

A HISTORICAL AND SEMANTICAL STUDY OF TURKMENS AND
TURKMEN TRIBES

A Master's Thesis

by

F. ESİN ÖZALP

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

August 2008

To my beloved sister Elif,

A HISTORICAL AND SEMANTICAL STUDY OF TURKMENS AND
TURKMEN TRIBES

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

by

F. ESİN ÖZALP

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE DEPARTMENT OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

August 2008

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Dr. Hasan Ali Karasar
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Associate Prof. S. Hakan Kırımlı
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Prof. Dr. Hasan Ünal
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Institute of Economics and Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Erdal Erel
Director

ABSTRACT

Özalp, F. Esin

M.A. Department of International Relations

Supervisor: Dr. Hasan Ali Karasar

August 2008

This work traces the history and the tribal organization of the Turkmen tribes of today's Turkmenistan. The study covers the period from the beginning of the tenth century up until the Russian conquest of the nineteenth century with a special emphasis given to the very early history of the Oghuz, the early Seljuk Turks and lastly the Turks under Uzbek Khanates and Persian rule. The aim is to find out how Turkmen tribes, tribal confederations and clans had taken their contemporary shape. Considering the role they played in history, the Oghuz, the forefathers of the Turks, enjoy great importance among the various branches of the Turkish people. Thus, in order to accomplish a comprehensive study of the Turkmen people within Turkistan, this work begins with detailed information about the etymology of the word "Turkmen," the names of the Turkmen tribes, and their structure by relying on the valuable works of the leading ancient scholars. Throughout centuries, the territory which is known to be the Turkmen land witnessed several conquerors; the Oghuz, Seljuks, Mongols, Timurids, Shaybanids, Uzbek Khanates and finally the Russians. By examining these troublesome periods in particular, this work aims to analyze the Turkmen people's struggle against the Khivan, Persian and Russian dominance, and their tribal structure prior to the Russian conquest.

Key words: Oghuz, Turkmen, Turkmen Tribes, Subtribes, and Clans

ÖZET

Özalp, F. Esin

Master tezi, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Dr. Hasan Ali Karasar

Ağustos 2008

Bu çalışma onuncu yüzyıl başlarından on dokuzuncu yüzyıldaki Rus işgaline kadar olan zamanı esas alarak günümüz Türkmenistan topraklarında yaşayan ve tarihsel süreçte Oğuz Yabgu Devleti, Selçuk İmparatorluğu, Özbek Hanlıkları ve İran egemenliğinde yaşayan Türkmenlerin tarihini ve boy yapılarını incelemektedir. Çalışmanın amacı, Türkmen boyları, boy konfederasyonları ve kabilelerinin tarihsel süreçte bugünkü şekillerini nasıl aldığını göstermektir. Tarihte oynadıkları rol göz önüne alınırsa, Türkmenlerin ataları Oğuzlar, diğer Türk boyları arasında ayrıcalıklı bir konuma sahiptirler. Bu nedenle, Türkmenler konusunda kapsamlı bir inceleme yapabilmek için çalışmaya, İslam dünyasının en önde gelen âlimlerinin kıymetli eserleri ışığında “Türkmen” kelimesinin etimolojisi, Türkmen boylarının isimleri ve yapıları hakkında detaylı bir bilgi verilerek başlanmıştır. Yüzyıllar boyunca Türkmen toprakları olarak bilinen bölge, Oğuz Devleti, Selçuk, Moğol, Timur ve Şeybânî İmparatorlukları, Özbek Hanlıkları, İran İmparatorluğu ve son olarak Rus egemenliğinde kalmıştır. Çalışma, Türkmen tarihindeki bu zor dönemleri detaylı bir şekilde incelerken, Türkmen halkının on dokuzuncu yüzyılda Hive, İran ve Rus nüfuzuna karşı verdikleri mücadeleyi, bu dönemlerde geçirdikleri değişimi ve Rus işgalinden önceki Türkmen boy yapısını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Oğuz, Türkmen, Türkmen Boy, Urug ve Tîreleri

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and most of all, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Hasan Ali Karasar, who supervised me throughout the preparation of my thesis with a great patience and diligence. He carefully read the text word by many times and kindly provided his valuable comments. He has always had great faith in me and I am sure that without his encouragements I could not finalize this work. Apart from being my thesis adviser, in time, he has been a really good friend of mine.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge the support of Associate Prof. Hakan Kırımlı for his being a truly inspiring academician. His invaluable guidance made a huge difference for all of us in our pursuit of academic excellence.

I am also thankful to Prof. Dr. Hasan Ünal for spending his valuable time to read my thesis and kindly participating in my thesis committee.

My thanks are also due to my very special friends and colleagues in Center for Russian Studies, namely Abdürrahim Özer, Nâzım Arda Çağdaş, Melih Demirtaş, and Pınar Üre. Our unique friendship and their kind support made this study possible. My dear friends Mahir Büyükyılmaz and Aslı Tan also deserve my special thanks for being there for me when I needed them the most.

Last but not least, I owe my beloved parents and my dearest sister more than a general acknowledgement. If I happen to be a good academician one day, it is due to the generous love, continuous support, understanding and patience of the best mother and father on earth.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
APPENDICES	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I: THE DERIVATION OF THE “TURKMEN” TERM	11
1.1. The Origin of the “Turkmen” Term	11
1.2. Turkmen Term in the Works of Islamic Scholars	19
1.2.1. Turkmen Tribes’ Names, Ranks, Belges (Tamgas), and Onguns According to Various Islamic Scholars.....	25
1.2.1.1 List of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes According to Kaşgarlı Mahmud, Reşîdeddin Fazlullah, Yazıcıoğlu Ali, Mehmet Neşrî, and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan.....	26
1.2.1.2 List of the Enumeration of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes According to Kaşgarlı Mahmud, Reşîdeddin Fazlullah, Yazıcıoğlu Ali, Mehmet Neşrî, and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan.....	30
1.2.1.3 The Division of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes into <i>Bozok</i> and <i>Üçok</i> Tribes According to Reşîdeddin Fazlullah.....	34
1.2.1.4 The Division of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes into <i>Bozok</i> and <i>Üçok</i> Tribes According to Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan.....	35
1.2.1.5 The <i>Belges</i> [<i>Tamgas</i>] of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes According to Kaşgarlı Mahmud	37
1.2.1.6 List of the Names, <i>Tamgas</i> , <i>Onguns</i> and <i>Ülüş</i> of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes According to Reşîdeddin Fazlullah.....	39

1.2.1.7 List of the Names, <i>Onguns</i> , <i>Tamgas</i> and <i>Ülüş</i> of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes According to Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan	45
1.3. Modern Scholars' Views on the Etymology of the Turkmen Term....	47
1.4. Conclusions on the derivation of the “Turkmen” term	55
CHAPTER II: THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY TURKMENS.....	61
2.1 The Rise of the Seljuk Dynasty	61
2.2 Early Seljuk Turkmens	66
2.3 Seljuk Turkmens after Selçuk's Death.....	72
2.4 Late Seljuk Turkmens under the Seljuk Realm.....	76
2.5 Seljuks of Rûm (Anatolia).....	83
2.6 Seljuk Turkmens under the Mongol Rule	86
2.7 Conclusions on the Turkmens after the Mongol Rule.....	88
CHAPTER III: THE UZBEK KHANATES AND THE CONQUEST OF THE TURKMEN LAND	90
3.1. Rise of the Uzbek Dynasty	91
3.2. The Khivan Khanate.....	92
3.3. The Demography of the Khivan Khanate.....	99
3.3.1. Peoples of the Khivan Realm throughout the Nineteenth Century	100
3.3.2. The Population of the Khivan Khanate According to Nineteenth Century Works	101
3.3.3. The Classification of the Inhabitants of Khiva.....	105
3.4. The Situation of the Khivan Khanate Prior to the Russian Conquest	108
3.5. The Locations and the Populations of the Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest	117
3.5.1. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Nikolai N. Muraviev in 1819	119
3.5.2. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Alexander Burnes in 1832.....	123

3.5.3. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Captain James Abbott in 1840.....	127
3.5.4. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Baron Clement Augustus de Bode in 1844	127
3.5.5. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Arminius Vámbéry in 1865	132
3.5.6. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Colonel Stebnitzky in 1872	134
3.5.7. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Ali Suavî in 1873.....	136
3.5.8. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of I. A. Mac Gahan in 1873	137
3.5.9. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Captain H. Spalding in 1874	137
3.5.10. The Comparative List of the Turkmen Tribes According to Captain James Abbott, Arminius Vámbéry and I. A. Mac Gahan.....	138
3.6. Russian Conquest of Turkistan.....	139
3.6.1. Turkmens in the midst of the Great Game and the Russian Offensive	145
3.6.2. Final Steps towards the Conquest of Turkistan.....	150
3.6.3 Battle of Göktepe, the Last Stronghold of Turkistan and the Conquest of Turkmen Lands	161
CONCLUSION.....	167
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	172
APPENDICES	
A. Nikolai N. Muraviev's List of the Turkmen Tribes' Subtribes [<i>Taife</i>] and Clans [<i>Tire</i>], and the Districts They Occupy	184
B. Arminius Vámbéry's List of the Tribes, Subtribes [<i>Taife</i>] and Clans [<i>Tire</i>] of the Major Turkmen Tribes with the Original Transcription	185
C. Arminius Vámbéry's List of the Tribes, Subtribes [<i>Taife</i>] and Clans [<i>Tire</i>] of the Major Turkmen Tribes with Author's Own Transcription	186
D. Captain G. C. Napier's Guide Kazi Syud Ahmad's List of the Subdivisions and the Branches of the Yomut Tribe.....	187

E. Sergei Poliakov's List of the Tribes, Subtribes [<i>Taife</i>] and Clans [<i>Tire</i>] of the Major Turkmen Tribes	188
F. The First Half of the 12th Century: The Seljuks, Qarakhanids, Khorezmshahs, Qara-Khitays.....	189
G. The Second Half of the 19th Century: The Russian Conquest of Western Turkestan.....	190
H. The Turkmen Tribes and Their Migrations (16th-19th Centuries) and The Turkmen Tribes and Their Migrations (19th-20th Centuries)	191

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. A. Vámbéry's corresponding words to the Turkmen tribal divisions	8
Table 2. List of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribes according to Kaşgarlı Mahmud's eleventh century work <i>Divanü Lügat'it-Türk</i> ; Reşîdeddin Fazlullah's fourteenth century work <i>Oğuznâme</i> ; Yazıcıoğlu Ali's fifteenth century work <i>Tarih-i âl-i Selçuk</i> ; Mehmet Neşrî's sixteenth century work <i>Kitab-ı Cihan-nümâ</i> and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan's seventeenth century work <i>Şecere-i Terākime</i>	29
Table 3. List of the enumeration of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribes according to Kaşgarlı Mahmud's eleventh century work <i>Divanü Lügat'it-Türk</i> ; Reşîdeddin Fazlullah's fourteenth century work <i>Oğuznâme</i> ; Yazıcıoğlu Ali's fifteenth century work <i>Tarih-i âl- Selçuk</i> ; Mehmet Neşrî's sixteenth century work <i>Kitab-ı Cihan-nümâ</i> and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan's seventeenth century work <i>Şecere-i Terākime</i>	33
Table 4. The division of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribes into <i>Bozok</i> and <i>Üçok</i> tribes according to Reşîdeddin Fazlullah.	35
Table 5. The division of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribes into <i>Bozok</i> and <i>Üçok</i> tribes according to Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan.....	36
Table 6. The <i>belges</i> of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribes according to Kaşgarlı Mahmud.	38

Table 7. List of the names, <i>onkuns</i> and <i>tamgas</i> of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribe according to Reşîdeddin Fazlullah.	43
Table 8. List of the names, <i>onguns</i> and <i>tamgas</i> of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribe according to Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan.....	46
Table 9. Detailed list of the population within the Khivan Khanate in the accounts of Nikolai N. Muraviev in 1819.	102
Table 10. The population in the town Khiva, according to Nikolai N. Muraviev and Captain H. Spalding in 1819 and 1874 respectively.	103
Table 11. Detailed list of the population in Khanate of Khiva in the accounts of Captain James Abbott in 1840.....	104
Table 12. A list of the population in Khiva in the accounts of Ali Suavî in 1873.	105
Table 13. The military force of the Khanate of Khiva in the accounts of Captain James Abbott in 1840.....	107
Table 14. The Population of Turkistan in 1873 according to Ali Suavî.....	117
Table 15. The table of statistics published in the Russian Journal of the Ministry of Finance in 1885.....	118
Table 16. The population figures of Turkistan published in the <i>Moscow Gazette</i> of May 1889.	118
Table 17. List of the Turkmen tribes in July 1832 in the accounts of Alexander Burnes	124
Table 18. List of the subtribes of the Göklens in July 1832 in the accounts of Alexander Burnes.....	126
Table 19. Designation list of some of the Turkmen tribes in the accounts of Baron Clement Augustus de Bode in 1844.	129

Table 20. List of the Subtribes of Yomut in July 1844 in the accounts of Baron Clement Augustus de Bode.	131
Table 21. List of the Subtribes of the Göklens in July 1844 in the accounts of Baron Clement Augustus de Bode.	132
Table 22. List of the Turkmen tribes of the East of the Caspian Sea, including their living places and population figures in 1873 in the accounts of Ali Suavî.	136
Table 23. List of the Turkmen tribes in the accounts of Captain James Abbott, Arminius Vámbéry and I. A. Mac Gahan in 1840, 1863 and in 1873 respectively.	138
Table 24. A Teke guide's figures of the Akhal Teke fortresses in 1879	159

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, the history and the tribal structure of the Turkmen tribes within Turkistan until the Russian conquest will be analyzed. The importance of such a detailed study of the formation, shaping, and the development of the Turkmen tribes from various different sources stems from the very fact that this tribal structure has played and is still playing an important role in the domestic politics of the Turkmen society as well as the international politics of Turkistan throughout history and the contemporary times. This thesis is also an attempt to fill an important gap in the scholarly literature on better understanding the sociological framework of the Turkmen society.

Being the direct ancestors of the Seljuk and the Ottoman Empires, the Turkmens enjoyed a special position among the other Turkic peoples of Central Asia in terms of variety and significance of the works referred to them. Accordingly, the methodology of solving the complex sociological organization of the Turkmens is a rather a descriptive literature review based on the accounts of the Islamic and modern scholars and international travelers from the beginning till 1881, as it is the scope of this very work.

Thus, in order to acquire detailed information about the Turkmen tribal formation in the very historical process, first of all, the study relies on the valuable works of the Islamic scholars, namely Kaşgarlı Mahmud's eleventh century work *Divanü Lügat'it-Türk*; Reşideddin Fazlullah's fourteenth century work *Oğuznâme*; Yazıcıoğlu Ali's fifteenth century work *Tarih-i âl-i Selçuk*; Mehmet Neşrî's sixteenth century work *Kitab-ı Cihan-nümâ* and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan's seventeenth century work *Şecere-i Terākime*.

In the works of these Islamic scholars, the Turkmen tribes' names, ranks, *belges* (*tamgas*), *onguns*, and *ülüş*, which are extremely significant in order to make a proper analysis of the Turkmen tribes' formation, evaluation and position in time, are explained in detail. The appendices and tables in this study also might serve to the reader in order to understand the complex Turkmen sociological framework. The signs of the tribes, their genealogical tables are designed for this purpose.

The work begins with detailed study of the origin of the "Turkmen" term and the description of the several significant values forming the identity and culture of the very early Turkmen people. These values, namely, the *belge* (*tamga*), *ongun*, and *ülüş* indicate the Turkmens people's social structure not only during the mentioned era but they also give many crucial components of the today's Turkmen people. Thus, the Chapter I concerns with the etymological information about the Turkmen term while commenting on the evaluation of the tribes regarding their ranks, enumerations and divisions within Turkmen society.

Chapter II gives a comprehensive history of the early Seljuk Turkmens, of the Kınık tribe, who composed the very backbone of the Seljuk armies during their conquests. The chapter aims to indicate Turkmens' position within the Great Seljuk Empire and to mention the importance of large numbers of Turkmens who migrated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; an event which enabled the penetration of the Turkmens into Iran, Anatolia, Caucasia, southern Russia, then the Balkans, Mesopotamia and Syria. The same chapter then evaluates the devastating impacts of the Mongol conquest upon Central Asia.

The last chapter begins with the rise of the Uzbek Khanates, with a special emphasis given to the Khivan Khanate as it composed the largest number of Turkmens. It also deals with the continuous conflict between the Turkmens and the Uzbek Khanates which mainly arose from the distribution of the land and water, heavy taxation, and finally disagreements upon the succession of the Khans. The last part of the chapter is concerned with the Russian aims on Turkistan lands, Turkmen tribes' socio-economic and demographic situation prior to the Russian conquest, and finally the Russian expansion within the region. In this chapter, works by Russian and Western scholars are widely used since they give detailed information about the Turkmen land, its people, tribal structure, traditions, customs and even the everyday practices of these nomadic peoples of the steppe. The work ends with the battle of Göktepe of 1881, namely the last stronghold of Turkistan, which may be considered as one of the bloodiest battle of the Turkestani people during their struggle with the Russian forces. Concluding the work with the battle of Göktepe is significant since this horrific massacre had a very long lasting effect upon the Turkmen people.

While evaluating this historical process, it is important to keep in mind that within the nineteenth century, the peoples of Turkistan did not have a “national consciousness” in the modern sense. In the nineteenth or even in the twentieth centuries, when asked to identify themselves, these people would first of all proudly name their tribal group, neighbourhood and religion.¹

Prior to the Russian invasion, there were actually three major criteria of being an ethnically Turkmen: being a descent of a one of the leading Turkmen tribes, speaking Turkmen as mother tongue and being a Muslim.² Accordingly, “Turkmen-ness” was basically based on genealogy, i.e. deriving from the true Turkmen genealogical tree.³ For instance, amongst the Turkmens, it is customary and also a tradition to name all their ancestors up to seven generations.⁴

Here, while analyzing the Turkmen tribal structure and organization prior to the Russian conquest, one should always keep in mind the major sociological differences between the “stateless” semi-nomadic Turkmen society and a unified nation-state as the Russian Empire. At first glance, the claim on a single ancestry may seem to unify the people from a common lineage but it may also divide them into more groupings; into tribes, subtribes and clans respectively. Indeed, Turkmens who were semi-nomadic warlike people living in the endless steppes of

¹ Adrienne Lynn Edgar, *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 18. Also see Elizabeth E. Bacon, *Central Asians under Russian Rule: A Study in Cultural Change* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), pp. 15, 28.

² William Irons, “Nomadism as a Political Adaptation: The Case of the Yomut Turkmen,” *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 1, No. 4, *Uses of Ethnohistory in Ethnographic Analysis* (Nov., 1974), p. 636; Edgar, pp. 1-14 and William G. Irons, “Turkmen,” in Richards V. Weeks, ed., *Muslim Peoples: A Word Ethnographic Survey* (maps by John E. Coffman and Paul Ramier Stewart, consultant) (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984), p. 804.

³ Edgar, p. 6 and Adrienne L. Edgar, “Genealogy, Class, and “Tribal Policy” in Soviet Turkmenistan, 1924-1934,” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Summer, 2001), p. 269.

⁴ Rafis Abazov, *Historical Dictionary of Turkmenistan* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005), p. 143.

Turkistan that are open to all exterior dangers, first and foremost tried to protect their own family, clan, subtribe, and tribe members living in their region. In time, when the population grew more, the lack of pasture lands, fertile areas and water were severely felt. Then, the Turkmens began to disperse into the different locations within the steppes. Consequently, the conflicts between the neighbouring tribes, which once sprang from one another, grew more and more that Turkmen tribes began to consider their very own tribe as “pure and true” Turkmen while questioning the other tribes’ pure blood.

Actually, relying only upon very close kinsmen is a natural instinct especially in societies in where people are in constant danger. Because of this everlasting danger that they had to live with, nomadic people above everything else should always be self-sufficient and disciplined. In addition, apart from themselves, they had to rely on the leading trusted and respected people within their kinsmen. This need should not be confused with the need of an unconditional authority. The political authority within the Turkmen tribes was not hereditary.⁵ Russian General Grodekov notes that the Turkmens “regarded their khan rather as the principal servant of the whole community.”⁶

⁵ Paul Georg Geiss, “Turkman tribalism,” *Central Asian Survey*, 18 (3), pp. 347-350. Relying on the writings of Rev. James Bassett (1834-1906), of the American Mission in Teheran, Ruth I. Meserve says that the power of Khan is hereditary, she also adds that this does not mean that the Khan is the “supreme power” within these tribes and says that “[t]he problem of whether the position of the khan was hereditary or not may not be clarified by looking at it more as a title of honor than as one of authority; Ruth I. Meserve, “A Description of the Positions of Turkmen Tribal Leaders According to 19th Century Western Travellers,” in *Altaica Berolinensia: The Concept of Sovereignty in the Altaic world/ Permanent International Altaistic Conference, 34th meeting, Berlin 21-26 July, 1991*, ed. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993), p. 141.

⁶ N. I. Grodekov, *Voina v Turkmenii. Pokhod Skobelova v 1880-1881* (St. Petersburg, 1883, 1884); cited in Geiss, 349.

For instance, *Ak Sakals*, who were the elderly chiefs of the Turkmen tribes, possessed a greater power than that of the Khans'.⁷ These influential elderly men were chosen by a consensus from the most experienced and respected men of the tribe.⁸ The unwritten authority amongst these tribal units, -the customary law (*tore* or *adat*)- was carefully guided by these respected elders, *Ak Sakals*.⁹ The *adat* simply refers to the "Turkmen way of life."¹⁰ While regulating all of the relations between the individuals, families, and tribes, this assembly also decides the distribution of the land and water, and the conduct of war.¹¹ This customary law also provides the political equality between the simple tribesmen, elders and the chiefs.¹² Moreover, the military chiefs, namely the *serdars*, had to possess significant military talent and personal capabilities so that he can lead his tribesmen in times of predatory raids (*alaman*) into Khorasan and Uzbek Khanates' territories.¹³

Culturally, Turkmens with their freedom loving spirit did not recognize any authority but only their own free will. They proudly say that they neither rest under the shade of a tree, nor a king.¹⁴ Moreover, as Arminius Vámbéry -the well-known Hungarian linguist and traveler who made a journey to Turkistan in 1863-

⁷ Nikolai N. Muraviev, *Journey to Khiva through the Turkoman Country, 1819-20* (Calcutta: The Foreign Department Press, 1871), p. 17. Also see Meserve, pp. 141-142.

⁸ Edgar, *Tribal Nation*, p. 26.

⁹ Edgar, p. 26; Geiss, p. 348; Lev Nikolayevich Gumilëv, *Hazar Çevresinde Bin Yıl: Etno-Tarih Açısından Türk Halklarının Şekillenışı Üzerine*, trans. by D. Ahsen Batur (İstanbul: Birleşik Yayıncılık, 2000), p. 283 and Abazov, p. 3.

¹⁰ Edgar, p. 26. Also see Geiss, p. 348 and Abazov, pp. 3, 11.

¹¹ Edgar, p. 26, Geiss, p. 348 and Abazov, pp. 3, 11.

¹² Geiss, p. 348.

¹³ Yu. E. Bregel, *Khorezmskie Turkmeny v XIX veke* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoi literatury, 1961), pp. 161-164; Bacon, pp. 53-54; Gumilëv, p. 283; Geiss, p. 347 and Meserve, pp. 143-144.

¹⁴ Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara: Being the Account of A Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary and Persia: Also, Narrative of A Voyage on the Indus From the Sea to Lahore*, (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services Reprint, 1992), vol. II, pp. 250-251. Almost the same proverb was mentioned by George N. Curzon in 1889; "The Turkoman neither needs the shade of a tree nor the protection of a man;" George N. Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question*, (Frank Caas & Co. Ltd., 1967), p. 119. This work was first published in 1889.

narrates, they say: “Biz bibash khalk bolamiz (We [Turkmens] are a people without a head), and we will not have one. We are all equal, with us everyone is king.”¹⁵ In this respect, it is really difficult to trace the tribal division of Turkmens within this historical process since the political unity was unknown to them. As Januarius Aloysius Mac Gahan, an American correspondent to the *New York Herald*, who traveled within the region, says, “[t]here is no body politic, no recognized authority, no supreme power, no higher tribunal than public opinion.”¹⁶ Thus, it can be said that amongst the Turkmen tribesmen an “acephalous political order” existed.¹⁷ Thus, within the nineteenth century, prior to the Russian conquest, the Turkmens were far away from being united under a single authority.

Besides, although there were only minor cultural and linguistic differences between these Turkmen tribes, each of them was considering themselves as separate *halks* (people).¹⁸ At this point, in order to understand the Turkmen tribal organization in its own sense, employing the very expressions used by the Turkmens is crucial.¹⁹ Here Arminius Vámbéry’s classification is explanatory.

¹⁵ Arminius Vámbéry, *Travels In Central Asia: Being the Account of A Journey from Teheran Across the Turkoman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarkand* (New York: Harper&Brothers Publishers, Franklin Square, 1865), p. 310. The very same work is reprinted in 1970; Arminius Vámbéry, *Travels In Central Asia: Being the Account of A Journey from Teheran Across the Turkoman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand, Performed in the Year 1863* (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1970). Also see Meserve, pp. 145-146.

¹⁶ J. A. MacGahan, *Campaigning on the Oxus, and the Fall of Khiva* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1874; rpt. New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970), p. 350; cited in Meserve, p. 140.

¹⁷ Geiss, “Turkman tribalism,” p. 347.

¹⁸ Vámbéry, p. 302; Bacon, p. 15 and Irons, p. 804.

