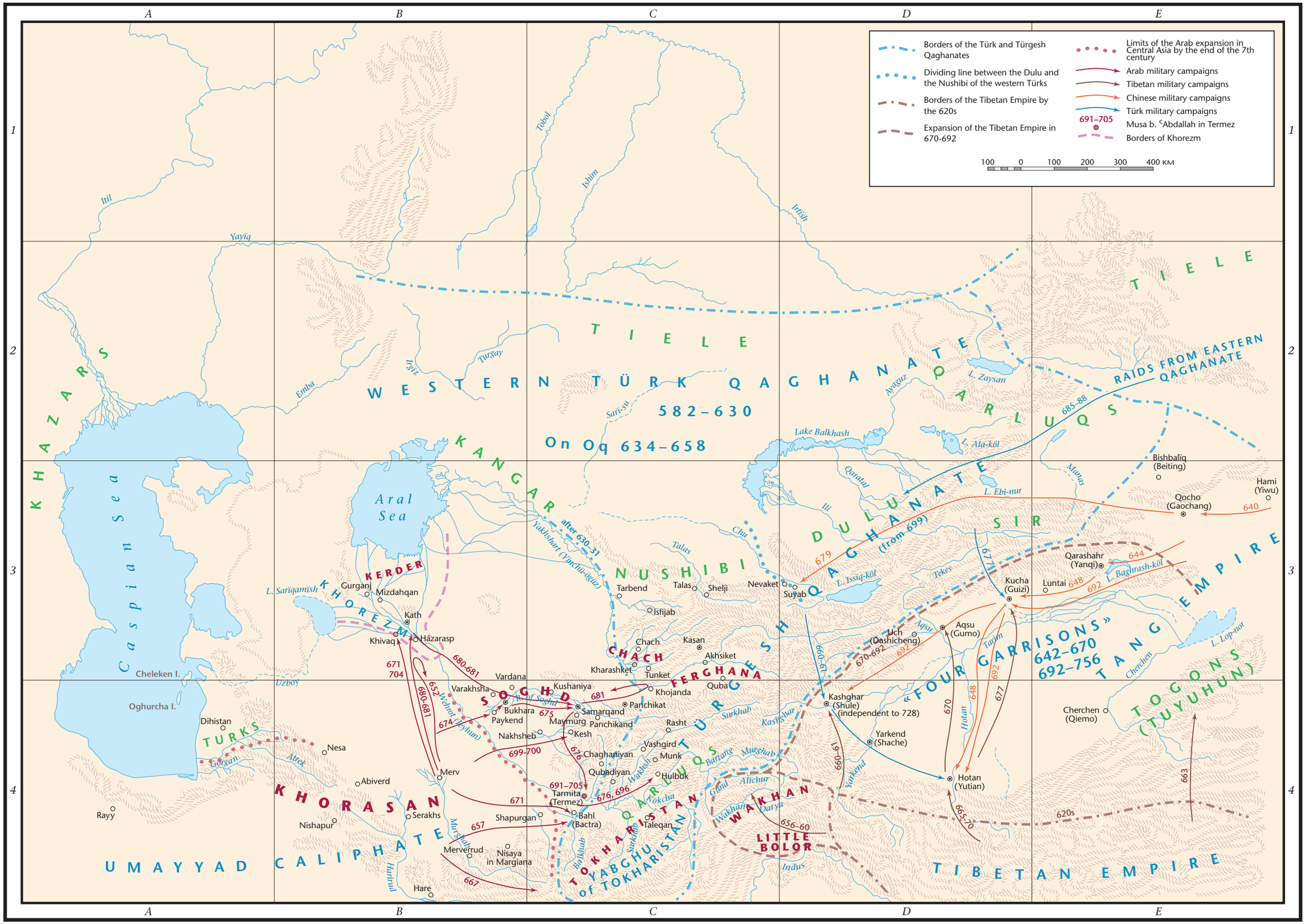
In the first half of the 7th century two formidable new powers emerged at the opposite frontiers of Central Asia: the Arab Caliphate in the west and Tang China in the east. The Tang dynasty came to power in China in 618, and it soon began a westward expansion, taking advantage of the weakening of both Türk qaghanates, the eastern and the western (see map 7). This expansion took place under the emperor Taitsung (627-649), and it began with the conquest of Qocho and Bishbalïq in 640; Qarashahr submitted to the Tang in 644, while Kashghar and Hotan began to send tribute missions to China even earlier. By 650 all states of the Tarim basin recognized the supreme authority of the Tang. A prominent (if not the key) role in this conquest was played by the Turkic confederates of the Tang. Direct administrative control was established by the Tang only in the three easternmost oases of the region: Hami, Turfan (Qocho), and Bishbalïq (Beiting). In the city-states of the Tarim basin the old dynasties remained, but had to pledge allegiance to the Tang; they were granted honorary titles and insignia, but were under the control of the Protector-General of the "Pacified West" (Anxi), whose seat was first in Qocho, but, later, beginning in 657, in Kucha. Tang troops were stationed in four key cities called the "Four Garrisons": Kucha, Kashghar, Hotan, and Qarashahr; the entire region was sometimes called the "Four Garrisons."

In the second half of the 7th century Tang rule in the Tarim basin was challenged by a new great power in Central Asia, the Tibetan Empire. It emerged in the 1st quarter of the 7th century, when several Chiang (Tibetan) tribes along the Chinese border were united under one ruler. In the 2nd quarter of the century the Tibetan state, which had originated in the south of the Tibetan plateau, greatly expanded to the north, south, and east. At the end of the 650s Tibet annexed Little Bolor (Balur) and Wakhan. In 663 Tibet defeated the Tuyuhun (Togons) and annexed their territory. In the 660s a part of the Western Türks submitted to (or became allied with) Tibet; they jointly attacked Kashghar and, in 665, Hotan. In 670 Tibet began a full-scale invasion of the Tarim basin, having first routed the Chinese army in the region of Koko-nor. After this Tibet dominated the entire Tarim basin for 22 years, while the "Four Garrisons" of the Tang were evacuated (although Kucha was captured by the Tibetans only in 677). In 679 a Tang military commander was able to conduct a campaign north of the Tien-Shan, in the course of which he defeated the Western Türks in this region and captured the city of Suyab, and from 679 to 719 Suyab was listed among the "Four Garrisons" instead of Qarashahr; this victory, however, did not change the situation in the Tarim basin. Soon after this a resurgence of power of both the eastern and western Türks occured. Between 679 and 689 the Eastern Türks rebelled against China and restored their qaghanate. Its center was, as in the first qaghanate, in central Mongolia, and its western limit was the Altay mountains. A little later, in 699, Üch Elig, the chieftain of the Türgesh, one of the five Dulu tribes of the Western Türks, defeated and banished a puppet ruler of the Western Türks who had been installed by the Tang, and established his authority on the entire territory of the Western Türks, from Chach to Bishbalïq, thus founding a new, Türgesh, qaghanate. By that time the situation in the Tarim basin had changed again. By the early 690s Tibet was weakened by internal feuds, and in 692 Tang troops occupied Kucha, apparently without much fighting; the "Four Garrisons" were restored, although this probably happened gradually, and Kashghar remained independent until 728.

While China, Tibet, and the Western Türks were fighting for domination over the Tarim basin, a new power began to threaten their positions in Central Asia: the Arab Caliphate. The Arabs conquered Sasanid Iran and incorporated it into the Umayyad Caliphate by 651; they thus reached the Amu-Darya (Jeyhun, as they named it), which, for the next half a century, remained the border between the Caliphate and Soghdiana. At that time Soghd was divided between several independent principalities. The largest one was that of Samarqand (its original Soghdian name was, apparently, Smarakanda), whose ruler had the title of *ikhshid*. According to Chinese sources, the supremacy of the *ikhshid* of Samarqand was recognized by the majority of smaller principalities situated in the upper and middle course of the Zerafshan and in the Qashqa-Darya valley, such as Maymurgh, Ishtikhan, Kushaniya, Nakhsheb, and Kesh. Bukhara, with the oasis of the lower Zerafshan (often referred to as "Bukharan Soghd"), usually formed a separate principality; its ruler had the title *buxar xwb*, which in Islamic sources became *bukhar-khuda* (in New Persian). A large principality, called Ustrushana, with Soghdian-speaking population, was situated in the mountains to the north of the Zerafshan valley; its capital was Panchikat (in Islamic time—Bunjiket), and its ruler bore the title *afshin*. At the time of the Western Qaghanate all the Soghdian principalities recognized the authority of the qaghan; under Ton Yabghu-Qaghan (see map 7) there was stricter control over the local rulers, and it was probably during this period that Turkic speaking groups appeared among the population of some Soghdian cities. A similar situation existed in Ferghana, which had an Eastern Iranian population and was divided into several principalities; the ruler of one of them, who resided in Kasan, bore the Soghdian title *ikhshid* and was often styled in Arabic sources "the King of Ferghana." Very little is known about the situation in the region of Chach; it was certainly more exposed to the influence and direct penetration of Turks from the steppe, both under the Western Türk and Türgesh qaghanates, and it had a Türk ruler.

Regions to the south-east of Soghd, known as Tokharistan (in a broader sense; see map 1), were in the 7th century divided into more than two dozen principalities, with a mixed Iranian-Hephthalite population; among them were Khuttal, Chaghaniyan, Qubadiyan, Badghis, Shuman, Shughnan, Wakhan, and Badakhshan. After the conquest of Tokharistan by Ton Yabghu-Qaghan of the Western Türks it was nominally ruled by the qaghan's son with the title *yabghu*. In reality, Tokharistan was a confederation of independent, or almost independent, principalities. During this period there was a substantial migration of Turkic-speaking groups to Tokharistan, primarily the tribes of Qarluq and Khalaj.

Tokharistan was the first target of Arab expansion after their conquest of Khorasan (which culminated in the occupation of Merv and Herat in 651). Merv remained the base of their further operations in Central Asia. In 652 the Arabs conquered Bactra (Balkh), although not permanently, and, according to some accounts, in the same year an Arab commander raided Khorezm, but without much success. During the internal feuds in the Caliphate in 661-665 there were no further conquests. Since the end of the 660s the Arabs began to cross the Amu-Darya raiding various cities and exacting tribute. In 667 they raided Chaghaniyan and defeated the Hephthalites of Tokharistan. In 675-676 Saʿid b. ʿUthman came with numerous troops to Bukhara and, after receiving tribute from its ruler, continued his campaign to Samarqand. There he also received tribute and hostages, plundered the countryside, and went to Tarmita (Termez), which submitted peacefully, and from there he raided Khuttal. The first raid during which the Arabs spent the winter in Mavarannahr without returning to Merv took place under the governor of Khorasan Salm b. Ziyad in 680-681. This time the city of Bukhara was captured, but the Arabs did not remain there and went to Samarqand, where they also received tribute; then they went to Khojanda, from which they were repulsed. During the civil war in the Caliphate in the 680s-690s a rebel commander Musa b. ʿAbdallah took possession of Termez and remained there for fifteen years, until 704, successfully repulsing both the Arab and the Soghdian attempts to dislodge him. The same year, however, with the appointment of Qutayba b. Muslim as governor of Khorasan, the systematic conquest of Mavarannahr by the Arabs began (see map 9).



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8. THE SECOND HALF OF THE 7TH CENTURY: EARLY ARAB RAIDS, THE TÜRGESH QAGHANATE, THE TANG EXPANSION, AND TIBET

9. THE FIRST HALF OF THE 8TH CENTURY: THE ARAB CONQUESTS, TÜRKS, TANG, AND TIBET

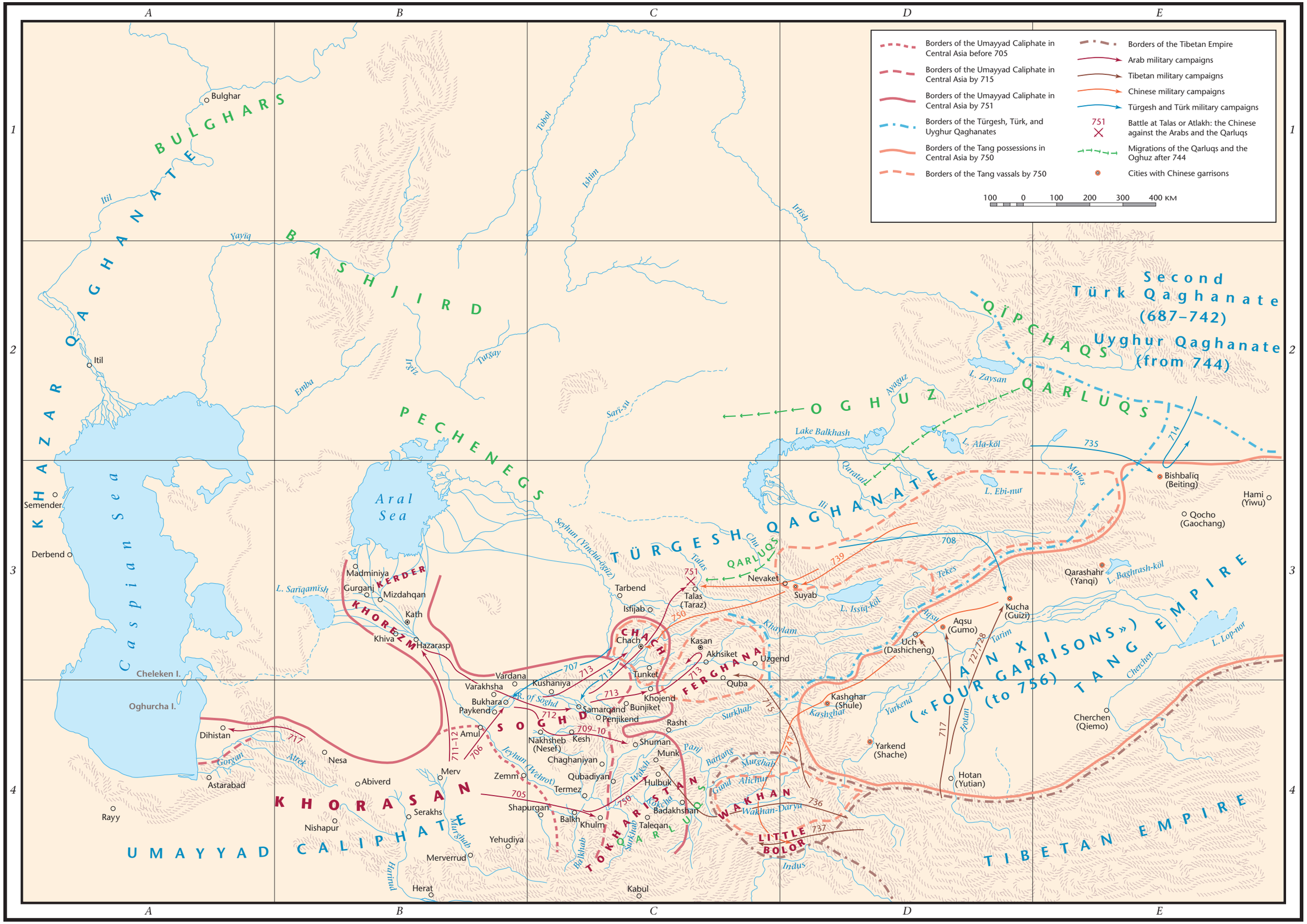
The Eastern Türk Qaghanate that was reborn in the 680s (see map 8) is usually called in scholarly literature the Second Qaghanate; it was ruled by the same Ashina dynasty, and its first qaghan was Elterish. His brother, Qapaghan Qaghan, succeeded him in 691, and during his rule, which continued until 716, the qaghanate reached the zenith of its might, having conducted several successful campaigns against China, defeated and subjected powerful nomadic groups in the east (Qitan) and north (Qïrghïz), and suppressed the rebellions of various Turkic tribes that had been the subjects of the First Türk Qaghanate (Oghuz and others). In the meantime the successor of Üch Elig in the Türgesh Qaghanate, named Saqal, fought the Türk allies of the Tang, who had retreated to Bishbalïq after 699 under the protection of Tang troops. In 708 Saqal campaigned against Kucha and crushed the Chinese army in the open field, although a Chinese garrison remained in the city. However, soon after that, Saqal's younger brother rebelled and asked Qapaghan Qaghan for help. In 711 the army of the Eastern Türks defeated Saqal in Jungharia, and both brothers were executed by order of Qapaghan Qaghan; as a result, the Türgesh Qaghanate ceased to exist for a while. The remnants of the Türgesh troops, under a member of the ruling clan named Suluk, retreated southward, through Semirech'e and across the Sïr-Darya. Pursuing them, the army of the Eastern Türks, under the command of two sons of the qaghan and his first counselor, Tonyuquq, appeared in Soghd in 712-713, where they took part in the fight against the Arabs on the side of the *ikhshid* of Soghd (cf. below), but they were defeated and in 714 retreated to Mongolia. After that Suluk returned to Semirech'e and proclaimed himself Türgesh-Qaghan, thus restoring the Türgesh Qaghanate. He had to face threats both from the east and from the west. In the east, he successfully fought the Tang, captured Suyab in 719, and besieged Kucha twice, in 726 and 727 (the second time, together with the Tibetans); in the 730s the Türgesh also raided or besieged other cities in the Tarim basin and Turfan (first Kashghar and Qocho, then Beiting and Aqsu). But of special importance for the Türgesh Qaghanate was its involvement in the affairs of Mavarannahr, which was being conquered by the Arabs in the first quarter of the 8th century.

In the early 8th century the Arabs, after half a century of plundering raids across the Amu-Darya and into Tokharistan, began the systematic conquests of these regions. These conquests were achieved under the command of the viceroy of Khorasan, Qutayba b. Muslim, who was appointed to this post in 705. By that time the Islamization of Iran, conquered by the Arabs half a century earlier, was already well advanced, and recently converted Persians sometimes played an important role in Qutayba's campaigns, so that some modern scholars prefer to use the expression "Islamic conquest" (instead of "Arab conquest") of Central Asia. Qutayba took advantage of the total lack of unity among the local rulers, who not only often failed to come to one other's help in the face of the Arab attacks but sometimes even assisted the conquerors. In 705 Qutayba captured some regions of Tokharistan, as well as Chaghaniyan and Shuman. But his main efforts were directed towards the conquest of Soghd. In 706 he crossed the Amu-Darya and conquered Paykend, a rich city dominated by merchants, where he obtained a huge booty; when the city rebelled after Qutayba left, he captured it for the second time and totally destroyed it. His attempt to conquer Bukhara immediately afterwards, however, was unsuccessful, and he retreated to Merv. In 708, in a new campaign across the Amu-Darya, Qutayba captured Ramitan, but again failed to conquer Bukhara. He achieved this goal the next year, after the coalition of Soghdians (under the *ikhshid* of Samarqand) and Türks, who had come to fight the Arabs, fell apart, and the Türks left. In 710 Qutayba captured Nakhsheb and Kesh, and recaptured Shuman, which had rebelled while the Arabs were occupied in fighting around Bukhara. In 711 Qutayba went to Khorezm and helped the ruler, the *khorezmshah*, to suppress a rebellion by the ruler's brother; in return, the *khorezmshah* acknowledged Arab authority and gave Qutayba troops for his campaign against Samarqand in 712. After a long siege, the *ikhshid* of Samarqand submitted to the Arabs, who received from him a substantial tribute and put their garrison in the city. Soon after this, an anti-Arab coalition was formed, including the rulers of Chach and Ferghana, as well as some of the Soghdians who did not recognize the surrender of the *ikhshid*. At this juncture an army of the Second Türk Qaghanate appeared in Soghd (see above) and fought the Arabs, but the Türks were defeated by Qutayba and returned to the east, after which the other members of the coalition were also defeated. In 713 Qutayba conquered the city of Chach (later Tashkent), from which he raided Isfijab, and then unsuccessfully tried to capture Khojanda and Kasan (in Ferghana). In 715 he campaigned in Ferghana in alliance with the Tibetans, deposed the king of Ferghana, and installed another one in his place; according to some reports, an Arab raiding party was sent in the pursuit of the fleeing deposed king, and it allegedly went as far as Kashghar. But in the same year Arab fortunes in Central Asia suffered a reversal: Qutayba, while still in Ferghana, rebelled against the new caliph, Sulayman, who was his enemy, and was killed; Qutayba's conquests in the north were then lost. Soon after this the taxation policy of the Arab administration caused resentment and revolts of the local population; this culminated in general uprisings in Soghd in 728-730 and then again in 736-737, supported also by the Türgesh, during which at some point only Samarqand and Dabusiya remained in Arab hands. The Türgesh came to help the *yabghu* of Tokharistan, when the latter was attacked by the Arabs, and they established an alliance with Tibet. In 736, and again in 737, a Tibetan army campaigned through Little Bolor and captured the Pamirs, while the Türgesh were fighting the Arabs south of the Amu-Darya as far west as Juzjan. But in 737 Suluk was defeated by the Arabs, and upon his return to Semirech'e he was killed by one of the Türgesh tribal chieftains; within just three years the Türgesh Qaghanate had completely disintegrated. The Second Qaghanate of the Eastern Türks lasted not much longer. In 742 the last qaghan of the Ashina dynasty was killed; a brief feud followed among three tribal groups who had been the Türks' vassals, the Basmïl, Qarluq, and Uyghur. The Uyghurs, who had belonged to the Tiele, or Toquz-Oghuz, group of Turkic tribes, came out victorious, and in 744 they founded their own, Uyghur, qaghanate (with the same traditional center in Mongolia). In 745 the defeated Qarluqs migrated to the southwest, to the land of the former Türgesh Qaghanate.

By then China took advantage of the Türgesh involvement in the affairs of Mavarannahr and Tokharistan and extended its influence westward. Ferghana, in the face of continuing Arab assaults, was closely allied with the Tang (or was even a vassal of the Chinese). In 747 Tang troops, having made a quick march from Kashghar through the Pamirs, captured Little Bolor from the Tibetans and established their garrisons there. In 749 Wakhan submitted to the Chinese. In 748 Tang troops captured and destroyed Suyab, the traditional center of the Western Türks. In early 750 the Chinese interfered in the conflict between the rulers of Chach and Ferghana and sent troops in support of the latter; Chach was captured and sacked, and its king was brought to China, where he was executed.

In the meantime, the situation of the Arabs in Mavarannahr changed: a revolutionary movement directed against the Umayyad dynasty of the Caliphate, which began in Khorasan in 747, resulted in the overthrow of this dynasty and its replacement by the ʿAbbasids in 749. The leader of this movement, Abu Muslim, became the viceroy of Khorasan. He suppressed the rebellions in Bukhara and Samarqand and, following an appeal from the son of the executed king of Chach, had troops gathered in Samarqand under Ziyad b. Salih to march against the Chinese. In July 751, the Tang army under Gao Xianzhi, which included also some Qarluqs, encountered them at the town of Atlakh, near Talas; during the battle, the Qarluqs switched sides, the Chinese were routed, and Gao Xianzhi escaped captivity only with great difficulty. This battle was a turning point in the history of Chinese expansion in Central Asia, but it was only in the 790s that the last remnants of the Chinese presence there disappeared (see map 10).

By the middle of the 8th century Arab rule in Western Turkestan was firmly established, despite some continuing rebellions of the local population. The main change that the Arab conquest brought to Central Asia was not political, but cultural: it was the Islamization of the region, achieved by both forcible and voluntary conversion of the population to the religion of the conquerors. This was a long process, which affected first of all the urban population, while in rural areas some old pre-Islamic cults and practices survived for several centuries longer. But Islam was now the official religion, and Arabic, in addition to being the only language of religion, became the language of law and administration.



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9. THE FIRST HALF OF THE 8TH CENTURY: THE ARAB CONQUESTS, TÜRKS, TANG, AND TIBET

10. FROM MID-8TH TO THE END OF THE 9TH CENTURY: THE EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD IN THE WEST, THE QARLUQS AND UYGHURS IN THE EAST

Abu Muslim, who led the revolution in Mavarannahr and Khorasan at the end of the 740s that brought to power the new ʿAbbasid dynasty of the caliphs, became the first ʿAbbasid viceroy in Khorasan. He subdued Soghdiana and Tokharistan and enjoyed absolute power over these provinces. As a result, the caliph in Baghdad perceived him as a threat to his own authority, and Abu Muslim was executed in Baghdad when he came there in 754. This execution caused a rebellion in Khorasan led by the Zoroastrian Sunbadh, which was suppressed in 70 days. Several more revolts and rebellions took place in the following decades in various parts of the caliphate, including Central Asia, but the most serious one was under Hashim al-Muqannaʿ in 774-780, during which the rebels, who consisted mostly of peasants, occupied a large area in Mavarannahr, including the city of Samarqand. The rebellion was crushed only after a year-long siege of a mountain fortress in the region of Kesh occupied by al-Muqannaʿ and the death of the rebel leader.

In the process of consolidation of his authority Abu Muslim physically eliminated many Soghdian rulers and deprived others of power, so that they eventually became common landowners. On the other hand, a way to the bureaucratic system of the caliphate was opened to the members of the local elites who supported the ʿAbbasid revolution. Iranians from Central Asia reached the highest positions at the caliphal court. Members of the family of the Barmakids, descendants of the chief priest of a Buddhist temple near Balkh, became secretaries and viziers to the first ʿAbbasid caliphs. In the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 9th century three generations of the Tahirid family, beginning with Tahir b. Husayn, an Iranian military commander, served as governors of Khorasan (which still included Mavarannahr). But in 861-873 an Iranian adventurer, Yaʿqub b. Layth, a son of a coppersmith, having gathered under his command numerous armed followers, drove out the governor of Sistan (the south-eastern province of Iran) who was subordinate to the Tahirids, and in 873 captured Nishapur, the capital of Khorasan, thus putting an end to the Tahirid rule. During the next six years Yaʿqub conquered the southern provinces of Iran and threatened the caliph's capital itself. His brother, ʿAmr, succeeded him in 879. He recognized the authority of the caliph, and the latter "appointed" him as governor of Khorasan in 892, but, in reality, he was an independent ruler. In 898 the caliph granted ʿAmr a patent to the rule of Mavarannahr, but when ʿAmr tried to assert this right, he had to confront the Samanids, and in 900 he was defeated near Balkh by Ismaʿil Samani.

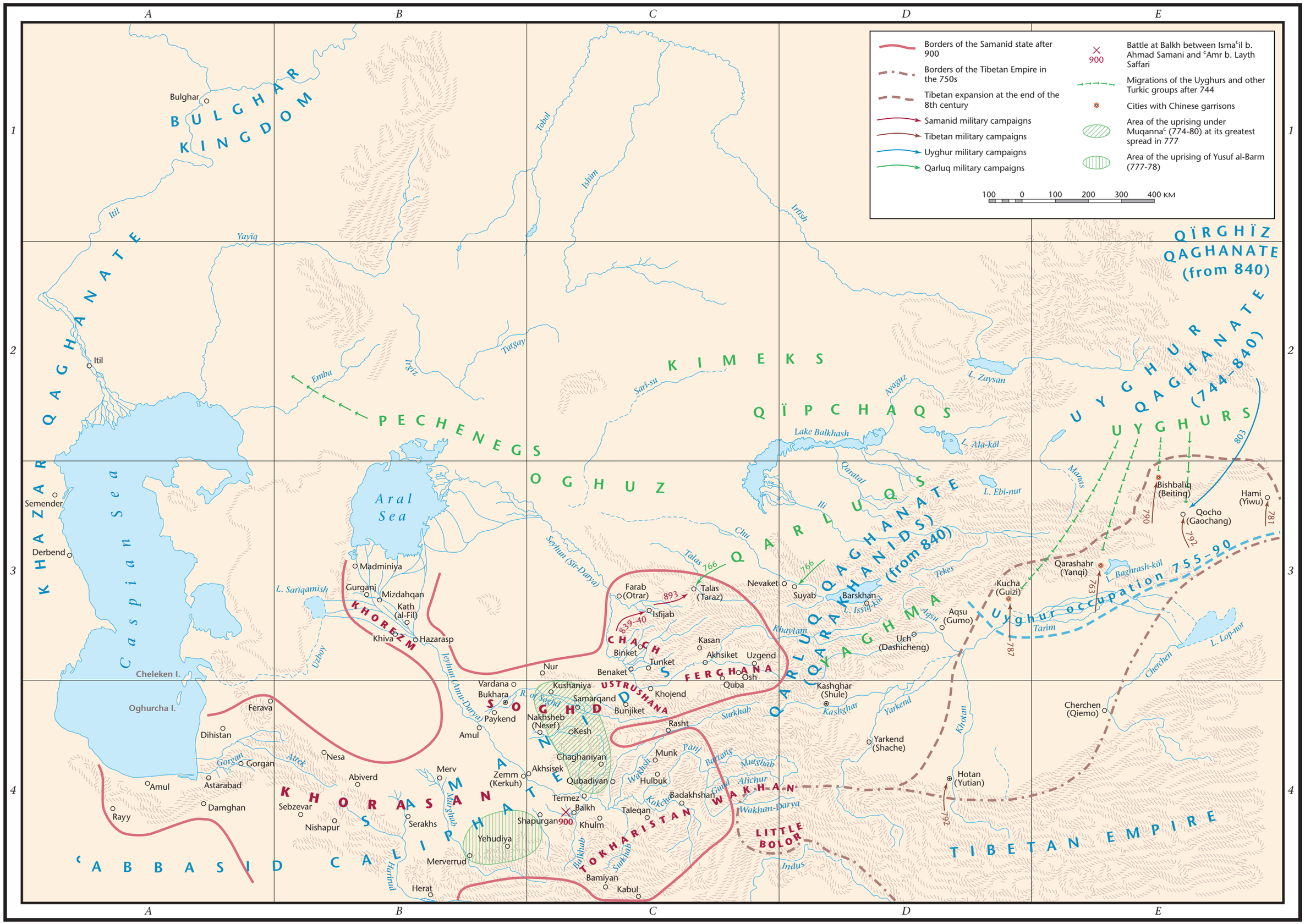
The Samanids were an Iranian family who succeeded in founding the first Central Asian Islamic state. The ancestor of this family, Saman-Khuda, was allegedly a landlord in the province of Balkh (according to other data—near Samarqand or Termez), and his son, Asad, was converted to Islam in Merv in the early 9th century. His four sons served the caliph al-Maʾmun and, as a reward, were appointed to govern four provinces (under the Tahirids): Nuh in Samarqand, Ahmad in Ferghana, Yahya in Chach, and Ilyas in Herat. After the death of Nuh b. Asad, all governorships were transferred to the sons of Ahmad, and it was Ismaʿil b. Ahmad, the governor of Bukhara, who became the founder of the Samanid state (for more on the Samanids see map 11).

The Samanids are usually considered the first Iranian Islamic dynasty in Mavarannahr. But they were also largely responsible for the introduction of a Turkic military element into Central Asia. Beginning in the reign of the caliph al-Muʿtasim (833-842), Turkic slaves brought from Central Asia were used in the guard of the caliph, and soon these slaves, called *ghulam*s, became the nucleus of the army. Turkic slaves were brought to the Islamic lands from the steppes of Central Asia either after being captured in wars with the heathen Turkic neighbors of the caliphate or after being bought by Muslim slave traders. Since the Samanid state was the immediate neighbor of the Central Asian steppes, it had full control of the supply of slaves to the other areas of the caliphate and profited from it. The Samanids also created their own elite corps of Turkic ghulams, which quickly grew in size and importance and ultimately contributed to the Samanids' own undoing.

The territorial expansion of the caliphate in Central Asia had already resumed before the rise of the Samanids. In the second decade of the 9th century, the troops of the caliph al-Maʾmun subdued the ruler of Kabul and invaded Wakhan in the east, and occupied Otrar and Ferghana in the north. Further expansion to the north, however, was checked by the Qarluqs. The latter, under a ruler with the title *yabghu*, were defeated in 744 by the Uyghurs in the course of their fight for domination over the tribes of the Second Türk Qaghanate (see map 9), migrated to Semirech'e, and continued their expansion to the south and the west. In both directions they had to confront other Turkic groupings. In the west, these were the Oghuz (who had long before separated from the eastern branch of the Toquz-Oghuz, the Uyghurs). In the second half of the 8th century the Oghuz, under Qarluq pressure, migrated to the lower course of the Sïr-Darya, where they formed their own nomadic "state" ruled, like the Qarluqs, by a *yabghu*. In the south, the Qarluqs fought another strong Turkic tribe called Yaghma, which was predominant in the north-western part of the Tarim basin. In 766 the Qarluqs captured Suyab and Talas.

In Eastern Turkestan, in the meantime, Chinese fortunes suffered a sudden reversal. In 756 a major uprising in China inflicted a heavy blow to the Tang. Most of the Chinese troops in the "Four Garrisons" region were withdrawn, with the exception of Kucha and Beiting, but even these lost their connection with the Chinese heartland. The Uyghurs, who helped the Tang to fight the rebellion and to drive the rebels away from the Tang capital, established their control over the northern part of the Tarim basin. While the Uyghur qaghan, named Bögü (759-779), stayed in the Tang capital in 762, he was converted to Manichaeism by the Soghdians who lived there, and Manichaeism became the official religion of the Uyghurs. As a result, Soghdian political and economic influence in the Uyghur Qaghanate became stronger than ever before, and Soghdian merchants profited greatly due to their role as intermediaries in the trade in silk and horses between the qaghanate and China. Bögü Qaghan was overthrown and killed, and the new qaghan, Alp Qutlugh Bilge (779-789), persecuted the Manichaeans. His successors restored Manichaeism to its previous status. In Eastern Turkestan this period coincided with a major offensive of Tibet, where Buddhism became the official religion in 787. In the 780s and 790s the Tibetans captured Hami, Bishbalïq, Qocho, and Hotan. The Uyghurs were still able to counterattack, and in 803 they recaptured Qocho. The struggle for the cities of the Tarim basin between the Tibetans, the Chinese, and the Uyghurs continued until the 820s. In 822-823 Tibet made peace with China and with the Uyghurs. But the situation of the Uyghur Qaghanate rapidly deteriorated. The Uyghurs were losing ground in their wars with the Qïrghïz (a Turkic people in the Yenisey basin, north of Mongolia), which lasted for two decades. In 840 the Qïrghïz, assisted by a renegade Uyghur general, captured the capital of the Uyghur Qaghanate in Mongolia and killed the last qaghan; the Qïrghïz ruler proclaimed himself qaghan, thus founding a new, Qïrghïz, qaghanate, which had no connection with the political tradition of the Türk and Uyghur qaghanates. The Uyghurs fled from Mongolia and Jungharia in various directions. The largest group occupied Bishbalïq and the Turfan oasis (with the capital in Qocho) and founded a new Uyghur state that included the north-eastern part of the Tarim basin; its ruler adopted the title *idiqut*. With the Uyghur occupation of the Tarim basin and Turfan, China lost all its positions in Eastern Turkestan for almost ten centuries. Almost simultaneously, Hotan regained its independence from Tibet (in 851), and, after a period of internecine wars between various Tibetan generals, by the end of the 880s the Tibetan Empire disintegrated into a number of petty lordships, never to be restored.

While the Uyghurs were banished from Mongolia and came to Eastern Turkestan, the Qarluqs strengthened their position in Semirech'e. The Turkic tribes Yaghma, Chigil, and Tukhsi, which inhabited the area of the Western Tien-Shan and the northwestern part of the Tarim basin, joined the Qarluq tribal union. In 840, after the destruction of the Uyghur Qaghanate, the *yabghu* of the Qarluqs, who was related to the Ashina royal clan of the Türks, assumed the title of *qaghan*, thus founding a new qaghanate under the dynasty that in modern scholarly literature became known as the Qarakhanids. The Qarakhanids began to threaten the northern borders of the state of the Samanids. In 839-40 the Samanid Nuh b. Asad campaigned against the Qarluqs and captured Isfijab, and in 893 Ismaʿil Samani conquered Taraz (Talas). But later, the Samanids instead maintained a defensive policy in their relations with the Turkic steppes.



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10. FROM MID-8TH TO THE END OF THE 9TH CENTURY: THE EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD IN THE WEST, THE QARLUQS AND UYGHURS IN THE EAST

11. 10TH CENTURY: THE SAMANIDS, QARAKHANIDS, OGHUZ, KIMEKS, AND QÏPCHAQS

After the death of the first head of the Samanid dynasty, Nuh b. Asad (see map 10), his brother, Ahmad, succeeded him. Ahmad's son, Nasr, became the ruler of Samarqand while his father was still alive. After the death of his father in 864, Nasr became the head of the dynasty. In 874 his brother Ismaʿil became the governor of Bukhara (which had not belonged to the Samanids until then), and in 875 Nasr received a diploma from the caliph granting him the administration of the whole of Mavarannahr. Rivalry between Nasr and Ismaʿil resulted in a war in which Nasr was taken prisoner in 888, but the struggle ended in a reconciliation. After the death of Nasr in 892, Ismaʿil became the ruler of Mavarannahr, with his capital in Bukhara, and received a diploma from the caliph the next year. Ismaʿil and his successors recognized the caliph's authority only nominally: they minted coins in the names both of the caliph and the ruling Samanid and sent gifts to the caliphal court, but they retained for themselves all taxes collected from the regions under their rule. The Samanids expanded their territory significantly: in 892 Ismaʿil annexed Ustrushana, ending the rule of the local dynasty of the *afshin*s; in 900-901 he established his rule over two Caspian provinces, Gorgan and Tabaristan; Rayy and all of Khorasan were added to his domains with the demise of ʿAmr b. Layth Saffari. Ismaʿil's son Ahmad conquered most of Sistan. The rulers of Khorezm, as well as of small principalities east of Soghd, became the Samanids' vassals (see map 12). In the west, the Samanids had to frequently fight the Buyids after the latter captured Baghdad in 945. In the north, the Samanids captured Isfijab in 840 and Taraz in 893; Nasr II b. Ahmad (914-943) campaigned to Shavgar, but probably did not capture it. No further conquests in the north were undertaken, however, although the Samanids supported the *ghazi*s, "Warriors for the Faith," who flocked to the borders with the steppe and lived there in order to fight the "infidel" Turks. By the middle of the 10th century, various groups of Turks, who had converted to Islam, mostly from among the Qarluqs and Oghuz, were taking shape along the northern borders of the Samanids, and began to be called "Turkmens." But before the mass conversion of the Turks in the steppe, more numerous Turkic converts appeared within the Samanid state as slave soldiers.

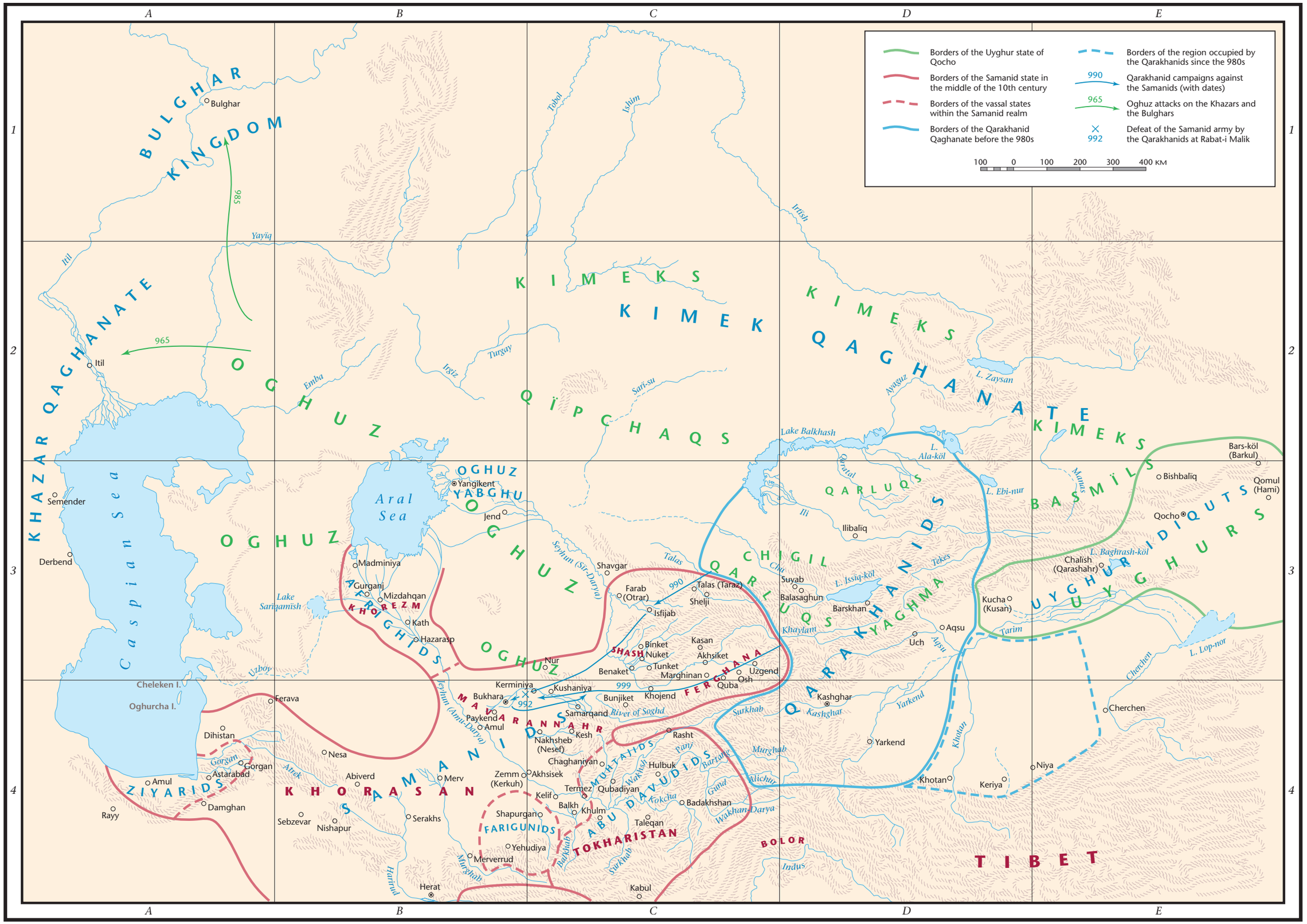
Since early in the Samanid rule, the Turkic slave troops, the *ghulam*s, played an increasingly important role in the army, at the expense of the levies provided by the local landlords: Turks were considered better soldiers and they had no local allegiances — their only allegiance was to their master, that is, to the ruler. However, as a result of the reliance of the Samanid amirs on their Turkic guard, the commanders of this guard soon began to play an independent political role in the state, to the detriment of political stability. From the middle of the 10th century the Turkic military took actual control of the government, and their commanders had themselves appointed to key positions, like that of governor of Khorasan. The power of central government eroded, and its revenues dwindled.

While the internal situation of the Samanid state was deteriorating, the situation on its northern border also took a turn for the worse. The Turks of the Qarakhanid Qaghanate converted to Islam early in the second half of the 10th century, possibly in 960. This conversion changed the strategic relationship between the Samanids and the Qarakhanids: the latter became just another Islamic dynasty, there was no more reason to fight the infidels along the Samanid border, and the "Warriors for the Faith" either switched to more peaceful occupations or gradually left for the western borders of the Islamic world (Anatolia and the Caucasus), where their services were still needed. It is not clear whether the disappearance of the *ghazi*s contributed to the ultimate fall of the Samanids, but, in any case, it made the Qarakhanid conquest easier. The western expansion of the Qarakhanids began around 976, when they captured silver mines in Ilaq which had belonged to the Samanids, and in 990 they captured Isfijab. At the end of 991 the Qarakhanid Bughra Khan Harun (or Hasan) b. Sulayman invaded Mavarannahr and in 992 captured Bukhara, almost without any resistance. However, Bughra Khan soon fell ill in Bukhara, abandoned the city and died on the way north.

In the meantime, in the southern part of the Samanid state another Turkic dynasty emerged, whose founder, Sebük-Tegin, was a *ghulam* of the Turkic commander-in-chief of the Samanid army (he came originally from the region of Barskhan, on Lake Issïq-köl, and was probably himself of Qarluq origin or related to the Qarluqs). In 977 he established himself in Ghazna and ruled this region for twenty years, making it his power base (hence the name of the dynasty founded by him, the Ghaznavids), nominally on behalf of the Samanids, but actually as independent ruler; from there he raided northern India. After Bughra Khan Harun abandoned Bukhara in 992, two Turkic military commanders of the Samanids tried to get rid of the Samanids altogether, and the Samanid amir invited Sebük-Tegin and his son Mahmud to help against the rebels, granting Mahmud the governorship of Khorasan. After the new Qarakhanid ruler Nasr b. ʿAli invaded the region of Isfijab in 996, Sebük-Tegin agreed to leave that region in his possession, while he retained Khorasan. After this the Samanid domains were limited only to the central part of Mavarannahr, while Khorasan and all regions south of the Amu-Darya were ruled by Mahmud, who succeeded Sebük-Tegin after his death in 997. Finally, in 999 the Qarakhanid Nasr b. ʿAli entered Bukhara without resistance and put an end to the rule of the Samanids. A brother of the last amir, Ismaʿil II b. Nuh al-Muntasir, tried to fight the Qarakhanids and even had some success, but was finally defeated and killed in 1005.

Soon after the Qarakhanid Turks, another Turkic group, the Oghuz, established themselves on the northern borders of the Samanid state. The origin of these Oghuz is not quite clear; it is possible that they had been a part of the larger Oghuz grouping (the Toquz-Oghuz, in Chinese sources the Tiele) included among the subject tribes in the first and second Türk Qaghanates. They migrated west after the destruction of the Uyghur Qaghanate, in the last quarter of the 8th century. The Oghuz occupied the lower course of the Sïr-Darya and the regions north of the Aral Sea as far west as the Volga after a long struggle with the Kangars (Pechenegs) who had inhabited these areas previously, and the Pechenegs migrated westward, to the East European steppes. The areas north of the Sïr-Darya became known to Islamic writers as "the Steppe of the Ghuzz" (from the Arabic transcription of the name Oghuz). Their ruler, from the Barani clan, had the title *yabghu*, and his winter quarters were in the village (or "town") Yangikent, in the Sïr-Darya delta. The Oghuz became a troublesome neighbor to Khorezm and Khorasan, and they often raided these provinces (in the second case, across the Qara-qum desert). To the west, they were fighting the Khazar Qaghanate on the lower Volga, and in 965 they attacked the Khazar capital Itil, in alliance with the Russian prince Sviatoslav of Kiev. Around 985 an army commander of the yabghu named Seljuk fell out with the yabghu and fled to Jend, in the upper part of the Sïr-Darya delta, where he and his followers converted to Islam. Soon the name Turkmen began to be used primarily for these Muslim Oghuz, and it became their ethnic label. The Oghuz yabghu also converted to Islam a little later (see map 13). Some of the Turkmens who split from the yabghu under Seljuk and his family began to nomadize in Mavarannahr, between the Sïr-Darya and the Amu-Darya (possibly, in the region of Nur), and participated in the military campaigns of the last Samanid, al-Muntasir, against the Qarakhanids.

In the steppes east and north-east of the Oghuz another Turkic tribal union, named Kimek, emerged before the middle of the 9th century, in the steppes south of the Irtïsh river. After the fall of the Uyghur Qaghanate in 840 the head of the Kimeks adopted the title qaghan, thus laying his claim to the "Uyghur heritage." This probably happened after the migration to their territory of the tribal group Qïpchaq, which, according to one plausible hypothesis, had been previously known, before the destruction of the Second Türk Qaghanate, under the name Sir. The Qïpchaqs migrated through the Altay to the Irtïsh steppes where they joined the Kimeks and formed the western wing of this confederation. In the 10th century the pasturelands of the Qïpchaqs adjoined those of the Oghuz in the Sïr-Darya basin, while the Kimeks expanded eastward to Jungharia. The relative political equilibrium that existed in the Central Asian steppes in the 10th century was, however, upset with a wave of new nomadic migrations, which started at the eastern limits of the steppe belt (see map 13).



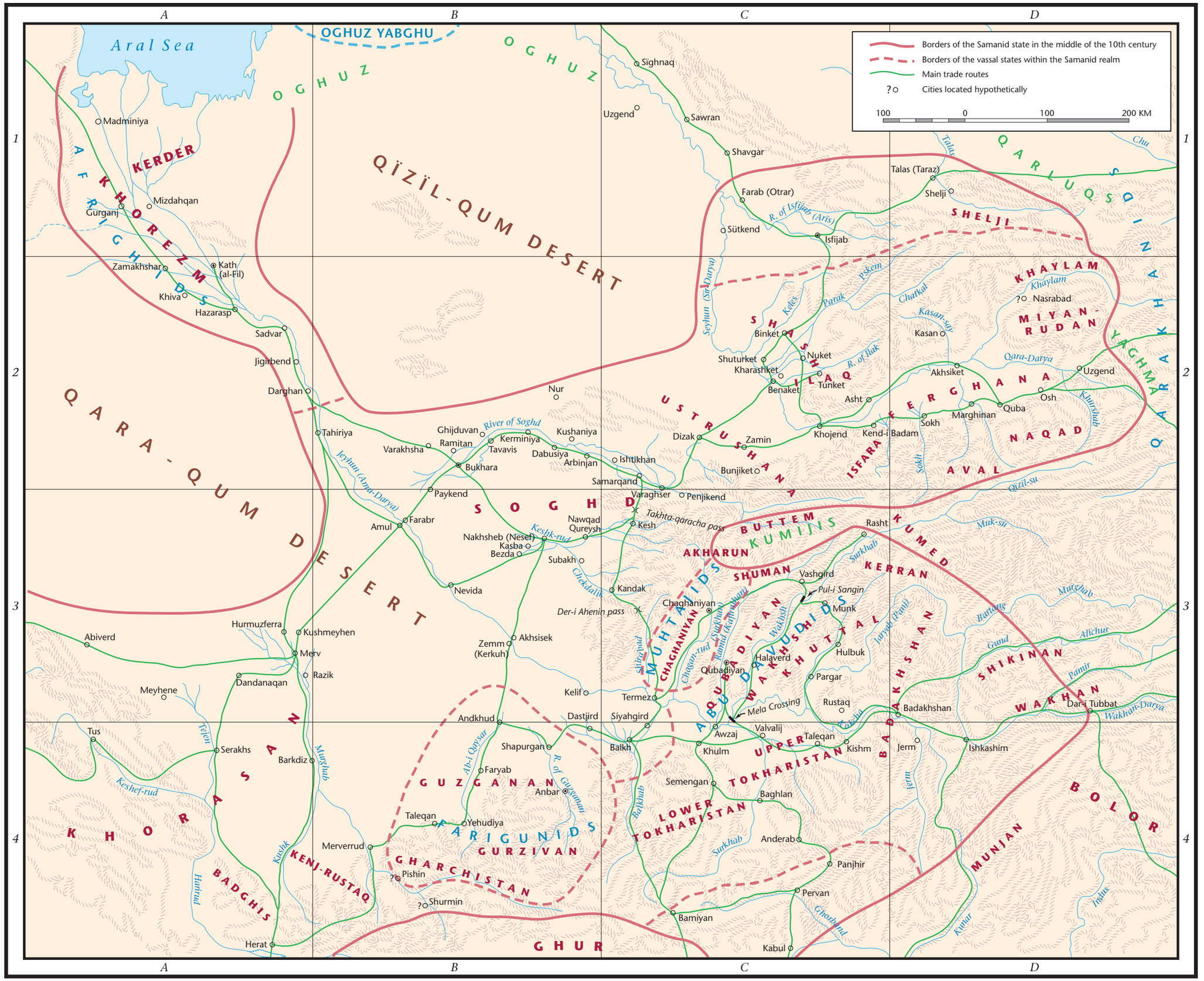
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11. 10TH CENTURY: THE SAMANIDS, QARAKHANIDS, OGHUZ, KIMEKS, AND QÏPCHAQS

12. THE CENTRAL REGIONS OF WESTERN TURKESTAN IN THE 10TH CENTURY

Although the greatest external expansion of the Samanid state took place under Ismaʿil b. Ahmad (892-907), it was during the reign of Nasr II b. Ahmad (914-943) that the state experienced its greatest prosperity. The capital of the state was Bukhara, which was the seat of the central administration modelled upon the caliphal court in Baghdad. The head of the Samanid family had the title of *amir*, lit. "commander," but meaning rather "governor" (for the caliph); the Samanids continued to nominally recognize the supreme authority of the caliph, but actually were completely independent. The amir appointed provincial governors, primarily from among the members of the Samanid family, but also from among other noble families and later from among the Turkic slave soldiers. The governor had to collect taxes and supply troops for military campaigns, and for his service would retain for himself a certain share of the tax revenue from the province (sometimes all of it). In a number of provinces the Samanids retained the old dynasties as their vassals. While Khorezm was included in the Samanid state after 900, the local dynasty of the Khorezmshahs (in modern scholarly literature, the Afrighids, from the name of its legendary ancestor), with their capital at Kath, continued to rule the southern part of the country, while the Samanid governor (amir) ruled the northern part, with the capital in Gurganj. In 995 the amir of Gurganj defeated the Khorezmshah and annexed his domain, assuming the title of Khorezmshah, but remained a Samanid vassal. Chaghaniyan was ruled by the Muhtajids (or Al-i Muhtaj), who were descendants of either the pre-Islamic rulers, the *chaghan-khuda*s, or of an Iranized Arab family that had settled in Khorasan after the Arab conquest. Khuttal was ruled by a local dynasty known first as Banijurids and later (by the name of its other branch) Abu Davudids; the latter expanded their domain and included in it Balkh, Tokharistan and Termez. The province of Guzganan (in Arabicized form, Juzjan), southwest of Balkh, was ruled by the Farighunid dynasty. Kuhistan was the domain of the Simjurid family. Even the Saffarids remained for a while in Sistan as Samanid vassals. In the west, Samanid vassals were the Zaydi Imams in the Caspian provinces. In the north, after the conquest of Isfijab, the Samanids left in place the local Turkic rulers. All these vassals sent only annual presents to the Samanid court, but paid no taxes. The largest province of the Samanid state was Khorasan, with its center in Nishapur, whose governor was also the commander-in-chief (*sipahsalar*) of the Samanid army. In the 940s and 950s Abu ʿAli Chaghani (from the Al-i Muhtaj dynasty) was the governor of Khorasan and was close to establishing his independent rule there. Later, it was the commanders of Turkic slave troops who held this governorship, often hardly recognizing central authority; in 991 such a commander, Abu ʿAli Simjuri, appropriated all state revenues from Khorasan.

Samanid rule (except for its last years) was a period of economic prosperity and cultural efflorescence. The old Soghdian language mostly disappeared by the end of Samanid rule and was replaced by New Persian. Literature in New Persian (using the Arabic script), whose beginnings go back to the time of the Tahirids and Saffarids, flourished under Samanid patronage. Persian was used in the state chancery (side by side with Arabic), and an attempt (under Ahmad II b. Ismaʿil) to change back to Arabic failed. A Persian translation of the great Arabic historical work by Tabari (10th century) was made by Balʿami, a vizier of the Samanids; at the same time a Persian translation of the Arabic commentary on the Qurʾan by Tabari was made by a group of several scholars from Mavarannahr. The court library of the Samanids in Bukhara was famous. Samanid amirs and high officials patronized Persian poetry. Rudaki, who is considered the father of Tajik poetry, wrote at the court of Nasr II, and Firdawsi began his *Shahnama* under the Samanids. In modern Tajikistan the Samanids are regarded the first (and only) Tajik national dynasty.



