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Editors: Bülent Arı & Selim Aslantaş



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CENTRAL ASIA AFTER THE
MONGOL INVASION-
ISLAM AND SEDENTARY LIFE
AS A CONSEQUENCE*

*
ÖZKAN IZGI**

Товчиллол
Монголын байлдан дагуулалын дараахь
дунд Ази - Үр дүн нь болох лалын шашин ба
сууршимал аж төрөх ёс

*
Өзкан Изги

Өзкан Изги нь уг өгүүлэлдээ монголын байлдан дагуулалыг Дунд Азийн улс төрийн, утсаатны, нийгмийн бүтэц болон шашин шүтлэг зэрэгт хэрхэн нөлөөлснийг судалсан байна. Зохиолч судалгааныхаа эхэнд монголын байлдан дагуулалын өмнөх Дунд Ази болон Туркистанд амьдарч байсан түрэг овог аймгуудын газар нутгийг нь тодорхойлоод, улмаар монгол байлдан дагуулал нь эдгээр газар нутгуудын утсаатны бүтэц, тогтолцоонд хэрхэн нөлөөлснийг өгүүлжээ. Изги өгүүлэлийнхээ дараахи хэсэгт 14 р зуунаас хойш монголчууд нутгийн түрэг ард түмэн болон лалын шашинтай хэрхэн зохицож, яаж харилцан нөлөөлцсөн бэ гэдэг асуудлыг авч үзээд, ялангуяа доглон Төмөр болон түүний залгамжлагчдын үед болсон үйл явдлуудыг судалсан байна.

* "Central Asia after the Mongol Invasion-Islam and Sedentary Life as a Consequence", *Hacettepe Bulletin of Social Sciences and Humanities*, V/1 (1973) pp. 43 - 56

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The Mongols

In the period after the Mongolian conquest of Central Asia we see not only a change in the political situation but also a change in the ethnic composition of the population and a change in the way of life which is later evidenced by a sedentary population.

In this paper, I want to deal with the situation before and after the Mongolian conquest. Here, we encounter the following questions: 1. What happened to the Turkish peoples and tribes who occupied this area during the time of the Karakhanids and the Khorezmshahs? We do not find most of them later. 2. How did the Mongolian tribes who came with the conquest become Turkicized in language and in culture? This is obvious at Timur's time. 3. How did these nomadic peoples become sedentary?

In answering these questions, let us first look at the location of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia before the Mongolian conquest.

We will deal with the **Oghuz** first. In the first half of the tenth century, the Oghuz were living in the area between the Caspian sea and Farab, the Turkish name of which is Qarachuq. In the eleventh century they were living in Isfijab--Sayram--in the Syr Darya region and in the steppes north of this river.¹ With the spread of Islam among the Oghuz some of them started to become sedentary. The sedentary Oghuz did not participate on a large scale in the political actions and migrations of the nomadic conquest.² We could answer the question of what happened to them after this conquest as follows: some of them died during the Mongolian invasion; some of them were taken prisoner; and another part fled to Khorasan.³ When the Mongols started to spread into Iran, the Oghuz in this region migrated to Asia Minor.⁴ The Oghuz, who had been living in Manqishlaq since the tenth century, were not affected by this invasion. However, they

first became subjects of the Khans of the Golden Horde and then of the Khans of Khiva.

During the *Kök Türk* period **The Kirghiz** were living in the region of the *Abaqan River* beyond the *Kögmen mountains-- the Sayan mountains*⁵. Thereafter, they invaded the *Uighur* and took the region of the *Orkhon River*. When the *Karakhitai* attacked them, they withdrew to their original habitat.⁶

The **Chigil** were living according to *Hudud al-âlem* in the northwest of *Issik KöI*. Gradually acquiring more importance, they became a separate and independent tribe in the eleventh century.⁷ *Kashghari* says that they had three branches.⁸ Today, there are four villages in *Asia Minor* called *Chigil*. This may indicate that a part of the *Chigil* came to *Asia Minor* with the *Mongolian invasion*.

The **Yaghma** in the tenth century were living in the region of *Kashgar* and northwest of there. The leader of this tribe bore the title of *Bughral*. Because of this title, *Barthold* believed that the *Karakhanids* belonged to the *Yaghma*.⁹

The **Karluks**, **Argu** and **Tuhsi** were living in the *Chu Valley*.¹⁰

Having dealt with the main tribes of the *Turkish peoples* in *Central Asia*, let us look at *Turkestan* as a whole.