¹⁹ Turkmen scholar Soltanşa Ataniyazov lists the ethnographic terms in Turkmen language as follows: *halk*, *il*, *tayfa*, *uruğ*, *kök*, *kovum*, *kabile*, *aymak/oymak*, *oba*, *bölük*, *bölüm*, *gandüşer*, *küde*, *depe*, *desse*, *lakam*, *top*, *birata*, *topar*, and *tire*. Ataniyazov makes a general list and refers to these terms as; 1- *Halk*, 2- *Boy* (*tayfa*), 3- *Bölüm*, 4- *Uruğ*, 5-6-7-8- *Tire*; see Soltanşa Ataniyazov, “Türkmen Boylarının Geçmişi, Yayılışı, Bugünkü Durumu ve Geleceği/ Past, Present and Future of Turkoman Tribes and Their Spread,” *Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi/ Journal of the*

Table 1. Arminius Vámbéry's corresponding words to the Turkmen tribal divisions.²⁰

Turkmen Words	Primitive Sense	Secondary Sense
Khalk [Halk]	People	Stock or Tribe
Taife [or Taipa, Tayfa]	People	Branch
Tire [or Tere]	Fragment	Lines or Clans

Thus, to prevent the possible confusions throughout the text, the original *halk*, *taife* (or *tayfa*, *taypa*), and *tire* will be named correspondingly with the words tribe, subtribe and clan. Therefore, in order to study the Turkmen history and its tribal organization between the tenth and nineteenth centuries, as it is this work's principal aim, one should elude the European sense of political organization and try to evaluate the Turkmen people's tribal structure within its own sense.

Until the creation of a rather geographically delimited Turkmen ethnic identity in Turkistan under Soviet Union, the Turkmen tribes were living under separate administrations. However, for instance, the nomads of Asia, especially of Turkistan are worth to be studied in depth since they still preserved very similar

Social Sciences of the Turkish World, Sayı/ Number 10, (Summer, 1999), pp. 2-3. In his work *Historical Dictionary of Turkmenistan*, another scholar Rafis Abazov says that the "Turkmen society is traditionally divided into tribes (**taipa**)- social groups defined by a tradition or perception of common descent. The Turkmen people are subdivided into several tribal groups (confederations): Teke, Saryk, Yomud, Chovdur, Geklen, Salyr, and Ersary. Some larger tribal groups (such as Ersary, Teke, and Yomuts) are subdivided into subgroups- *bolums*. According to Russian anthropologist and ethnologist Yakov Vinnikov, certain tribal subgroups are further subdivided into yet smaller units, *tere* (pronounced –"tee' re"), and then into even smaller units, *lakam*, *kovum*, *kude* (pronounced "ku' de");" see Abazov, p. 151. Here it can be seen that some of the terms are used with very similar meanings and sometimes synonymously. In order to prevent confusion, it is better to refer to the general terms, as mentioned below. Note that in the medieval Arabic-Turkish glossaries, the term *il* referred to "people" or "political grouping;" see S.G. Agajanov, "The States of the Oghuz, the Kimek and the Kipchak" in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV: The age of achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century, Part One, The historical, social and economic setting, eds. M.S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1998), p. 66. Also see Edgar, p. 21.

²⁰ Vámbéry, pp. 302-303.

common characters in terms of a “society” even if they lived apart.²¹ For instance, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Feodor Mikhailov, a Russian officer in the military administration of Transcaspia said that “all Turkmen, rich and poor, live almost completely alike” and Mikhailov also added that the Turkmen “put the principles of brotherhood, equality, and freedom into practice more completely and consistently than any of our contemporary [European] republics.”²²

To sum up, the issues under study within the chronological and thematical limits of this thesis are designed for explaining the very framework of the “Turkmen” society from earlier times until the Russian invasion of the regions populated by those tribes. This social framework had played an important role in the organization of the administrative units in Turkistan both during the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. Russian and Soviet bureaucracies were by all means so knowledgeable and skillful in order to manipulate the tribal differences among the Turkmen. Even after the independence of Turkmenistan in 1991, one can easily observe the continuation of tribal segregation of the Turkmen. Still, the tribalism within Turkmenistan is regarded as the “Achilles heel” of the Turkmen.²³ Although this issue of the post-Soviet Turkmenistan has been

²¹ Ümit Hassan, *Eski Türk Toplumu Üzerine İncelemeler* (İstanbul: Alan Yayınları, 2000), p. 47.

²² F. A. Mikhailov, *Tuzemtsy Zakaspiiskoi oblasti i ikh dzhizn, Etnograficheskii Ocherk* (Ashkhabad, 1900), pp. 34-50; cited in Edgar, “Genealogy, Class, and “Tribal Policy” in Soviet Turkmenistan, 1924-1934,” p. 272.

²³ Saparmurat Turkmenbashi, *Address to the Peoples of Turkmenistan*, 1994, p. 6: cited in Shahram Akbarzadeh, “National Identity and Political Legitimacy in Turkmenistan,” *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1999), pp.271-290. pp. 282-283. Also see Micheal Ochs, “Turkmenistan: the quest for stability and control,” in *Conflict, cleavage, and change in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, eds. Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 312-359. In *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, in the article “Tribalism,” it is said that “[t]ribalism is generally defined as any group of persons, families, or clans, primitive or contemporary, descended from a common ancestor, possessing a common leadership, and forming together with their slaves or adopted strangers, a community. Members of the tribe speak a common language, observe uniform rules of social organization, and work together for such purposes as agriculture, trade or warfare. They ordinarily have their own name and occupy a contiguous territory. Tribalism does not ordinarily apply to formations of large territorial units, or states, but denotes,

considered as one of the most difficult subjects of study for the Westerners since it is really hard to observe the tribal affiliations within the country. However, tribalism's role in Turkmenistan's domestic and foreign policies and its reflection within the Central Asian region would be the topic of another study.

Without analyzing the historical tribal formation and structure of the major Turkmen tribes, it is almost impossible for anyone to have a proper idea about the current situation in Turkmenistan as well as in the neighbouring regions. Hence, this study aims to shed light on many speculated issues such as the formation of the major Turkmen tribes; Teke, Yomut, Salur, Sarık, Göklen, Ersarı and Çovdur and it also tries to give a detailed information about the less known concepts such as taife (*taypa*), *uruğ* (*urug*), *tîre*, and other tribal units of a quite complex social framework of the Turkmen.

instead, units composed of extended kinship groups;" Louis L. Snyder, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism* (New York: Paragon House, 1990), pp. 401-404.

CHAPTER I

THE DERIVATION OF THE “TURKMEN” TERM

1.1. The Origin of the “Turkmen” Term

The term “Turkmen”²⁴ generally used for the Turkic tribes distributed over the Near and Middle East and Central Asia from the medieval to modern

²⁴ Türkmen in Turkish; al-Turkmān, al-Turkmāniyyun or al-Tarākima in Arabic; Turkmānan in Persian; Turkmen, Turkman, Turcoman or Turkoman in English transcription. V.V. Barthold claims that in the sixth century, it is possible that the steppes to the east of the Caspian Sea were occupied by the Turks, since the clashes of the Turks with Sasanian Persia belongs to this era; and that the “Ghuz” or the Oghuz of the Arab geographers were the descendants of these Turks, and that they established themselves in the West independent from the splitting of the Toquzoghuz [Tokuz Oğuz] in the eighth century; see V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia: Mīr ‘Alī-Shīr: A History of the Turkman People*, trans. by V. and T. Minorsky, vol. III (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), p. 88. Devendra Kaushik says that “[t]he ethnic origin of the Turkmens resulted from the tribal union of the Dakhs and Massagets of the Aralo-Caspian steppe whose exposure to Turk influence had taken place earlier.” D. Kaushik also adds that the main element in their [Turkmens’] composition was the Oghuz tribes; see Devendra Kaushik, *Central Asia in Modern Times: A History from the Early 19 th Century*, ed. by N. Khalfin (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), p. 20. Lawrence Krader says that “[t]he Oghuz-Turkmens are held to be descendants of earlier invaders of the area, the Hephthalites-Kidarites, also known as the White Huns, a nomadic people. They came to the Amu Darya in the IV-V centuries and were Turkicized by the VII century. The descendants of the Turkicized Hephthalites-Kidarites are considered to be the Oghuz. Oghuz Turks absorbed the Hephthalites culturally and linguistically;” Lawrence Krader, *Peoples of Central Asia*, (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1997), p. 81. Also see W. Barthold, “Türkmen Tarihine Ait Taslak,” in Abdülkadir İnan, *Makaleler ve İncelemeler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1968), pp. 555-558 (This article was first published in 1943); S. A. Hasan, “Notes on the Etymology of the Word Turkoman,” *Islamic Culture*, vol. XXXVII, no. 3 (July 1963), pp. 163-166; Ekber N. Necef and Ahmet Annaberdiyev, *Hazar Ötesi Türkmenleri* (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2003), pp. 28-41 and Sencer Divitçioğlu, *Oğuz’dan Selçuklu’ya: Boy, Konat ve Devlet* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2005), pp. 53-55. For detailed information about the Oghuz State, see Sergey Grigoreviç Agacanov, *Oğuzlar*, trans. from Russian by Ekber N. Necef and Ahmet Annaberdiyev (İstanbul: Selenge Yayınları, 2004), pp. 181-241 and Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler): Tarihleri-Boy Teşkilatı-Destanları* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1992), pp. 128-152. Also for brief information about the Oghuz State; see Agajanov, pp. 61-69.

times.²⁵ The earliest reference to the term is in Chinese literature as a country name.²⁶ In the eighth century A.D. in the Chinese encyclopedia *T'ung-t'ien* it is said that the country Su-i or Su-de²⁷ (i.e. Sogdaq, Suk-tak, Sughdaq, Sogd or Sogdia) which in the fifth century A.D. had commercial and political relations with China, is also called *T'ö-kü-Möng*²⁸ (i.e. Turkmen country).²⁹ About the *Tö kü-möng* term in the Chinese encyclopedia *T'ung-t'ien*, A. Zeki Velidi Togan says that *Tö kü-möng* refers to the country of the Turkmens and that the country of Sude (i.e. Sugdak or Sogd) should refer to Syr Darya³⁰ basin (north of the

²⁵ Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, "Türkmen," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P.J. Bearman, T.H. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel and W. P. Heinrichs, vol. X (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), pp. 682-685.

²⁶ Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 79 and Hasan, p. 165.

²⁷ V.V. Barthold points that in the second century B.C., Chinese knew that, nomad people of Iranian descent (i.e. Aorsi or Alans) were living in the Aral Sea region. However, in 374 A.D. Huns had to cross the river before attacking them, so there were no Alans to the east of Volga in later times. Su-i or Su-de is the Chinese name for the country of Alans which is the word Sogdaq or Sugdaq according to sinologist Hirth; see Barthold, pp. 79-80 and W. Barthold, "Turkomans," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*, eds. M. Th. Houtsma, A.J. Wensinck, H. A. R. Gibb, W. Heffening and E. Lévi-Provençal, vol. IV (Leyden: Late E.J. Brill Ltd., 1934), pp. 896-897. Also see Hasan, p. 165. For some ancient geographical names, see Arminius Vambéry, "The Geographical Nomenclature of the Disputed Country between Merv and Herat," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, Vol. 7, No. 9 (Sep., 1885), pp. 591-596.

²⁸ Barthold says that this historical finding leads Hirth to the conclusion that the Turkmens are the descendants of the Alans conquered by the Huns. See Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 79. İbrahim Kafesoğlu mentions this country name which was recorded in the Chinese source "*T'ung-t'ien*" as "*Tö-Kö-möng*," while S. A. Hasan says "T'aku-Mong," and S. G. Agacanov spells it as "Tö-Kyu Möng." S. G. Agacanov also says that the "Tö-Kyu Möng" name referred to the "Türkmen" country and that probably here Yedisu was mentioned; see İbrahim Kafesoğlu, "Türkmen Adı, Manası ve Mahiyeti," in *Jean Deny Armağanı: Mélanges Jean Deny*, eds. János Eckmann, Ağah Sırrı Levend and Mecdut Mansuroğlu (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958), p. 131; Hasan, p. 165 and Agacanov, p. 117. Necef and Berdiyev claim that Barthold mistranscribed the word and says that later, the readings proved that the proper transcription of the word is "Tö-kyu-Möng;" see Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 33.

²⁹ Barthold, p. 80. Also see Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden, 1992), p. 212: In terms of the term Turkmen, Peter B. Golden also points that "a Sogdian letter of the 8th century mentions **trwkkm'n** which, if it is not **trwkm'n** ("translator") may be the earliest reference to this ethnonym." Golden also adds at this point that the Chinese historical work, *T'ung-t'ien* mentions the term *T'ê-chü-meng* in Su-tê (Sogdia) which may be a rendering of this name; Livšic, *Sogdijskie dokumenty*, vyp. II, p. 177n.4 and Bartol'd, *Očerki ist. Trkmn, Sočinenija*, II/1, pp. 550-551; cited in Golden, p. 212. Also see Kafesoğlu, p. 131 and Divitçioğlu, pp. 53-55.

³⁰ Also known as Sir Darya, Seyhun, Sayhün, Sihun, Jaxartes or Iaxartes.

Mavaraunnahr³¹ country which bears the name Kang-yu i.e. Kangli) rather than just being the country of Sogdians who lived in the Chu basin.³² Togan also says that this finding proves that the Yedisu³³ and Syr Darya regions (which were called as “Turkmen land” by al-Biruni³⁴) were named as “Turkmen country” in the eighth century, even in the fifth century and that the Turkmens were living with Iranian Sogdians and Alans even at those times.³⁵ Another Turkish historian Abdülkadir İnan says that in the eighth century Chinese sources, the term “Tökumong-Türkmen” referred to the geographical name of today’s Bukhara and Samarkand region.³⁶ On the other hand, Kafesoğlu argues that the Chinese encyclopedia *T’ung-t’ien*, in which the term “Tö-Kö-möng” was mentioned, belongs to the very same era that the Karluks were called as “Türkmen.”³⁷ He says that within the first half of the eleventh century, at the peak of their power, the Karluks called themselves “Türkmen” as a political term.³⁸ Therefore, Kafesoğlu concludes that during the ninth century, the Turkmen term was a political term which was used by the Karluks, adding that during that period the Turkmen term was not referring to the Oghuz.³⁹ Moreover, referring to al-Biruni,⁴⁰ Turkmen

³¹ Mavaraunnahr (also transcribed as Maverâünnehir, Māverāünnehir, Māwarā’al-nahr or Mawarānnahr; and also known as Transoxania) is an Arabic term which refers to the region between Amu Darya (i.e. Ceyhun, Oxus, Jayhun or Gihon) and Syr Darya. Literally, Amu Darya means “the side of the water;” see Yuri Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), p. 52.

³² A. Zeki Velidî Togan, *Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş: En Eski Devirlerden 16. Asra Kadar*, vol. I, third edition (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1981), p. 212; Agacanov, p. 117.

³³ Yedisu (also known as Jetisu) is a Turkic word meaning “Seven Rivers.” It is also known as Semirechye, Semirechie or Semireche in Russian.

³⁴ Al-Biruni is also transcribed as al-Bîrûnî. In his work *Tefhîm* (completed between the years 1029 and 1034), apart from the Oghuz lands, al-Biruni also mentions the “Turkmen country” and locates them in Yedisu and Syr Darya’s mainstreams; see Agacanov, p. 123. Also see Osman Turan, *Türk cihân hâkimiyeti mefkûresi tarihi: Türk Dünya Nizâmının Millî İslâmî ve İnsânî Esasları*, vol. I, (İstanbul: Nakışlar Yayınevi, 1980), p. 240.

³⁵ Togan, p. 212. Also see Krader, p. 79 and Agacanov, p. 117.

³⁶ Abdülkadir İnan, *Türkoloji Ders Hülasaları* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1936), p. 37.

³⁷ Kafesoğlu, p. 131.

³⁸ Pritsak, *Die Karachaniden: Der Islam XXXI* (1953), 22; cited in Kafesoğlu, p. 131.

³⁹ Kafesoğlu, p. 131.

scholar S. G. Agacanov concludes that usually the Muslim Oghuz and the old Karluk and Halaç groups were probably known as “Türkmen.”⁴¹

Apart from these claims, in Muslim literature the term is used for the first time towards the end of the tenth century A.D. by the Arab geographer al-Muqaddasi (also known as al-Maqdisi) in *Ahsan Al-Taqaşim Fi Ma'rifat Al-Aqalim*.⁴² In this work, which was completed in 987 A.D, al-Muqaddasi mentioned the Turkmens twice while describing the region that formed in those days the frontier strip of the Muslim possessions in Central Asia.⁴³ It is important

⁴⁰ Ebu Reyhan Muhammed b. Ahmed el-Biruni, *Kitab el-camahir fi ma'rifat el-cevarih* (Haydarabad, 1355), p. 205; cited in Sergey Grigoreviç Agacanov, *Selçuklular*, trans. from Russian by Ekber N. Necef and Ahmet R. Annaberdiyev (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2006), p. 52.

⁴¹ Agacanov, p. 52.

⁴² Barthold, p. 77; Al-Marwazī, *Sharaf Al-Zāmān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India, Arabic text (circa A.D. 1120)* (English translation and commentary by V. Minorsky) (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1942), p. 94; Hasan, p. 165; Krader, p. 57; Kafesoğlu, p. 128 and İbrahim Kafesoğlu, “A propos du nom Türkmen,” *Oriens*, Vol. 11, No. 1/2. (Dec. 31, 1958), p. 147 and Agacanov, *Oğuzlar*, p. 117. Also see Barthold, “Türkmen Tarihine Ait Taslak,” pp. 555-558. Also mentioned in Turan, vol. I, p. 240 and W. Barthold, *Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1977), pp. 177-178.

⁴³ Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 77; Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 177-178 and Hasan, p. 165. In the “Commentary” part of his translation of *Sharaf Al-Zāmān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India, Arabic text (circa A.D. 1120)*, V. Minorsky says that al-Muqaddasi “mentions the Ghuz in the neighbourhood of Saurān and Sh.gh.ljān and the “Turkmans who have accepted Islam” in the neighbourhood of B.rūkat and B.lāj,” see V. Minorsky, “Commentary,” in *Sharaf Al-Zāmān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India, Arabic text (circa A.D. 1120)* (English translation and commentary by V. Minorsky) (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1942), p. 94. Also mentioned and cited in Faruk Sümer, “X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar,” *Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih - Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, reprint from vol. XVI, No: 3 - 4 September – December (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958), pp. 159-160; Faruk Sümer, *Eski Türkler'de Şehircilik*, (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, Afşin Matbaası, 1984), p. 70 and Hasan, p. 165. On the other hand, as Barthold puts it, while describing “İsfjāb” [i.e. İsfijab, İsficab, İsficâb, or Sayram] –an ancient town near the middle of Syr Darya-, al-Muqaddasi mentions “Barukat, a large (town); both it and Balaj are fortified frontier places against the Turkmans who have (now) already accepted Islam out of fear (of the Muslim armies); its walls are already in ruins.” Here concerning the “İsfjāb” province, Barthold says that before al-Muqaddasi, the geographers described it as the region through which passed the frontier between the Oghuz and the Karluk [i.e. Qarluk, Kharlukh or Khallukh]; see Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 78 and Wilhelm Barthold, *İlk Müslüman Türkler*, Ö. Andaç Uğurlu ed., trans. by M. A. Yalman, T. Andaç and N. Uğurlu (İstanbul: Örgün Yayınevi, 2008), pp. 485-486 (First published as *Turkestan v epolyu Mongoli skogo naşestviya* in St. Petersburg in 1900). Also mentioned in Sümer, p. 71. Kaşgarlı Mahmud says that *Sayram* is the name of the *Beyza* city which is even called *İsbicab*; see Kaşgarlı Mahmud, *Divanü Lügat'it-Türk*, vol. III, trans. by Besim Atalay (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1939), p. 176. For the English translation of *Divanü Lügat'it-Türk*, see *Türk Şiveleri Lügatı: Divanü Lügat'it-Türk*, ed. and trans. by Robert Dankoff in collaboration with James Kelly (Turkish sources ed. by Şinasi Tekin and Gönül Alpay Tekin (Harvard, 1985). Besides, after description of “İsfjāb” and some other towns in the road, al-Muqaddasi says:

to note that the Turkmens that al-Muqaddasi mentioned in his work included both the Oghuz and the Karluks.⁴⁴

However, the term “Turkmen” does not appear neither in the tenth century Persian geographer Istakhri’s work *Kitāb al-masālik*⁴⁵ nor in the *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*⁴⁶ (The Regions of the World), which is a tenth century Persian geography book. Instead, in this work the term “Ghūz”⁴⁷ is used. As Minorsky puts it, especially

“Ordu: a small town; there lives the king of the Turkmans,” see Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, pp. 77- 78; Sümer, “X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar,” p. 159; Sümer, *Eski Türkler’de Şehircilik*, p. 71; Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1965), p. 38; Turan, *Türk cihân hâkimiyeti mefkûresi tarihi: Türk Dünya Nizâmının Millî İslâmî ve İnsânî Esasları*, p. 240 and Hasan, p. 165. Also see Ramazan Şeşen, *İslâm Coğrafyacılarına Göre Türkler ve Türk Ülkeleri* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1985), p. 177; Sümer, “X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar,” pp. 159-160 and Agacanov, pp. 117-121. Moreover, according to al-Istakhri -a contemporary scholar of al-Muqaddasi-, Isfijab marked the border between Oguz and Karluks; Oguz territory extended from Isfijab north of the Aral Sea to the Caspian, and Karluk territory extended from Isfijab to Fergana valley;” O. Pritsak, “Von den Karluk zu den Karachaiden,” *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1951, v. 101, pp. 270-300; cited in Krader, p. 57; also cited in Sümer, p. 134. Also see Barthold, “Türkmen Tarihine Ait Taslak,” pp. 555-558.

⁴⁴ Referring to al-Muqaddasi again, Barthold said that the country neighbouring the Muslim possessions in Central Asia from the Caspian Sea to Isfijab was inhabited by the Oghuz, and from Isfijab to Farghāna inclusively, by the Karluk; from which he concluded that al-Muqaddasi’s Turkmens included both the Oghuz and the Karluk; Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 78. Also see Barthold, “Türkmen Tarihine Ait Taslak,” pp. 555-558. L. Krader says “[t]wo Turkic peoples are called Turkmens, by Makdisi: Oguz and Karluks;” see Krader, p. 57.

⁴⁵ Istakhri’s work *Kitāb al-masālik* was written in 930-933 A.D. and published in 951 A.D.; see *Hudūd al-‘Ālam: ‘The Regions of the World’: A Persian Geography 372 A.H.-982 A.D.*, ed. by C.E. Bosworth and, trans. and explained by V. Minorsky (Cambridge, 1970), p. 168.

⁴⁶ *Hudūd al-‘Ālam* is compiled in 982-3 A.D. and dedicated to the Amir Abul-Harith Muhammed b. Ahmad, of the local “Farīghūnid” dynasty which ruled in “Gūzgānān” (it corresponds to the modern northern Afghanistan), but its author is unknown. For further information see *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*.

⁴⁷ The Turkish term “Oğuz” is used as Oghuz, Oghuzz, Oguz, Ghuz, or Uz in English transcription; as Torki in Russian; Oghouz in French; Ghuzz in Arabic transcription and Ouzoi in Byzantine transcription. D. Kaushik says that Oghuz “were the descendants of the Ephthalites [White Huns], who had been exposed to Turk influence in the 6th and 7th centuries.” Kaushik also adds that “the main Ephthalite-Turk ethnic element, at the time of the 8th to 10th centuries there entered in the composition of the Oghuz a considerable element of Indo-European tribes such as Tukhars and Yasov-Alans:” see Kaushik, p. 17. For brief information about the Oghuz term, see Lois Bazin, “Notes sur les mots “Oğuz” et “Türk,” *Oriens*, Vol. 6, No. 2. (Dec. 31, 1953), pp. 315-322. The very same article may be found in Lois Bazin, “Notes sur les mots “Oğuz” et “Türk,” in Lois Bazin, *Les Turcs: Des Mots, Des Hommes*, études réunies par Michèle Nicolas et Gilles Veinstein; préface de James Hamilton (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó; Paris: AP éditions Arguments, 1994), pp. 173-179. Magyar scholar István Vásáry claims that the Islamic sources named the Oghuz as “Ghuzz” in order to emphasize that they were different from the Uyghurs who were named as “Tokuzguz;” see István Vásáry, *Eski İç Asya’nın Tarihi*, trans. by İsmail Doğan (İstanbul: Özener Matbaası, 2007), p. 172. F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross say that Khwārazm

after the eighth century the “Ghūz” were generally known under the name “Türkman.”⁴⁸ While describing the Ghūz Country,⁴⁹ the anonymous author of the *Hudūd al-’Ālam* said that the “[e]ast of this country is the Ghūz desert and towns of Transoxiana; south of it, some parts of the same desert as well as the Khazar sea; west and north of it, the river Ātil⁵⁰.”⁵¹ Also in the same work, in the article on “Discourse on the islands”; it is said that “[t]he other island [in the Caspian Sea] is Siyāh-Kūh⁵²; a horde (gurūh) of Ghūz Turks who have settled there loot (duzdī) on land and sea.”⁵³ In the first half of the tenth century an Oghuz tribe (that composed the core of the Trans-Caspian Turkmens) that came from the Syr Darya banks, settled on the Siyāh-Kūh island which is on the northern shore of the Caspian Sea.⁵⁴ Indeed within the tenth century, geographer Istakhri said “And I know of no other inhabited place on this part of the coast [of the south-east coast of Caspian], except *Siyah-Koh*, where a tribe of Turks are settled, who have

which is known as Khiva in 1899, is an old Persian word that means “eastwards,” and it covers the “embouchure” of the Syr Darya see Francis Henry Skrine and Edward Denison Ross, *The Heart of Asia: A History of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates from the Earliest Times* (London: Methuen & Co., 1899), p. 233.

⁴⁸ *Hudūd al-’Ālam*, p. 311.

⁴⁹ *Hudūd al-’Ālam*, p. 121; another article that mentions Ghūz is on “Discourse on the Region of Transoxianan Marches and its Towns” in which the town Kāth is mentioned: “KĀTH, the capital of Khwārazm and the Gate of the Ghūz Turkistān.” In the article on “Discourse on the disposition of the Seas and Gulfs,” the Sea of Khazars is described: “Its eastern side is a desert adjoining the Ghūz and some of the Khwārazm. Its northern side (adjoins) the Ghūz and the Khazars;” *Hudūd al-’Ālam*, p. 53. Also see “Discourse on the Deserts and Sands:” “Another desert is the one of which east skirts the confines of Marv (bar hudūd Marv bigudharadh) down to the Jayhūn. Its south marches with the regions of Bāvard, Nasā, Farāv, Dihistān, and with the Khazar sea up to the region of Ātil; north of it the river Jayhūn, the Sea of Khwārazm, and the Ghūz country, up to the Bulghar frontier. It is called the Desert of Khwārazm and the Ghūz;” see *Hudūd al-’Ālam*, pp. 80-81. In A.D. 922 Ibn Fadlan [i.e. İbn Fazlan or Ibn Fadlān], an Arab envoy to the king of the Bulgars, who travelled from Khwarazm to the country of the Bulgars [i.e. Bulghars] saw the Oghuz in the Üst-Yurt [the word means “elevated ground” in Turkish which is also transcribed as Ust Yurt] plateau which is between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Lake. See Ramazan Şeşen, *Onuncu Asırda Türkistan’da bir İslâm Seyyahi: İbn Fazlan Seyahatnâmesi Tercümesi*, (İstanbul: Bedir Yayinevi, 1975), p. 29 and also Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 91.