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12. THE CENTRAL REGIONS OF WESTERN TURKESTAN IN THE 10TH CENTURY

13. THE EARLY 11TH CENTURY: THE GHAZNAVIDS, QARAKHANIDS, AND SELJUKS

With the demise of the Samanids in 999 (see maps 11-12), the territory of their state was divided between Mahmud b. Sebük-Tegin of Ghazna and the Qarakhanid Nasr b. ʿAli, who agreed that the Amu-Darya should be the boundary between the two states. Despite this agreement, the Qarakhanids invaded the territory south of the Amu-Darya, but were decisively defeated by Mahmud in a battle at Balkh in 1008, after which they made no further attempt to attack Mahmud's territory. Mahmud spent his entire reign in relentless campaigning against the neighbors of his kingdom in all directions. After securing his position in Khorasan, he extended his control over the former vassals of the Samanids in the south of their kingdom (Juzjan, Gharchistan, Khuttal, and Sistan). He sent three expeditions to conquer the mountainous region of Ghur, in the upper course of the Harirud, which had remained pagan and independent until then, and the local chieftains became his vassals. In 1017 Mahmud found a pretext for intervening in the affairs of Khorezm, where the family of the amirs of Gurganj had ruled since 995; Khorezm was conquered after fierce fighting, and Mahmud installed as governor (but with the traditional title of Khorezmshah) a former *ghulam* of his father Sebük-Tegin named Altuntash. In the west, Mahmud fought the Buyids, a Shiʿite dynasty who ruled a vast empire in western and central Iran and Iraq and controlled the ʿAbbasid caliphs in Baghdad. Although Buyid power was diminishing in the first half of the 11th century, Mahmud turned his attention to them only at the end of his reign, when he captured Rayy, subdued the Musafirid rulers of Daylam, and then sent his son Masʿud to attack other Buyid vassals; this operation, however, was interrupted by Mahmud's death in 1030. After Khorasan and Tokharistan were secured for Mahmud, the main destination of Mahmud's military campaigns was India. These campaigns (17 in number) reached as far south as Kalinjar and Somnath, but only Panjab and Sind were annexed. The main goal of Mahmud's Indian campaigns was plunder, and they brought him enormous booty which allowed him to maintain a large army.

Mahmud was a despotic ruler whose power rested upon the army and a large bureaucratic apparatus and whose rule was supported by spoils from his Indian campaigns. The central administrative system in his empire was inherited from the Samanids and further developed under his own rule, so that for later Islamic writers the Ghaznavid state became a model of a well organized and highly centralized bureaucracy, with a professional salaried standing army. Mahmud also stressed his role as a champion of Islamic orthodoxy, a protector and promoter of Sunnite Islam fighting the Shiʿite Buyids, the Ismaʿilis of Multan, and Hindu "idolaters." It was also Mahmud Ghaznavi who began to be styled "sultan," although "sultan" became the official title of the Ghaznavid rulers only beginning with Mahmud's grandson. Mahmud and Masʿud also continued the Samanid tradition of patronizing arts and literature (Firdawsi presented the *Shah-nama* to him), and their court in Ghazna was a great cultural center. But the mighty state created by Mahmud suffered a severe blow from the Seljuk Turkmens just ten years after Mahmud's death.

In the early 11th century the Turkmens, under the leadership of Seljuk's three sons, Musa, Mikaʾil and Arslan Israʾil, and then two sons of Mikaʾil, Toghrïl Bek Muhammad and Chaghrï Bek Davud, were nomadizing on the borders of Mavarannahr and Khorezm and in the Qara-qum desert, providing their military services to the Qarakhanids and the Khorezmshah (cf. map 11). In the 1020s the Turkmens in Mavarannahr under Israʾil were allied with the Qarakhanid ʿAli Tegin during the latter's war with the head of the Qarakhanid dynasty, Qadïr-Khan Yusuf. Mahmud Ghaznavi interfered in this conflict on the side of Qadïr-Khan in 1025, defeated and captured Israʾil, and transfered 4,000 Turkmens to Khorasan, where they received pastures near Serakhs and Abiverd. Here they soon rebelled and were defeated and dispersed in several directions, and some of them migrated as far west as Azerbayjan and Iraq, while the majority went to the Balkhan mountains. Mahmud, shortly before his death in 1030, took some of them into his service and put them under the command of his son Masʿud, who was the governor of Rayy. They helped Masʿud in the fight for succession in Ghazna after Mahmud's death; however, they later fell out with the Ghaznavid administration of Khorasan, and fighting between the Turkmens and Ghaznavid troops continued intermittently from 1031 to 1034. At the same time the Turkmens in Mavarannahr were nomadizing between Bukhara and Khorezm, switching their allegiance, accordingly, between the Qarakhanids and the Khorezmshah. In 1032 they participated in the battle at Dabusiya between Khorezmshah Altuntash and ʿAli Tegin, but later they supported the Khorezmshah Harun, son of Altuntash, who ceased to be a Ghaznavid vassal in 1034. In 1034-35 the Turkmens under the Seljuks in Khorezm were attacked and defeated by the Oghuz yabghu of Yangikent, Shah Malik Barani, after which a large number of Turkmens, under Toghrïl, Musa, and Chaghrï, migrated to northern Khorasan, where they received pastures in the regions of Abiverd, Nesa, and Ferava. It seems that many more joined them both from the Balkhan area and from across the Amu-Darya, and they occupied the region of Merv. During the following years, Khorasan suffered greatly from Turkmen depredations. In 1035, at Nesa, the Seljuks defeated Ghaznavid troops sent against them by Sultan Masʿud. In 1038 the Ghaznavid troops suffered another defeat at Serakhs, and Nishapur was occupied by the Seljuks. In 1040 Sultan Masʿud himself led his army against the Seljuks, but at Dandanaqan, south-west of Merv, this army was routed by the Seljuks, and Masʿud fled to Ghazna; he was overthrown on the way there and died the next year, while Toghrïl Bek was crowned on the battlefield as "the Sultan of Khorasan." Thus a new, Seljuk, state emerged that was soon to become one of the largest empires in the Islamic world.

The Qarakhanid Qaghanate also underwent important changes by 1040. After the elimination of the Samanids, the qaghanate included Mavarannahr, Shash, Ferghana, Isfijab, Talas, Semirech'e, and the western part of the Tarim basin. From the very beginning, the qaghanate had a bipartite structure similar to that of the Türk Qaghanate: the Great (or senior) Khan with the titles Arslan Khan and Qara Khan, who had two capitals, Balasaghun, in the upper Chu valley (the main one), and Kashghar, ruled directly over the eastern part of the qaghanate, while the "associate" khan, titled Bughra Khan, ruled the western part whose capital was initially Talas and, after 999, Bukhara. The empire, as was common in Inner Asian nomadic states, was considered the common patrimony of the ruling clan, and its members were entitled to rule certain parts of it as appanages according to their seniority in the family. There was a complex system of ranks and titles connected with this seniority (thus, immediately below qaghan there was *ilig*, and below ilig the *tegin*), and when the members of the clan moved up the dynastic ladder, their titles (and often their appanages) changed; this makes the study of their history extremely difficult. The relationships among various members of the Qarakhanid clan were often less than friendly, and interdynastic feuds occurred frequently. One such feud took place in the 1030s, when Ibrahim b. Nasr, the son of the second conqueror of Mavarannahr, who initially had the title of Böri-Tegin, was enlarging his appanage and fighting the other members of the dynasty, until he took possession of all of Mavarannahr and was proclaimed khan in 1040, with the title of Tamghach (or Tabghach) Bughra Khan, and with his capital in Samarqand. It was in this year, 1040, that the united Qarakhanid Qaghanate split into two independent qaghanates, eastern and western, under two different branches of the dynasty.

Attempts at the territorial expansion of the western qaghanate (across the Amu-Darya) were blocked by the Ghaznavids. The khans of the eastern qaghanate, on the other hand, enlarged their territory, spreading Islam into Eastern Turkestan. At the beginning of the 11th century Qadïr Khan Yusuf conquered Khotan, and in 1016 he minted his coins in Uch. By the middle of the 11th century the borders of the eastern qaghanate were at Cherchen and Kucha. Some of the eastern campaigns of the eastern qaghans were directed against the incursions of a new wave of heathen nomads which began with the expansion of the Qitan in Mongolia in the 10th century and continued with chain migrations across the Inner Asian steppe belt in the early 11th century. The Qarakhanids successfully defended themselves, but the Kimek confederation in the northern steppes disintegrated, and the Qïpchaqs became predominant in the central part of the Central Asian steppe zone, moving to the Sïr-Darya and the Volga and replacing the Oghuz; the latter either moved to Eastern Europe or joined the Seljuks. It is possible that the migration of the Turkmens to Khorasan was to a great extent caused by Qïpchaq pressure from the north. By the first half of the 11th century "The Steppe of the Oghuz" began to be called "The Steppe of the Qïpchaqs," a name that was preserved through the 19th century.



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13. THE EARLY 11TH CENTURY: THE GHAZNAVIDS, QARAKHANIDS, AND SELJUKS

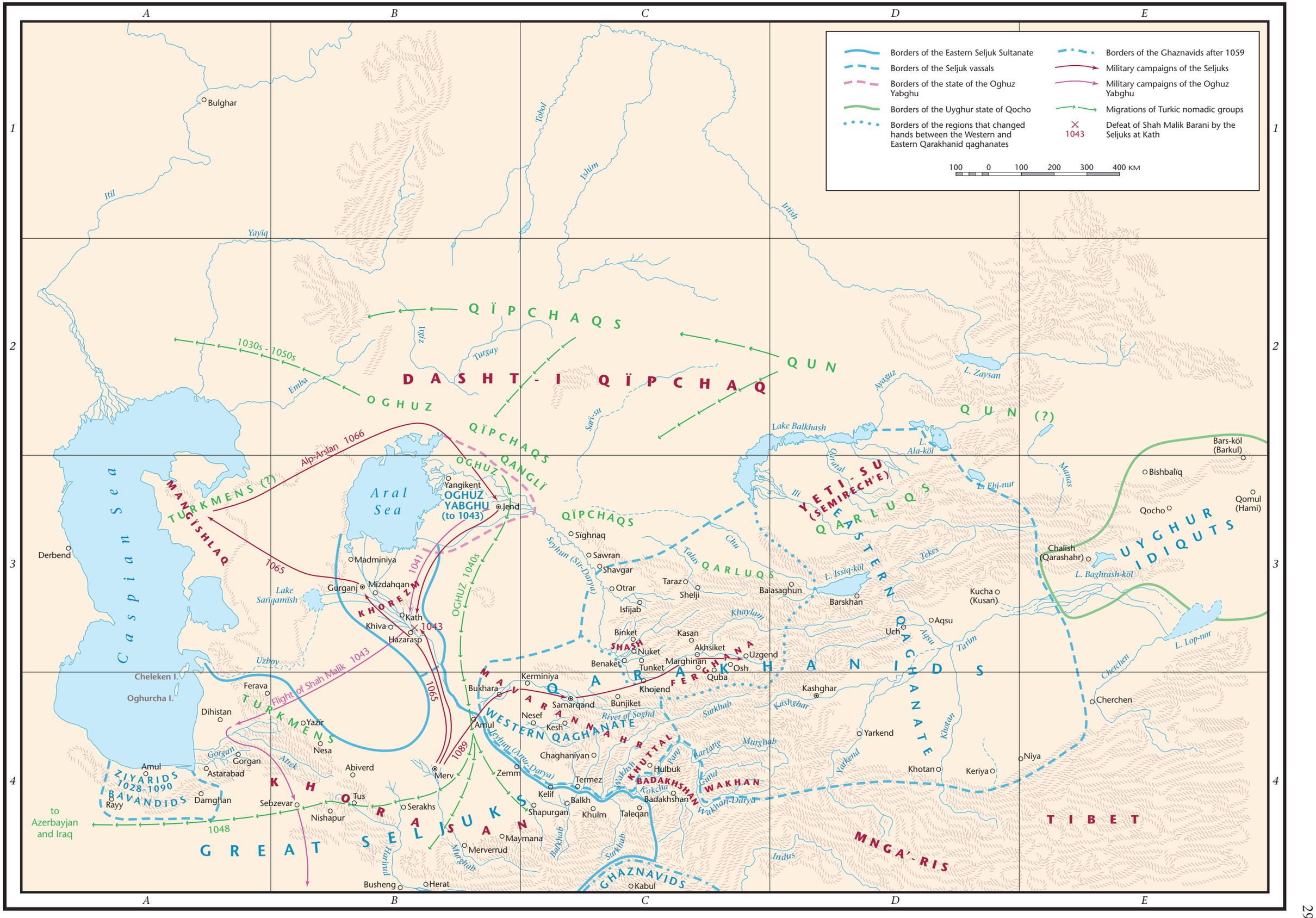
14. 1040 TO THE END OF THE 11TH CENTURY: THE SELJUKS AND QARAKHANIDS

After the Seljuk victory at Dandanaqan in 1040 (see map 13), the Seljuks continued their conquests in Iran. According to the division of authority made by the Seljuks after their victory, Toghrïl, the supreme sultan, was in charge of the lands conquered in the west, while Khorasan and the east remained under Chaghrï Bek. But first their attention was diverted to the north. The Oghuz in the lower course of the Sïr-Darya experienced an increasing pressure from the Qïpchaqs and other nomadic groups as a result of the large scale east-west migrations in the steppes that took place in the first half of the 11th century (see map 13); a part of the Oghuz began to migrate across the Volga into the East European steppe, while many others migrated to Khorasan and joined the Seljuks. Those under the Oghuz *yabghu* Shah Malik attacked the Khorezmshah Ismaʿil Khandan in 1041, defeated him in a three-day battle, and conquered Khorezm. Ismaʿil fled to Khorasan, and in 1043 the combined forces of Toghrïl and Chaghrï drove Shah Malik from Khorezm; he fled to Dihistan and from there to Mekran (in southern Iran) where he was captured and later executed. Khorezm was placed under a Seljuk governor; in the 1050s the governor rebelled and was subdued by Chaghrï Bek, who at that time also received the submission of the "Amir of the Qïpchaqs" (apparently, on the Sïr-Darya). Toghrïl returned from Khorezm to Iran; in 1043 he entered Rayy, and in 1050 he conquered Isfahan, which became his capital. The continuing pressure of the Qïpchaqs on the remaining Oghuz in the lower Sïr-Darya region caused the migration of most of them to Khorasan, Azerbayjan and Iraq, where they joined the Turkmens who came there in the 1030s; but some of them probably went to the Mangïshlaq peninsula, where Sultan Alp-Arslan had to fight them three decades later. The Turkmens under Toghrïl and other members of the Seljuk family (but also often on their own) overran all of Iran, Iraq, and Azerbayjan. In 1055 Toghrïl entered Baghdad; he married the daughter of the ʿAbbasid caliph, and the latter bestowed on him the honorific title *Malik al-Mashriq wa'l-Maghrib* ("King of the East and West"). The dynasty founded by Toghrïl Bek became known in the historical literature as the "Great Seljuks" (as distinct from various local dynasties founded later by the members of the same clan). The Shiʿite Buyids were eliminated, and the Seljuks vigorously promoted Sunni Islam in their possessions. In the east, after indecisive warfare with the Ghaznavids, a peace agreement was signed in 1059 between Chaghrï Bek and Ibrahim b. Masʿud, establishing the borders between the two empires; the peace was generally maintained to the end of the century.

Relations between the Seljuks and the western Qarakhanid qaghanate during the 1040s and the 1050s were generally peaceful. During the first decades of their rule, the Qarakhanids, like the Samanids, left in place some old local dynasties as their tributaries, such as the *dihqan*s of Ilaq, the rulers of Isfijab, and the Muhtajids of Chaghaniyan. But from the second quarter of the 11th century these dynasties were eliminated or their authority reduced. The first western qaghan, Tamghach Bughra Khan Ibrahim b. Nasr (1040-1068), was described by Muslim historians as a pious and just ruler; he reduced the number of appanages ruled by princes and introduced a currency reform, and the country enjoyed economic prosperity. Ibrahim b. Nasr, in addition to his title of qaghan, adopted also the title of sultan. In 1059-60 he conquered Ferghana, which had been a bone of contention between the western and the eastern qaghanates; later on Ferghana, together with Shash, Taraz and Balasaghun, changed hands between the two qaghanates. The capital of the eastern qaghanate was most often Kashghar, but sometimes Balasaghun. After 1068 Ferghana and the regions north of the Sïr-Darya were recaptured by the eastern qaghanate. At about the same time, the Seljuks tried to impose their suzerainty on the Qarakhanids.

In the 1060s the son and successor of Toghrïl, Alp-Arslan, continued the Seljuk conquests in the west, culminating in 1071 with the defeat of the Byzantine emperor at Manzikert (Malazgird); this was followed by more Seljuk conquests in Anatolia and Syria. But Alp-Arslan had to pay more attention to his eastern borders. In 1065 he undertook an expedition from Merv to Khorezm. The reasons for this campaign are not quite clear; it seems that its main target was the nomadic groups, both Oghuz and Qïpchaqs, who inhabited the regions between the Aral Sea and the Caspian, but it is not clear why they caused such special concern among the Seljuks. Having arrived in Gurganj, Alp-Arslan marched through Üst-Yurt to the Mangïshlaq peninsula with a punitive campaign against the Qïpchaqs, and from there went north of the Aral Sea to Jend, where the ancestor of the Seljuks was buried. From Jend, Alp-Arslan marched along the Sïr-Darya up to Sawran, apparently also against the Qïpchaqs. Before returning to Khorasan, he appointed in Khorezm his own governor named Arslan-Arghun (a son or brother of the sultan). In 1072 Alp-Arslan set out for the conquest of Mavarannahr, and his army was already crossing the Amu-Darya when the sultan was killed by the commander of a fortress who had been taken prisoner. Alp-Arslan's son and successor, Malik Shah (1072-1092), under whom the Seljuk empire reached its greatest might, invaded Mavarannahr in 1089, captured Bukhara and Samarqand, and reached as far east as Uzgend. After this the Qarakhanids remained vassals of the Seljuks for half a century. Malik Shah appointed his slave Anushtegin Gharcha, keeper of the royal wash bowls, as titular governor of Khorezm (because the expenses of this part of the royal household were covered by the revenues of Khorezm), but he did not actually rule this province. The Seljuk sultan Berk-Yaruq (see map 15) in 1097 appointed another Turkish ghulam, Ekinchi b. Qochqar, as governor of Khorezm with the title of Khorezmshah; he was killed in the same year, and his son Qutb ad-Din Muhammad received the post and the title of his father; he became the founder of the new dynasty of the Khorezmshahs.

Under the Qarakhanids and the Seljuks the process of the Turkicization of Central Asia appears to have advanced considerably, although it is impossible to evaluate this process on the basis of available sources. A general assumption is that the population of Eastern Turkestan in the Qarakhanid period was already overwhelmingly Turkic-speaking, and Turkic was not only vernacular, but also the language of high culture; the first known Turkic Islamic literary work, the *Qutadghu bilig*, a didactic poem (a "mirror for princes"), was written in Kashghar in 1069 by Yusuf Balasaghuni, and a member of the eastern branch of the Qarakhanid dynasty, Mahmud al-Kashghari, was a pioneer of Turkic philology, who compiled (in Arabic, in Baghdad, between 1072 and 1094) the first comparative dictionary of Turkic languages (including, in effect, an anthology of Turkic folk literature). At the same time the population of Western Turkestan was still predominantly Iranian, with the possible exception of Shash. The number of Turkic tribesmen who moved into Western Turkestan with the Qarakhanid conquest is not known, they do not seem to have sedentarized there, and the language of high culture in the western qaghanate was Persian. After the Seljuk conquest a Turkic tribal population was found throughout the domains of the Great Seljuks, but its main concentration was in the west of the Seljuk empire, not in Central Asia; and the language of high culture under the Seljuks was only Persian. The Oghuz/Turkmen tribes had their grazing grounds in various regions of Central Asia, but there is no evidence of their sedentarization during this period, and the urban population seems to have been mainly Persian-speaking.



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14. 1040 TO THE END OF THE 11TH CENTURY: THE SELJUKS AND QARAKHANIDS

15. THE FIRST HALF OF THE 12TH CENTURY: THE SELJUKS, QARAKHANIDS, KHOREZMSHAHS, QARA-KHITAYS

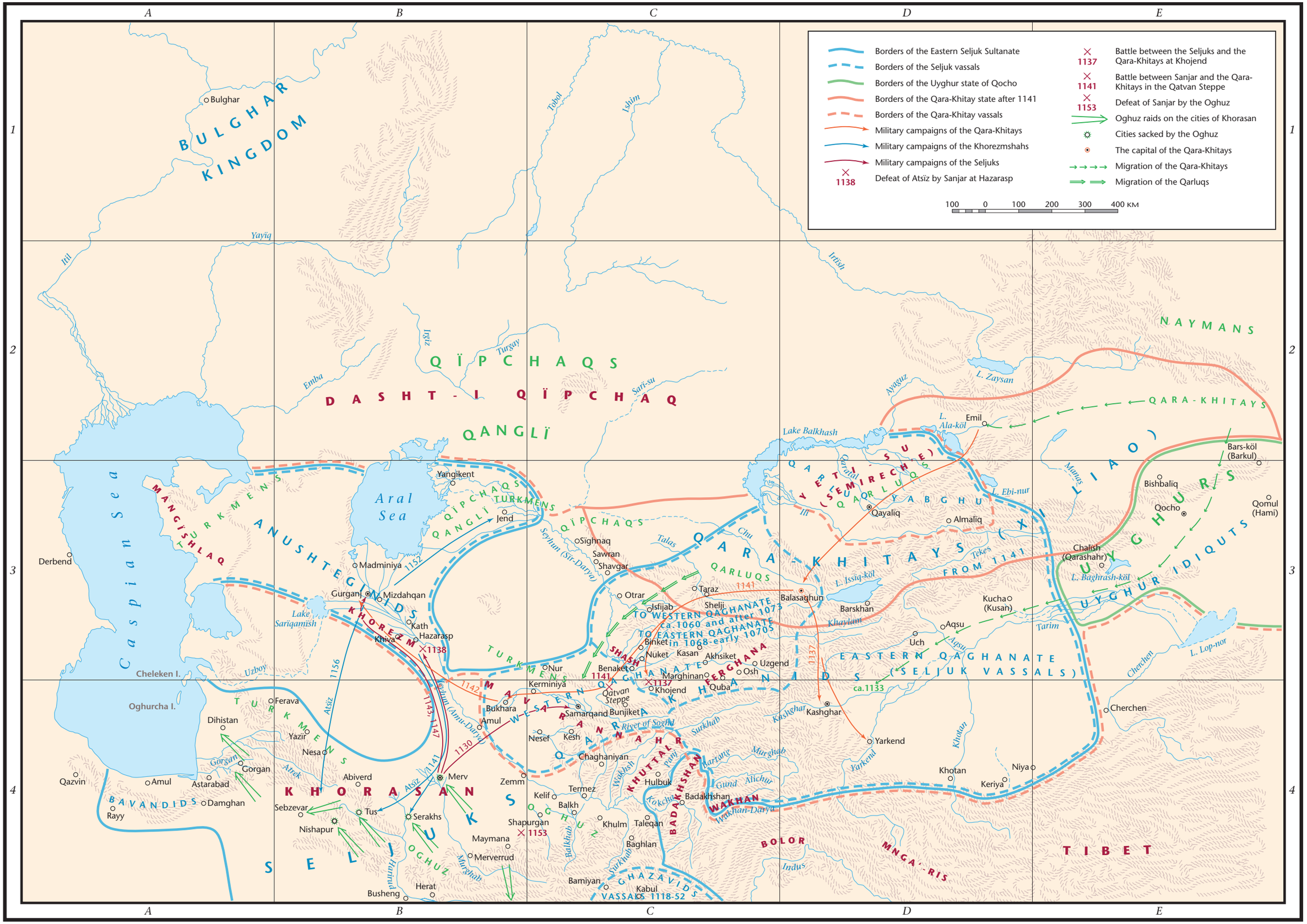
The Seljuk sultan Malik Shah and his vizier Nizam al-Mulk died in 1092. After two years of fighting for the throne between two contenders, the winner, Malik Shah's son Berk-Yaruq, became the new sultan. His reign, which lasted twelve years (until 1105), was a time of internal feuds and warfare. Arslan-Arghun, who had been appointed governor of Khorezm by Alp-Arslan but under Malik Shah held another post, rebelled and was defeated with some difficulty. Later, Berk-Yaruq had to fight his brother Muhammad Tapar for supreme authority. After the death of Berk-Yaruq, Muhammad became the sultan; he ruled the western part of the empire, while his half-brother Ahmad Sanjar, based first in Balkh and later in Merv, ruled Khorasan and other provinces in the east as a viceroy with the title *malik*. After the death of Sultan Muhammad in 1118, Sanjar became the supreme sultan of the Seljuks, but the empire was now effectively divided into the eastern sultanate (which included, besides Khorasan, also Mazanderan, Damghan, and Rayy), under Sanjar, and the western sultanate centered in Iraq, under Sanjar's nephew Mahmud. In 1119, after being defeated by Sanjar, Mahmud acknowledged Sanjar's supremacy. Sanjar interfered several times in the affairs of the Qarakhanids, primarily of the Western Qaghanate, which remained a Seljuk vassal; but even the Eastern Qarakhanids recognized his overlordship. In 1130 Sanjar came with an army to Mavarannahr to reinforce the authority there of his Qarakhanid vassal, Arslan Khan Muhammad II. In 1132 he placed on the throne in Samarqand Arslan Khan Mahmud, who was his nephew. Sanjar also interfered in a succession dispute among the Ghaznavids: answering an appeal by the Ghaznavid Bahram Shah, he conquered Ghazna in 1117, sacked the city, and placed Bahram Shah on the throne; the latter agreed to become Sanjar's vassal and to pay an annual tribute. In Khorezm, the Khorezmshah ʿAlaʾ ad-Din Atsïz, the son and successor of Qutb ad-Din Muhammad, recognized Sanjar's suzerainty; at the same time he was enlarging his domain, extending his authority over the Turkmens of the Üst-Yurt and Mangïshlaq, and in the delta of the Sïr-Darya, including Jend. In 1138 Atsïz rebelled, provoking a punitive expedition by Sanjar; the army of Atsïz was routed and he fled. Sanjar appointed his own governor for Khorezm, but the following year, as soon as Sanjar returned to Merv, Atsïz returned to Khorezm and banished Sanjar's governor. He again acknowledged himself as Sanjar's vassal, but, nevertheless, within a year, in 1139 attacked Bukhara, captured the city, and demolished its citadel and walls; this attack brought no reprisals from Sanjar.

The main threat to both Atsïz and Sanjar came from the new nomadic conquerors, the Qara-Khitays. These were the successors of the Qitan, a people of Mongolic origin, who had conquered Mongolia and a part of northern China in 907 and established a dynasty there under the Chinese name Liao. After most of their domains were conquered in 1115 by another nomadic people, of Manchu origin, which established a new Chinese dynasty named Jin, a part of the Qitan, under a member of the Liao royal house, began their westward migration and conquests in 1124. They quickly grew in number after they were joined by other groups, including some Mongol, Turkic, and even Jurchen elements. In 1131 the leader of these Qitan, Yelü Dashi, was enthroned in Emil (in Jungharia) with the title of *Gürkhan* ("universal khan"); the new dynasty that he founded assumed the Chinese dynastic name Xi Liao (Western Liao), but in the Islamic world they became known as Qara-Khitay. In about 1133 one group of the Qara-Khitays moved into the territory of the Eastern Qarakhanids, but they were defeated by Arslan Khan Ahmad b. Hasan. Another part of the Qara-Khitays moved to Semirech'e and captured Balasaghun, which became the capital of the Qara-Khitay ruler (or, rather, the city near which the Gürkhan had his nomadic headquarters). In 1137 the Qarakhanid ruler of Samarqand, Mahmud Khan, was defeated by the Qara-Khitays near Khojend. In the following years the Western Qarakhanid qaghanate was weakened because of a conflict between Mahmud Khan and his nomadic Qarluq subjects; the latter rebelled against the khan and asked the Qara-Khitays for help. In 1141 Sanjar invaded Mavarannahr, but his large army was routed by the Qara-Khitays in a battle on the Qatvan Steppe, near Samarqand; Sanjar and Mahmud Khan fled to Khorasan, while the Qara-Khitays occupied Samarqand and Bukhara. Even before this, possibly after the battle at Khojend, the Qarakhanid rulers of Uzgend (Ferghana) separated from the Western Qarakhanids and established their own independent line of hereditary rulers.

The lands under Qara-Khitay control now stretched from Khorezm in the west to the Altay and Hami in the east and from Lake Balkhash in the north to the Amu-Darya in the south, but their core territory was in the Chu valley and around their capital, Balasaghun. The Gürkhans did not divide their core territory into appanages, and they left local dynasties (Eastern and Western Qarakhanids, the Uyghur Idiquts, the Qarluq Yabghus in the Semirech'e, and the Khorezmshahs) in place as their vassals, sometimes attaching to them representatives of the Gürkhan who supervised the collection of tribute; Khorezm was only periodically visited by tribute-collectors, and the religious dignitaries, *sadr*s, who ruled Bukhara during this period, would themselves bring the tribute to the Gürkhan's court. The Gürkhans had a salaried standing army that was stationed only in the Qara-Khitay core territory, as well as auxiliary troops from the subject kingdoms. The Qara-Khitays were only partly sinicized. They used some Chinese official titles and Chinese for important decrees, but they had Muslim scholars and officials at the court of the Gürkhan as well. They were probably Buddhist, but they showed tolerance toward other religions, and the Nestorian Christian church was very active in their dominions.

The defeat in the Qatvan Steppe was a strong blow to Sanjar's prestige in the Islamic world. The Khorezmshah Atsïz immediately took advantage of the situation and raided Khorasan, where he captured Serakhs, Merv (which was sacked), Nishapur, and several other cities. He had to return to Khorezm, because it was also raided by the Qara-Khitays; Atsïz agreed to pay them an annual tribute and lost Jend, where the Qara-Khitays appointed their own governor. In 1143 Sanjar, having recovered after his defeat by the Qara-Khitays, marched against Khorezm and besieged Atsïz in his capital, Gurganj; Atsïz expressed his submission, and Sanjar returned to Merv, but Atsïz again pursued an independent policy, leading to another campaign by Sanjar against him in 1147. Sanjar was again satisfied with the Khorezmshah's nominal submission. In 1152 Atsïz conquered Jend and appointed his son Il-Arslan as its governor.

The fatal blow to Sanjar's empire was dealt by the Oghuz who lived in the province of Balkh. It appears that some Oghuz tribes had already migrated to this province at the time of the Seljuk conquests in the 1040s, while others came from Mavarannahr after the Qara-Khitay invasion. They were subjected to increasing taxation by the governor of Balkh, and their growing discontent and unrest resulted in an open rebellion in 1153. Sanjar moved against them with a punitive expedition, but his army was utterly defeated and the sultan himself was captured by the Oghuz, who kept him prisoner under close watch (according to some accounts, he was kept in an iron cage at night) for three years, carrying him around during their raids. In these raids they attacked and sacked the major cities of Khorasan, beginning with Sanjar's capital Merv, and the province descended into a state of anarchy. The Khorezmshah Atsïz led his army to Khorasan in 1156, but he suddenly died there. The same year Sanjar managed to escape from captivity and returned to Merv, but in 1157 he died without being able to restore his authority and order in Khorasan. With his death, Seljuk rule in eastern Iran came to an end.



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15. THE FIRST HALF OF THE 12TH CENTURY: THE SELJUKS, QARAKHANIDS, KHOREZMSHAHS, QARA-KHITAYS

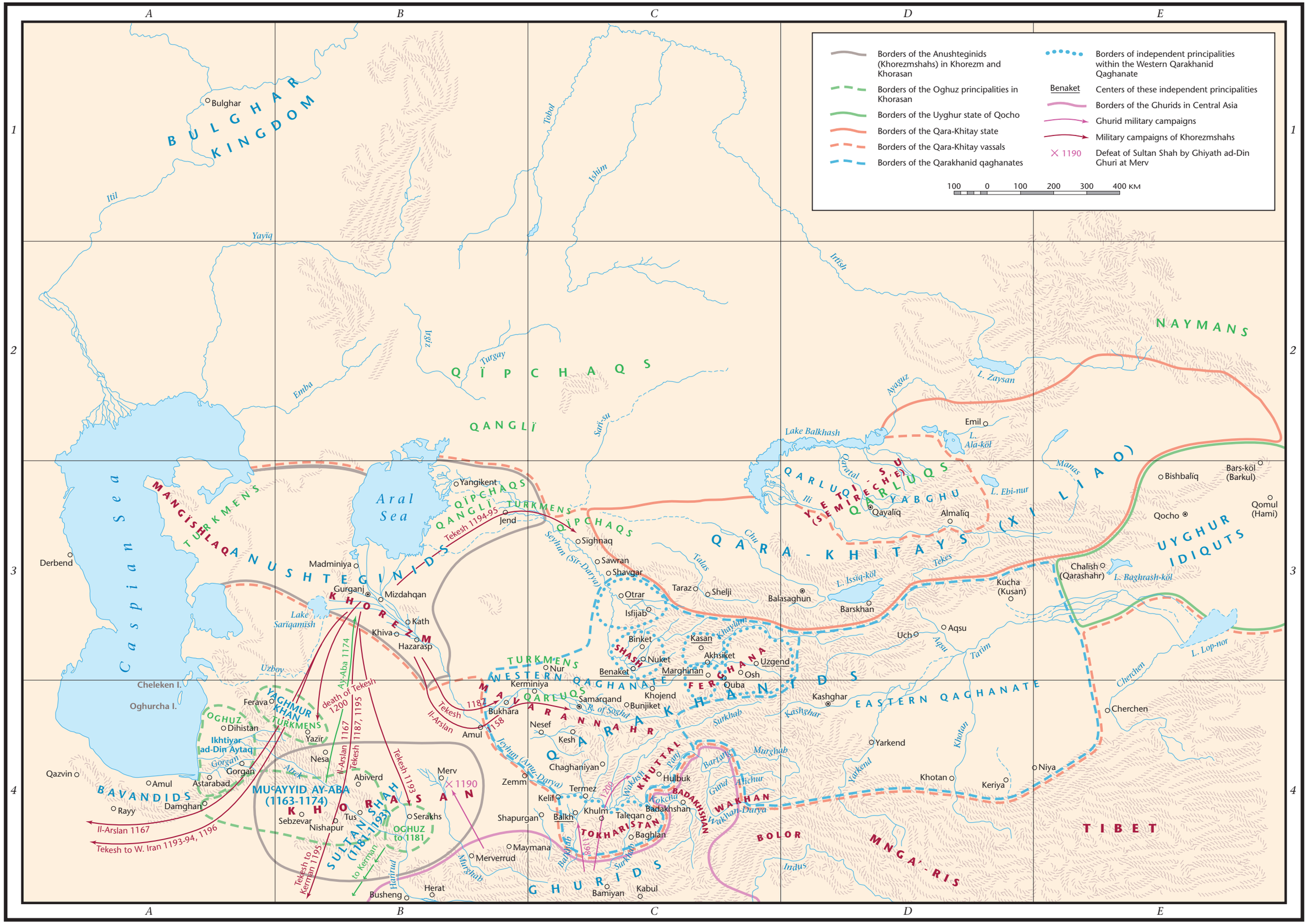
16. THE SECOND HALF OF THE 12TH CENTURY: THE QARAKHANIDS, KHOREZMSHAHS, QARA-KHITAYS, AND THE GHURIDS

The Qara-Khitays, having imposed their overlordship on the Idiquts, the Qarakhanids and the Khorezmshahs (see map 15), left these dynasties in place as their tributaries. Of the history of the Eastern Qaghanate during this period very little is known. As to the Western Qaghanate, it was plagued by wars with the rebellious Qarluq nomads in the Zerafshan valley; in the course of these wars the qaghans won some major battles, of which, however, none was decisive. In the 1160s the Western Qarakhanids, with the support of the Qara-Khitays, conquered Balkh. From 1178-79 the throne of Samarqand was occupied by the members of the Ferghana line of the Qarakhanid clan, who adopted the title "Great Sultan of Sultans." However, in reality in the second half of the 12th century much of the Western Qaghanate was divided into a number of independent principalities, with three of them in Ferghana (with centers in Uzgend, Kasan, and Marghinan), one in Shash (with a center in Benaket), and others in Otrar, Wakhsh (in the 1180s), and possibly Termez and Chaghaniyan. Bukhara was ruled, from the first years of the 12th century, by the Burhanids, a dynasty of religious dignitaries with the title of *sadr*, installed there by Sultan Sanjar; they were the immediate vassals of the Seljuks, not of the Qarakhanids. After the Qara-Khitay conquest, the Sadrs became representatives of the Gürkhans and collected the land tax in Bukhara for them. The much-weakened Western Qaghanate could not withstand the pressure of two new rising powers, the Ghurids from the south and the Khorezmshahs from the west.

The rulers of Ghur (about whom see also map 17), who belonged to the Shansabanid family, rose in the first half of the 12th century from the chieftains of a small mountain principality on the upper Harirud, and the main branch of the family built its stronghold at Firuzkuh. In 1107 they became vassals of the Seljuks, with the title of *malik*, but they began their own expansion, which was primarily directed against the Ghaznavids. The Ghurid troops consisted of Ghurid mountaineers, who fought as infantry, and Turkic ghulams, who formed the cavalry. In 1150 the Ghurid ʿAla ad-Din Husayn conquered Ghazna, which was sacked for seven days and burned; after that ʿAla ad-Din became known by the nickname "*Jahansuz*" ("World-Incendiary"), and he adopted the title of sultan. In 1152 he stopped paying tribute to Sanjar, but then he was defeated near Herat by the Seljuk army and spent some time in captivity. The simultaneous decline of the Ghaznavids and the anarchy in Khorasan after the defeat of Sanjar by the Oghuz in 1153 gave the Ghurids much freedom of action. The dynasty split into three branches: the chief one, centered in Firuzkuh; the branch of Bamiyan; and branch of Ghazna (established after they expelled the Oghuz, who had occupied the city for twelve years, in 1173). The Ghazna branch took over the Ghaznavid possessions in India and continued the expansionist policy of their predecessors there. The Bamiyan branch ruled over Tokharistan, Badakhshan, and Shughnan, up to the bank of the Amu-Darya (according to some information, also Chaghaniyan and Wakhsh on the right bank of the river). The main branch, in Firuzkuh, assisted by the Bamiyan branch, took up westward expansion, in Khorasan. They took advantage first of the internal disputes in the Khorezmshah dynasty and later of the enmity between the Khorezmshahs and the caliphs in Baghdad (see below), and by 1200 occupied the whole of Khorasan, up to Damghan in the west. In 1198 they defeated the Qara-Khitay army, which crossed the Amu-Darya, near Balkh. But soon after that they were decisively defeated by the Khorezmshah Muhammad.

In Khorezm, the Khorezmshah Atsïz was succeeded in 1156 by his son Il-Arslan, who invaded Mavarannahr in 1158 in support of the Qarluqs who were fighting the Qarakhanid ruler of Samarqand. He defeated the Qarakhanids and their Qara-Khitay overlords and compelled them to allow the Qarluqs to return to their grazing grounds in the Zerafshan valley. But then he had to deal with the situation in Khorasan after the death of Sultan Sanjar. The formal successor of Sanjar, the Qarakhanid Mahmud Khan, who was also Sanjar's nephew, did not have much authority, and the power vacuum in Khorasan was filled by the amirs of Sanjar and the Oghuz, who fought one another. The most powerful among them were Muʿayyid Ay-Aba in Nishapur, Tus, and Serakhs, and Ikhtiyar ad-Din Aytaq in Dihistan and Gorgan. Ay-Aba was supported by Mahmud Khan, while Aytaq received help from the Bavandid ruler of Tabaristan. In the 1160s Khorasan was in a state of anarchy: in 1161 Ay-Aba seized and blinded the khan and his son and asserted his independence, and in addition to the fights between Aytaq and Ay-Aba, various groups of Oghuz occupied Balkh, Merv, Serakhs, Herat, Taleqan, and the region of Gharchistan. A group of Oghuz under Yaghmur Khan, the chief of the Yazïr tribe, defeated Aytaq and occupied the region north-west of Nesa, along the Kopet-Dagh mountains. In 1167 Il-Arslan captured Nishapur and other cities in Khorasan and raided Azerbayjan. In the following years Il-Arslan interfered again in the relations between the Qarakhanids and the Qarluqs on the side of the latter, but in 1171 his troops were defeated by the Qara-Khitays, and in 1172 Il-Arslan died. At the time of his death his eldest son Tekesh was the governor of Jend, and his younger brother Sultan Shah was proclaimed Khorezmshah. Tekesh was placed on the throne with the help of the Qara-Khitay army. Sultan Shah fled to Nishapur and asked Ay-Aba for help; in 1174 Ay-Aba led an expedition to Khorezm, but was defeated by Tekesh near Gurganj and executed. Sultan Shah first found refuge at the Ghurid court in Firuzkuh, but then was able, with Qara-Khitay help, to take possession of a large part of Khorasan, including Nishapur, Nesa, Serakhs (from which he expelled the Oghuz in 1181), and Merv. Tekesh conquered Nishapur after two campaigns, in 1186 and 1187; Sultan Shah had to make peace with Tekesh, but he still coveted the throne of the Khorezmshahs and tried to obtain help from the Ghurids. When no help was forthcoming, he turned against the Ghurids, who defeated him at Merv in 1190 and took much of his possessions. Finally, in 1193 the commandant of Serakhs, the last stronghold of Sultan Shah, surrendered the fortress, with Sultan Shah's treasury, to Tekesh; two days later Sultan Shah died, and the Tekesh rule in Khorezm was now uncontested.

Although Tekesh owed his throne to the Qara-Khitays, he soon threw off Qara-Khitay overlordship and ceased paying the annual tribute; when the Qara-Khitays tried to invade Khorezm, he stopped their troops by opening the dikes of Khorezm and flooding the land in their path. In 1182 Khorezmian troops invaded Mavarannahr and captured Bukhara (but did not remain there). Tekesh greatly enlarged his possessions in the west, at the expense of the Seljuk Sultanate. In 1194 he defeated the Seljuk army in a battle near Rayy, in which the last Seljuk sultan, Toghrïl III, was killed. As a result, Tekesh became the master of most of western Iran. The ʿAbbasid caliph an-Nasir, who tried to assert the political power of the caliphs, demanded that Tekesh should recognize his supreme authority, but Tekesh rejected this claim, and in 1196 defeated the caliph's troops and killed his vizier. In 1199 an-Nasir, nevertheless, was compelled to send Tekesh an investiture patent for the sultanate of Iraq, Khorasan, and Turkestan, but the enmity between the Khorezmshah and the caliph continued during the reign of Tekesh's successor. On the north-eastern borders of Khorezm, the main concern for Tekesh was relations with his Turkic nomadic neighbors, many of them still pagan, in the lower Sïr-Darya basin. In 1194-95 he conducted an expedition, reportedly a successful one, against the pagan Qïpchaqs in Sïghnaq. He married Terken Khatun, the daughter of a Qïpchaq khan; she brought with her to Khorezm some of her Qïpchaq and Qanglï tribesmen, who began to play an important role in the Khorezmian army. These troops terrorized western Iran and earned the general hatred of the local population, and when Tekesh died, the people of Jibal rose and massacred all the Khorezmians they could find.



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16. THE SECOND HALF OF THE 12TH CENTURY: THE QARAKHANIDS, KHOREZMSHAHS, QARA-KHITAYS, AND THE GHURIDS

17. THE EARLY 13TH CENTURY: THE GHURIDS, KHOREZMSHAHS, QARA-KHITAYS, AND KÜCHLÜK

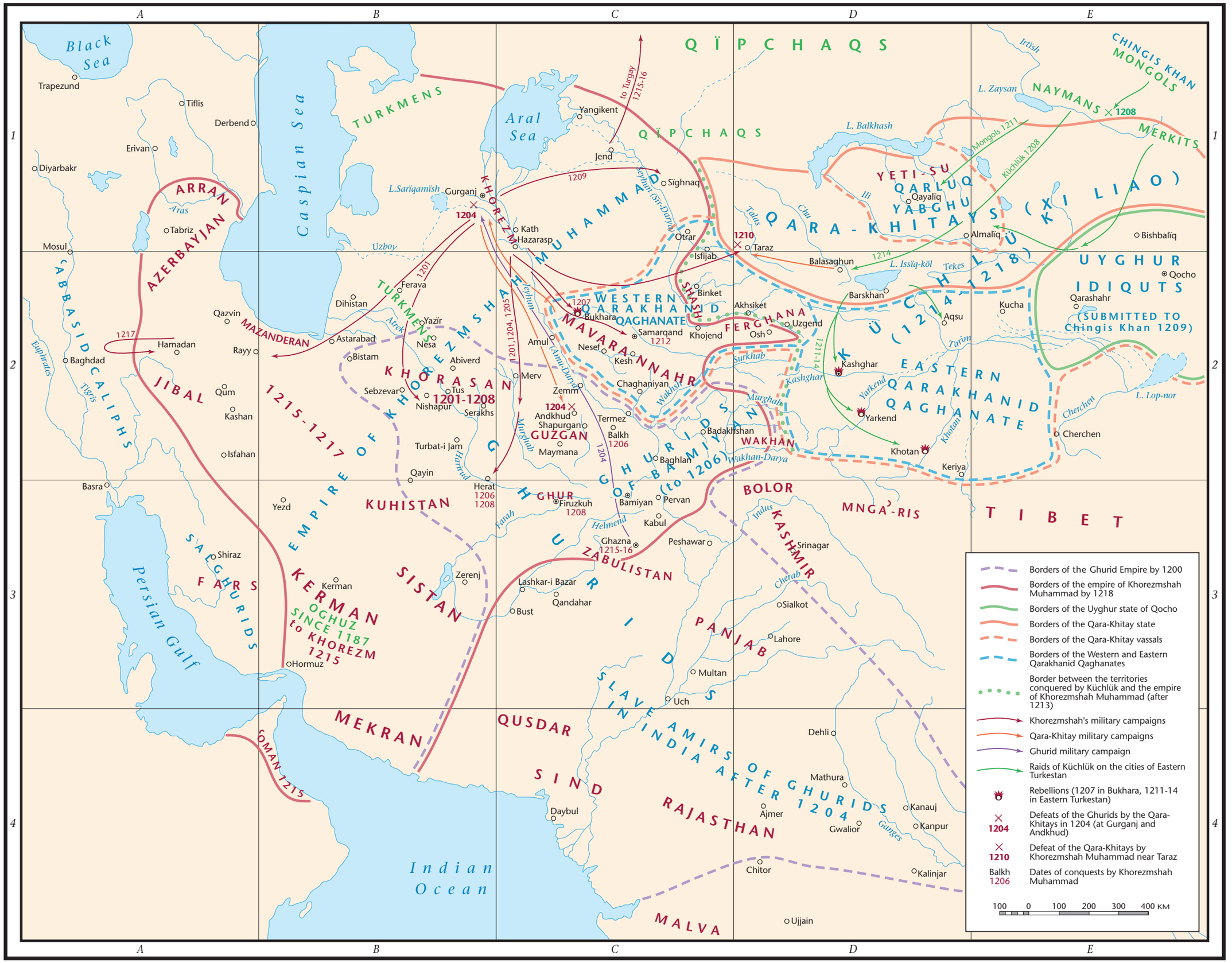
By 1201 the Ghurid empire reached its greatest might, but it was followed by a rapid decline. When the Ghurids took over all of Khorasan after the death of Khorezmshah Tekesh, they caused the resentment in the local population by their financial levies and confiscations of grain, and the new Khorezmshah, ʿAla ad-Din Muhammad, was able to restore his possessions there. In 1201 the Khorezmshah Muhammad besieged Herat, but had to retreat before the Ghurid army. Later the same year Muhammad captured Nishapur and in 1203, after the death of the Ghurid sultan Ghiyath ad-Din Muhammad, he conquered Merv. In 1204 he besieged Herat again, but was repulsed by the Ghurid sultan Shihab ad-Din Muhammad, who pursued the Khorezmian army into Khorezm itself. The Khorezmians opened the dikes on the canals and flooded the countryside; but after the water receded, the Ghurid army defeated the Khorezmshah near his capital, Gurganj, and besieged the city. The Khorezmshah turned for help to his Qara-Khitay suzerains, who came to his aid accompanied by the troops of their Qarakhanid vassals from Samarqand and Otrar. Shihab ad-Din was defeated, and the Qara-Khitays pursued him to Andkhud, where he was defeated again and besieged. A truce signed due to the efforts of Sultan ʿUthman, the Qarakhanid ruler of Samarqand, allowed Shihab ad-Din to escape, but early in 1206 he was assassinated, and soon thereafter the Ghurids lost all of Khorasan, except Herat.

During the following several years the expansionist policy of the Khorezmshah Muhammad was directed mainly eastward. As a pretext for his invasion of Mavarannahr he used the rebellion in Bukhara in 1207, under a certain Sanjar "Malik," the son of a vendor of shields. The Burhanid rulers were banished by the rebels from Bukhara and, when they failed to get help from their Qara-Khitay suzerains, they turned to the Khorezmshah, who conquered Bukhara the same year, captured Sanjar "Malik," and sent him to Gurganj; the Burhanids became the vassals of the Khorezmshah. After this the Khorezmshah Muhammad agreed with Sultan ʿUthman of Samarqand on a joint campaign against the Qara-Khitays; the campaign ended in defeat, and the Khorezmshah returned to Khorezm, while ʿUthman pledged his allegiance to the Qara-Khitays. However, having failed to receive a daughter of the Gürkhan for a wife, ʿUthman switched sides again, but this time he became Muhammad's vassal. This led to an attack on Samarqand by the Qara-Khitays; they had to leave the city, however, after having collected a small tribute, because the Qara-Khitay state was now threatened from the east.

Around 1207 or 1208 a general revolt began in Eastern Turkestan as a result of the discontent of the Muslim population with the rule of the "infidels," but especially because of the extortions of the Qara-Khitay tax collectors. At that time the threat from the rising Mongol Empire also began to be felt in Central Asia. In 1208, near the banks of the upper Irtïsh, Chingis Khan defeated the Naymans and the Merkits, two Mongol tribes which were among his main opponents during his rise to power in Mongolia; the Naymans, under Küchlük, fled to the country of the Qara-Khitays, while the Merkits fled to the Uyghur *idiqut*. The *idiqut* repelled the Merkits, and they joined Küchlük, while the *idiqut* entered an alliance with Chingis Khan. Küchlük and his Naymans received the support of Arslan Khan, the Qarluq ruler in Semirech'e, who had rebelled against his Qara-Khitay suzerain, and in 1210 Küchlük plundered the Gürkhan's treasury in Uzgend. The Khorezmshah Muhammad took advantage of the difficulties experienced by the Qara-Khitays and began an open war with them. In 1210 Muhammad, together with Sultan ʿUthman of Samarqand, defeated the Qara-Khitays on the Ilamish plain, near the Talas river; the victory was not decisive, but the Khorezmians captured the Qara-Khitay commander known only by his title, Tayangu (chamberlain), and after this battle the Khorezmshah began to style himself "The Second Alexander" and "Sultan Sanjar." The inhabitants of Balasaghun locked their gates before the retreating Qara-Khitay troops, and the latter stormed the city and sacked it for three days, as a result of which 47,000 Muslims perished there. Later, when the Qara-Khitay army rebelled against the Gürkhan, Küchlük joined the rebels and placed himself at their head. In 1211 the Gürkhan surrendered, but remained until his death in 1213 the titular ruler, while actual authority was in the hands of Küchlük. The Muslim population of the cities of Eastern Turkestan resisted Küchlük (who was initially a Nestorian Christian, but then converted to Buddhism) for three or four years, and Küchlük raided the oases during harvest time, until they expressed their submission; all public Muslim religious services and teaching were prohibited.

The Khorezmshah Muhammad, after the battle at the Talas, returned to Gurganj together with Sultan ʿUthman, who married Muhammad's daughter and, upon the insistence of Terken Khatun, the Khorezmshah's mother, had to remain in Gurganj for one year. But this caused resentment among the population of Samarqand, and the Khorezmshah had to send ʿUthman back to Samarqand earlier. Upon his return, in 1211, ʿUthman learned about the excesses committed in the city by the representatives of the Khorezmshah, and in 1212 he ordered a general massacre of all Khorezmians who were in the city. The Khorezmshah Muhammad immediately marched on Samarqand, which was soon forced to surrender; the city was sacked for three days, during which some 10,000 men were killed, and ʿUthman was executed. Samarqand became an actual capital of the Khorezmshah, who built a new cathedral mosque (and probably also a palace) there, while Khorezm was left under the authority of Terken Khatun. Muhammad had also other members of the Qarakhanid dynasty (like the ruler of Uzgend, Jalal ad-Din Qadïr Khan) executed, and the dynasty ceased to exist. Muhammad stayed in Samarqand until 1214 in fear of a possible invasion by Küchlük. Finally, the inhabitants of Isfijab, Shash, and the parts of Ferghana north of the Sïr-Darya were ordered to leave and to move to the south-west, and these regions were devastated so that they should not fall prey to Küchlük. After that Muhammad felt secure enough to turn his attention toward his other neighbors. Earlier, possibly in 1209, he had already annexed the Qïpchaq principality of Sïghnaq, on the Sïr-Darya. From Jend he conducted expeditions to the north, into the Dasht-i Qïpchaq. During one of these expeditions that took place in 1215-16 he encountered Mongol troops, under the command of Subuday and Taghachar with the participation of Chingis Khan's son Jochi, that had been sent in the pursuit of the Merkits and had just anihilated that tribe in the region of the Irgiz and the Turgay. The Khorezmshah attacked the Mongols, despite their unwillingness to give battle; the fight was indecisive, and at night the Mongols quickly left. It was said that the bravery of the Mongols made a strong impression on the Khorezmshah, and that this was one of the reasons why he avoided meeting them later in the open field.

While the Khorezmshah Muhammad was busy in Mavarannahr and the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, his generals continued the conquests elsewhere. The last Ghurid sultans were deposed by 1215; their possessions (except those in India) were annexed to the Khorezmshah's kingdom and given to the Khorezmshah's elder son Jalal ad-Din. Also in 1215, Khorezmian troops conquered Kerman, Mekran, and Hormuz, and Muhammad's overlordship was recognized even in ʿOman. By 1217 Muhammad took possession of most of western Iran and Azerbayjan. Also by that time his enmity with the ʿAbbasid caliph an-Nasir became an open conflict. Muhammad demanded that the caliph should recognize his authority in Baghdad, as had been the practice under the Great Seljuks, so that the caliph should retain only his spiritual authority. This claim was flatly rejected by the caliph, after which Muhammad had the Muslim clerics (ʿ*ulama*) of Khorezm issue a ruling that the caliph was unworthy of his office and should be deposed; in accordance with this ruling, the Khorezmshah declared the caliph an-Nasir deposed and proclaimed as caliph the Sayyid ʿAla al-Mulk Termezi. In late fall of 1217 he sent troops against Baghdad from Hamadan, but they suffered heavy losses from severe snowstorms and the attacks of the Kurds in the mountains of Kurdistan, and only a small portion of them returned to Muhammad. This was a serious blow to the prestige of the Khorezmshah in the Islamic world, and this prestige was further eroded by the continuing conflict between Muhammad and his mother, Terken Khatun, in which the religious establishment, as well as many commanders of the Khorezmshah's mercenary army, supported Terken Khatun; Muhammad often had to make concessions to his mother in matters of appointments to the highest posts, and in the provinces under the government of Terken Khatun—Khorezm, Khorasan, and Mazanderan—the authority of the Khorezmshah was practically not recognized. Thus, despite the scope of Muhammad's territorial acquisitions and the huge size of his empire, this empire developed an internal weakness that could be skilfully exploited by the Mongols, when they began their conquests.