As a general term, *Turkestan* has in modern times been applied to the whole region stretching from the *Amu Derya* to the *Inner Asian mountains and deserts*. West of *Turkestan* there were peoples such as *Soghdians*, *Khworezmians* and *Tocharians*. In the east, the region of the *Syr Darya*, *Issik KöI* and *Semirechia (Jetisu or Yedisu)* were the habitats of *Turkish peoples* as we have seen above. Because of the *Iranian peoples* of the west, it could be said that prior to the *Mongolian invasion* *Turkestan* in the modern sense of the term, was not a land of the *Turk*. The *Soghdians*, especially, had estab-

lished merchant colonies in all the Central Asian cities as far as China. Because of this fact, many Turkish cities were considered Iranian. But we see in M. Kashghari, that as early as the eleventh century the Soghdians in Transoxania and the Kenjek and Khotanese in Eastern Turkestan had already begun to speak Turkish in addition to their own Iranian languages.¹¹ A majority of people living among the Soghdians were converted by them to Islam. The Soghdians, Tocharians and Khorezmians at the same time began to use the Turkish language.¹² Kashghari calls Transoxania a land of the Turk. When telling about the reconquest of this region from the Soghdians in which his father had also participated, he speaks of the cities Semiz-kend, Tashkent, Shash, Özkend and Tunkend. He further says that these cities were Turkish, that they had been built by the Turks, and that the Turks had also given them their names. It was only later that Persian influence began to make itself felt. In the words of Kashghari "With the increase of the Fars-Tajikin in these regions they seem like Ajem cities."¹³ Jemal Qarshi, who wrote around 1300, speaks of such places as Ferghana and Evliya Ata as having had Turkish rulers from as early as the second half of the thirteenth century. The epitaphs of these rulers are written in Arabic, but in the epitaph of Munmush Tegin, ruler of Khotan, there is a Turkish sentence at the end.¹⁴

As we have seen above, by the time of the Mongolian invasion Central Asia was already mainly a land of the Turk. But, as the result of the Arab invasion, non-Turkish peoples had long dominated the western part of it. This invasion had had the effect of putting the Turks into contact with Islam and they had the opportunity to learn the principles of Islam in more detail. While, it is true that the Turks had received Islam from the Arabs and were affected by Islamic civilization, nevertheless they kept their identity, and in the thirteenth century, even in western Central Asia, they had Turkicized the Arab invaders. Yaqut writes that in the be-

ginning of the thirteenth century, the Khworezmians had become Turks in physical appearance and moral values and that this was a result of mixing with the Turks from early times.¹⁵

When we look at the results the Mongolian invasion, we see first, that the Tajik were driven out to Kabul, Ghazna, and northern India and that a part of them was sent to northwest China. The Turks who were living in northern Turkestan, and in the region of the T'ien Shan, that is, in such places as Yaghma, Karluk, Chigil, Argu and Tuhsi, had to give up their territory to the nomadic groups coming from the east. These Turkish tribes migrated to Transoxania and Kashgharia.¹⁶ As we know, since Chinggis Khan's conquest, we hear no more of Turks in Turkestan. They were then either driven out and dispersed, or if any did remain, they changed their own name for that of the conquerors.¹⁷ Most of Central Asia had been given to Chaghadai. Here, the Barulas, Jalayir, Dughlat and Arulat tribes had their quarters in the former territories of the Turks. The son of Chaghadai, Ögedei, and Jochi, not heeding the divisions made by Chinggis, had their own struggles for acquiring more land. In order to prevent political disintegration between the two *Qurultai's*, there was an agreement in the territorial composition, of the Ulus'es.¹⁸

As a result of this change some of the Turkish tribes who had migrated to Transoxania and Kashgaria may have come down to the plains, and some of them may even have settled in the vicinity of cities and forgotten their clan names. This could have led to the fact that the Mongolian speaking nomadic groups that had come to Transoxania with and after the Mongolian invasion were speaking Turkish in the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁹ According to Togan, the majority of them even settled in villages and cities, but more evidence is needed to support his theory.

When the invasion was over, we see the change of habitats of tribes and new Mongolian Ulus'es. But there was still a very important problem. This was a clash between the sedentary Muslim Turks in Transoxania and Kashghar and the Chinggisid and their nomads, who had the support of the Buddhist, Christian and Shamanist Turk in the region of Semirechye and Ughuristan. That is, this was a clash between Muslims and Turks and a non-Turkish sedentary population; and the Buddhist and Shamanist nomadic Turco-Mongolian traditions.²⁰

But, on the other hand, Mongols were under the influence of the sedentary Turks and as well as of Islam and its religious orders. These religious orders such as the Yasaviye were more popular than theological in character. Gradually, these influences become apparent.