⁵⁰ The river Ātil refers to İdil, İtil, Edil in Turkish, and Volga in Russian.

⁵¹ *Hudūd al-’Ālam*, p. 100.

⁵² Persian word Siyāh-Kūh means “Black Mountain” (Kara Dağ) or “Black Hill” in Turkish. Kara Dağ is also pronounced as Karatau or Karatāgh in different Turkic dialects.

⁵³ *Hudūd al-’Ālam*, p. 60.

⁵⁴ Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 364. Also see Sir H. C. Rawlinson, “The Road to Merv,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, Vol. 1, No. 3. (Mar., 1879), p. 163.

recently come there in consequence of a quarrel breaking out between them and the *Ghuz*, which induced them to separate and take up their quarters in this place, where they have water and pastures.”⁵⁵

Consequently during the second half of the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh century, Oghuz migration from the Syr Darya banks continued and they became numerous in the island, therefore Siyāh-Kūh island named as “Mankışlağ.”⁵⁶ From then on, Mangışlak (also known as Mankışlağ)⁵⁷ became one of the most well-known *yurds* [homeland] of the Oghuz.⁵⁸ Actually Mangışlak means *bin kışlak* (*ming kishlak*), i.e. “thousand villages” in Turkish.⁵⁹ This mountainous peninsula on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, is mentioned by

⁵⁵ Rawlinson, p. 163. For the very same text of Istakhri (in Turkish translation); see Ramazan Şeşen, *İslâm Coğrafyacılarına Göre Türkler ve Türk Ülkeleri* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1998), p. 155. Indeed, V.V. Barthold said that Istakhri mentioned “the “recent” occupation by the “Turks” of the Siyāh-Kūh peninsula, which until then had been uninhabited; and that the reason for the Turks’ migrating to this peninsula was their clash with the “Oghuz;” Barthold, p. 97. Some twenty years after Istakhri, almost the same mentioning of “Siyah-Kūh” was made by Ibn Hawqal in 977 A. D.; for the text see Şeşen, 1998, p. 164. Later, about 1225 A. D., Yaqut (also transcribed as Yakut or Yacut) said: “And in this sea, in the vicinity of *Siyah-Koh*, is a race, or whirlpool, of which the sailors are much afraid, when the wind sets in that direction, lest they should be wrecked; but if there be a wreck, the sailors do not lose everything, for the Turks seize the cargoes and divide them between the owners and themselves;” see Rawlinson, p. 163. For the very same text of “Yakut al-Hamavi” (in Turkish translation), see Şeşen, 1998, p. 155.

⁵⁶ Yuri Bregel, “Mangışlak,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P.J. Bearman, T.H. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel and W. P. Heinrichs, vol. VI (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 415; Sümer, p. 364; Sümer, “X. Yüzyılda *Oğuzlar*,” p. 152; V. Minorsky, p. 193 and Turan, vol. I, p. 249. Faruk Sümer says that Mankışlak peninsula was uninhabited till the tenth century, but with the Oghuz migration within the same century, the peninsula was named as Mankışlak “Bin kışla:” see Sümer, p. 152. Also see Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1966), p. 119.

⁵⁷ The word “Mankışlağ” remained same until the Mongol invasion. After the invasion to present day it is used as “Mankışlak;” see Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 364. Mangışlak is often transcribed as Mankışlak, Mankışlağ, Manghishlak and Manghishlaq.

⁵⁸ Sümer, p. 364. Vámbéry mentions Mangışlak as “unquestionably the oldest abode of the Turkomans;” see Arminius Vámbéry, *Sketches of Central Asia: Additional Chapters on My Travels, Adventures, and on the Ethnology of Central Asia* (London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1868), p. 298.

⁵⁹ It is often suggested that the name means “the thousand winter quarters” that is, *ming kishlak* in Turkish; see Bregel, pp. 415-417. According to Sir Henry Rawlinson, “[t]he name [“Ming-Kishlaq” (Mangışlak)] has been generally understood as a “thousand pastures,” after the analogy of *Mın Bolak*, “the thousand springs,” &c., but recent scholars translate the title as “the pasture of the Ming,” who were the same as, or at any rate a branch of, the Nogais;” see Rawlinson, p. 167.

al-Muqaddasi (probably it is the first mention of the name in literature).⁶⁰ In his work *el- Kânûn el-Mes'ûdî*, which was completed after the year 1030, al-Biruni mentions Mangışlak as a mountain, and gives the geographical coordinates of it.⁶¹ Indeed in eleventh century, Kaşgarlı Mahmud⁶² said that “Man kışlağ” is a place name in Oghuz country.⁶³ In about 1225 A. D., Yaqut said: “Ming-Kishlaq is a fine fortress at the extreme frontier of Kharism, lying between Kharism and Saksin and the country of Russians, near the sea into which flows the Jihun, which the sea is the *Bahar Tabaristán* (or Caspian).”⁶⁴

According to these resources, one may conclude that these Oghuz tribes that were mentioned in *Hudūd al-'Ālam* composed the later to be called Turkmens by the Muslim historians or geographers. Indeed in *Hudūd al-'Ālam* “Sutkand” (i.e. Süt kent or Süt kend)⁶⁵ is mentioned as a locality where is “the abode of trucial Turks (jāy-i Turkān-i āshtī)” and that many converted to Islam from their tribes.⁶⁶ These Muslim Turks should have been from the Oghuz.⁶⁷ Besides, in the same

⁶⁰ Bregel, pp. 415-417; Al-Muqaddasi mentioned the peninsula as *Binkishlah* [thousand villages] and marked the mountain as the frontier between the land of the Khazars and Djurdjan.

⁶¹ Agacanov, pp. 123-124. Agacanov adds that although al-Biruni names Mangışlak as “Banhişlak” and even if he mentions the peninsula as a mountain, it is for sure that al-Biruni was meaning the Mangışlak peninsula.

⁶² In English transcription also known as Mahmud al-Kashghari.

⁶³ See Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. III, p. 157.

⁶⁴ Rawlinson, p. 167.

⁶⁵ “Sutkand” literally means “milk-town.” For detailed information about Süt kent, see Bahaeddin Ögel, *İslâmiyetten Önce Türk Kültür Tarihi: Orta Asya Kaynak ve Buluntularına Göre* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1962), pp. 336-338.

⁶⁶ *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 118. Also see Sümer, p. 59.

⁶⁷ Faruk Sümer claimed that there is no doubt that these Turks who were mentioned here were from the Oghuz. He also added that at the end of the eleventh century, Süt kent was an Oghuz town. See Sümer, p. 59.

work it is also said that between “Isbījab,” “Chāch,”⁶⁸ “Pārāb,”⁶⁹ and “Kunjdiḥ,”⁷⁰ there were a thousand felt-tents of Muslim Turks.⁷¹

1.2. Turkmen Term in the Works of Islamic Scholars

Penetration of the Arabs into Central Asia began at the beginning of the eighth century with a massive and bloody invasion. However, unlike the Sassanid Iran which was conquered in 15 years, the Arab conquest met with great resistance from the Turkic tribes.⁷² Moreover, although Turks began to embrace Islam since the middle of the ninth century, the conversion of large Turkish communities to Islam took place within the tenth century.⁷³ Some sixty years after al-Muqaddasi’s work *Ahsan Al-Taqaṣim Fi Ma’rifat Al-Aqalim*, in 1048 al-Birūnī⁷⁴ (973-1051) said in *Kitab al-Jamāhir fī Ma’rifat Al-Jawāhir* that the Oghuz call “any Oghuz who converts to Islam” a Turkmen.⁷⁵ He said that in the

⁶⁸ Also known as Shāsh (Shash), Taş Kent, Taş Kend, or Tashkent.

⁶⁹ Also known as Fārāb (Farab) or Otrar.

⁷⁰ Also known as Kendece.

⁷¹ In the text it is said that “[b]etween Isbījab and the bank of the river is the grazing ground (giyā-khwār) of all Isbījab and of some parts of Chāch, Pārāb and Kunjdih”; See *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, p. 119. F. Sümer said that these Muslim Turks are from the Oghuz and the Karluk; see Sümer, p. 59.

⁷² Kaushik, p. 16.

⁷³ Among the Turkish tribes, it was the Turkmens residing in Mirki (a town which is in the east of Balasagun and Talas) who accepted Islam in the first place; Sümer, p. 59; Sümer, *Eski Türkler’de Şehircilik*, p. 63; Abdülkerim Özeydin, “The Turks’ Acceptance of Islam,” *The Turks*, eds. Hasan Celâl Güzel, Cem Oğuz, Osman Karatay, vol. II (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Publications, 2002), p. 33. Faruk Sümer said that it is for sure that these Turkmens’ acceptance of Islam took place in the first half of the tenth century. In the early tenth century, Ibn Fadlan met an Oghuz chief called *Küçük Yınal* (*Yināl el-Sağır* meaning Younger or Lesser *Yınal* in Turkish) who had once become Muslim but later returned to his old faith since his people opposed him saying that he could not be their chief if he became a Muslim; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 59. Also see Şeşen, *Onuncu Asırda Türkistan’da bir İslâm Seyyahı*, p. 35; Abdülkadir İnan, *Tarihte ve Bugün Şamanizm: Materyaller ve Araştırmalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1954), p. 9 and Also see Barthold, p. 98.

⁷⁴ Al-Birūnī who was one of the leading figures of Khwārazm, was recognised as a great historian, encyclopaedist, geographer, astronomer, mineralogist, and poet.

⁷⁵ Al-Birūnī also said that “when an Oghuz becomes Muslim, they (Muslims) call him Turkmen and consider him as one of them”; see Al-Biruni, *Kitab al-cumahir*, ed. by F. Krenkov

past, the Oghuz Turks who became Muslim and joined the Muslims, acted as interpreters between the two parties.⁷⁶ If an Oghuz converted to Islam they would say “he became Türkmân” and even though the Oghuz are Turks, the Muslims called them “Türkmân, that is, resembling the Turks.”⁷⁷

Towards the end of the eleventh century, in *Divânü Lügat'it-Türk*⁷⁸ (Compendium of the Turkic Dialects), Kaşgarlı Mahmud uses “Türkmen” synonymously with “Oğuz.”⁷⁹ He describes Oghuz as a Turkish tribe and says that Oghuz are Turkmens.⁸⁰ It should be noted that although the term was mentioned by aforementioned Islamic scholars before, the “Türkmen” term is first explained by Kaşgarlı Mahmud. While defining the word “Türk,” he mentions that this word can be used both in singular and plural forms: “It is said “Kim sen?” meaning “Who are you?” and the answer would be “Türkmen” meaning “I am Türk” since *men* means “I, me” in Turkish.⁸¹ On the other hand, in another article of the same work, which explains the meaning of the word “Türkmen,” he says it means

(Haidarabad, 1955). p. 205; cited in Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 364. Also see Şeşen, p. 198; Kellner-Heinkele, p. 682 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 29. Faruk Sümer said that Muslims of Mavaraunnahr called the Muslim Oghuz as Turkmen, in order to differentiate them from their non-Muslim brothers; Sümer, p. 364. P.B. Golden argues that in the beginning of the Islamic era, the term Turkmen was possibly not an ethnonym perhaps a technical term implying Islamicized Turkic populations including the Oghuz; see Golden, p. 212.

⁷⁶ Şeşen, p. 198.

⁷⁷ Şeşen, p. 198. Also see Ahmet Caferoğlu, *Türk Kavimleri* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1983), p. 38.

⁷⁸ Here it should be noted that Kaşgarlı Mahmud’s work *Divânü Lügat'it-Türk*, was not only the first dictionary of Turkic languages. In this work which was written in Bagdad in 1070s, Kaşgarlı Mahmud also gives crucial information about the history, geography, legends and traditions of the Turkish people.

⁷⁹ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 55.

⁸⁰ See Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 55-58. For the detailed list of the Oghuz tribes see, Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 55-58; A. Zeki Velidî Togan, *Oğuz Destanı: Reşideddin Oğuznâmesi, Tercüme ve Tahlili* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1982), pp. 50-52; Sümer, p. 171; Mehmed Neşrî, *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ: Neşrî Tarihi*, vol. I, trans. by Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed Altay Köymen (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1949) , pp. 11-12; and Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, *Şecere-i Terâkime (Türkmenlerin Soykütüğü)*, trans. by Zuhâl Kargı Ölmez (Ankara, 1996), org. text pp. 152-161 and trans. pp. 245-248.

⁸¹ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 352-353.

“resembling the Türks, Türk-like.”⁸² It should be noted that, referring to Kaşgarlı’s work, this claim is also mentioned by Ottoman historian Bedreddin el-Aynî’s (1360-1451) work *İkdü’l-cümân fî târîhi ehli’z-zamân*.⁸³ However, scholars like Barthold disagree relating the origin of the Turkmen term with a Persian word “Türk Mânend” since he says that this explanation is not reliable.⁸⁴

Besides, while describing the Karluk, Kaşgarlı Mahmud, says; “It is a tribe name of the nomad Turks. They are different from the Oğuz. They are Türkmens like the Oğuz.”⁸⁵ Therefore, as V.V. Barthold puts it, we may conclude that Kaşgarlı Mahmud’s (it is the same case with al-Muqaddasi) Turkmens included both the Oghuz and the Karluks.⁸⁶

⁸² Here Kaşgarlı Mahmud tells the story behind the “Türkmen” word and it means “resembling Türk.” According to Kaşgarlı’s story, Turks had a very strong and young Khan named “Şu” [i.e. Shu or Chu] who had a big army when Zülkarneyn [i.e. Alexander the Great] conquered Samarkand [i.e. Semerkand or Samarqand] and just about to go the Turkish country. This Khan was the one who built the “Şu” castle near Balasagun [i.e. Balasaghun]. The Khan made the necessary arrangements but his people were unaware of these and thought that their Khan was neither going to have a war nor abandon the place. Khan heard that Alexander crossed Hocent [i.e. Xoçant] so he headed to the east with his army. A disorder occurred when people saw that their Khan was leaving with the army. The ones who could find a horse followed them there left twenty two people with their families. These twenty two people are the ones [i.e. Oghuz tribes] like Kınık, Salgur and the others. While these twenty two men were discussing whether to continue going on foot or to stay, then came two men -carrying their burden on their backs- with their families. They were following the army and both of them were exhausted. When they came up with the Oghuz tribes, they told that Alexander never stayed at one place and he would move on so they could remain at their places. Therefore the twenty two men said the two men “kal aç” which meant “aç kal.” Later on they have been called as “Xalaç” [i. e., Halaç, Xalaç, Khalaç, Khalach or Khalaj]. They are the two ancestors of the two tribes. When Alexander the Great came and saw them with their Turkish belongings, instead of asking who they were, he called them “they resemble Turks.” That is the story behind the “Turkmen” word according to Kaşgarlı Mahmud’s story but Kaşgarlı Mahmud also added that Turkmens are originally twenty two tribes but sometimes “Xalaç” who consisted of two tribes counted with the Turkmens which is not true since they are not Oghuz; see Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 412-416.

⁸³ Veliyüddin Ef. Ktb. Nr. 2376, 516; cited in İbrahim Kafesoğlu, “Türkmen Adı, Manası ve Mahiyeti,” p. 121.

⁸⁴ V. V. Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Hakkında Dersler* (Ankara: Emel Matbaacılık Sanayi, 1975), pp. 102-103.

⁸⁵ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 473.

⁸⁶ Barthold, pp. 102-103 and Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 78.

Approximately seventy years later, in 1120, Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir Marwazi⁸⁷ who was a native of Marv (i.e. Merv) and also a physician at the court of Sultan Melik Şah said in *Tabā'i al-hayawān* that when the “Ghuzz” (i.e. Oghuz) came into contact with Muslim countries, some of them embraced Islam, and these were called “Türkmäns.”⁸⁸ He added that open war broke between Turkmens and the others who had not accepted Islam, but Muslims became numerous and overwhelmed the others and drove them out.⁸⁹ Marwazi said in the end that the the latter [Oghuz Turks] left “Khawārazm”⁹⁰ and headed to the regions of the “Bajanāk” [i.e. Beçenek, Peçenek or Pecheneg]⁹¹ while the Turkmens spread through the Islamic lands and became kings and sultans of these territories.⁹²

As V. Minorsky points, Marwazi first states that under the pressure of the “Türkmän,” the Ghuz left Khawārazm and migrated to the territory of Pechenegs while the success of the “Türkmän” is explained by their faith; Islam.⁹³ However,

⁸⁷ The proper transcription would be Sharaf al-Zāmān Tāhir Marwazī. Also transcribed as al-Marwazī, al-Marvazī and al-Marwazī, and al-Marwazi.

⁸⁸ Al-Marwazī, p. 29; Marwazi also said that “Ghuzz” are a Turkish tribe who comprehend twelve tribes, and of these some called “Toghuzghuz,” some “Üy-ghur,” and some “Üch-ghur (?)” And he added that their king is called “Toghuzghuz-Khaqan.” Here Marwazi used the term “Toghuzghuz” simultaneously with “Turkman.” Also see Turan, vol. I, p. 87; Hasan, pp. 164-165 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 30.

⁸⁹ Al-Marwazī, p. 29. Also see Hasan, pp. 164-165.

⁹⁰ Khwarazm is the oasis which is formed by the lower banks of Amu Darya. It is “separated by deserts from Khorasan and the Caspian Sea, is bounded on the north by the Sea of Aral, and on the east by another strip of the desert which separates it from the Transoxiana [Mavaraunnahr];” Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols: From the 9th to the 19th Century: The So-Called Tartars of Russia and Central Asia*, Part II, Division 2, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1880), p. 876. Khwarazm is also transcribed as Khwarizm, Kharazm, Khorazm, Khorezm, Harezm or Chorasnia.

⁹¹ For detailed information about the Pecheneg term, see Akdes Nimet Kurat, *IV-XVIII. Yüzyillarda Karadeniz Kuzeyindeki Türk Kavimleri ve Devletleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972), pp. 44-64 and Lois Bazin, “À Propos du Nom Petchénègues,” in *Les Turcs: Des Mots, Des Hommes*, in, Lois Bazin, *Les Turcs: Des Mots, Des Hommes*, études réunies par Michèle Nicolas et Gilles Veinstein; préface de James Hamilton (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó; Paris: AP éditions Arguments, 1994).

⁹² Al-Marwazī, p. 29. Also mentioned in Hasan, p. 165.

⁹³ Al-Marwazī, pp. 29-30 and V. Minorsky, “Commentary,” p. 95.

in the next paragraph Marwazi explained the “Türkmen-Ghuz-Pecheneg” movement, with no focus on Turkmen’s religious background.⁹⁴ He said: “They [the Qūn, who were described as Nestorian Christians] then moved on to the territory of the Shārī, and the Shārī migrated to the land of the Türkmen, who in their turn shifted to the eastern parts of the Ghuzz country. The Ghuzz Turks then moved to the territory of the Bajanāk [i.e. Pechenegs], near to the shores of Armenian Sea”⁹⁵

At this point it is important to note V. Minorsky’s argument on this issue; Minorsky argues that applying “Türkmen” word only to the Muslim “Ghuz” is curious since in fact the spread of the term “Türkmen” coincides with the Islamization of the “Ghuz.”⁹⁶ Minorsky’s main argument is that we learn from Gardīzī’s *Zayn al-akhbār* (written in 1050) that the chief of the “Ghuz Turks” made profession of Islam in 1001 which shows us how tardily Islam came into the steppes.⁹⁷ However, another explanation of the Turkmen term is also related to the Islamization of the Oghuz. According to fourteenth century Islamic scholar Ibn al-Kathir⁹⁸, also according to fourteenth century Ottoman scholar Bedreddin el-Aynī⁹⁹ and sixteenth century Ottoman historian Mehmet Neşrî,¹⁰⁰ the term

⁹⁴ Al-Marwazī, pp. 29-30 and V. Minorsky “Commentary,” p. 95.

⁹⁵ Al-Marwazī, pp. 29-30. While mentioning the Oghuz Turks, almost the very same explanation made by Nûreddīn Muhammed b. Muhammed el-Avfī (died in 1233), who said that Kūn [i.e. Hun] Turks were in *Fenâ* Country but because of the narrowness of the country and scarcity of the herds, they abandoned the place and arrived the Kây tribe’s place, drove them out and settled to their country. In the work *Câmi (Cavâm) el-hikâyet*, el-Avfī continued that then the Kâys settled to the Sârî Country while in return the Sârīs settled to the Turkmen Country. Finally the “Gûzân” [Oghuz] arrived at the Pecheneg Country which was on the shore of the Armenian Sea (Black Sea); see Şeşen, p. 91.

⁹⁶ V. Minorsky “Commentary,” p. 94.

⁹⁷ V. Minorsky “Commentary,” p. 103.

⁹⁸ *El-Bidâye ve 'n-nihâye*, XII, (Mısır, 1335), p. 48; cited in Kafesoğlu, p. 122. Also *el-Bidâye ve 'n-nihâye*, XII, (Kahire, 1348), p. 48; cited in Sümer, p. 60. Also see Caferoğlu, p. 38. Ibn al-Kathir is also transcribed as İbn Kesir.

⁹⁹ Kafesoğlu, p. 121.

Turkmen was derived from “Türk-i imân.”¹⁰¹ The term “Türk-i imân” means “faithful Turk.”

Probably referring to Kaşgarlı Mahmud, the fourteenth century scholar Reşîdeddin Fazlullah makes a similar explanation for the designation of the “Türkmen” term. He said that “Taciks [Tajiks] called them Türkmānend.”¹⁰² Almost two centuries later, in 1659-60, in his work *Şecere-i Terākime* (i.e. *Türkmenlerin Soykütüğü*, The Genealogy of the Turkmens)¹⁰³ the ruler of the Khivan Khanate, Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan (r. 1643–1663) also relates this designation to a story. He said that the “Tādjīks” [Tajiks] first called the “Turkmens” who settled in Mavaraunnahr as “Türks.”¹⁰⁴ Within time (after five to six generations), Turks’ physical features changed therefore when the “Tādjīks” saw them, they called them “Türk-mānend” which means “resembling the Türks, Türk-like.”¹⁰⁵ However, the common people could not pronounce “Türkmānend,” so they said “Türkmen.”¹⁰⁶

However, if we look at aforementioned Islamic scholars’ accounts on the origin of the Turkmen term, one may say that relating the designation of the term with the Islamization of the Oghuz is the most commonly accepted claim among the Islamic scholars.

¹⁰⁰ Neşrî, vol. I, pp. 15-16; Sümer, p. 60. Also see Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Hakkında Dersler*, p. 102 and Caferoğlu, p. 38.

¹⁰¹ Kafesoğlu, p. 122; Sümer, p. 60 and Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Hakkında Dersler*, p. 102.

¹⁰² Kafesoğlu, p. 128 and Turan, vol. I, pp. 86-87.

¹⁰³ Also see Aboul-Ghâzi Bêhâdour Khân, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares par Aboul-Ghâzi Bêhâdour Khân*, trans. and ed. by Petr I. Desmaisons (St. Leonards; AD Orientem Ltd.; Amsterdam Philo Pres, 1970).

¹⁰⁴ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, *Şecere-i Terākime (Türkmenlerin Soykütüğü)*, org. text pp. 169-170 and trans. p. 251.

¹⁰⁵ In the original text Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan said that “Türkmānend” term means “Aning ma’nāsı Türkke oşar timek bolur,” which means “its meaning is resembling to Türk”; see Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, *Şecere-i Terākime (Türkmenlerin Soykütüğü)*, org. text pp. 169-170 and trans. p. 251.

¹⁰⁶ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text p. 170 and trans. p. 251.

1.2.1. Turkmen Tribes' Names, Ranks, Belges¹⁰⁷ (Tamgas),¹⁰⁸ and Onguns¹⁰⁹

According to Various Islamic Scholars

Since the Turkmens composed the core of the Seljuk dynasty, they gained an enormous importance among the other Turkic peoples of Central Asia. Because of the valuable works of the ancient scholars, namely Kaşgarlı Mahmud, Reşideddin Fazlullah, Yazıcıoğlu Ali, Mehmet Neşrî, and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan, one may acquire detailed information about the tribal composition of the Turkmens. In the works of these Islamic scholars, the Turkmen tribes' names, ranks, *belges* (*tamgas*), and *onguns* vary in time, which is very explanatory while analyzing these Turkmen tribes' formation, evaluation and position in time.

¹⁰⁷ As it will be discussed later, the *belges* which were used by Kaşgarlı Mahmud in the eleventh century were basically used for branding the tribes' herds. See Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 55-58.

¹⁰⁸ The *tamgas* which were first mentioned by Reşideddin Fazlullah were practically used for the same purpose as the *belges* of Kaşgarlı Mahmud. Reşideddin Fazlullah's comments and the *tamgas* in his list will be discussed and analyzed later. See Togan, pp. 50-52 and Sümer, p. 171. Note that the Polish scholar and cultural anthropologist M. A. Czaplicka defines the *tamgas* as "clan-crests;" M. A. Czaplicka, *The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day: An Ethnological Inquiry into the Pan-Turanian Problem, and Bibliographical Material Relating to the Early Turks and the Present Turks of Central Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1918), pp. 26, 30-31.

¹⁰⁹ According to Reşideddin Fazlullah, each Oghuz clan were given some birds of prey which were designated by the term *ongun* (also known as *onkun*, *ongon* or *ungun*). Further information about this term will be given later. See Togan, pp. 50-52 and Sümer, p. 171. For detailed information about this term, see İnan, "Ongon ve Tös Kelimeleri Hakkında," and "İnk' mı? 'İdik' mı?" in *Makaleler ve İncelemeler*, pp. 268-273, 617-621. These articles were originally issued in *Türk Tarih Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, No. II (June, 1934) and *Belleten*, Vol. XIII, No. 50 (April, 1949) respectively. Also see László Rásonyi, *Tarihte Türklük* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1971), pp. 28-32; İnan, *Tarihte ve Bugün Şamanizm*, p. 2-5, 27, 42-47 and Divitçioğlu, pp. 35-40.