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17. THE EARLY 13TH CENTURY: THE GHURIDS, KHOREZMSHAHS, QARA-KHITAYS, AND KÜCHLÜK

18. THE MONGOL CONQUEST

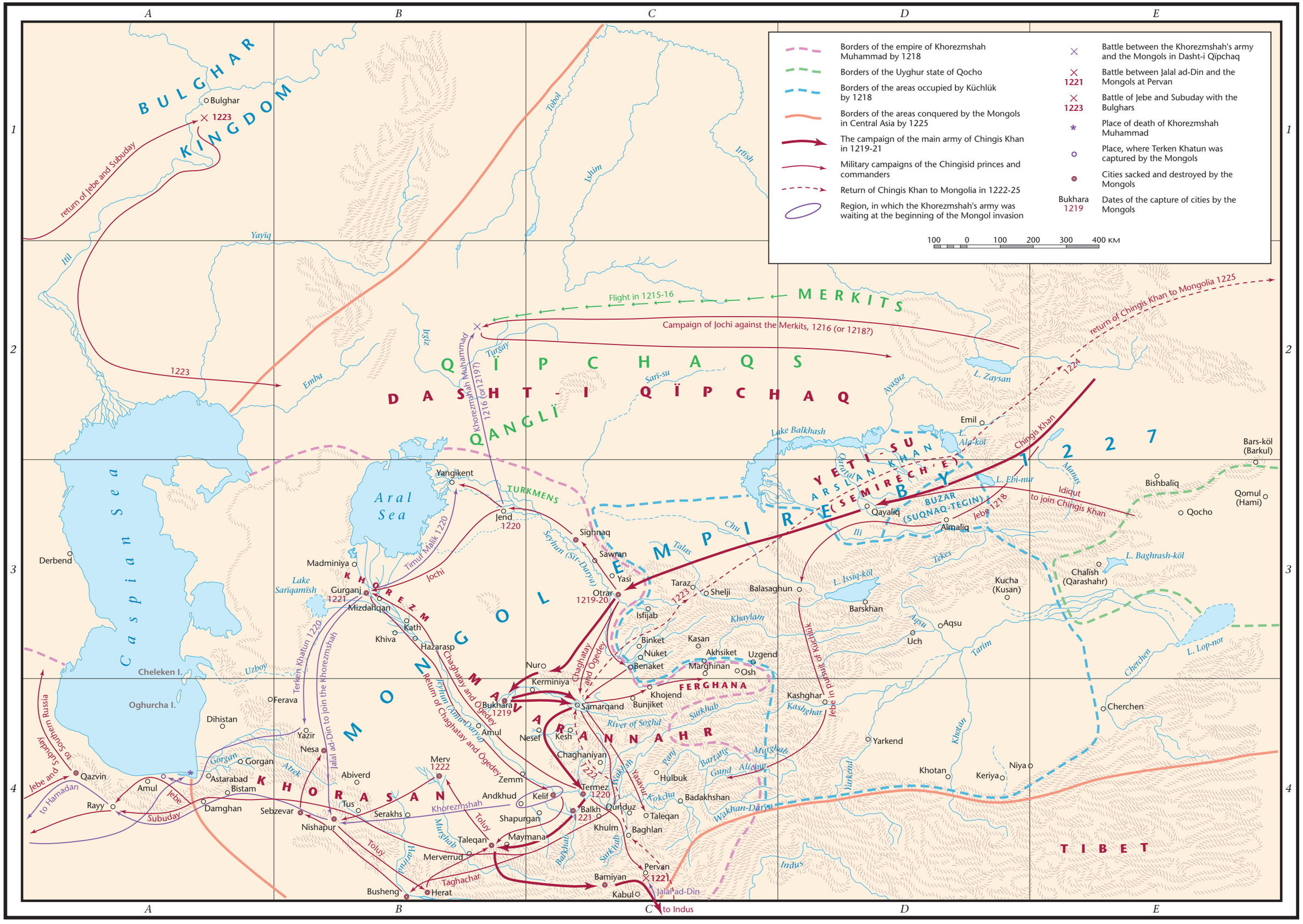
At a *quriltay* (an assembly of Mongol princes) held in northern Mongolia in 1206 Chingis Khan was proclaimed the supreme ruler of all the Mongols. By 1207-1209 he had already subjugated the Tanguts, who lived in the Ordos region, and in 1211 the Mongols invaded northern China. In 1215 they captured Beijing, and in 1216, with most of Northern China in their hands, Chingis Khan returned to Mongolia. Possibly soon after this (although it could have happened about two years later) the Mongols under Subuday and Taghachar had their first encounter with the troops of the Khorezmshah Muhammad in the Dasht-i Qïpchaq (see map 17). In 1215 Muhammad sent an embassy to Chingis Khan, who sent in return his embassy to the Khorezmshah in 1218; at the same time a large trade caravan of Muslim merchants set out from Mongolia and reached Otrar after Chingis Khan's ambassador already returned. The governor of Otrar, named Inalchik, had all the 450 or so merchants of the caravan slaughtered and their goods confiscated, accusing them of being spies (the massacre seems to have been sanctioned by the Khorezmshah himself). An ambassador of Chingis Khan came to the Khorezmshah soon after this, demanding the extradition of Inalchik, but he was also killed. After this war became inevitable.

For some time before this, the Mongol Empire had become an immediate neighbor of the Khorezmshah's empire: while Küchlük was taking possession of the Qara-Khitay state, in 1211, the Qarluq ruler of Semirech'e, Arslan Khan, declared himself a subject of Chingis Khan; and at the same time a certain Buzar, a former robber, adopted the title of Toghrul Khan, founded his own principality centered in Almalïq, and also submitted to Chingis Khan, having sent to him his son, Suqnaq Tegin. Before his major campaign against the Khorezmshah, Chingis Khan sent troops under Jebe Noyon against Küchlük in 1218. Jebe went from Almalïq to Balasaghun, which surrendered without resistance, and then entered Kashgharia, where he issued an order returning to the Muslims the right to have public religious services; the population met the Mongols as liberators from the oppression of Küchlük. Küchlük was pursued by Jebe until the Sarïqol, where he was caught and killed; his severed head was shown in the cities throughout Eastern Turkestan.

Following the raid by Jebe, Chingis Khan set out with his main army in the summer of 1219. In Qayalïq he was joined by Arslan Khan, Suqnaq Tegin, and Barchuq, the Uyghur *idiqut*. The Khorezmshah knew about the approaching enemy, but decided not to meet them in the open field and, instead, divided his troops as garrisons among several key cities, while he himself waited on the left bank of the Amu-Darya for the results of the battles. It is possible that he had no other choice, given the hostility of some of his military commanders and the unreliability of his troops. In the fall of 1219 Chingis Khan came to Otrar. Here he divided his army: a part of it, under the command of his sons Chaghatay and Ögedey, was left to lay siege to the city; another part, under the command of his eldest son, Jochi, was sent down the Sïr-Darya; a small detachment was sent up the Sïr-Darya, toward Benaket; and the main army, under Chingis Khan himself and his youngest son, Toluy, advanced on Bukhara in January 1220, through the Qïzïl-qum and Nur. Nur surrendered to the Mongol advance-guard under Subuday Bahadur without resistance. Chingis Khan approached Bukhara in February 1220. Three days after the beginning of the siege, the garrison under Inanch Khan left the city and broke through the Mongol troops, but only a few of them could escape the pursuing Mongols and cross the Amu-Darya. The city, abandoned by the garrison, surrendered, but the citadel, defended by just 400 soldiers, resisted for 12 days. The inhabitants of Bukhara were driven out of the city and divided among the Mongol troops as slaves, and the city was sacked and then burnt. From Bukhara the Mongols marched on Samarqand, moving along both banks of the Zerafshan and driving with them a large number of people captured in Bukhara and the villages along the way, whom the Mongols used for the siege works and as human shields. Chingis Khan came to Samarqand in March. Here Chaghatay and Ögedey joined him, having now captured Otrar; that city's defenders had all been killed, the city had been sacked, and its governor, Inalchik, was brought to Chingis Khan and executed. After five days of siege Samarqand surrendered, except for the citadel's defenders, who resisted until the citadel was stormed; the Turkic garrison of the city, allegedly numbering 30,000, was massacred; artisans were divided as slaves among Chingis Khan's relatives and taken away. The detachment sent against Benaket, after capturing the city and massacring its garrison, returned to Samarqand. Another detachment was sent by Chingis Khan from Samarqand against Khojend; the governor of Khojend, Timur Malik, valiantly resisted the Mongols and, being unable to hold the city, escaped by boat down the Sïr-Darya, pursued by the Mongols. He had to land near Jend and was finally able to reach Gurganj, having lost all his men. From Samarqand Chingis Khan also dispatched three detachments, under Jebe, Subuday, and Taghachar, in pursuit of the Khorezmshah Muhammad. The Khorezmshah, who during the siege of Samarqand waited between Kelif and Andkhud without taking any action, fled to Nishapur before the arrival of the Mongols. From Nishapur he continued his flight, going to various places in western Iran in order to put the Mongols off his track, and finally came, with a small retinue and his elder son Jalal ad-Din, to an island off the south-eastern shore of the Caspian Sea; here he died from pneumonia in December 1220. The detachments of Jebe and Subuday, having sacked several cities in Khorasan and Mazanderan, finally lost the Khorezmshah's track near Hamadan. They continued their raid through the Caucasus and the South Russian steppe, where they crushed a united force of the Qïpchaqs (Polovtsï) and Russian princes in a battle at Kalka in May 1223, and then returned to the Dasht-i Qïpchaq.

Terken Khatun fled from Gurganj with a small retinue after receiving word of the Khorezmshah's flight to Khorasan; she was besieged by the Mongols in a fortress in Mazanderan, was captured in the summer of 1220, and was eventually taken by Chingis Khan to Mongolia. Jalal ad-Din, who came to Gurganj after the death of the Khorezmshah, encountered hostility among the Turkic amirs and left for Khorasan, together with Timur Malik. Early in 1221 the Mongol detachment led by Jochi, coming from the north, and the detachments of Chaghatay and Ögedey from the south-east, converged on Gurganj. The city offered stubborn resistance and was conquered after a siege that lasted four or five months; after the Mongols stormed the walls, they had to fight the defenders from house to house. The surviving inhabitants were taken out of the city; the artisans, young women, and children were separated and taken into captivity, and the rest were slaughtered. After this the Mongols destroyed the dam on the Amu-Darya, and what was left of the city was flooded, so that Gurganj was destroyed completely. Jalal ad-Din, in the meantime, came to Ghazna, the capital of his appanage. Chingis Khan had already crossed the Amu-Darya and occupied Balkh; the city was destroyed and the inhabitants slaughtered. Next, Chingis Khan captured, after a long siege, Taleqan (in Guzgan), which was also destroyed. A Mongol detachment was sent against Jalal ad-Din, who encountered it near Pervan. The Mongols were completely crushed; this was the only significant victory for the Muslims in this war, but Jalal ad-Din was unable to use it to his advantage because of the discord between his Ghurid and Turkic military commanders. Chingis Khan set off from Taleqan against Jalal ad-Din, and on his way captured Bamiyan, whose entire population was slaughtered because a grandson of Chingis Khan was killed during its siege. He then occupied Ghazna (where a general slaughter of the population also followed and the city was burnt), and in November 1221 attacked Jalal ad-Din on the northern bank of the Indus. Jalal ad-Din was defeated and could escape, with some 4,000 of his troops, only by swimming across the river; Chingis Khan sent a detachment in pursuit, but it turned back because of the heat.

In early 1221, while Chingis Khan was at Taleqan, he dispatched his youngest son, Toluy, to occupy the cities of Khorasan. Toluy accomplished his task in less than three months by capturing Merv, Nishapur, and Herat, as well as other, smaller cities. Nishapur was razed to the ground, the site of the city was plowed, and the entire population was massacred in revenge for the death of Taghachar at the city wall in November 1220. The population of Merv was also slaughtered, but not at once; after the remaining inhabitants, under one of the military commanders of Jalal ad-Din, rebelled in the fall of 1221, the city was finally destroyed a year later. The population of Herat was also massacred after the city's rebellion in 1222. During 1222 and the first part of 1223 individual Mongol commanders were still capturing and destroying mountain fortresses north of the Hindu-kush, but Chingis Khan himself, in the spring of 1222, already had set out for the return to Mongolia, where he arrived only in 1225.



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18. THE MONGOL CONQUEST

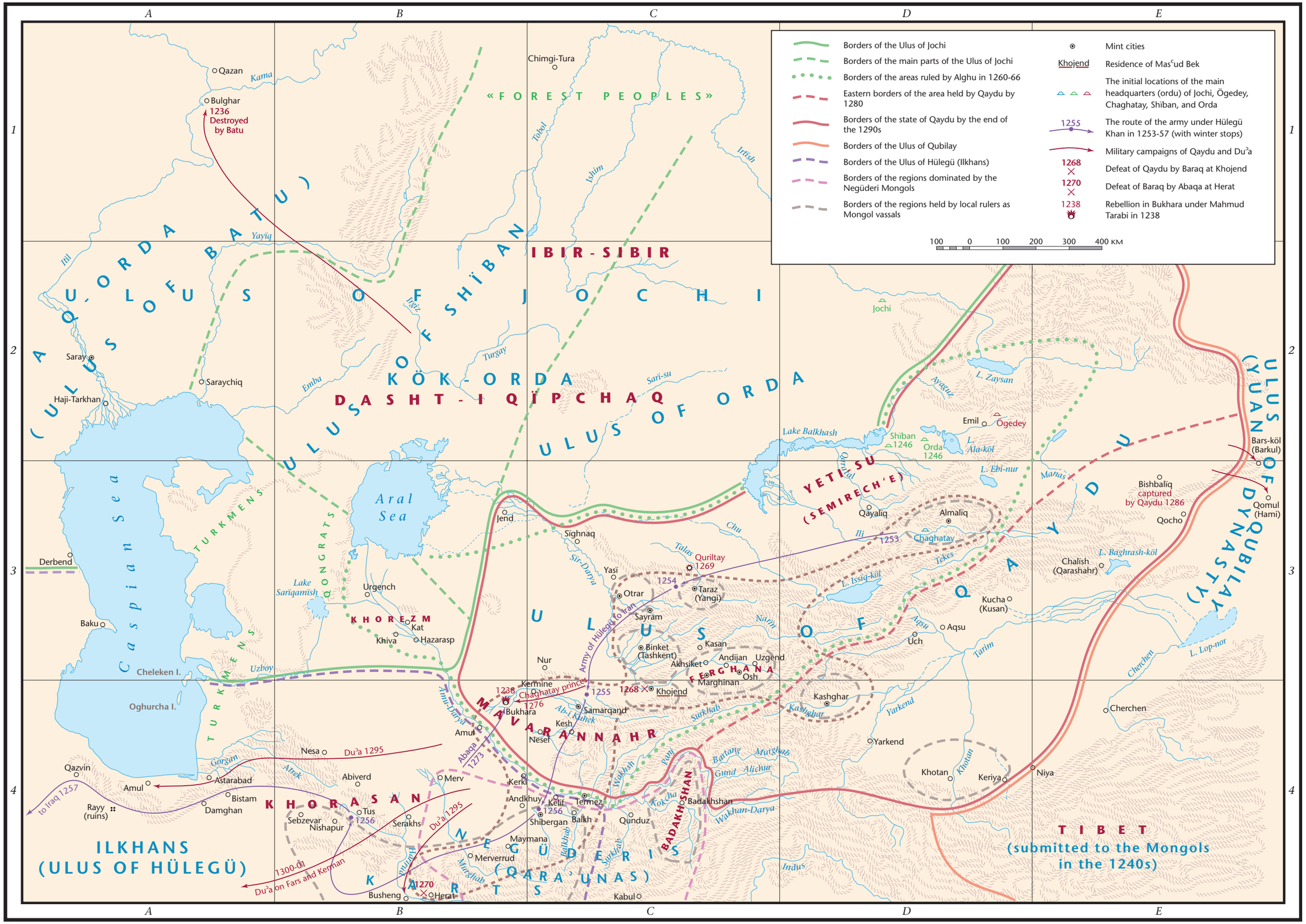
19. THE MONGOL *ULUS*ES IN THE 13TH CENTURY

The empire created by Chingis Khan was considered, according to the Inner Asian nomadic tradition, the common patrimony of the ruling house, and after the death of Chingis Khan in Mongolia in 1227 it was divided among the members of his clan, mainly among the four sons of his senior wife. Their appanages were known by the term *ulus*, which referred to their nomadic subjects, but later this term was associated with the territory as well. An appanage was limited, at least initially, to the pasture lands; the sedentary regions were under the joint authority of the ruling clan. The initial distribution of the main uluses was made by Chingis Khan himself. The eldest son, Jochi, was assigned, according to custom, the part of his father's possessions that was the farthest from Mongolia—the Irtïsh valley, together with the lands yet to be conquered "as far as the hoofs of the Mongol horses had reached," that is, the westernmost regions of the Mongol Empire. Jochi died before his father, and Chingis Khan stipulated that his ulus should be inherited by Jochi's second son, Batu. Chingis Khan's second son, Chaghatay, initially received the lands north of Mavarannahr, more or less coinciding with the former Qara-Khitay country, to which Mavarannahr was soon added. The third son, Ögedey, received Jungharia; the youngest son, Toluy, inherited the heartland of the empire, Mongolia. The sedentary regions had a separate administration (which was responsible mainly for tax collection and other financial matters); in Central Asia it was headed by a local Muslim merchant, Mahmud Yalavach Khorezmi, and after his transfer to China for a similar job, by his son Masʿud Bek. Ögedey was designated by Chingis Khan to be his successor; he was confirmed in this post by the assembly (*quriltay*) of Mongol princes in 1229 and adopted the title of *qa'an*, or "great khan." Under him the Mongol expansion continued: northern China was finally conquered in 1234, the Qïpchaq steppe and the Russian principalities were conquered in 1237-1241, and most of Iran by 1241. After a long interregnum following the death of Ögedey in 1241 (and the death of Chaghatay in 1242) and the short and ineffectual rule of Ögedey's son Güyük (1246-1248), Batu nominated for the post of great khan the eldest son of Toluy, Möngke, who was elected at a quriltay held in Batu's territory and then reconfirmed at another one in Mongolia in 1251. The descendants of Ögedey and Chaghatay, most of whom opposed this election, were executed or exiled; the ulus of Ögedey was effectively dissolved, and much of its territory incorporated into the domain of the new qaʾan, Möngke. The ulus of Chaghatay remained (because its senior prince supported Möngke), but it was significantly weakened, and the Jochids extended their control to Western Turkestan, so that for some contemporary European observers the Mongol Empire at that time appeared to be a condominium of Batu and Möngke (which it was not). Under Möngke the empire continued to expand until his death (in 1259): the rest of China was conquered by Möngke's brother Qubilay, founding a new ulus and soon adopting the Chinese dynastic name Yuan, while another brother, Hülegü, conquered Western Iran and Iraq and destroyed the ʿAbbasid caliphate in 1258, founding also a new ulus which became known as that of the Ilkhans (from the title used by its rulers).

After the death of Möngke the unity of the empire was shattered by two major wars between members of the Chingisid clan: between the newly elected qaʾan Qubilay and his brother Arigh Böke in the east, and between the ilkhan Hülegü and the khan Berke (Batu's brother) of the ulus of Jochi in the west. Arigh Böke appointed a grandson of Chaghatay, Alghu, as head of the Chaghatay ulus. Alghu set up his base in the region of Almalïq and rapidly established his control over Semirech'e and Mavarannahr (areas that under Möngke had been taken from the ulus of Chaghatay), and also over some areas that had belonged to the ulus of Jochi. In 1264 Arigh Böke surrendered to Qubilay, who reconfirmed the division of the empire, assigning all the lands west of the Amu-Darya to Hülegü, the ulus of Jochi to Berke, and the areas between the Amu-Darya and the Altay to Alghu; thus, the territories that had belonged to the ulus of Ögedey were absorbed into the ulus of Alghu, the Chaghatayid. After the death of Alghu in 1265/66, a grandson of Ögedey, Qaydu, who had his base in Qayalïq, seized control of the areas up to the Talas and farther west, where he had to confront the new head of the ulus of Chaghatay, Baraq, Chaghatay's great-grandson. In 1268 Qaydu defeated Baraq near Khojend, and in 1269 the Mongol princes descended from Chaghatay and Ögedey, as well as a representative of the Jochids, Möngke-Temür (who supported Qaydu against Baraq), convened a quriltay on the Talas, at which they divided Mavarannahr among them (two thirds to Baraq and one third to Qaydu and Möngke-Temür) and entrusted the sedentary regions to Masʿud Bek. This quriltay symbolized the actual end of the imperial authority of the qaʾan, who, moreover, having already transferred his capital from Mongolia to China, became in effect one of the regional khans. Soon after this quriltay Baraq crossed the Amu-Darya and invaded the Ilkhanid ulus, but his army was crushed by the Ilkhan Abaqa in a battle at Herat in 1270; soon after this Baraq died, and his army was incorporated into that of Qaydu. In 1271 Qaydu was proclaimed khan in Talas; he also appointed the head of the Chaghatay ulus, who became subordinate to him. He still had to fight the sons of Baraq and Alghu, who repeatedly plundered Bukhara and other cities of Mavarannahr. A reconciliation between them and Qaydu was achieved in 1282, when Qaydu appointed Duʾa, a son of Baraq, as head of the Chaghatay ulus; from then on Duʾa closely cooperated with Qaydu until the end of his rule. In the subsequent wars with Qubilay, Qaydu substantially enlarged his ulus to the east, occupying all of Eastern Turkestan and reaching as far as central Mongolia. The civil administration in the ulus of Qaydu had been, since 1271, in the hands of Masʿud Bek, who was succeeded by his sons; he introduced an important monetary reform that helped to revive the economy and urban life.

The second major ulus that occupied a large part of Central Asia, together with Western Siberia, was that of Jochi. Under his second son Batu it expanded to the west, as Batu conquered most of the Russian principalities and the Northern Caucasus, and briefly invaded Central Europe. The ulus of Jochi was divided into two wings, the eastern (otherwise the left wing, in accordance with the chief Mongol orientation to the south) and the western (the right one). The first head of the right wing was Batu, and he and his descendants were at the same time the heads of the entire ulus. The first head of the left wing was Jochi's elder son Orda. The descendants of Orda, who ruled the eastern part of the ulus of Jochi, had a subordinate status (but often only theoretically) in relation to the descendants of Batu. The ulus of Orda was, in turn, subdivided into left and right wings: the left wing under Orda and his descendants, and the right wing under the fifth son of Jochi, Shïban (or Sïban). Somewhat later the term *orda* ("horde") began to be used as a synonym of *ulus*. In Turkic, the names of these uluses were used with color descriptors: Aq-Orda (White Horde) for the right, or western, wing, and Kök-Orda (Blue Horde) for the left, or eastern wing, in accordance with the traditional association of the cardinal points with colors. (In modern literature there is confusion concerning the attribution of the terms Aq-Orda and Kök-Orda to the western and eastern wings; the confusion goes back to an error in a Persian source of the 15th century.) The ulus of Batu (Aq-Orda), whose center was on the lower Volga, later became known to the Russians and in the West as "the Golden Horde," but this name was not used by the Mongols and Turks. In Islamic countries the ulus of Jochi was also known as the "Khanate of Qïpchaq." The population of the Central Asian part of the Jochid ulus, the Kök-Orda, as distinct from other Mongol uluses, was overwhelmingly nomadic.

The ulus of Batu ("the Golden Horde"), beginning with Batu's brother and successor Berke, had mostly hostile relations with the ulus of Hülegü. Some troops of the Golden Horde who participated in Hülegü's campaign of 1256-58 in Iran and Iraq defected after the death of their two commanders, marched eastward under their general Negüder, and occupied large areas in the eastern part of the Ilkhanid ulus (approximately coinciding with modern Afghanistan); these Negüderis or Qaraʾunas, as they were called, sometimes made marauding raids deep into Iranian territory. The relations between the Ilkhanids and the ulus of Chaghatay and later Qaydu were often hostile, especially in the 1260s-1270s, during the wars between Ilkhan Abaqa and Baraq and after Abaqa pillaged Bukhara in 1273. In the 1290s Duʾa raided many regions of Iran, and in 1298/99 the Chaghatayids established their control over the Qaraʾunas.



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19. THE MONGOL *ULUS*ES IN THE 13TH CENTURY

20. THE MONGOL *ULUS*ES FROM THE EARLY 14TH CENTURY TO THE RISE OF TIMUR

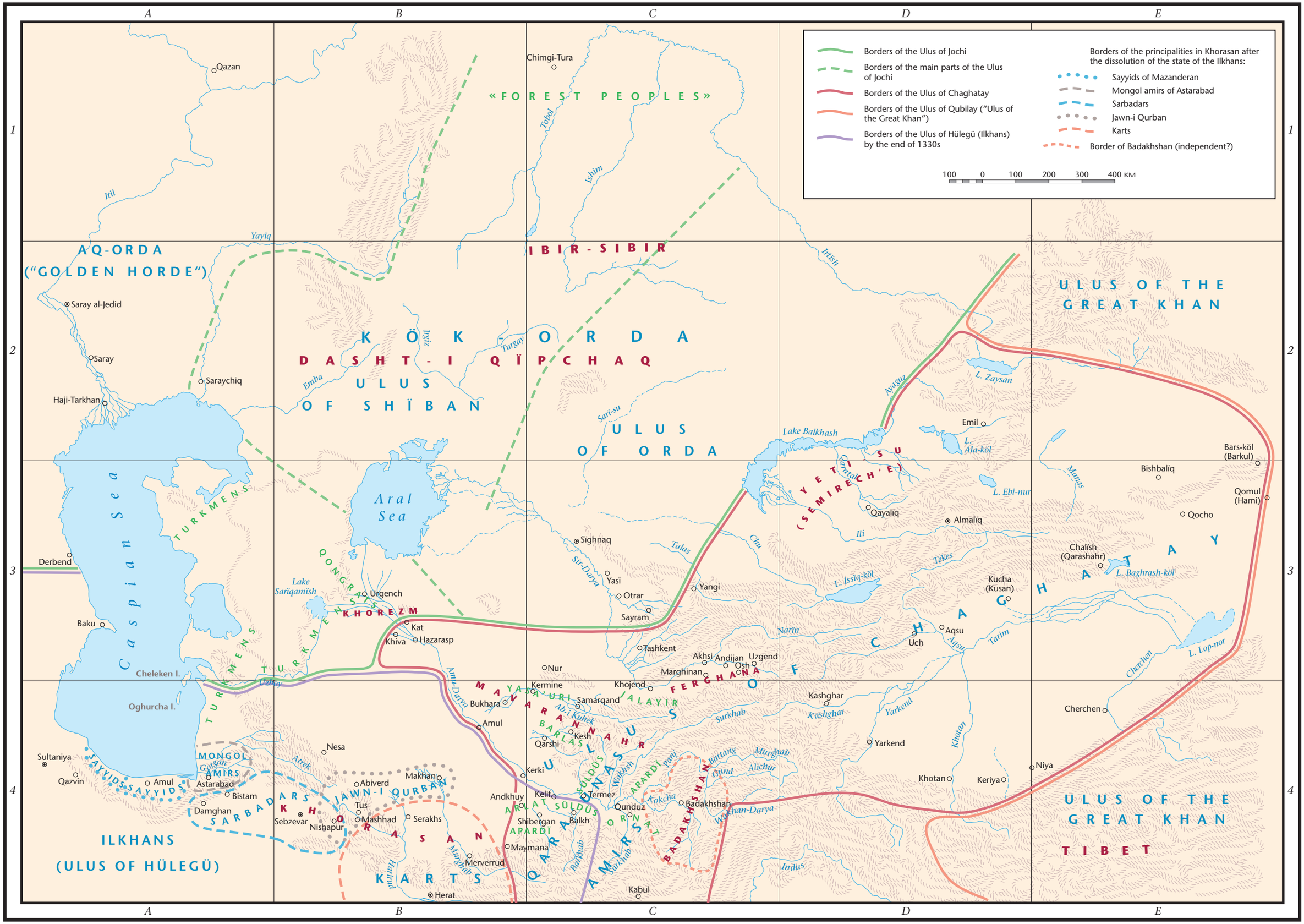
Two important developments took place in the Mongol uluses (except that of Qubilay): their nomadic population became Turkicized and converted to Islam. In the two uluses that were formed on the territory of the Eurasian steppe belt west of Mongolia, those of Jochi and Chaghatay (and Qaydu), Mongols formed only a small, privileged minority, while the great majority of their nomadic population was Turkic, as before the conquest. Some Turkic groups retained their previous identity, while others were reduced in number and broken up, being completely or partially distributed among the Mongol commanders and assuming the tribal names of these commanders. Although the Mongol tribes after the conquest seemingly appear everywhere in these two uluses, the Mongols were actually absorbed by the Turkic majority. By the early 14th century the uluses of Jochi and Chaghatay were Turkicized. The Mongols in the ulus of Hülegü probably retained their Mongolian language a little longer, but the process of Turkicization took place there as well. Parallel to this process, but independent of it, was the process of Islamization, which, as it is generally believed, usually began with the conversion of individual rulers, mostly followed by the conversion of their subjects. The first ruler of the ulus of Jochi to be converted to Islam was Berke, the brother and successor of Batu; but his successors remained pagan, and the Islamization of the Jochids (and, with them, of their ulus) is usually ascribed to the khan Özbek (1313-1341). In the Kök-Orda Islam spread in the second quarter of the 14th century. The Ilkhans were converted to Islam a little earlier, under Ghazan Khan (1295-1304). Among the Chaghatayids the first to adopt Islam were Mubarak Shah (1266) and Baraq (1266-1271), but their successors were again pagan, until the conversion of the khan Tarmashirin (1326-1334), and Islamization encountered more resistance among the nomads of this ulus and took longer.

The Golden Horde under Özbek Khan experienced political stability and economic prosperity; under him the governor of Khorezm, the amir Qutlugh Timur, played an especially important role in state affairs. But generally the interests of the rulers of the Golden Horde lay in the west and the south, not in Central Asia. In the middle of the 14th century the Golden Horde was much weakened as a result of internal feuds that continued for two decades, during which more than twenty khans were enthroned one after another in the Horde's capital Saray. During this period, in 1360, Khorezm seceded from the ulus of Jochi under rulers from the Turkicized Mongol tribe Qongrat, who bore the title, or nick-name, Sufi, and who resided in Urgench (built in the 13th century near the site of the pre-Mongol Gurganj). In 1367 the first ruler of this dynasty, Husayn Sufi, annexed the southern part of Khorezm, with the cities of Kat and Khiva, which had belonged to the ulus of Chaghatay since the second half of the 13th century.

The ulus of Orda expanded to the south at the very end of the 13th or in the early 14th century, at the expense of the ulus of Qaydu, and eventually included the cities in the lower and middle course of the Sïr-Darya: Jend, Sïghnaq, Sawran, and Otrar. This acquisition was of great importance for both the economic and the political life of the ulus; from then on the headquarters of the rulers of the Kök-Orda (as well as of the rulers of the nomadic polities which succeeded the Kök-Orda on the same territory) were near the city of Sïghnaq, an important center of trade between the nomadic and sedentary regions. During the years of anarchy in the Golden Horde the descendants of Orda took part in the feuds there, and in 1374 Urus Khan, the ruler of the Kök-Orda since 1361, occupied the throne of the Golden Horde. By that time the ulus of Orda had become known, outside the ulus of Jochi, as the *Ulus-i Özbek* "The Ulus of Özbek"—apparently, from the name of Özbek Khan. By the early 15th century the nomadic population of this ulus began to be called "Özbeks."

At the end of the 13th century relations between the Kök-Orda and the ulus of Qaydu became hostile, as Qaydu and Duʾa interfered in a succession struggle in the Kök-Orda. The ulus of Qaydu underwent an important transformation during the first years of the 14th century: in 1301 Qaydu died shortly after a major battle with the army of Qubilay, and Duʾa (see map 19) had Qaydu's elder son, Chapar, appointed as head of the ulus. But later Duʾa, taking advantage of rivalries among the Ögedeyid princes and having recognized the suzerainty of the Yuan, was able to remove the Ögedeyids and to restore the ulus of Chaghatay, now within the expanded limits of the former ulus of Qaydu. In 1318-1326 the ulus of Chaghatay was ruled by the youngest son of Duʾa, Kebek, who transferred his headquarters to Mavarannahr and built for himself a palace near Nakhsheb; it grew into a city that was named Qarshi (from the Mongol and Turkic *qarshi* "palace"). Kebek was the first Mongol khan who started minting silver coins with the name of the khan on them; they became known as *kebeki* dinars. It was probably under Kebek that an administrative reform was introduced in the Chaghatay ulus: it was divided into administrative units called *tümen*, at the head of which were the chieftains of the Turko-Mongol tribes whose *yurt*s (grazing grounds) were located in the respective tümens; these chieftains began to be called by the Arabic term *amir*. The main tribal groups within the Chaghatay ulus were the Barlas, Süldüs, Jalayir, Arlat, and Apardï. The tribes of the Chaghatay ulus became collectively known as "the Chaghatays." A separate large group (probably, the largest) was the Qaraʾunas (see map 19), whose main centers were Qunduz, Baghlan, Ghazna, and Qandahar; with the transfer of their allegiance from the Ilkhans to the Chaghatayids at the very end of the 13th century, the southern border of the ulus extended far to the south of the upper course of the Amu-Darya. Kebek was succeeded by Tarmashirin, a son of Duʾa, who converted to Islam. His preference for the western, sedentary, areas of the ulus (for four years in a row he remained in Mavarannahr and south of the Amu-Darya and did not visit the capital of the ulus, Almalïq) caused resentment among his nomadic subjects, especially in the eastern part of the ulus, and he was overthrown and killed. The death of Tarmashirin was followed by a period of internecine wars; the last khan of the entire ulus, Qazan, tried to restore the khan's authority, but he was killed in 1347 by rebellious amirs, and the amir of the Qaraʾunas, Qazaghan, became the ruler of the ulus. Then the tribal chieftains of the eastern part of the ulus (Semirech'e and Eastern Turkestan) seceded from the ulus of Chaghatay and enthroned a putative grandson of Duʾa, Toghluq-Timur; the tribes of this eastern part of the ulus of Chaghatay became known as "the Moghuls" (i.e. the Mongols, although they were already Turkic), and their country as Moghulistan (lit. "The Land of Mongols"). Toghluq-Timur converted to Islam, and his successors were Muslims, but their nomadic subjects were recognized as Muslims by their western neighbors only a century later.

The end of Chaghatayid rule in Mavarannahr coincided with the end of Ilkhanid rule in Iran. The last Ilkhan, Abu Saʿid, who died in 1335, left no offspring; for two decades the tribal amirs who dominated various regions of Iran and Iraq placed on the throne a series of Chingisids who did not have any real authority, until the last of such puppet khans was killed in 1353. The Ilkhanid ulus was replaced by local dynasties in Iran and Iraq, some of Persian, others of Mongol or Turkic, origin. The Iranian dynasty of the Karts, whose center was Herat and which traced its origin to the Ghurids, had been a vassal of the Ilkhans, and after the demise of the latter established an independent state that competed with the Qaraʾunas amirs in the east and the Sarbadar state in the west. The Sarbadar movement began in the district of Sebzevar in 1332 as an uprising against the heavy burden of taxes; the Sarbadars included disparate elements, among whom radical Shiʿite sheykhs became especially influential. Despite sharp internal conflicts that plagued the Sarbadars, they were sometimes able to occupy a large part of Khorasan. It was the Sarbadars who overthrew and killed the last Ilkhanid, Togha-Temür. The region north-east of the Sarbadars, including Tus, Abiverd, Mashhad, and sometimes Nishapur, was occupied by a Mongol group called Jawn-i Qurban.



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20. THE MONGOL *ULUS*ES FROM THE EARLY 14TH CENTURY TO THE RISE OF TIMUR

21. TIMUR, THE CHAGHATAYIDS, AND THE *ULUS* OF JOCHI

In the Ulus of Chaghatay, the amir Qazaghan of the Qaraʾunas, who had held power since 1347, was killed in 1358 by a rival amir. His son, ʿAbdallah, caused discontent among the tribal leaders when he moved his headquarters from the Qaraʾunas territory to Samarqand, because of which he lost his authority. Then the Chaghatayid khan of Moghulistan, Toghluq-Timur, invaded Mavarannahr in 1360, and it was at this time that the career of Timur Bek began. His Turkic name would have been pronounced "Temür"; in Iran he was known as Timur-i Lang, "Timur the Lame" (he was lame as a result of a wound), hence Tamerlane, the corrupted form in which his name became known in the West. Timur was one of the leaders of the Barlas tribe, whose territory was in the region of Kesh. When the "Moghuls" under Toghluq Timur invaded in 1360, the chief of the Barlas, Haji Bek, fled across the Amu-Darya, and Timur accompanied him, but then received Haji Bek's permission to return. In 1361 Toghluq-Timur Khan invaded Mavarannahr again, and Haji Bek fled to Khorasan and was killed; this made Timur the head of the Barlas. For the following several years Timur competed for power with the Qaraʾunas amir Husayn, a grandson of Qazaghan; sometimes they acted together against the Moghuls, while at other times they confronted one another. In 1365 they fought the Moghuls on the banks of the Chirchik, but were defeated and fled across the Amu-Darya. The Moghuls tried to capture Samarqand, but were defeated partly as a result of a popular movement in the city, whose participants were called "Sarbadars" by analogy with the Sarbadars of Khorasan, and partly because of a horse-plague in the Moghul army. In 1366 Timur and Husayn came to Samarqand and treacherously seized and executed the leaders of the Samarqand movement. The following three years Timur spent in almost incessant fighting with Husayn and his supporters, and was often compelled to take refuge outside the ulus of Chaghatay, in particular in Makhan (in the region of Merv), from which he occasionally raided the ulus. Timur and Husayn finally made peace in 1368. At the end of the same year Husayn moved to Balkh and began to fortify the city. Almost all the Chaghatay amirs, including Timur, resisted this move; their troops, under the general command of Timur, besieged Balkh in 1370. Amir Husayn surrendered and was executed. Timur became the head of the ulus of Chaghatay, but for the next decade his authority was still often contested by powerful tribal leaders, and in relations with them Timur had to combine force with shrewd political maneuvers. In particular, in dealing with the tribes of the ulus, he used non-tribal troops which owed their allegiance personally to him, and this made him less dependent on tribal support. Even more important was the use of incessant military campaigns that provided booty to the Chaghatay troops and their commanders, and the success of these campaigns ensured their continuing loyalty. The campaigns that began after 1380 were outside the territory of the ulus, and they also kept the Chaghatay troops removed from ulus politics.

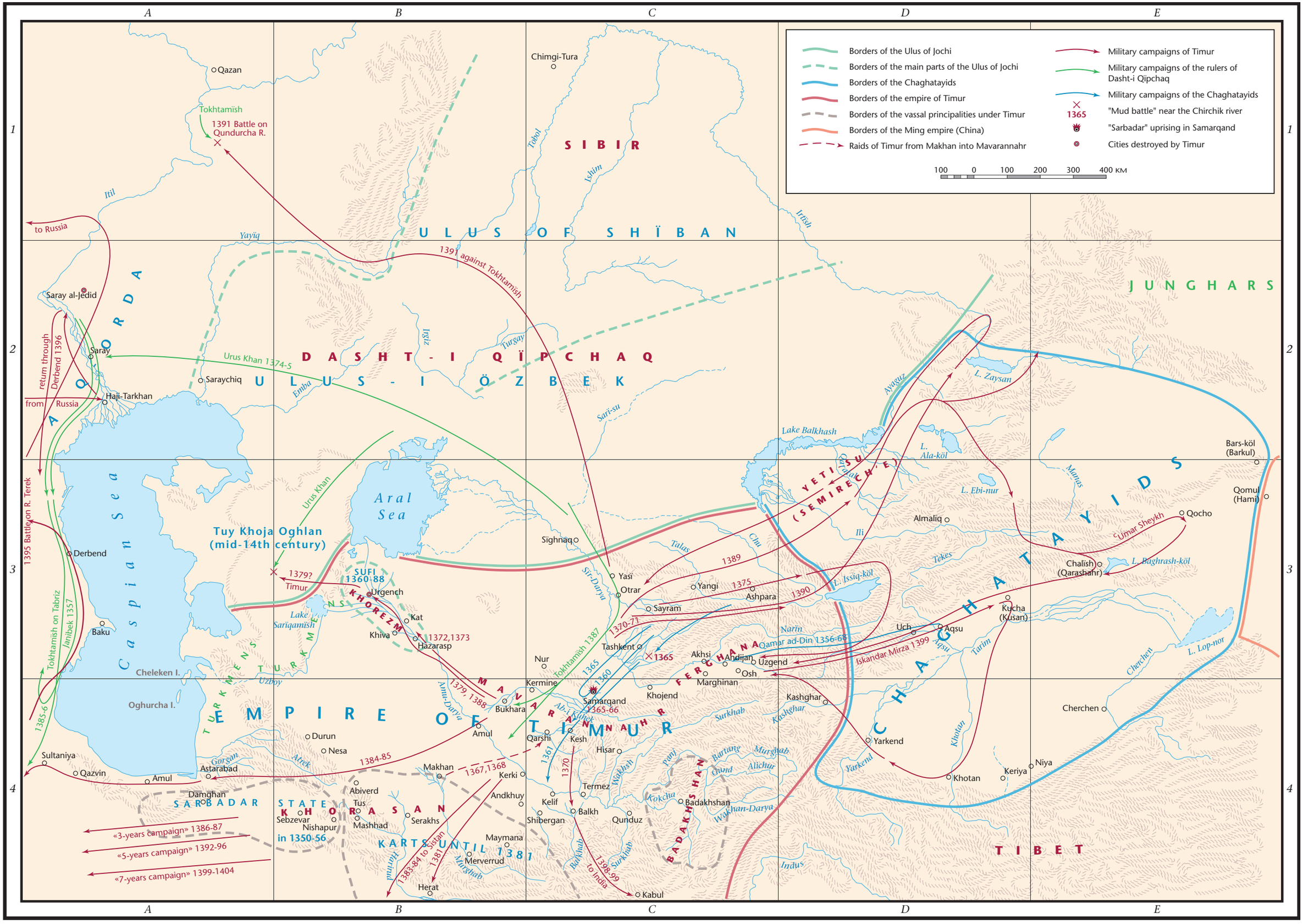
Timur's first military campaigns, directed against Khorezm and Moghulistan, were not of long duration. In 1372 Timur demanded that the ruler of Khorezm, Husayn Sufi, should return to him, as the lawful heir of the ulus of Chaghatay, the southern half of Khorezm that had been annexed by Husayn in 1367. Husayn Sufi refused, and Timur set out on a campaign against Khorezm. Husayn Sufi was defeated twice and died while Timur was besieging Urgench; his brother Yusuf Sufi made peace, but, when Timur left, he captured Kat. It took Timur three more campaigns to capture Urgench (in 1379); the city was pillaged, and its artisans and scholars were deported to Kesh. During the same decade Timur began his expeditions against Moghulistan, where the tribal leaders, under Qamar ad-Din, the chieftain of the Dughlats, the most powerful Moghul tribe, had killed the son of Toghluq-Timur, Ilyas Khoja Khan. Although all these expeditions were successful and resulted in Moghul defeats, the Dughlat leaders were always able to escape. Timur annexed Ferghana and the regions north of it, up to the western end of Lake Issïq-köl, and later also the city of Kashghar and its district. Later, in 1389-1390, Timur penetrated much deeper into Moghulistan's territory, but the purpose of these campaigns, like that of the early ones, was mainly to weaken the rulers of Moghulistan and to prevent hostile actions on their part that were encouraged by some dissident Chaghatay amirs.

Another nomadic neighbor which for a long time posed a serious threat to Timur was the Kök-Orda, and later the Golden Horde. Urus Khan, who had united the Kök-Orda and Aq-Orda (see map 20), executed one of the princes of "the left hand," Tuy Khoja Oghlan, who had been the ruler of Mangïshlaq and had spoken against this unification. A son of Tuy Khoja Oghlan named Tokhtamïsh (or Toqtamïsh) in 1376 fled to Mavarannahr, where Timur gave him shelter and supplied him with troops to fight Urus Khan. Tokhtamïsh was able to take possession of the throne of Kök-Orda only after four attempts, in 1377, following the death of Urus Khan. The next year he established himself in the capital of the Golden Horde, Saray, thus uniting again the Aq-Orda and Kök-Orda. Several years after this Tokhtamïsh invaded Azerbayjan, which set him on a collision course with Timur, who was at that time conquering Western Iran and Azerbayjan. In 1386, south of Derbend, Tokhtamïsh was defeated by Miranshah, Timur's son, and retreated. But the next year, while Timur was again engaged in Iran, Tokhtamïsh raided Mavarannahr. Timur returned to Mavarannahr and prepared to attack Tokhtamïsh. First he punished the Sufi ruler of Khorezm, Sulayman Sufi, who had supported Tokhtamïsh: in 1388 his capital, Urgench, was captured and this time destroyed completely (the site was sown over with barley), while its inhabitants were deported to Mavarannahr. Khorezm never fully recovered after this devastation. In 1391 Timur led a major expedition through the Dasht-i Qïpchaq against Tokhtamïsh and routed his army on the Qundurcha river. Timur's last war with Tokhtamïsh took place in 1395: Tokhtamïsh suffered a crushing defeat in a battle on the river Terek (Northern Caucasus), after wich Timur raided the regions of southern Russia ruled by the Golden Horde and sacked and burned several major cities of the Golden Horde, including Saray and Haji-Tarkhan.

Timur's wars in Iran, as distinct from his campaigns against Moghulistan and the Golden Horde, led to large territorial acquisitions. Initially Timur was mostly satisfied with establishing his protectorate over existing rulers, such as the Karts of Herat and the Sarbadars of Sebzevar. Gradually the most powerful of them were removed and replaced by Timurid princes as governors, while small local dynasties would remain, often with reduced territories. In 1381 Timur took Herat and in 1383, after a rebellion in the city, he removed the Karts (in 1396 Miranshah killed all the still-surviving members of the dynasty). In 1384-85 he captured Astarabad. In 1386-1387, in the course of the "3-years campaign," Timur conquered Luristan (in Southern Iran), Azerbayjan (defeating Ahmad Jalayir), and Georgia (capturing Tiflis), and he fought the Qara-Qoyunlu Turkmens in northern Iraq and the Muzaffarids in Fars. In 1392-1396, during the "5-years campaign," he finally destroyed the Muzaffarids, captured Baghdad from the Jalayirids, and conquered large territories in Western Iran and Anatolia. The wars in Iran were interrupted by an invasion of Northern India in 1398/99; that was a plundering expedition that culminated in the sacking and burning of Dehli and the capture of a huge amount of booty and innumerable prisoners, but not in territorial annexation. In 1399-1404, during the "7-years campaign," Timur campaigned again in Georgia, retook Baghdad (which had been recovered by the Jalayirids), fought the Mamluks in Syria, where he captured Aleppo and Damascus, and invaded Anatolia, where he defeated and captured the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II in a battle of Ankara in 1402 (however, no annexations were made in Anatolia). Having returned to Samarqand, he planned an invasion of China, and at the end of 1404 went to Otrar to collect and prepare the troops for this campaign, but there he became ill and in February of 1405 he died.

Timur created a formidable military force completely faithful to him. In his conquests and the treatment of conquered cities he displayed cruelty that sometimes surpassed even that of the Mongols under Chingis Khan. At the same time he deported numerous scholars, artists, and artisans from various conquered regions and brought them to Mavarannahr in order to have them embellish his capital, Samarqand. He could neither read nor write, but he knew Persian and showed a great interest in history.

Timur observed the tradition established since the Mongol conquest, according to which only the direct agnatic descendants of Chingis Khan had the right to the title of khan, that is, a sovereign ruler; he was called only *bek* or *amir* (or "the great amir") and installed puppet khans from among the descendants of Ögedey, who constantly accompanied him. He took as a wife the former wife of Amir Husayn, Saray Mulk Khanum, a daughter of Qazan Khan, and this marriage gave him the right to the title of "Güregen" (in Persian *Gurgan*), "[Royal] Son-in-Law," a title reflecting a special status among the Mongols. It was his descendants who gradually abandoned most of the Mongol political traditions and became completely acculturated into the Perso-Islamic civilization.



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21. TIMUR, THE CHAGHATAYIDS, AND THE *ULUS* OF JOCHI

22. 1405-1468: THE TIMURIDS, MOGHULS, AND ÖZBEKS

The death of Timur in 1405 signaled the beginning of a long succession struggle among Timur's sons, grandsons (the usual title of Timur's descendants was *mirza*, a contracted form of Persian *amir-zada*, "amir's son"), and amirs. Although Timur, before his death, designated as his successor his grandson Pir Muhammad b. Jahangir, who was at that time the governor of Kabul, other members of the dynasty refused to recognize him. Power in Mavarannahr was seized by Khalil Sultan, son of Miranshah, who had been with Timur's army in Tashkent and was able to enter Samarqand quickly and to take possession of Timur's treasury. Khorasan, Sistan and Mazanderan were ruled by Timur's son Shahrukh, with his capital in Herat; Fars was under the authority of three sons of ʿUmar Sheykh b. Timur; and Azerbayjan was ruled by Timur's son Miranshah and his children. Soon two powerful amirs, who were, with their troops, in the region of the middle course of the Sïr-Darya, rebelled against Khalil Sultan and invited Shahrukh to Mavarannahr. In 1409 Shahrukh took over Mavarannahr and appointed his son Ulugh Bek as a governor of this province, while he himself returned to Herat. Then Shahrukh established his control over the rest of Iran, but Azerbayjan remained in the hands of the Turkmen dynasty of the Qara-Qoyunlu. Shahrukh defeated the Qara-Qoyunlu rulers three times, but was unable to dislodge them entirely and, instead, left them as his vassals; after the death of Shahrukh in 1447 Jahanshah Qara-Qoyunlu conquered Rayy, Isfahan, Fars, and Kerman, so that Iran became divided between the Timurids and the Qara-Qoyunlu.

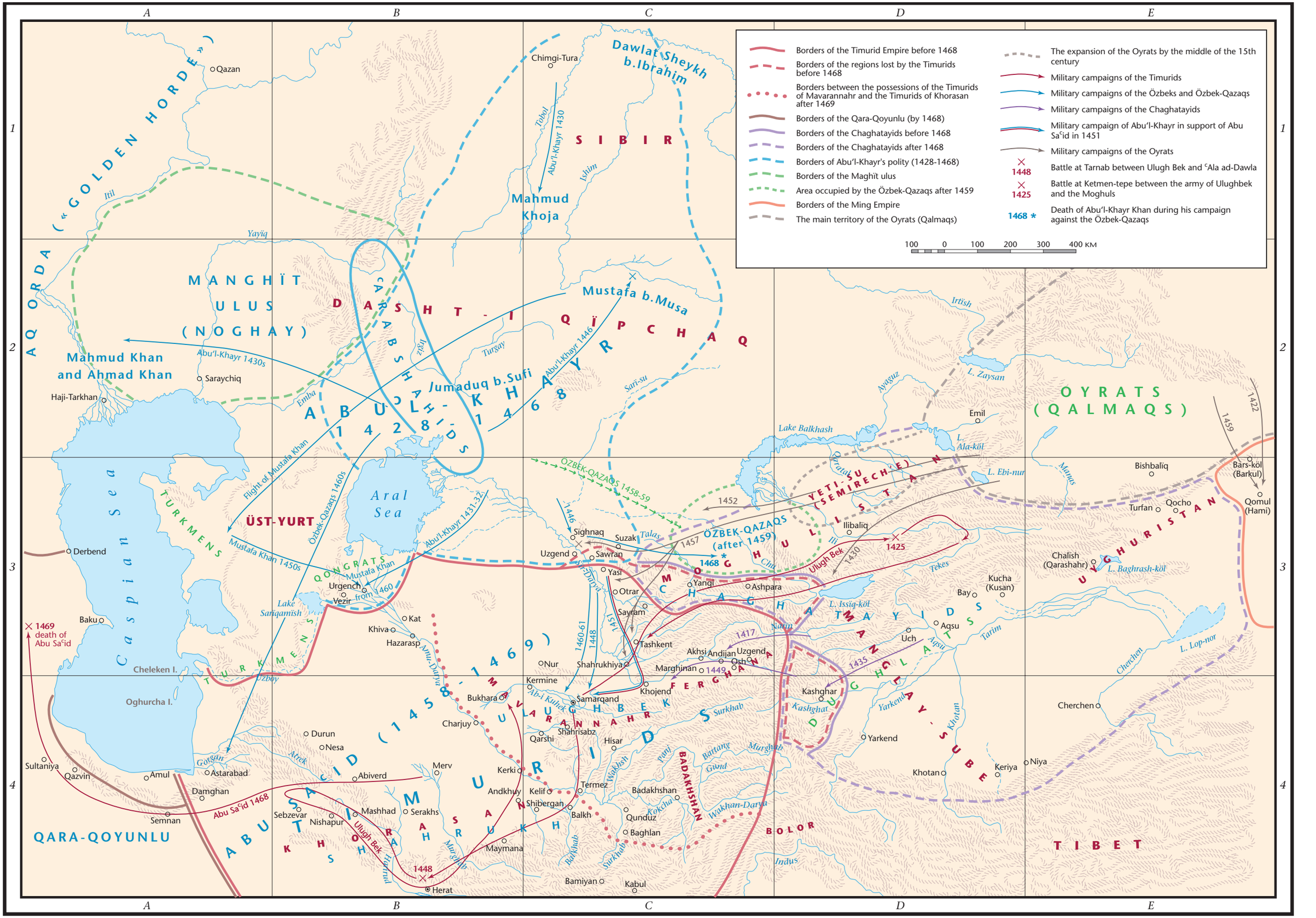
Ulugh Bek, as a governor of Mavarannahr, first tried to continue the policy of Timur in his relations with the nomadic neighbors. In 1421 he helped Shir Muhammad, a Chaghatayid pretender to the throne of Moghulistan. When Shir Muhammad later refused to recognize Ulugh Bek's suzerainty, Ulugh Bek led a military expedition to Moghulistan in 1425, which, however, had very limited success (cf. below). An attempt by Ulugh Bek to influence the events in the Dasht-i Qïpchaq resulted in outright failure. In 1423 Ulugh Bek helped Baraq, a grandson of Urus Khan, to defeat his rivals in the Özbek ulus; Baraq, having obtained his goal, laid claim on the regions in the middle course of the Sïr-Darya, with the city of Sïghnaq, that had belonged to the Kök-Orda but which had been annexed by Timur. In 1427 Ulugh Bek set out against Baraq, together with the prince Muhammad Juki, who was sent, with reinforcements, by Shahrukh. The Timurid army was defeated and fled, after which the Özbeks raided Mavarannahr. After this defeat Ulugh Bek did not undertake any new military campaigns during the remaining 20 years of his governorship of Mavarannahr, and both the Moghuls and the Özbeks were able to raid his territory from time to time. In 1435 the Timurids lost Kashghar to the Moghuls; in 1449 the Moghuls raided deep into Ferghana, and by the end of the rule of Ulugh Bek the Timurids lost the territory east of Sayram to the Moghuls as well.

The rule of Shahrukh in Khorasan, and that of Ulugh Bek in Mavarannahr, were marked by general internal stability (despite occasional rebellions of some Timurid princes in Iran, which were usually quickly suppressed) and economic prosperity. The flourishing of literature, arts (especially architecture and miniature painting) and crafts was supported by patronage of writers and artists at the central and provincial courts. Shahrukh stressed his strict observance of Islamic law; he also adopted the Islamic title *sultan* and did not appoint puppet khans from among the Chingisids. Mongol customs probably retained more importance for Ulugh Bek; he had several Chingisid wives and, therefore, like Timur, used the title *Güregen* (in Persian *Gurgan*), "[Royal] Son-in-Law." Ulugh Bek was unique among the Timurid rulers for his scientific interests: he had an astronomical observatory built near Samarqand and gathered a large group of scholars who taught astronomy and mathematics at the madrasa that he built; the astronomical tables that he compiled became widely used not only in the Islamic world, but also (in Latin translation) in Europe.

Shahrukh died in 1447, and in the brief war of succession that followed, Ulugh Bek and his eldest son ʿAbd al-Latif had to fight Shahrukh's grandson, ʿAla ad-Dawla. They defeated ʿAla ad-Dawla in 1448 in a battle at Tarnab, near Herat. However, Ulugh Bek lost Khorasan to other Timurid contenders, and in 1449 ʿAbd al-Latif rebelled against his father, defeated him near Samarqand, and had him killed. In 1450 ʿAbd al-Latif himself was assassinated by conspirators from among the former amirs of Ulugh Bek. The next year Abu Saʿid, a grandson of Miranshah, captured Samarqand with the help of the Özbek ruler Abu'l-Khayr Khan (on whom see below). Khorasan was captured in 1458 by Abu Saʿid, who held it, together with Mavarannahr, for the next ten years, using Herat as his capital. Under Abu Saʿid a Naqshbandi Sufi sheykh, Khoja Ahrar, enjoyed great influence in the affairs of the state. In 1468 Abu Saʿid set out to Azerbayjan against the Aq-Qoyunlu Turkmens, but he was defeated in 1469 and executed. His descendants retained only the territories north of the Amu-Darya, while the provinces south of this river were in the hands of another branch of the dynasty (see map 23).