Özbek Qan, in the Ulus of Jochi adopted Islam. This had the effect that the Turks and the Mongols and their rulers became Muslims. After the death of Ilkhan Abaqa Qan, his brother adopted Islam and took the Muslim name, Ahmad. Islam influenced the nomads not only in Iran and in the Golden Horde but also in Central Asia. In the fourteenth century we see *Qan's*, who adopted Islam and who started to have tendencies toward sedentary life, one of them was Ke-bek (1318-1326) of the Ulus of Chaghatai Qan's.²¹ Kazan Khan, also called Khalil Ata²² of the Chaghatai, destroyed all of the population who were not Muslims.

The adoption of Islam by the nomads led very slowly to their sedentarization. In all cases, we find that they first adopted Islam and then sedentary life, may be attracted by the religious centers. But we do not see any cases of reverse. Adoption of Islam and later of the sedentary life had the effect that it prevented the continuing migration to India, especially of scholars.²³ With the adoption of Islam the Mongols entered another cultural world. The rulers settled in

Transoxania and in some measure abandoned the nomadic traditions, which led to their alienation from the eastern regions.²⁴

If we sum up the whole picture of Central Asia, we see that the dominating group in Central Asia before the Mongolian invasion already consisted of Turks, but of course this does not mean that they all were sedentary. The immediate consequences of the Mongolian conquest were a standstill in every aspect of social and economic life; this fact is mentioned by Muslim as well as by later Western historians.²⁵

After the Mongolian conquest and especially after the fourteenth century we see a movement toward linguistic Turkicization and in the cultural sphere Islamicization. At the same time, a gradual tendency to make settlement life is seen first among the former nomadic inhabitants of Central Asia who lost their habitats with the Mongolian invasion, and later the same phenomenon is seen among the invaders. In my opinion, the main factor that led to the Islamicization and Turkicization of the nomads, who came from the east is the existence of newly settled Turkish groups in many areas with whom the nomads still had some things in common. Another factor is the reopening of the trade routes and rebuilding of destroyed towns and local roads.²⁶ This led to much faster communication and closer contact between both the nomads and the newly settled Turkish groups.

We may say, that the peoples of Central Asia started to become sedentary on a great scale with the efforts of Timur. This phenomenon continued during the reign of other Timurids. The picture of this period is as follows;

Although the Chaghatai Khans had accepted Islam before, they were not strict in following its requirements. This fact had offended the Ulema, the Shaykhs, and Sayyids, so that when Timur had entered Samarkand as the governor of

Transoxania, appointed by Tughluq Temür, the people of Samarkand had welcomed him as a hero.²⁷

After acquiring full power and the title of Sahip-qiran in Balkh, Timur began to fulfill the promises that he had made to the Sayyids and Shaykhs. He also diminished the existing precedence of the Yasa of Chinggis over the religious law or the Sharia.²⁸ For matters concerning of Koranic law, he appointed Cadi's and he established certain regulations to prevent conflicts between the Yasa and the Sharia.

Timur understood the fact that the Turks could only establish a powerful state if they would combine their nomadic traditions and customs (*Töre*) with Islamic law and practices and would at least partly abandon nomadic life and settle in fertile lands. Timur, at the beginning of his power said, "If we can make the protection of the people and the winning of their hearts to our side the basis of this state, then we can be sure of the future,". Also through an envoy he said to Emir Husayn, "Our opposition to each other can lead to the destruction of our country. In your wisdom I ask you to consider this matter. Work for the development of our country and people."²⁹ Therefore, he put great importance on the construction of settlements, roads, and irrigation works. Construction was one of Timur's main preoccupation. He built a bridge on the Balkh River in order to make it easier to go to Kesh. He repaired the city of Kesh and built the Aqsarai Palace beautifully. When Toqtamish took Tabriz and pillaged it and destroyed the Masjid and Madrasa, Timur was worried. Afterwards, he repaired Tabriz with his *yasaq* and justice.³⁰ He continued his constructions in Shiraz by building a Madrasa, Mascid and Hayrat. He also brought water into various parts of the city. In 1396, he built a magnificent mansion for the daughter of Amirzade Amiran-shah.³¹ "After bringing welfare to Transoxania he started to make constructions in a place in Baylakan, in Iran. Thinking of the welfare and happiness of the people who were living

there, Timur constructed canals which brought water from the river Aras thus irrigating this area."³²

Timur not only constructed new canals, but also gave them Turkish names. We see that most of the irrigation canals were named after his Turkish emirs. We know from the works of geographers of the tenth century, such as Istakhri and Muqaddasi and from Yaqut Hamami, who was in Transoxania and Khorezm during the period of the Khorezmshahs, that most cities, towns and villages had Arabic and Iranian names.³³ But later, Nafiz Abru gave the names to twenty canals constructed by Timur's order, and nine of these canals bear the names of Timur's emirs.