1.2.1.1 List of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes According to Kaşgarlı Mahmud, Reşîdeddin Fazlullah, Yazıcıoğlu Ali, Mehmet Neşrî, and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan

Although Kaşgarlı Mahmud says that there were originally twenty four Oghuz/Turkmen tribes, he only lists twenty-two tribe names in his eleventh century work *Divanü Lügat'it-Türk*.¹¹⁰ Kaşgarlı explains this by saying that the “Xalaç”¹¹¹ who consisted of two tribes, had sometimes separated themselves from the Oghuz/Turkmens, hence they can not be considered as Oghuz.¹¹² Therefore, Kaşgarlı Mahmud does not include these two tribes in his Oghuz/Turkmen tribes’ list. Besides, he does not even mention their names, so these two tribes’ names are unknown to us.

Three centuries later, in the fourteenth century, Reşîdeddin Fazlullah names twenty four tribes, of which twenty one tribe names agrees with the Kaşgarlı Mahmud’s list. The number of the Turkmen tribes that are given by

¹¹⁰ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 55-58, 415-416. Paul Wittek says that the division of the Oghuz into twenty-four tribes “can scarcely be considered as an historical reality, but rather as a systematizing legend, attributing to Oghuz Khan, the “heros eponymos” of the Oghuzes, 6 sons, and each of them 4 sons, the 24 grandsons of Oghuz Khan. Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī states that in his time two of the 24 tribes had disappeared, but there is little probability that the exact number of 24 ever existed. At first there was in any case a certain number of tribal names, which later on were rounded off, by adding or selecting, to 24, in order to attribute them genealogically, four and four, to the 6 mythical sons of Oghuz;” see Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1938), p. 8.

¹¹¹ See Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 412-416. Unlike Kaşgarlı Mahmud who relates the “Xalaç” tribe’s story with Alexander the Great, according to Reşîdeddin, the story of the word “Kalaç” tribe is different; When Oğuz Khan was on his way back from Isfahan, a man and his family fell behind of the army and they could hardly catch the army after a few days. Then Oğuz Khan asked why he was late, man told about his pregnant woman and their story but Oğuz Khan did not like the answer and said to him; “Qal aç” [Kal aç] which means “stay hungry and remain behind.” After Oğuz Khan’s saying, this man’s and his descent became known as “Khalaç” tribe. For Reşîdeddin’s version of the “Khalaç” tribe, see Reşîdeddin, *Câmi’üt-Tevârih*, vol. II, Turkish translation by A. Zeki Velidî Togan, *Oğuz Destanı*, pp. 44-45. At this point we should note that neither Kaşgarlı Mahmud nor Reşîdeddin counts “Xalaç” or “Khalaç” as an Oghuz tribe.

¹¹² Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 415-416.

Reşîdeddin Fazlullah remained the same in the respective works of Yazıcıoğlu Ali, Mehmet Neşrî and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan in the following three centuries. Also within time, tribe names listed in Reşîdeddin Fazlullah's work remained almost the same (e.g. Kınık, Bayat) with some exceptions. Certainly, there are some minor linguistic differences between the names due to the time and dialects. For instance, Kaşgarlı Mahmud uses a linguistically older form, when he says Salgur for Salur, Yazgır for Yazır and Ulayundluğ for Alayundlı.¹¹³

Apart from the linguistic differences, it should also be noted that the “Çarukluğ” tribe is only found in Kaşgarlı Mahmud's list while “Yapurlı, Kızık and Karkın” tribes are not found in his list but in Reşîdeddin Fazlullah's and respectively in Yazıcıoğlu Ali, Mehmet Neşrî and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan's lists with some minor linguistic distinctions.¹¹⁴ The Kızık and Karkın tribes, who are not listed in Kaşgarlı's list, are both mentioned as the sons of Yulduz Khan by Reşîdeddin.¹¹⁵ Since the names of the two Halaç tribes, who are not considered as Oghuz, are lacking in Kaşgarlı Mahmud's list, Faruk Sümer concludes that among these two tribes (Kızık and Karkın), one of them should be one of the two tribes that Kaşgarlı Mahmud does not include in his Oghuz/Turkmen tribes' list.¹¹⁶ Moreover, he also adds that probably the “Kızık and Karkın” tribes are both the very same tribes that Kaşgarlı Mahmud lacks in his list since they are both

¹¹³ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 55-59. For Barthold's comments on Kaşgarlı Mahmud and Reşîdeddin Fazlullah's lists, see Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, pp. 109-116.

¹¹⁴ See Table 1.

¹¹⁵ Togan, pp. 50-51. Also see Sümer, p. 171.

¹¹⁶ Sümer, p. 164.

mentioned as the sons of the Yulduz Khan by Reşîdeddin while the “Yapurlı” tribe is shown as one of the sons of Ay Khan.¹¹⁷

On the other hand, while mentioning the “Çarukluğ” tribe which is only found in his list,¹¹⁸ Kaşgarlı says that the twenty second tribe of the Oghuz is the “Çarukluğ” tribe who are outnumbered and whose *belge* is uncertain.¹¹⁹ At this point, Faruk Sümer supposes that the “Çarukluğ” tribe which was only mentioned by Kaşgarlı Mahmud can be the very same tribe which was named as “Yapurlı” by Reşîdeddin Fazlullah.¹²⁰ He grounds his argument on several facts. First of all he says that unlike the Kızık and Karkın tribes who were both mentioned as the sons of the Yulduz Khan, the “Yapurlı” was named as one of the sons of Ay Khan.¹²¹ The “Yapurlı” tribe is the only tribe whose name’s meaning is missing in Reşîdeddin Fazlullah’s list.¹²² Moreover as Faruk Sümer puts it, apart from Kaşgarlı Mahmud and Reşîdeddin Fazlullah’s lists, there are no other historical record or place names concerning the “Çarukluğ” and “Yapurlı” tribes.¹²³ Therefore, Sümer concludes that the “Çarukluğ” tribe mentioned by Kaşgarlı may be the “Yapurlı” tribe of Reşîdeddin’s list, while the “Kızık and Karkın” tribes may well be the lacking tribes of Kaşgarlı Mahmud’s list.¹²⁴

Table 2. List of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribes according to Kaşgarlı Mahmud’s eleventh century work *Divanü Lügat’it-Türk*; Reşîdeddin Fazlullah’s fourteenth century work *Oğuznâme*; Yazıcıoğlu Ali’s fifteenth century work *Tarih-i âl-i*

¹¹⁷ Sümer, p. 164.

¹¹⁸ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 58, 497.

¹¹⁹ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 58.

¹²⁰ Sümer, p. 164.

¹²¹ Sümer, p. 164.

¹²² Togan, pp. 50-52; Sümer, p. 171.

¹²³ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 58; Togan, pp. 50-51 and Sümer, p. 171.

¹²⁴ Sümer, p. 164.

Selçuk; Mehmet Neşrî's sixteenth century work *Kitab-ı Cihan-nümâ* and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan's seventeenth century work *Şecere-i Terākime*.¹²⁵

<u>Kaşgarlı Mahmud</u> (11 th century)	<u>Reşideddin Fazlullah</u> (14 th century)	<u>Yazıcıoğlu</u> <u>Ali</u> (15 th century)	<u>Mehmet</u> <u>Nesrî</u> (16 th century)	<u>Ebulgazi</u> <u>Bahadır</u> <u>Khan</u> (17 th century)
Kınık	Kınıq [Kınık]	Kınık	Kınık	Kınık
Kayığ	Kayı	Kayı	Kayı	Kayı
Bayundur	Bayandır	Bayındur	Bayundur	Bayındır
Iwa (Yıwa) [İva or Yiva]	Yiva	Yiva	Yive	Ava
Salgur	Salur	Salur	Salur	Salur
Afşar	Avşar	Avşar	Avşar	Avşar
Begtili	Beğdili	Begdili	Biğ-Dili	Bigdili
Bügdüz	Bügdüz	Bügdüz	Büldür	Bügdüz
Bayat	Bayat	Bayat	Bayat	Bayat
Yazgır	Yazır	Yazır	Yazır	Yazır
Eymür	Eymür	Eymür	Aymur	Eymür
Karabölük	Kara Avul	Kara-Evlu	Karaevli	Kara İvli
Alkabölük	Alkavlı Avul	Alka-Evli	Alkaevli	Alka İvli
İgdir	Yigdir	İgdir	İngdir	İgdir
Üregir (Yüregir)	Ürügür	Üregir	Üregir	Üregir
Tutırka	Durdurga	Doduga	Dorduga	Dodurga
Ulayundluğ	Alayutlu	Alayundlu	Alayundlı	Ala Yuntlı
Tüger	Döger (Dökâ)	Döger	Düger	Döger
Beçenek	Becene	Biçene	Beceneh	Beçene
Çuvaldar	Çavuldur	Çavındır	Çavundur	Çavuldur
Çepni	Çepni	Çepni	Çebni	Çepni
Çarukluğ	-	-	-	-
-	Yapurlı	Yaparlı	Yabırlı	Yasır
-	Kızıq [Kızık]	Kızık	Kartık	Kızık
-	Karqın [Karkın]	Karkın	Karkın	Karkın

At this point, it should not be forgotten that even the original number of the tribes (the original 24 Oghuz/Turkmen tribes) accounted by Kaşgarlı Mahmud may well not be completely accurate.¹²⁶ Therefore, putting some tribe names in Reşideddin Fazlullah's list in the place of the two lacking tribe names in Kaşgarlı Mahmud' list may have a little probability. Naming twenty four Oghuz tribes which would be divided equally among the six sons of the Oghuz Khan may seem

¹²⁵ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 55-58; Togan, pp. 50-52; Sümer, p. 171; Neşrî, vol. I, pp. 11-12; and Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 152-161 and trans. pp. 245-248.

¹²⁶ For arguments on Oghuz tribes' original number and their divisions see Wittek, pp. 7-8.

mythical in the first place.¹²⁷ Therefore, even if there were originally twenty four Oghuz tribes, still, it does not exactly prove Faruk Sümer's aforementioned assumptions.¹²⁸ Moreover, relying on Reşîdeddin Fazlullah's list may be again curious. It was Reşîdeddin Fazlullah who gave the full list of Oghuz Khan's six sons, each having four sons. This may be in part an attempt by Reşîdeddin in order to associate the Oghuz tribes with an exact number of twenty four, as Kaşgarlı Mahmud stated.¹²⁹ Thus, these twenty four Oghuz tribes would be equally divided in four and then Reşîdeddin Fazlullah would genealogically link them to the six mythical sons of Oghuz Khan.¹³⁰

It should also be noted that among the tribes that were both mentioned by Kaşgarlı Mahmud and Reşîdeddin Fazlullah, only three of them remains as tribe names in today's Turkmenistan.¹³¹

1.2.1.2 List of the Enumeration of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes According to Kaşgarlı Mahmud, Reşîdeddin Fazlullah, Yazıcıoğlu Ali, Mehmet Neşrî, and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan

The enumeration of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribes according to the aforementioned Islamic scholars is crucial to observe the fluctuations of the tribes' importance within time. The differences between the tribes' order can be

¹²⁷ Wittek, p. 8.

¹²⁸ Sümer, p. 164.

¹²⁹ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 55-58, 415-416.

¹³⁰ Togan, pp. 50-52. Also see Wittek, p. 8.

¹³¹ Ataniyazov, p. 5.

explained by various reasons; like wars, epidemic diseases, and invasions namely of Mongol and Timur¹³².¹³³ Therefore, at this point it should be noted that according to Kaşgarlı Mahmud and Reşîdeddin Fazlullah, the order of the tribe names is completely different with major differences.¹³⁴

For instance, as mentioned earlier, in Kaşgarlı Mahmud's list the very first tribe is the Kınık, which may be explained with a simple fact; while Kaşgarlı Mahmud was working on his work *Divanü Lügat'it-Türk*, the most important and respected Turkmen tribe was the Kınık, because of being the ancestors of the Seljuks.¹³⁵ Kaşgarlı Mahmud mentioned them as “the first and the main” Oghuz tribe of which the *Hakans* (i.e. Khakans, meaning the sovereigns) sprang.¹³⁶ However, since the Kınık's position changed drastically, in Reşîdeddin Fazlullah's list it is ranked as the last among all of the Oghuz tribes.¹³⁷ On the other hand, the Kayı which was ranked as the second tribe by Kaşgarlı Mahmud is listed and ranked as the first and the most powerful Turkmen tribe by Reşîdeddin Fazlullah, Yazıcıoğlu Ali, Mehmet Neşrî, and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan respectively.¹³⁸ Here we see that after Kaşgarlı Mahmud, within time the Kayı

¹³² Also transcribed as Temür, Demir meaning “iron” in English. Mostly known as Timur Lenk (which means “Timur the Lame”) and Tamerlane in Western sources. He was called so since he was lame because of a wound. For detailed information about the Mongol invasion and the Genghisid rule in Central Asia, see Arminius Vámbéry, *History of Bokhara: From the Earliest Period Down to the Present* (London: Henry S. King & Co., 1873), pp. 119-161.

¹³³ For instance, László Rásonyi explains this differences in the enumeration of the tribes within time, with the “fluctuations” of the tribes; see Rásonyi, p. 163.

¹³⁴ In his work *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia: Mîr 'Alî-Shîr: A History of the Turkman People*, Barthold says that “[o]nly the last three names are quoted by Rashid al-din in the same order as by Mahmud Kashgari. For the rest the order of the enumeration is quite different” see Barthold, p. 110. However, as one may see from Table 3, the order of the enumeration which will be discussed immediately is entirely different.

¹³⁵ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 55. For further information about the Seljuks see Chapter II.

¹³⁶ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 55.

¹³⁷ Togan, p. 52. Also see Sümer, p. 170.

¹³⁸ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 55-56; Togan, p. 50; Sümer, p. 171; Neşrî, vol. I, pp. 11-12; and Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 152-161 and trans. p. 245.

became the leading tribe at the expense of the Kınık in all of these scholars' works.

Reşîdeddin Fazlullah's list is almost entirely preserved by Yazıcıoğlu Ali, Mehmet Neşrî, and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan. Therefore, these scholars also relied on the order of the enumeration of the Turkmen tribes and listed them almost the same as Reşîdeddin Fazlullah did.¹³⁹ The one and only exception is in Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan's list. While Reşîdeddin lists the "Döger (Dökâ)" as the sixth and the "Yapurlı" as the eighth tribe, Ebulgazi ranks "Döger" as the eight, and the "Yasır" as the sixth tribe.¹⁴⁰ This change in the order of the enumeration supports the aforementioned assumption on "Yapurlı" tribe of Reşîdeddin being the "Yasır" of Ebulgazi.

¹³⁹ Togan, pp. 50-52; Sümer, p. 171; Neşrî, vol. I, pp. 11-12; and Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 152-161 and trans. pp. 245-248.

¹⁴⁰ Togan, pp. 50-51 and Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 152-161 and trans. p. 245.

Table 3. List of the enumeration of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribes according to Kaşgarlı Mahmud's eleventh century work *Divanü Lügat'it-Türk*; Reşideddin Fazlullah's fourteenth century work *Oğuznâme*; Yazıcıoğlu Ali's fifteenth century work *Tarih-i âl- Selçuk*; Mehmet Neşrî's sixteenth century work *Kitab-ı Cihan-nümâ* and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan's seventeenth century work *Şecere-i Terākime*.¹⁴¹

<u>Tribe Names</u> ¹⁴²	<u>Kaşgarlı Mahmud</u> (11 th century)	<u>Reşideddin Fazlullah</u> (14 th century)	<u>Yazıcıoğlu Ali</u> (15 th century)	<u>Mehmet Neşrî</u> (16 th century)	<u>Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan</u> (17 th century)
Kınık	1	24	24	24	24
Kayığ	2	1	1	1	1
Bayundur	3	13	13	13	13
Iwa (Yıwa) [İva or Yiva]	4	23	23	23	23
Salgur	5	17	17	17	17
Afşar	6	9	9	9	9
Begtili	7	11	11	11	11
Bügdüz	8	22	22	22	22
Bayat	9	2	2	2	2
Yazgır	10	5	5	5	5
Eymür	11	18	18	18	18
Karabölük	12	4	4	4	4
Alkabölük	13	3	3	3	3
İgdir	14	21	21	21	21
Üregir (Yüregir)	15	20	20	20	20
Tutırka	16	7	7	7	7
Ulayundluğ	17	19	19	19	19
Tüger	18	6	6	6	8
Beçenek	19	14	14	14	14
Çuvaldar	20	15	15	15	15
Çepni	21	16	16	16	16
Çarukluğ	22	-	-	-	-
Yapurlı ¹⁴³	-	8	8	8	6
Kızıq [Kızık] ¹⁴⁴	-	10	10	10	10
Karqın [Karkın] ¹⁴⁵	-	12	12	12	12

¹⁴¹ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 55-58; Togan, pp. 50-52; Sümer, p. 171; Neşrî, vol. I, pp. 11-12; and Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 152-161 and trans. pp. 245-248.

¹⁴² Here while naming the Turkmen tribes, Kaşgarlı Mahmud's transcription is used as it is the oldest linguistic form of the tribes among the other four sources.

¹⁴³ Since Yapurlı tribe is not mentioned by Kaşgarlı Mahmud, here Reşideddin Fazlullah's transcription is used.

¹⁴⁴ Since Kızık tribe is not mentioned by Kaşgarlı Mahmud, here Reşideddin Fazlullah's transcription is used.

¹⁴⁵ Since Karkın tribe is not mentioned by Kaşgarlı Mahmud, here Reşideddin Fazlullah's transcription is used.

1.2.1.3 The Division of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes into *Bozok* and *Üçok* Tribes According to Reşîdeddin Fazlullah

According to a legend¹⁴⁶ in his work *Oğuznâme*, Reşîdeddin Fazlullah makes a division between the twenty four tribes according to their seniority; the first twelve, the *Bozok* tribes, being the sons of the three elder sons of the Oğuz Khan and the *Üçok* tribes, being the sons of the three younger sons of the Oğuz Khan.¹⁴⁷ Reşîdeddin named the sons of the Oğuz Khan respectively as: Kün Khan (the eldest son); Ay Khan (the second son); and Yulduz Khan (the third son) being the *Bozoks* and Kök Khan (the fourth son); Taq Khan [Dağ Khan] (the fifth son) and Tengiz Khan (the sixth son) being the *Üçoks*.¹⁴⁸

Reşîdeddin also told that Oğuz Khan gave the right wing of the army to the *Bozok* tribes and the left wing to the *Üçok* tribes, saying that the *padişahs* would be from the descendants of the *Bozok* tribes.¹⁴⁹ Here it should be reminded that Kaşgarlı Mahmud names the Kınık tribe as the tribe of which the *padişahs*

¹⁴⁶ According to the legend that Reşîdeddin Fazlullah narrates, one day Oghuz Khan and his six sons went for hunting. Coincidentally his sons found a golden bow and three arrows. They went to their father in order him to divide these findings among them. Oghuz Khan broke the bow into three pieces and gave these three pieces to each of his elder sons. Then he gave each of his younger sons an arrow. After this partition, Oghuz Khan decided that the clans which would sprang from his elder sons whom he gave arrows, would be called “Bozok” since he had to break the bow. Reşîdeddin Fazlullah explains this designation saying that “bozok” already derives from “to break,” “to break into pieces.” On the other hand, concerning the descendants of the clans whom he gave three arrows, Oghuz Khan said that these clans would be called “Üçok,” which means “three arrows” in Turkish. Oghuz Khan also said that the *Bozok* tribes would be superior to the *Üçok* tribes since the “bow” rules as the *padişah* while the “arrow” would be the sovereign’s envoy. Then Oghuz Khan named Kün Khan (his eldest son) as his heir. Oghuz Khan declared that his place, throne, and *yurt* would be Kün Khan’s (if Kün Khan would be alive at that time) after Oghuz Khan’s death; see Togan, pp. 47-48. Ziya Gökalp claims that the origin of the term “Oğuz” is related to the word “ok,” (“arrow” in English) which is the general totem of the Oghuz. Gökalp argues that the word “Oğuz” derived from *Ok* and *Öz* (“Oğuz=Ok+Öz”). Therefore he concludes that the word “Oğuz” means “Ok Eri,” “Ok Aşîreti” meaning “arrow tribe;” see Ziya Gökalp, *Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları; Güneş Matbaacılık, 1976), p. 79, 229.

¹⁴⁷ Togan, pp. 47-52.

¹⁴⁸ Togan, pp. 50-52.

¹⁴⁹ Togan, p. 48.

sprang.¹⁵⁰ However, Reşîdeddin Fazlullah names this tribe as a part of the *Üçok* tribes which is not named among the ruler tribes.¹⁵¹ It should also be noted that neither this division of the tribes into *Bozok* and *Üçok* tribes, nor their names as *Bozok* and *Üçok* tribes are mentioned by Kaşgarlı Mahmud in his work *Divanü Lügat'it-Türk*.

Table 4. The division of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribes into *Bozok* and *Üçok* tribes according to Reşîdeddin Fazlullah.¹⁵²

	The sons of Kün Khan		The sons of Ay Khan		The sons of Yulduz Khan	
Bozok tribes (right wing)	1-	Kayı	5-	Yazır	9-	Avşar
	2-	Bayat	6-	Döger (Dökâ)	10-	Kızıq
	3-	Alkavlı Avul	7-	Durdurga	11-	Beğdili
	4-	Kara Avul	8-	Yapurlı	12-	Karqın [Karkın]
	The sons of Kök Khan		The sons of Taq Khan		The sons of Tengiz Khan	
Üçok tribes (left wing)	13-	Bayandur	17-	Salur	21-	Yigdir
	14-	Becene	18-	Eymür	22-	Bügdüz
	15-	Çavuldur	19-	Alayutlu	23-	Yiva
	16-	Çepni	20-	Ürügür	24-	Kınıq [Kınık]

1.2.1.4 The Division of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes into *Bozok* and *Üçok* Tribes According to Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan

Three centuries after *Oğuznâme*, Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan makes almost the same division of the twenty four tribes according to their seniority. Same as Reşîdeddin

¹⁵⁰ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 55.

¹⁵¹ Togan, p. 52.

¹⁵² Togan, pp. 50-52; Sümer, p. 171.

Fazlullah, Ebulgazi names, the elder sons of Oğuz Khan as; Kün Khan, Ay Khan and Yulduz Khan, while mentioning Kök Khan, Tag Khan, and Tiñiz [Tingiz or Tengiz] Khan as the younger sons of the Oğuz Khan.¹⁵³ Accordingly, Ebulgazi says that the twelve sons of the three elder sons belong to the *Bozok* tribe, while the twelve sons of the three younger sons belong to the *Üçok* tribe.¹⁵⁴

Table 5. The division of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribes into *Bozok* and *Üçok* tribes according to Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan.¹⁵⁵

	The sons of Kün Khan		The sons of Ay Khan		The sons of Yulduz Khan	
Bozok tribes (right wing)	1-	Kayı	5-	Yazır	9-	Avşar
	2-	Bayat	6-	Yasır	10-	Kızık
	3-	Alka İvli	7-	Dodurga	11-	Bigdili
	4-	Kara İvli	8-	Döger	12-	Karkın
	The sons of Kök Khan		The sons of Tag Khan		The sons of Tiñiz Khan	
Üçok tribes (left wing)	13-	Bayındır	17-	Salur	21-	İgdir
	14-	Beçene	18-	Eymür	22-	Bügdüz
	15-	Çavuldur	19-	Ala Yuntlu	23-	Ava
	16-	Çepni	20-	Üregir	24-	Kınık

The only difference between the division of tribes into the *Bozok* and the *Üçok* tribes by Reşîdeddin Fazlullah and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan is the ranking of the sons of Ay Khan. Reşîdeddin lists Ay Han's sons respectively as Yazır (the eldest son); Döger (the second son); Durdurga (the third son) and Yapurlı (the

¹⁵³ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 152-153 and trans. p. 245.

¹⁵⁴ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 147-153 and trans. pp. 243-245.

¹⁵⁵ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 145-149 and trans. pp. 242-245.

fourth son).¹⁵⁶ However, Ebulgazi ranks them as; Yazır (the eldest son); Yasır (the second son); Dordurga (the third son) and Döger (the fourth son).¹⁵⁷

Therefore, since all the other names and the order of the other sons of Oğuz Khan agrees with the list of Reşîdeddin Fazlullah, one may conclude that the “Yasır” tribe mentioned by Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan may be the same tribe that Reşîdeddin mentioned as Yapurlı three centuries ago. At this point, this assumption may be analyzed together with Faruk Sümer’s conclusion that the “Çarukluğ” tribe of Kaşgarlı Mahmud’s list may be the same tribe that Reşîdeddin Fazlullah mentioned as “Yapurlı.”¹⁵⁸ Consequently, relying on these assumptions one may assume that Kaşgarlı Mahmud’s “Çarukluğ,” Reşîdeddin Fazlullah’s “Yapurlı,” and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan’s “Yasır” tribe is the very same tribe. However, as mentioned earlier, although these assumptions may sound reasonable; none of these could be certainly verified. Therefore, it would be more rational to consider these assumptions as possibilities rather than facts.

1.2.1.5 The *Belges* [*Tamgas*] of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes According to Kaşgarlı Mahmud

In the aforementioned article “Oğuz” of his work *Divanü Lügat’it-Türk*, Kaşgarlı Mahmud describes Oghuz as a Turkish tribe and says that Oghuz are Turkmens.¹⁵⁹ At this point, he adds that the Oghuz have twenty two subtribes, all

¹⁵⁶ Togan, p. 50.

¹⁵⁷ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text p. 153 and trans. p. 245.









¹⁵⁸ Sümer, p. 164.

¹⁵⁹ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 55-58.

of which has their own *belges* because of which they could recognize each other.¹⁶⁰ Kaşgarlı Mahmud also says that the *belges* are used for branding the tribes' herds, thus they could recognize each other's herds.¹⁶¹ The *belges* are the very same thing with the *tamgas* that are mentioned by Reşîdeddin Fazlullah, Yazıcıoğlu Ali, and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan but it should be noted that the term *tamga* is first mentioned by Reşîdeddin.

Although Kaşgarlı Mahmud mentions the word “tamga,” he only explains it by saying that it belongs to the Khans and the others.¹⁶² He does not give any other additional information about the term and its meaning. Thus, one can conclude that the term “tamga” was first used by Reşîdeddin Fazlullah with its exact meaning.