In the 15th century, the eastern regions of the former Ulus of Chaghatay that had seceded after 1347 (see map 20) and had become known as Moghulistan, were divided into three parts: Moghulistan proper, between the Tien-Shan and Lake Balkhash, extending from Turkestan and Tashkent in the west to Jungharia in the east, with a mostly nomadic population; the Tarim basin area, which was called by the Mongol name Manglay-Sube ("The Advance-Guard Region"); and Uyghuristan, which included the areas of Turfan and Hami. Turfan and Hami were dominated by China beginning in 1377, after the Mongols were banished from China by the new Chinese dynasty, Ming. Manglay-Sube was dominated by the Moghul tribe Dughlat. In 1435 the Dughlats captured Kashghar, which from then on was lost to the Timurids. From 1415 to 1428 the Chaghatayid ruler of Moghulistan was Vays Khan. During his reign Moghulistan began to be threatened by the western Mongols, who formed a powerful confederation of four tribes—Choros, Khoshut, Torghut, and Khoyt—that occupied Jungharia; this confederation became known as Oyrat (more correctly, Oyirad) in Mongolia and Qalmaq among the Muslims. Vays Khan had to fight the Oyrats constantly and was twice held captive by them. From the 1430s to the 1450s, the Oyrats repeatedly raided Semirech'e and the region in the middle course of the Sïr-Darya. The culmination of these raids was an invasion in 1457 (see below).

In the first half of the 15th century major changes took place in the Dasht-i Qïpchaq. By the end of the 14th century, after the defeat by Timur, the Ulus of Jochi began to disintegrate. A new nomadic grouping emerged on a large part of the territory of the former Kök-Orda, between the Emba and the Volga, the core of which was the tribe Manghït (in Russia it became known as Noghay Horde), while several Jochids competed for supremacy in the steppes east of the Volga. One of them, Baraq Khan, was killed a year after his victory over Ulugh Bek. In 1428 the princes and tribal chieftains of the Özbek ulus and the Manghïts, at their *quriltay* in Chimgi-Tura, in Western Siberia, elected as khan Abu'l-Khayr, from among the descendants of Shïban. During the 1430s and 1440s Abu'l-Khayr defeated several other Chingisids and extended his rule over all the Özbeks in the Dasht-i Qïpchaq. In 1431-32 he conquered northern Khorezm, with the city of Urgench, but had to abandon it (possibly because of an outbreak of plague); in 1435-36 he invaded and plundered Khorezm again (in the 1450s northern Khorezm was captured by Mustafa Khan, who had earlier fled from Abu'l-Khayr to Mangïshlaq). In 1446 Abu'l-Khayr conquered the region in the middle course of the Sïr-Darya with several cities, including Sïghnaq, which became his winter capital. In 1448, during the struggle for Herat among the Timurids, Abu'l-Khayr raided in Mavarannahr as far as Samarqand. In 1451 Abu'l-Khayr marched with Abu Saʿid to Samarqand and helped him to capture it, but Abu Saʿid prevented him from entering the city. In 1457 a severe blow was inflicted on the Özbeks of Abu'l-Khayr by the Oyrats, who invaded the Dasht-i Qïpchaq from the Chu valley; Abu'l-Khayr's army was routed near Sïghnaq, and the Oyrats plundered the cities on the Sïr-Darya. The heavy-handed rule of Abu'l-Khayr caused resentment among his subjects, and in 1459-60 two of them, Kirey and Janibek, descendants of Urus Khan, along with the tribes they headed, abandoned the ulus of Abu'l-Khayr and migrated to Moghulistan, where the khan Esen-Buqa (the successor of Vays Khan) gave them grazing grounds at the western limits of Semirech'e. This group of the Özbeks became known as "Özbek-Qazaqs" (from the old Turkic term *qazaq* applied to both individuals and groups who would abandon their clan, tribe, or ruler, and live the life of a vagabond, adventurer, or freebooter). In 1468 Abu'l-Khayr set out against the Özbek-Qazaqs, but died before confronting the enemy; his polity disintegrated, and interdynastic and intertribal strife in the Dasht-i Qïpchaq continued for three decades.

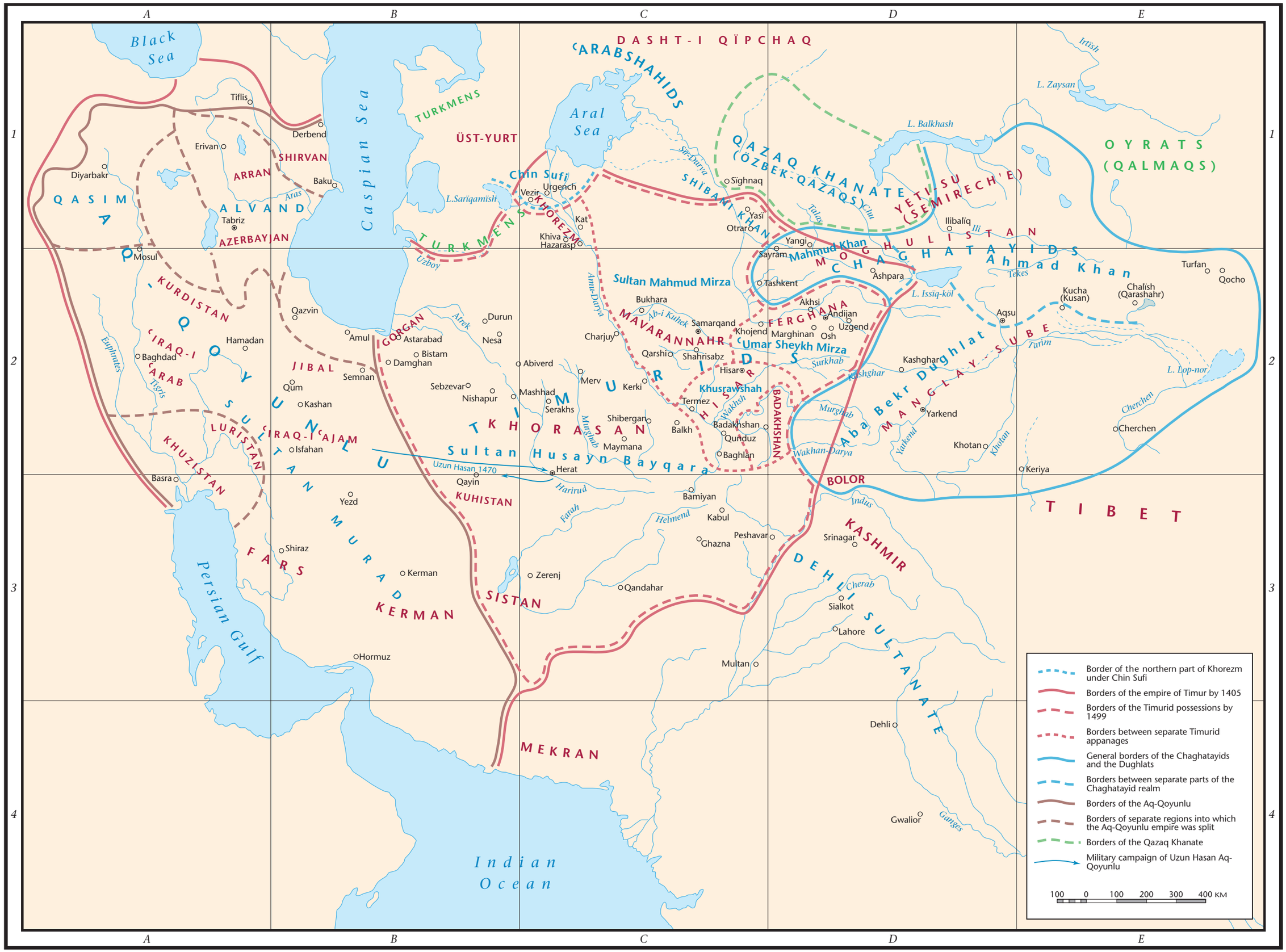


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22. 1405-1468: THE TIMURIDS, MOGHULS, AND ÖZBEKS

23. CENTRAL ASIA AND IRAN IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY

The first half of the 15th century was the last time when the principal sedentary regions of Central Asia were united with Iran as one state, the center of which was in Khorasan. Since the final split of the Timurid empire in 1469 (see map 22) these two regions have never again been reunited politically. After the death of Timur, Western Iran, together with Iraq and Azerbayjan, was dominated by Turkmen tribal confederations, at first the Qara-Qoyunlu and then the Aq-Qoyunlu. Timur and later his son Shahrukh repeatedly fought these confederations, defeated them several times and pushed them back, but were unable to destroy or subjugate them. With the split of the Timurid empire, the Aq-Qoyunlu emerged as an equal political force centered in Azerbayjan, with its capital in Tabriz. At the same time Shiʿism gained strength in the western provinces of the former empire of Timur. In 1501 Ismaʿil Safavi, the leader of another Turkmen group and the grand master of a Shiʿite Sufi order of Ardebil, in Azerbayjan, defeated the Aq-Qoyunlu, ascended the throne in Tabriz, adopted the title *shah* and began his conquests, accompanied by the introduction of Shiʿism as the official state religion in all of Iran. The Turkmen followers of the Safavids wore red turbans with twelve gores, in honor of the twelve Shiʿite imams, and were therefore nicknamed *Qïzïlbash*, lit. “red head.” Shiʿism was introduced by Shah Ismaʿil by force, and many Islamic scholars and intellectuals in the former Timurid possessions who refused to convert were either executed or fled to the neighboring countries, especially to Mavarannahr. At the same time the latter was conquered by the Özbeks of Shïbani Khan (see map 25), who portrayed himself as the defender of Sunni orthodoxy. From this time, the political division between Mavarannahr and Khorasan became a religious and cultural division between Shiʿite Iran and Sunni Central Asia, which has remained down to the present time.



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23. CENTRAL ASIA AND IRAN IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY

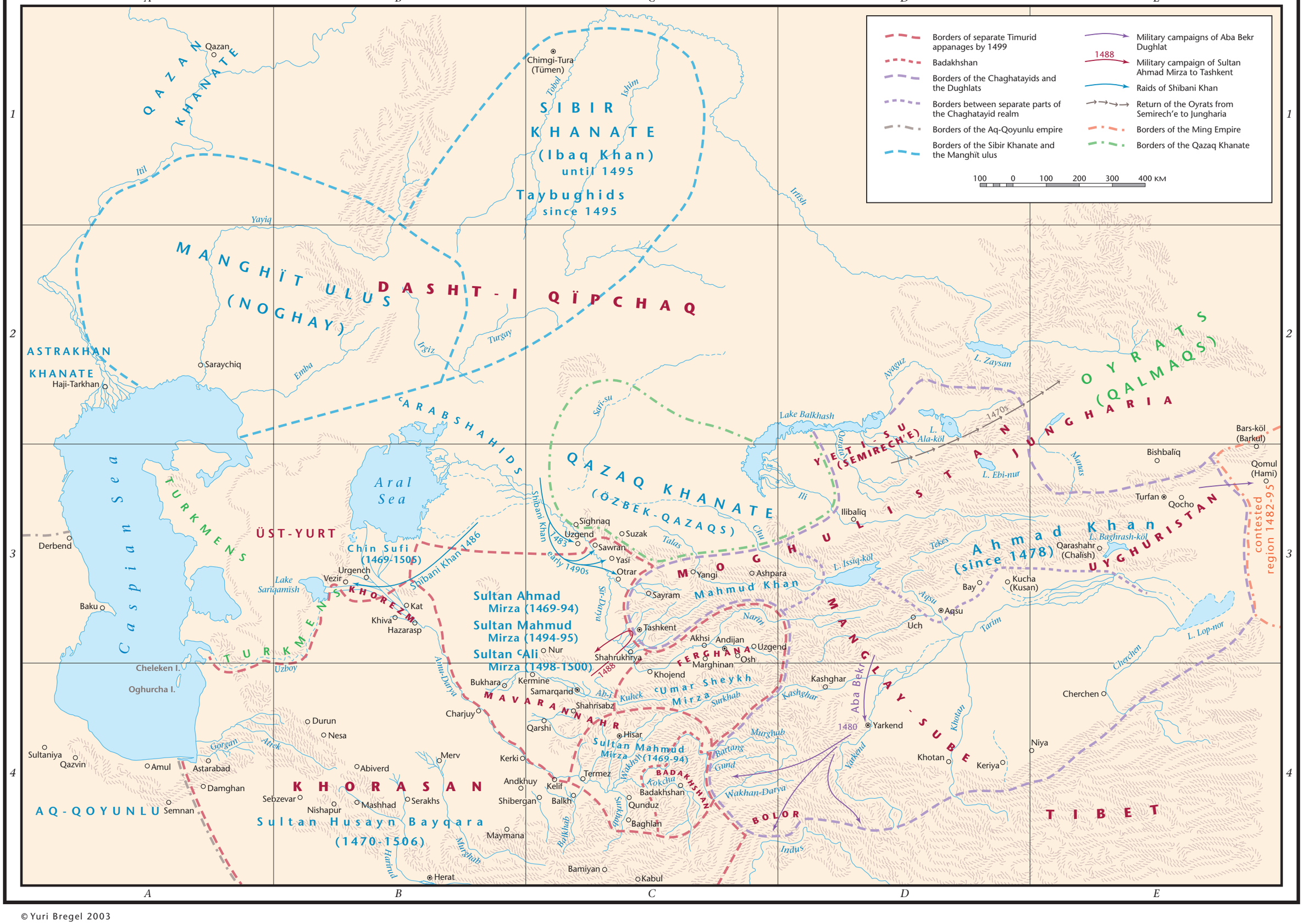
24. 1469-1499: THE TIMURIDS, MOGHULS, AND ÖZBEKS

After the death of Abu Saʿid in 1469 (see map 22) and a brief succession fight in Khorasan, Herat was captured by Sultan Husayn Bayqara, a great-great-grandson of Timur through ʿUmar Sheykh. At that time Khorasan was threatened by the Aq-Qoyunlu, who had replaced the Qara-Qoyunlu in western Iran just before the ill-fated campaign of Abu Saʿid. The Aq-Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan supported a Timurid contender, Yadigar Muhammad (great-grandson of Shahrukh), who briefly occupied Herat in 1470, but Husayn retook the city a month later, Yadigar Muhammad was executed, and the next year the Aq-Qoyunlu troops withdrew from Khorasan. After this, for 25 years, the political situation in the Timurid realm was relatively stable. The regions north of the Amu-Darya were divided among the three sons of Abu Saʿid, of whom Sultan Ahmad, the eldest, ruled Mavarannahr, Sultan Mahmud ruled Hisar, Chaghaniyan and Badakhshan, and ʿUmar Sheykh ruled Ferghana. The rule of Sultan Husayn Bayqara in Khorasan was a period marked by great cultural achievements. The court of Sultan Husayn in Herat, which continued the traditions of Shahrukh's court, became especially famous as a gathering place of artists and poets, the most prominent among whom were the Persian poet (and the head of the Naqshbandi Sufis of Khorasan) Jami, the Chaghatay poet Navaʾi (a friend and confidant of Sultan Husayn), and the painter Behzad. As distinct from Sultan Husayn, Sultan Ahmad was heavily under the influence of the Naqshbandi sheykh Khoja Ahrar, and the cultural life of Samarqand lacked the refinement of Herat. Thanks to the works of Navaʾi, the Chaghatay language (also known simply as *Turki*), which emerged in the early 15th century, became fully developed as the literary language of the Central Asian Turks. With the cessation of the wars of conquest, the Chaghatay tribes apparently became more or less sedentarized by the end of the Timurid period.

The relative stability of the Timurid realm ended in the mid-1490s. Sultan Ahmad died in 1494; his younger brother, Sultan Mahmud, replaced him in Samarqand, but died several months later; ʿUmar Sheykh also died in 1495. Sultan Mahmud was succeeded by his son, Sultan ʿAli, who was an incompetent ruler. After the departure of Sultan Mahmud to Samarqand, he was succeeded in Hisar by his amir Khusrawshah, who banished two sons of Sultan Mahmud and ruled this large appanage as an independent ruler. In Khorasan, Sultan Husayn's son Badiʿ az-Zaman, governor of Balkh, rebelled in 1497 and threatened Herat in 1498; Khusrawshah recognized his authority. Two other sons of Sultan Husayn rebelled in Merv and Abiverd, and Sultan Husayn had to deal with these feuds, even as the Özbeks were already beginning their invasion of Mavarannahr.

Moghulistan, where nomadic traditions were much stronger, often suffered from internal strife and political instability during the second half of the 15th century. After the death of Esen-Buqa Khan in 1462, the western part of Moghulistan was ruled by his elder brother Yunus (who had previously spent 28 years in exile in Iran, where he acquired a taste for sedentary culture), while the eastern part, from the city of Aqsu, was ruled by Esen-Buqa's son. Four years after the latter's death, in 1472, Yunus Khan established himself in Aqsu and united the country. The same year the Oyrats invaded Semirech'e and defeated Yunus on the banks of the Ili, but soon returned to Jungharia. In the early 1480s Yunus took advantage of the feuds between the Timurids Sultan Ahmad Mirza and ʿUmar Sheykh Mirza and annexed Sayram (1482) and Tashkent (1485). He began to live in these cities, and the majority of his nomadic subjects abandoned him. Yunus Khan died in 1487, after which the Chaghatayid khanate split into three independent parts: the western (and smallest) part under the elder son of Yunus, Mahmud Khan, who inherited his father's predilection for sedentary life; the eastern (and largest) part, from Aqsu to Turfan, still dominated by the nomads, under the younger son of Yunus, Ahmad Khan, who distinguished himself in the wars with the Oyrats, earning from them the nickname Alacha ("Killer"); and the third part, Manglay-Sube, or Kashgharia, where the Dughlat amir Aba Bekr, having established his capital in Yarkend, took over Kashghar after defeating Yunus Khan around 1480 and then extended his control into the Pamirs as far as Badakhshan in the west and into Ladakh as far as the borders of Kashmir in the south. By the end of the century all three of these rulers became deeply embroiled in the wars that resulted from the rise of Shïbani Khan among the Özbeks and his conflicts with the Özbek-Qazaqs.

In the Özbek Ulus the death of Abu'l-Khayr Khan in 1468 (see map 22) was immediately followed by the disintegration of his polity. By the end of the 1440s, the Manghïts had already withdrawn their support from Abu'l-Khayr, and around 1458 they supported another Chingisid, Yadigar Sultan (by that time the title *sultan* began to be used for Chingisid princes), who was proclaimed khan somewhere north of the Aral Sea. Yadigar and Abu'l-Khayr belonged to two different branches of the Shïbanids; in modern literature the branch of Abu'l-Khayr is called Abulkhayrids, while the branch of Yadigar is known as the Yadigarids or ʿArabshahids (from the name of the great-grandfather of Yadigar). A son of Yadigar, Bürge Sultan, was one of the Chingisids who opposed Shah Budaq, the son of Abu'l-Khayr. Other enemies of Shah Budaq included Ibaq (or Aybaq, a Shïbanid ruler of Tümen, in Western Siberia) and the Chingisid rulers of the Özbek-Qazaqs, Janibek Sultan and Kirey Sultan. Shah Budaq was killed by Ibaq, and the ranks of the Özbek-Qazaqs were swelled by the Özbek nomads who tried to escape the strife in the Özbek ulus. Kirey and Janibek returned to the Dasht-i Qïpchaq; Kirey was proclaimed khan, but for some time (probably simultaneously) Janibek was also recognized as khan. The Özbek-Qazaqs became the dominant force in the central and eastern Dasht-i Qïpchaq. In the 1470s Kirey was succeeded by his elder son, Burunduq. At the same time a son of Shah Budaq, Muhammad Shah-Bakht (the future Shïbani Khan), having been denied his patrimony in the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, tried to carve out for himself a territory in the middle course of the Sïr-Darya, the old power base of Abu'l-Khayr, in preparation for his conquest of Mavarannahr (see map 25).



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24. 1469-1499: THE TIMURIDS, MOGHULS, AND ÖZBEKS

25. THE ÖZBEK CONQUEST OF WESTERN TURKESTAN

The political decline of the Timurid states of Mavarannahr and Khorasan coincided with the emergence of a new nomadic grouping in the northern steppe, that of the Özbeks under Shïbani Khan, a grandson of Abu'l-Khayr (see map No. 22). His given name was Muhammad Shahi Bek (or Sheybek) and his nickname Shah-Bakht, while Shïbani was his pen name, derived from the name of his Jochid ancestor, Shïban; in the sources of the 16th century the given name and the pen name were frequently combined in one as "Muhammad Shïbani Khan." (The pen name was later often misunderstood as "Shaybani," by analogy with the name of a well-known Arab jurist of the 8th century.) After Abu'l-Khayr's death in 1468 and the ensuing feuds on the steppe, the majority of the Özbeks gradually recognized the authority of the rulers of the Özbek-Qazaqs (see map No. 22). Shïbani tried, unsuccessfully, to retain in his possession the region of Sïghnaq, but was compelled to leave it, and for two years found refuge in Bukhara, under the protection of a Timurid governor of the city, spending this time in study. Then he returned to the steppe along the middle course of the Sïr-Darya, where he lived the life of a freebooter, participating in the wars between the Timurids of Mavarannahr and the Chaghatayids of Moghulistan, and switching his allegiance from one side to another. The first incursion of Shïbani Khan into territory under Timurid control took place in 1486, when he raided north-western Khorezm (ruled by Chin Sufi, apparently a descendant of the Sufi dynasty that had ruled there in the 14th century) and briefly captured two towns in that region; from there he raided Astarabad. In 1488 he participated in the campaign of the Timurid ruler of Samarqand, Sultan Ahmad Mirza, against the Chaghatayid Mahmud Khan in Tashkent, when he suddenly switched sides, thus contributing to the crushing defeat of Sultan Ahmad Mirza. Only by 1500 was he able to attract to his side a significant number of Özbek tribesmen, with whom he could embark upon a systematic conquest of the sedentary areas ruled by the Timurids.

This conquest began with the capture of Samarqand, the Timurid capital, in 1500. Bukhara was conquered shortly after this. Zahir ad-Din Babur, son of ʿUmar Sheykh, captured Samarqand from the Özbeks the same year, but in 1501 Shïbani recaptured it after a long siege, and Babur retreated to Kabul. During the next six years, Özbek troops under Shïbani Khan and the *sultan*s, his relatives, conquered Tashkent, Ferghana, Khorezm (Urgench was captured in 1505 after a 10-month siege), and the mountainous regions on the right bank of the upper course of the Amu-Darya. After this Shïbani Khan crossed the Amu-Darya and in 1506 captured Balkh. Sultan Husayn belatedly set out from Herat against the Özbeks, but died on his way, and his amirs proclaimed his two sons, who were mortal enemies, as co-rulers. Under these circumstances Shïbani Khan had no difficulty in defeating the Timurids. In 1507 he crossed the Amu-Darya again and quickly occupied Herat, putting an end to the rule of the Timurids of Khorasan. In the same year the Özbeks defeated the troops of the Timurid Abu'l-Muhsin Mirza at Jam, and in the following year they occupied the rest of Khorasan as far west as Astarabad and made raids south to Kerman and Qandahar. The year 1508 marked the high point of the Özbek expansion.

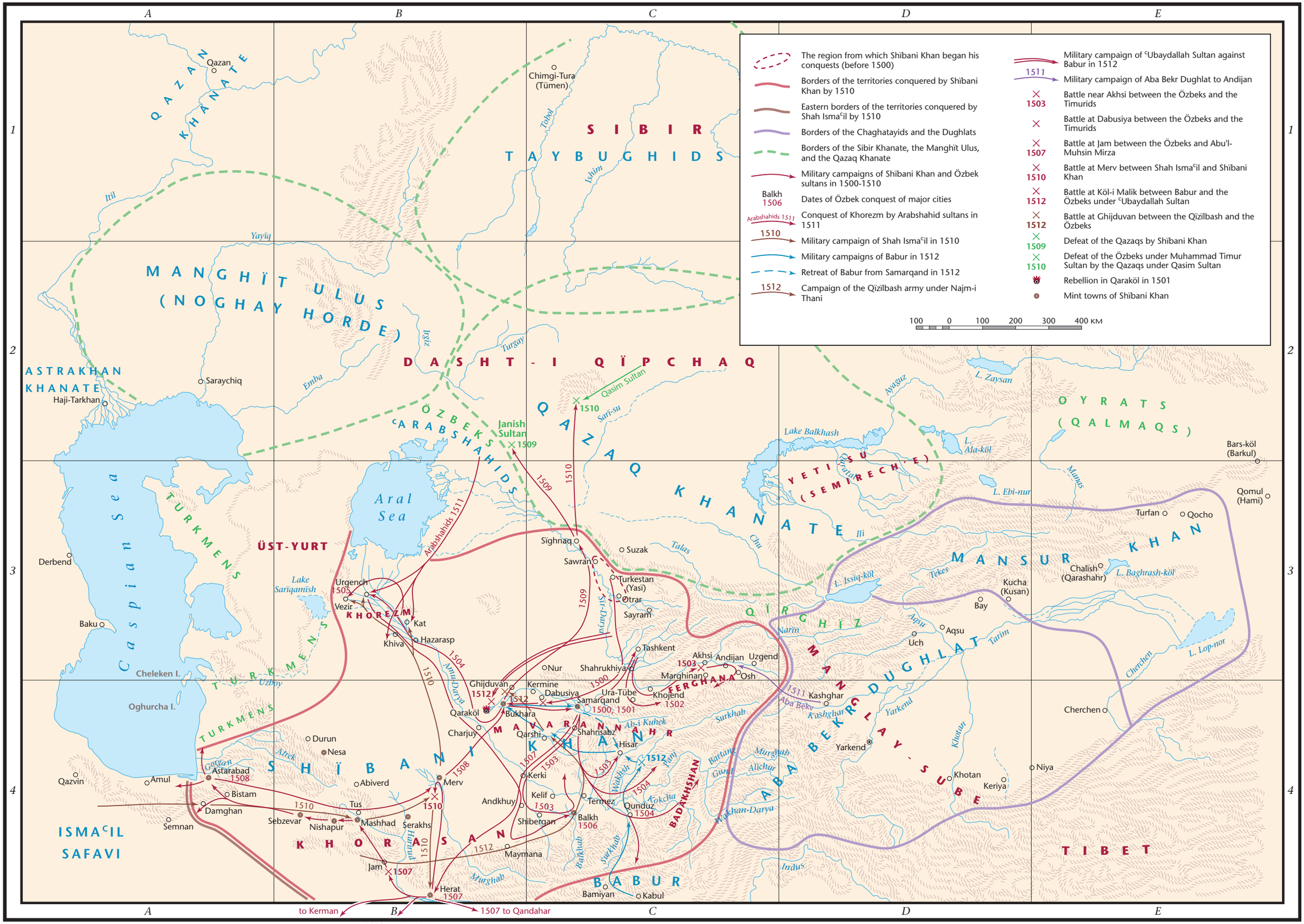
The conquest of the sedentary regions of Central Asia by the Özbeks brought about the revival of the Mongol political tradition as established after the time of Chingis Khan, according to which only the members of the Chingisid clan could be the supreme sovereign rulers with the title of *khan*; this was combined with the more ancient Inner Asian nomadic custom, according to which the state was considered the common patrimony of the ruling clan, the eldest member of which would succeed to the throne, while each of the other members could claim a share of this patrimony which would be assigned to him as an appanage. The Özbek conquest also revived or strengthened some other nomadic political customs, but they were combined with the preservation of much of the civil administration inherited from the Timurids, which was mostly in the hands of the Tajik bureaucracy, as well as with the continuation of some cultural traditions developed under the Timurids.

The conquest of the Timurid states by Shïbani Khan was not just a military campaign: it was a mass migration of a part (probably a smaller part) of the nomadic Özbeks from the Qïpchaq steppes southward, to the sedentary areas of Western Turkestan; according to some (largely hypothetical) modern estimates, the total number of these Özbeks was between 240,000 and 360,000. Their departure from the Dasht-i Qïpchaq left the northern steppes in the hands of the rulers of the Özbek-Qazaqs, the descendants of Urus Khan (through Kirey and Janibek). Very soon the dynastic and political differences between the nomads ruled by the descendants of Shïban, who left the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, and the nomads ruled by the descendants of Urus, who remained in the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, became an ethnic division, and the Özbek-Qazaqs came to be known as simply Qazaqs already in the time of Shïbani Khan.

The strengthened Qazaqs posed a serious threat to the northern borders of the empire of Shïbani Khan, and Shïbani responded to their repeated raids on the Özbek territories in the middle course of the Sïr-Darya and Mavarannahr with several military campaigns intended to punish the Qazaqs and eliminate their threat. A major campaign (the third) took place in the winter of 1509, when Shïbani Khan defeated two Qazaq sultans to the north of the Sïr-Darya, plundered the Qazaq winter encampments, and returned with numerous prisoners. The fourth campaign took place at the beginning of 1510, and in it the Özbeks, under the command of several sultans, were thoroughly defeated by the Qazaqs under Qasim Sultan, the son of Janibek. Shïbani retreated to Samarqand and redistributed some of the appanages among the members of the royal clan, having replaced the sultans whom he saw as the culprits for this debacle. This caused resentment among the sultans, and this could have contributed to the defeat and fall of Shïbani Khan later in the same year.

In the fall of 1510 Shïbani received news that the new Shiʿite shah of Iran, Ismaʿil Safavi, with his Qïzïlbash troops (see map 23), had begun an offensive from the west against the Özbeks in Khorasan. Shïbani rushed from Herat, without waiting for reinforcements that were to be brought by the other members of the dynasty, and encountered Shah Ismaʿil near Merv. On the 29th of November, 1510, the Özbek army was routed in this battle and Shïbani Khan killed. This catastrophe resulted in the loss not only of Khorasan, but, for a short time, of all of Shïbani Khan's conquests. In addition to Mavarannahr, Khorezm was also captured by the Qïzïlbash. After the battle at Merv the Özbek sultans elected as khan Söyünch Khoja (or Söyünch Muhammad), an uncle of Shïbani Khan. In the meantime Shah Ismaʿil occupied Herat. After this, Babur set out from Kabul for Mavarannahr in 1511, defeated the Özbeks near Pul-i Sangin on the Wakhsh, and captured Bukhara; the Özbeks then abandoned Mavarannahr and Ferghana and retreated across the Sïr-Darya, and Babur entered Samarqand. However, Babur caused discontent among the local population by accepting Shah Ismaʿil as his suzerain and switching to the Shiʿite creed. Six months later, in the spring of 1512, ʿUbaydallah Sultan, Shïbani Khan's nephew, crossed the Sïr-Darya and defeated Babur at lake Köl-i Malik, near Bukhara; after this Babur could not hold out in Samarqand and retreated to Hisar. In the fall of 1512 a senior amir of Shah Ismaʿil, Yar Ahmad, nicknamed Najm-i Thani, set out with a large army against the Özbeks and was joined by Babur. He took the city of Qarshi by storm, massacred its garrison and population, and marched to Ghijduvan, where his troops were routed by the Özbeks and he himself was killed, while Babur fled again to Hisar and from there to Qunduz and Kabul; in 1526 he conquered Dehli and founded the Timurid dynasty in India which became known in the West as the "Great Mughals." The Özbeks recovered Mavarannahr. Earlier, in 1511, the ʿArabshahid sultans came to Khorezm from the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, destroyed the Qïzïlbash garrisons and established another Özbek khanate there, under their own dynasty.

The Özbek conquest not only put an end to Timurid rule in Mavarannahr and Khorasan, but also strongly affected the Chaghatayid khanate. It lost to the Özbeks all its territories in the west: Turkestan, Tashkent, and Ferghana, while after the death of Ahmad Khan in 1504, Mirza Aba Bekr, the Dughlat ruler of Manglay-Sube (Kashgharia), captured Aqsu (the winter residence of Ahmad Khan). After the killing of Mahmud Khan with his sons near Khojend by Shïbani Khan in 1508, the Chaghatayid khans retained under their authority only Turfan and the eastern part of Moghulistan, which was ruled by Mansur Khan, the elder son of Ahmad Khan. The situation here changed again in 1514 (see map No. 26).



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25. THE ÖZBEK CONQUEST OF WESTERN TURKESTAN

26. THE FIRST HALF OF THE 16TH CENTURY (1510s-1550s): THE ÖZBEK KHANATES, THE QAZAQS, AND THE MOGHULS

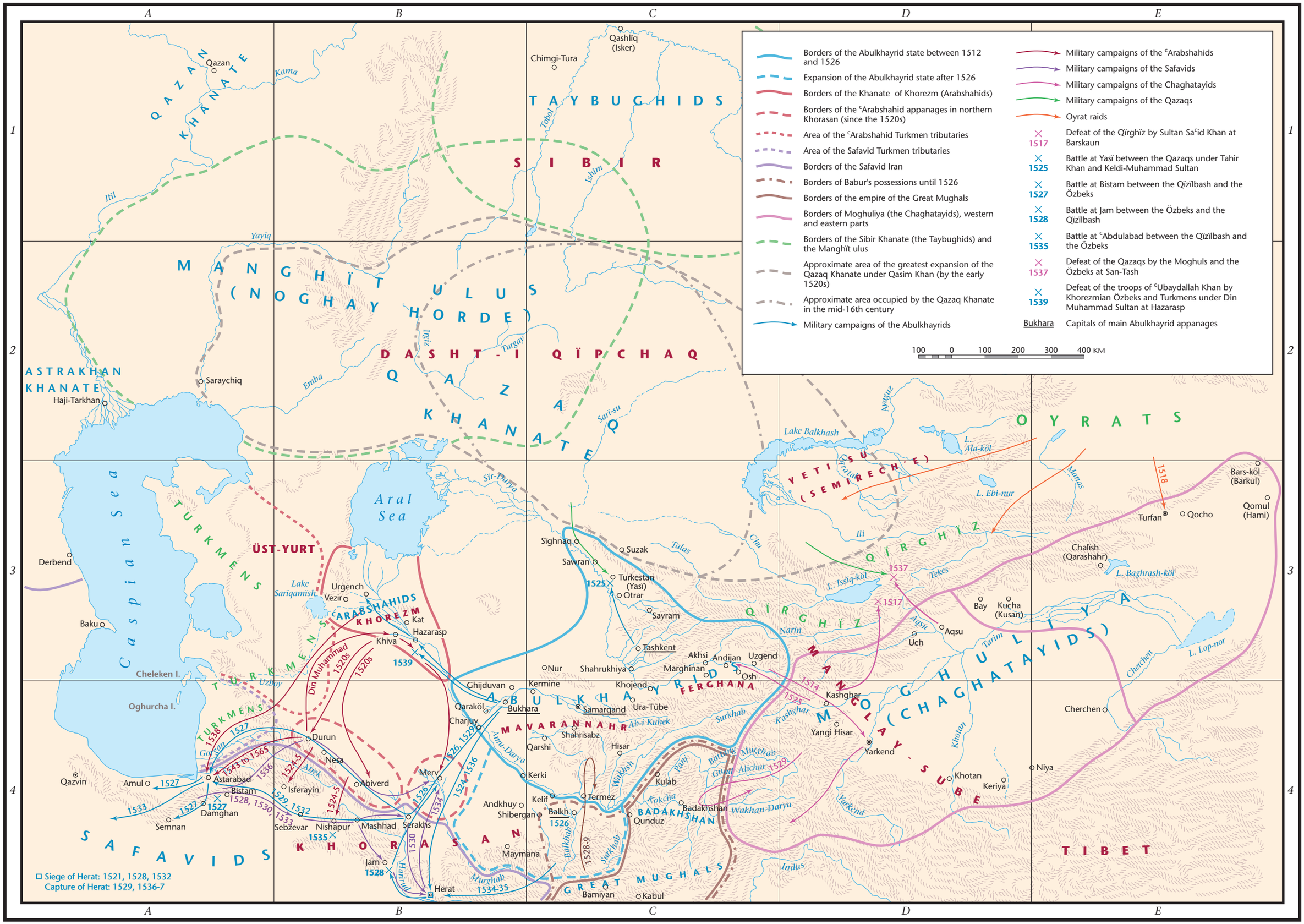
After their final victory over Babur and the Qïzïlbash in 1512, the Özbeks, at their *quriltay* in 1512, elected as their supreme khan an uncle of Shïbani, Köchkünji Muhammad, who was the eldest in the Abulkhayrid clan. The territory conquered by the Özbeks was divided into appanages assigned to the Abulkhayrid princes (sultans); the four most important appanages were held by the sultans representing the four main branches of the Abulkhayrids, descendants of the four sons of Abu'l-Khayr: Bukhara was given to Shïbani's nephew, ʿUbaydallah Sultan, representing the branch of Shah Budaq (Shïbani's father); Samarqand, which was considered the capital, was first assigned jointly to Köchkünji and Shïbani's son, Muhammad Timur, but after the latter's death in 1514 it was left to Köchkünji; Miyankal (the region in the Zerafshan basin west of Samarqand) was given to Janibek, son of another uncle of Shïbani, Khoja Muhammad; and Tashkent was given to Söyünch Khoja (also called Söyünch Muhammad or Söyünjük). The authority of the supreme khan was largely nominal, and each appanage ruler pursued his independent policy in relations with neighbors and minted silver coins in his own name. There was no single capital: the supreme khan would remain in the capital of his appanage. In the 1520s and 1530s ʿUbaydallah Sultan enjoyed special influence as a successful military leader, who was able to unite under his command all appanage holders in joint military campaigns against Safavid Iran, so that he was often given the title of *khan* (he actually was the supreme khan in 1533-1539). Under his leadership the Özbeks invaded Khorasan five times, in 1524-25, 1526-28, 1529-31, 1532-33, and 1535-38, and were sometimes able to occupy the entire province as far west as Astarabad and Semnan. Herat was besieged three times and captured by ʿUbaydallah twice, in 1529 and 1536. But the only decisive battle, near Jam in 1528, was won by the Qïzïlbash under Shah Tahmasb (before that, in 1527, another battle, near Bistam, was won by the Qïzïlbash governor of Damghan), and thereafter the Özbeks had to retreat before Tahmasb every time he came with his army to liberate the province. The only permanent acquisition in Khorasan made by the Abulkhayrids was Balkh and its province, between the Hindukush and the Amu-Darya, which was captured from a governor of Babur by Kisten Qara Sultan, son of Janibek Sultan, in 1526; after this conquest, Balkh became the center of the appanage of Janibek, as well as an important area of Özbek settlement and a springboard for later Özbek raids and invasions of Khorasan. In 1549 the Mughal emperor Humayun led an expedition from Kabul toward Balkh, but his army was defeated by the Özbek sultans. During the first half of the 16th century the Abulkhayrid rulers of the appanages, despite occasional conflicts, generally maintained peaceful relations and some cooperation with one another. ʿUbaydallah, who was the supreme khan in 1533-1539, was not only an indefatigable warrior, but was also considered an ideal Muslim sovereign; he knew Persian and Turkic poetry well, strictly observed Islamic law, and wrote poetry and Sufi treatises himself, like his uncle. But his attempt to restore the Abulkhayrid state to the size it had in the time of Shïbani Khan was a failure.

The ʿArabshahids, who took over Khorezm in 1511 (see map 25) under the leadership of the two sons of Bürge Sultan, Ilbars and Balbars, were joined by other members of the clan and by some Özbek tribes that were hostile to the Özbek supporters of the Abulkhayrids. They subjugated the Turkmen tribes that were nomadizing on the Üst-Yurt and in the Qara-qum, west and south of Khorezm, and after the death of Shah Ismaʿil in 1523 they occupied the oases of northern Khorasan, along the Kopet-Dagh mountains. The country was divided into appanages of the sultans, with the eldest member of the clan usually elected as a khan. The seat of the first khans was Vezir (until ca. 1518), and then, for almost a century, Urgench. A sultan's appanage would often include a region in Khorezm (which was called "the side of the water," i.e. the Amu-Darya) and a region in Khorasan (which was called "the side of the mountain"), as well as a Turkmen tribe in the steppe. A partial redistribution of the appanages occured with the accession of each new khan. Throughout the 16th century the khanate was a confederation of practically independent principalities. The ʿArabshahids were divided into four sub-clans, and conflicts and wars among them resulted in the elimination of some of them, until, in the second half of the century, only one branch of the dynasty could claim the title of khan.

Very soon after their establishment in Khorezm, the Özbeks under the ʿArabshahids began to raid Khorasan and Astarabad, sometimes in cooperation with the Abulkhayrids. Especially active in these raids were Din Muhammad Sultan, whose "mountain-side" appanage was in Nesa and Abiverd, and ʿAli Sultan, whose appanage was in Durun. In 1538 the Abulkhayrids interfered in the feuds among the ʿArabshahids, and the Özbeks of Mavarannahr, under ʿUbaydallah Khan, invaded and occupied Khorezm. But the next year the Khorezmian Özbeks under Din Muhammad Sultan, who came from his appanage supported by a Qïzïlbash detachment, routed the Abulkhayrids in a battle near Hazarasp, and the Abulkhayrid troops abandoned Khorezm. The alliance between the Khorezmian Özbeks and the Qïzïlbash was short-lived: by 1543 Din Muhammad Sultan resumed his raids into Khorasan, and the ʿArabshahids continued these raids for two decades.

In the eastern part of Central Asia the rule of Aba Bekr Dughlat in Yarkend came to an end in 1514. The younger brother of Mansur Khan, Sultan Saʿid, fled from Mansur in 1508 and found refuge with Babur in Kabul, and in 1510, when Babur advanced against Mavarannahr, Sultan Saʿid came to Ferghana, which had been captured from the Özbeks by some Moghul amirs. Aba Bekr attacked him at Andijan and was defeated, but when the Özbeks reannexed Andijan in 1514, Sultan Saʿid tried his luck against Aba Bekr and won: he captured Kashghar and Yarkend and pursued Aba Bekr as far as Ladakh. After this Sultan Saʿid reached an agreement with Mansur, which recognized Mansur as supreme ruler, but effectively divided the Chaghatayid khanate into two independent parts, one with its capital in Yarkend, and another with its capital in Turfan. By that time a Turkic nomadic people called Qïrghïz was contesting the regions in the Tien-Shan, north of the Tarim basin, with the Moghuls. The origin and earlier history of these Qïrghïz and the question of their possible connection with the ancient Qïrghïz of the Yenisey are problems that are still not solved in the scholarly literature (see map 39). Some contemporary Muslim authors claim that the Qïrghïz were not Muslims, but a Qïrghïz leader named Muhammad appears in accounts of the events of the first quarter of the 16th century. In 1517 Sultan Saʿid Khan attacked and defeated the Qïrghïz at Barskaun, near Lake Issïq-köl. Sultan Saʿid also raided Bolor, Ladakh, and Kashmir; when he died during an invasion of Ladakh in 1533, his son ʿAbd ar-Rashid became khan of the western khanate. He broke the Moghul-Qazaq alliance which had existed since the mid-15th century and allied himself with the Özbeks under ʿUbaydallah Khan.

In the Qazaq khanate supreme authority passed in 1511 from Burunduq Khan, son of Kirey, to Qasim Khan, son of Janibek; under him the khanate expanded westward up to the Yayïq (and probably even up to the Volga), as he subdued the Manghïts (or a large part of them). But after the death of Qasim Khan (around 1521) his son Tahir lost these territories again to the Manghïts by 1523; in 1525 Tahir Khan was defeated near Yasï by the son of Söyünjük, Keldi-Muhammad Sultan, and retreated to the Qïrghïz territory, in Semirech'e, where he died in the early 1530s. After this the Manghïts dominated the western and central Dasht-i Qïpchaq until the 1540s, and some Qazaq tribes were subdued by them; the Taybughids, tribal chieftains in Western Siberia, who had overthrown the Shïbanid Ibaq in 1497, did not now interfere in the affairs of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq. By the mid-1530s an actual (though probably not formal) anti-Qazaq alliance formed among the Manghïts, the ʿArabshahids, the Chaghatayids, and the Abulkhayrids. Around 1537 ʿUbaydallah Khan and ʿAbd ar-Rashid Khan undertook a joint expedition against the Qazaqs, which brought about the defeat of the Qazaqs near the San-Tash pass, east of Issïq-köl; in this battle, reportedly, the khan of the Qazaqs named Tughum and 37 Qazaq sultans perished. This resulted in the recovery by the Moghuls of some pastures that had previously been lost to the Qazaqs.



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26. THE FIRST HALF OF THE 16TH CENTURY (1510s-1550s): THE ÖZBEK KHANATES, THE QAZAQS, AND THE MOGHULS

27. THE SECOND HALF OF THE 16TH CENTURY: ʿABDALLAH KHAN, THE ʿARABSHAHIDS, AND THE DASHT-I QÏPCHAQ

After 1550 the Abulkhayrid appanages were engaged in almost incessant wars with one another, which continued for three decades. These wars resulted in the elimination, one by one, of three competing clans of appanage holders: first, the descendants of Shah Budaq in central Mavarannahr, and then the descendants of Köchkünji as well as those of Söyünjük. The winner in these wars was the clan of Janibek. ʿAbdallah b. Iskandar, a grandson of Janibek, who initially ruled the small appanage of Miyankal, captured Bukhara in 1557, with the support of the Naqshbandi sheykhs of the city, and made it his capital. After the death of Nawruz Ahmad (Baraq) Khan b. Söyünjük in Tashkent in 1556, ʿAbdallah's uncle Pir-Muhammad was proclaimed khan in Balkh, but ʿAbdallah, taking advantage of an insurrection in Balkh in 1561, had his father, Iskandar, proclaimed the supreme khan of the Özbeks. The latter remained a figurehead, while ʿAbdallah became the actual ruler; in 1583, after the death of Iskandar, ʿAbdallah became khan. In a long series of wars that preceded his elevation to the position of khan, ʿAbdallah annexed all the appanages, and their rulers were mostly killed or executed in the process, often with their entire families. The most stubborn resistance was offered by Baba Sultan, son of Nawruz Ahmad and the ruler of Tashkent and Turkestan, who was killed in 1582; in the course of his last campaign against Baba Sultan ʿAbdallah penetrated deep into the Dasht-i Qïpchaq and reached the Ulu-tagh. After abolishing the appanages of other branches of the Abulkhayrids and creating a single unified state (in which there were still some appanages, but ruled by the members of ʿAbdallah's own family), ʿAbdallah Khan began an expansion beyond the borders of this state, first to Badakhshan and then to Khorasan. In Badakhshan ʿAbdallah intervened in the feuds between the Timurid ruler Sulayman Mirza and the supporters of his grandson, and in 1584, in a campaign that lasted ten months, he conquered this province (which at that time included also Qunduz, Taleqan, and Kulab) and annexed it to the Balkh appanage held by his son ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. In the conquest of Khorasan ʿAbdallah Khan took advantage of the difficulties experienced at that time by Safavid Iran, both internally and in the war with the Ottomans. The Khorasan campaign of ʿAbdallah began with the conquest of Herat, which was stormed in 1588 after a nine-month siege. The chief role in this conquest belonged to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who also commanded the troops in all subsequent conquests in Khorasan, while his father did not participate in these campaigns. Instead, ʿAbdallah Khan undertook the conquest of Khorezm in 1593 (a campaign he had briefly attempted for the first time in 1576), causing the ʿArabshahid Hajim Khan to flee to Iran, and again, after a rebellion, in 1595-96. He also invaded Kashghar and Yarkend in 1594-95, but without lasting results. In the campaigns in Iran that took place after the conquest of Herat, an important role was played by the three princes who had come to Bukhara from Haji-Tarkhan (Astrakhan') after its conquest by Ivan the Terrible of Moscow in 1556: Din Muhammad Sultan and his two brothers, Baqi Muhammad and Vali Muhammad, from among the descendants of Toqay-Timur (the thirteenth son of Jochi). During the ten years following the conquest of Herat, 1588-98, they conquered Kuhistan and Sistan and raided Fars.

During the conquest of Khorasan, a conflict developed between ʿAbdallah Khan and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who claimed the same status, as an actual khan, that his father had had before under Iskandar Khan. The intervention of the ʿ*ulama* prevented open war, but the Qazaqs, under Tavakkul Khan, used this opportunity to invade Mavarannahr in 1598. They defeated the army sent against them by ʿAbdallah between Tashkent and Samarqand, and when the khan set out against them himself, he died in Samarqand at the beginning of the campaign. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, having become khan, immediately began to kill his uncles and cousins and to execute his father's amirs, but in June 1598 he was assassinated by a group of amirs. An interregnum followed that lasted into 1599, when a new dynasty came to power—the Ashtarkhanids, or Janids (see map 28).

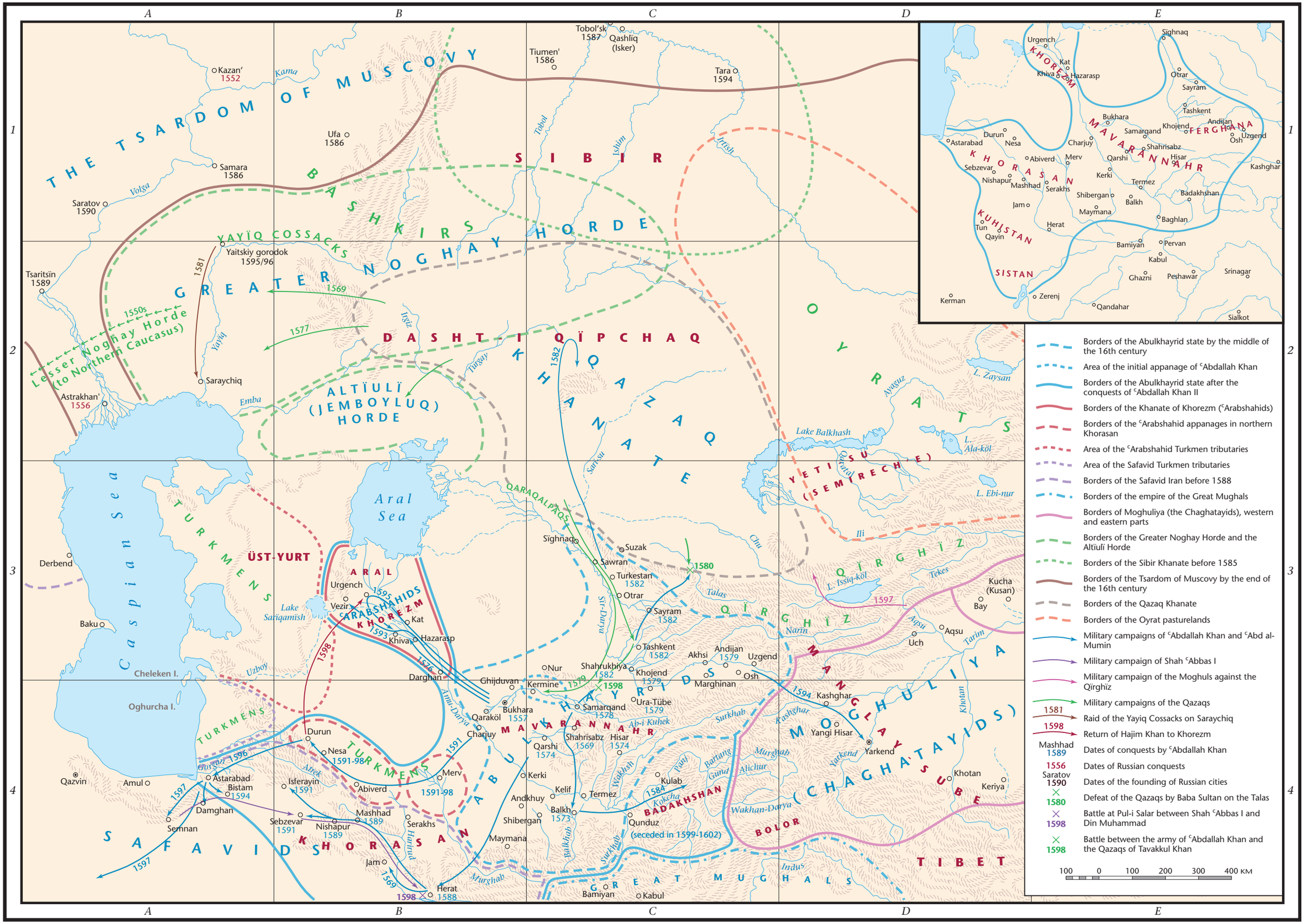
The reign of ʿAbdallah Khan was distinguished not only by his conquests and the unification of the Özbek state, but also by his activity that favored the development of the economy: an important monetary reform, the construction of irrigation systems, roads, caravanserays, cisterns, etc. He also built many other public buildings, such as mosques and madrasas. Until the 20th century popular tradition in Mavarannahr ascribed most of the old preserved buildings either to Timur or to ʿAbdallah Khan. During his reign the Naqshbandi Sufi sheykhs, especially the Juybari family of Bukhara, became very influential.

In Khorezm the ʿArabshahid khan during most of the second half of the 16th century was Haji Muhammad (Hajim); his rule (since 1559/60) followed the elimination of all other rival branches of the dynasty. The appanage of Merv was ruled by Din Muhammad's grandson, Nurum (Nur Muhammad) Sultan, who inherited also Nesa, Abiverd, and Durun after the death of ʿAli Sultan. In 1591 Hajim Khan took over his appanage, and Nurum applied to ʿAbdallah Khan for help, but the latter, having captured Merv, kept it for himself. The expansion of ʿAbdallah Khan caused the ʿArabshahids to seek a rapprochement with Iran, and they received some assistance from the Safavids. Shah ʿAbbas I set out for the reconquest of Khorasan after the death of ʿAbdallah Khan; in August 1598 he routed the army of Din Muhammad Sultan (the Janid) in the battle at Pul-i Salar, near Herat, and gradually retook Khorasan. At the same time Hajim Khan returned to Khorezm and quickly recovered it. Badakhshan also seceded from the Abulkhayrids in 1599. Thus, all the conquests of ʿAbdallah Khan were lost by the end of the century.

In the second half of the 16th century important changes took place in the Dasht-i Qïpchaq. A new powerful neighbor emerged on its western frontiers: the Tsardom of Muscovy. Tsar Ivan the Terrible conquered the successors of the Golden Horde in the Volga basin: the Qazan Khanate in 1552 and the Haji-Tarkhan (Astrakhan') Khanate in 1556. Soon after that Russian freebooters, the Cossacks, began to settle in the middle course of the Yayïq and to raid the Manghïts (the Noghay Horde). In 1573 the Cossacks raided Saraychiq, the capital of the Great Noghay Horde, and in 1581 they destroyed Saraychiq completely and burned it down; later the Moscow government built a town named Yaitskiy gorodok (the future Ural'sk) in the middle course of the Yayïq. The Manghïts were weakened by internal conflicts and the migration of one group of them to the northern Caucasus, to the Lesser Noghay Horde; the Greater Noghay Horde (east of the Volga) came under the increasing control of Muscovy. At the same time there was growing pressure on the Manghïts from the invigorated Qazaq Khanate. Since ca. 1559 the khan of the Qazaqs was Haqq Nazar, a grandson of Qasim Khan. Although before his accession he had been a Manghït protégé, as khan he pursued an independent policy. Taking advantage of the weakening of the Manghïts, Haqq Nazar raided their territory several times and even crossed the Yayïq. In the 1570s he also became an ally of ʿAbdallah Khan in his wars with the ruler of Tashkent, Baba Sultan, and in 1580 he perished in a battle against Baba Sultan near the Talas. After Haqq Nazar, his cousin, Tavakkul Sultan (recognized as khan not later than 1590) played a prominent role among the Qazaqs. First he served ʿAbdallah Khan, and in 1582 he killed Baba Sultan and brought his head to ʿAbdallah, but the following year he left ʿAbdallah for the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, and then became ʿAbdallah's enemy, raiding his territory several times and attempting to capture the cities on the Sïr-Darya. Tavakkul also had a strong influence on the affairs of the eastern Chaghatayid khanate in Turfan. After the death of ʿAbdallah's son ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (see above) in 1598, the Qazaqs under Tavakkul invaded Mavarannahr for the second time and captured Sayram, Turkestan, Tashkent, Andijan, and Samarqand, but were stopped at Bukhara; Tavakkul was wounded and died in Tashkent, after which a peace was concluded and the Qazaqs retained Tashkent, Sayram, and Turkestan.