The improvement of agriculture was one of the main objectives of Timur. For instance, the city of Urgench, the population of which had been mostly put to sword by Chinggis Khan, was ordered by Timur to be repopulated and sowed with barley.³⁴ At his time, Samarkand was a center of productivity in many lines. Agriculture was encouraged with irrigational development. Sericulture was promoted and the artisans that were brought into the capital included skilled workers from many parts of southwest Asia.³⁵ In order to encourage agriculture, Timur had imposed a new tax system. The new tax was fixed at a third of the produce on all irrigated land, besides a certain due for using water from the public reservoirs; but any cultivator who built a tank, planted a grove, or brought new land under cultivation paid no revenue for the first and second years.³⁶ His strong hand was extended no less over agriculture and industry, than over commerce. The land was fertilized by artificial irrigation. Canals, bridges, orchards and workshops abounded. He promoted sericulture and transferred to Samarkand the ablest silk-spinners and silk-weavers of Persia and Syria. He commanded that cotton, hemp, and flax should be planted, and forced the most famous producers of cotton textiles to settle in Samarkand.³⁷ Timur carried on

these policies not only in Transoxania and the Western regions but also in the east. After returning to Samarkand from his campaign to the Golden Horde in 1397, he sent Amirzade Muhammad Sultan to Moghulistan and gave him the order to carry out constructions and agriculture.³⁸ Later, the sons and the descendants of Timur also encouraged agriculture. For example, Ulugh Beg bestowed grants on people who cultivated land.

Besides these efforts to encourage construction and agriculture at home, Timur seems to have had a certain policy of bringing various tribes from the land he conquered into the region of Transoxania. What his real purpose was is an open question. If he had the idea of making them settle down and causing them to take up agriculture, he did not succeed in this for we see that these tribes continued to live as nomads.

In regard to the tribes Timur transported from different places to Transoxania, our sources give different accounts of the tribes that he transported from Asia Minor. The question is what tribes did Timur transport: Did he send the Anatolian tribes only to Transoxania or to the border of Moghulistan, or did he also send them to places other than Transoxania? According to our sources, names of different tribal groups are given and the places where they were sent are also not the same. It seems that Timur transported them not only to Transoxania but also to other places.

Sharaf al-Din Yazdi in his *Zafarnâma* speaks of the Qara Tatar, who were sent from the region of Sivas to Transoxania. These Qara Tatar tribes had come with Hülegü Khan to Iran, and Hülegü settled them at the frontiers of Damascus. When Yildirim Bayazid took Sivas, he had incorporated them into his army. Timur, in turn gave them land in Jete, after his campaign in Asia Minor. They consisted of about thirty or forty thousand families.³⁹

*Rawdat al-safâ*⁴⁰ has even more information on how the Qara Tatars came to be settled in Anatolia. He says, that the Qara Tatars numbering seventy thousand families, were seated on the frontiers of khatai. Because of the hostility between them and the Mongols, Chinggis Khan, after defeating them, ordered that the male part of their population be exterminated and this order was carried out. In the meantime, Mongols and others had taken some of the women as wives and had children by them. During Mongge Khan's reign, when Hülegü was sent to Persia, these mixed Qara Tatars were enrolled in his army. Hülegü, after establishing himself at Tabriz, saw that these Qara Tatars despite inter-marriages, had maintained their natural depravity. He wanted to get rid of them and therefore sent them to live on the frontiers between Anatolia and Armenia. They stayed there until the death of Abu Sa'id. The succeeding disorders seemed to be a good opportunity for them and they separated into fifty-two distinct bands and started to seize the neighboring territory. When Sultan Bayazid took Sivas he caused them to be enrolled in the Ottoman armies and assigned them settlements in his territories. After the victory at Ankara, Timur designed plans to transport this powerful colony into certain districts in Jete. Proceeding to their settlements from every side, in order to cut of the possibility of escape, Timur's forces crossed the bridge of Kirshehir and arrived at the boundary of the Qara Tatar settlements. After some discussion with their chiefs they were divided among the *tümen*'s of the army. Thus, accompanying the movements of the imperial army, they proceeded to their destination.