Table 6. The *belges* of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribes according to Kaşgarlı Mahmud.¹⁶³

	Tribe Names	<i>Belges [Tamgas]</i>
1.	Kınık	
2.	Kayığ	
3.	Bayundur	
4.	Iwa (Yıwa)	
5.	Salgur	
6.	Afşar	
7.	Begtili	
8.	Bügdüz	

¹⁶⁰ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 55.

¹⁶¹ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 55, 58.

¹⁶² Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 424.

¹⁶³ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 55-58.

9.	Bayat	۱۲۴
10.	Yazgır	///L
11.	Eymür	♀
12.	Karabölük	□^
13.	Alkabölük	≡
14.	İgdir	5
15.	Üregir (Yüregir)	5≡
16.	Tutırka	V^
17.	Ulayundluğ	≡
18.	Tüger	۱۸
19.	Beçenek	۸۱
20.	Çuvaldar	☾
21.	Çepni	7
22.	Çarukluğ	Undefined

1.2.1.6 List of the Names, *Tamgas*, *Onguns* and *Ülüş*¹⁶⁴ of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes According to Reşîdeddin Fazlullah

Three centuries after Kaşgarlı Mahmud, Reşîdeddin Fazlullah gives much more detailed information about the Oghuz tribes. As mentioned earlier, the *tamgas* mentioned by Reşîdeddin serves for the same purpose as Kaşgarlı's *belges*; branding the herds and avoiding the disputes about ownership.¹⁶⁵ Similar with the Oghuz tribes' division into the *Bozok* tribe *Üçok* tribes, again Reşîdeddin

¹⁶⁴ The *ülüş* refers to the exact part of the meat that each of the Oghuz clan had the right to eat during a *toy* [the common feast]. This concept will be discussed later; see Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. III, pp. 62-63; Togan, pp. 50-52; Sümer, p. 167. For further information about this term, see İnan, "“Orun” ve “Ülüş” Meselesi" in *Makaleler ve İncelemeler*, pp. 241-254 and Divitçioğlu, pp. 41-52. While giving detailed information about the concept of *ülüş*, Sencer Divitçioğlu provides several charts concerning the term.

¹⁶⁵ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 55, 58 and Togan, pp. 49-52.

Fazlullah narrates this term with a legend.¹⁶⁶ However, it should be noted that the *belges* provided by Kaşgarlı and the *tamgas* provided by Reşîdeddin are considerably different from each other. This may be explained with a three centennial difference.

Apart from the tribe names and the *belges* [*tamgas*] that were already mentioned by Kaşgarlı Mahmud, Reşîdeddin Fazlullah provides some additional information about the Oghuz tribes. Reşîdeddin says that each son of Oğuz Khan is given an animal which is considered as their *onguns*.¹⁶⁷ He mentions a total of six *onguns*, one for every four Oghuz clans.¹⁶⁸ Actually the *onguns* that are mentioned by Reşîdeddin are the birds of prey which each corresponding clan revered.¹⁶⁹ At this point, Barthold interprets this reverence and the term *ongun* as a totem since these birds could neither be touched nor be eaten.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, relying on these, Barthold suggests that, even after their conversion to Islam, at that time the Oghuz still preserved some traces of totemism among themselves.¹⁷¹ Even

¹⁶⁶ Reşîdeddin Fazlullah narrates that after Oghuz Khan, his heir Kün Khan who was at that time seventy years old, became the ruler. One day, Irkıl Hoca, a respected elderly whom Oghuz Khan trusted very much, warned Kün Khan about the possible disputes about the ownership between his and his brothers' sons. Irkıl Hoca said that in order to avoid the possible disputes among Oghuz Khan's twenty four grandsons, their ranks, professions, names and appellations should be decided in advance. Irkıl Hoca also said that all of them should be given a *nişan* [meaning decoration or mark] and *tamga* in order everyone to know his place. Therefore Kün Khan agreed with Irkıl Hoca's advice and ordered him to take these measures. Then Irkıl Hoca named all of the twenty four grandsons whom Oghuz Khan already divided into *Bozok* and *Üçok* tribes and gave all of them a *tamga*; see Togan, pp. 49-50. For brief information about Irkıl Hoca (Ata) in epic story of Oghuz Khan; see İnan, "Oğuz Destanındaki Irkıl Ata," in *Makaleler ve İncelemeler*, pp. 196-197.

¹⁶⁷ Togan, p. 50. Also see Sümer, pp. 166-167 and İnan, "Ongon ve Tös Kelimeleri Hakkında," and "İnk' mı? İdik' mı," pp. 268-273 and pp. 617-618.

¹⁶⁸ Togan, pp. 50-52 and Sümer, p. 171.

¹⁶⁹ Togan, p. 50. Also see Sümer, pp. 166-167; Barthold, p. 111 and İnan, pp. 268-273 and pp. 617-618. Also see Jean-Paul Roux, *Orta Asya: Tarih ve Uygarlık*, trans. by Lale Arslan (İstanbul: Kabaalcı Yayınevi, 2001), p. 63.

¹⁷⁰ Barthold, p. 111. Also see Togan, p. 50; Sümer, pp. 166-167. Osman Turan notes that these birds of prey could just be eaten once a year during the *toy*. Moreover, although he says that the origin and the meaning of the "ongun" term is obscure, he still argues that this importance may be seen as totemism; see Turan, vol. I, pp. 118, 179. Also see Roux, p. 63.

¹⁷¹ Barthold, p. 111.

before Barthold, scholars like Bastian¹⁷² and Houtsma¹⁷³ argued about the possibility that these birds could be totems.¹⁷⁴

For instance, László Rásonyi claimed that the term *ongun* meant the “abode of the spirits.”¹⁷⁵ Rásonyi adds that *onguns* were the common totems for the specific clans by whom they were worshiped.¹⁷⁶ Besides, Rásonyi also says that these *onguns* were not only zoomorphic, but could also be anthropomorphic.¹⁷⁷ Besides, according to him, the spirits of the deads, especially of the sovereigns and the shamans could be the *onguns*.¹⁷⁸

Probably in Turkish literature, it was Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924), who used the term “ongun” as an equivalent to the term totem.¹⁷⁹ Gökalp argues that “ongun” means “totem” in old Oghuz language and relates the term with the words “onuk” or “oynuk” which means “blessed.”¹⁸⁰ At this point, Abdülkadir İnan says that Reşîdeddin tried to explain the meaning of the term with a Turkish word, but some Turcologists and historians read the word by mistake as *ink* (or

¹⁷² Bastian, *Rechtsverhältnisse bei Verschiedenen Völkern der Erde* (Berlin, 1872), p. 164; cited in İnan, p. 268.

¹⁷³ Houtsma, “Die Ghuzenstäamme” (Wien. Z. f. K. d. M. 1888. II. 229-231); cited in İnan, p. 268.

¹⁷⁴ İnan, p. 268. Although Osman Turan says that the origin and the meaning of the “ongun” term is obscure, he still says that this implementation may have seen as totemist; see Turan, vol. I, pp. 118, 179. Sencer Divitçioğlu says that the term “ongun” was identical with the concept of totem; Divitçioğlu, p. 37. For instance, while talking about the animal worship in Altaians, the Polish scholar and cultural anthropologist M. A. Czaplicka, who defines the *tamgas* as “clan-crests” as mentioned earlier, says “Generally speaking there is no animal worship, but some animals are venerated. The greatest veneration is shown to the bear, occasionally to the wolf, and of birds, to the eagle, the hawk, and the goose. These creatures, as well as some fish, play an important part in the Shamanistic ceremonies, for when the Shaman’s spirit-assistants appear at his call, they are supposed to assume the forms of the animals. It is, however, not in this veneration, but rather in the use of the clan-crests of *tamgas*, that any approach to totemism among these people must be sought;” Czaplicka, pp. 30-31.

¹⁷⁵ Rásonyi, p. 29.

¹⁷⁶ Rásonyi, p. 29.

¹⁷⁷ Rásonyi, p. 29.

¹⁷⁸ Rásonyi, p. 29.

¹⁷⁹ Gökalp, pp. 63, 79, 87, 163, 193.

¹⁸⁰ Gökalp, pp. 63, 87.

oyruk), and supposed that it means “blessed.”¹⁸¹ Indeed, Magyar scholar István Vásáry traces the word “iduk” back to the Göktürks, saying that it meant “blessed.”¹⁸² However, A. İnan disagrees with this assumption and states that in fact, the Mongolian word “*ongon*” means “*induk*” in Turkish, which means “to let loosed, released.”¹⁸³

Furthermore, although A. İnan can not be sure about the term’s relevance with totemism, as mentioned before, he says that it is not a Turkish but a Mongolian word and adds that the true transcription of the term is *ongon*.¹⁸⁴ Abdülkadir İnan also argues that instead of the term *ongon*, ancient Turks used the term *tör* or *töz* meaning “ceddiâlâ,” that is, origin, source, and root.¹⁸⁵ On the other hand, since the term *ongun* does not appear in other sources than Reşîdeddin at that time, Faruk Sümer opposes to the idea of totemism among the Oghuz, and concludes that the Oghuz did not experience any totemist period in their history.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ İnan, “‘Ink’ mı? ‘Idık’ mı” pp. 617-618. Later, this claim was also asserted by Ü. Hassan, see; Hassan, p. 111.

¹⁸² Vásáry, p. 126. Osman Turan also says that iduk meant mübarek, that is, “blessed,” see Turan, vol. I, pp. 160-161, 179.

¹⁸³ İnan, pp. 617-618. Also see İnan, *Tarihte ve Bugün Şamanizm*, pp. 27, 42-47.

¹⁸⁴ İnan, “Ongon ve Tös Kelimeleri Hakkında,” and “‘Ink’ mı? ‘Idık’ mı,” pp. 268, 617.

¹⁸⁵ Here Abdülkadir İnan says that the oldest meaning of the term *tör* or *töz* is “*mebde*, *menşe*, and *asıl*” in Turkish; see Abdülkadir İnan, “Ongon ve Tös Kelimeleri Hakkında,” p. 273 and İnan, *Tarihte ve Bugün Şamanizm*, pp. 42-47. Also see Gökalp, pp. 191-193 and Hassan, p. 111.






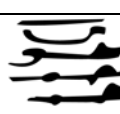




¹⁸⁶ Sümer, pp. 166-167.

Table 7. List of the names, *onkuns* and *tamgas* of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribe according to Reşîdeddin Fazlullah.¹⁸⁷

		Tribe Names	<i>Onkuns</i>			<i>Tamgas</i>
			<i>Turk.</i>	<i>Eng.</i> ¹⁸⁸	<i>Lat.</i>	
<i>Bozok</i> tribes (right wing)	The sons of Kün Khan	Kayı	Şâhin	Buzzard	Buteo vulgaris	۱۰۱
		Bayat	Şâhin	Buzzard	Buteo vulgaris	𐰇
		Alkavlı Avul	Şâhin	Buzzard	Buteo vulgaris	-----
		Kara Avul	Şâhin	Buzzard	Buteo vulgaris	𐰇
	The sons of Ay Khan	Yazır	Kartal	Eagle	Aquile chrysaetus	𐰇
		Döger (Dökâ)	Kartal	Eagle	Aquile chrysaetus	𐰇
		Durdurga	Kartal	Eagle	Aquile chrysaetus	𐰇
		Yapurlı	Kartal	Eagle	Aquile chrysaetus	𐰇
	The sons of Yulduz Khan	Avşar	Tavşancıl	Osprey	Pandion haliateus	+
		Kızıq	Tavşancıl	Osprey	Pandion haliateus	𐰇
		Beğdili	Tavşancıl	Osprey	Pandion haliateus	𐰇
		Karqın	Tavşancıl	Osprey	Pandion haliateus	𐰇
<i>Üçok</i> tribes (left wing)	The sons of Kök Khan	Bayandur	Sunkur	Gyr-falcon	Falco Gyr-falco	𐰇
		Becene	Sunkur	Gyr-falcon	Falco Gyr-falco	𐰇

¹⁸⁷ Togan, pp. 50-52; Sümer, p. 170.

¹⁸⁸ For the English and Latin translation of the birds; see E. Denison Ross, *Kuş İsimlerinin Doğu Türkçesi, Mançuca ve Çince Sözlüğü*, translated by Emine Gürsoy-Naskali (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları: 605, 1994).

		Çavuldur	Sunkur	Gyr-falcon	Falco Gyr-falco	
		Çepni	Sunkur	Gyr-falcon	Falco Gyr-falco	
	The sons of Taq Khan	Salur	Uc	Kestrel	Cerchneis tinnunculu	
		Eymür	Uc	Kestrel	Cerchneis tinnunculu	
		Alayutlu	Uc	Kestrel	Cerchneis tinnunculu	
		Ürügür	Uc	Kestrel	Cerchneis tinnunculu	
	The sons of Tengiz Khan	Yigdir	Çakır	Goshawk	Astur palumbarius u	
		Bügdüz	Çakır	Goshawk	Astur palumbarius u	
		Yiva	Çakır	Goshawk	Astur palumbarius u	
		Kınıq	Çakır	Goshawk	Astur palumbarius u	

In addition to the aforementioned data, according to Reşîdeddin Fazlullah, even the meat that each of the Oghuz clan could eat during a *toy* [the common feast] was determined and it was specifically distinguished for every four Oghuz clan.¹⁸⁹ The meat that the clans were allowed to eat during the *toy* was designated

¹⁸⁹ Togan, pp. 50-52; Sümer, p. 171.

by the terms *süñük*¹⁹⁰ by Yazıcıoğlu Ali in the fifteenth century and later *ülüş*¹⁹¹ by Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan in the seventeenth century.¹⁹² Actually, without mentioning the terms *süñük* or the *ülüş*, Barthold says that there is no Turkish term for such shares while talking about “the part of meat each clan had the right” to eat during the *toys*.¹⁹³ However, the Turkish term *ülüş* was first mentioned by Kaşgarlı Mahmud in the eleventh century.¹⁹⁴ Kaşgarlı Mahmud explained this term as “share, distribution among the people, part.”¹⁹⁵

1.2.1.7 List of the Names, *Onguns*, *Tamgas* and *Ülüş* of the Oghuz/Turkmen Tribes According to Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan

Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan named twenty four Oghuz tribes as Reşîdeddin Fazlullah did in the fourteenth century. Ebulgazi gives some additional information about the tribal structure of the Oghuz comparing to Reşîdeddin’s list. Although he does not mention their fathers’ names, Ebulgazi also gives the names of Oghuz Khan’s grandsons who were from his sons’ second (fellow) wives; Kene, Köne, Turbatlı, Gireyli, Sultanlı, Oklı, Kökli, Suçlı, Horasanlı, Yurtçı, Çamçı, Torumçı, Kumı, Sorkı,¹⁹⁶ Kurçık, Suraçık, Karaçık, Kazgurt, Kırgız, Teken, Lala, Mürdeşuy, and Sayır.¹⁹⁷ Ebulgazi gives important information since

¹⁹⁰ Faruk Sümer says that the term *süñük* used by Yazıcıoğlu Ali refers to the term *kemik*, which means “bone” in English; see Sümer, p. 171. Also see Gökalp, p. 162.

¹⁹¹ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, pp. 155-157.

¹⁹² Sümer, p. 171 and Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, pp. 155-157.

¹⁹³ Barthold, p. 111.

¹⁹⁴ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 62-63.













¹⁹⁵ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 62-63.

¹⁹⁶ At this point Ebulgazi adds: “[b]u vaktde anı Sorhı diy tururlar,” that is “today it was called Sorhı” in English; see Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 154, and trans. p. 245.

¹⁹⁷ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 153-154, and trans. p. 245.

he names the people who were not from Oghuz Khan's race but by named by him;
Kanklı, Kıpçak, Karlık and Kalaç [Halaç].¹⁹⁸

Table 8. List of the names, *onguns* and *tamgas* of the Oghuz/Turkmen tribe according to Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan.¹⁹⁹

		Tribe Names	Bird Names			Tamgas
			[Onguns]			
			Turk.	Eng.	Lat.	
Bozok tribes (right wing)	The sons of Kün Khan	Kayı	Şahin	Buzzard	Buteo vulgaris	
		Bayat	Baykuş	Snowy Owl ?	Nyctea nivea	
		Alka İvli	Köykenek	Kestrel ?	Cerchneis tinnunculu	
		Kara İvli	Göbek Sarı	-	-	
	The sons of Ay Khan	Yazır	Turumtay	Merlin	Lithofalco aesalin	
		Yasır	Atmaca	Sparrow-hawk	Accipiter nisus	
		Dodurga	Kızıl Doğan	-	-	
		Döger	Köçken	-	-	
	The sons of Yulduz Khan	Avşar	Beyaz Doğan	-	-	
		Kızık	Sarıca	-	-	
		Bigdili	Bahrî	-	-	
		Karkın	Su Kartalı	-	-	

¹⁹⁸ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 153-154, and trans. p. 245.

¹⁹⁹ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 152-161 and trans. pp. 245-248.

Üçok tribes (left wing)	The sons of Kök Khan	Bayındır	<i>Şahin</i>	Buzzard	<i>Buteo vulgaris</i>	⌘
		Beçene	<i>Ala Doğan</i>	Goshawk	<i>Astur palumbariusu</i>	∠
		Çavuldur	<i>Huma Kuşu, anka</i>	-	-	∪
		Çepni	<i>Huma</i>	-	-	Y
	The sons of Tag Khan	Salur	<i>Kartal</i>	Eagle	<i>Aquile chrysaetus</i>	Ʒ
		Eymür	<i>Encarı</i>	-	-	Ʒ
		Ala Yuntlı	<i>Yagalbay</i>	-	-	◻
		Üregir	<i>Bıku</i>	-	-	3
	The sons of Tiñiz Khan	İgdir	<i>Karçığay</i>	-	-	3
		Bügdüz	<i>İtalgu</i>	Saker Falcon	<i>Falco sacer</i>	◻
		Ava	<i>Tuygun</i>	-	-	2
		Kınık	<i>Ak Doğan</i>	-	-	3

1.3. Modern Scholars' Views on the Etymology of the Turkmen Term

Concerning the origin of the term, modern studies have various claims. For instance, in his travel notes, Lieutenant Alexander Burnes²⁰⁰ who traveled the

²⁰⁰ At the end of the year 1831, Lieutenant Alexander Burnes was deputed in a political capacity to the Court of Lahore, charged with a letter from the King of England, and he was given passports as a Captain in the British army returning to Europe. On the 9th of June 1832, he entered the ancient city Balkh which was under the rule of Bukharan Khan and on the 27th of June he entered to the city of Bukhara and finally on the 21st of July 1832, he left Bukhara and for a while lived among

Turkmen lands and lived among the Turkmens in 1832 said that the name Turkmen²⁰¹ is “obscure.”²⁰² He says that he is informed and assured by the Turkmens themselves that the term means a “wanderer.”²⁰³ Burnes also mentions the term “Türk-mānend,”²⁰⁴ and he explains that in Persian it means “like a Turk, from the mixture of races produced by the inhabitants of Toorkmania seizing on the neighbouring nations.”²⁰⁵ Moreover, he notes another derivation of the term; which is Turkmen meaning “I am a Turk.”²⁰⁶ As we mentioned before, this derivation was first recorded by Kaşgarlı Mahmud in the eleventh century.²⁰⁷

Another opinion about the etymology of the term “Turkmen” belongs to Arminius Vámbéry, a Hungarian-Jewish linguist and a well-known traveler who made a journey from Teheran across the Turkmen desert on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea to Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarkand in order to find an affinity between Turkic and Hungarian languages in 1863.²⁰⁸ Vámbéry says that the word Turkmen is compounded of the proper name Türk and the suffix *men* (corresponding with the English suffix *-ship, -dom*), and it is applied to the whole race, conveying the sense that the nomads style themselves pre-eminently *Türks* and the word in use at that time, “Turkoman,” is a corruption of the Turkish

the Turkmens, who occupied the country between the Amu Darya and Bukhara. See Burnes, vol. I: p. ix, 234, 265 and vol. II: p. 249.

²⁰¹ Actually Burnes transliterates the term as “Toorkmun,” see Burnes, vol. II, p. 251.

²⁰² Burnes, vol. II, p. 251.

²⁰³ Burnes, vol. II, p. 251.

²⁰⁴ It should also be noted that Burnes transliterates the term “Türk-mānend” as “Toork-manind.” See Burnes, vol. II, p. 251.

²⁰⁵ Burnes, vol. II, p. 251.

²⁰⁶ Burnes, vol. II, p. 251; also note that Burnes pronounced this derivation as “Toork-mun, I am a Toork.”

²⁰⁷ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 352-353.

²⁰⁸ Arminius Vámbéry, *The Story of my Struggles: The Memoirs of Arminius Vámbéry* (London, 1905), pp. 152-153. For the linguistic claims and notes of Vámbéry, see Ármín Vámbéry, *Scenes from the East: Through the Eyes of a European Traveller in 1860s* (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979). (The work was first published in 1876).

original.²⁰⁹ He also mentions that the word “Turcoman” is signification of the Turks *par excellence*.²¹⁰

Ten years after Vámbéry, in 1873, in his work *Le Khiva en Mars 1873*, Ali Suavî says that Turkmen, Oghuz and Uzbeks²¹¹ are of the same Turk descent and that Oghuz lived between Syr Darya and Amu Darya rivers.²¹² Ali Suavî states that Oghuz’s Khan “Salur,” the son of Dağhan (i.e. Dağ Khan)²¹³ accepted Islam together with 2,000 families with him in the year 961.²¹⁴ He also says that Salur Khan took the name “Karahán” after his acceptance of Islam.²¹⁵ On the other hand, throughout the text, first Ali Suavî mentions that the Oghuz who accepted Islam were called “Türkmen,” but later he notes that it is possible that the term “Türkmen” is derived from *Türk-Küman*, meaning Turks of Küman.²¹⁶

²⁰⁹ Vámbéry, p. 347. G. Doerfer also says that *mân* is a kind of augmentative suffix and obviously *türkmân* is obviously a derivation from *türk* “ruling people > Turk”; see *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965, no. 892; cited in Kellner-Heinkele, p. 682.

²¹⁰ Arminius Vambéry, “The Turcomans Between the Caspian and Merv,” *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 9. (1880), p. 338. Here we should note that in *The Cambridge History of Islam: The Central Islamic Lands* it is said: “Turkoman should not be confused with Turkmân. ‘Turkoman’ is used as a generic term for the semi-nomadic tribes, of Turkish ethnic origin, which carried on a pastoral existence remote from the towns. ‘Turkmân’ is the proper name of one such tribe,” see *The Cambridge History of Islam: The Central Islamic Lands*, vol I., ed. by P.M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, Bernard Lewis (Cambridge, 1970), p. 395. In terms of race and language, Vámbéry considers “Turkomans” as one of the purest of all Turkish race saying that they are known as having remained comparatively pure and free from intermixture; see Vambéry, pp. 337-338.

²¹¹ For brief history of the term “Uzbek,” see Eugene Schuyler, *Turkistan: Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, vol. I (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2004), p. 106. Eugene Schuyler was Secretary of the American Legation at St. Petersburg and his work *Turkistan: Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja* was first published in 1876. Here the work’s 2004 reprint is used.

²¹² Ali Suavî, *Hive Hanlığı ve Türkistan’da Rus Yayılması* (İstanbul: Orkun Yayınları, 1977), p. 57.

²¹³ As aforementioned, Dağ Khan is pronounced as Taq Khan and Tag Khan by Reşîdeddin Fazlullah and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan respectively; see Togan, pp. 50-52 and Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 152-161 and trans. pp. 245-248.

²¹⁴ Suavî, p. 57.

²¹⁵ Suavî, p. 57.

²¹⁶ Suavî, p. 48.

A very interesting division between the terms “Türkman” and “Türkmen” was made by Ziya Gökalp. He argues that the Western Turks were generally the “Türkmans” who lived under the rule of the Oghuz and Karluk.²¹⁷ According to Gökalp, “Türkmans” converted to Islam under the rule of a sovereign who bore the names Salur Kara Khan, Çanak Khan, Satuk Buğra Khan, and İlik Khan and that these “Türkmans” fought against the Eastern Turks who did not convert yet.²¹⁸ Besides, Gökalp claims that the word “Türkman” means “resembling to Turk,” and he adds that because of the religious difference between them, they could not directly say that they are Turks.²¹⁹ On the other hand, Gökalp also separates the “Türkman” and the “Türkmen” words in terms of their life styles. He claims that “Türkmens,” who were living among the “Türkmans” were still devoted to their nomadic life styles.²²⁰

J. Deny’s study *Grammaire De La Langue Turque* is another important work on the issue. In this study while the author is explaining the “augmentative” suffix *man* (or *men*), he gives the example of the word *türk-men* that he derives it from the word “turc” (i.e. turk) which means “turcoman.”²²¹ Thus, according to Deny the term “Türkmen” would signify something like “Turk of pure blood” or “thoroughbred Turk since the “augmentative” suffix *man* (or *men*), has a sense of intensification or strength in the Turkic language. It is important to note that many leading scholars like Gy. Németh,²²² V. Minorsky,²²³ Gy. Moravcsik,²²⁴ O.

²¹⁷ Gökalp, p. 36.

²¹⁸ Gökalp, p. 36.

²¹⁹ Gökalp, p. 36.

²²⁰ Gökalp, p. 36.

²²¹ J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque (Dialecte Osmanli)* (Paris, 1921), p. 326.

²²² Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* (Budapest, 1930), p. 58; cited in Kafesoğlu, p. 123.

²²³ V. Minorsky “Commentary,” p. 311.

Pritsak,²²⁵ Hüseyin Hüsameddin (1839-1939),²²⁶ İbrahim Kafesoğlu,²²⁷ and Lois Bazin²²⁸ agreed upon J. Deny's explanation about the suffix *man* and *men* having an augmentative meaning.²²⁹ While Hüseyin Hüsameddin says that the term means "grand Türk,"²³⁰ and L. Ligeti states that it means "true, original Türk,"²³¹ still some scholars like Gy, Németh, O. Pritsak, and Barthold²³² could not be sure about the meaning of the term.²³³ The Magyar linguist and historian István Vásáry claims that the term "Turkmen" was the Turkish form of the word Türk which was derived with the plural ending "*-man/-men*."²³⁴

Another explanation about the derivation of the term is asserted by Azeri scholar Fuzuli Bayat. F. Bayat argues that although many scholars claimed that the term means "pure blood Turk," the meaning of the Turkmen term is related to the religious beliefs.²³⁵ He says that the Turkish tribes believed that they are the sons of the Moon God (*Ay Tanrı*) and since the sacred moon was symbolized by the bull, ram, cow, etc, the Turkish tribes should have taken their names after

²²⁴ Moravcsik, *Türklüğün tetkiki bakımından bizantolojinin ehemmiyeti: II* (Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943), p. 497; cited in Kafesoğlu, p. 123.