In Western Siberia the Qazaqs had a hostile neighbor after 1563, when the Taybughid beks, who ruled this region from 1497 (see map 26), were overthrown by Kuchum, a Shïbanid descendant of Ibaq. And after the Sibir Khanate was destroyed by the Russians between 1582 and 1598, Muscovy became a neighbor of the Qazaqs from the north as well.

The anti-Qazaq alliance concluded between the Chaghatayids and the Özbeks in the 1530s also continued during the rule in Yarkend of the son of ʿAbd ar-Rashid Khan, ʿAbd al-Karim (1559-1591), but it fell apart after ʿAbdallah Khan's raid on Kashghar and Yarkend. By the end of the reign of ʿAbd al-Karim the Qïrghïz tribes, pressed from the north first by the Qazaqs and then by the Oyrats, occupied the entire northern Tien-Shan and from there penetrated into the Ferghana and Alay valleys.



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27. THE SECOND HALF OF THE 16TH CENTURY: ʿABDALLAH KHAN, THE ʿARABSHAHIDS, AND THE DASHT-I QÏPCHAQ

28. 17TH CENTURY: THE ASHTARKHANIDS, KHOREZM, THE QAZAQS, AND THE JUNGHARS

The new dynasty that came to power in Bukhara in 1599 is called by some modern scholars the Toqay-Timurids, from the name of its ancestor—Toqay-Timur, the thirteenth son of Jochi, or the Janids, from the name of Jani Muhammad Khan, the first ruler of this dynasty, or the Ashtarkhanids, from the name of the city of Haji-Tarkhan (Astrakhan'), from which the founders of this dynasty came in the 1550s (see map 27); in Central Asian sources, however, only the latter name is found. The Ashtarkhanids ruled over a much reduced territory in comparison with that of the Abulkhayrids: all the conquests of ʿAbdallah Khan (Khorasan, Khorezm, and since the 1650s Badakhshan) were lost, and the regions in the middle part of the Sïr-Darya basin (with the cities of Turkestan, Sayram, and Tashkent) and the eastern part of the Ferghana valley (with Andijan) mostly belonged to Qazaq khans and sultans, who ruled them sometimes as Ashtarkhanid vassals, but more often independently. In 1612 the khanate was divided into two parts, Mavarannahr, with its capital in Bukhara, and Balkh with its region. For thirty years, 1612-1642, the ruler of Bukhara was Imam-Quli Khan and the ruler of Balkh was his brother Nadhr Muhammad; the latter was also given the title of khan (or "little khan," as distinct from the "great khan" in Bukhara), and he was an independent, or almost independent, ruler. Later Balkh was the appanage of the heir-apparent. Thus the Ashtarkhanid khanate during most of the 17th century was actually a double khanate, consisting of Bukhara (Mavarannahr) and Balkh. Both Mavarannahr and Balkh were divided into smaller subappanages given to the Ashtarkhanid princes, but the princes did not play as important a role as under the Abulkhayrids. In the second half of the 17th century the chieftains (amirs) of the Özbek tribes gradually acquired a greater role in state affairs, and this weakened the central authority. But under Imam-Quli Khan the Ashtarkhanid state still enjoyed relative political and economic stability. In 1641 Imam-Quli Khan abdicated and left for Mekka, where he later died, and he was succeeded by Nadhr Muhammad. Nadhr Muhammad tried to introduce a land reform (involving the conversion of land grants to the amirs into cash grants to be collected from the treasury), which caused strong opposition. The amirs of Bukhara were also unhappy about the prominent role of the amirs he brought with him from Balkh. In 1645 a coalition of Bukharan amirs persuaded the khan's eldest son, ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, who ruled Samarqand, to take Bukhara by force; he was proclaimed khan, and Nadhr Muhammad returned to Balkh and ruled it until 1651, when he stepped down, went for Mekka, and died on his way there. From 1651 to 1681 the Ashtarkhanid state was again a double khanate, with ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan ruling in Bukhara and his brother Subhan-Quli Khan ruling in Balkh, but in 1681 ʿAbd al-ʿAziz abdicated in favor of Subhan-Quli, who ruled the reunified khanate from Bukhara until 1702.

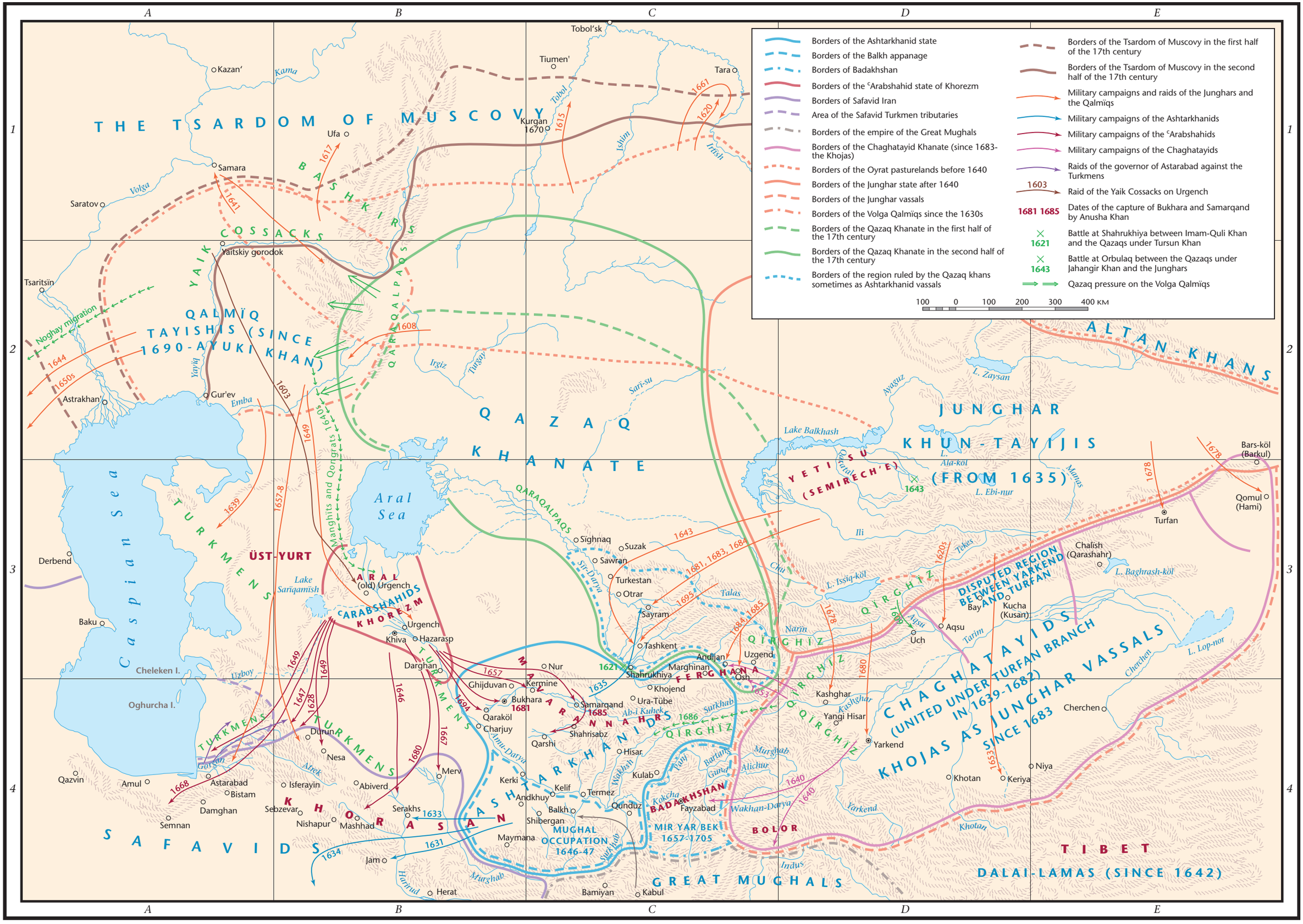
During the first half of the 17th century the Ashtarkhanids tried to continue an aggressive policy both against the Safavids in Khorasan and against the ʿArabshahids in Khorezm. In the 1630s they conducted several large-scale raids on Khorasan, but after ʿAbd al-ʿAziz became khan mostly peaceful relations with Iran were maintained. From 1642 to 1645 Nadhr Muhammad Khan installed his governor in Khorezm, upon the request of one party in the civil war that erupted in Khorezm at that time, but then the Bukharans were defeated and forced to leave Khorezm. Later the Khanate of Bukhara was repeatedly subjected to invasions and raids by its neighbors. In 1646 a Mughal army invaded the province of Balkh, but the next year it had to retreat. Badakhshan, which was recovered by the Ashtarkhanids in 1602, became independent in 1657 under its amir Yar Bek and repelled the attempts of the Ashtarkhanids and the Özbek amirs of Qunduz to subdue it by force. And after 1657 Mavarannahr suffered from several major invasions of the Khorezmian Özbeks under the ʿArabshahids (see below). The Khanate of Bukhara entered a period of slow economic and political decline. State revenues diminished, and the government tried to compensate for the losses by successive debasements of the currency, which, however, negatively affected trade and only exacerbated the fiscal difficulties.

In Khorezm (where the city of Khiva finally became the capital between 1603 and 1622) the first half of the 17th century was a period of civil strife, during which one member of the ʿArabshahid dynasty, Isfandiyar Sultan, drew his support from the Turkmens, while his brother, Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan, was supported by the Özbeks. Isfandiyar prevailed and ruled until 1642; Abu'l-Ghazi spent 11 years in captivity in Iran, while the Özbeks who did not recognize Isfandiyar concentrated in the Aral, as the Amu-Darya delta region became known. After the death of Isfandiyar in 1642, the country was briefly governed by a Bukharan governor sent by Nadhr Muhammad Khan, until Abu'l-Ghazi fled from Iran and liberated Khorezm from Bukharan occupation in 1645. After this Abu'l-Ghazi embarked upon an aggressive policy aimed at Khorezm's neighbors. In the 1640s he fought several Turkmen tribes, banished them from Khorezm, and pursued some of them down to the Tejen and northern Khorasan. In the mid-1650s Abu'l-Ghazi carried out several raids against Mavarannahr, causing great destruction. Even more devastating were the invasions of Mavarannahr by Abu'l-Ghazi's son Anusha in the years 1681-1685, during which he even captured Bukhara and Samarqand on separate occasions. At the end of the last, unsuccessful, campaign Anusha was overthrown by his amirs, and his death was followed by a long period of instability and internal feuds in Khorezm, in the course of which the ʿArabshahid dynasty was extinguished.

In the political history of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq in the 17th century, the dominant factor was the expansion of the Oyrats. Since the end of the 16th century, after the destruction of the Sibir Khanate by the Russians, some Oyrat groups had begun to nomadize in Western Siberia and the north of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, in the basins of the Irtïsh, Ishim, and Tobol rivers. In the early 17th century these north-western groups of the Oyrats gradually moved farther west, separated from those who remained in Jungharia, and became known as Qalmïqs. In 1630-31 they invaded the upper Emba and Yayïq regions; by 1640 most of the Noghays (Manghïts) had fled from them across the Volga (though some migrated to Khorezm), and the Qalmïqs occupied their former territory and then began raiding Khorezm, the Turkmens of Mangïshlaq, and, in 1657-58, even the border regions of Iran. The Oyrats who remained in the east in 1635 formed a confederation that became known as the Junghars (lit. "left wing") under a ruler with the title *khun-tayiji* (or *khung-tayiji*). By then, all the Oyrats had adopted Buddhism. The first ruler of the Junghars, Batur Khun-tayiji, repeatedly raided Qazaq territories, only once, in 1643, suffering a defeat. Under his successor relations with the Qazaqs were mostly peaceful, but Galdan-Boshoktu Khun-tayiji (1670-1697) began a series of even more destructive raids, attacking Sayram, Osh, and Andijan; these raids intensified in the first half of the 18th century (see map 29). The Qazaqs could rarely counter these attacks with similar force. They lost Semirech'e to the Junghars, but they preserved their political centers in the regions of Turkestan, Tashkent, and Andijan, with their grazing grounds stretching to the central Dasht-i Qïpchaq, and under the khan Tavakkul Muhammad (known as Tawke) they even played a role in the affairs of Eastern Turkestan. Pressed by the Junghars from the east, they tried to compensate for the pasturelands lost at the expense of the Qalmïqs; the latter, however, under the rule of Ayuki (who had the title of khan), a nominal vassal of Russia, were too strong an adversary.

The Chaghatayid khanate in the early 17th century was divided into two independent khanates, one with its capital in Yarkend and another with its capital in Turfan. In 1638-39 the khan of Turfan, ʿAbdallah, conquered Yarkend and restored the unified khanate, which existed until 1682 (different sources give the date from 1678 to 1683), when Galdan-Boshoktu Khun-tayiji conquered Yarkend and Kashghar, captured the last Chaghatayid, Ismaʿil Khan, and took him to Jungharia. After that, Eastern Turkestan was ruled by the *khoja*s, leaders of the Naqshbandi Sufi order in this region, as Junghar vassals.

In Western Siberia, the Moscow government, after conquering the Shïbanid khanate of Kuchum (see map 27), began to encourage Russian peasant settlement. The main areas of initial peasant settlement were between the lower Tobol and the lower Ishim and in the upper Ob'. Gradually, peasants began to occupy the grasslands that served as summer pastures to the Qazaqs, who began to raid these settlements. To protect them, the Russian government began to build forts manned by military garrisons. The first line of such forts extended from the middle Tobol, south of Kurgan (founded in 1670), to the lower Irtïsh, south of Tara (founded in 1594). In the next century the lines of these forts formed the Russian frontier with the Qazaq steppe.



28. 17TH CENTURY: THE ASHTARKHANIDS, KHOREZM, THE QAZAQS, AND THE JUNGHARS

29. THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY: NADIR SHAH, BUKHARA, KHOREZM, THE QAZAQS, AND THE JUNGHARS

By the beginning of the 18th century the sedentary regions of Western Turkestan were in a state of a deepening political and economic crisis characterized by the decline of the ruling dynasties and central governments in the Özbek khanates, the resurgence of tribal forces, the disruption of economic life, and increasing interference by the steppe nomads in the affairs of the sedentary states (the Qazaqs in Bukhara and the Turkmens in Khorezm). In Bukhara the son and successor of Subhan-Quli Khan, ʿUbaydallah Khan (II) (1702-1711), tried to reverse the process and to limit the power of tribal chieftains, probably with the support of the urban population, but his miscalculated financial policy triggered a rebellion in the city of Bukhara in 1708, which ended in a compromise between the government and the rebels. The khan became the victim of a conspiracy of Özbek amirs and was assassinated, and under his successor, Abu'l-Fayz Khan (1711-1747), the central government lost all its authority, and the country practically disintegrated into a number of tribal chiefdoms, the largest of which were the Mings in Ferghana, the Yüz in Ura-Tübe and Hisar, and the Keneges in Shahrisabz. Balkh finally separated from the khanate, and the Özbek amirs, who ruled it, then invited as puppet khans some Ashtarkhanids who lived in Khorasan. Ferghana had already separated at the end of the 17th century. Wars between various rival tribal groupings affected most of all the central regions of Mavarannahr, which, in addition, were ravaged for seven years by the Qazaqs who fled across the Sïr-Darya from the invading Junghars (see below). Both the urban and the rural population began to flee from the areas most seriously affected by these disturbances, so that Samarqand was reportedly entirely abandoned (cf. map 41), and in Bukhara only two city quarters remained inhabited. By 1730, when the Qazaqs left Mavarannahr, the authority of the central government in Bukhara remained limited to some of the districts closest to the capital. And in Bukhara itself power was gradually concentrated in the hands of the khan's *atalïq* (chief counselor), Muhammad Hakim Biy, chief of the Manghït tribe.

A similar political and economic decline took place in Khorezm. The ʿArabshahid dynasty was extinguished between 1694 and 1727, and the northern, predominantly nomadic, half of the country, known as Aral, seceded and for more than a century remained most of the time not only independent from, but also at war with, Khiva. From the end of ʿArabshahid rule there was a marked increase in the Turkmen presence in Khorezm, and the Turkmen tribes of Salor, Chowdur, and Yomut took part in the feuds among different Özbek factions. The increasing role of the Turkmens in Khorezm coincided with the expansion of the Turkmen tribes into northern Khorasan, made possible by the fall of the Safavids in Iran. In the 1710s and 1730s the khans of Khiva were also raiding Khorasan.

Safavid Iran in the early 18th century experienced a political and economic crisis similar to that of the Central Asian khanates. But the decline and fall of the Safavids resulted first in the rise of Nadir Shah Afshar (regent from 1732, shah from 1736), a ruthless ruler and an outstanding general, who suppressed rebellions in the provinces, defeated the Ottomans, subdued the Afghan tribes, repelled the Turkmens from the northern regions of Khorasan, and invaded and sacked the Mughal capital, Dehli. In 1736-37 his son, Riza-Quli Mirza, occupied Balkh and its entire province, and later in 1737, while Nadir Shah was at Qandahar, he launched an attack on Bukhara and besieged Abu'l-Fayz Khan in Qarshi, but was recalled by Nadir Shah. The latter invaded Bukhara himself in 1740. One part of his army crossed the Amu-Darya at Kelif, while the main army went along the left bank and crossed at Charjuy. Here a number of Özbek amirs came to his camp and offered their submission; then Nadir Shah marched on Bukhara, set up his camp in a suburb of the city and received there the submission of Abu'l-Fayz Khan. Bukhara was spared a Persian occupation, but the khanate had to supply to the Persian army a large quantity of grain and fodder as well as 10,000 horsemen, under Muhammad Rahim Biy, the son of Muhammad Hakim Atalïq. From Bukhara Nadir Shah marched along the left bank of the Amu-Darya on Khiva, defeated the Khorezmian army in two battles and besieged the khan in the city of Khanqah. After seven days' siege Ilbars Khan surrendered and was executed together with twenty of his amirs, and Khiva surrendered several days later. Nadir Shah set free all the slaves in Khorezm (Persians, Russians, Qalmaqs) and had Khorezm provide the Persian army with grain and 4,000 horsemen. Nadir Shah left Khorezm after installing as khan a relative of the Bukharan Ashtarkhanids. Later on Nadir Shah did not interfere in the internal affairs of either khanate (beyond sending troops to Khorezm to suppress a Turkmen rebellion in 1745). Both khanates were now actually ruled by the chieftains of the Manghït tribe of the Özbeks, who enjoyed Nadir's support.

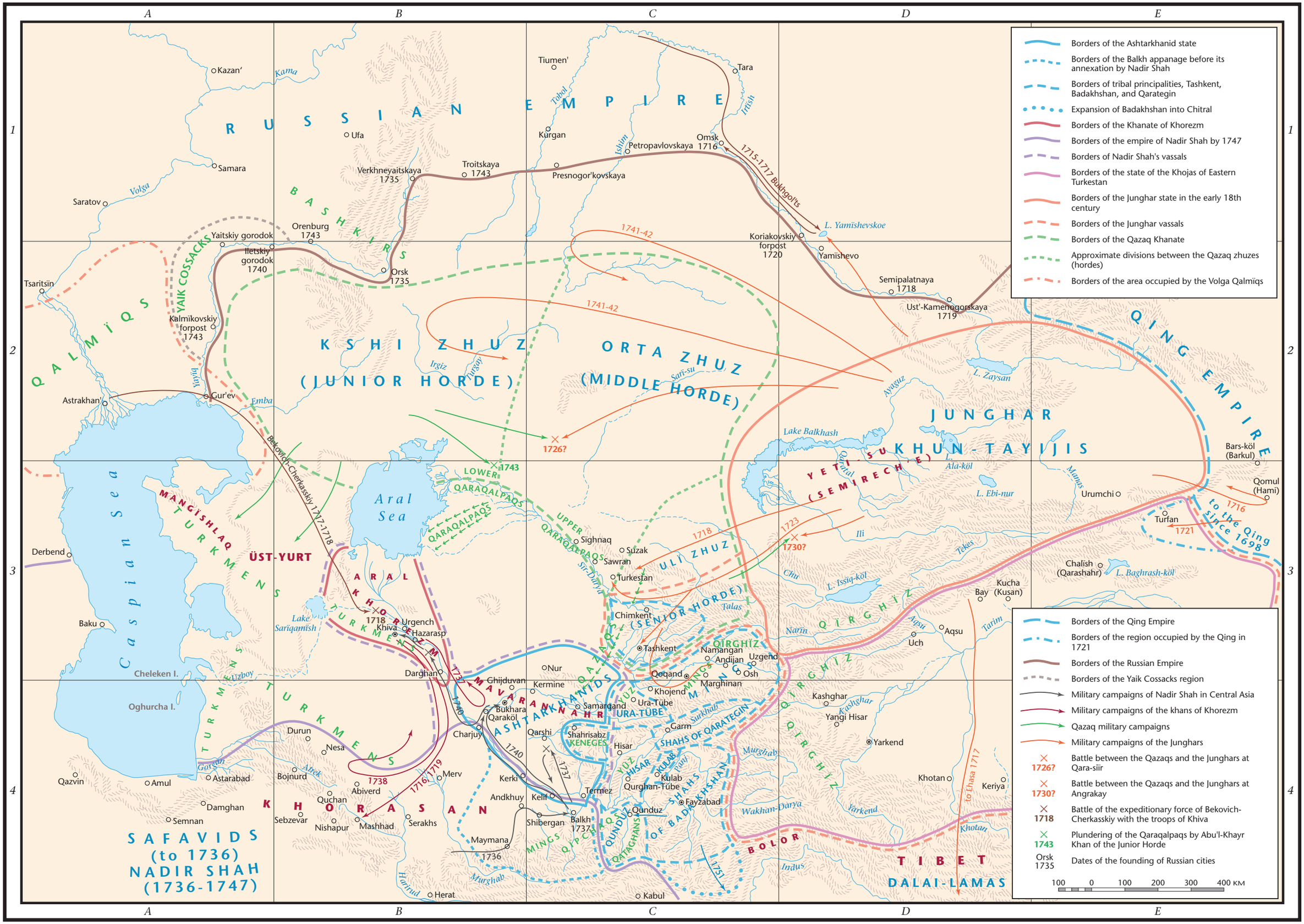
In Bukhara, the death of Muhammad Hakim Atalïq in 1743 was followed by tribal feuds during which the city of Bukhara itself was sacked by rebellious Özbek tribes in 1745. To help restore order Nadir Shah dispatched Muhammad Rahim Biy to Bukhara, with Qïzïlbash and Afghan troops. With the help of these troops, Muhammad Rahim, who was now appointed to the post of atalïq, defeated the rebel Özbek tribes and consolidated his rule in Bukhara, eventually usurping the title of khan (see map 30).

In Khorezm the period of turmoil lasted longer than in Bukhara, but it also resulted in the assumption of power by a non-Chingisid dynasty by the end of the century.

During the first half of the 18th century the Turkmens, who many times were pushed back by Nadir Shah from the oases of northern Khorasan, nevertheless increased their pressure on this area and gradually occupied it; this process was apparently completed during the second half of the century.

In the Dasht-i Qïpchaq the unified Qazaq khanate ceased to exist after the death of its last khan, Tawke (Tavakkul), around 1717. By that time the Qazaqs were already divided into three major groupings called *zhuz*, which in Russian sources (and from them in Western sources) were called *orda*, "horde": Ulï ("senior") Zhuz, Orta ("middle") Zhuz, and Kshi ("junior") Zhuz (see map 38). Each *zhuz* had its own khan. In the first half of the 18th century the Middle and Senior hordes were subjected to frequent massive raids by the Junghars under the khun-tayiji Tsevang-Rabtan and his successor, Galdan-Tseren. An especially destructive Junghar invasion happened in 1723, when the Junghars captured Tashkent, Turkestan, and Sayram and then raided Ferghana; many thousands of Qazaqs perished, and many of them fled from the Junghars across the Sïr-Darya, to Mavarannahr. The Qazaqs recovered somewhat and defeated the Junghars in two battles around 1726 and 1730, but Junghar raids continued also in the 1740s, especially to the northern areas of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq. The Senior Horde remained under Junghar domination, while many Qazaqs of the Middle Horde fled from the Junghars to the west and the north. At the same time Russia (which became the Russian Empire under Peter the Great) was advancing its frontiers into the Qazaq steppes. Between 1715 and 1743 several lines (Russian *liniya*) of fortifications were built, forming a continuous fortified border that had to protect Russian settlements both from Qazaq raids and from the possible Junghar threat, and that served as a base for the future advance into the steppe.

In 1715, Peter the Great, prompted by information about internal feuds in the Özbek khanates, as well as the rumors of gold deposits found in Central Asia, and wishing to find river routes from Central Asia to India, sent two military expeditions: one from Astrakhan' to Khiva, under the command of Prince Bekovich-Cherkasskiy, and another from Tobol'sk up the Irtïsh river under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Bukhgol'ts (Buchholtz). Both expeditions ended in failure: the Bekovich party was slaughtered by the Khivans in 1717, and the Bukhgol'ts party was repulsed, with heavy losses, by the Junghars in 1716 near Lake Yamïshevskoe. Subsequent Russian governments directed their attention to the Qazaq steppes. In the first half of the 18th century the Russian government took advantage of the difficult situation of the Qazaqs who were suffering from Junghar raids, as well as of the desire of some of the Qazaq rulers to strengthen their own position within Qazaq society with Russian support, and had a number of Qazaq khans and tribal chieftains take an oath of allegiance to Russia between 1731 and 1740. This allegiance, however, remained purely nominal until the end of the 18th century.



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29. THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY: NADIR SHAH, BUKHARA, KHOREZM, THE QAZAQS, AND THE JUNGHARS

30. THE SECOND HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY: BUKHARA, KHOREZM, QOQAND, THE QAZAQS, AND THE JUNGHARS

Major political changes took place in Central Asia in the second half of the 18th century, after Nadir Shah's death in 1747. In Bukhara Muhammad Rahim Atalïq Manghït had Abu'l-Fayz Khan killed the same year. After the brief nominal rule of his two Chingisid successors, during which Muhammad Rahim Atalïq remained the actual ruler of the country, Muhammad Rahim organized his own enthronement as a khan in 1756, thus founding a new ruling dynasty in Bukhara, usually known under its tribal name Manghït. This was a drastic break with the five-centuries-old Central Asian political tradition, according to which only the members of the Chingisid clan, the direct agnatic descendants of Chingis Khan, had a legitimate right to become supreme sovereign rulers with the title of *khan*. Such a change became possible because of the rise to power of Özbek tribal chieftains, who had been almost independent rulers of their tribal territories since the end of the 17th century (see map No. 28), with the concomitant decline of the authority of the Chingisids. Nevertheless, the royal charisma of the Chingisids was still an important legitimizing factor, so that Muhammad Rahim, before his enthronement, married a daughter of Abu'l-Fayz Khan, to add at least some legitimacy to his usurpation. He had no male offspring, and when he died in 1758, his infant grandson from a daughter, named Fazil Töre, was enthroned, while Muhammad Rahim's uncle Daniyal Biy ruled with the title of *atalïq* (chief amir). Soon, after a rebellion of Özbek tribes, Fazil Töre was deposed, and Daniyal Biy continued to rule retaining the title of atalïq. He was succeeded by his elder son, Shah Murad (1785-1799), who abandoned any claims to Chingisid legitimacy altogether and stressed his role as an Islamic ruler, having assumed the title of *amir*—not as the usual general title of tribal chieftains, but hinting at the title of the caliphs, *amir al-muʾminin*, "The Commander of the Faithful."

Muhammad Rahim Khan had to fight various unruly Özbek tribes throughout his reign, by the end of which he restored the authority of Bukhara in all of Mavarannahr, though not in the region of Balkh, which was annexed by the founder of the new Afghan state, Ahmad Shah Durrani; the Amu-Darya thus became the border between Bukhara and Afghanistan from 1768. Manghït rule stabilized under Daniyal Atalïq, but he still had to fight some of the same tribes that had been subdued by Muhammad Rahim Khan. Central authority was further strengthened during the reign of Shah Murad, who also adopted a policy of expansion in the south. For a while he contested the region of Balkh with Timur Shah, the successor of Ahmad Shah, and most of the time the western parts of this region—Maymana and Aqcha—seemed to have been under his jurisdiction, although the Amu-Darya was still recognized as an official border between Bukhara and Afghanistan. At the beginning of his reign Shah Murad started military campaigns against Merv which, since the death of Nadir Shah, was an independent principality ruled by Bayram ʿAli Khan, a chieftain of the Shiʿite Qajars. Merv was conquered after the second campaign (probably in 1788 or 1789), most of its Shiʿite population was deported to Bukhara, and a Bukharan garrison was installed. The area surrounding Merv remained under the control of nomadic Turkmen tribes, but Merv still could serve as a staging ground for raids against Iran, which Shah Murad repeatedly launched until the end of his reign and which brought some spoils, but no territorial acquisitions. Shah Murad became famous for his extreme piety, earning him the reputation of a "dervish on the throne" and the nickname Amir-i Maʿsum, that is, "Sinless Amir." But he also took important measures for the improvement of the economy: a monetary reform, the restoration of numerous public buildings in Bukhara and Samarqand, the restoration and reconfirmation of numerous pious endowments (*vaqf*), etc.

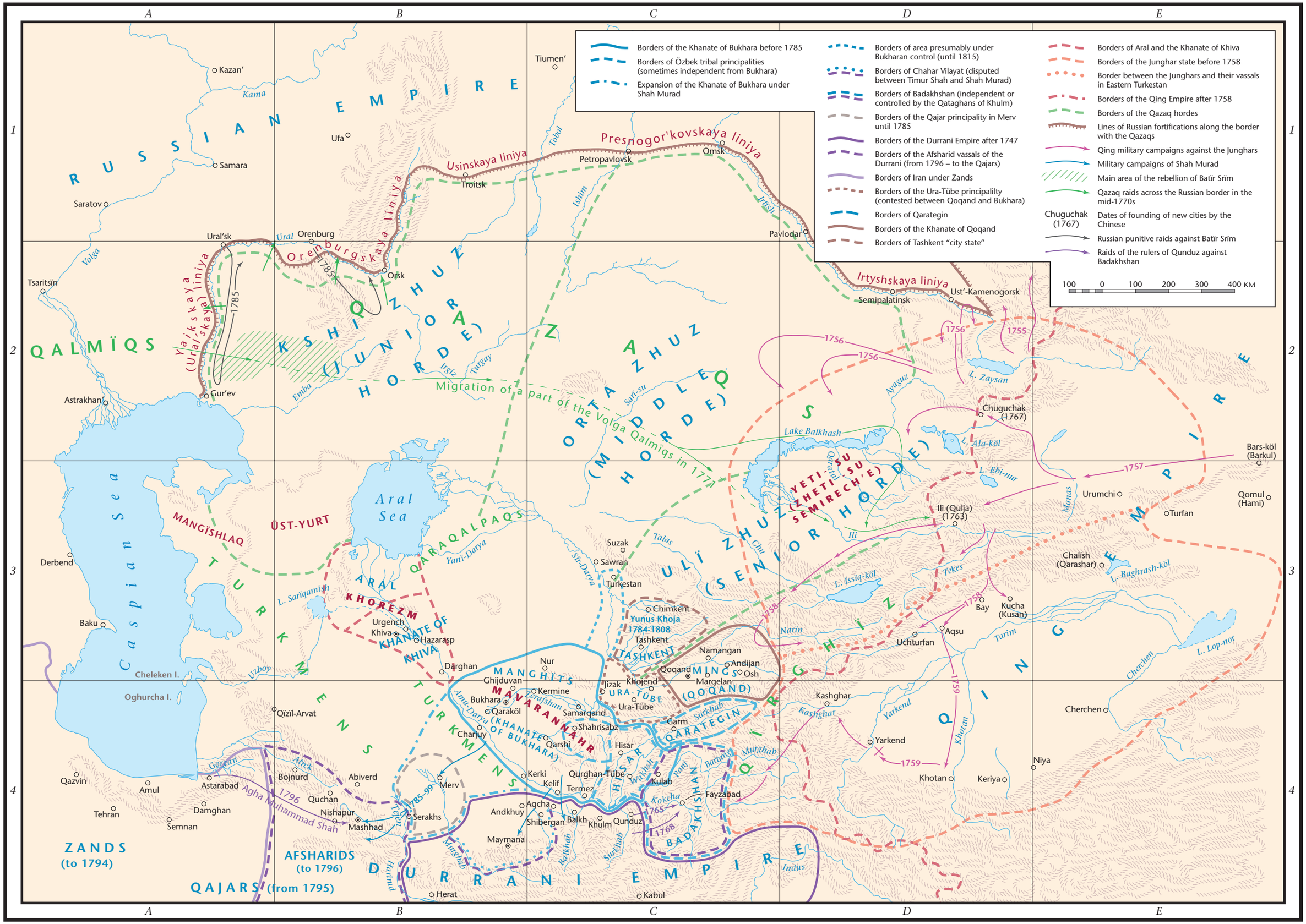
While the Manghïts consolidated their rule in Mavarannahr, the chieftains of another Özbek tribe, the Qongrats, came to power in Khorezm. The Qongrats in Khorezm competed with the Manghïts throughout the first half of the 18th century, and Nadir Shah supported the Manghït chieftains there just as in Bukhara. But after the death of Nadir Shah the Qongrats achieved superiority, and their leaders, with the title of *inaq*, became the actual rulers of the country, while Chingisids (mostly invited from the Qazaq steppes) continued to be enthroned by the tribal nobility as puppet-khans. The 1750s and 1760s were a period of great turmoil in Khorezm; there were almost incessant clashes between different ethnic groups—the Sarts, Özbek tribes, and the Turkmens (especially the Yomuts), whose number in Khorezm grew significantly after Nadir Shah. In 1770 the Yomuts even captured the capital, Khiva, plunging the country into a state of total anarchy. Muhammad Amin Inaq, the leader of the Qongrats, defeated and banished the Yomuts later the same year. He became the actual ruler of Khorezm, but both he and his successor, ʿAvaz Inaq (1790-1804), continued to enthrone Chingisid khans as figureheads. Only by the early 19th century did Khorezm achieve some political stability.

In Ferghana in the second half of the 18th century the rulers of Qoqand from the Özbek Ming tribe gradually became predominant. According to Chinese accounts, at the end of the 1750s Ferghana was still divided between four principalities: Andijan, Namangan, Margelan, and Qoqand, of which the latter was the strongest. After the destruction of the Junghars by China in 1758-59, Irdana Biy, the ruler of Qoqand, sent an embassy to Beijing expressing submission, which, however, was a pure formality and did not lead to the extension of Chinese rule over Ferghana. Under Irdana Biy's successor, Narbuta Biy (1763-1798), all of the Ferghana valley was united under the Mings of Qoqand, whose state enjoyed a relatively long period of political stability and economic prosperity.

Tashkent in the second half of the 18th century was an aristocratic "republic" with an autonomous administration under its local leaders who belonged to the social group of the *khoja*s. Since 1784 full authority was in the hands of Yunus Khoja, who extended his rule over the Qazaqs of the Senior Horde and successfully fought the rulers of Qoqand.

While Mavarannahr, Khorezm and Ferghana were gradually overcoming the century-long political and economic crisis, the Qazaq *zhuz*es entered a period of decline and social turmoil. Although the Junghar threat was eliminated after 1758 (see below), the political situation of all three hordes remained unstable. Russia took advantage of this to expand her influence, which at first met with only partial success. In the Junior Horde, Russian influence extended only over the northern half of the horde. The ruler of the Middle Horde, sultan (from 1771 to 1781, khan) Ablay took an oath of allegiance to both Russia and China, but remained practically independent. By the end of the century, however, the authority of the Qazaq Chingisids was undermined by social unrest (especially in the Junior Horde, where a rebellion, both anti-Chingisid and anti-Russian, under a tribal leader named Batïr Srïm Datov continued, with some interruptions, during the 1780s and 1790s) and increased Russian pressure. The Qazaq nomads were cut off from some of their best pasture lands by continuous lines of Russian fortifications, and the khans in both the Junior and Middle hordes were appointed by the Russian government, while the Senior Horde (or most of it) was subordinate to Yunus Khoja of Tashkent.

In Eastern Turkestan the Junghar state, after a brief period of internal strife, was crushed by China. In 1755 Manchu troops occupied Jungharia, but the same year a rebellion began there; it was brutally suppressed by 1759, and almost all the Junghars were slaughtered. During their campaigns against the Junghars, the Manchu troops entered some regions in the Altay as well as the eastern parts of the Qazaq steppes, demanding submission from the rulers of these regions, but they were unable to remain there. By 1760 the Manchus also occupied Kashgharia and put an end to the rule of the khojas of Yarkend, pursuing the last khoja rulers, who fled from them, as far as Badakhshan. Eastern Turkestan became a part of the Chinese Empire.



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30. THE SECOND HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY: BUKHARA, KHOREZM, QOQAND, THE QAZAQS, AND THE JUNGHARS

31. THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY: BUKHARA, KHOREZM, QOQAND, THE QAZAQS, AND RUSSIAN EXPANSION

By the beginning of the 19th century most of the sedentary areas of Central Asia were divided among three khanates, those of Bukhara, Khiva, and Qoqand, and each of them had a new dynasty of Özbek tribal origin. The Khanate of Bukhara (to which its neighbors often referred as Mavarannahr or "Vilayat-i Turan") occupied the Zerafshan and Qashqa-Darya valleys, the region in the middle course of the Amu-Darya, and the mountainous regions between the Shirabad-Darya and the Panj. The rulers of the Manghït dynasty in Bukhara, founded in 1756 by Muhammad Rahim Khan (see map 30), beginning with Shah Murad, adopted *amir* as their chief title (although the title *khan* was also used in the full titulature). The son and successor of Shah Murad, amir Haydar (1800-1826), had to fight the Khanate of Khiva in 1805-1806 (when the Khivan army was routed in Khorezm, on the bank of the Amu-Darya) and in 1822-23, when various regions of Mavarannahr were subjected to frequent Khivan raids and Bukharan troops suffered serious defeats. In 1823 Merv and its oasis were lost to Khiva. In 1821-1825 an uprising of two Özbek tribes, the Khitay and Qïpchaq, in the central part of the Zerafshan valley, was suppressed with great difficulty and weakened the khanate. By the end of amir Haydar's rule there were still regions ruled by Özbek tribal chieftains, who recognized the authority of Bukhara only nominally, if at all (such as Shahrisabz, which belonged to the Keneges tribe). The son and successor of Haydar, amir Nasrallah (1827-1860), brutally suppressed his opponents and was a despotic ruler, gaining the nickname "the Butcher Amir." He fought Shahrisabz during most of his rule and only in 1856 was he able to conquer it. His war with the Khanate of Khiva in the early 1840s ended in a crushing defeat of the Bukharan troops in 1843 at Hazarasp, in Khorezm. Relations with the Khanate of Qoqand were also often hostile, the main bone of contention being the principality of Ura-Tübe, ruled by the chieftains of the Özbek tribe Yüz. In 1842 Nasrallah even managed to capture Qoqand, but this victory was short-lived (see below). On the left bank of the Amu-Darya, the regions of Chahar Vilayat, with its capital in Maymana (ruled by the chieftains of the Özbek Ming tribe), and sometimes also Balkh, were Bukharan dependencies until the late 1840s, but in 1849-50 the Afghan ruler Dost Muhammad Khan conquered all these regions, and the Amu-Darya became again the Bukharan border with Afghanistan.

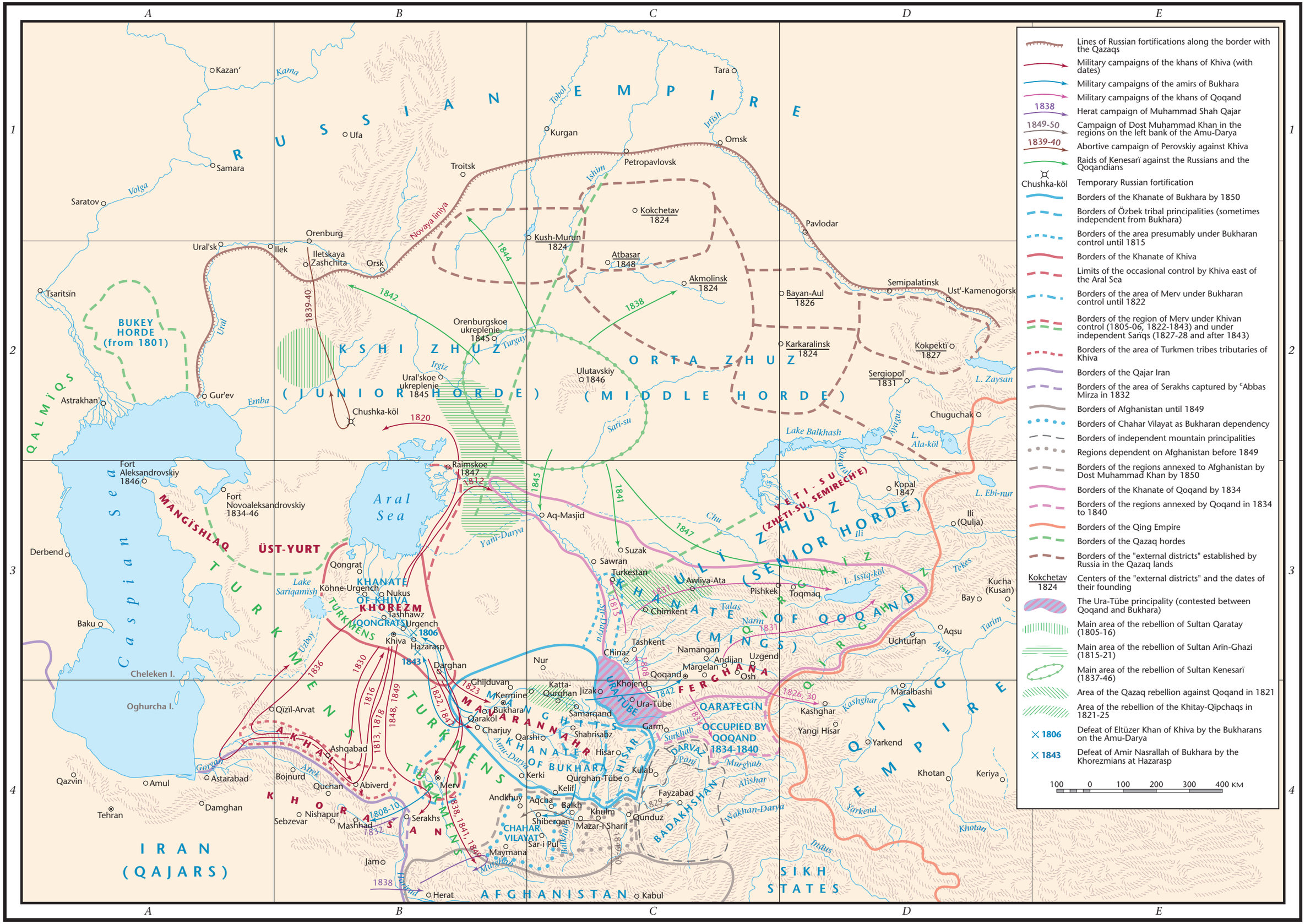
In Khorezm, the son of ʿAvaz Inaq, Eltüzer, had himself proclaimed khan in 1804, founding another Özbek dynasty known under its tribal name, Qongrat. In 1806 he fell in battle with the Bukharan army and was succeeded by his brother, Muhammad Rahim (who ruled until 1826). Muhammad Rahim Khan unified the country with the conquest of Aral in 1811, suppressed rebellions of various Özbek tribal chieftains, and began a series of military campaigns whose purpose was the subjugation of the neighboring nomadic and seminomadic peoples—Qaraqalpaqs, Turkmens, and Qazaqs—and the plundering of the sedentary regions of Khorasan and Mavarannahr. In 1811 he deported the Qaraqalpaqs, who lived on the eastern shore of the Aral Sea, and settled them in the Amu-Darya delta. As a result of almost annual campaigns to Khorasan, he subdued the largest Turkmen tribe in that area, the Teke, and deported to Khorezm the tribes of Qaradashlï, Göklen, and Yemreli; the Yomuts, who had been banished from Khorezm under Eltüzer, now also returned. The Turkmens were given land in Khorezm and some privileges in return for their military service, and until the Russian conquest they formed a large part of the Khorezmian army. The successors of Muhammad Rahim Khan continued his aggressive policy toward their neighbors, especially the Turkmen tribes in northern Khorasan and Merv; major raids into Khorasan and northern Afghanistan were launched in the 1830s and 1840s. Prisoners captured by the Turkmens in their raids in Khorasan and by the Qazaqs in their raids on Russian settlements were sold as slaves in Khiva, which became the main slave market of Central Asia.

In Ferghana, a son of Narbuta Biy, ʿAlim Biy (1798-1810), proclaimed himself khan, founding an Özbek dynasty known under its tribal name, Ming. ʿAlim Khan created a strong army, the core of which was formed by mercenaries, Tajik mountaineers from the regions south of Ferghana, and began conquests beyond Ferghana. He conquered Khojend in 1805, and Tashkent in 1809. Tashkent later served as the base for the Qoqandian conquests in the southern parts of the Qazaq steppes. ʿAlim Khan was killed as a result of a conspiracy and succeeded by his brother, ʿUmar Khan (1810-1822) and then the son of the latter, Muhammad ʿAli Khan (1823-1842). Under these two rulers the territory of the khanate greatly expanded so that it stretched from the lower course of the Sïr-Darya in the west to Lake Issïq-köl in the east and included a large portion of the Qazaq Senior Horde and the mountainous areas south of Issïq-köl inhabited by the Qïrghïz. In all these regions fortresses were built and Qoqandian garrisons stationed, around which permanent settlements grew with Özbek and Tajik settlers coming from Ferghana. Some *khoja*s of Kashghar who had fled from the Manchus tried to reconquer Kashghar in 1826 and 1830 using Ferghana as their base, with Qoqandian support, but these attempts failed, and Qoqand maintained peaceful relations with China. In 1834 the Qoqand Khanate conquered Qarategin, and its authority was nominally recognized by Darvaz, Kulab, and Badakhshan. But when the khanate seemed to be at the peak of its power, in 1842, civil strife broke out in Ferghana, and this was exploited by amir Nasrallah of Bukhara, who captured Qoqand and other cities of the khanate and executed Muhammad ʿAli Khan. Three months later the Bukharans were driven out by a popular revolt, but after this the khanate was weakened by a series of rebellions and by fighting between the sedentary population of the region and various nomadic groups.

In the Qazaq steppe, the Russian government strengthened its control over the Qazaqs. In the Junior Horde, the government abolished the post of the khan and in 1824 divided the horde into three "parts," Eastern, Western, and Middle, each under a "sultan-governor" from among the Qazaq Chingisids, who became officials in Russian service; a small Russian military force was attached to each of them. For the Middle Horde, where no new khans were appointed after the death of the last khan in 1819, another administrative system was introduced in 1822, according to which "The Oblast' of the Siberian Kirgiz" [as the Russians, erroneously, called the Qazaqs], including the Middle Horde and (later) some parts of the Senior Horde, was divided into "internal districts" (along the right bank of the Irtïsh) and "external districts" (south of the Irtïsh); at the head of each district stood a "senior sultan" who was elected by all the sultans belonging to this district and was confirmed by the Russian authorities. The new statutes also introduced a new judicial system and regulated various aspects of the life of the Qazaqs. The establishment of the "external districts" in the steppe took almost a decade to be completed. The khans existed longer in the Bukey Horde, or "Inner Horde," formed in 1801, when the Russians allowed a part of the Qazaqs of the Junior Horde, under Sultan Bukey, to migrate west of the Ural, where pasture land was assigned to them. In 1812 Bukey was given the title of khan, and his son Jangir succeeded him as khan, but after the latter's death in 1845 the position of khan in the Bukey Horde was also abolished.

The tightening of Russian control and the new administrative system were opposed by some Qazaq Chingisids, who rebelled against the Russians and the Qazaq rulers supporting them: Sultan Qaratay (1805-1816) and Sultan Arïn-Ghazi (1815-1821) in the Junior Horde and Sultan Kenesarï (1836-1847) in the Middle Horde. Especially stubborn resistance was offered by Kenesarï, a descendant of Ablay Khan; for more than a decade he raided Russian settlements and the encampments of Qazaqs who did not recognize his authority. At the end, Russian punitive expeditions compelled him to leave for Semirech'e and from there to the areas of the Qïrghïz, who killed him in battle. By the 1850s the Qazaqs were mostly pacified.

The Russian expansion south into the Qazaq steppes clashed with the simultaneous expansion of the khanates of Khiva and Qoqand in the opposite direction. Khivan attempts at expansion into the territory of the Junior Horde and the support given by Khiva to Qazaq leaders who did not recognize Russian authority, together with the plundering of Russian trade caravans by Qazaqs under Khivan patronage and accounts of Russian slaves in the khanate resulted in several years of growing tensions and then culminated in a military expedition against Khiva from Orenburg in the winter of 1839/40. The Russian troops suffered from a severe winter and had to turn back after heavy losses, having advanced only half way to Khiva. But soon after this Russia began to move its positions closer to the khanates: in 1847 the Raimskoe fortress was built near the Sïr-Darya delta and a fortress named Kopal was built in Semirech'e. These were the forerunners of the systematic conquest of the Central Asian khanates.



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31. THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY: BUKHARA, KHOREZM, QOQAND, THE QAZAQS, AND RUSSIAN EXPANSION

32. THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY: THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF WESTERN TURKESTAN

In the 1850s, when Russia was tightening her control over the Qazaqs and establishing her foothold in the lower Sïr-Darya and Semirech'e (see map 31), the khanates of Khiva and Qoqand, which were the closest to the Russian possessions, still did not realize the imminent danger. From 1851 to 1854, Muhammad Amin Khan of Khiva was busy with annual campaigns against the Turkmen tribe of the Sarïqs who inhabited Merv and its oasis, and after their submission he campaigned against the Teke of Serakhs, where his army was crushed and he himself was killed; this was followed by rebellions and wars in Khorezm itself, which continued until 1867. The Khanate of Qoqand was also affected by frequent violent conflicts between nomadic groups and the sedentary population, and the khan's authority weakened. The amir of Bukhara, where the internal situation was more stable, not only did not offer any help to his neighbors during the Russian offensives against them, but even tried to avail himself of their difficulties and to snatch a piece of territory for himself.

The Russian advance into the sedentary regions of Central Asia was planned already in 1854, but was delayed by the Crimean War and was not undertaken until 1863. A number of reconnaissance raids were made between 1858 and 1863, especially to the south of the Ili. In 1863 a large part of the mountainous country south of Lake Issïq-köl, inhabited by the Qïrghïz, was annexed by Russia. In 1864 Russia signed an agreement with China regarding their common border in Central Asia, thus protecting the rear of the Russian troops advancing against Qoqand. Lines of Russian fortifications were built along the Sïr-Darya and south of the Ili. In May 1864 Russian troops set out from the Sïr-Darya line and the Trans-Ili region and captured Turkestan and Awliya-Ata, establishing the "New Qoqandian line." The commander of this line, Major-General Cherniaev, continued the offensive, but in July 1864 he was repelled from Chimkent, which was defended by the ruler of Qoqand Mulla ʿAlim-Qul. Soon after this the Bukharan army invaded the Ferghana valley and ʿAlim-Qul had to leave Chimkent, which was captured by Cherniaev in September. In January 1865 the Russian government reorganized all the territories captured from Qoqand, and they were united into one Turkestan Oblast' with Cherniaev as its military governor. In May 1865 Cherniaev defeated the troops of Qoqand near Tashkent and conquered the city at the end of June, but it was officially annexed to Russia only in August 1866.

In the summer of 1865 the amir of Bukhara, Muzaffar ad-Din, demanded that the Russians withdraw from Tashkent; in response, all Bukharan merchants on Russian territory were arrested and their goods sequestered. In early 1866 Cherniaev crossed the Amu-Darya, but failed to capture the Bukharan town of Jizak, after which he was recalled and replaced by General Romanovskiy. In May 1866, in the locality of Irjar, the Bukharan army under the command of the amir himself was defeated and fled. The battle was followed by the capture of Khojend (which was a part of the Khanate of Qoqand); it was officially annexed to Russia together with Tashkent, and the Khanate of Qoqand was thus reduced to the Ferghana valley. The conditions for peace that the Russians submitted to Bukhara were deliberately made unacceptable, and when they were rejected, Russian troops resumed the offensive and took Ura-Tübe and Jizak. In July 1867 the Russian government again reorganized the conquered territories, creating the Governorate-General of Turkestan with its center in Tashkent, comprising all lands conquered by Russia in Central Asia since 1847. A year later, an administrative reform of the steppe regions was carried out (cf. map 44), which, together with the transfer of the Russian customs border from the old Orenburg-Irtïsh line that had taken place in 1865, marked the final annexation of the Qazaq steppe. Romanovskiy was replaced by the first Governor-General of Turkestan, General A.P. von Kaufman, who was given almost unlimited authority.

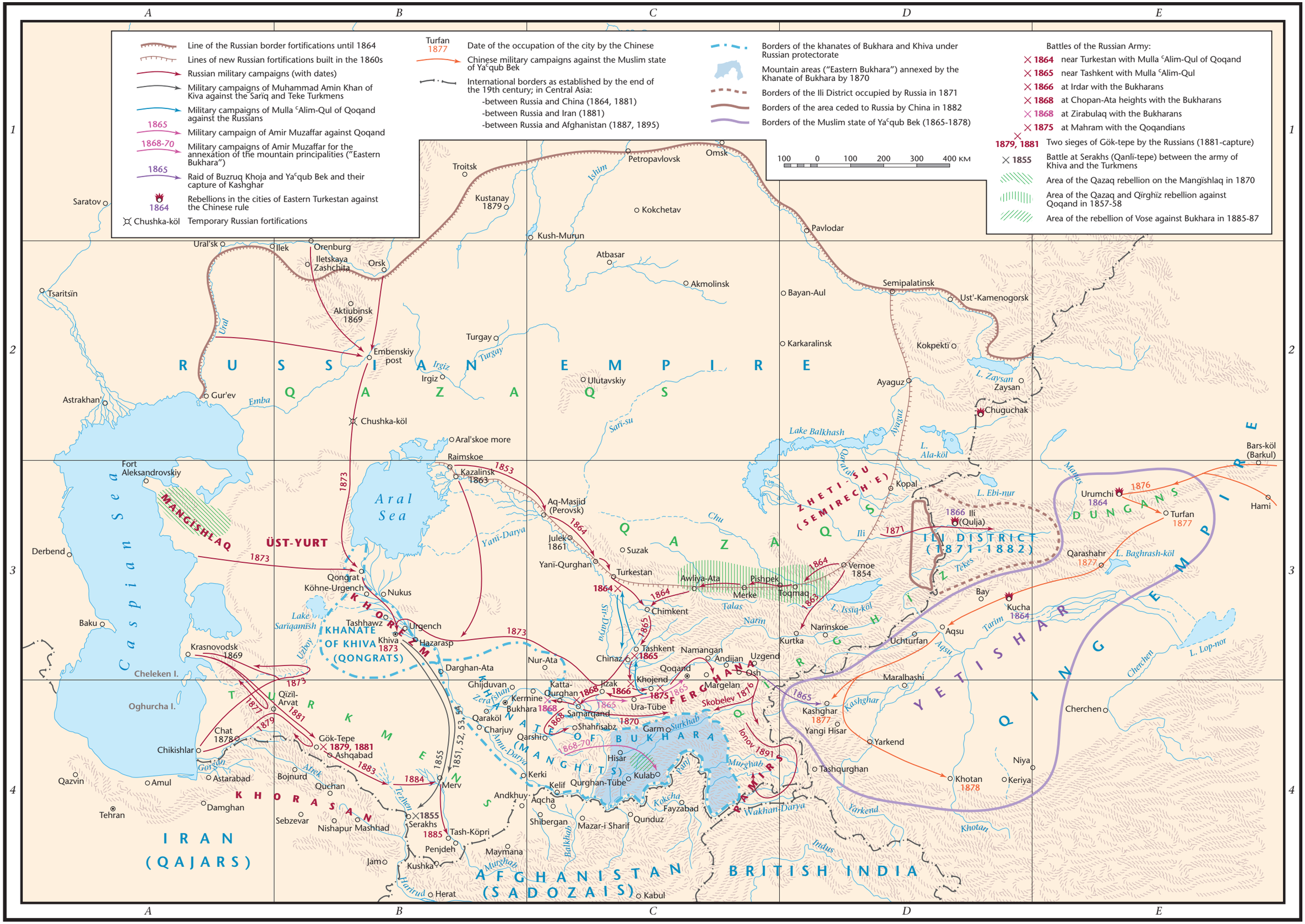
In January 1868 Kaufman imposed a commercial convention on Qoqand, which guaranteed various privileges for the Russian merchants and symbolized the end of hostilities between the khanate and Russia (no formal peace treaty was concluded). In April 1868, Amir Muzaffar ad-Din, yielding to militant *mulla*s of Bukhara and Samarqand, proclaimed a holy war against Russia. On May 1 Kaufman defeated the Bukharan troops on the Chopan-Ata heights near Samarqand, and the next day Samarqand fell. On June 2 the army of Bukhara under the amir was again routed at Zirabulaq heights, near Katta-Qurghan, after which the amir capitulated, and on June 30 he signed the peace conditions submitted by Kaufman. The khanate recognized the loss of all the territories captured by the Russians, agreed to pay a war indemnity, and opened the country to Russian merchants. The fall of Samarqand and the capitulation of the amir provoked a rebellion by the amir's son ʿAbd al-Malik, supported by the semi-independent tribal chieftains (*bek*s) in Shahrisabz. The rebellion was suppressed the same year by Russian troops, who later conducted an expedition to the upper course of the Zerafshan, which resulted in the Russian annexation of several small mountain principalities in that region.