Without giving any specific information on the Qara Tatar tribe itself, V. V. Barthold speaks of this event and says, "Timur settled the tribe of the Black Tatars, whom he had brought out of Asia Minor, on the shores of the Issik-Köl".⁴¹

The Spanish ambassador Clavijo,⁴² on the other hand, speaks of the Aq Qoyunlu⁴³ who were transported to Transoxania. He says that, Timur on his way to the lands of the Mammeluk Sultan, met the Aq Qoyunlu, (whom he calls White Tatars or White Sheep Tatars) and taking them prisoner, he forced them to accompany him to Syria. After he took Damascus, he dispatched the master craftsmen of Damascus to Samarkand. "In their company Timur now sent men of the White Sheep Tatars..."

The Aq Tatars or rather Aq Qoyunlu mentioned by Clavijo must have been sent not to Samarkand, but to the region of Damghan, because Clavijo later tells us that the Aq Qoyunlu who had been brought from Sivas were settled at Damghan.⁴¹ Thus, he seems to correct or rather complete his former statement which seemed to indicate that they were sent to Samarkand.

Some of the Aq Qoyunlu submitted to Timur's rule, and they seem to have remained where they were, at Qarabagh, and were loyal to him and his tribe. Timur was pleased to receive the Aq Qoyunlu who were the enemies of the Qara Qoyunlu, the people who resisted Timur everywhere.

Thus we see that accounts given by Clavijo and Sharaf al-Din Yazdi refer to the transportation of two distinct groups to two different places: the Qara Tatar to Moghulistan, and the Aq Qoyunlu to Damghan. Besides these turco-mongolian tribes, Timur had earlier in 1332, brought also Sayyid Kamal al-Din of Mâzenderân and his tribe and people to Samarkand.⁴⁵

It seems that Timur not only transported tribes to the east, to Transoxania and neighboring region's, but that he also sent certain tribes from Iran to the West. At the request of Shaykh Safy-ud-Din Ishâq (in Ardebil Azar-baijan) a highly celebrated holy man, Timur consented that the tribes of Turkish origin who had been sent to Syria and Armenia

should return to their homelands. These grateful tribes - among whom were also the Qajar- became devoted disciples of the shaykh and were supporters of Shah Ismail, who later founded the Safavid dynasty.⁴⁶

Timur's autobiography, *Mulfuzat* and his work on institutions, *Tuzukat*, do not mention anything about these vigorous efforts of Timur to change the habitats of various tribes.

Under the later rulers of Transoxania, the Özbek's who were contemporaries of the Safavids in Iran, similar trends are seen towards sedentarization and Turkicization.

In the lands of the Golden Horde, the lands of the grandfathers of the Özbeks, which were also called the Ulus of Joci, Batu had given to his brother Shayban. the territories to the east of the Ural mountains and Ural Rivers as summer quarters and the lower parts of the Syr Darya, Chu, and Sari Su as winter quarters.⁴⁷ In addition, he was given 15.000 families as a present from his eldest brother Orda.⁴⁸ It is not known from what nation or tribe those families derived their origin. About the middle of the fourteenth century, the hordes subject to the Shaybanids took the name Özbek and from this time on they were called the Shaybani özbeks. The true founder of Özbek power was the Shaybanid prince. Abu'l-Khair.⁴⁹ With regard to "Özbek" as the name of the people Z.V.Togan (*Türkistan Tarihi*, p.31), says, "The name Toghmaq, given to the nomadic people of the Dasht-i Kipchak before the spread of Islam amongst them, was gradually replaced by the name of Özbek after the reign of Özbek Khan 1312-1 340". This seems probable, as we know that there was no single tribe called Özbek at this time or before. Togan further states (aforementioned reference), "In the Ulus of Joci, at first the name Tatar was given only to the Mongolian and Turkish tribes coming from the east, and the name Kipchak was used only for the tribes in the Kipchak steppes. These two, the Tatars and the Kipchaks together were called

Toghmaq: After the reign of Özbek Khan, the tribes known under the name *Toghmaq* came to be called Özbegs". Among these Özbegs, who consisted of many tribal groups there later developed different groupings such as the Noghai, Manhit, and Qazaq and these groups eventually separated themselves from the Özbegs. Before the Özbegs became divided into these groups, there had been ninety-two tribes of them according to a genealogical table (*Nesebnāme*) mentioned by Togan in his *Türkistan Tarihi*, p. 42. About thirty-three of them were of Mongolian origin, and the remaining ones were the Turkish tribes within the Ulus of Joci. By 1430, the founder of Özbek power, Abu'l-Khayr, had taken the eastern part of the Ural River, the northern part of the Syr Darya, and Khwarezm, and with their movement toward the south, the Özbegs began to come into contact with Transoxania.