²²⁵ O. Pritsak, *Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker*, I: Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher XXIV, 1-2 (1952), p. 79; cited in Kafesoğlu, p. 123.

²²⁶ *Amasya Tarihi*, II, 1329, 38, I. n.; cited in Kafesoğlu, p. 122 and Yusuf Ziya Yörükân, *Anadolu'da Aleviler ve Tahtacılar*, ed. Turhan Yörükân (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), pp. 426-427.

²²⁷ Kafesoğlu, pp. 124-127.

²²⁸ Bazin, "'Ata" dans la Traditions Turque des Titulatures," in *Les Turcs: Des Mots, Des Hommes*, p. 221.

²²⁹ Kafesoğlu, pp. 122-123. Yusuf Ziya Yörükân also argues that the "Türkmen" term means "grand Türk;" see Yörükân, pp. 428-429.

²³⁰ Kafesoğlu, p. 122 and Yörükân, pp. 426-427.

²³¹ The Turkish translation of the article; Ragıp Hulûsi, *Kırgız adının menşei*: TM I (1925), p. 249; cited in Kafesoğlu, p. 123.

²³² Barthold says that still, the origin of the Turkmen term could not be solved; see Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Hakkında Dersler*, p. 102.

²³³ Kafesoğlu, p. 123. Also see Fuzuli Bayat, *Ay Kültürünün Dini-Mitolojik Sisteminde Türk Boy Adlarının Etimolojisi* (Ankara: Üç Ok Yayıncılık, 2005), p. 82.

²³⁴ Vásáry, p. 172.

²³⁵ Bayat, pp. 75, 82-83.

these animals.²³⁶ Besides, he adds that the Moon God was described by the Turks as “sky bearded bull” in ancient times.²³⁷ Therefore, F. Bayat concludes that, most of the contemporary Turkmen, Kazakh and Kirghiz tribe names are derived from the animal names.²³⁸ He says that “the Turkish tribes attributes invincibless ancestors and deathless to their strong animals.”²³⁹ At this point, concerning the Turkmen term, he says that the root *man* means three-year-old ram in Turkmen language.²⁴⁰ Moreover, he supports his claim by referring to S. P. Tolstov who claims that the term Turkmen derives from the word *tur*, that is, the wild bull.²⁴¹ F. Bayat shows the derivation of the term as; “tur>turuk-men>turkmen.”²⁴²

On the other hand, concerning the Turkmen term, in Turkey the general perception –which was leaded by the respected Turkish scholar Fuad Köprülü– is that it refers to the Muslim Oghuz.²⁴³ This explanation is also accepted by another leading Turkish historian Faruk Sümer and Czech historian Svat Soucek.²⁴⁴ Another important scholar on the Turkic world, Peter B. Golden, also argues that in the beginning of the Islamic era, “the term Turkmen was possibly not an ethnonym perhaps a technical term implying Islamicized Turkic populations.”²⁴⁵

²³⁶ Bayat, pp. 55-60, 145-150.

²³⁷ Bayat, pp. 55-60, 149.

²³⁸ Bayat, pp. 51, 148.

²³⁹ Bayat, pp. 74-80, 147.

²⁴⁰ Bayat, pp. 82, 150.

²⁴¹ S. P. Tolstov, “Perejitki Totemizma i Dualnoy Organizatsii u Turkmen,” *Problemy Dokapitalističeskogo Obščestva*, No:10, 1935, p. 19; cited in Bayat, p. 82. Also see Bayat, p. 83.

²⁴² Bayat, pp. 75, 83.

²⁴³ Köprülü, p. 114.

²⁴⁴ Sümer, p. 364; Faruk Sümer, *Türk Devletleri Tarihinde Şahıs Adları -I-*, (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1999), p. 141; Sümer, *Eski Türkler’de Şehircilik*, p. 63; Sümer, *Çepniler: Anadolu’daki Türk Yerleşmesinde Önemli Rol Oynayan bir Oğuz Boyu* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1992) and Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 95. Also see Turan, vol. I, pp. 238-239.

²⁴⁵ Golden, p. 212.

However, as mentioned earlier, in 1958, unlike the common view about the Turkmens being the Muslim Oghuz, a Turkish scholar İbrahim Kafesoğlu states that the Islamization of the Oghuz is not sufficient to explain the origin of the term Turkmen since there are evidences that the term existed before this period.²⁴⁶ Moreover, he adds that the change of religion in the Turkish history does not require a change of ethnical tribe name after conversion since in the Turkish history there are no examples of such changes before.²⁴⁷ After giving various examples ending with the suffixes *man* and *men* in Turkish,²⁴⁸ Kafesoğlu concludes that it is obvious that these suffixes have an augmentative meaning.²⁴⁹ Therefore, İbrahim Kafesoğlu claims that the term “Turkmen” means a “*pure, noble, great, superior, and robust Turk.*”²⁵⁰

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, concerning the reference of the Turkmen term, Kafesoğlu says that during the ninth century, the Turkmen

²⁴⁶ Kafesoğlu, pp. 129-130 and İbrahim Kafesoğlu, “A propos du nom Türkmen,” pp. 147-149. At this point scholars like Fuzuli Bayat also think that relating the replacement of the Oghuz name to “Türkmen” can not be explained by the conversion to Islam; see Bayat, p. 82.

²⁴⁷ Kafesoğlu, pp. 147-149 and Kafesoğlu, “Türkmen Adı, Manası ve Mahiyeti,” p. 130 and At this point in order to support his claim, Kafesoğlu mentions some Turkish tribes whose names did not change after their conversion to various religions; for instance Manichaeen and Buddhist Uyghurs [Uygurs] and Judaist Khazars [Hazars]. He also adds that even if the Turkish tribes namely Bulgars and Magyars -that are ethnically Turkish- forget their traditions etc, they still preserved their original tribe names. Therefore he concludes that the case with the Turkmens would not be an exception at this point.

²⁴⁸ Kafesoğlu, pp. 124-127. Here Kafesoğlu lists various tribe, place and person names, adjectives and verbs ending with the suffix *man* and *men* in Turkish.

²⁴⁹ Kafesoğlu, p. 123 and Kafesoğlu, “A propos du nom Türkmen,” p. 146. In his work *Türkçemizde Men-Man*, Besim Atalay says that the suffix *men* and *man* may give a word fifteen different meanings. Referring to Kaşgarlı Mahmud, B. Atalay mentions the term “Türkmen” among the words that the suffixes *men*, *man* gives a sense of “resemblance.” However, while listing the senses that the suffix *men* and *man* gives to the words, he mentions the “azlık, küçüklük,” [that is, littleness, fewness, etc] sense that it may bring to the word; see Besim Atalay, *Türkçemizde Men-Man* (İstanbul: Matbaai Ebüzziya, 1940), pp. 18, 40. At this point Kafesoğlu disagrees with B. Atalay and says that his assumption is totally wrong; see Kafesoğlu, “Türkmen Adı, Manası ve Mahiyeti,” p. 127.

²⁵⁰ In the original Turkish text Kafesoğlu says “*Türkmen* tabiri bu durumda ancak hâlis, asıl, büyük, üstün, sağlam... Türk manasına gelebilir,” see Kafesoğlu, p. 127. In the article written in French Kafesoğlu says; “Turkmèn signifiait donc un *Turc pur, noble, grand, supérieur, robuste*, etc;” see Kafesoğlu, “A propos du nom Türkmen,” p. 146.

term was a political term which was used by the Karluks rather than to the Oghuz.²⁵¹ A similar explanation was made by Turkmen scholar S. G. Agacanov since he says that apart from the Muslim Oghuz, the Turkmen term included also the Karluks and the Halaç.²⁵² Moreover, Turkish historian Abdülkadir İnan also argues that it is for sure that the Oghuz tribe included various other Turkish tribes within itself when they were in Mongolia in the eighth century.²⁵³ Abdu-Ali Tuganbayulı Kaydarov and Meyirbek Orazov also argues that some other Turkish tribes played an important role in the ethnical structure of the Oghuz tribes since they intermingled with some other tribes within the region.²⁵⁴ Abdülkadir İnan states that once the Kıpçak, Kalaç [Halaç], and Karluks were a part of the Oghuz tribe.²⁵⁵ At this point, he says that with the Oghuz migration to the west, the “Oğuz” name ceased to express a “political group” anymore, and the term “Türkmen” began to replace it.²⁵⁶

Besides, some different and rarely known explanations are asserted by scholars like Necib Asım and S. A. Dilemre. For instance Necib Asım says that the Turkmen term is composed of the words *Türk* and *man* (meaning “adam” in Turkish, “man or male” in English), so he concludes that the term refers to “Turkish man.”²⁵⁷ Another interesting approach to the designation of the Turkmen term is stated by S. A. Dilemre who claims that the term is related to the Assyrian

²⁵¹ Kafesoğlu, “Türkmen Adı, Manası ve Mahiyeti,” p. 131.

²⁵² Agacanov, *Selçuklular*, p. 52. Later his views were supported by Abdu-Ali Tuganbayulı Kaydarov and Meyirbek Orazov; see Abdu-Ali Tuganbayulı Kaydarov and Meyirbek Orazov, *Türklük Bilgisine Giriş*, trans. by Vahit Türk (İstanbul: Birleşik Yayıncılık, 1999), pp. 154-155.

²⁵³ İnan, *Türkoloji Ders Hülasaları*, p. 37.

²⁵⁴ Kaydarov and Orazov, pp. 154-155.

²⁵⁵ İnan, pp. 36-37.

²⁵⁶ İnan, p. 37.

²⁵⁷ Necip Asım- Mehmed Ârif, *Osmanlı Tarihi I*, 1335, p. 538; cited in Kafesoğlu, p. 122.

word *tuggar*, which means “tüccar” in Turkish (i.e. merchant in English).²⁵⁸

Therefore, S. A. Dilemre states that the Turkmen term means “merchant, tradesman or caravan man.”²⁵⁹

1.4. Conclusions on the derivation of the “Turkmen” term

In order to make a clear analysis of the designation of the Turkmen term, we should list the different views on the issue respectively. As mentioned above, the very first assumption on this issue is that the term refers to the Muslim Oghuz, in order to differentiate them from their non-Muslim brethren. It is true that al-Muqaddasi, the very first Muslim scholar who mentioned the term Turkmen, named the Oghuz and the Turkmens separately while differentiating the Turkmens by saying “Turkmans who have accepted Islam” in 987 A.D.²⁶⁰ Indeed, also two other Islamic scholars namely, al-Birûnî, and Marwazi mentioned the Muslim Oghuz as Turkmen after al-Muqaddasi, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁶¹ Later various modern scholars like Ali Suavî, M. Fuad Köprülü, Faruk Sümer, Mehmet Saray, Peter B. Golden and S. G. Agacanov agreed on this assumption.²⁶²

²⁵⁸ *Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, I, 1943, p. 120-121; cited in Kafesoğlu, p. 122.

²⁵⁹ *Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, I, 1943, p. 120-121; cited in Kafesoğlu, p. 122. Besides, Ağacan Beyoğlu mentions a claim by some scholars saying that the Turkmen term was composed of “tir+keman>türkeman>türkmen,” that is, deriving from the words “yay (keman)” [arc in English] and “ok (tir)” [arrow in English], which are the symbols of the *Bozok* and *Üçok* tribes respectively; Ağacan Beyoğlu (Ağa Niyazi Begliyev), *Türkmen Boylarının Tarih ve Etnografyası: Oğuz Boylarından Alkirevli ve Karaevli Türkmenlerinin Tarihi ve Etnografyası* (İstanbul: Mor Ajans, 2000), p. 13.

²⁶⁰ V. Minorsky, “Commentary,” p. 94.

²⁶¹ For al-Birûnî, see Sümer, p. 364; see Şeşen, p. 198; Kellner-Heinkele, p. 682 and Agacanov, p. 52. For al-Marwazi, see Al-Marwazî, p. 29.

²⁶² Suavî, p. 48; Köprülü, p. 114; Sümer, p. 364; Sümer, *Eski Türkler’de Şehircilik*, p. 63; Mehmet Saray, *The Turkmens in the Age of Imperialism: A Study on the Turkmen People and their*

A similar explanation of the Turkmen term which is also related to the Islamization of the Oghuz was first mentioned by the fourteenth century Islamic scholar Ibn al-Kathir ²⁶³ and then by the sixteenth century Ottoman historian Mehmet Neşrî²⁶⁴.²⁶⁵ These two scholars claimed that the term Turkmen was derived from “Türk-i imân,” which means “faithful Turk.”²⁶⁶ However, some scholars like İbrahim Kafesoğlu disagrees with this explanation. Kafesoğlu states that the Islamization of the Oghuz is not sufficient to explain the origin of the term Turkmen.²⁶⁷

Another view on the origin of the term, which was first explained by Kaşgarlı Mahmud in the eleventh century claims that it means “resembling the Türks, Türk-like.”²⁶⁸ Kaşgarlı Mahmud’s explanation is supported by Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan and Alexander Burnes in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries respectively.²⁶⁹

A completely different claim is supported by Arminius Vámbéry, J. Deny and İbrahim Kafesoğlu. These three scholars say that the word Turkmen is compounded of the name *Türk* and the suffix *men*, meaning “Turks *par excellence*,” “Turk of pure blood” and “pure, noble, great, superior, and robust

Incorporation into the Russian Empire (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Printing House, 1989), p. 15; Golden, p. 212 and Agacanov, p. 52.

²⁶³ *El-Bidâye ve 'n-nihâye*, XII, (Mısır, 1335), p. 48; cited in Kafesoğlu, p. 122. Also *el-Bidâye ve 'n-nihâye*, XII, (Kahire, 1348), p. 48; cited in Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 60.

²⁶⁴ Neşrî, vol. I, pp. 15-16; Sümer, p. 60 and Barthold, p. 102.

²⁶⁵ Kafesoğlu, p. 122; Sümer, p. 60 and Barthold, p. 102.

²⁶⁶ Kafesoğlu, p. 122 and Sümer, p. 60. For the mentioning of this assumption, see Hasan, p. 165.

²⁶⁷ Kafesoğlu, pp. 129-131 and Kafesoğlu, “A propos du nom Türkmen,” pp. 147-148. Also see Bayat, p. 53.

²⁶⁸ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 412-416.

²⁶⁹ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 169-170 and trans. p. 251 and Burnes, vol. II, p. 251.

Türk.”²⁷⁰ Another explanation which is also first mentioned by Kaşgarlı Mahmud suggests that the term “Türkmen” means “I am Türk” in Turkish.²⁷¹ The very same claim is also mentioned by Alexander Burnes.²⁷² While listing the claims about the Turkmen term, another entirely distinct claim was asserted by S. P. Tolstov and then referring to him by Fuzuli Bayat; these two scholars argued that the term Turkmen derives from the word *tur*, that is, the wild bull.²⁷³

Apart from the aforementioned other rare assumptions, one may say that the most prominent assumption about the designation of the Turkmen term is that the term refers to the Muslim Oghuz. On the other hand, some scholars tried to track the origin of the term in terms of the etymological findings. Thus, most of these scholars conclude that the term refers to “pure Turk.” Furthermore, a completely different approach was asserted by some scholars who claimed that the term “Türkmen” was used as a political term rather than an ethnical term. According to scholars, this term was also used for some other Turkic tribes other than the Oghuz; mostly by the Karluks. However, we should say that although some of these claims may be seen as accurate, still, the very meaning of the Turkmen term is obscure.

²⁷⁰ Vambéry, *Travels In Central Asia*, pp. 347-348; Deny, p. 326; Kafesoğlu, p. 146 and Kafesoğlu, “Türkmen Adı, Manası ve Mahiyeti,” p. 127.

²⁷¹ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, pp. 352-353.

²⁷² Burnes, vol. II, p. 251.

²⁷³ S. P. Tolstov, “Perežitki Totemizma i Dualnoy Organizatsii u Turkmen,” *Problemy Dokapitalističeskogo Obščestva*, No:10, 1935, p. 19; cited in Bayat, p. 82, also see p. 83.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY TURKMENS

2.1 The Rise of the Seljuk²⁷⁴ Dynasty²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ Also known as Selçuk, Selçük, Salçuk, Seldjuk, Saldjūk or Seldjik. In the eleventh century, Kaşgarlı Mahmud who was a master of the Turkic languages, says that “Selçük” is the name of the grandfathers of the Seljuk Khans at their time, and records that the forefather of the Seljuk dynasty as “Selçük.” Therefore we may conclude that the proper and original transcription of his name is “Selçük.” However, since it is commonly known and accepted as “Selçuk,” throughout the text he will be mentioned as “Selçuk.” See Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 478. Also see W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d’Asie Centrale*, trans. by M. Donskis (Paris: Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1945), p. 80 and Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Hakkında Dersler*, pp. 136-137. There are various claims concerning the original transcription of the Seljuk Empire’s founder, for instance see Vámbéry, *History of Bokhara: From the Earliest Period Down to the Present*, pp. 88-89. This work was composed for the first time after Oriental known and unknown historical manuscripts. László Rásonyi also says that that the true transcription of the name of the founder of the Seljuk synasty as “Selçük;” see Rásonyi, p. 193.

²⁷⁵ For detailed information on the Seljuk dynasty, see İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, *Zubdat al-Nuşra va Nuḥbat al’Usra*, summarized by al-Bondârî, published by M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1889), translated in Turkish by Kıvameddin Burslan, *İrak ve Horasan Selçukluları Tarihi* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1943); Zahîr al-Dîn Nîshâpûrî, *The History of the Seljuk Turks From The Jâmi’ al-Tawârîkh: An İlkhânîd Adaption of the Saljûq-nâma of Zahîr al-Dîn Nîshâpûrî*, trans. and annotated by Kenneth Allin Luther, ed. by C. Edmund Bosworth (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001); Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, *Türkiye Tarihi: Selçuklular Devri* (İstanbul: Bûrhaneddin Matbaası, 1944); İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *Selçuklu Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1972); Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*; Mehmet Altan Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu Tarihi: Kuruluş Devri*, vol. I (Ankara, 1979); Agacanov, *Selçuklular*; Agacanov, *Oğuzlar*; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*; Egen Atagarriev, “Selçuklular ve Ataları,” *Erdem*, trans. by Mustafa Kalkan, vol. 9, no. 27, Aydın Sayılı Özel Sayısı- III, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Ocak 1997), pp. 943-947; V. Gordlevski, *Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti*, trans. from Russian by Azer Yaran (Ankara: Şahin Matbaası, 1988); Vámbéry, *History of Bokhara*, pp. 88-106; C.E. Bosworth, “Saldjûkids,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P.J. Bearman, T.H. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel and Wh. P. Heinrichs, vol. VIII (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), pp. 936-948 ; B. Zahoder, “Selçuklu Devletinin Kuruluşu Sırasında Horasan,” trans. by İsmail Kaynak, *Belleten*, reprint from vol. XIX, No: 76, October, 1955 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1955), pp. 491-527; Mehmet Altay Köymen, “Büyük Selçuklular İmparatorluğunda Oğuz İsyanı (1153) (Der Oğuzen- Aufstand)” *Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih - Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, reprint from vol. V, No: 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1947), pp. 159-173 and Skrine and Ross, pp. 129-143.

As mentioned earlier, some sixty years before the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* was written, in 922 A.D., Ibn Fadlan saw the Oghuz in the Üst-Yurt plateau which is between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Lake.²⁷⁶ In his work which was written in 930-933 A.D., and published in 951, Persian geographer Istakhri locates the Oghuz between the Karluk, Kimek, Bulgar, and Khazar countries and the Islamic border which lied from the Caspian Sea as far as İsficab.²⁷⁷ Then, in 982-983 A.D., the unknown author of *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, designates the Oghuz country roughly between Irtysh, Volga, Caspian Sea, and Transoxiana.²⁷⁸

At the beginning of the tenth century, when he was heading to the country of the Bulgars, Ibn Fadlan described the Oghuz as a wealthy nomadic people.²⁷⁹ He said that he even saw very rich men who had 10,000 cattles and 100,000 sheep.²⁸⁰ Indeed, concerning the “Ghūz” (i.e. Oghuz) people, in *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* it is said that “[b]oth in summer and winter they wander along the pasture-lands and grazing-grounds (charāgāh-vagiyā-khwār)” and that “[t]heir wealth is in horses, cows, sheep, arms, and game in small quantities.”²⁸¹ Moreover, the author of *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* also adds that the Oghuz had no towns, adding that many of them possessed felt-huts.²⁸² However, as V. Minorsky points, in the very same work, in another article, the winter residence of the Oghuz sovereign, which will be discussed right away, was recorded.²⁸³ Apart from these records, *Hudūd al-*

²⁷⁶ See Şeşen, *Onuncu Asırda Türkistan’da bir İslâm Seyyahı*, p. 29 and also Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 91.

²⁷⁷ İstahrî, *Kitab ul-memâlik*, published by M. J. De Goeje (BGA) (Leiden, 1927), p. 9; cited in Sümer, “X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar,” p. 134. Also cited and mentioned by V. Minorsky “Commentary,” p. 312.

²⁷⁸ *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 100 and V. Minorsky “Commentary,” p. 312.

²⁷⁹ Şeşen, p. 41. This was also mentioned by Barthold; Barthold, p. 96 and Sümer, p. 139.

²⁸⁰ Şeşen, p. 41. This was also mentioned by Barthold; Barthold, p. 96 and Sümer, p. 139.

²⁸¹ See *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 100.

²⁸² See *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 100.

²⁸³ *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 100 and V. Minorsky “Commentary,” p. 312.

'*Ālam*'s anonymous author also mentions the war-like character of the Oghuz people, and adds that they made constant inroads into the Islamic lands, plunder and retreat.²⁸⁴

Within the tenth century, Oghuz tribes were far away from being united under a single rule. In 922 A. D., Ibn Fadlan observed that there were several *Yabgu*²⁸⁵ and chieftains among the Oghuz people.²⁸⁶ Then, at the end of the tenth century, in *Hudūd al-'Ālam* it is recorded that, "[e]ach of their [Oghuz] tribes has a (separate) chief on account of their discords (*nāsāzandagī*) with each other."²⁸⁷ These observations confirm the lack of central authority within the Oghuz land. Indeed, the Oghuz Yabgu State was consisted of a tribal federation which was

²⁸⁴ *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 100-101.

²⁸⁵ In fourteenth century, Reşideddin Fazlullah says that "Yavgu" (which is accepted as *Yabgu* by A. Z. V. Togan), means "the leader of the people;" see Togan, pp. 17, 81-82. Barthold said that Oghuz had no Khans but a leader with a modest title "Yabghu," and that it also occurs in the Turkish inscriptions of Mongolia; Barthold, pp. 91-92. In his work *Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion*, Barthold mentions the term as "Payghū" but he also adds that probably it is to be read as "Yabghū;" see Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 269, 308. Faruk Sümer says that during the ninth and tenth century, Oghuz's sovereign was called "Beygu;" see Sümer, *Eski Türkler'de Şehircilik*, pp. 63-64. Svat Soucek says the term "yabghu" is "a lesser title in the complex hierarchy of Turkic royal titlature;" see Soucek, p. 94. S. G. Agacanov says that from the tenth to the eleventh century, there were great Khans who bore the titles "cabuya" or "baygu;" see Agacanov, p. 207. Ziya Gökalp says that the term "Yabgu" refers to "il beyi," which may be translated as "beg of the province;" see Gökalp, pp. 209- 211. On the other hand, Faruk Sümer uses the term "Yabgu" synonymously with the word "king;" see Sümer, "X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar," pp. 135, 146-148 and Sümer, *Eski Türkler'de Şehircilik*, p. 52. Osman Turan says that the "Yabgu" title was used since the Göktürk era. He also adds that it corresponds to a degree which was lower than the title Khan; see Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, p. 34. On the other hand, in his work *Türk cihân hâkimiyeti mefkûresi tarihi: Türk Dünya Nizâmının Millî İslâmî ve İnsânî Esasları*, O. Turan says that the *Yabgu* title was used by the Khan's brother or son who was sent to an important region of the State as the highest official; see Osman Turan, *Türk cihân hâkimiyeti mefkûresi tarihi*, vol. I, 200. Therefore, relying on these sources, one may assume that the title "Yabgu" refers to "local king." Here it should also be noted that the unknown author of *Hudūd al-'Ālam* records that in "[i]n the days of old, the kings of the Khallukh [Karluk] were called as Jabghūy, and also Yabghū." Thus, one may conclude that it was not only the Oghuz rulers but also the Karluk sovereigns who bore the title yabgu within the tenth century; see *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 97. Also mentioned in; İbrahim Kafesoğlu, "Karluklar," in *Tarihte Türk Devletleri I*. (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1987), p. 259. Also see V. Minorsky "Commentary," p. 312. István Vásáry says that the Oghuz ruler took the title *Yabgu* about 744 when the Uyghur Empire was rising; see Vásáry, pp. 165, 171-172.

²⁸⁶ Şeşen, p. 37 and Golden, p. 209.

²⁸⁷ *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 101. Between the tenth and eleventh centuries, Oghuz State, on the lower streams of Syr-Darya, was composed of Oghuz people who spoke Turkish and Persian; see Agacanov, pp. 218-220.

subject to the *Yabgu* through its tribal chieftains.²⁸⁸ These feudal tribe chiefs were very powerful and influential upon the political decisions. The Oghuz tribal chiefs had a political general meeting named *kengeş*²⁸⁹ where they were negotiating the political issues in the presence of the *Yabgu*.²⁹⁰ Thus, from these sources one may see that the Oghuz *Yabgu*s did not possessed an absolute power upon these tribe leaders.

Actually when the Göktürk Empire collapsed in 741 A.D., the Oghuz chiefs eventually obtained “the military office of *Yabghu* [*Yabgu*] of the right wing of the horde of the Western Turks.”²⁹¹ Indeed, in 922 A.D., Ibn Fadlan said that the Oghuz called their sovereign as *Yabgu* which is the sovereign title.²⁹² At the beginning of the tenth century Ibn Fadlan, and then in 977 A. D. Ibn Hawqal said that the *Yabghu* especially in the winter time lived in the region along the

²⁸⁸ Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, p. 34.