After the conquest of Bukhara, Russian attention was focused on Khiva. At the end of 1869 Russian troops from the Caucasus landed in Krasnovodsk Bay, on the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea, where they founded the port of Krasnovodsk. During 1870-72 several reconnoitring expeditions crossed the deserts from the west and from the east in the direction of Khiva. In the spring of 1873, Russian troops under Kaufman set out against Khiva from Tashkent, Orenburg, Mangïshlaq, and Krasnovodsk (the latter detachment was unable to reach Khorezm); they met little resistance, and on June 10, Khiva was captured, and Muhammad Rahim Khan surrendered to Kaufman. In July, Kaufman launched a brutal punitive raid against the Khorezmian Turkmens, slaughtering hundreds of them. On August 24, 1873, Kaufman signed a peace treaty with Muhammad Rahim Khan II of Khiva; the khanate had to pay a huge war indemnity and lost all its territories on the right bank of the Amu-Darya.

In 1875 a rebellion broke out in Ferghana against the oppressive rule of Khudayar Khan, which soon assumed an anti-Russian character. Russian troops under Skobelev put down the rebellion, and the Khanate of Qoqand was abolished on February 2, 1876 and annexed to the Governorate-General of Turkestan as Ferganskaya oblast'. From Ferghana Skobelev carried out a raid into the Alay valley in order to pacify the Qïrghïz of that area.

After the Russians established themselves in Krasnovodsk, they advanced gradually into the Turkmens' territory. In August 1879 a Russian expeditionary force under General Lomakin was repelled by the Teke Turkmens from the fortress of Gök-Tepe. A new campaign against Teke started in 1880 under General Skobelev, who in January 1881 stormed Gök-Tepe after a three-week-long siege; about 15,000 Teke were killed, and their resistance was broken. The oasis of Akhal was annexed to Russia, together with the lands on the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea; at the end of 1881 Russia signed a convention with Iran establishing the frontiers between the two states. The Turkmens of Merv submitted to Russia at the end of 1883, and Merv was occupied in March 1884. The Yolotan and Penjdeh oases, further up the Murghab, were annexed in the same year. The final stage of the Russian conquest was the annexation of the Pamir highlands in 1895 (according to previous Russian-British agreements), of which the western parts were transferred in 1896 to the jurisdiction of Bukhara; earlier, in 1868-70, the amir of Bukhara, with Russian support, conquered the mountain principalities of Hisar and Kulab.

While Russia was conquering Western Turkestan, a Muslim rebellion began in Eastern Turkestan. It started as a rebellion of the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) in western China proper in 1862, spread to Jungharia and the Qulja region by 1863, and in 1865 the city of Qulja was captured and destroyed by the rebels. After fierce internecine warfare between the Dungans and the Muslim Turks (called Taranchi) of this region, in 1867 power passed to a Taranchi leader called "Sultan Aʿla Khan," who was soon ousted by Yaʿqub Bek. The latter, a Qoqandian, was sent, together with a descendant of the Kashghar *khoja*s, Buzurg Khoja, and a small party of Qoqandians, by the actual ruler of Qoqand, Mulla ʿAlim-Qul, with the aim of restoring the rule of the *khoja*s in Kashghar. They captured Kashghar in 1865 and in 1866-67 established their authority throughout the Tarim basin. In 1867 Yaʿqub Bek ousted Buzurg Khoja, in 1870 he defeated the Dungans and captured Urumchi, and thereafter he controlled almost all of Eastern Turkestan and organized an administration and a regular army; he signed a treaty with Russia in 1872 and England in 1873, and received some military assistance from the Ottoman Empire. But the Chinese army, under General Zuo Zong-tang, reconquered Eastern Turkestan in 1876-77; Yaʿqub Bek died in 1877, and his son, Bek-Quli Bek, fled to Qoqand in 1878. The events in Eastern Turkestan prompted Russia to occupy Qulja and the upper Ili basin, which it held as "Qulja district" until 1883. It was returned to China (with the exception of its westernmost part), in accordance with the 1881 treaty of St.Petersburg.



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32. THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY: THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF WESTERN TURKESTAN

33. KHOREZM IN THE 18TH-19TH CENTURIES

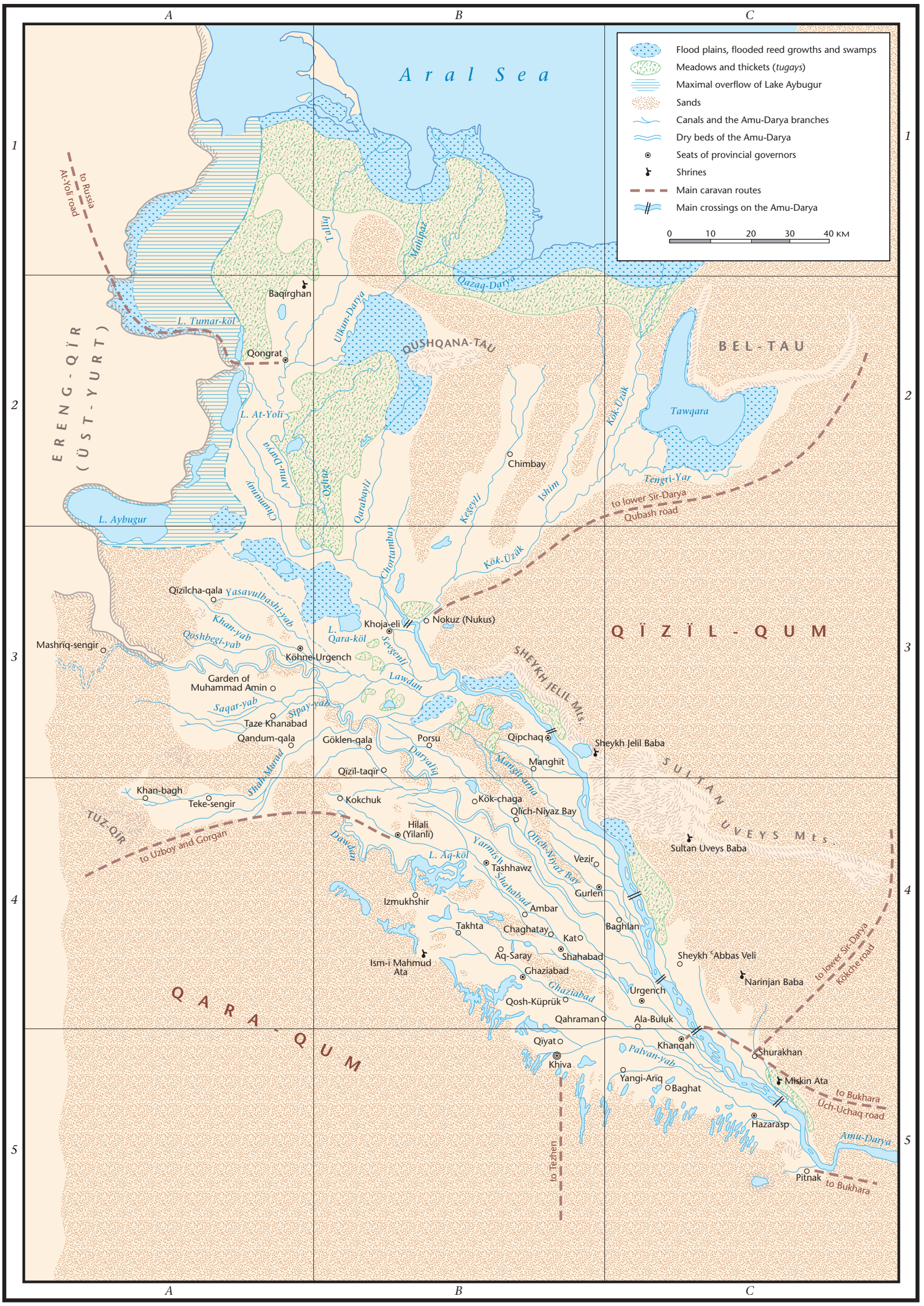
Khorezm is one of the main agricultural regions of Central Asia (cf. map 1). It occupies the lower basin of the Amu-Darya, including its delta, and it is relatively isolated from the rest of Central Asia by two great deserts, the Qïzïl-qum from the east and the north, and the Qara-qum from the south and the west; northwest of Khorezm is the Üst-Yurt steppe plateau, as dry as a desert. Agriculture based on artificial irrigation developed in Khorezm at least by the early 1st millenium B.C. Irrigation in Khorezm has been based on a single natural source: the Amu-Darya river. This river changed its course many times, because of both natural causes and human activity. Especially frequent were the changes in the course of the river branches that formed the lower delta of the Amu-Darya, downstream from the city of Khoja-eli. The Mongol invasion in the 13th century caused the destruction of sedentary life on the right bank of the Amu-Darya; it was only partially revived in the 19th century, and for more than five centuries sedentary civilization existed in Khorezm almost entirely on the left bank of the Amu-Darya. The military campaigns of Timur in the late 14th century also caused the destruction of irrigation systems and sedentary life in Khorezm. At the time when Khorezm was conquered by the Özbeks under the ʿArabshahids (early 16th century; see map 25) the great majority of its sedentary population was concentrated in the southern part of the country, with its cities of Khiva, Hazarasp, and Khanqah, and the conquerors began to sedentarize only slowly. The arrival in Khorezm of new nomadic groups by the middle of the 17th century (see map 28) required a redistribution of land among the Özbek tribes, which was carried out by Abu'l-Ghazi Khan. It seems that important new canals were built under this khan and his son, Anusha. The political situation in Khorezm during much of the 18th century was not favorable for the expansion of the irrigation system. Such an expansion took place only under the rulers of the Qongrat dynasty, and it was connected with the resettlement of a number of nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes within this region: the deportation of part of the Aral Özbeks to the south of the khanate; the deportation of the Qaraqalpaqs to the Aral delta; and the migration of several Turkmen tribes to Khorezm. Thus, much of the irrigation system that existed in the middle and northern parts of Khorezm under the Qongrats was of a relatively recent origin.

Two cultural regions could be distinguished in Khorezm from at least the early 18th century: Besh Qala (lit. "Five cities"), the south of the country, and Aral, the Amu-Darya delta. The five cities included Khiva, Hazarasp, Urgench, Khanqah, and Shahabad. The predominant ethnic group in the south (both in the cities and the countryside) was the Sarts, the Turkicized descendants of the ancient Khorezmians, while Aral was divided between the mostly nomadic Özbeks and the Qaraqalpaqs. Özbeks also settled in the southern part of the country, especially near Khiva and Hazarasp, along the left bank of the Amu-Darya from Qïpchaq to Gurlen, and, in the 1840s, south of Köhne-Urgench across the Daryalïq. In the mid-19th century the Turkmens, who formed about one quarter of the total population, were settled mostly in the western regions of the oasis of Khorezm, from Aq-Saray in the south to Köhne-Urgench and Qïzïlcha-qala in the north. Other, smaller, ethnic groups included the Jamshidis (in 1842-1855), and the Tajiks deported from the Khanate of Bukhara during the Khorezmian raids. Qazaqs, mostly from the Junior Horde, nomadized on their winter pastures in the Qïzïl-qum and on the Üst-Yurt plateau along the edges of Khorezm.

Two important natural factors shaped the history of Khorezm: the Amu-Darya and the deserts. Communication between the northern and southern parts of the country was possible both by roads and by river; however, the land to the north-west of Khoja-eli was often flooded in the spring, while the Amu-Darya in Khorezm would freeze in the winter for one and a half to two months. Therefore Aral could be cut off from the south of Khorezm for up to three months a year. Communication with other parts of the world was along the caravan routes through the deserts (there was no navigation on the Aral Sea before the Russian conquest). The deserts formed a somewhat protective shield from possible invasions from the directions of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, Mavarannahr, and Khorasan, but such protection was never absolute, and Khorezm experienced invasions from each of these directions many times in its history. Still, the country was relatively isolated from the rest of Central Asia, and this isolation contributed to various features of its culture that made it quite distinct from its larger neighbor, Mavarannahr.

The political and cultural importance of Khorezm was disproportionate to the size of its territory and population. From the post-Mongol era down to the 20th century it played a major role in the development of the Turkic literary language and literature in Central Asia. Relations with the Khanate of Khiva, which lay on vital trade routes between Russia and Central Asia, were of great concern for the Russian government, and the expansion of this khanate into the Qazaq steppes, as well as the failure of two Russian military expeditions against the khanate in the 18th and 19th centuries, created a perception in Russia of the Khanate of Khiva as a perfidious and dangerous enemy. Frequent raiding directed against Khorasan and Mavarannahr was a constant feature of the political life of Khorezm from the 16th century to the Russian conquest, and it prompted the Russian historian V. Bartol'd to label Khorezm under the Özbeks as "a brigand state." On the other hand, under the Qongrat dynasty the Khanate of Khiva experienced a cultural revival that compared this khanate favorably with the Khanate of Bukhara.

The Khanate of Khiva under the Qongrats became more centralized than the two other khanates of Central Asia, Bukhara and Qoqand. The country was divided into about a dozen provinces known by the names of the towns that served as the seats of the governors, but the authority of these governors (*hakim*s) was limited mainly to preserving law and order, while the most important function, the collection of taxes, was in the hands of the central government, which would send special tax collectors to the provinces twice a year. The importance of irrigation and its maintenance in the life of Khorezm is highlighted by the fact that in all of Central Asia only in the khanate of Khiva was the irrigation system centralized, and the four officials in charge of irrigation (*mirab*s) were among the highest dignitaries of the khanate.



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33. KHOREZM IN THE 18TH-19TH CENTURIES

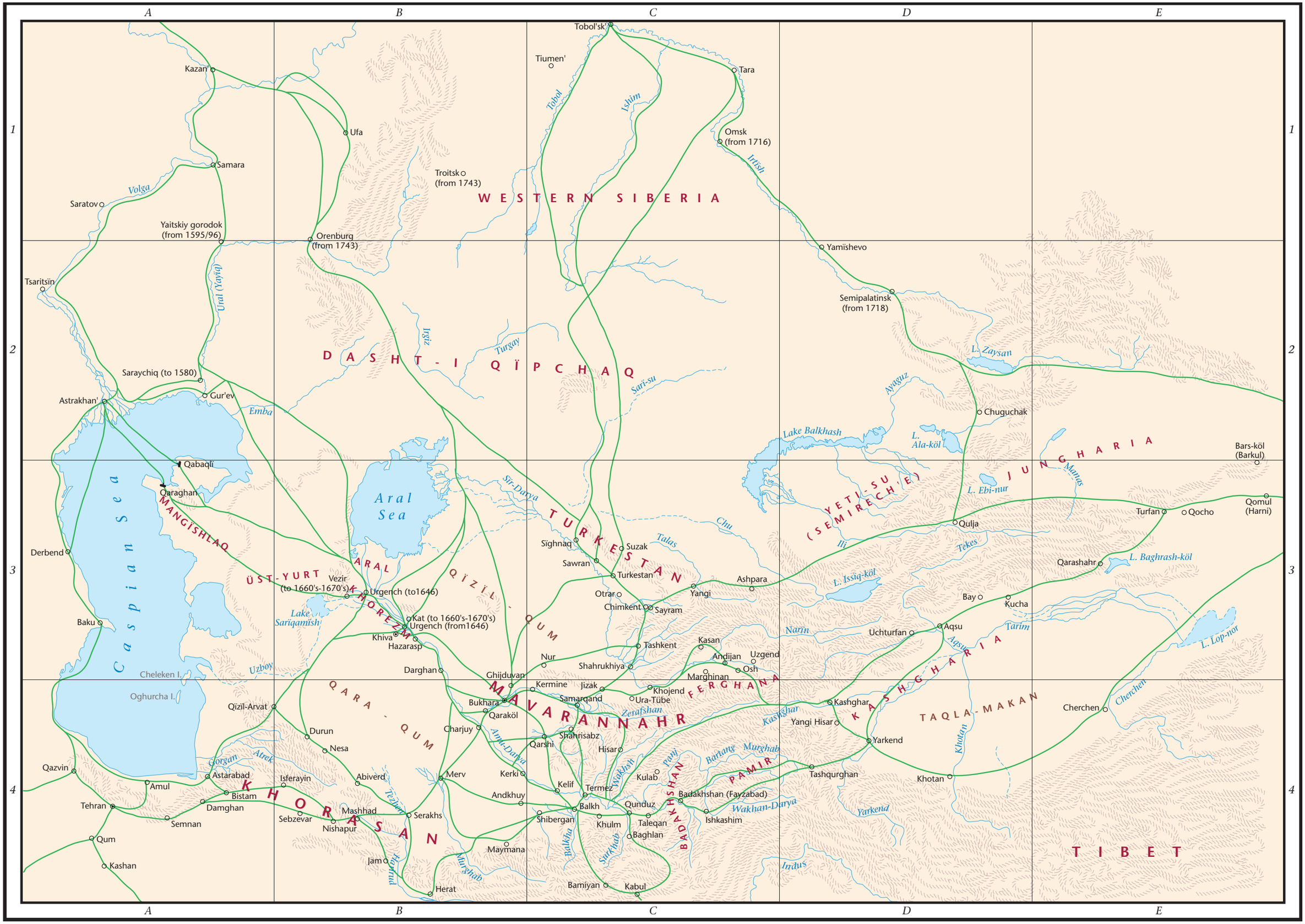
34. THE TRADE ROUTES OF CENTRAL ASIA IN THE 17TH-18TH CENTURIES

Until the last decade of the 19th century all trade between Central Asia and the other parts of the world was by means of camel caravans. Numerous caravan routes connected Central Asia with other regions of the Eurasian continent. The direction of many of these routes remained mostly the same over the centuries, but their relative importance would change with the changes in the political map of Asia. The so called Great Silk Route which connected China, through Central Asia, with Iran and the Near East, did not exist as such in the post-Mongol period, and, beginning with the 17th century, other trade routes acquired special prominence in the Central Asian economy. The most important of them were the routes connecting Central Asia with the Tsardom of Muscovy (from the early 18th century, the Russian Empire). With the Russian conquest of the Golden Horde's successor states in the Volga basin in the mid-16th century and of the Sibir Khanate at the end of the same century, Russia became an immediate neighbor of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, and her trade with the Noghay and Qazaq steppe, as well as with the Central Asian khanates, quickly developed. Initially, the trade route from Russia to Central Asia went down the Volga to Astrakhan', from which it continued either along the northern shore of the Caspian Sea and then to Khorezm (1½-2 months' travel) and Mavarannahr, or by sea (8 to 27 days) to one of the two landings, Qabaqlï on the Buzachi peninsula and Qaraghan on the Mangïshlaq, and from there to Khorezm (3-5 weeks) and farther on. In the 17th century, with the Russian Cossack expansion on the Yayïq, a route from Samara (in the middle course of the Volga) to Gur'ev gained more importance. And after the founding of Orenburg in 1743 this city became the main center through which almost all commercial and diplomatic communications between European Russia and Central Asia took place. From Orenburg the caravan route went across the steppe to the Aral Sea and then divided into three main branches: to Tashkent along the Sïr-Darya, and to Bukhara and Khorezm across the Qïzïl-qum. With the Russian colonization of Western Siberia, the old caravan routes connecting the cities in the middle course of the Sïr-Darya with the Tobol, Ishim, and lower Irtïsh basins (which were previously used mainly by Central Asian fur traders) acquired new importance for trade between Central Asia and the Russian settlements in Siberia. The travel from Tobol'sk to Turkestan took 2½-3 months. From the early 18th century another route developed connecting Omsk with the upper Irtïsh and Jungharia. All these routes were used both by Russian and Central Asian merchants. Among the latter, the most prominent role belonged to the Bukharans, but from the late 18th century merchants of Tashkent were successfully competing with them. On the Russian side, merchants traveling to Central Asia were often Volga Tatars (many of whom, however, were the agents of major Russian trading companies).

As distinct from the caravan routes between Central Asia and Russia, the routes connecting Central Asia with China lost their importance in the post-Timurid period, especially with the rise of the Junghar state in Jungharia and Eastern Turkestan: its wars with Ming China and the eastern Mongols, on the one hand, and with the Qazaqs, on the other, severely affected trade between Central Asia and China. The most important route to China, as before, went from Balkh through Ishkashim and Tashqurghan to Yarkend and then along the southern rim of the Tien-Shan to Turfan and Hami (this was the northern branch of the old Silk Route). Two other routes, one through the Ferghana valley to Kashghar (via Irkeshtam) and another from Termez through Qarategin to Kashghar, were more difficult. The routes to China were somewhat revived in the early 19th century with the emergence of the Khanate of Qoqand, and it was Qoqandian merchants who dominated trade on these routes.

From Central Asia to India the main route went from Balkh through Bamiyan and Kabul to Lahore (2 months' travel). It was not passable for several months a year because of snow in the mountains; otherwise the route was used intensively. Indian merchants seem to have dominated the Central Asian trade with India, and they established their colonies in all important Central Asian cities.

The main route to Iran from Central Asia always went from Bukhara through Charjuy and Merv to Mashhad. Another route going through Merv was from Balkh via Andkhuy. Trade between the Central Asian khanates and Iran continued in the 16th-19th centuries despite the religious rift between the Sunni khanates and Shi'ite Iran, and, because of the key position of Merv on this route, Bukhara, Khiva, and Iran would often fight for command of this oasis. The route to Iran was also important for Central Asian pilgrims traveling to Mekka, despite the harassment they frequently encountered in Iran. There was also a western route through the Qara-qum desert, from Astarabad to Urgench and Khiva; although it was more difficult, it was still used for travel from Khorezm to Khorasan.



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34. THE TRADE ROUTES OF CENTRAL ASIA IN THE 17TH-18TH CENTURIES

35. THE ÖZBEK TRIBES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The name *Özbek* as an ethnic marker appeared sometime in the 14th century (see map 20). There is disagreement among scholars as to the origin of this name, but the old traditional view still seems to be preferable; according to it, this name goes back to the name of Özbek Khan, the ruler of the Golden Horde in 1313-1341, who was credited with the conversion of his nomadic subjects to Islam. During the conquest of the sedentary regions of Western Turkestan by Shïbani Khan and then the conquest of Khorezm by the ʿArabshahid sultans in the early 16th century (see map 25), a substantial number of the tribal groups of the Özbek Ulus migrated to these regions, and it was these tribes that later were known as Özbeks, as distinct from the nomads who remained in the Dasht-i Qïpchaq and were called Qazaqs. According to a theory widely accepted by Soviet scholars in the 1940s and still current among modern scholars in Uzbekistan, the Turkic speaking tribes of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq who came to Mavarannahr were gradually absorbed by the local Turkic-speaking population, while the latter adopted the name Özbek "as the last component" of their ethnic identity. In fact, however, the old Turkic-speaking (and even much less so the Tajik-speaking) population of the sedentary regions, as a rule, did not absorb the nomadic newcomers so easily. Until the revolution of 1917 in Russia, the name Özbek was applied in Central Asia only to the tribal population. The Turkic-speaking sedentary population, which had been formed for many centuries through the process of the Turkicization of the indigenous Iranians (Tajiks), was called by others and by themselves *Sart* in Khorezm, Tashkent, and Ferghana (where this population formed a majority by the 16th century) and *Chaghatay* (or *Chighatoy*) in Mavarannahr. It was only after the "national delimitation of Central Asia" (see map 46), which was followed by an aggressive policy of "Özbekization" of the population of Uzbekistan, that all the Turkic-speaking (and very often also Tajik-speaking) population of this republic became officially "Özbeks."

After the conquest of the sedentary regions of Central Asia by Shïbani Khan, the Özbek tribes gradually occupied many parts of the irrigated regions until then inhabited by the Tajiks, Sarts, and Chaghatays; in Mavarannahr they often replaced these earlier inhabitants and pushed them back eastward, to the mountainous areas; in the mountainous regions themselves, the Özbeks would usually occupy the lower parts of the river valleys.

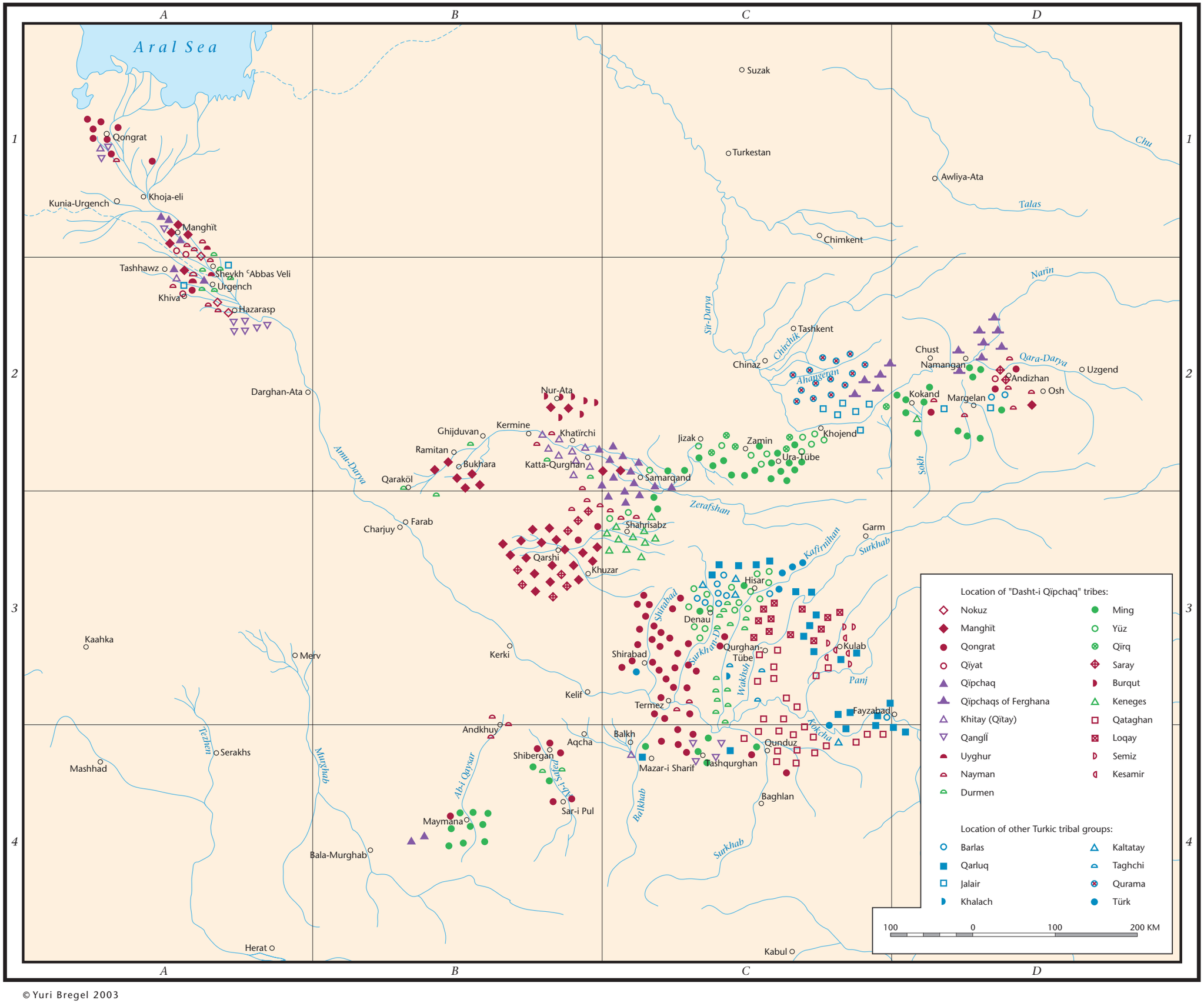
Central Asian sources give two different lists of Özbek tribes, one containing 32 names and another 92 names. The origin of these lists, which were wide-spread in Central Asia, is not known, and quite a few of these names (especially in the long list) are found not among the Özbeks, but among other Turkic, and even non-Turkic, peoples. But the actual number of Özbek tribes was indeed somewhere around 30.

The tribal Özbeks were mostly semi-nomadic until the 18th century, when many of them sedentarized. They usually lived in more or less compact groups on their tribal territories, but clans that belonged to the same tribe could be found in more than one region. Until the mid-19th century tribes were ruled by their traditional chieftains with the title of *biy* (which goes back to the title *bäg* from the time of Türk Qaghanate). Major tribes had their tribal fortresses, which were the residences of the *biy*s. The power of the *biy*s was curtailed in the 19th century by the new Özbek dynasties of tribal origin (see maps 30-31), and many tribal fortresses were destroyed.

The map shows the location of the most important and relatively compact groups; other, smaller, groups of tribal Özbeks were dispersed in the regions occupied by the major tribes, or were interspersed with non-Özbek (Tajik, Sart, "Chaghatay") populations. The tribal identities of the Özbek tribes that were found within the territory of the former Soviet Union were ignored in official Soviet statistics, but they were sometimes well described by ethnographers, whose data, to some extent, are good also for the 19th century. The Özbek tribes in Afghan Turkestan were much less studied.

At the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th (for which we have more or less detailed data) there were several main regions where the Özbek tribal population was concentrated. In Mavarannahr, the principal Özbek groups were the Manghït and Saray in the region of Qarshi, the Keneges in the region of Shahrisabz, the Qïpchaq west of Samarqand and the Khitay next to them (often referred to as one tribal group, Khitay-Qïpchaq), the Ming in the region of Ura-Tübe, the Yüz also in the region of Ura-Tübe and near Khojend, the Burqut in Nur-Ata, the Qongrat in the Shirabad and Surkhan-Darya valleys, and the Durmen in the Kafirnihan valley. In Khorezm the chief Özbek groups were especially the Qongrat in the Amu-Darya delta, the Manghït in the central part of Khorezm, and the Qanglï in the south. In Ferghana a distinct large group were the Qïpchaqs, who migrated to this region in the 18th century from the Qazaq steppes and were usually regarded separate from the Özbeks. In Afghan Turkestan the most numerous Özbek tribes were the Ming (especially around Maymana), the Qongrat south of Termez, and the Qataghan in the province of Qunduz. This list is by far not exhaustive, as can be seen from the map, which also does not show a number of smaller groups.

There were also other tribal Turkic-speaking groups that in the 19th-20th centuries were often counted among the Özbeks, but clearly came to the sedentary regions of Western Turkestan much earlier, some with the Qarakhanids, or even earlier, such as the Qarluq, Khalach, and the "Türk" (probably the earliest such group), and others with the Mongols, such as the Barlas and the Jalair.



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35. THE ÖZBEK TRIBES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

36A. THE TURKMEN TRIBES AND THEIR MIGRATIONS (16TH-19TH CENTURIES)

The Turkmens are mentioned in Islamic historical sources as early as the 10th century, when this term did not yet have a clear ethnic meaning, but was rather used to designate Turks in some steppe areas bordering the Islamic world who had converted to Islam, irrespective of their tribal affiliations. With the Islamization of a part of the Oghuz and the beginning of the Seljuk movement at the end of the 10th and early 11th centuries, this name (whose etymology is not clear) became associated with the Islamized Oghuz, mostly the supporters of the Seljuk dynasty. Due to the role of the Turkmens in the rise of the Seljuk empire (see maps 13-15), information on them is found in many historical sources, beginning with the 11th century. During this period the Turkmens migrated westward as far as the Fertile Crescent and North Africa; but our maps deal only with the Turkmens who remained in Central Asia. Turkmen tribal genealogies traced their origin to the mythical Oghuz Khan, the progenitor of all the Oghuz. According to these genealogies, reflected in historical sources of the 11th and 13th centuries, there were 24 Oghuz tribes; many of their names are still the names of the modern-day Turkmen tribes or clans. Although general Turkmen migrations in the pre-Mongol period are sometimes well described in historical sources, the movements and location of individual tribes in Central Asia at that time remain unknown; only some of it can be tentatively reconstructed on the basis of Turkmen genealogical legends. More data are available from the early 16th century, primarily due to the two works written by the ʿArabshahid Abu'l-Ghazi Khan, one on the history and genealogy of the Turkmens and another on the history of the ʿArabshahids.

In the process of the Seljuk conquests most of the Turkmens went west, to Azerbayjan, Iran, Iraq, and Anatolia (where their descendants eventually founded the Ottoman empire); in Azerbayjan and Northern Iraq they formed two powerful tribal unions, the Qara-Qoyunlu and Aq-Qoyunlu, and many of them were included in the Qïzïlbash tribal union that founded the Safavid state in Iran. But from the beginning of the Seljuk conquests a part of the Turkmens did not move west with their fellow tribesmen, but remained in the steppes and deserts between the Aral Sea and Khorasan. Here, groups belonging to almost all Oghuz tribes could be found; some Turkmen groups that had moved westward later on, probably in the 13th-14th centuries, returned east and joined those who had remained in Central Asia.

During the Mongol conquest battles and skirmishes between the Mongols and the Turkmens in Khorezm and Northern Khorasan are mentioned, but historians of the Mongol and Timurid periods are silent about these Turkmens. Only a few events of Turkmen history during these periods can be tentatively reconstructed on the basis of the Turkmen historical tradition and some circumstantial evidence. Apparently, during the Mongol conquest of Central Asia the Turkmens were driven away from the vicinity of the oases of Khorezm and Northern Khorasan, and during the next three centuries they nomadized mainly along the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea. The Mongols were obviously little interested in this area, which was unfit for the Mongol type of horse-breeding economy, and for almost three centuries the Turkmens were left to their own devices, practicing relatively short-range nomadism based on camels (dromedaries) and sheep, and divided into independent tribes. As distinct from the nomads of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, they were not incorporated into the Mongol tribal and imperial structure, and, as a result, they remained outside the Mongol imperial tradition: they did not have any Chingisid rulers, they did not have a "noble estate" comparable to the Qazaq "white bone" (cf. map 38), and they were not directly subjected to the Chingisid khans.

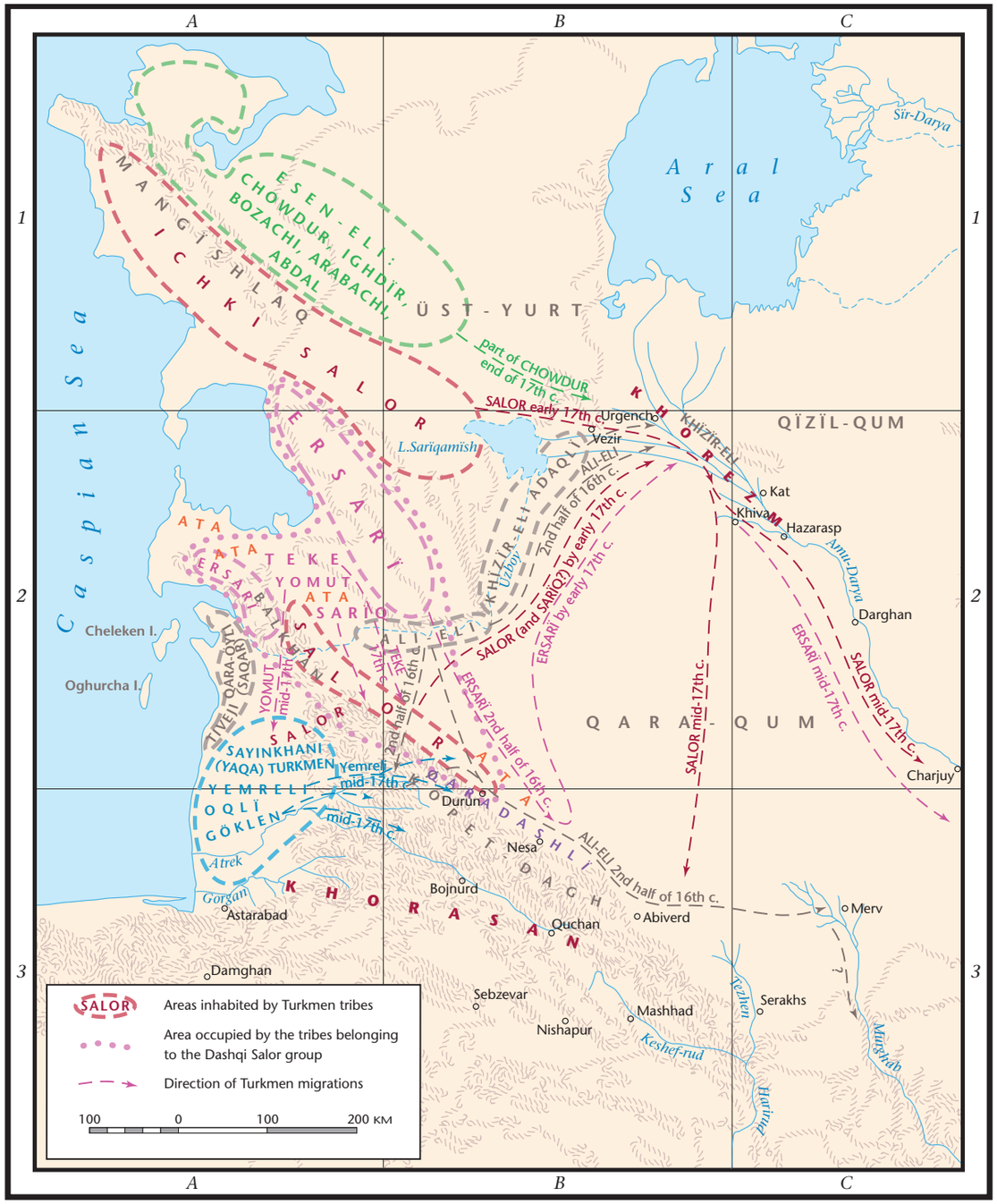
In the post-Mongol period, the Turkmen tribes inhabited vast arid regions of the Mangïshlaq peninsula, the Üst-Yurt plateau, and the western Qaraqum—areas to which they were mostly pushed from regions farther east by the Mongol invasion. From the middle of the 16th century some of these tribes began a gradual migration eastward, in the direction of the agricultural oases of Khorezm and northern Khorasan; it is assumed that the main causes of this movement were the growing desiccation of this part of Central Asia combined with increased population pressure, as well as the pressure of stronger nomadic groups from the north (first Qalmïqs, later Qazaqs). Some of these movements were caused by the growing involvement of the Turkmens in the affairs of neighboring states, Khorezm and Iran.

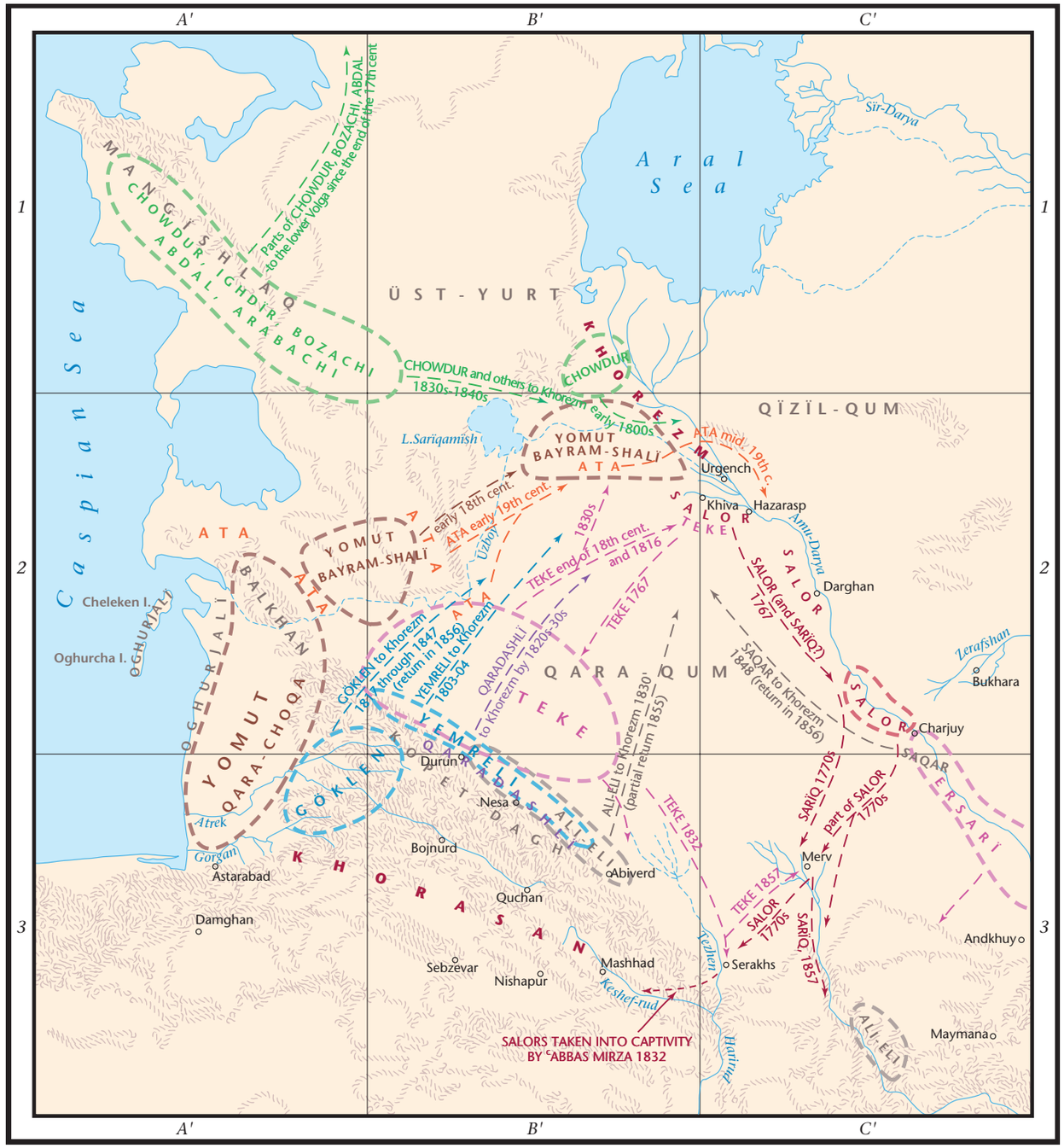
By the 16th century some of the original 24 tribes were no longer mentioned in Central Asia, while some new tribes emerged. One important tribe, the Qaradashlï, believed to be a remnant of the large pre-Mongol Yazïr group (see map 16), was pushed into the foothills of the Kopet-Dagh mountains, where it sedentarized and remained until the 19th century. But the strongest Turkmen tribal group before the 16th century was centered in the Mangïshlaq peninsula, apparently under the leadership of the Salor tribe. This group of tribes included, besides the Salor, also the Ersarï, Teke, Sarïq, and Yomut (none of these four is listed among the 24 Oghuz tribes, but the origin of the first three is traced back to the Salors). In the 16th century the Salors were found from Mangïshlaq in the north to the Khorasanian mountains in the south, and they were divided into two main groups, Ichki (i.e. "the Inner") and Tashqi ("the Outer"); the Teke, Sarïq, and Yomut belonged to the "Outer Salors," as did, most probably, the Ersarï. North of the Salors in the Mangïshlaq peninsula was the group known as Esen-eli, which included the old Oghuz tribes Chowdur and Ighdïr, as well as new ones, Abdal, Bozachi and Arabachi. Another group, which occupied the south-western corner of modern Turkmenistan, north of the Iranian border, is known from Iranian sources as the Sayinkhani, or Yaqa (i.e. the Coastal) Turkmens, and included the tribes Yemreli (an old Oghuz tribe), Göklen (formed of two old Oghuz tribes), and Oqlï. Yet another group seems to have emerged in the 14th-15th centuries along the Uzboy, the dry bed of the Amu-Darya, when part of the Amu-Darya's water was flowing through it. It included originally the "Üch-el," i.e. "Three tribes": from west to east, the Qara-Öyli, Ali-eli, and Khïzïr-eli. The Qara-Öyli were joined by another newly formed tribe, Tiveji, and they lived between the Balkhan mountains and the Caspian Sea, while the part of the Khïzïr-eli closest to Khorezm became known as the Adaqlï (from Adaq, the region of Khorezm east of Lake Sarïqamïsh).

It was apparently the Üch-el who began the eastward migrations of the Turkmens, after the Uzboy dried up completely in the 16th century. The Ali-eli moved to northern Khorasan, where part of them remained in the region of Abiverd, while others went on to the region of Merv. The Khïzïr-eli and Adaqlï migrated to the northwestern regions of Khorezm. The Salors migrated to Khorezm, both from Mangïshlaq and Khorasan, in the early 17th century, but they had to abandon it as a result of the military campaigns against the Turkmens by Abu'l-Ghazi Khan; they then migrated partly to northern Khorasan, and partly to the middle course of the Amu-Darya. The place of the Salor and Ersarï between the Küren-Dagh and Mangïshlaq was gradually occupied by the much strengthened Yomut and Teke. The Yaqa Turkmens, after they had been attacked by the Safavid governors of Astarabad in the early 17th century, disappeared as a group, and their remnants migrated to the middle course of the Atrek (the Göklen) and to the foothills of the Kopet-Dagh (the Yemreli). Their place was occupied by the Yomut, who were expanding from the north. Finally, some of the Chowdur and some other Esen-eli from Mangïshlaq came to Khorezm by the end of the 17th century, while in the early 18th century another part of these tribes migrated northward to the lower Volga region.

In the 18th century gradual movements of the Turkmen tribes continued. The largest of these were the migration of one branch of the Yomut, the Bayram-Shalï, to Khorezm in the early 18th century, and the migration of the Teke to the northern rim of Khorasan at about the same time. The Bayram-Shalï Yomut have remained in Khorezm ever since, with three brief interruptions: they were banished from the Khanate of Khiva after their rebellions, in 1744-47, 1771-79, and 1804-06. The other branch of the Yomut, Qara-Choqa (or Choni-Sheref) firmly established itself in the region between the Gorgan river and the Balkhan mountains. The Teke began their infiltration of the oases of northern Khorasan by the first half of the 18th century, when these areas still nominally belonged to Nadir Shah, and in the second half of the century they occupied this whole region up to the Tezhen in the east, having pushed out the Yemreli, who migrated to Khorezm. Some groups of the Teke came to Khorezm in the mid-18th century, and for a while they played a political role there, together with the still remaining Salor, but in 1767 they were pushed out by the Yomut. The Chowdur began to play a greater role in Khorezm, where they lived between the Amu-Darya delta and the Üst-Yurt plateau and on several occasions were allied with the Yomut.

Text to map 36b see on p. 74





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36A. THE TURKMEN TRIBES AND THEIR MIGRATIONS (16TH-19TH CENTURIES)

36B. THE TURKMEN TRIBES AND THEIR MIGRATIONS (19TH-20TH CENTURIES)

36B. THE TURKMEN TRIBES AND THEIR MIGRATIONS (19TH-20TH CENTURIES)

The last series of Turkmen migrations, in the 19th century, was connected with the policy of the Qongrat khans of Khiva. In the eyes of the chieftains of other Özbek tribes, the Qongrats, who became khans at the beginning of the 19th century, not being Chingisids, did not have the required legitimacy. The Turkmens provided military support to the Qongrat dynasty in fighting both the internal opposition and the Khanate of Bukhara, the traditional enemy of the Khanate of Khiva. The first Qongrat khans encouraged the Turkmen migration to Khorezm (and deported some tribes from northern Khorasan by force), providing the Turkmens with land for their military service and exempting them from paying tax on the land and from supplying laborers for irrigation works. The tribes settled in Khorezm this way included the Yomut (the Bayram-Shalï branch), Chowdur, Yemreli, Göklen, Qaradashlï, Saqar, a group of the Teke, and some smaller tribes. In the middle of the 19th century Turkmen tribes formed about one quarter of the total population of Khorezm, and they maintained their internal autonomy. However, in the 1850s the relations of the khanate with the Turkmens began to deteriorate, resulting in Turkmen rebellions that continued until 1868. Most of the Turkmens who settled in Khorezm became sedentary or semi-sedentary.

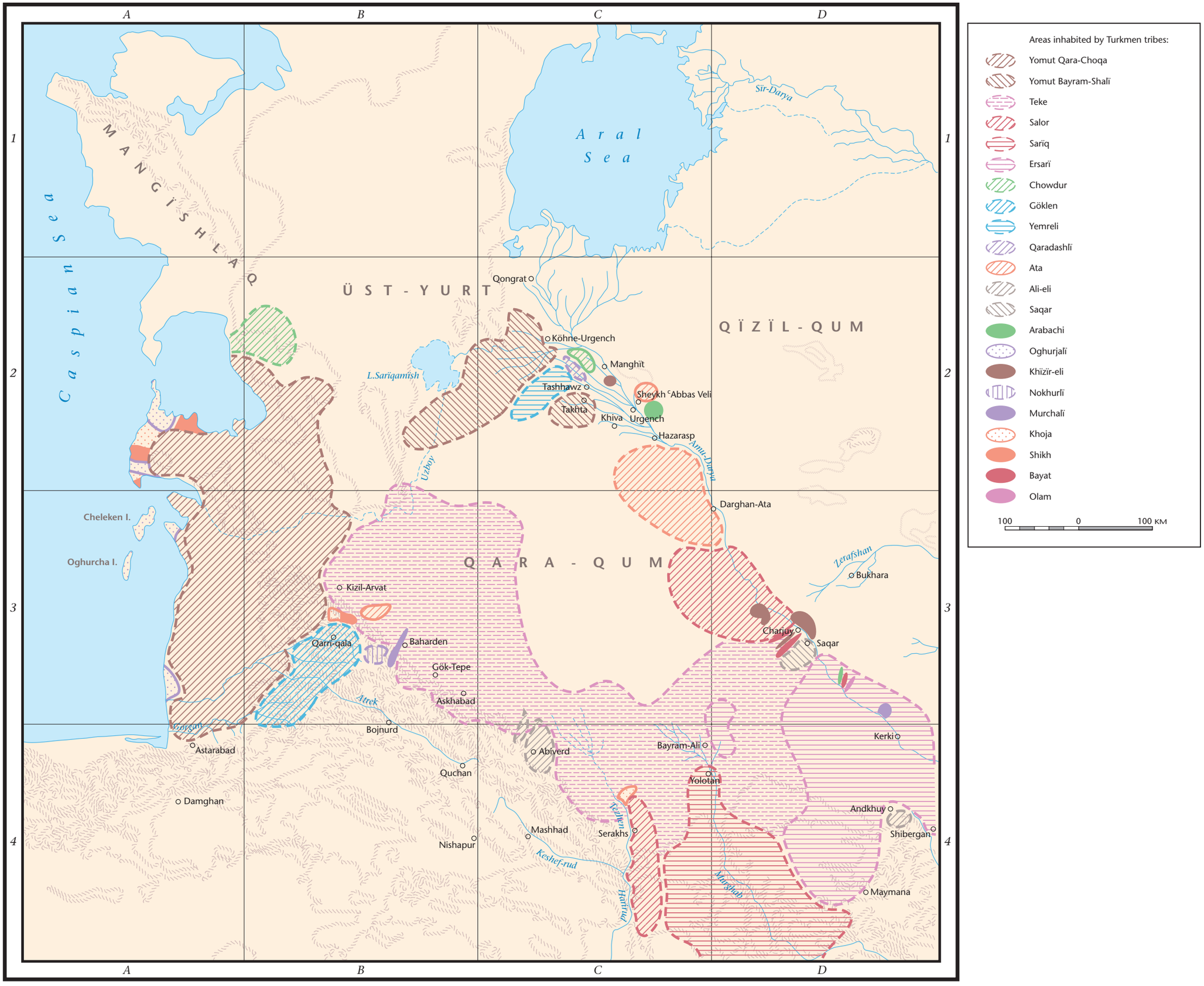
Among the Turkmens who remained in the south, the most important tribes were the Yomut (Qara-Choqa), Teke (the most numerous of the Turkmen tribes in the 19th century), Sarïq (who inhabited the Merv oasis until they lost it to the Teke in 1857 and moved to the upper Murghab), Göklen (most of the 19th century), and Ali-eli; the Ersarï and Salor were the only two major tribes that lived in the Khanate of Bukhara. All these tribes also became sedentary or semi-sedentary; the nomadic way of life was maintained most of all by some of the Yomuts. The tribes of western and southern Turkmenistan which remained outside the effective authority of the sedentary states lived as self-governing communities under their traditional leadership. The clans and tribes were headed by chieftains, whose functions could sometimes be inherited in the family, but whose authority was extremely limited. They could have different titles, the most common in the later periods being the titles of *bek* and *onbegi*; there were also chieftains with the title of khan, but these khans were not superior in rank to other chieftains and had nothing to do with the charismatic khans of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq. None of the major tribes had one single chieftain, and all the tribes lacked internal cohesion. At a time of serious danger from outside, several tribes could unite under a commonly recognized military leader, but such a union would break up after the danger subsided. Islamic law, *shari'a*, was recognized by the Turkmens, who were all Sunni Muslims, but all criminal cases and civil disputes were decided by the elders according to an uncodified common law. Strong influence on the Turkmens was exercised by Sufi sheykhs, usually called *ishan*s, who were not only spiritual guides, but also intermediaries in various conflicts, both within and among different clans and tribes; their role was especially important in the absence of any strong authority among the chieftains. Intertribal conflicts and wars were frequent, but usually on a small scale; among the larger military conflicts in the 18th-19th centuries were the wars of the Teke with the Yemreli for the possession of Akhal, and of the Teke with the Sarïq for the possession of Merv (both resulted in victory for the Teke).

The Turkmens in the south practiced both agriculture and nomadic stock-breeding, and the usual division of labor was within the same family: some family members tilled the land (they were called *chomur*), while others were nomadizing in the desert with the family herd (they were called *charva*). The percentage of nomadic stock-breeders was the highest among the Qara-Choqa Yomuts. The Turkmen farming communities in the south had well developed systems of irrigation (which differed depending on the sources of water), and they had a specific form of communal property rights on land and irrigational water, called *sanashiq*, with periodic (mostly annual) redistribution of land and water shares among all adult married members of the community.

The independent Turkmen tribes that inhabited the regions along the northern borders of Iran caused great concern to the Iranian authorities by their frequent raiding of villages and sometimes even towns not only along the border, but deep inside Khorasan. The main purpose of this raiding, besides plunder, was the capture of prisoners, who were either sold in the slave market of Khiva or kept until ransom money was paid by relatives. The only thing the Iranian authorities were able to do was to retaliate with raids against the Turkmens. Therefore the conquest of the Turkmen regions by Russia in 1881-1885, which brought about the cessation of Turkmen raiding, did not cause any protests on the part of Iran. As a result of the demarcation of the Russo-Iranian border, all Turkmen tribes from the Caspian Sea to the Tezhen were now within the Russian Empire, with two major exceptions: the majority of the Göklen, as well as part of the Yomut Qara-Choqa (between the Atrek and the Gorgan) remained in Iran. The demarcation of the Russian border with Afghanistan also left some Turkmens within Afghanistan; the most numerous among them were the Ersarï (along the left bank of the Amu-Darya and further south, from Andkhuy to Mazar-i Sharif), the Sarïq (along the Murghab and in some other parts of Afghan Turkestan), and the Ali-eli (near Andkhuy). The latest migration of Turkmens was in the early 1930s, when some of them, primarily the Sarïq, fled to Afghanistan, escaping forcible collectivization in the Soviet Union.