The policy carried out by the Timurids, especially, Ulugh Beg was to create dissent among the nomadic chiefs by helping some of them and thereby weakening others. When the Timurids found themselves in more difficult circumstances, they used to capture or even destroy the herds of the Özbegs.⁵⁰ The Özbegs under Abū'l-Khāyir's leadership soon divided into two groups. The princes, Giray and Janibeg, who were also of the Ulus of Joci and were descendants of Toqai Temür and sons of Baraq Khan, separated themselves from Abū'l-Khāyir and went over to the Chaghatai ruler, Esen Buqa. Esen Buqa gave them pasture lands in Eastern Turkestan and a great number of nomadic clans left Abū'l-Khāyir and went to join Giray and Janibeg. After their separation from the Özbek Khanate, these nomads came to be known as Qazaqs.⁵¹

After Abū'l-Khāyir's death, his grandson Muhammad Shaybānī entered the service of Mahmud Khan, the Chaghatai ruler of Moghulistan, and was given the city of Turkestan (Yasi) as a fief. Not long after, around 1500, Muhammad Ahaybani took Khwarezm and after the death of Husayn Bayqara he

captured Khorasan and put an end to Timurid rule in this region. The Özbegs then entered Transoxania.⁵²

The Özbegs who had come to Transoxania represented a mixture of Mongolian clans and Turkish tribes, who were themselves a mixture of Turks and Turkicized Iranians.⁵³ The Shaybanid, Ubaydullāh Khan, a nephew of Muhammed Shaybānī drove Babur out of Transoxania. Babur, in turn, moved to India with the Turkish speaking tribes attached to him and founded a new state. Ubaydullāh Khan, who was a patron of the Naqshbandiya, fought against the Safavids but had no success. The struggles between these two groups, Özbegs and Safavids in Transoxania resulted in a struggle between two Muslim sects, Sunni, and Shiite.

Over the course of much of the sixteenth century Abdullāh b. Iskandar of the Shaybanids fought to unite Balkh, Samarkand, Tashkent, the region north of the Syr Darya, and Ferghana under his rule. He also took Khorasan and Herat from the Persians, but when Abdullāh's relations with his son Abd-al-Mu'min were at a critical stage, the Kirghiz availed themselves of the situation and took Tashkent. The Shaybanids ruled the Ashtarkhanid princes in central Transoxania from 1599, side by side with the Khanate of Khiva (from 1510) in Khwarezm and the Khanate of Khokand in the Ferghana valley (from 1710).

Although the Özbegs who entered Transoxania represented nomadic traditions and obeyed the Yasa of Chinggis Khan, they were not strangers to the Islamic culture of the Timurids. The situation in Transoxania was as follows: Timur and his successors had started to settle nomads in various parts of Transoxania and Eastern Turkestan. In the fifteenth century, the Özbek Khans had been living according to nomadic traditions, in the steppes and along the shores of Syr Darya, outside the sphere of Iranian culture. At the beginning of the sixteenth century after the collapse of the Timurids, the

Özbeğ tribesmen themselves were not yet in close relation with Muslim Iranian culture, but the nomadic aristocracy, and especially the Khans, were familiar with Timurid culture. We could say. That at the beginning they were alien to sedentary city civilization, but with the continuation of their rule they gradually became somewhat under the influence of the Persian language and literature.

The Shaybānīnāma of Bannayī, the book written in Persian by Yar Muhammad Samarqandī for Ubaydullāh Khan and the poems written in Persian by the Khans themselves, show that they had come into contact with Iranian culture as shown by Fuad Köprülü.⁵⁴ Köprülü also mentions the *Muzakkir-i ahbāb*, written in Persian by Sayyid Hasan Khoja, the *naqīb al-ashrāf* of Bukhara. The importance of this work for an understanding of Transoxanian civilization under the rule of the Shaybanids has also been emphasized by Köprülü.⁵⁵

The Western Iranian or Tajiks who had come to Transoxania and Turkestan, i.e., the Transoxanian Tajiks had come here mostly for the sake of trade or as a result of internal struggles, as at the time of the Sassanids. Under the rule of the early Chaghataids some of the Tajiks had been sent to Eastern Turkestan.⁵⁶ The Tajiks, who remained in the region of Transoxania, and who occupied themselves with trade, used to live in the cities. As a result of their contacts with the Turks, there developed a change in their language. For instance, we see that the poems written by Bannayī are quite different from Western Persian.⁵⁷ We also see that in a city like Bukhara, where the Tajiks were in great numbers, Turkish was spoken and hymns in Turkish were sung in the *Tekye* (*Tekke*) of Shaykh Sayf al-Din Baharzi.⁵⁸ As a result, we could say that Turkish and Iranian elements of Transoxania were in close contact and existed side by side.