²⁸⁹ In Ebulgazi's work *Şecere-i Terākime*, “*kengeş*” means counsel, meeting, or to consult; see “Dictionary,” in Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, p. 397. Also see Turan, p. 34 and Turan, *Türk cihân hâkimiyeti mefkûresi tarihi*, vol. I, 149, 199-200. Osman Turan also says that when the Khan send an arrow to all of the *Yabgu*s and *begs* who are subject to him, thence, the *kengeş*, i.e. the negotiations began and they discussed the important political issues and decide whether to be at war or peace. At this point while O. Turan says that “*Kengeş*” referred to a similar meaning with the Mongol's *kurultay* [also transcribed as “*quriltay* or *quriltai*,” meaning Assembly in English] term, he also claims that the Oghuz tradition “*kengeş*” had a different nature from the Mongol tradition “*kurultay*” since the Mongol Khans had a central authority while the Turks had a more “national and democratic idea” on their own; see Turan, vol. I, pp. 199-200. Agacanov refers to the very same term *kängäsh* [*kengeş*] as “the council of the nobility;” Agajanov, p. 67.

²⁹⁰ Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, p. 34 and Turan, *Türk cihân hâkimiyeti mefkûresi tarihi*, vol. I, p. 149.

²⁹¹ Bosworth, pp. 937-938. Indeed, O. Turan says that after the collapse of the Göktürk Empire, the Oghuz and the Karluk leaders could only bore the *Yabgu* title. He explains his claim by stating that the *Yabgu* title replaced the title of the Khan since the character of being an Empire ended with the fall of the Göktürks; see Turan, vol. I, p. 200.

²⁹² Şeşen, p. 37 and Gordlevski, p. 107. Ibn Fadlan also added that along with the *Yabgu*, his deputy (viceroy) had the title “*Küzerkîn*,” Şeşen, p. 37. Faruk Sümer claims that there were no titles like *Küzerkîn* however there was the title *Köl İrkin*; also see Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 61; Sümer, *Türk Devletleri Tarihinde Şahıs Adları -I-*, pp. 137-138 and Sümer, “X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar,” p. 148. László Rásonyi also says that Ibn Faldan mentioned the deputy of the *Yabgu* as “*köl irkin*,” see Rásonyi, p. 61. Actually Kaşgarlı Mahmud said that the term “*Köl irkin*” was given to “Karluk” elders which means “the wise one;” Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 108. Also see Rásonyi, p. 61 and A. P. Kovalevskiy, *Kniga Ahmeda ibn Fadlana o ego puteşestvii na Volgu* (Harkov, 1956), p. 24; cited in Agacanov, p. 210. For detailed information about the titles within the Oghuz State like *yabgu*, *baygu*, *paygu*, *cabgu*, *Köl-erkin*, *inal*, *atabey*, *hatun*, and *subaşı*; see Agacanov, pp. 207-218.

lower course of the Syr Darya and Yengi-Kent²⁹³.²⁹⁴ Also some five years after Ibn Hawqal, in 982-983 A.D., in the work *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* it is said that the king of the “Ghūz” stays in winter in the village of *Dih-i nau* (Persian name of the Yengi-Kent).²⁹⁵ Yet, al-Masudi²⁹⁶ says that the Oghuz people were also living a sedentary life in Yengi-Kent and its neighbourhood.²⁹⁷

During that period, in the tenth century, Selçuk Bey’s conversion to Islam and the appearance of the Seljuk dynasty within the Turkish land changed the course of both the Turkish and the Islamic history. Indeed at the peak of their power, Seljuk Turkmens who arose from the Kınık²⁹⁸ branch of the Kayı tribe of the

²⁹³ Yengi-Kent (also transcribed as Yeñi Kent, Yangi-Känt or Yangî-Kent) means “New Settlement” or “New Town” (i.e. Yeni Köy) in Turkish. It is *al-qariyat al-hadîtha* (i.e. Qariyetülü Hadîthe) or *Madîna al-cadîda* (i.e. Cedîde) in Arabic transcription and Dih-i Nau, Dih-i Naw, Dih-i Nev or Dîh-i Nau in Persian. Between the ninth and eleventh centuries Yengi-Kent was the capital of the Oghuz Yabgu State. While noting the transcriptions of the town, Svat Soucek says that “Yangikant” appears in the Arabic sources as “Qarya haditha,” and in Persian ones as “Dih-i naw;” see Soucek, p. 94, also see Sümer, *Eski Türkler’de Şehircilik*, pp. 1-2. For detailed information about Yengi Kent, see Ögel, pp. 334-336. Also see Sümer, pp. 1-2 and Vásáry, p. 171.
²⁹⁴ Şeşen, p. 37 and İbn Havkal, *Kitabu sûret il-arz*, published by J. H. Kramers (Leiden, 1938), II, p. 512; cited in Sümer, “X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar,” p. 135.

²⁹⁵ *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 122. Also see Sümer, *Türk Devletleri Tarihinde Şahıs Adları -I-*, p. 137; Soucek, p. 94; Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, p. 34; Turan, *Türk cihân hâkimiyeti mefkûresi tarihi*, vol. I, p. 196 and Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 178. Also for detailed information about the Oghuz towns, see Bahaeddin Ögel, *İslâmiyetten Önce Türk Kültür Tarihi*, pp. 333-341.

²⁹⁶ Also transcribed as al-Masūdî or el-Mesudî. Although his year of birth is uncertain, mostly it is accepted that he was born at the very end of the ninth century, while it is known that he died at the second half of the tenth century.

²⁹⁷ Mes’udî, *Muruc uz-zeheb*, published and translated to French by , Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, I (Paris, 1891), p. 212; cited in Sümer, “X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar,” p. 147.

²⁹⁸ Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 55; Togan, pp. 76-77; Neşri, vol. I, p. 23 and Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, original. text pp. 205-206 and trans. pp. 263-264. Also see Kafesoğlu, *Selçuklu Tarihi*, p. 4; Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 113; Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Hakkında Dersler*, p. 144; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 68; Faruk Sümer, “Yıva Oğuz Boyuna Dâir,” *Türkiye Mecmuası*, reprint from vol. IX (İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1951), pp. 151, 155; Golden, pp. 217-218; Vásáry, p. 172; Agacanov, *Selçuklular*, p. 104; Agacanov, *Oğuzlar*, pp. 245-246; Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 187; René Grousset, *L’Empire des steppes: Attila, Gengis-Khan, Tamerlan* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 1993), p. 204; Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, p. 28; Erdoğan Merçil, *Müslüman-Türk Devletleri Tarihi* (İstanbul: Güryay Matbaacılık, 1985), p. 45 and İlber Ortaylı, *Türkiye Teşkilat ve İdare Tarihi* (Ankara: Cedit Neşriyat, 2007), p. 97. In *Şecere-i Terâkime*, Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan said that the Seljuks were Turkmens from the Kınık branch of the Oghuz tribe. Ebulgazi added that and even if they said that they are “brothers” with the Turkmens, and they are “from the Kınık branch of the Turkmen,” after they became *padişah* [sovereign], they claimed that they are the descendants of the Efrasiyab (i.e. Afrasiyab); Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, original. text pp. 205-206 and trans. pp. 263-264. Efrasiyab is

Oghuz played a crucial role in the Turkmen history. In the tenth century, when Selçuk Bey came on the scene of the *Yabgu* led Oghuz state, his branch, Kınıks were settled close to the mouth of the Syr Darya. Selçuk was the *Sü Başı*²⁹⁹ (i.e. army commander) of the Oghuz, like his father Tukak³⁰⁰ who bore the title “Temür yalığ”³⁰¹ (i.e. Demir yaylı) meaning “the man with the iron bow” in Turkish.

2.2 Early Seljuk Turkmen

the Persian name of the legendary Turkish king “Tonğa Alp er” (i.e. Alp Er Tunga); see Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 159; İbrahim Kafesoğlu, said that it was Tuğrul Bey’s (i.e. Toghril Beg or Tughrul Beg who was the grandson of Selçuk) official “Abu’l-‘Alā’ Ibn Hassūl,” who linked Seljuks with the legendary Alp Er Tunga; see Kafesoğlu, p. 5. This claim was also stated in the in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*; see Bosworth, pp. 937-938. Also see Atagarriev, p. 946.

²⁹⁹ Kaşgarlı Mahmud said that Selçuk is called as “Selçuk Sü Başı,” Kaşgarlı Mahmud, vol. I, p. 478. Ibn Fadlan said, *Sü Başı* (i.e. *Su-Bashi*) referred to the commander of the army; Ramazan Şeşen, p. 37; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 61; Sümer, “X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar,” p. 148; Sümer, *Türk Devletleri Tarihinde Şahıs Adları -I-*, pp. 137-138 and Agacanov, p. 216. In the thirteenth century, Ibn al-Athir says that Selçuk was the “Subaş,” which means the army commander; see İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, p. LIV. In 1873, A. Vámbéry, says that the word “Subashi” is an “Uiguric” word, which means “generalissimo” or “commander-in-chief of the army,” see Vámbéry, p. 93. Barthold also said that the term *Sü Başı* meant “Chief of the army,” see Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 100; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d’Asie Centrale*, p. 80 and Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Hakkında Dersler*, pp. 136-137. Also see Togan, *Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş*, vol. I, p. 77; Kafesoğlu, p. 7; Vásáry, p. 172; Soucek, p. 94; Agacanov, *Oğuzlar*, pp. 216-218; Atagarriev, p. 943; Merçil, p. 45 and Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, pp. 36-37.

³⁰⁰ Also known as Tokak, Tuqaq, Tugag, Dukak or Duqaq. Ibn al-Athir says that Tukak was the chief of the Guz [Oghuz] Turks and that the Oghuz were extremely loyal to him. Ibn al-Athir says that one day, Turkish *padişah* named Bigo gathered his soldiers in order to make a raid into the Islamic countries. At this point Tukak strongly disagreed with this idea and they had a very serious conflict about the issue. However, in time things between the *padişah* and Tukak calmed down; see İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, pp. LIII-LIV. For detailed information about Selçuk’s father; see Agacanov, pp. 246-257. Vámbéry mentions this Oghuz *Yabgu* as “prince named Pigu or Bogu” and says that Bogu means “stag.” He also reminds that the Turks used “the names of a strong and handsome animals as proper name,” see Vámbéry, p. 88.

³⁰¹ Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu Tarihi: Kuruluş Devri*, vol. I, pp. 6-10; Bosworth, p. 938; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 65; Kafesoğlu, p. 4; Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, pp. 99-100; Golden, pp. 217-218; Grousset, p. 204; Merçil, p. 45 and Salim Koca, “The Oghuz (Turkoman) Tribe Moving From Syr Darya (Jayhun) Region to Anatolia,” in *The Turks*, eds. Hasan Celâl Güzel, Cem Oğuz, Osman Karatay, vol. II (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Publications, 2002), p. 130. Also see Turan, pp. 28-29.

In the late tenth century Selçuk had some conflicts with the Oghuz *Yabgu*,³⁰² therefore together with his companions; he left for Cend (i.e. Jand or Djand)³⁰³, which is on the lower Syr Darya and settled there and became Muslim³⁰⁴ with his followers.³⁰⁵ Some scholars argue that the reason behind

³⁰² Ibn al-Athir says that since Selçuk was highly respected and obeyed by the people, the wife of the *padişah* considered him as a threat to her husband. Thus, she tried to persuade the *padişah* to kill Selçuk and when Selçuk learned about these plans, he migrated to the Islamic lands with all of his clan and followers; see İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, p. LIV. Unlike the other scholars, A. Vámbéry claimed that the Seljuks “were expelled from their native steppes for some crime;” see Vámbéry, pp. 88-89.

³⁰³ İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, pp. LIII-LIV. Around 1300s, in his work *Mülakaât el-surâh*, Cemâleddin Ebul’-Fazl Muhammed el-Karşî wrote that Seljuks were living in “Özcend (Özkent)” and “Cend (Kent),” then they moved to “Nûr-i Buhârâ,” remained there for a while and then they came to Khorasan; see Şeşen, *İslâm Coğrafyacılarına Göre Türkler ve Türk Ülkeleri*, p. 206 and Agacanov, *Selçuklular*, p. 56. Later Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan said that several tribes migrated to Hocend (on the banks of Syr Darya) under the leadership of “Selçuk Bay,” who was a descendant of the Kınık of branch of the Oghuz. Ebulgazi also added that they went to Nur province after they remained in Hocend for long years. According to him these Oghuz tribes lived a hundred years in Nur province and then migrated to Ürgenç [Urgench] but could not remain there and migrated to Khorasan; from Merv they settled to Ebulhan; see Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text p. 205 and trans. p. 262. İbrahim Kafesoğlu says that Selçuk came to Cend -which is an Oghuz town- probably in the years following 960 A.D.; see Kafesoğlu, p. 8. O. Turan mentions depart of Selçuk in 960 A. D. too; see Turan, *Türk cihân hâkimiyeti mefkûresi tarihi*, vol. I, p. 242. Almost the same date was given by Erdoğan Merçil who argued that Selçuk came to Cend in 961 A.D.; see Merçil, p. 45. Carl Brockelmann says that Selçuk advanced to Cend around 970; see Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, trans. by Joel Carmichael and Moske Perlmann (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950), p. 171. René Grousset claimed that the Seljuks left the other Oghuz before 985 A. D.; see Grousset, p. 204. Faruk Sümer claimed that Selçuk might have come to Cend in 985 or 986 A.D. while Peter B. Golden and Emel Esin said that it was 985 A.D.; see Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 65; Golden, pp. 217-218; Emel Esin, “Türklerin İslâmiyete Girişi,” in *Tarihte Türk Devletleri I.*, pp. 290-291 and Köymen, vol. I, p. 17. A. Z. V. Togan says that Selçuk came to Cend with his followers of 100 horsemen and 1,500 camels and some 50,000 sheep; see Togan, vol. I, p. 183. However, A. Vámbéry says that Selçuk migrated to “Djend” [Cend] with 100 horsemen, 1,000 camels, and 50,000 sheep; see Vámbéry, p. 89. For brief information about the Seljuks’ migration to Cend; see Agacanov, *Oğuzlar*, pp. 261-265. Also see Sümer, “X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar,” p. 152; Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 257 and Barthold, *İlk Müslüman Türkler*, p. 210.

³⁰⁴ Ibn al-Athir said that Selçuk converted to Islam after his migration to Cend; see İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, pp. LIII-LIV. Also see Vámbéry, p. 89 and Vásáry, p. 172. However, A. Zeki Velidî Togan said that Tukak; the father of Selçuk already accepted Islam; Togan, vol. I, p. 212. However, referring to the thirteenth century Muslim historian Ibn al-Athir, Barthold said that Selçuk’s father Tukak had a tendency towards Islam; Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 100. This may be reasonable since as mentioned earlier, Ibn al-Athir recorded that Tukak had very serious problems with the Oghuz *Yabgu* because of his attempt to raid into the Islamic lands; see İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, pp. LIII-LIV. On the other hand, some scholars like Erdoğan Merçil claimed that Tukak secretly converted to Islam; see Merçil, p. 45. Also see Atagarriev, p. 943. Svat Soucek says that by 1003, the Oghuz *Yabgu* had converted Islam and “boasting thoroughly Muslim name Abu l-Fawaris Shah Malik ibn Ali, the last component (“the son of Ali”) suggests that he may even have been born a Muslim.” Moreover, he says that the Seljuks adopted Islam “[c]oncurrently with the yabghu’s family.” However, Soucek also says that Seljuks’ conversion to Islam was more effective than that of the *Yabgu* led Oghuz people. See Soucek, p. 94. O. Turan says that Selçuk converted Islam in 960 A. D. in Cend with his people of 200,000 tents; see Turan, vol. I, p. 242.

³⁰⁵ Vámbéry, p. 89; Barthold, *Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 257; Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 100; Bosworth, p. 938; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 65; Golden,

Seljuks' migration to Cend might be because of Oghuz State's collapse by the Kıpçaks, while the others claim that the narrowness of the place and the scantiness of the grazing lands might have caused this migration.³⁰⁶ Actually, the end of the Oghuz Yabgu State is obscure since there are no adequate sources on this issue.³⁰⁷ In the fourteenth century, Reşîdeddin Fazlullah and then Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan mentioned Şah Melik³⁰⁸ as the last Oghuz *Yabgu*.³⁰⁹ According to these two scholars, the Oghuz sovereign Ali Khan gave the control of the Cend region to his son Şah Melik, however the Turkmen *begs* were extremely uncomfortable due to Şah Melik's malicious behavior.³¹⁰ Moreover, there was a great hatred between the Seljuks and Şah Melik probably because of a political rivalry.³¹¹ Consequently, Reşîdeddin Fazlullah and then Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan stated that Şah Melik was killed by Tuğrul who was one of the three sons of "Toqsırmiş"³¹².³¹³ Even if these stories may not be seen as historical facts in many respects, it is a fact that the

pp. 217-218; Vásáry, p. 172; Atagarriev, pp. 943-946 and Koca, p. 130. Referring to Ibn al-Athir, Agacanov says that in the middle of the tenth century, Selçuk came to the borders of Mavaraunnahr, and then migrated from there to the lower parts of Syr Darya. Agacanov also says that after his conversion to Islam, Selçuk had some conflicts with Ali Khan, the *Yabgu* of the Oghuz State, because of the tax burden on the people of Cend. Even if Seljuks seized Cend, after Selçuk's death, the *Yabgu* took the control of Cend again. Later Ali Khan's son Şah Melik sent away the Seljuks from the lower parts of Syr Sarya; see Agacanov, *Selçuklular*, pp. 55-56. Also see Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia: The Arabs in the East* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), pp. 224-225. In 1034, Şah Melik killed 7-8,000 Turkmen, and took some of their children and herds; see Sümer, "X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar," p. 157.

³⁰⁶ See Merçil, pp. 45-46.

³⁰⁷ Sümer, p. 155-156.

³⁰⁸ Reşîdeddin Fazlullah says that Ali Khan's son, Şah Melik's real name was "Kılıç Arslan," but because of his malicious behavior, he was given the name "cruel Şah Melik;" Togan, *Oğuz Destanı*, p. 71. The very same story was mentioned by Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan; Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 196-203 and trans. pp. 260-263.

³⁰⁹ Togan, pp. 71-77 and Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 196-203 and trans. pp. 260-263. Also mentioned by Faruk Sümer but he is hesitant to accept these stories as historical facts and even says that Şah Melik could be descendant of the Kıpçak Turks; see Sümer, p. 155-159.

³¹⁰ Togan, pp. 71-77 and Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 196-203 and trans. pp. 260-263. Also mentioned in Sümer, p. 155-159.

³¹¹ Sümer, p. 156-157.

³¹² He is mentioned as "Tugurmiş" by Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 200-203 and trans. pp. 261-263.

³¹³ Togan, pp. 73-74 and Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 200-201 and trans. p. 262. Also mentioned in Sümer, p. 157-159.

Oghuz Yabgu State which was recorded from the eighth century, collapsed within the eleventh century.³¹⁴

At that time, Cend -which was a border settlement between the Turks and the Islam countries-, was resided by the Muslims who migrated from Mavaraunnahr.³¹⁵ According to İbrahim Kafesoğlu, the term Turkmen was used first among the Karluks³¹⁶ and later among the Oghuz, even before Oghuz' acceptance of Islam as a political term rather than being the name of a certain Turkish group; therefore after Selçuk's conversion to Islam, this Turkish crowd that named as Turkmen attained a new identity in political and social terms.³¹⁷ It should be noted that it was from the thirteenth century on that the term Turkmen replaced the Oghuz in all sources.³¹⁸ However, we should note that the Islamization process of the Oghuz advanced quite slowly and unsystematically. S. G. Agacanov says that the main Oghuz groups of the lower Syr-Darya and the Oghuz around Aral Sea remained as shaman,³¹⁹ while at the midst of the Syr-Darya and western shores of the Yesidu region, Islam was widespread.³²⁰ Actually, concerning the Islamization process of the Oghuz and the Karluk people, there is an important difference which might have a crucial impact upon their unity as a people. After the collapse of the Uyğur Empire in 840 A.D., the Karluk *Yabgu* converted to Islam, proclaimed himself as "the legal sovereign of

³¹⁴ Emel Esin, "Türkistan Türk Devlet ve Beylikleri (*M. S. VI. ilâ X. yüzyıllar*)," in *Tarihte Türk Devletleri I.*, p. 80.

³¹⁵ İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, p. LIV and Kafesoğlu, p. 8.

³¹⁶ Kafesoğlu says that during the eighth century, the Karluks bore the name "Türkmen" as a political term; see Kafesoğlu, "Karluklar," p. 260.

³¹⁷ Kafesoğlu, *Selçuklu Tarihi*, p. 9. Also see Kafesoğlu, "Karluklar," p. 259.

³¹⁸ Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 95.

³¹⁹ For detailed information about the origin, history and the rituals of shamanism, see İnan, *Tarihte ve Bugün Şamanizm*.

³²⁰ Agacanov, p. 52.

steppes,” and bore the title Kara Khan.³²¹ Therefore, the Karluk Yabgu State (766-840) collapsed and the Karakhanid³²² Khanate’s rule (840-1220) began.³²³ While examining the process of the Islamization of the Karluks and the Oghuz, we see that the Karakhanids converted to Islam with their ruling Khan family, accepted the new religion as a State and grew stronger than before.³²⁴ However, as mentioned above, the Oghuz people (namely the Seljuks) converted to Islam before their *Yabgu* and parted from their native lands and consequently, these partial departures weakened them.³²⁵

It is also said that after Selçuk’s conversion to Islam, Muslim Oghuz were widely called as Turkmens in order to differentiate them from the non-Muslim Turks within the Islamic world.³²⁶ From then on, Selçuk and his descendants became allies with the Muslims and they fought against the “unbelievers” while freeing the Muslims from paying tribute to the *Yabgu*.³²⁷ It should be noted that the hostility between these two Kınık branches (i.e. the Muslims and non-Muslims) would last until 1041 when the Seljuks became victorious in Khorasan³²⁸ and Khwarazm provinces.³²⁹ While analyzing the tribal structure of

³²¹ Kafesoğlu, p. 260. Also see Vásáry, pp. 164-165.

³²² Also used as Qaraxanids or Qarakhanids in English transcription. Its Turkish transcription is Karahanlılar.

³²³ Vásáry, pp. 164-165 and Esin, p. 80.

³²⁴ Turan, vol. I, p. 244.

³²⁵ F. Grenard, “Satuk Buğra Han menkıbesi ve tarihi,” trans. by Osman Turan, in *Ülkü mecmuası*, no. LXXIV-LXXX; cited in Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, p. 40. Also see Turan, *Türk cihân hâkimiyeti mefkûresi tarihi*, vol. I, p. 244.

³²⁶ Koca, p. 130.

³²⁷ İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, p. LIV; Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 257; Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 100; Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Hakkında Dersler*, p. 137; Barthold, *İlk Müslüman Türkler*, p. 210; Agacanov, p. 56; Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, p. 40 and Merçil, p. 46. Also see Vásáry, p. 172.

³²⁸ Also transcribed as Horasan, Khurāsān or Khorassan; meaning “where the sun arrives from” in Persian. Yuri Bregel says that Khorasan was called “the side of the mountain;” see Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia*, p. 52. Svat Soucek also says that “Khurasan” meant “[Land] of the Rising Sun” or “Orient” in Iranian;” see Soucek, p. 10.

³²⁹ Bosworth, p. 938.

the Oghuz and Turkmens, S. G. Agacanov says that probably amongst the Turkmen there were more numerous semi-sedentary and settled populations compared to the nomadic Oghuz.³³⁰ Agacanov supports his argument by the archeological findings that proved there were settled and semi-sedentary Oghuz groups in the settling areas of lower Syr Darya.³³¹

In the tenth century the Seljuks were surrounded by the other regional powers as Karakhanids, Ghaznavids³³² and Samanids³³³. These three states were employing Oghuz mercenaries while fighting each other for the domination of the region.³³⁴ In 985-986 A.D. Samanids allowed the Seljuks to settle in Nur which is a town nearby the province of Bukhara, provided that the Seljuks would defend Samanids' borders against Karakhanid attacks.³³⁵ However, it should be noted that while his son Arslan İsrâil and his followers went near Bukhara, Selçuk and a group of the Oghuz remained in Cend.³³⁶ Meanwhile, in 1002 or 1003, Samanids asked for the Seljuk's aid since Karakhanids seized Bukhara because of their ongoing struggle over the Mavaraunnahr region; therefore the Seljuks helped the Samanids to regain their possessions back.³³⁷

³³⁰ Agacanov, p. 47; however, it should be noted that Agacanov says that making an absolute comparison between the Oghuz and Turkmen tribes could be risky.

³³¹ Agacanov, p. 47.

³³² Its Turkish transcription is *Gazneliler*.

³³³ Its Turkish transcription is *Samaniler* or *Samanoğulları*.

³³⁴ Golden, p. 218.

³³⁵ Köymen, vol. I, pp. 34-35; Turan, pp. 40-42; Brockelmann, pp. 171-172; Gavin Hambly, with Alexandre Bennigsen, David Bivar, Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, Mahin Hajianpur, Alastair Lamb, Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay and Richard Pierce, *Central Asia* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969), p. 75; Wilhelm Barthold, *İlk Müslüman Türkler*, pp. 210, 228; Erdoğan Merçil, *A Short History of Turkish-Islamic States (Excluding the Ottoman State)*, trans. by Ahmet Edip Uysal, eds. E. Merçil and H.Y. Nuhoğlu (Ankara, 1994), p. 89 and Merçil, *Müslüman-Türk Devletleri Tarihi*, p. 46. Barthold mentions this event referring to fourteenth century historian Hamdullah Qazvini; see Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 101.

³³⁶ Merçil, p. 46. Also see Vásáry, p. 172.