37. THE TURKMEN TRIBES IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

After the Russian conquest and the division of Central Asia between Russia, China, Iran, and Afghanistan, the areas inhabited by individual Turkmen tribes of Central Asia became generally stable. The map shows the regions inhabited by the Turkmen tribes according to early 20th century surveys and mid-20th century ethnographic data. Turkmens of all tribes preserved a strong sense of their separate tribal identities, which was expressed not only in various elements of material culture (especially female dress and the ornaments of their famous tribal rugs and other textile products), but also in tribal dialects, which were specific to each major tribe. At the same time the Turkmens were well aware that they had a common origin and belonged to the same people, notwithstanding their tribal differences. Until at least the middle of the 20th century, written tribal genealogies (or genealogical trees, *shejere*) could be found among the various Turkmen tribes of Central Asia tracing their origin back to the mythical Oghuz Khan and sometimes showing the kinship among the tribes. By the early 20th century the Teke was by far the largest tribe, forming about 30% of the entire Turkmen population. Next were the Yomut (about 21%) and then the Ersarï (about 16%). More than a dozen other tribes together formed just 33% of all the Turkmens. Several small tribes were settled in the middle course of the Amu-Darya, in the region of Charjuy and farther south, often interspersed with Özbeks and Tajiks, and some of them were partially assimilated by the Özbeks. In the foothills of the Kopet-Dagh there existed several small tribes (Nokhurli, Murchali, Annauli) who had no place in Turkmen genealogies; some modern linguists define their dialects as "Khorasanian Turkic," and a hypothesis has been advanced according to which these tribes are the remnants of the Turkmen groups that came to Khorasan with the beginning of the Seljuk movement, the majority of whom migrated later to Azerbayjan and Anatolia.



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37. THE TURKMEN TRIBES IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

38. THE QAZAQ TRIBES IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

The Qazaqs were, for the most part, not only the successors, but in many cases the direct descendants of the previous nomadic inhabitants of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq. Very often a direct continuity is seen between various Turkic and Mongol tribes that were found on this territory shortly before and immediately after the Mongol conquest, and various Qazaq tribes. Most of the conclusions about such continuity are based on the coincidence of some Qazaq and pre-Qazaq tribal names, especially when the tribes with these names were found on the same territory. Many Qazaq tribal names are found also among the Özbeks and the Qïrghïz, and these three peoples certainly have some common historical roots. The obvious historical predecessors of the Qazaqs on the territory of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq were the Qïpchaqs; the nomadic population of the Aq-Orda ("Golden Horde") was referred to as Qïpchaq, and the Qïpchaq tribe is among the tribes of the Qazaq Middle Horde (Orta Zhuz); but the names of the individual pre-Mongol Qïpchaq tribes seem to have no parallel among the tribes of the Qazaqs. On the other hand, the names of some important Qazaq tribes go back to the Mongol tribes that appeared in Central Asia with the Mongol conquest (and which were later Turkicized). This may be an indication that the tribes of Mongol origin were important components of the ethnic entity that was to be called Qazaq. Many Qazaq tribal names, mainly of the Middle and Senior Hordes, are the same as the names of Özbek tribes; this can be explained by their common origin in the Ulus of Orda (Kök-Orda, see maps 21-22).

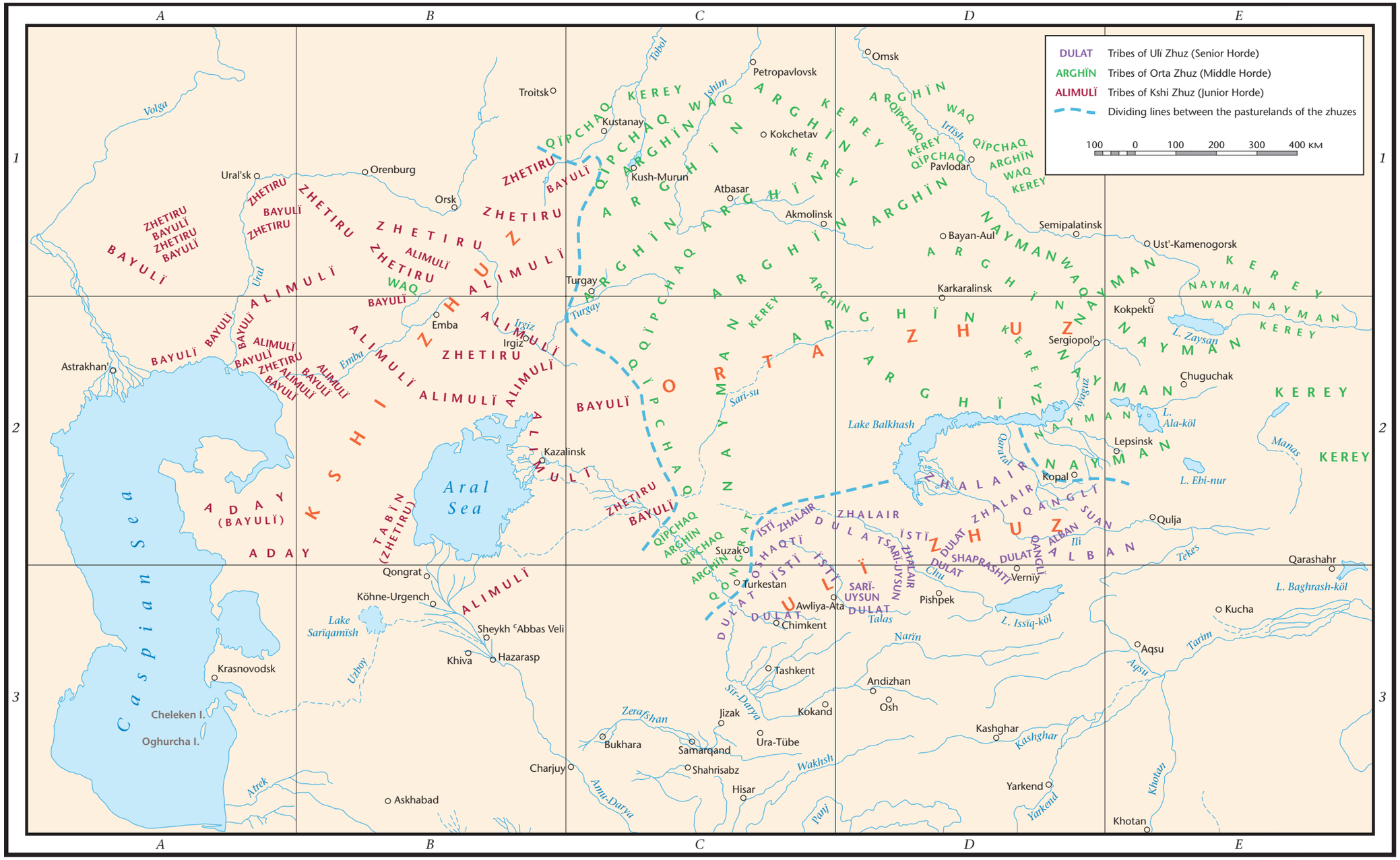
After the emergence of the Özbek-Qazaq confederation in the 15th century, its territory expanded mostly to the west and the north. The Russian expansion into Siberia, followed by Russian peasant colonization, gradually pushed the Qazaqs back from their summer pastures in the north. But after the destruction of the Junghars by China in 1758-59 (see map 30), some Qazaq groups gradually spread eastward. Much earlier (not later than the early 17th century), the Qazaqs divided into three major parts called *zhuz*. Neither the circumstances of this division nor the etymology of this term are known; explanations offered by some modern scholars (deriving it from the common Turkic *yüz*, Qazaq *zhuz*, for "hundred," also "face," or from Arabic *juz* for "part") are unsatisfactory. In Russian sources the *zhuz*es were referred to as *orda*, and accordingly, in the West they became known as "Hordes"; this term has no basis in Qazaq usage. Their names (*Kshi*, *Orta*, and *Ulï*) were also misunderstood as "Little," "Middle," and "Big (or Great)," implying size, while they refer instead to seniority (apparently a genealogical seniority): "Junior," "Middle," and "Senior." However, it is not clear whether the membership of a certain tribe or individual in a senior *zhuz* would give them any social or political advantage.

When the *zhuz*es were first described in Russian sources in the first half of the 18th century, they already occupied distinct parts of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, with the Junior Horde spread over the westernmost part, the Middle Horde in the central part, and the Senior Horde in the eastern part (Semirech'e). At the end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries extensive statistical data on the Qazaqs were collected as a result of Russian surveys. According to these data, the tribes of the Senior Horde were nomadizing between the middle and upper course of the Sïr-Darya in the west and the upper course of the Ili in the east, and between the northern foothills of the Tien-Shan in the south and Lake Balkhash in the north. The tribes of the Middle Horde occupied the largest territory, including the central, northern, and eastern parts of the Qazaq steppes, from the middle course of the Tobol, Ishim, and Irtïsh rivers in the north to the middle course of the Sïr-Darya in the south, and from the Turgay in the west to the northern part of Semirech'e and Jungharia in the east. The tribes of the Junior Horde occupied the western section of the steppe, from the upper course of the Tobol and Ural rivers in the north to the Mangïshlaq peninsula, the Üst-Yurt, the shores of the Aral Sea, and the lower course of the Sïr-Darya in the south. These data, however, did not include the Qazaqs in China, almost all of whom were concentrated in Jungharia and belonged to the Middle Horde.

The Qazaqs inherited the political and social structure of the nomads of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, which had existed since the Mongol conquest. At the head of their society were the Jochids, the direct agnatic descendants of the eldest son of Chingis Khan, Jochi; they were called *aq söyek*, "white bone," and formed a closed estate that was not part of the Qazaq tribal structure. Only the members of this clan, who had the title of *töre* or *sultan*, could be elected as *khan*s, sovereign rulers; they also had other privileges that set them aside from the rest of the Qazaqs. Each *zhuz* had its own khan, elected by an assembly of the sultans and prominent tribal chieftains, and sometimes there was more than one khan in the same *zhuz.* At the head of the Qazaq tribes and their subdivisions stood chieftains with the title of *biy*, traditional among the nomads of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq (cf. map 35). They also served as judges by common law (*adat*), which was codified by the khan Tawke at the end of the 17th or early 18th century. Distinguished military leaders could gain the title of *batïr* (lit. "hero," from Mongol *bahadur*), which could be combined with the status (and the title) of a biy. Batïrs became prominent in Qazaq society in the 18th century, during the wars with the Junghars and the erosion of the authority of the khans and sultans. With the final Russian annexation of the Qazaq steppes in the first half of the 19th century, the position of the khan was abolished, and the sultans lost their privileged legal status.

The economy of the great majority of the Qazaqs was based on nomadic stock-breeding, combining sheep, horses, camels, and cattle; the mix of these animals in the herds could vary greatly, depending on the natural conditions of specific regions. The natural conditions determined also the range of seasonal migrations, whose radius could vary from about 100 km a year to as much as 1,000-1,500 km. The Russian colonization of the northern steppe areas, which developed gradually, but especially intensively in the 19th century, deprived the Qazaqs of some of their best summer pastures; the Russian administrative reforms of the first half of the 19th century also caused some disruptions of traditional migrations. Nevertheless, the great majority of the Qazaqs remained nomadic even after the revolution in Russia, until their forced collectivization and sedentarization in the early 1930s, which caused huge losses of livestock, famine, and the flight of many Qazaqs to China (see map 47).

At the end of the 19th and in the early 20th centuries the number of Qazaqs of the Senior Zhuz was estimated at about 700,000, of which the largest tribes were the Dulat (about 250,000), Alban (about 100,000), and Zhalair (about 110,000). The number of Qazaqs of the Middle Zhuz was estimated at 1,500,000, of which the largest tribe was the Arghïn (about 500,000); the next in number were the Nayman (over 400,000), the Qïpchaq (about 150,000), and the Kerey (about 100,000). The number of Qazaqs of the Junior Zhuz was about 1,200,000 or 1,300,000, of which the subdivision of Alimulï had about 350,000, the subdivision of Bayulï had 500,000-550,000, and the subdivision of Zhetiru had about 270,000-300,000. The number of Qazaqs in China (mostly of the Middle Zhuz) was estimated at around 450,000.



A B C D E

1 2 3

Qazaq tribes:

- Ulï Zhuz (Senior Horde):
  - Dulat
  - Zhalair
  - Sarï-Uysun
  - Ïstï
  - Oshaqtï
  - Shaprashtï
  - Qanglï
  - Alban
  - Suan
- Orta Zhuz (Middle Horde):
  - Qïpchaq
  - Arghïn
  - Nayman
  - Kerey
  - Waq
  - Qongrat
- Kshi Zhuz (Junior Horde):
  - Alimulï:
    - Qarakesek
    - Shektï
    - Shomekey
    - Tortqara
    - Qarasaqal
  - Bayulï:
    - Aday
    - Zhappas
    - Alasha
    - Baybaqtï
    - Tazdar
  - Zhetiru:
    - Tabïn
    - Tama
    - Kerderi
    - Kereit
    - Zhaghalbaylï
    - Tlew
    - Ramadan

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38. THE QAZAQ TRIBES IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

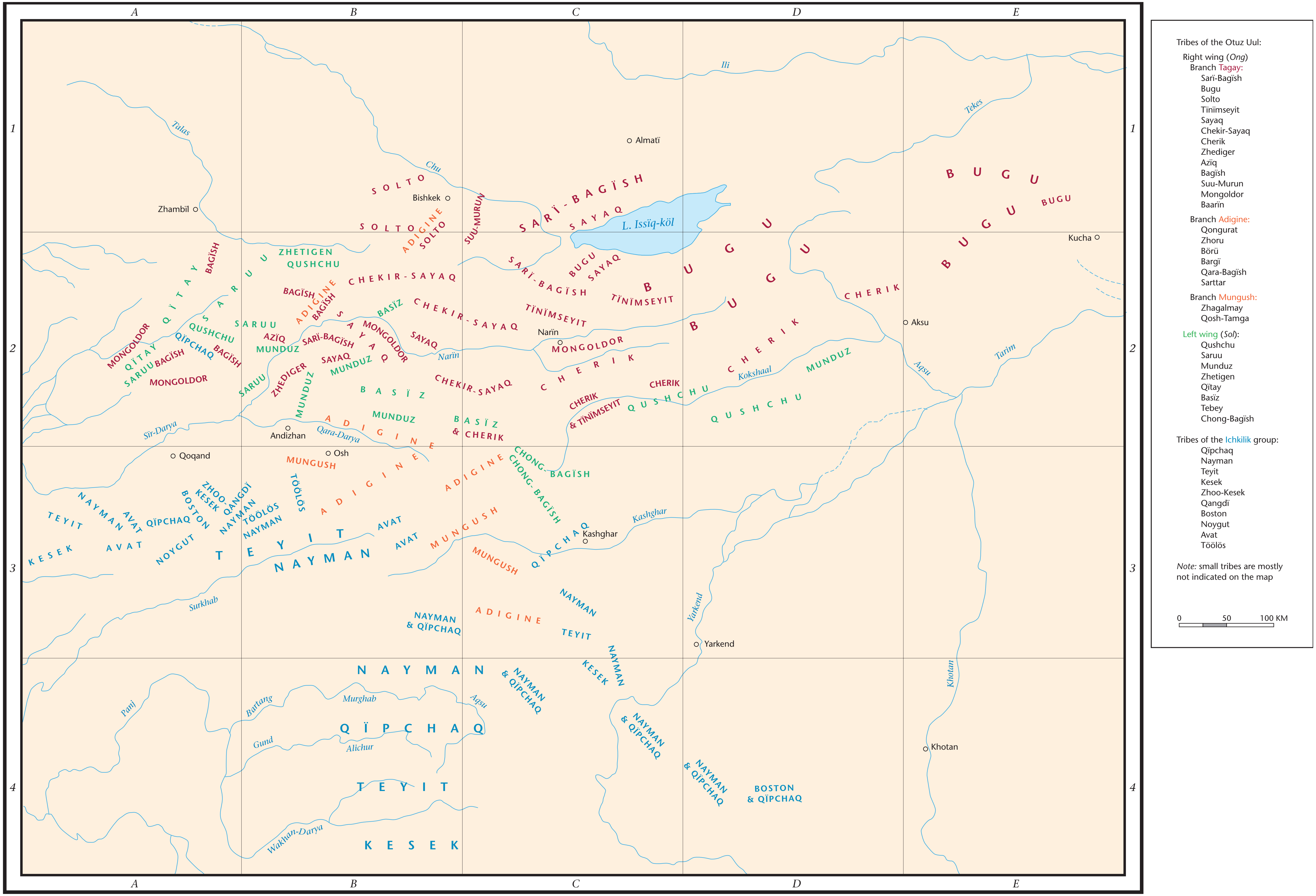
39. THE QÏRGHÏZ TRIBES IN THE 20TH CENTURY

The Qïrghïz as a separate ethnic group were first mentioned under this name and on the territory that they presently occupy at the end of the 15th century. Their previous history and especially their relationship to the Qïrghïz of the Yenisey basin, who formed a powerful nomadic state which destroyed the Uyghur Qaghanate in the 9th century (see map 10), are still a matter of controversy in scholarly literature. Several theories have been offered to explain this relationship, but none of them seems to be definitively proven. The prevailing opinion now is that the Qïrghïz of the Tien-Shan included some nomadic groups that inhabited this region for several centuries, as well as other groups, related to the Yenisey Qïrghïz, who migrated to the south from the Altay region later (the time of this migration is uncertain, but it probably happened during the first expansion of the Oyrats in the 15th century), bringing with them the ethnic name Qïrghïz. An important factor in the formation of the Qïrghïz of the Tien-Shan was the decline of the Chaghatayid khanate of Moghulistan in the 15th-16th centuries (see maps 26-27), when some Moghul tribes (or parts of them) apparently joined the Qïrghiz, while others joined the Qazaqs. In the process of their formation the Qïrghïz incorporated groups of various origins, some of which may be traced back, according to many scholars, to the time of the Türk Qaghanate, and others may be traced to tribes of Mongol origin (such as the Nayman) or to pre-Mongol tribes of the Dasht-i Qïpchaq (such as the Qangdï, from Qanglï). Whatever their origin, by the 16th century they together formed one distinct entity. Since that time they were concentrated in the Tien-Shan and (especially later) farther south, down to the Pamirs. In the 17th century the Qïrghïz were pressed by the Junghars and, escaping them, spread out southward, to the Ferghana basin, and eastward, to the oases of Eastern Turkestan; after the destruction of the Junghars some of them returned to their previous homes.

The Qïrghïz tribes were divided into three main groups. Two of them together were called *Otuz uul* ("Thirty sons"), and had two "wings," right (*ong*) and left (*sol*); the right wing was much more numerous than the left, and it was subdivided into three branches, Tagay, Adigine, and Mungush. The tribes of the Tagay branch occupied the largest section of the Tien-Shan mountain region. It included the largest Qïrghïz tribes, the Bugu, Solto, and Sarï-Bagïsh, who lived in the upper course of the Chu, around Lake Issïq-köl, and farther east, while the tribes belonging to the Adigine and Mungush branches lived to the southwest of the Tagay branch in the foothills of the Ferghana and Alay mountain ranges, the eastern part of the Ferghana basin, and in the Alay valley. The small tribes of the left wing occupied the valleys and the foothills of the Talas and Chatkal mountains. The third main group of the Qïrghïz was called *Ichkilik* and occupied the southern parts of the Qïrghïz territory, including the Pamir highlands down to the Wakhan. They apparently migrated to the areas that they currently occupy from Eastern Turkestan in the 16th-17th centuries and later; some of them still extend into Eastern Turkestan.

The Qïrghïz had a nomadic economy with cyclic migrations between winter pastures in the river valleys and gorges protected from snow, and summer pastures in the alpine meadows. The Qïrghïz were the only Central Asian people who raised yaks. But before the Russian annexation, horses formed the largest percentage of their livestock; after the annexation sheep became more important. The role of horses is explained by the frequent intertribal wars that required greater mobility; frequent wars also required the Qïrghïz to concentrate in the winter in large communities: the tents ("yurts") of entire clans, up to 200 and more households, stretched out along the banks of rivers. The Qïrghïz also practiced some agriculture, which was especially important around Lake Issïq-köl and in the Ferghana basin.

The Mongol imperial tradition, according to which the Chingisid clan had the exclusive right to the supreme authority embodied in the person of a khan, did not affect the Qïrghïz. They did not have khans, nor any other paramount rulers, and each tribe or tribal subdivision was ruled by its chieftain with the title of *biy* (as among the Özbeks and the Qazaqs). The title and position of a biy was usually hereditary, and he enjoyed great authority within his tribe. In the first half of the 19th century a new title for tribal chieftains, *manap*, appeared among the northern Qïrghïz tribes. Originally it was the name of a clan in the Sarï-Bagïsh tribe, which was named for one of its chieftains from the 17th century. The chieftains from the Manap clan acquired a privileged position within the Sarï-Bagïsh and later extended their influence to other tribes, so that the term *manap* began to be applied to chieftains of other northern Qïrghïz tribes as an equivalent of *biy* (it was not used among the southern tribes). Some of the Qïrghïz chieftains acquired great influence and power in the cities of Eastern Turkestan from the 17th century to the first half of the 18th century. In the 1820s and 1830s the Khanate of Qoqand conquered most of the Qïrghïz tribes and annexed their territories. The tribes remained under the rule of traditional chieftains, who were responsible to the Qoqandian officials. Some Qïrghïz chieftains were appointed to administrative posts in the khanate, primarily in Qïrghïz territory, but also elsewhere in the country. Qïrghïz troops often formed a substantial part of the Qoqandian army, and Qïrghïz chieftains played an important role in the political life of the Khanate of Qoqand in the 19th century, especially since the early 1840s, often in alliance with the Qïpchaqs of Ferghana. But the Qïrghïz who inhabited the remote regions of the Tien-Shan and Pamir recognized Qoqandian authority only nominally, or not at all. After 1876 most of the Qïrghïz regions were annexed by Russia; only small parts of the Ichkilik group remained in Eastern Turkestan and in the Afghan Pamirs (the so called Wakhan corridor; these fled to Pakistan in 1978 and then resettled to eastern Turkey in 1982).



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39. THE QÏRGHÏZ TRIBES IN THE 20TH CENTURY

40. BUKHARA (CITY) IN THE 19TH CENTURY

A settlement on the present site of the city of Bukhara existed as early as the 4th or 3rd century B.C. Bukhara became one of the chief cities of Soghd, and has remained on the same site down to the present time, despite the destruction caused over the centuries by fires and wars, including the Mongol invasion. Bukhara became especially important in the history of Central Asia from the 9th century, as the capital of the Samanids; later it often competed for prominence with Samarqand, but since the time of ʿAbdallah Khan II (from 1557) and until the Russian conquest it was the capital of the Abulkhayrids and then of the Ashtarkhanids and Manghïts, and it became the largest and most prosperous city of Central Asia. Its history and especially its conditions under the Manghïts (19th–early 20th centuries) have also been better studied than those of any other city of Central Asia.

The ancient name of the city was, apparently, Numijket, while Bukhara was the name of the oasis, of which Numijket was the capital; gradually, in the early Islamic period, Bukhara became the name of the city. The historical center of the city (*shahristan*), located to the east of the citadel (*ark*), was rectangular in shape and surrounded by a wall that had seven gates; this wall has not survived, but its location has been well established. Later, a wall encompassing the suburbs (*rabad*s) was built; it was destroyed and rebuilt several times. The existing city wall was built by ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Sultan (1539-1550) and then extended by ʿAbdallah Khan (1557-1598). In 1752-53 it was reinforced by a new wall built next to it. This mud wall, about 5-6 m thick at the base and about 10 m high, was about 12 km long and had 11 gates; most of the wall still exists. The folding gates had guards and were locked at sunset and opened at sunrise. The citadel served as the official residence of the rulers of Bukhara, down to the time of the Manghït amirs. Besides the audience hall of the amir, it had numerous government offices and rooms for officials and courtiers; these structures did not survive the Russian revolution and the fall of the Manghïts.

The city was supplied by water brought from the Zerafshan by the Shahrud (Shahr-rud) canal, also known as the Rud-i Shahr (ancient Rud-i Zar). The opening through which the canal entered the city from the east under the wall was protected by metal bars that did not allow anyone to penetrate the city under the water. In the central part of the city the canal flowed through an underground channel. The Shahrud fed more than 200 small canals which brought water to various parts of the city. The water of the Zerafshan would reach the city twice a month, in accordance with the established system of water use for the entire Zerafshan valley; to ensure a continuous supply of water in the city, there were about 100 reservoirs (*hawz*) of various sizes in all parts of Bukhara. The city was extremely densely built, so that almost no trees grew in its central parts; it was notorious since the middle ages for its poor sanitary conditions.

The city was divided into *guzar*s—city quarters (or neighborhood communities), whose number in the early 20th century was 220; they were the main administrative units of the city. In some city quarters the population was more or less homogenous, consisting of the members of one trade (artisans or merchants), or people of the same ethnic origin, but in others it was mixed, and usually members of groups of higher social status lived intermixed with the commoners. The population of a *guzar* formed a community with its own elected elders; the center of communal life of the *guzar* was its mosque. The *guzar*s were loosely grouped into 12 larger territorial units called *jarib* or *mahalla* (these were, apparently, the original main subdivisions of the city, which had mostly lost their administrative meaning by the 19th century). The exact figure of the city's population is not known, but according to modern estimates it was around 80,000-85,000. Ethnically, the population of the city was overwhelmingly Tajik, although there were also groups of Özbeks, especially among the government officials and the military, and there were some Özbek groups who were linguistically assimilated by the Tajiks. A substantial group (probably about 8,000) was formed by the Shiʿites, mostly the descendants of the inhabitants of Merv deported to Bukhara by the amir Shah Murad at the end of the 18th century; they were called *Irani* or *Marvi*, and they lived partly intermixed with the rest of the population. Another, separate, group was formed by the Jews, who numbered about 4,500; they spoke a dialect of Tajik and lived in three city quarters in the southern part of the city.

Bukhara in the 19th century had a flourishing economy and the largest concentration of craftsmen and merchants in Central Asia. There were about a hundred different crafts, whose members were organized in trade guilds. The most important crafts were weaving (especially of silk), embroidery (especially gold-embroidery), the making of robes, jewelry, and metal work. The products of Bukharan craftsmen were sold not only in the city, but also in many other parts of Central Asia. Before the Russian conquest, Bukhara was the chief commercial center of Central Asia and had a large number of merchants specializing in, among other things, such articles of trade as astrakhan fur, cotton, silk cocoons, carpets, and fabrics. The city had numerous bazaars, and in the central part of the city entire streets were formed by the dense rows of shops of craftsmen selling their products; some of these streets were covered by wooden roofs. The main trade centers of Bukhara were the five domed trade arcades (*taq*) connected by a street (two of them were demolished after the revolution); the three *taq*s that still exist were built under ʿAbdallah Khan. A larger multi-domed structure known as the *tim* of ʿAbdallah Khan was also built under the same khan; it was occupied by merchants selling the most expensive fabrics. The second major trade area of the city was the Registan, to the west of the citadel, which mostly had shops selling foodstuffs and other items of local consumption. Besides these areas, every square in the town was used for a bazaar. Of great importance were caravanserays, used not only by travellers, but also by merchants, who often had their offices there; there were 38 of these in the 1840s.

Bukhara was the main religious center of Central Asia, and it had the greatest concentration of mosques, madrasas, and shrines (*mazar*). It had 217 mosques; eight of them were Friday mosques, including the largest mosque of Bukhara, the Masjid-i Kalan (see below). Many mosques had schools (*maktab*) attached to them in separate buildings. The Shiʿites (Irani) had four prayer houses (*Husayniya-khana*), and the Jews had two synagogues. The number of madrasas was mentioned as 103 by Khanïkov, who was in Bukhara in 1841-42; it grew to 185 by the early 20th century, but in only 22 of them was instruction offered by a professor (*mudarris*), while the rest were just student hostels. Bukhara had also a great number of large and small shrines, which served as sites of pilgrimage and as centers of cemeteries. The most important of these were outside the city wall: the *mazar* of Bahaʾ ad-Din Naqshband (the founder of the Sufi order of the Naqshbandiya and the patron saint of Bukhara) 12 km northeast of the city, the mausoleum of Sayf ad-Din Bakharzi to the east of the city, the mausoleum of Imam Abu Hafs-i Kabir to the north of the city, and Char Bakr, the mausoleum of Imam Abu Bakr Saʿd and the necropolis of the Juybari sheykhs, 5 km to the west of the city.

The oldest remaining architectural monument in Bukhara is the so called "mausoleum of Ismaʿil Samani," now thought to be instead the dynastic tomb of the Samanids (end of 10th century). Among the dated monuments of the 12th century are the "Great Minaret" (*Minar-i Kalan*), 48 m high, built in 1127, and the open prayer hall (Namazgah) to the south of the city wall (1119). Two buildings have survived from the Chaghatayid period (14th century), both east of the city wall, close to one another: the mausoleum of Sayf ad-Din Bakharzi and the mausoleum of Buyan-Quli Khan. A mausoleum known as Chashma Ayyub was built by Timur in the 1380s. The madrasa of Ulugh Bek (1417/18) is the only building of the Timurid period in Bukhara. The majority of the surviving public buildings (mosques, madrasas, and *khanqah*s) were constructed under the Abulkhayrids, Ashtarkhanids, and Manghïts. The most outstanding among them are: "The Great Mosque" (Masjid-i Kalan), built in 1514 and rebuilt by 1539, and the Mir-i ʿArab madrasa (1535/36), which, together with the minaret, form a group called Pay-i Kalan; two madrasas built by ʿAbdallah Khan opposite one another in 1566/67 and 1588-90 and known as the "Qosh Madrasa"; and the madrasa of ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan, opposite that of Ulugh Bek (1652). Numerous existing shrines and some of the smaller mosques are ascribed to various early dates, but their dating has not been verified.



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40. BUKHARA (CITY) IN THE 19TH CENTURY

41. SAMARQAND (CITY) IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Samarqand is the most ancient city of Central Asia; the earliest archeological remains on the territory of the city belong to the 7th century B.C. The city first appears in historical records in the accounts of the campaigns of Alexander the Great (see map 3). Greek authors mention the name of the city as Marakanda, which is, presumably, a Greek transcription of the original Soghdian Smarakanda. It was the capital of Soghdiana, and was reportedly destroyed by Alexander, but then rebuilt. There is almost no information about the subsequent history of the city until the time of the Arab conquest (late 7th-early 8th centuries; see map 8), when it was the residence of a Soghdian ruler with the title *ikhshid*. Samarqand was captured by Qutayba b. Muslim in 712 and remained in the hands of the Arabs. In 819 the Samanid Nuh b. Asad became the governor of Samarqand, but later, under Ismaʿil b. Ahmad, Bukhara became the capital of the Samanids and Samarqand remained the second city, in importance, of Mavarannahr (see map 10). During the first centuries of Islam the city consisted of three parts: the citadel (*kuhandiz*), the town proper or inner city (*shahristan*, or *madina*), and the suburbs (*rabad*). The citadel and the shahristan were located on a hill on the southern bank of the Siyah-ab (now pronounced Siob), a major canal carrying water from the Zerafshan ("The River of Soghd"); but the main source of water for Samarqand was another canal, Dargham (pronounced Darghom), much farther south, from which secondary canals took water northward to the city. The shahristan, together with the citadel, was surrounded by a wall and a deep moat. In order to supply water to the shahristan across the moat, an aqueduct covered with lead was built, probably in pre-Islamic times. The suburbs were south of the shahristan. The suburbs located closest to the shahristan were also surrounded by a wall, which later became known as Divar-i Kundalang (lit. "Transverse wall"), and the entire oasis of Samarqand was surrounded by yet another wall popularly known as Divar-i Qiyamat ("The Wall of the Day of Judgement").

Samarqand was destroyed in 1219 during the Mongol conquest. The Mongols also destroyed the aqueduct supplying water to the shahristan. The pre-Mongol city became known first as Hisar-i Qadim ("Old City") and later as "Afrasiyab," from the name of one of the main heroes of the *Shah-nama*. In the next century city life gradually concentrated in the former suburbs, and Afrasiyab was abandoned. A new flourishing of the city took place under Timur, who made it his capital; he built new city walls with a citadel on the city's western side, and embellished the city with some outstanding buildings and gardens (see below). Under the Abulkhayrids and the Ashtarkhanids Samarqand yielded its primacy in the state to Bukhara, which became the capital from 1557. In the second and third quarters of the 18th century, during the internal feuds and general political turmoil under the last Ashtarkhanids and the first Manghïts, Samarqand suffered more than other cities of Mavarannahr, and, according to some sources, remained almost uninhabited. However, other sources indicate that the devastation to the city was not so complete and that probably more than half of its former population still remained there. The city was restored to some extent by the Manghït amir Shah Murad, but it still did not reach its previous size and prosperity. The city was repopulated by various groups who resettled from other cities and from some rural areas of the Khanate of Bukhara, and even from outside of the khanate (thus, three new city quarters were formed by people who came from Tashkent).

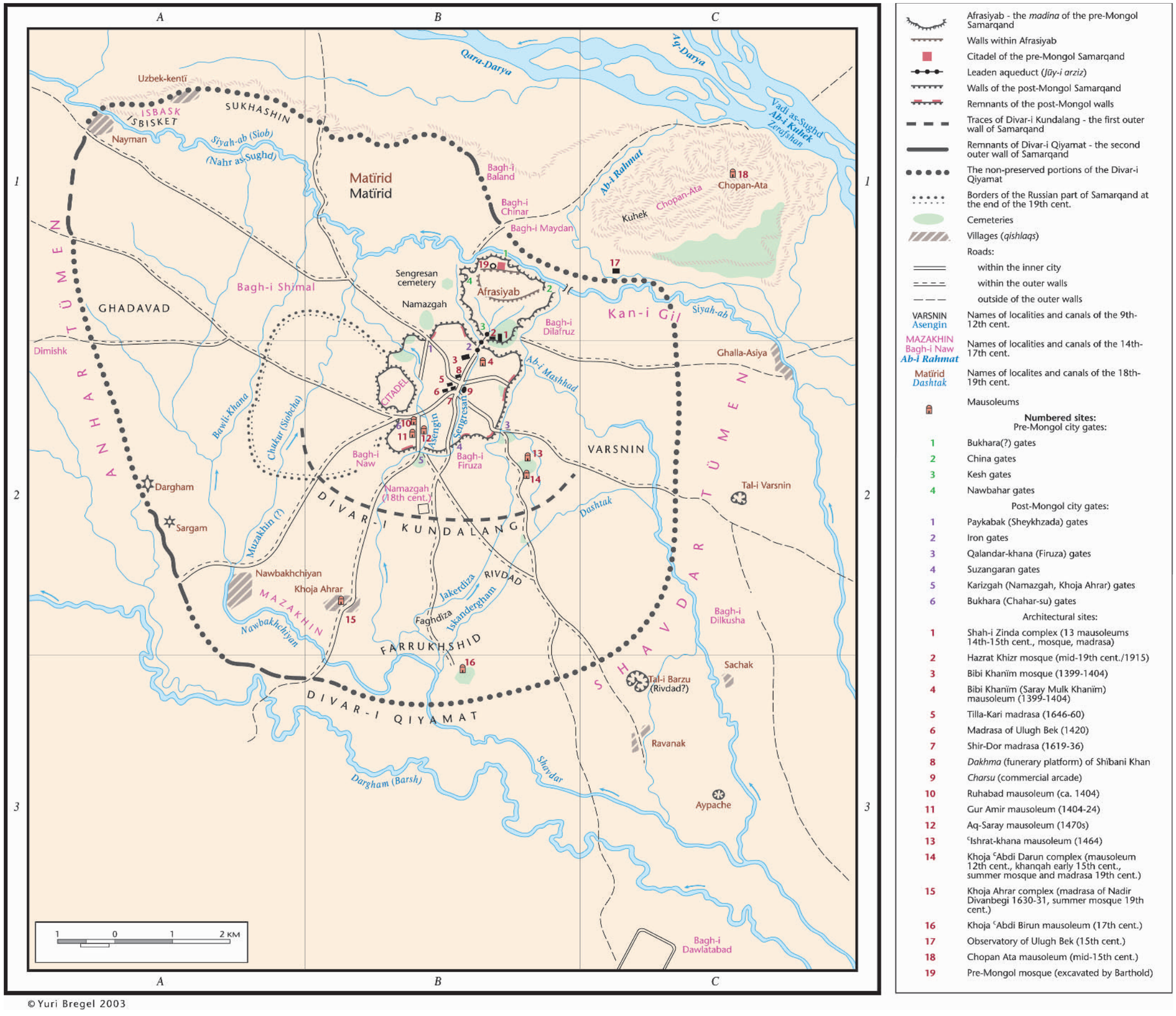
The city was divided, like Bukhara (cf. map 40), into *guzar*s—city quarters (or neighborhood communities); in 1871 the total number of *guzar*s was 102, but after the Russian military fortress was established in the citadel, the surrounding 17 *guzar*s were demolished. Each *guzar* elected its elders and had at least one mosque (many had more), which was the center of communal life. The total number of *guzar* mosques in the 19th century was 155. Under the amirs of Bukhara, the administrative center of the city was the citadel (*ark*) with the palace of the amir; the amirs would spend some time in Samarqand in the summer, because the city's climate was much better than that of Bukhara. The famous *Kök Tash*, "Grey Stone," was also in the citadel; a new amir of Bukhara would sit on the *Kök Tash* in a concluding ceremony of his enthronement (after he was raised on a piece of white felt in the city of Bukhara). The main commercial center of the city was the market square known as the Registan, surrounded by three large madrasas (see below); from this center the main streets radiated to the city gates. The city had 58 caravanserays.

The population of Samarqand was overwhelmingly Tajik, even after some Turkic-speaking groups resettled in the city at the end of the 18th century; some of them were assimilated by the Tajiks. A group of Iranian Shiʿites ("*Irani*") came to Samarqand, apparently from Merv, at the same time that the major part of this group was deported to Bukhara, at the end of the 18th century; some of them settled in the city suburbs. From 1843 there was also a Jewish quarter near the eastern wall of the city with a population of about 1,000. In the middle of the 19th century a large group of Ersarï Turkmens settled in one *guzar* (this shows that even at that time there were uninhabited parts in the territory of the city). All the groups that settled in Samarqand from the end of the 18th century were concentrated in the northern and eastern parts of the city.

After the defeat of the Khanate of Bukhara by Russia in 1868, Samarqand was occupied by Russian troops and, in accordance with the peace treaty, was annexed by Russia; it formed the center of the Zerafshan District, which in 1886 became the Samarkandskaya Oblast' of the Governorate-General of Turkestan. A new Russian part of the city was built to the west of the city wall (the wall itself was demolished by the Russians), and the citadel was transformed into a Russian military fortress. In 1897 the entire population of Samarqand was 55,128; in 1908 the Russian part had a population of more than 11,000, out of a total of more than 84,000.

Archeologists began exploring the site of the pre-Mongol city, Afrasiyab, at the end of the 19th century. More or less systematic excavations began only in the 1950s, but the very large size of the area and its relief make this task very difficult. The excavation, in 1965, of a large mural painting of the 7th century with Soghdian inscriptions was a sensational discovery. Outside of Afrasiyab, the most important archeological work was done by the Russian archeologist V.L.Viatkin, who discovered and excavated in 1908-09 the remnants of the observatory of Ulugh Bek to the north-east of Afrasiyab.

The most important surviving architectural monuments of Samarqand belong to the 14th and 15th centuries, mainly to the time of Timur and the Timurids. The oldest is the Shah-i Zinda ensemble on the southern slope of Afrasiyab, a complex of 25 mausoleums, mostly of Timurid princes and princesses, and a mosque of the 14th-15th centuries, built near the shrine of Qutham b. al-ʿAbbas (known as "Shah-i Zinda"). The Friday mosque, popularly known as the Bibi Khanïm mosque, was built between 1398 and 1405 and was one of the largest and most lavishly decorated mosques in the Islamic world; but it was built too fast and soon began to deteriorate, until the earthquake of 1897 finally destroyed its domes. The ruins of the mosque are still impressive, and long-term restoration work is being carried out there. The Gur-i Mir (or "Gur Amir"), the madrasa and *khanqah* of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, the favorite grandson of Timur, was originally built in 1401; in 1403 a large mausoleum was attached to it, where Muhammad Sultan, Timur himself, and later Timurids are buried. The ʿAbdi Darun ensemble (a mausoleum built in the 1440s, with a *khanqah* and madrasa built later) in the south-eastern part of the city, is well preserved. Another Timurid mausoleum, the ʿIshrat-khana, built in the southern part of the city in 1464, is in ruins. The city center (the former market place, the Registan) is dominated by three large madrasas: one built by Ulugh Bek from 1417 to 1421, another, named Shir-Dar (pronounced "Shir-Dor"), built opposite it in 1619-1636, and the third, named Tilla-Kari, between the first two, built between 1646 and 1660 (the latter served as the Friday mosque instead of the crumbling Bibi Khanïm). To the northwest of the Registan, where it was relocated in the 1880s, is the funeral platform (*dakhma*) of the Abulkhayrids, of grey marble, with 31 tombstones of the members of the dynasty, beginning with Shïbani Khan.



Afrasiyab - the *madina* of the pre-Mongol Samarqand
Walls within Afrasiyab
Citadel of the pre-Mongol Samarqand
Leaden aqueduct (*Jūy-i arziz*)
Walls of the post-Mongol Samarqand
Remnants of the post-Mongol walls
Traces of Divar-i Kundalang - the first outer wall of Samarqand
Remnants of Divar-i Qiyamat - the second outer wall of Samarqand
The non-preserved portions of the Divar-i Qiyamat
Borders of the Russian part of Samarqand at the end of the 19th cent.
Cemeteries
Villages (*qishlaqs*)
Roads:
within the inner city
within the outer walls
outside of the outer walls
VARSNIN Asengin — Names of localities and canals of the 9th-12th cent.
MAZAKHIN Bagh-i Naw *Ab-i Rahmat* — Names of localities and canals of the 14th-17th cent.
Matïrid *Dashtak* — Names of localites and canals of the 18th-19th cent.
Mausoleums

Numbered sites:

Pre-Mongol city gates:

1 Bukhara(?) gates
2 China gates
3 Kesh gates
4 Nawbahar gates

Post-Mongol city gates:

1 Paykabak (Sheykhzada) gates
2 Iron gates
3 Qalandar-khana (Firuza) gates
4 Suzangaran gates
5 Karizgah (Namazgah, Khoja Ahrar) gates
6 Bukhara (Chahar-su) gates

Architectural sites:

1 Shah-i Zinda complex (13 mausoleums 14th-15th cent., mosque, madrasa)
2 Hazrat Khizr mosque (mid-19th cent./1915)
3 Bibi Khanïm mosque (1399-1404)
4 Bibi Khanïm (Saray Mulk Khanïm) mausoleum (1399-1404)
5 Tilla-Kari madrasa (1646-60)
6 Madrasa of Ulugh Bek (1420)
7 Shir-Dor madrasa (1619-36)
8 *Dakhma* (funerary platform) of Shïbani Khan
9 *Charsu* (commercial arcade)
10 Ruhabad mausoleum (ca. 1404)
11 Gur Amir mausoleum (1404-24)
12 Aq-Saray mausoleum (1470s)
13 ʿIshrat-khana mausoleum (1464)
14 Khoja ʿAbdi Darun complex (mausoleum 12th cent., khanqah early 15th cent., summer mosque and madrasa 19th cent.)
15 Khoja Ahrar complex (madrasa of Nadir Divanbegi 1630-31, summer mosque 19th cent.)
16 Khoja ʿAbdi Birun mausoleum (17th cent.)
17 Observatory of Ulugh Bek (15th cent.)
18 Chopan Ata mausoleum (mid-15th cent.)
19 Pre-Mongol mosque (excavated by Barthold)

41. SAMARQAND (CITY) IN THE 19TH CENTURY

42. KHIVA (CITY) IN THE 19TH CENTURY

A settlement (probably an urban one) existed on the site of Khiva as early as the 4th-3rd centuries B.C.; as a city it is first mentioned by Arab geographers of the 10th century. The ancient form of the name was Khivaq, which was still in literary use even in the 19th century, but the form Khiva was registered already in the 10th century. It was then (as now) at the edge of cultivated land, close to the desert; Khiva was then one of the two cities along the southern rim of the oasis of Khorezm, but the other, Hazarasp, was probably of greater importance. In pre-Mongol times the political and economic centers of Khorezm were on the right bank of the Amu-Darya and in the north. It was only after the decline of these centers by the 17th century that Khiva attained some prominence. After the Özbek conquest of the early 16th century, Khiva was still just one of the appanages of the ʿArabshahid sultans (see map 26). During the 16th century Khiva twice served briefly as a residence of the supreme khan, but only with the reign of ʿArab Muhammad Khan (1603-1622) did it finally become the capital of the Özbek khanate of Khorezm, which in Russian and West European literature was known since the 18th century as "the Khanate of Khiva." In 1740 Khiva was captured by Nadir Shah (see map 29) after he subjected the city to a severe bombardment; a Khivan historian of the 19th century claims that this bombardment destroyed "most of the buildings" of the city, but two English merchants who were in Khiva during the siege did not mention such destruction in their account. The same Khivan historian mentions in another place that the city wall of Khiva remained in ruins after the invasion of Nadir Shah, and that it was rebuilt in 1785-86 by Muhammad Amin Inaq. Probably more destruction was caused to Khiva by the disturbances of the second half of the 18th century, when the Yomuts captured the city in 1770, after which only forty families (according to another version, fifteen families) remained there. It was under the rulers of the Qongrat dynasty, beginning with Muhammad Amin Inaq, that the city was restored and almost all the public buildings that now exist in it were built. The fact that the great majority of the architectural monuments of Khiva were built during a relatively short period and have much in common in their style makes this city a unique architectural ensemble.

Khiva is divided into two parts, the Ichan-qala ("Inner city") and the Dïshan-qala ("Outer city"), which correspond, respectively, to *shahristan* and *rabad* elsewhere in Central Asia. The Ichan-qala, which occupies an area elevated above the outer city by about 3-6 m, is of rectangular shape, about 650 m from north to south and about 400 m from west to east. It is surrounded by a mud wall about 5-6 m thick at the base and about 7-8 m high, with towers. It initially had three gates, on the northern, western, and eastern sides, to which a fourth gate, on the southern side, was added between 1858 and 1867, after a lake that had existed on that side was drained. Most of the wall is well preserved. The walls of the Dïshan-qala, with 10 gates, were built in 1842 by Allah-Quli Khan; they have been only partly preserved. Dïshan-qala is of an irregular shape, stretching from west to east about 2.5 km and from north to south about 1.5 km. As its main source of water, the Dïshan-qala had the Sïrchalï canal, which branched from one of the major canals of Khorezm, the Palvan-(Pahlavan-)yab (or Palvan-arna), to the north. The Ichan-qala had no supply of running water, and its inhabitants had to bring water to their homes from reservoirs constructed near each of its gates, and from wells.

The exact figure of the city population in the 19th century is not known; estimates of Russian travellers give figures between 4,000 and 5,000 (apparently, only for the Ichan-qala). At the beginning of the 20th century the population (apparently, the Ichan-qala and Dïshan-qala combined) was more than 19,000. Ethnically, the people were mostly Sarts (cf. map 35), with some Özbeks. The population consisted of craftsmen and merchants, religious and state officials, and students of the madrasas, but the proportion of each of these groups is not known. Craftsmen and merchants were concentrated more in the Dïshan-qala, where all the city bazaars were also located. The Ichan-qala was densely built and had no vegetation, while the Dïshan-qala had numerous gardens, including the garden of Rafanik, which was the summer residence of the khans, and the garden and palace of Nurallah Bay, which became the residence of Isfandiyar Khan in the early 20th century.

In the center of the western side of the Ichan-qala is the *Kuhna Ark* ("the old citadel") of Khiva, built originally in the late 17th century, with an open audience hall (*körünüsh-khana*) of the khan, built in 1804; this audience hall has a round platform for the ceremonial felt tent ("yurt") used by the khan to receive visitors. It also has a winter mosque and a summer mosque, and had other structures, mostly not existing now, where the khan's harem, the mint (from the early 19th century), and various offices were located before the construction of the Tash-hawli (see below). On the western side of the *Kuhna Ark* there is a tower (or a mound) called Aq Shikh Baba, whose origin and purpose are not clear.

Khiva was not the chief center of commerce and crafts in Khorezm; this role remained that of the city of Urgench (rebuilt in the 17th century on a new site), which also had a much larger population. The importance of Khiva was in its being the capital of the khanate and the seat of its central administration, as well as in the fact that it had the highest concentration of Islamic institutions (mosques and madrasas) in the khanate. By 1920 Khiva had 79 mosques and 43 madrasas (in the Ichan-qala and Dïshan-qala together); a Russian envoy who visited Khiva in 1842 mentioned only 17 mosques and 22 madrasas (apparently, only those in the Ichan-qala). The madrasas of Khiva were not as popular in Central Asia as those of Bukhara, but they did attract students not only from Khorezm, but also from the surrounding areas, especially Turkmens.

The oldest preserved architectural monument of Khiva is the mausoleum of Seyid ʿAla ad-Din (14th century, reconstructed in the 18th century). Several other buildings originally built before the 18th century were also substantially repaired or reconstructed at the end of the 18th and in the 19th century. The most famous and conspicuous among them is the shrine of Pahlavan ("Palvan") Mahmud, a saint, poet, and professional wrestler of the 14th century, who became the patron-saint of Khiva and the Qongrat dynasty. The shrine, which is known in Khorezm as "the *gumbaz* (dome) of Palvan Mahmud," is a complex that also includes a madrasa and a summer mosque; it also served as the burial place of the khans of Khiva, including the ʿArabshahids Abu'l-Ghazi and Anusha and almost all the Qongrats, beginning with Muhammad Rahim Khan I. The Friday mosque of Khiva is an unusual open rectangular hall, with a minaret 32 m high next to it; its wooden roof is supported by 213 wooden columns with carved ornaments and Kufic inscriptions. Other outstanding buildings are: the madrasa of Shir Ghazi Khan; the madrasa of Muhammad Amin Khan, with a minaret that was intended to become the highest in Central Asia (up to 70 m, to judge by its base of 14 m diameter; the height of the finished part is 26 m) but which remained unfinished after the khan was killed in a battle with the Turkmens in 1855 (hence its popular name Kalta Minar, "Short Minaret"); two large madrasas near the eastern gates, those of Qutlugh Murad Inaq and Allah-Quli Khan; the caravanseray of Allah-Quli Khan and, opposite it, the Tash-hawli palace built by the same khan; and the minaret of Islam Khoja, the highest in Khiva (44 m).

a. Ichan-qala ("Inner city")

cemeteries

The preserved sections of the inner city wall

The preserved sections of the outer city wall

1. Baghcha-darvaza gates (18th cent.)
2. Mosque of Ata Murad Qoshbegi (19th cent.)
3. Mosque of Hasan Murad Qoshbegi (19th cent.)
4. Madrasa of Amir Türa (1870)
5. Madrasa of Musa Türa (1841)
6. Kuhna Ark ("old citadel"):
   - a. Aq Shikh Baba tower (17th/19th cent.)
   - b. Körünüsh-khana (audience hall) (1804-06)
   - c. Mint (1806-25) and summer mosque
   - d. Zindan (dungeon) (1910)
   - e. Harem (1865, 1910)
   - f. Eastern gates
7. Madrasa of Yusuf Yasavulbashi (1906)
8. Madrasa of Dost Aᶜlam (1882)
9. Üch Awliya mausoleum (1549/1821)
10. Madrasa of Muhammad Rahim Khan II (1871)
11. Madrasa of ᶜArab Muhammad Khan (1617/1838)
12. Madrasa of Muhammad Amin Inaq (1785)
13. Tash-hawli palace (1830-38)
14. Mosque of Sheykh Mukhtar Ata
15. Madrasa of Muhammad Panah ("Matpana") Bay (1905)
16. Madrasa of Qutlugh Murad Inaq (1804-12)
17. Caravanseray and *tim* of Allah-Quli Khan (1832-33)
18. "Khurjum" madrasa (of Khojam-Berdi Biy) (1688/1834)
19. Madrasa of Allah-Quli Khan (1834-35)
20. Ata-darvaza gates (18th cent.)
21. Madrasa of Muhammad Amin Khan (1852-55)
22. "Kelte-minar" minaret (of Muhammad Amin Khan) (1852-55)
23. Madrasa of Muhammad Niyaz ("Matniyaz") Divanbegi (1871)
24. Mausoleum of Seyid ᶜAla ad-Din (14th/18th cent.)
25. Madrasa of Qazï Kalan (1905)
26. Madrasa of Khojash Mahram (1839)
27. Friday mosque, with a minaret (end of the 18th cent.)
28. Madrasa of ᶜAbdallah Khan (1855)
29. Mosque Aq-masjid (1838-42)
30. Bath of Anusha Khan (1657/19th cent.)
31. Pahlavan ("Palvan")-darvaza gates (1806/1835)
32. Madrasa of ᶜAbd ar-Rasul Bay (1906)
33. Qari-khana, 1-4 (rooms for the reciters of Qurʾan) (1863, 1860-70, 1874, 1870-80)
34. Mausoleum of Pahlavan ("Palvan") Mahmud (1810, 1825)
35. Mazar-i Sharif madrasa (1882)
36. Madrasa of Atajan Bay (1884)
37. Madrasa and minaret of Islam Khoja (1908-10)
38. Madrasa of Shir Ghazi Khan (1719-26)
39. Baghbanlï mosque (1809)
40. Tash-darvaza gates (19th cent.)

b. Dïshan-qala ("Outer city")

cemeteries

41. Madrasa Rafanik (1894)
42. Madrasa at the house of Nurallah Bay (1893)
43. Nurallah Bay palace (1906)
44. Audience-hall of Isfandiyar Khan (1912)
45. Qosh-darvaza gates (early 20th cent.)
46. Mausoleum of Seyid Muhammad Mahruy ("Magrum-Jan") (1887)
47. Mausoleum of Shah Qalandar Baba (16th cent. (?)-19th cent.)
48. Complex (madrasa and minaret) of Bike Jan Bike (1894)
49. House of Muhammad Safa ("Mat-Safa") Karvanbashi (19th cent.)
50. Complex (mosque, madrasa, and minaret) of Muhammad Mahram (1903)
51. Tört Shabbaz complex (3 madrasas, mosque, mausoleum, minaret) (1885)
52. Complex (mosque, madrasa, minaret) of Seyid Shaliker Bay (1842)
53. Complex (madrasa and minaret) of Pahlavan ("Palvan") Qari (1905)
54. Abdal Baba complex (mosque and minaret) (18th-19th cent.)

note: The size of Ichan-qala is approximately 650 x 400m.

0 50 100 200 400 M

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42. KHIVA (CITY) IN THE 19TH CENTURY

43. MONUMENTS OF ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

Note: only the most important and better preserved buildings are mentioned below

Khorezm:
Aq-Saray Ding: mausoleum, 11th–12th cent.
Astana: mausoleum of Sheykh Mukhtar Vali, end of 13th–14th cent.
Baqïrghan: mausoleum of Hakim Ata and Seyid Ata, 15th cent.(?)
Dev-Kesken: complex (3 mausoleums and mosque), end of 15th–16th cent. (on the site of the city of Vezir)
Hazarasp: Friday mosque, 18th cent.
Imarat Baba: complex (3 mausoleums and mosque) near Qosh-Qupïr, 18th–19th cent.
Ismaʿil Baba: mausoleum in the region of Baghat, 19th cent. (?).
Ism-i Mahmud Ata: complex (mausoleum and mosque), south of Takhta, 18th–19th cent.
Khanqa: mosque and khanqah of Seyid Ata, 1766.
Khiva: see city map
Köhne-Urgench:
- minaret of Qutlugh Timur, between 1321 and 1333
- "mausoleum of Fakhr ad-Din Razi", 12th cent. (as mausoleum was used from the 16th–17th cent.)
- "mausoleum of Töre-Bek Khanïm" (supposedly a mausoleum of the Sufi dynasty), 1360s
- "mausoleum of ʿAli Sultan", 14th or 16th cent.
- mausoleum (or khanqah) of Najm ad-Din Kubra, between 1321 and 1333
- mausoleum of Pir-Yar Vali, 14th–16th cent.
- mausoleum of ʿAli Ramitani, 14th–16th cent.