Besides the gradual increase in the dominance of the Turkish language, which also indicates an increase in the

Turkish population of Transoxania, apparently more sedentarized than ever before, we see the Shaybanid Khans working in the interest of the sedentary population. As according to Ötemis Haje, the author of *Tarikh-i Dost Sultan* around 1550, the Shaybanids were earlier ruling over "Özbek Eli", that is, the Manghit towns (qariyah), which were known as Tura. This Tura province was the region where the Manghits of Western Siberia had settled. This statement of Ötemis Haje shows that the Shaybanids had a sedentary tradition before they entered Transoxania.⁵⁹

Muhammad Shaybani Khan had taken measures against the economic difficulties which were pressing at his time. He opened up new irrigation canals and settled nomadic Özbegs at these places which were thus made suitable for agriculture. He also encouraged trade. Later Abdullah Khan, built caravanserais, bridges, and enlarged the agricultural regions by irrigating them. Like his predecessors, he tried to encourage his Özbegs in the direction of sedentary life and city culture. The nomadic ways changed with time and were gradually replaced by sedentary ways. There were sixteenth century settlements in abundance upon both sides of the Amu River from the town of Urgench as far as the country of Ogurza;⁶⁰ by reason of the soil being exceedingly fertile all sorts of fruits and roots grew there to perfection. We see also Özbegs settled in Urgench in the sixteenth century.⁶¹ Also one of the signs of this change is in the seventeenth century, when *kumiss*, the inevitable drink of the nomads, came to be replaced by *boza*, made of barley, an agricultural product.⁶²

Nomadic life continued for a long time among the Qazaqs who had separated themselves from the Özbegs in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Besides these nomads, we see in Transoxania and the Ferghana valley complete sedentarization. In the cultural and political struggles after the Mongolian invasion there were three victors: Islam, sedentary life, and the Turkish language.

NOTES

1. Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi., 1967), p. 41. 2.
2. Mahmud Kashghari speaks of Oghuz cities such as Seprem, Qarachuq, Sughnaq and Qurnağ. There are many cities and villages along the Syr Darya where they were living as sedentary people. See Bahaeddin Ögel, *İslâmiyetten Önce Türk Kültür Tarihi* (Ankara: 1962), pp. 333-341.
3. See F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 42.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
5. V. V. Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* (Berlin: 1935). p. 46.
6. For the Kirgiz, see also Marwazi, *Sharaf al-zaman Tahir Marwazi on China, the Turks and India* (London: 1942). pp. 30 and 104-106.
7. See F. Sümer, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
8. Mahmud Kashghari, *Divanu Lugat-it-Türk*, trans. B. Atalay. (Ankara: 1939), trans. V. Minorsk, Vol. 1, p. 393. For the three branches see also Marwazi, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
9. V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (Leiden: 1962), p. 93.
10. For the Karluk Argu and Tuhsi see Marwazi, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
11. M. Kashghari, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1. pp. 9. 29. 31.
12. See Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen...* pp 139-140
13. M. Kashghari, *op. cit.*, Vol. III. pp. 149.
14. Jemal Qarshi in Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen...* p. 189.
15. Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk İslâm Medeniyeti* (Ankara: 1965). p. 346.
16. Jemal Qarshi mentions the Arghu of Talas and Chu who migrated to Kashgar. in Z. V. Togan, *Türkistan Tarihi* (Istanbul: 1947), p. 60, note. 80.

17. *A General History of the Tartars*, London, 1730, II. Vols. (Translation of the *Shajara i Türki* of Abul Ghazi Bahader Khan with notes by the translator), p. 571.
18. Rashid al-Din, *Jami'al tawarikh*, Baku ed. p. 111, and Wassaf *Tarikh-i Wassaf*, Tahran ed. p. 39.
19. Z. V. Togan, *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş* (Istanbul: 1970), p. 82.
20. Togan, *Türkistan Tarihi*, p. 102.
21. Barthold, *Four Studies...*, Vol. II. p. 8.
22. Togan, *Turkestan*, p. 102.
23. Hikmet Bayur, *Introduction to the Turkish Translation of Babur-name* (Ankara: 1943). p. 53.
24. Barthold, "Çağatay" *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. I. p. 266.
25. Juwaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, trans. Boyle. Massachusetts 1958). Vol. I. pp. 96-115. After speaking of the massacre, he mentions the new movement for rebuilding in Buhara and Samarkand after 1250 and says that even after many generations, the population would not reach a tenth of its former size. Barthold shows the importance of destruction but he also says that the Mongol Empire made political and economic stability possible and developed trade and made cultural contacts between the Far East and Far West, and that cities such as Sultaniye arose. E. Bretschneider. *Medieval Researcher from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (London: 1888). Vol. I., p. 278.
26. P. Pelliot speaks of the development of the *Journal Asiatique*, 2 (1917): 266-279. trade routes.
27. Yusuf Ziya, "Timurun yaptığı işlere toplu bir bakış." *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten* (1945). pp. 423-467.
28. H. Bayur, *Bâburname*, p. 10B.
29. Nizameddin Sami, *Zafernâme*, Turkish Trans. Necati Lugal. (Ankara. 1949), p. 44.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 344-346.
33. V. V. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London: 1958), pp. 121-123.
34. *A General History of the Tartars*, p. 442.
35. Woodbringe Hilary and Frank, *History of Asia*, p. 189.
36. C. R. Markhalm, *A General Sketch of the History of Persia* (London: 1874), p. 201.
37. M. Prawdin, *The Mongol Empire: Its Rise and Legacy* (London: 1940), pp. 475-476.
38. Nizameddin Şami, *Zafarnâme*, p. 206.
39. Sharaf al-Din Yazdi, *Zafarnâme* (Calcutta: 1888), Vol. II. p. 501.
40. Mirkhwand, *Rawdat al-safa*, trans. by Major David Price, in *Mohammedan History*, Vol. III. Part. I. pp. 428-431.
41. V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies...*, Vol. I. p. 144.
42. Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, trans. Guy Le Strange, (London: 1928), p. 134.
43. As we have seen above, the tribe that Timur had brought to Transoxania was the Qara Tatar tribe. As Clavijo mentions that the Aq Qoyunlu were deported to the east, we should not think that the Qara Tatar of Sharaf al-Din Yazdi have anything to do with Qara Qoyunlu. because Qara Qoyunlu were Oghuz tribes. It was believed that they came to Anatolia from Transoxania during the reign of Arghun Khan. Ali the fifteenth century historian in his *Fusul al-hallva l-akd* mentions that these two tribes came to Anatolia during the reign of Oghuz Khan. See Faruk Sümer "Kara Koyunlu." *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 1, pp. 292-305.

Abu Bakr Tahrani also in his *Kitab-i Diyarbakiri'ya* tells us that the Aq Qoyunlu were a clan of the Bayindir tribe in the il of Oghuz or Türkmen. See Mukrimin Halil İnanç, "Ak Koyunlu." *İslâm Ans.* Vol. I, pp. 251-270.
44. Clavijo, p. 173. Also we see in the *History of Asia*, that the founder of the White White Sheep Tatars had been given a grant of land in Armenia and Syria by the Emperor Timur. See p. 113

45. *Zafernâme*, p. 157.
46. Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, p. 321 and C. R. Markham, *History of Persia*, p. 263.
47. Abu'l-Ghazi Bahadur Khan, *Histoire Des Mogols et des Tataras*, ed Dasmaison, Petersbourg, 1871-4. p. 181.
48. *A General History of Tartars*, Vol. I. p. 207. It seems though they mostly consisted of Ughurs and Naimans. Translator not. Vol. II. p. 429.
49. Rene Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, tr. from the French by N. Walford. New Jersey. 1970. p. 479.
50. Babur memories, translated into Turkish by R. R. Arat, Historical introduction. Hikmet Bayur. p. 51.
51. R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, p. 480.
52. E. Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 142 and also R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, p. 481.
53. G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 291.
54. F. Köprülü, "Çağatay Edebiyatı," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, p. 307.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 307
56. Togan, *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş*, p. 84
57. These Pomes of Bennayi are in Bedayi al-vaqayi of Mahmud al-Vasifi, in the Asiatic Museum of Leningard. No:586 ca. See in Togan, *Türkistan Tarihi*, p. 83.
58. F. Köprülü, "Çağatay Edebiyatı," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, p. 279
59. See Ötemis Haje *Tarikh-1 Dost Sultan*, f. 72v, in Togan, *Türkistan Tarihi*, p. 41 n. 19, according the to a unique manuscript in Togan's private library.
60. On Ogurza see. *A General History of Tartars*, Vol. II, p. 434.
61. *Ibid*, p. 269.
62. L. P. Patapov, "Göçebelerin İptidai Cemaat Hayatlarını Anlatan Çok Eski Bir Adet," *İstanbul Üniversitesi*, 2 (1960): pp. 70-84.