Lalazem Ata: complex (khanqah and mausoleum), south-west of Takhta, 17th cent.
Mizdahqan: mausoleum of Mazlum-Khan Sulu, end of 13th–early 14th cent.
Mizrab Shah Khorezmi: mausoleum near Hazarasp, 16th–18th cent.
Sultan Uveys Baba: complex (mosque and mausoleums) in the Sultan Uveys Mountains, early 19th cent.
ʿUthman Seyid Baba: mausoleum near Gurlen, 16th/19th cent.
Vayengan Baba: mausoleum in the region of Shavat, 16th/19th cent.

Turkmenistan (excluding Khorezm):
Aqcha-qala: caravanseray ca. 50 km northeast of Merv, on the road to Charjuy, 11th cent.
Daya-Khatïn: caravanseray on the road from Charjuy to Khorezm, early 12th/15th cent.
Gök Gumbez: three mausoleums in a cemetery 70 km north of Bayram-Ali, 14th–15th cent.
Khuday-Nazar Ovliya: mausoleum 28 km north of Bayram-Ali, 12th cent.
Makhtum-qala: mausoleum Makhtum, 15th cent.
Mashhad-i Misriyan:
- Shir-Kabir, mosque, 9th–10th/12th cent.
- minaret of Abu Jaʿfar Ahmad, 1004/5
- mosque of Khorezmshah Muhammad, with minaret, early 13th cent.
- anonymous mausoleums, 11th–12th cent.

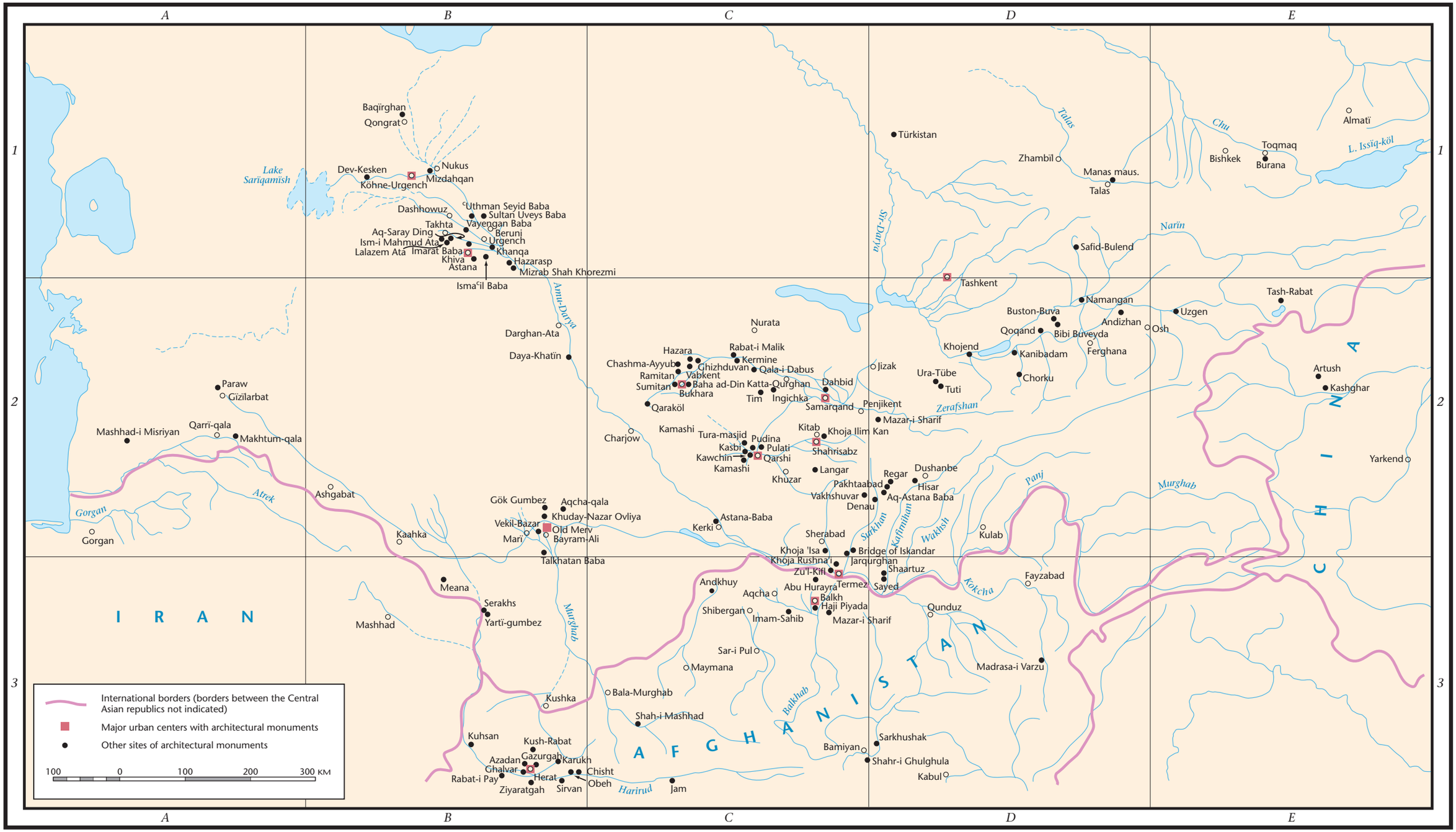
Meana: mausoleum of Abu Saʿid b. Abi'l-Khayr, mid-11th/14th cent.
Merv (Old Merv):
- mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar, 1140s
- mausoleum of Muhammad b. Zayd, 1112/13
- tombs of the *ashab* (companions of the Prophet), 15th/19th cent.
- mausoleum of Yusuf Hamadani, 16th cent.
- Ovliyalï-köshk and Kelte-Minara: castles south of Merv, ca. 8th–11th cent.

Paraw: mausoleum of Paraw-Bibi, 11th–12th cent.
Serakhs: mausoleum of "Serakhs Baba" (Sheykh Abu'l-Fazl), 1020s/1417-18
Talkhatan Baba: building of ca. 1095, opposite the tomb of Sheykh Abu Bakr Muhammad
Vekil Bazar: two medieval castles, 10th–11th cent.
Yartï-gumbez: mausoleum about 8 km from Serakhs, 1098

Mavarannahr (including the left bank of the Amu-Darya in its middle course):
Astana-Baba:
- complex (2 mausoleums, ziyaratkhana, mosque), 12th/14th/19th cent.
- ʿAlam-Bardar mausoleum, 11th cent.

Bukhara: see city map
Chashma-Ayyub: mausoleum 10 km west of Vabkent, 11th–12th cent.
Dahbid: mosque of Mahdum-i Aʿzam, 16th cent.
Denau: madrasa of Seyid Atalïq, 16th cent.
Ghizhduvan:
- madrasa of Ulugh Bek, 1433/1583
- mausoleum of Khoja ʿAbd al-Khaliq

Hazara: mosque Diggaran, 11th cent.
Hisar:
- mausoleum of Makhdum-i Aʿzam, 15th–16th cent.
- Madrasa-i Kuhna, 16th–17th cent.
- Madrasa-i Naw, 17th–18th cent.
- Darvaza (gates of the citadel), 18th–19th cent.



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43. MONUMENTS OF ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

Ingichka: mosque of Astana Ata, 16th cent.
Iskandar bridge: near Jarqurghan, second half of the 16th cent.
Jarqurghan: minaret, 1110
Kamashi: sardoba, 1892
Kasbi: Sultan Mir Haydar, complex (2 mausoleums of 14th cent., summer mosque of 16th cent. (?), winter mosque and minaret of 18th–19th cent.)
Kermine:
– Mir Seyid Bahram, mausoleum, ca. 1020
– Qasim Sheykh (complex: khanqah, mosque, and dakhma), 2nd half of the 16th cent.
Khoja Ilim Kan: khanqah, 16th cent.
Khoja ʿIsa: mosque and mausoleum, 11th–12th cent.
Langar: mausoleum of Langar Ata, first half of the 16th cent.
Mazar (or Mazar-i Sharif): Muhammad Bashshara mausoleum, 11th–12th cent./1342-43
Pakhtaabad: "Podsho Pirim" mausoleum, 15th cent.
Pudina: complex (mausoleum of Ishaq Ata, 11th cent.; mausoleum of Ishaq Ata's daughter, 12th cent.; mausoleum of Qutham Ata (Qutham Sheykh), 11th–12th cent.; two mausoleums of the 14th cent.; mosque of 16th–17th cent.; other structures)
Pulati: mosque-khanqah, 16th cent.(?)
Qala-i Dabus: khanqah of Imam Bahra, 16th cent.
Qaraköl: two mausoleums on ancient cemetery near Qaraköl: Shaburgan Ata, 11th cent., and Chiburdan Baba, end of the 14th (?) cent.
Qarshi:
– Kök-Gumbaz, mosque (namazgah), 16th cent.
– bathhouse, 1592-93
– bridge over the Qashqa-Darya, second half of the 16th cent. (mostly reconstructed)
Rabat-i Malik: caravanseray, 11th cent. (only a part of the main façade extant)
Ramitan: khanqah of Mulla Mir, ca. 1587
Regar: Khoja Nakhshran, 2 mausoleums, 11th–12th and 15th cent.
Samarqand: see city map
Sayed: Khoja Mashad, complex (two mausoleums and madrasa), 11th–12th cent.
Shaartuz: Khoja Durbad, mausoleum on a cemetery south of Shaartuz, 11th–12th cent.
Shahrisabz:
– Aq-Saray, palace, end of the 14th cent.
– Dar as-Siyadat, complex (mausoleum of Timur's son Jahangir, 1379-80; crypt intended for Timur's tomb; mosque, 19th cent.)
– Dar at-Tilavat, complex (mausoleum of Sheykh Shams ad-Din Kulal, end of the 14th cent.; mausoleum known as Gumbaz-i Seyyidan, 1437; mosque Kök-Gumbaz, 1434-35)
– Charsu (trade arcade), 17th cent.
– Bathhouse, 18th cent. (possibly earlier)
Telpak-Chinar: mausoleum Aq-Astana Baba, 10th–11th cent.
Termez:
– Hakim-i Termezi, complex (mausoleum, 1081-95; mosque, 12th cent.; mausoleum, end of the 13th cent.; khanqah, 15th cent.)
– Sultan Saʿadat, complex (13 mausoleums of the seyids of Termez, 10th to 17th cent.)
– Kokildora, khanqah, 16th cent.
Tim: ʿArab-Ata, mausoleum, 977
Ura-Tübe: Kök-Gumbaz (mosque of ʿAbd al-Latif), mid-16th cent.
Vabkent: minaret, 1196-1199
Vakhshuvar: Sufi Allahyar mosque, 1713
Zu'l-Kifl: complex (mausoleum, mosque, ziyaratkhana) on Aral-Payghambar Island on the Amu-Darya, 11th–12th cent.

Sïr-Darya basin (Tashkent, Ferghana, Kïrgïzstan):
Andizhan: Madrasa-i Jamiʿ, 1874-77, and a minaret, 1877
Bibi Buveyda: mausoleum, 20 km from Qoqand, 15th–16th cent.(?)
Burana: minaret, 11th cent.
Buston Buva: mausoleum, 15th–16th cent.
Chorku: Mazar-i Amir Hamza, mausoleum, 11th–12th cent.
"Gumbez of Manas": mausoleum of Kenizek Khatun, 1334
Kanibadam: madrasa of Mir Rajab Dodkho, 16th–17th cent.
Khojend: mausoleum of Maslahat ad-Din, 16th cent.; mosque, 20th cent., and a minaret
Namangan: mausoleum of Khoja Amin ("Khujamnï Qabrï"), end of the 18th cent.
Qoqand:
– madrasa of Narbuta Biy, 1799
– Friday mosque, 1815
– Dakhma-i Shahan, mausoleum, 1830s
– Madar-i Khan, mausoleum, 1825
– Urda (palace of Khudayar Khan), 1870
Safid-Bulend: Shah Fazil mausoleum, 11th–1st half of the 12th cent.
Tash-Rabat: caravanseray, 12th cent., restored between 1408 and 1415
Tashkent:
– Zengi Ata, complex (mausoleums of Zengi Ata and his wife, Ambar Ana, end of the 14th – first half of the 15th cent.; mosque, 19th cent.; madrasa, 17th/early 20th cent.; minaret and gates, 1914-15)
– mausoleum of Yunus Khan, 1490s
– "Sheykhantaur" (Sheykh Khavand-i Tahur), complex (of which only two mausoleums remain: that of Sheykh Khavand-i Tahur, 15th–19th cent., and of Qaldïrghach Biy, presumably 1st half of the 15th cent.)
– Baraq Khan, complex (madrasa of Baraq Khan, 1531-32; mausoleum of Söyünch Khoja Khan, 1530-32; anonymous mausoleum)

– mausoleum of Abu Bakr Qaffal Shashi, 1541-42
– Kukeldash madrasa, 1560s
– mausoleum of Zayn ad-Din Baba, 12th/14th–16th/19th cent.

Turkestan: mausoleum of Ahmad Yasavi, early 15th cent.
Tuti: mausoleum of Abd al-Qadir Jilani, end of the 15th–16th cent.
Uzgen:
– 3 mausoleums of the Qarakhanids (early 11th cent., 1153, 1186-87)
– minaret, 11th cent.

Afghan Turkestan:
Abu Hurayra, mausoleum, 11th cent.
Andkhuy:
– mausoleum of Ishan Baba Vali, 1386
– madrasa, 15th cent.

Azadan: mausoleum of Abu'l-Valid, 15th cent.
Balkh:
– mausoleum and mosque of Khoja Abu Nasr Parsa, 1460/61
– madrasa of Subhan-Quli Khan, late 17th cent.
– mausoleum of Mir-i Ruzadar, 15th cent.
– mausoleum of Khoja Rushnaʾi (Rawshanaʾi?)

Chisht: madrasa, 12th cent.
Gazurgah: Khoja ʿAbdallah Ansari, complex (mausoleum, pavilion, cistern), 1428-29
Ghalvar: mosque, 1441/42
Haji Piyada (Nuh Gunbadh) mausoleum, 16th cent.
Herat:
– Qalʿa-i Ikhtiyar ad-Din, citadel, 15th cent.
– madrasa of Tuman Agha, 14th cent.
– mausoleum of Shahzada Abu'l-Qasim, 15th cent.
– Gawhar Shad complex (mausoleum, remnants of the madrasa, minarets), 15th cent.
– mausoleum of Mir-i Shahid, 1485/86

Imam-Sahib: mausoleum of Baba Hatim, 11th cent.
Jam (= Firuzkuh): minaret, 12th cent.
Karukh: mosque, 1128
Kuhsan: madrasa of Tuman Agha (known as Gawhar Shad mausoleum), 15th cent.
Kush-rabat: caravanseray, late 15th cent.
Madrasa-i Varzu, 1st half of the 11th cent.
Mazar-i Sharif: shrine of ʿAli, second half of the 15th cent.
Obeh: Friday mosque, 1428/29
Rabat-i Pay: mosque, 13th–16th cent.
Sarkhushak: fortified complex (citadel, palace, mosque, tomb), 10th–13th cent.
Shah-i Mashhad: madrasa, 1175/76
Shahr-i Ghulghula: fortress, remains of two mosques, 11th–13th cent.
Sirvan: minaret (collapsed), 11th cent.
Ziyaratgah:
– Chihil Sutun mosque, 12th cent. (?)—1510
– Friday Mosque, late 15th cent.

44. THE END OF THE 19TH AND THE EARLY 20TH CENTURIES: WESTERN TURKESTAN UNDER RUSSIAN RULE

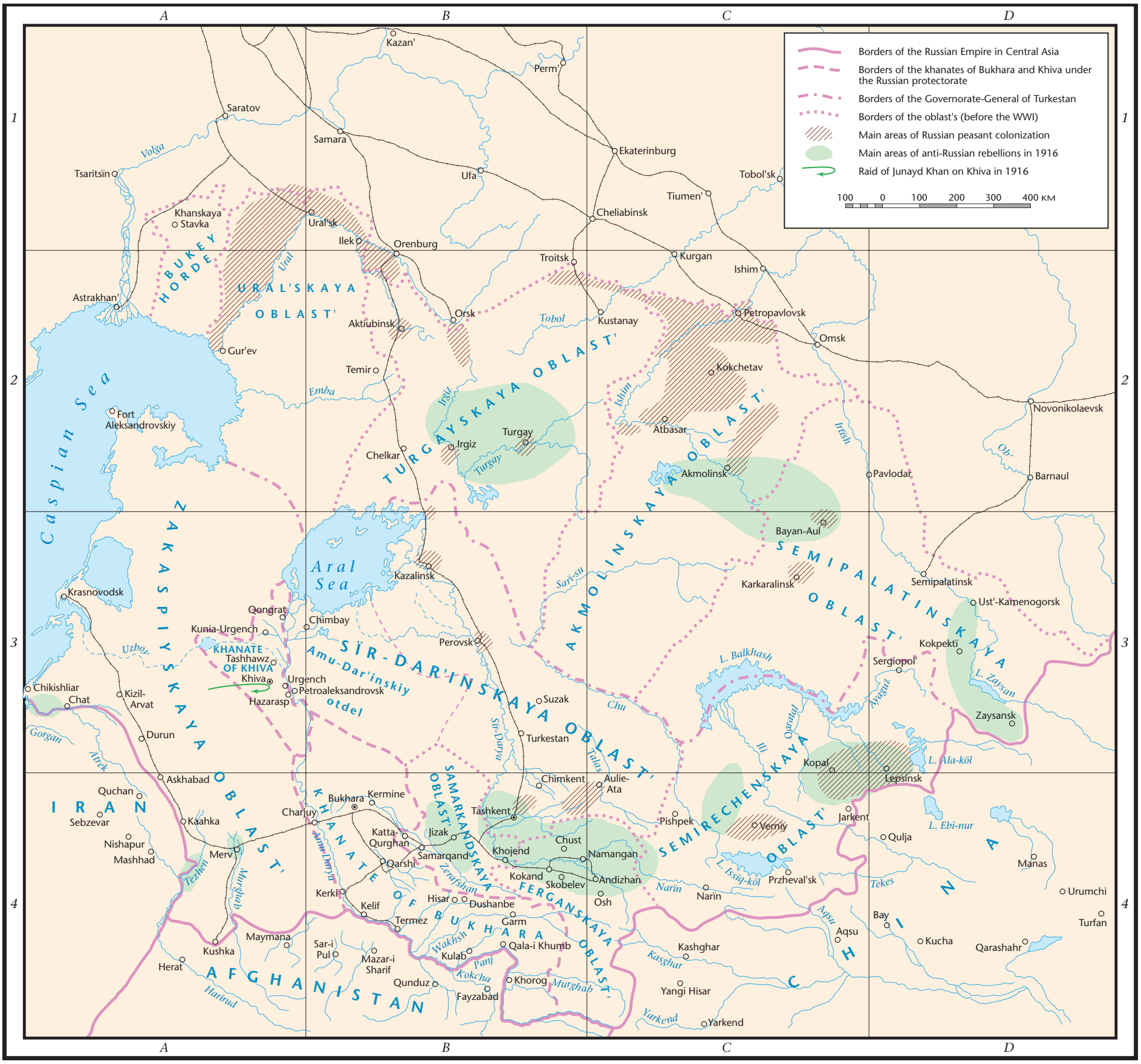
At the time of the conquest of the Central Asian khanates (see map 32), Russia began to introduce a new administrative system for the conquered territories. This administration underwent several modifications and received its final form only in 1899. After that time, all territories in Central Asia annexed by Russia during the 19th century were divided among five different jurisdictions. The major part of these annexed territories formed the Governorate-General of Turkestan, with its capital in Tashkent, subdivided into five *oblast'*s (the map gives their official Russian names): Transcaspian, Sïr-Darya, Samarqand, Ferghana, and Semirech'e. The oblast's of Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk formed the Governorate-General of the Steppe, and two oblast's, of Turgay and Ural'sk, were directly subordinate to the Russian minister of the interior. The truncated khanates of Bukhara and Khiva were retained, under their existing rulers, as Russian protectorates. Following the pattern of the administrative structure in the rest of Russia, the oblast's were subdivided into *uezd*s, and the latter into *volost'*s. The governor-general of Turkestan was a serving general under the war ministry, and the governor-general of the Steppe was subordinate to the ministry of the interior. The governors of the oblast's and the "*uezd* commandants" were also military officers. The administration of the lower units, heads of *volost'*s and village elders, were natives elected by popular vote. Officially this system was called "military-popular administration" (*voenno-narodnoe upravlenie*), and it resulted, on the one hand, from the Russian government's belief that only firm military rule could keep the country in the hands of the Russians, and, on the other hand, from the desire to make the local administration as inexpensive as possible. Such a desire was also the main reason for the preservation of the two khanates. Each of them had a special status. Bukhara did not officially become a Russian protectorate, and its amir was treated by the Russian government as an independent ruler. Amir ʿAbd al-Ahad (1885-1910) even played a visible role in Russian society, visiting Russia annually and being received at the court in St. Petersburg. Until 1888 official relations between the khanate and Russia were conducted through the exchange of occasional embassies between Bukhara and Tashkent; in 1888 the Russian Political Agency in Bukhara was established, with a dual responsibility, to the foreign ministry in St. Petersburg and to the governor-general in Tashkent. Greater control of the khanate came with the construction of the railroad through its territory and the establishment of Russian border posts on the Amu-Darya, which also became Russia's customs border in 1895. The Khanate of Khiva never enjoyed even a semblance of independence. All relations between the khanate and Russia were conducted through the commandant of the Amu-Darya district (*otdel*) in the newly built Russian town of Petroaleksandrovsk, subordinate to Tashkent. The khan was not treated as an independent ruler and did not often visit Russia. One thing the two protectorates had in common was that the Russian government did not interfere in their internal affairs and administration, being content as long as peace was preserved, the rulers were in full command, and the legal rights of Russian subjects, especially merchants, were observed. The entire administrative and social structure of the khanates remained unchanged, except that their armies were reduced and slavery was abolished.

After the creation of an entirely new administrative structure, the strongest effect of Russian rule was on certain aspects of the Central Asian economy. In agriculture, the major economic impact was a sharp increase in cotton cultivation, following the increased demand of the Russian textile industry and the introduction of American cotton to Central Asia in the early 1880s. By the beginning of the 20th century Central Asia supplied half of Russia's cotton needs. In the industrial development of Russian Central Asia the main innovation was the railroads, the first of which, from Mikhaylovskiy Bay on the Caspian Sea to Qïzïl-Arvat, was built in 1881 by Skobelev, but for purely strategic purposes. By the end of the 1890s it was extended to Tashkent (crossing the Khanate of Bukhara), with a branch line to Ferghana. In the early 20th century other branch lines were added, and in 1906 the railroad from Orenburg to Tashkent was completed. The railroads gave a great boost to cotton cultivation, making the transport of the Central Asian crop to the textile centers in European Russia much cheaper and faster. The railroads also contributed to the development of industry in the cities they connected, as well as to a greater mobility of the population. Most of the industrial enterprises were cotton-ginning mills, and by World War I almost two thirds of them were own by the locals. About 80 percent of all skilled workers (on the railroads, practically all) were Russians, and this social group, new in Central Asia, was especially susceptible to the socialist propaganda brought from European Russia at the beginning of the 20th century.

In cultural life, the most important innovation brought by the Russians was the introduction of the printing press, book publishing, and newspapers. New ideas were brought to the native population, from the end of the 19th century, by Tatar intellectuals who developed a program of liberal cultural and political reforms among the Muslim subjects of the Russian Empire, based on a reformed system of Muslim education called *usul-i jadid* "new method"; from this term the Muslim reformers in Central Asia began to be called "Jadids." The Jadids established their schools and in 1905-1907, and then again between 1912 and 1916, published several newspapers in Persian and Turkic; but all the Jadid newspapers failed due to a lack of subscribers, and, on the whole, the influence of the Jadids on Central Asian society before 1917 was almost negligible.

From the mid-1880s there were sporadic local riots, sometimes as a response to certain Russian administrative measures, and, more generally, as expressions of popular discontent with "infidel" rule. The most serious was a revolt, under religious slogans, in the region of Andizhan in 1898 led by Muhammad ʿAli Ishan, in which some 2,000 local people participated; the revolt was quickly suppressed. Resentment of the local population against Russian rule and outbursts of hostility against the Russians increased in the first years of the 20th century, especially as a result of the economic crisis of 1899-1903 and the defeat of Russia in the war with Japan in 1904. During the Russian revolution of 1905-1906, there were strikes, as well as troop disorders, in the Governorate-General of Turkestan, but this revolutionary activity involved only the Russians, and the native population did not participate in it in any noticeable way.

The resentment toward Russian rule grew sharply with the increase of Russian colonization after 1910 and the beginning of World War I, which caused a steep rise in the cost of living and an increase in taxes, as well as other economic difficulties. The first open native uprising, however, happened not in the Governorate-General of Turkestan, but in the Khanate of Khiva, where the Turkmens, under Junayd Khan, captured Khiva in early 1916, deposed the khan and killed three of his ministers. The rebellion was suppressed in February and March by the governor of Sïr-Darya oblast', who levied a huge indemnity upon the Turkmens. Three months later, on 25 June 1916, Tsar Nicholas II issued a decree ordering the mobilization of the native male population (19 to 31 years old) of Turkestan, Siberia, and some other regions for the construction of defense and communication lines in the rear of the Russian armies. The decree came at the height of field work in the cotton-growing areas, and, to add insult to injury, during the Muslim month of fasting (Ramazan). Riots and rebellions began immediately in July, and spread throughout the Governorate-General and in the Qazaq steppe, both in the major cities and in the countryside. The Russian government answered with a proclamation of martial law and mass reprisals. The most serious outbreak in the sedentary areas was the rebellion in the Jizak district, where the religious leaders proclaimed holy war against the Russians. During the suppression of this revolt by Russian troops a thousand natives were killed and the town of Jizak was destroyed. In August, the rebellion spread to Semirech'e and to the Qïrghïz regions, where it became a virtual war between the Qazaqs and Qïrghïz on the one side, and the Russian settlers on the other; some 2,000 settlers and an even greater number of Qazaqs and Qïrghïz perished, and many Qïrghïz fled to China. In September, disturbances began among the Yomut Turkmens near the Iranian border, and their rebellion was put down only in December. Rebellions also took place throughout the Qazaq steppe, where the most stubborn fighting was around the town of Turgay, which was besieged by the Qazaqs from late October to mid-November. All of Russian Central Asia was finally pacified by the end of 1916. But the rebellions of 1916 were only a prologue to the events of the revolution that began the next year.



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44. THE END OF THE 19TH AND THE EARLY 20TH CENTURIES: WESTERN TURKESTAN UNDER RUSSIAN RULE

45. REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR IN WESTERN TURKESTAN, 1917-1922

On February 27 (by the Julian calendar, as was used in Russia before 1918; March 11 by the Gregorian calendar) of 1917, as a result of the revolution in St.Petersburg, Tsar Nicholas II abdicated and the Provisional Government came to power in Russia. At first this government left in place the old administration in Turkestan, but in April it replaced it with its own Turkestan Executive Committee. At the same time, following the pattern of European Russia, Soviets ("councils") of Workers' and Soldiers' (but not Peasants') Deputies were organized in the major cities of Turkestan. They included representatives of only the non-native population; the native population lacked the political organization to represent its interests adequately. In the 1910s revolutionary propaganda was very strong among the Russian soldiers and railway workers in Central Asia, and they were the chief force behind the revolutionary events that ensued. The Tashkent Soviet played the central role in these events. It was dominated by the Bolsheviks, who were able to win over the Russian military forces stationed in Central Asia. The situation became explosive in the fall of 1917, with a deepening economic crisis, severe food shortages, and growing unrest in various parts of Central Asia. On September 12-16 (Julian; 25-29 Gregorian) the Tashkent Soviet organized an uprising, which was suppressed by the forces of the Provisional Government. But after the Bolshevik revolution won in St.Petersburg on October 25/November 7, a new uprising in Tashkent was successful, and on November 1/14 the Tashkent Soviet seized power. The same month the Third Regional Congress of Soviets in Tashkent formed the new government, the Turkestan Council of Peoples' Commissars (Turksovnarkom), whose chairman was F. Kolesov.

After the flat refusal of the Soviet authorities in Tashkent to co-opt the Central Asian Muslims into the new government, the National Central Council (a Muslim organization that had been formed in May 1917) convened a conference in Kokand at the end of November 1917, where it proclaimed the creation of the Government of Autonomous Turkestan. The government in Kokand lacked financial and military resources and failed in its attempts to gain recognition and support in other parts of Central Asia. The Turksovnarkom was unable to suppress the "Kokand Autonomy" as long as Turkestan was cut off from European Russia by the White forces south of Orenburg (see below). When the Orenburg front of the Whites was pierced in January 1918, Red troops from this front arrived in Tashkent. In January 1918 Kolesov proclaimed that the Kokand government was "counter-revolutionary," and at the end of February Soviet troops captured the old city of Kokand after a four-day siege; the city was sacked and destroyed, and more than 10,000 of its inhabitants were massacred. This was accompanied by the confiscation of food from the population of the area, resulting in famine. The Muslim population of the Ferghana region soon responded by beginning guerrilla fighting, which became known as the Basmachi movement, against the Soviet authorities. In Ferghana the Basmachis established contacts with the "Peasant Army" of the Russian settlers of Semirech'e, who also fought the Bolsheviks; together, they captured the eastern part of Ferghana in the fall of 1919.

In Bukhara, after the "February" revolution in Russia, the amir ʿAlim Khan, fearing for his throne and yielding to Russian pressure, issued a manifesto with a vague promise of reforms. The manifesto disappointed the Bukharan Jadids (who had become more active after the beginning of the revolutionary events in Russia), but it encountered strong opposition from the much more numerous conservative Bukharan clerics and their supporters, and the reforms were abortive. The Jadids, who began to be called the Young Bukharans, split into moderate and radical factions, and after the Bolshevik revolution the radicals established contacts with the Turksovnarkom and proposed to Tashkent that it send troops to Bukhara in support of the planned uprising there. The amir tried not to provoke Tashkent into taking actions against him, but after the liquidation of the Kokand government, the Turksovnarkom directed its attention to Bukhara. In the middle of March 1918, Kolesov marched on Bukhara with a small military unit, but he was defeated and repelled by the amir's forces, which were supported by the population, and could extricate himself only with difficulty.

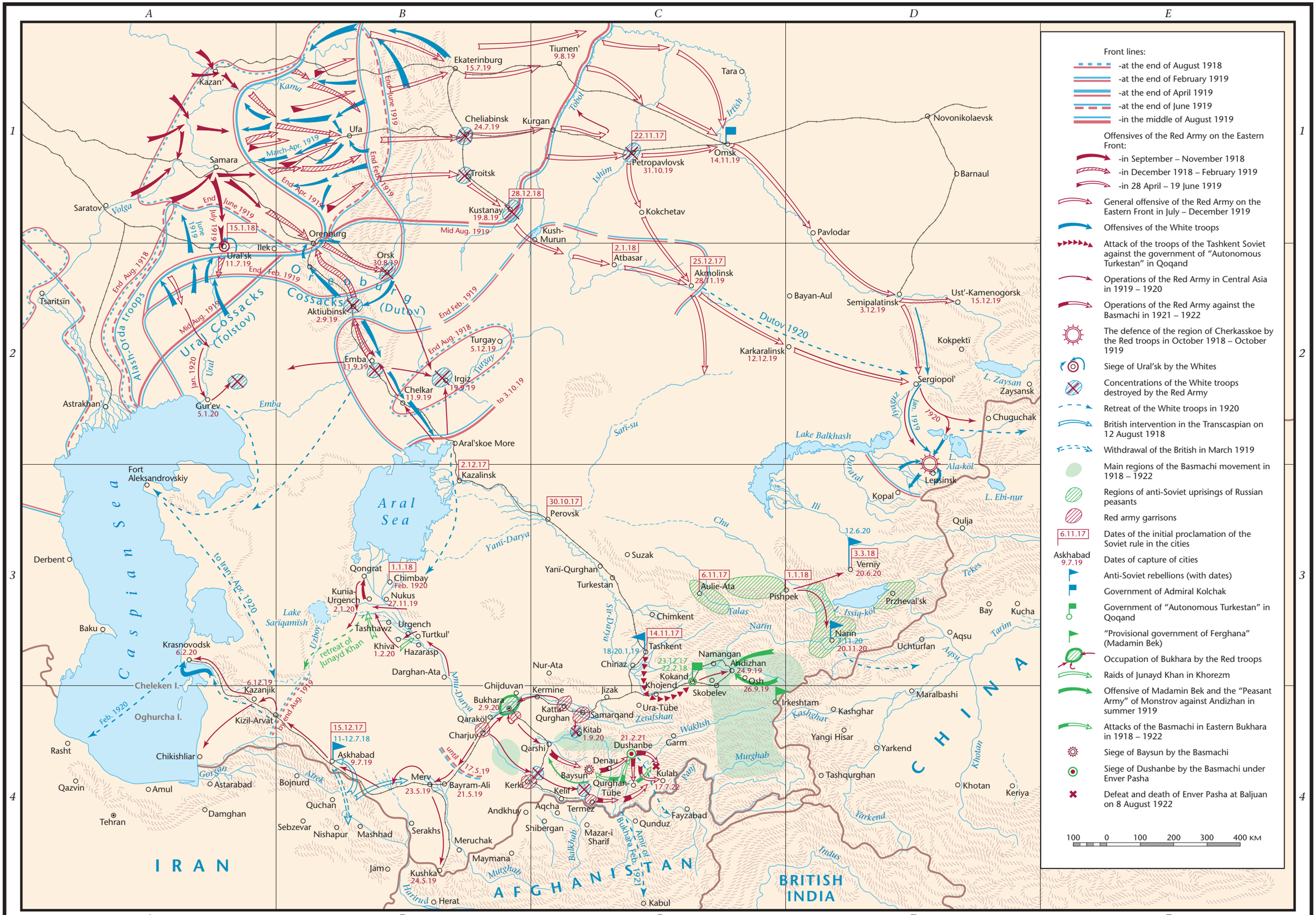
In Khiva, Russian troops withdrew from the Amu-Darya district in January 1918, and the khanate came under the domination of Junayd Khan, a Yomut chieftain, who acted through Isfandiyar Khan and arrested and executed some Jadid leaders; the remaining ones escaped to Tashkent and formed a Young Khivan revolutionary committee-in-exile there.

Another challenge to the authority of the Turksovnarkom came from the Transcaspian Region. After the fall of the Provisional Government, the Turkmens convened a regional congress, which elected a National Executive Committee under Colonel Oraz Serdar, supported by a squadron of Turkmen cavalry. Kolesov arrived at Askhabad (before his Bukhara adventure) with a detachment of Soviet troops, disarmed the Turkmen squadron, and restored Soviet authority. But in June 1918 there were anti-Soviet riots in Askhabad. The Turksovnarkom sent Commissar Frolov there, who started reprisals and unleashed a "Red Terror"; this provoked a new rebellion, Frolov was killed in Kizil-Arvat, and the rebels seized power. They formed a Government of the Transcaspian Region, supported by an All-Turkmen Congress, and Oraz Serdar became the commander of its forces. These forces were, however, inadequate to withstand the anticipated attack from Tashkent, and the Transcaspian government appealed for assistance from General Malleson, commander of the British forces in northern Iran; he sent a small detachment of Anglo-Indian troops, which were placed along the Transcaspian railway. However, the Transcaspian government lost its support among the Turkmens, and in March 1919 the British troops withdrew to Iran. In May 1919, Red troops captured Merv, and by early February 1920 they occupied the entire Transcaspian region.

In the second half of 1918 and the first half of 1919 a serious threat to the emerging Soviet rule in the former Governorate-General of Turkestan came from the steppe regions in the north. In the fall of 1917 these regions were in a state of anarchy. Initially, the Bolsheviks took control of the Soviets in the cities in the steppe oblast's, while, after the fall of the Provisionary Government, in December 1917, the All-Qazaq Congress in Orenburg formed an autonomous Qazaq government named Alash-Orda. In some cities the Bolsheviks and the Alash-Orda claimed authority simultaneously, but neither of them was able to enforce it. Real power in the northern part of the steppe in 1918 was mostly in the hands of the Ural, Orenburg, and Sibir Cossacks. The Alash-Orda was divided into two parts, the western (with its center near Ural'sk) and eastern (with its center in Semipalatinsk); the western part allied itself with the Orenburg Cossacks of Ataman Dutov, while the eastern part was allied with the Sibir Cossacks of Ataman Annenkov and the government of Siberia in Omsk under Admiral Kolchak. Dutov's Cossacks were able to cut the connection between European Russia and Tashkent two more times, in July 1918 and April 1919. But in July 1919 the Red Army began a general offensive on the eastern front, and by the end of the year all the steppe regions were captured by the Reds. At the end of December the Alash-Orda in Semipalatinsk was disbanded and officially joined the Soviets.

By the end of 1919 the Soviet government could start dealing with the Khanates of Khiva and Bukhara. Taking advantage of disturbances in the Khanate of Khiva brought on by the fighting between the Turkmens under Junayd Khan and his Turkmen and Özbek enemies, and by the appeal of the Young Khivans, the commander of Soviet troops in Turkestan, M. V. Frunze, launched an invasion of the khanate from Petroaleksandrovsk (Turtkul'). Junayd fled to the Qara-qum desert, the last Qongrat khan of Khiva, ʿAbdallah, was forced to abdicate, and at the end of April 1920, the First All-Khorezmian Congress of Soviets abolished the khanate and proclaimed the Khorezmian People's Soviet Republic. Next, it was Bukhara's turn. After several more months of political maneuvering, Frunze orchestrated a "popular revolt" in Charjuy at the end of August 1920, and the "Bukharan Revolutionary Committee" asked the Red Army for help. The khanate was invaded from three directions, and Bukhara fell on September 2; on October 6, the First All-Bukharan Congress of Soviets abolished the khanate and proclaimed the Bukharan People's Soviet Republic. The amir ʿAlim Khan escaped to the Basmachis in the eastern regions of the khanate, and in the spring of 1921 he left for Afghanistan.

The Basmachi movement received a strong boost with the arrival in 1921 of a Turkish adventurer, Enver Pasha, a Young Turk, who was able to unite the various Basmachi bands in the southeast into a stronger fighting force. The Soviet government answered by intensifying punitive expeditions, but at the same time took some political and economic measures aimed at attracting the native population to its side. On June 15, 1922 the forces of Enver Pasha were defeated decisively, and on August 8 he himself was killed. In the mountainous regions and among the Turkmens, the attacks of the Basmachis continued until the early 1930s, but they had only local importance. And during the civil war a new administrative structure began to emerge in the former Russian Central Asia (see map 46).



45. REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR IN WESTERN TURKESTAN, 1917-1922

46. THE "NATIONAL DELIMITATION" OF CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CREATION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLICS

Before the revolution of 1917 the program of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) on the nationality question in the Russian Empire included the right of each nation of the empire to self-determination up to and including secession. However, after the revolution and during the Civil War this program evolved away from the right of separation toward the idea of a federation of autonomous republics under one central government. The republics had to be based on the national principle: each of them had to unite within its borders the population that belonged to the same "nation" defined primarily on the basis of their ethnicity, and especially a common language. The idea of a "nation" was, however, totally alien to Central Asia in the 1920s, so that the creation of the new republics had to be accompanied by the creation of the respective nations themselves. This task was relatively easier in the regions inhabited by the three major nomadic, or semi-nomadic, peoples of Western Turkestan—the Qazaqs, the Qïrghïz, and the Turkmens, each of whom differed from the rest of the Central Asian population not only by its language, but also by various ethnographic features and by their distinct ethnic consciousness. It was much more difficult with the population of the major sedentary areas, which had normally defined itself not on the basis of language (the more so, as Turkic-Iranian bilingualism had been widespread in these areas for many centuries), but on the basis of religion and of belonging to a specific geographical region or even a local community. There was an understanding among the Soviet leaders that the Özbeks were the politically dominant group in the sedentary regions, but there was a total misunderstanding of the origin and place of the Sarts (cf. maps 30, 33, 35, 42), so that even the use of this term was banned and the Sarts (as well as the "Chaghatays" in Mavarannahr, cf. map 35) were equated with Özbeks. The Tajiks, the most ancient sedentary group of Central Asia, were initially almost entirely forgotten.

The first republic that emerged in the former Russian Central Asia was not yet based on the national principle: it was the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, or ASSR (as a part of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR), which was initially proclaimed by the Tashkent government in April 1918 on the territory of the former Governorate-General, but whose draft constitution was rejected by Moscow. The new constitution, under which the Turkestan ASSR was admitted to the RSFSR, was adopted in September 1920. In August 1920 the Qazaq regions (the former Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, Turgay, and Ural oblast's, a part of Astrakhan' oblast', and the Mangïshlaq uezd of the former Transcaspian oblast') were united into the Kirgiz ASSR with its capital in Orenburg, within the RSFSR (the name "Kirgiz" continued the erroneous Russian usage of the 18th-early 20th centuries). In December 1922 the RSFSR was included, together with Ukraine, Belorussia, and the Transcaucasian Federation, in the newly formed SSSR (in English, USSR, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

The main obstacle for the recarving of Central Asia according to the national principle was the existence of the successors of the khanates of Bukhara and Khiva—the respective "people's republics." In 1922-1923 Moscow tightened its control over these republics and organized purges of "hostile elements" in their governments. In October 1923 the Khorezmian People's Republic was proclaimed anew as the Khorezmian Soviet Socialist Republic, and in September 1924 Bukhara was proclaimed anew as the Bukharan Soviet Socialist Republic. During the same years, intensive ethnographic and statistical surveys were done in all regions of Central Asia, to establish a basis for the expected redrawing of the boundaries. In October 1924 the Central Executive Committee of the USSR voted to create two new union republics, the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) and the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic, as well as the Tajik Autonomous Republic (ASSR) within the Uzbek SSR, and the Kara-Kirgiz Autonomous Oblast' within the RSFSR (Kara-Kirgiz being the name used by the Russians before the revolution for the Qïrghïz). In May 1925 the Kirgiz ASSR was renamed the Kazak ASSR, and it included the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Oblast', which became the Kara-Kalpak ASSR in 1932; also in May 1925, the Kara-Kirgiz Autonomous Oblast' was renamed the Kirgiz Autonomous oblast' (and in February 1926 it became the Kirgiz ASSR). In December 1929 the Tajik ASSR was separated from the Uzbek SSR and became a union republic, the Tajik SSR; at the same time the Khojend district (which also included the western part of the Ferghana valley) was transferred from the Uzbek SSR to the Tajik SSR. The last such changes took place in 1936, with the adoption of the new constitution of the Soviet Union: two autonomous republics of the RSFSR were elevated to the rank of union republics and became the Kazakh (the new spelling adopted at that time) SSR and the Kirgiz SSR, and the Kara-Kalpak ASSR was transferred from the Kazakh SSR to the Uzbek SSR.

The new republics were carved out of the administrative units that had existed before and during the first years after the revolution (see map). The drawing and redrawing of the borders between the republics was ostensibly based on surveys conducted before the "national delimitation," but it had to take into account not only the languages, but also economic factors and (sometimes above all) the often conflicting interests of influential groups of Communist leaders in the republics. As a result of the partition of the sedentary regions of Central Asia between the Uzbek and the Tajik republics, the main urban centers of the Tajik population, Samarqand and Bukhara, remained in the Uzbek SSR—a fact that has remained a source of tension between the two republics to the present time. There were also many other areas where the "national delimitation," far from being ideal, became the source of future conflicts.

Since a nation was defined first of all on the basis of its language, defining "national languages" in Central Asia presented a difficult problem. At the time of the revolution the sedentary peoples of Central Asia did not have their "national languages": the main literary language (and the language of official correspondence) in the khanates of Bukhara and Qoqand was Persian (or Tajik), while in Khorezm it was Chaghatay (or "Central Asian Türki"); the latter was the common literary language of all Turkic-speaking groups of the Central Asian population until the 20th century. After the creation of the Soviet republics, the use of Chaghatay, advocated by some Central Asian intellectuals, was rejected by the Soviet authorities, because of its perceived connection with Pan-Turkic ideas that were considered subversive. A new literary language was gradually created for the Özbeks based on vernacular dialects. The traditional Arabic alphabet, which had been in use for all Central Asian languages, was replaced in 1923 by a reformed version. In 1929-30 this was replaced by Latin alphabets modified for each language, and in 1940-41, these were replaced by modified Cyrillic alphabets.

The independence of the Central Asian Soviet republics proclaimed in their constitutions was pure fiction. In reality, they were under strict control from Moscow, this control being exercised through the centralized apparatus of the Communist party of the Soviet Union; it decided all matters of policy and especially the appointments to key positions in the party and in the governmental apparatus of the republics. The first party secretary in a republic was, as a rule, a representative of the "titular nationality" of this republic, but the second secretary was always a Russian, sent from Moscow, who would ensure the compliance of the local party and government with the decisions of the center. The local authorities usually had more leeway in matters of culture, but only insofar as they followed the general ideological guidelines established by the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union.



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46. THE "NATIONAL DELIMITATION" OF CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CREATION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLICS

47. CENTRAL ASIA TO THE YEAR 2000

The republics created during the "national delimitation" of Central Asia, with some later changes (see map 46), existed until the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991. Among the most dramatic political developments during this period was the forced collectivization carried out from 1930 to 1932, affecting most heavily the Qazaqs, who were subjected at the same time to forced sedentarization. This caused huge losses of livestock (slaughtered by the Qazaq nomads) and a widespread famine; in many regions there were spontaneous rebellions suppressed by Soviet troops, and some 300,000 Qazaqs fled to neighboring countries, primarily China. The Qazaqs lost 85% of their beef cattle, 88% of their horses, 93% of their sheep, and 94% of their camels; at least 1.5 million Qazaqs died as a result of famine and epidemics. In other republics the collectivization caused a new flare-up of the Basmachi movement, as well as the flight of some groups of the population to Afghanistan and Iran. Collectivization was soon followed by Stalin's "Great Purges" of the mid-1930s, during which hundreds of thousands were persecuted and perished. The purges wiped out most of the old Central Asian educated class.

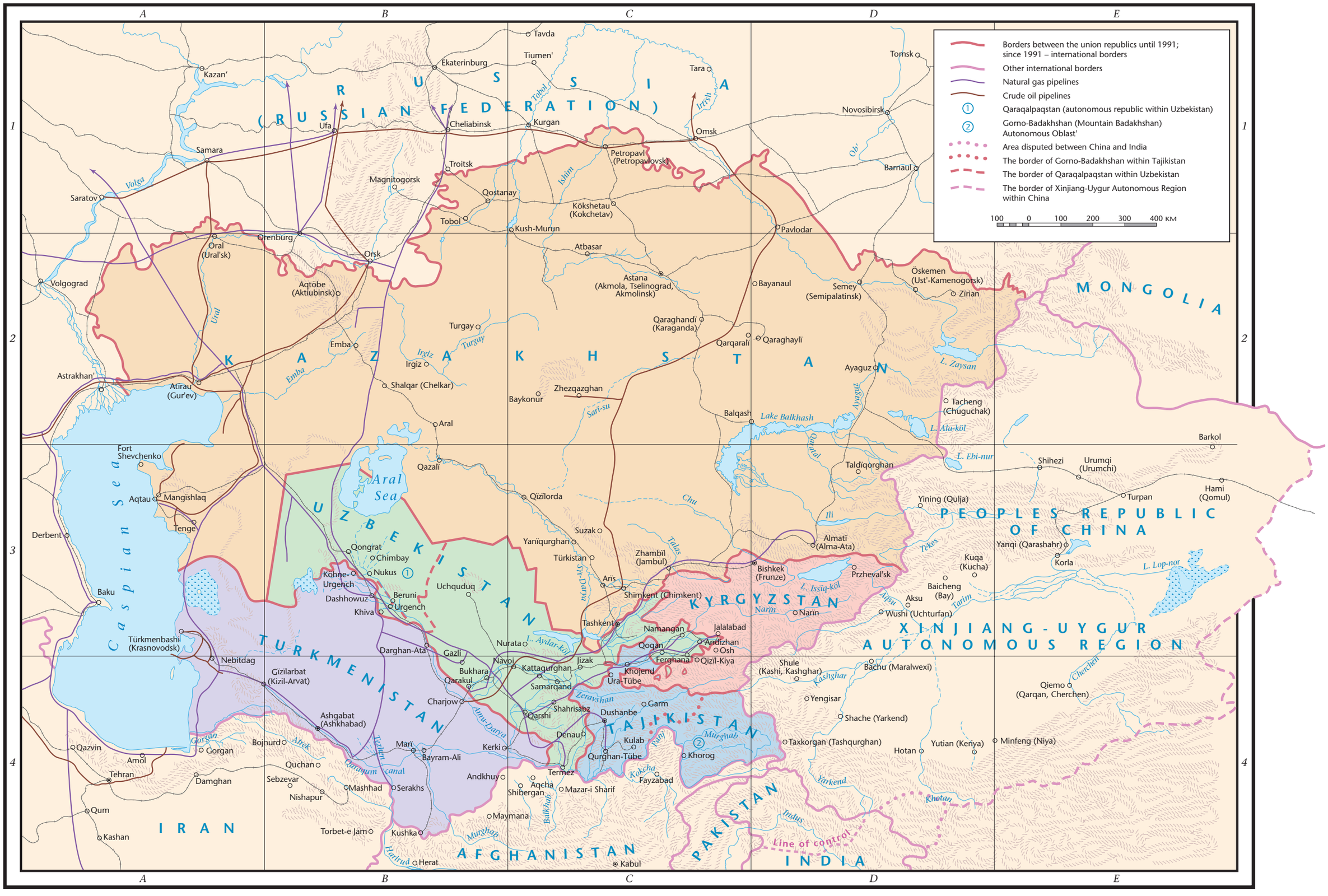
The economic development of Soviet Central Asia, besides the disastrous collectivization, was characterized by an overwhelming stress on cotton cultivation (at the expense of cereals). Although there was substantial industrial development, especially in mining, the production of electric power and natural gas, and in industry serving agriculture (manufacture of fertilizers, irrigation equipment, and cotton machinery), the stress on cotton not only remained, but increased during the Soviet period, and Soviet Central Asia became a region of monoculture. Exacerbated by extremely inefficient central planning, insufficient investment, low productivity, and widespread corruption, it had disastrous consequences for the environment. Since cotton requires more water for irrigation than other crops, more and more water was diverted to irrigation canals and reservoirs from the two main Central Asian rivers, the Amu-Darya and the Sïr-Darya. As a result, by the 1990s these rivers dried up before they reached the Aral Sea; the Aral Sea began quickly to lose water to evaporation and was on its way to becoming a salt marsh. Northern winds carried salt and sand from the dry sea bed over hundreds of miles, creating numerous public health problems, especially in Khorezm. The Soviet authorities were unable and unwilling to cope with these problems. In Kazakhstan another severe environmental problem was caused by the testing of nuclear weapons, conducted west of Semipalatinsk without any concern for the health of the population.

Soviet rule in Central Asia was marked by attacks against Islamic institutions, the closing of numerous mosques and shrines, the persecution of religious officials, and the growth of anti-religious propaganda aimed at Islam; all this was combined with efforts to use the cultural achievements of Central Asian Muslims in Soviet propaganda aimed at other Islamic countries. One of these achievements was the educational system, which included compulsory primary and secondary education in the native languages, as well as the opening of universities and colleges in all major urban centers. From the 1940s, a new native educated elite emerged, whose members were co-opted by the Soviet system, rose to positions of influence in the party and state apparatus, and had a vested interest in the preservation of this system.

When the Soviet system collapsed and the Soviet Union disintegrated after the August 1991 abortive "Putsch" in Moscow, the Communist leaders of the Central Asian republics quickly proclaimed their independence (in Kazakhstan, however, with some hesitation). But the democratic forces in Central Asia were weak, and independence resulted in the emergence of regimes that were at best autocratic, like those of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, and at worst despotic, like the neo-Stalinist regimes of Uzbekistan and especially Turkmenistan. The president of Turkmenistan, Saparmurad Niyazov, established a bizarre personality cult, adopting the name Türkmenbashi ("Father of the Turkmens," obviously imitating Kemal Atatürk) and renaming cities, streets, and even the days of the week with his own name. The economy of the republics is still plagued by the old woes, especially the reliance on cotton-growing, although Kazakhstan has good prospects of becoming a major oil-exporting country with the development of the Tengiz oilfields on the north-eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, and Turkmenistan may become a major exporter of natural gas. The environment is in even worse shape than under the Soviet regime, and the Aral Sea has all but entirely disappeared. The worst situation has been in Tajikistan, where civil war has raged since 1992, as a result of which about 50,000 people were killed in 1992 alone (especially in the Pamir region), about 800,000 have had to flee their homes, and the economy has been devastated. In 1997, a political and military settlement was reached, but complete peace has still not been achieved.

While Western Turkestan was firmly under Russian rule from the 1870s on, Eastern Turkestan, after the restoration of Chinese rule in 1877 (see map 32), enjoyed a great deal of autonomy and was initially administered by the Chinese bureaucrats who accompanied Zuo Zong-tang in his reconquest. In 1884 the entire region (Kashgharia and Jungharia) was made a province of China under the name Xinjiang ("The New Dominion"). After the Chinese revolution of 1911, and until 1944, the province was ruled by three successive warlords, all of them ethnic Chinese (Han), who had their own armies, collected their own taxes, and maintained their own diplomatic relations with Russia; the local administration remained in the hands of native leaders. It was during this period that the name Uyghur, long forgotten in Eastern Turkestan, was revived and began to be used to designate all of the sedentary Turkic-speaking population of the oases, who until then used to call themselves only by the names of their localities (Kashgharlïq, Aqsulïq, Loplïq, etc.). Under the governor Yang Zengxin (1911-1928), Xinjiang was, for all practical purposes, independent. During the 1920s and 1930s there was growing Soviet influence in Xinjiang, which was especially strong in the regions of Qulja, Chuguchaq, and Altay; in Kashghar and the Tarim basin the predominant influence (until the end of Yang's rule) was that of Great Britain. In 1930 Yang's successor attempted to centralize the administration of the province, triggering the major Dungan rebellion from 1931 to 1934. A new governor-warlord, Sheng Shicai (1933-1944), in return for aid from Moscow in quelling the rebellion, granted the Soviet Union exclusive rights to the exploitation of Xinjiang's mineral and petroleum resources, and a monopoly on its export trade. He proclaimed himself a Marxist and joined the Communist party of the Soviet Union, but no Communist party was established in the province. At the end of 1942, when the Soviet Union looked as if it was close to being defeated by Germany, Sheng purged the province of Communists and had the Soviets withdraw from Xinjiang; in 1943 he pledged his allegiance to the Guomindang government, which began to send its troops and officials to the province. But in 1943-1944 a mass rebellion broke out in Jungharia, where rebel Qazaqs and Uyghurs proclaimed the establishment of an independent "Eastern Turkestan Republic," which had its center in Qulja, and which received help from the Soviet Union. In October 1949, Xinjiang was captured by the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and Communist rule in the province was established.

Under the the People's Republic of China, Eastern Turkestan has formed the Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region, which also has five autonomous districts, including two with Mongol populations, one with a Qazaq population, and one with a Qïrghïz population. The Beijing government has pursued a policy of directing a large-scale Chinese migration to the province, mainly to the Junghar basin, where the ethnic Chinese (Han) now form a majority.



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