³³⁷ İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, p. LIV; Köymen, vol. I, p. 43; Barthold, pp. 100-101 and Barthold, *İlk Müslüman Türkler*, p. 228. However, Barthold says that apart from Ibn al-Athir, there were no other mention about the help given by Seljuks to the Sâmanids; see Barthold, *Four*

2.3 Seljuk Turkmens after Selçuk's Death

Selçuk died in Cend at the end of the tenth century or at the very beginning of the eleventh century,³³⁸ and after him, the Seljuks were led by his sons; İsrâil (named as Arslan after he became the *Yabgu*),³³⁹ Mikâil, Musa, Yusuf (and probably by the fifth; Yunus) and later Mikâil's sons Tuğrul and Çağrı Beys.³⁴⁰ Since İsrâil bore the title of *Yabgu*, one may conclude that the Seljuk house was obviously considering themselves as the chief of the Oghuz people while ignoring the Oghuz Yabgu who was living on the banks of the Syr Darya.³⁴¹

Ibn al-Athir³⁴² says that Mikâil died in a battle against the Turks who had not converted to Islam yet and left three sons; Bigo, Tuğrul Bey Muhammed and

Studies on the History of Central Asia, pp. 100-101. Z. V. Togan says that the Seljuks were subjects of the Karakhanids but they were not always loyal to them since they took Sâmanids' side in the Karakhanids-Sâmanids struggle. Z.V. Togan also adds that this event happened in 1003; see Togan, *Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş*, vol. I, pp. 185-186.

³³⁸ Ibn al-Athir said that Selçuk died at the age of 107 in Cend after 992 A.D.; see İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-Isfahânî, p. LIV and Barthold, p. 101. However, scholars like M. A. Köymen, E. Merçil and Salim Koca claim that Selçuk died in Cend after 1007 A.D.; see Köymen, vol. I, p. 34; Merçil, p. 47 and Koca, p. 131.

³³⁹ Sümer, "X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar," p. 152; Barthold, *İlk Müslüman Türkler*, pp. 210, 228; Turan, p. 44 and Koca, p. 131.

³⁴⁰ Zahîr al-Dîn Nîshâpûrî, p.29; the writing of this source is around 1175. Faruk Sümer states that in the *Melik-nâme* it is said that Selçuk had four sons, but still he says that "Zahîr-i Nişaburî" (i.e. Zahîr al-Dîn Nîshâpûrî) counted five son of Selçuk who were İsrâil (being the eldest), Mikâil, Musa, Yusuf and Yunus and according to F. Sümer it is more reasonable to assume Zahîr-i Nişaburî's claim is right; see Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 69. However, according to Ibn al-Athir, Selçuk had only three sons; Arslan, Mikâil and Musa; see İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-Isfahânî, p. LIV and V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 101. On the other hand, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Selçuk's sons were counted as Musa, Mikâil, Arslan İsrâil and possibly Yusuf as the forth son; see Bosworth, p. 938. Also see Merçil, p. 47. Atagarriev mentions that Reşideddin Fazlullah named İsrail, Mikail, Musa Yabgu, Yusuf and Yunus as the five sons of Selçuk. At this point Atagarriev adds that İsrail may be the Yabgu Arslan; see Atagarriev, p. 946. René Grousset names the sons of Selçuk as Mikâ'il, Moûsâ and Isrâ'il; see Grousset, p. 204. On the other hand, A. Vámbéry lists the sons of the founder of the Seljuk Empire as "Musa, Junis, Michal, and Israil," and he concludes that the Oghuz were "nominally disciples of the Nestorian Christians rather than Shamism or Buddhism" since these names resembles to the Biblical names; see Vámbéry, p. 89.

³⁴¹ Sümer, "X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar," p. 152.

³⁴² Also transcribed as Ibn al-Athîr and known as İbn ül-Esir.

Çağrı Davud.³⁴³ After Selçuk's death, the house of Seljuks was headed by Arslan Yabgu, therefore, the Oghuz in Cend abandoned there completely and moved entirely into Mavaraunnahr.³⁴⁴ The Oghuz largely remained in Mavaraunnahr between the years 935-1035, but they could not stay more because of the pressures of the other Oghuz tribes and their conflicts with the Ghaznavids.³⁴⁵ Arslan Yabgu was imprisoned by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna in 1025,³⁴⁶ and the Turkmens who were loyal to Arslan refused to be led by Tuğrul and Çağrı Beys, and requested from Sultan Mahmud to allow them to move into Khorasan with 4,000 people.³⁴⁷ Thus, the Ghaznavid Sultan gave his permission to the Seljuks, however, within time, Turkmens rebelled against the Ghaznavid Sultan and in 1027, in order to stop a rebellion environs Farav, 4,000 Turkmen were killed by the Ghaznavid forces.³⁴⁸ Meanwhile, after seven years of imprisonment, Arslan Yabgu died in 1032,³⁴⁹ and he was followed by Musa Yabgu.³⁵⁰ In the very same year of 1032, the rebellious Turkmens who refused to stay under the Seljuk rule, entered into the Ghaznavid rule and moved to Rey region (near Tehran).³⁵¹ In 19 June 1035, 17,000 Ghaznavid cavalymen attacked the Seljuks of north Khorasan.³⁵² Then after, the Seljukid-Ghaznavid war, which would continue for five years (1035-1040), began.³⁵³

³⁴³ İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, p. LIV.

³⁴⁴ Merçil, p. 47 and Koca, p. 131.

³⁴⁵ Togan, vol. I, p. 185.

³⁴⁶ Köymen, vol. I, p. 89; İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, p. LV; Yinanç, p. 37; Sümer, *Türk Devletleri Tarihinde Şahıs Adları -I-*, p. 138 and Merçil, p. 47. Also see Vásáry, p. 172.

³⁴⁷ Köymen, vol. I, p. 116. Also see İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, p. LV and Atagarriev, pp. 944-945 and Sümer, p. 138.

³⁴⁸ Atagarriev, pp. 944-945. Also see Zahoder, pp. 519-520.

³⁴⁹ Köymen, vol. I, p. 89 and; Turan, p. 44 and Merçil, p. 47.

³⁵⁰ Merçil, p. 47.

³⁵¹ Sümer, p. 138.

³⁵² Atagarriev, pp. 944-945.

³⁵³ Atagarriev, pp. 944-945.

At this point, one of the turning points of the Turkmen history took place in May 1040; the Seljuks' victory against the Ghaznavids in the battle of Dandanakan (between Merv (i.e. Marv) and Sarakhs) over the sovereignty of Khorasan.³⁵⁴ Referring to the Ghaznavid historian Bayhaki³⁵⁵ who said that there were 16,000 Oghuz (i.e. Turkmen)³⁵⁶ on the battlefield of Dandanakan, Yuri Bregel assumes that at that time 64,000 Turkmens (i.e. Oghuz) were moving into Khorasan.³⁵⁷ With the battle of Dandanakan, Seljuks took the Eastern Persia from the Ghaznavids.³⁵⁸

After their victory and the continuous Seljuk expansion, the house of Seljuk became the sovereign (i.e. *sultan*) of almost the whole Muslim Asia. At this point, the reign of Alp Arslan (r. 1063-1072) is considered as the rise of the Empire. Between the years 1065-1067, Alp Arslan gained the control of the Aral region after continuous expeditions, and he expanded his Empire's borders as far as the territory of the Oghuz tribal federation.³⁵⁹ Thus, Alp Arslan maintained the control of Üst Yurt and Mangışlak, and the Oghuz and Kıpçak groups in the

³⁵⁴ İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-Isfahânî, pp. LVI-LXII. For detailed information about the battle of Dandanakan; see Köymen, vol. I, pp. 336-351 and Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, pp. 76-86. Also see Rásonyi, p. 163; Vásáry, pp. 167, 172; Bosworth, p. 938; Agacanov, p. 41; Agacanov, *Oğuzlar*, pp. 300-310; Atagariev, pp. 944-945 and Barthold, p. 108; Soucek, pp. 94, 98; Merçil, p. 49; Turan, pp. 59-61 and Ortaylı, p. 97.

³⁵⁵ Also transcribed as Bayhakî.

³⁵⁶ Bayhaki says that in the battle, Seljuks' main force was composed of 16,000 cavalymen; see Atagariev, p. 945.

³⁵⁷ Bosworth, p. 938.

³⁵⁸ Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 24; Barthold, *İlk Müslüman Türkler*, pp. 273-274 and Atagariev, pp. 944-945.

³⁵⁹ Sümer, "X. Yüzyılda *Oğuzlar*," pp. 150-151; Agacanov, *Selçuklular*, p. 359; Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 180; Turan, *Türk cihân hâkimiyeti mefkûresi tarihi*, vol. I, p. 245; Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, pp. 108-109 and Merçil, p. 54. Here while S. G. Agacanov refers this tribal federation region as Syr Darya Yabghu State, Ekber N. Necef and Ahmet Annaberdiyev refers it as "Mangışlak Salur Oghuz State." Actually it is more accurate to refer this territory as "tribal federation" as mentioned above. Also see Skrine and Ross, p. 130-131 and Vásáry, pp. 173-175.

region.³⁶⁰ While narrating the 1065 expedition, Sibte al-Cezvi, mentions the “Kıfçak and Türkmen,”³⁶¹ and referring to him, S. G. Agacanov claims that these Turkmens were of the Yazırs since he relates the “Cazi” word with the “Yazır.”³⁶² However, O. Turan says that these “Cazığ” were probably of the Kıpçak people.³⁶³

In the reign of Alp Arslan the invasion of Maveraunnahr began, and under his son Melik Şah (i.e. Malik Shah, ruled 1072-1092), the Karakhanids became the vassals of the Seljuks.³⁶⁴ Therefore within the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Seljuk sultans were ruling over a vast land of Western Asia from Maveraunnahr, Farghana (i.e. Fergana), the Yedisu and Khwārazm in the east to Anatolia, Syria and the Hijaz (i.e. Hidjaz or Hicaz) in the west.³⁶⁵ Probably it was as early as 1016 or 1021 that the Turkmen raids into Transcaucasia and Eastern Anatolia had begun³⁶⁶ but it was some fifty years later -when Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes (r. 1068-1071) in the battle of Malazgird (i.e. Manzikert or Malaskerd) in 1071- that Anatolia was opened to Turkmen penetration and the conquest of Anatolia was assured.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁰ Sümer, pp. 150-151; Agacanov, *Oğuzlar*, p. 360; Turan, *Türk cihân hâkimiyeti mefkûresi tarihi*, vol. I, p. 245 and Merçil, p. 54. Also see Vášáry, pp. 173-174.

³⁶¹ Togan, vol. I, p. 190 and Agacanov, p. 360.

³⁶² Agacanov, p. 360.

³⁶³ Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, p. 108.

³⁶⁴ Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 24 and René Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes: A History of Central Asia* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), p. 153.

³⁶⁵ Agacanov, *Selçuklular*, p. 41; Atagarriev, pp. 946-947; Bosworth, p. 936 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 178-184.

³⁶⁶ Golden, p. 221.

³⁶⁷ For detailed information of the Malazgird battle see Kafesoğlu, *Selçuklu Tarihi*, pp. 45-61; Yinanç, pp. 68-81 and Turan, pp. 123-134. Also see Vámbéry, pp. 96-97; Rásonyi, p. 164; Fuad Köprülü, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), p. 40; Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, p. 159; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 98; Turan, *Türk cihân hâkimiyeti mefkûresi tarihi*, vol. I, pp. 281-282; Vášáry, pp. 174-175 and Golden, pp. 221-222; Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, p. 204; Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, p. 152; Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 179-180; Merçil, pp. 54-56 and Ortaylı, p. 97. Also see Skrine and Ross, pp. 130-131.

2.4 Late Seljuk Turkmens under the Seljuk Realm

At this point the major concern should be about the situation of the Turkmen within the Seljuk realm. As mentioned earlier, the Turkmens enjoyed a special position among the other Turkic peoples of Central Asia because of them being the direct ancestors of the Seljuks. However, there were serious conflicts between the Turkmens and the house of Seljuks. For instance, when Arslan Yabgu was imprisoned by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna in 1025,³⁶⁸ the Turkmens preferred asking for Sultan Mahmud's help, rather than relying on Tuğrul and Çağrı Beys.³⁶⁹ The conflict between these Turkmens and Tuğrul and Çağrı Beys should have been very complicated since they were even in the position of requesting help from the Ghaznavid Sultan who imprisoned their *Yabgu*, rather than entering into the service of the Seljuk rulers of their own blood. Actually it can be said that beginning with the reign of Tuğrul Bey, instead of assigning the Turkmen *begs* to the higher ranks in the principalities, governorships and generalships, the Seljuk rulers began to prefer the Tajiks and the local Iranians for these critical positions.³⁷⁰ The Seljuks were continuously threatened by the rebellious ruling house members and the leading Turkmen *begs*.³⁷¹ Therefore, in order to maintain the peace within the house, the Tuğrul Bey decided to exclude the Turkmen *begs* from the crucial positions.³⁷²

³⁶⁸ Arslan died after seven years of imprisonment in 1032; see Köymen, vol. I, p. 89. Also see Yinanç, p. 37.

³⁶⁹ Köymen, vol. I, p. 116; Yinanç, p. 37 and Sümer, *Türk Devletleri Tarihinde Şahıs Adları -I-*, pp. 137-138.

³⁷⁰ Yinanç, pp. 98-100.

³⁷¹ Yinanç, pp. 98-100.

³⁷² Yinanç, pp. 98-99.

For instance, the year 1070, a year prior to the battle of Malazgird, witnessed a conflict between Alp Arslan and a Turkmen *beg* of Yıva tribe.³⁷³ Instead of being under the rule of a single *başbuğ* (i.e. army commander or Chief of General Staff), the Turkmens of the Yıva tribe ruled by several *begs*.³⁷⁴ The most powerful group of the Yıva tribe was controlled by Erbasgan (El-basan)³⁷⁵ Beg.³⁷⁶ The reason of the conflict between the Seljuk ruler and the Turkmen *beg* is uncertain.³⁷⁷ However, it might have occurred because of the Seljuk dynasty's policy concerning the high rank positions within the Empire since the Seljuk rulers preferred the slave (i.e. *gulâm*) chieftains over the Turkmen nobles.³⁷⁸ Consequently, because of the conflict between him and Alp Arslan, Erbasgan Beg took his followers of the Yıva tribe and entered into the Byzantine territory, defeated the Byzantine commander Manuel, and imprisoned him with some other commanders.³⁷⁹ However, since he learned that Emir Afşin was following him according to Alp Arslan's directives, Erbasgan Beg released the Byzantine commanders, headed to Constantinopolis, and entered into the service of Romanus Diogenes.³⁸⁰ On behalf of the Seljuk ruler, Afşin wanted this fugitive

³⁷³ Yinanç, p. 68. Also mentioned in Sümer, "Yıva Oğuz Boyuna Dâir," pp. 152-153 and Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, pp. 120-123. Here note that M. H. Yinanç mentioned this Turkmen tribe as "Yavuk or Yivek," and said that it was one of the twenty four Turkmen tribes. Thus, it is for sure that this tribe was the "Yıva" tribe as mentioned by Faruk Sümer in his aforementioned work. Osman Turan disagree with this claim and states that the "Yavgıyya" term is not an ethnical term; see Turan, pp. 120-125.

³⁷⁴ Sümer, p. 152.

³⁷⁵ M. H. Yinanç says that in the Arab sources he was mentioned as "Erişgi" or "Erişgi." Besides, the Armenian sources recorded him as "Güedriç" while the Byzantine sources mentioned him as "Chrisosköl;" see Yinanç, pp. 64-65. Also see Turan, pp. 45, 120.

³⁷⁶ Although most of the scholars like Faruk Sümer names this Turkmen *beg* as Erbasgan or Erişgi, relying on Arab and Armenian sources, M. H. Yinanç claims that actually aforementioned beg was the son of Erbasgan; Kurtçu. Yinanç concludes that Erbasgan (or Ertaşgun) was the son of Selçuk's son Yunus Yabgu; see Yinanç, pp. 64-65, 68, 104 and Sümer, p. 152. Also see Turan, pp. 107, 120.

³⁷⁷ Sümer, p. 153.

³⁷⁸ Yinanç, pp. 98-100; Sümer, p. 153. Concerning the discomfort of the Turkmens, the very same claim was asserted by M. A. Köymen; see Mehmet Altay Köymen, "Türkiye Selçukluları Devleti (1075-1308)," in *Tarihte Türk Devletleri I*, p. 382.

³⁷⁹ Yinanç, p. 68. Also mentioned in cited in Sümer, p. 153. Also see Turan, p. 123.

³⁸⁰ Yinanç, pp. 68, 104. Also mentioned and cited in Sümer, p. 153. Also see Turan, p. 123.

prince and all of the Yıva tribe to be handed to him, but the Byzantine Emperor denied this demand.³⁸¹ Moreover, although the Byzantine Emperor took Erbasgan Beg with him to the battle of Malazgird, right before the battle, he sent the Turkmen *beg* back.³⁸² According to various scholars like M. H. Yinanç, and O. Turan, probably the Emperor could not risk the possibility of this Turkmen beg's adherence to the Seljuk army in the course of the battle.³⁸³ Later, in 1072, a year after the battle, a group of the Yıva tribe left Erbasgan Beg and went to Syria and Anatolia since they did not want to serve for the Byzantine Empire.³⁸⁴ This incident shows the tension between the Seljuk dynasty and the Turkmen nobles during the reign of Alp Arslan.

It is also well known that during the reign of Melik Şah, there were only a few Turkmen *begs* (i.e. *beys*) in the service of the state, and they were not assigned for important ranks.³⁸⁵ During both Alp Arslan's reign, and his son Melik Şah's reign, almost all of the high official positions were given to the rulers' trained slaves.³⁸⁶ Besides, it is often suggested that Seljuk dynasty saw the Turkmens, who formed the Seljuk Empire, as "a burden to the state" as stated by Nizam al-mulk³⁸⁷ (i.e. Nizâmü'l-mülk) -the famous Persian vizier of Alp Arslan

³⁸¹ Yinanç, p. 68 and Turan, p. 123.

³⁸² Yinanç, p. 72. Also mentioned and cited in Sümer, p. 153. Also see Turan, pp. 127-128.

³⁸³ Yinanç, p. 72 and Turan, pp. 127-128; note that there is no record that Erbasgan Beg was handed to the Seljuk Sultan after the Byzantine Emperor's defeat in the Malazgird battle; see Turan, p. 132.

³⁸⁴ Yinanç, p. 82. Also mentioned and cited in Sümer, pp. 153-154.

³⁸⁵ Among these rare Turkmen *begs*, Artuk Beg (he was a commander who descended from a noble family) and Alp oğlu Yağı Sıyan (he was the ruler of Çubuk and Antakya) were the most well-knowns; see Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, pp. 97-98. Also see Yinanç, p. 99.

³⁸⁶ Yinanç, p. 99.

³⁸⁷ Actually, his real name was Hasan ibn Ali, but he was widely known as Nizam al-mulk or Regulator of the State; see Skrine and Ross, p. 131.

and Melik Şah -in his work *Siyâset-nâme*,³⁸⁸ chapter XXVI.³⁸⁹ In this work, Nizam al-mulk suggested that apart from the difficulties they have caused, considering their services to the dynasty at the very beginning of the Empire; 1,000 young Turkmen should be selected to serve as *gulâms* of the palace.³⁹⁰ According to Nizam al-mulk, permanent enrollment of the Turkmens in the palace would give them the court discipline while getting them used to the people; settle and consequently be loyal to the Seljuk dynasty.³⁹¹ At this point, Nizam al-mulk said that with this enrollment, Turkmens would be organized like the five to ten thousand *gulâms* which would always be ready for the service.³⁹² Therefore they would “associate with people, become accustomed to them, do service like the *ghulâms*, and cease to feel that aversion (to the dynasty) with which they are naturally imbued.”³⁹³ But still, Barthold points out that it was not an easy task to transform “the sons of the steppe” into “*ghulâms* of the Court,”³⁹⁴ and he also argues that this enrollment would not satisfy the Turkmens since the *gulâms* of the palace were consisted mainly of the slaves.³⁹⁵

İbrahim Kafesoğlu says that the “difficulties” that the Turkmens caused can be explained as Turkmens’ continuous mass migration from Central Asia and

³⁸⁸ Also transcribed as *Siyasat-nama*. For the original text and the Turkish translation, see Nizâmü’l-mülk, *Siyâset-nâme*, trans. by Mehmet Altay Köymen (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999).

³⁸⁹ Nizâmü’l-mülk, p. 73. Also see Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 117; Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 309; Kafesoğlu, p. 132; Bosworth, p. 939; Sümer, p. 98 and Turan, p. 44.

³⁹⁰ Nizâmü’l-mülk, p. 73. Also see Kafesoğlu, p. 132; Köymen, “Büyük Selçuklular İmparatorluğunda Oğuz İsyanı (1153) (Der Oğuzen- Aufstand),” p. 160 and Barthold, *İlk Müslüman Türkler*, p. 283. Also see Sümer, “X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar,” p. 155; Togan, vol. I, p. 194; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 98; Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 117; Agacanov, *Oğuzlar*, pp. 352-353 and Gordlevski, p. 286, 289.

³⁹¹ Nizâmü’l-mülk, p. 73. Also see Barthold, p. 278.

³⁹² Nizâmü’l-mülk, p. 73.

³⁹³ Barthold, p. 278; Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 309 and Nizâmü’l-mülk, p. 73.

³⁹⁴ Barthold, p. 309 and Barthold, *İlk Müslüman Türkler*, p. 278.

³⁹⁵ Barthold, p. 278; Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 117; Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 309-310.

Oghuz steppes (which composed the core of the Seljuks' manpower) into the Seljuk lands in order to find *yurt* (homeland), *yaylak* (summer pastures), and *kışlak* (winter quarters or village) for themselves.³⁹⁶ In order to avoid such “difficulties” that the Turkmens caused, they were being sent to the border land of the Empire, which will be discussed later. However, it should also be noted that in the reign of Melik Şah (1072-1092), there were considerable Oghuz groups in Iran and in the eastern parts of the Empire along with the settled population of the ruling dynasty.³⁹⁷ Moreover, after Melik Şah, also during the reign of Sultan Sancar (i.e. Sencer or Sandjar, 1117-1157), there were nomad Oghuz (Turkmen) tribes in Khorasan.³⁹⁸ Referring to Münteceb-üd-dîn Bedî's accounts (*Misâl-i Şahneg-i sâlâran-ı Türkmânân*) on appointment of “Şahne” (military governor)³⁹⁹ upon the Turkmens of Gurgan, M. A. Köymen point out that because of the nomadic life style of the Turkmens, the *şahnes* who were sent to them, possessed less authority comparing the *şahnes* of other provinces.⁴⁰⁰ M. A. Köymen concludes although it seemed that the ruling dynasty treated all of the subjects of the Empire equally, the Turkmens (in this case the Gurgan Turkmens) who were under the command of their chiefs in internal affairs, were acting completely independent from the central rule.⁴⁰¹

The Seljuk military units, which were mostly composed of Turkmens, were divided into right and left wings. For instance, fifteenth century scholar

³⁹⁶ Kafesoğlu, pp. 132-134. Also see Yinanç, p. 166.

³⁹⁷ Barthold, pp. 309-310 and Köymen, p. 160.

³⁹⁸ Münteceb-üd-dîn Bedî', *Atebet-ül-ketebe*, 77-79 b; 81 b- 82. Cairo, Egypt National Library manuscripts (No. 19-6292); cited in Köymen, p. 160.

³⁹⁹ The *şahnes* (also transcribed as *şihne*), were managing the security affairs within the provinces of the Empire. For detailed list of the duties of the *şahnes*, see Köymen, pp. 161-162 and Agacanov, p. 341-349. The word *şahne* (it is a Persian word, while it was *başkak* in Turkish and *daruga* in Mongol languages) was also used for the tax collectors.

⁴⁰⁰ Münteceb-üd-dîn Bedî', *Atebet-ül-ketebe*, 77b - 79 b; 81 b- 82 a; cited in Köymen, pp. 161-162.

⁴⁰¹ Münteceb-üd-dîn Bedî', *Atebet-ül-ketebe*, 77b - 79 b; 81 b- 82 a; cited in Köymen, pp. 161-162.

Yazıcıoğlu Ali states that in the twelfth century, Sultan Sancar gave the right wing of the army to the Kayı and Bayat clans of the Turkmens and the left wing to the Bayındır and Peçenek.⁴⁰² Here one may assume that this implementation might have improved the relations between the Seljuk sultans and the Turkmens. However, it can be said that during the long reign of Sultan Sancar, the relations between the Turkmens and the ruling dynasty of the Seljuk Empire became worse.⁴⁰³ Again during the reign of Sultan Sancar when the Turkmen tribes of Balkh region (i.e. Belh, in the south of the Amu Darya, today's Afghanistan) rebelled against Sultan Sancar and imprisoned him in 1153 (for three years) because of the increased taxation demands on them.⁴⁰⁴ The Turkmens plundered

⁴⁰² See *Müntehab tevarihi Selçukîyye* (Paris National Library Turkish manuscripts, Additional Part No:182 page 11); cited in İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal: Büyük Selçukîler, Anadolu Selçukîleri, Anadolu Beylikleri, İlhanîler, Karakoyunlu ve Akkoyunlularla memlûklerdeki devlet teşkilâtına bir bakış* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941), p. 22; Sergey Grigoreviç Agacanov, *Selçuklular*, p. 281. Also see Bosworth, p. 939 and Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, pp. 116-117. However, concerning the division of the wings of the Seljuk army, referring to Yazıcıoğlu Ali, S. G. Agacanov mentions the Kayı and Bayat tribes as the right wing of the army, and the Bayındır and Peçenek tribes as the left wing tribes in his work *Selçuklular*. However, in his work *Oğuzlar*, again referring to *Tarih-i Al-i Selçuk*, while naming the very same tribes as the right wing of the army (namely Kayı and Bayat), S. G. Agacanov names the Peçenek and Çavuldur tribes as the left wing tribes of the Seljuk army. Thus, the author mentions the Çavuldur tribe instead of the Bayındır tribe in his work *Oğuzlar*; see Agacanov, p. 349 and Sergey Grigoreviç Agacanov, *Selçuklular*, p. 281. Besides, in his work, *Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti*, V. Gordlevski also names the Çavuldur tribe rather than the Bayındır tribe; see Gordlevski, p. 90.

⁴⁰³ Skrine and Ross, pp. 140-143, 266 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 186.

⁴⁰⁴ İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, pp. 224, 252-254; Vámbéry, p. 104; Köymen, pp. 159-173. Also see Skrine and Ross, p. 140-143, 266; Barthold, p. 329; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, p. 88; Barthold, *İlk Müslüman Türkler*, pp. 311-312; Vásáry, p. 178; Gumilëv, p. 343; Kafesoğlu, p. 84; Sümer, p. 105; Sümer, "X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar," pp. 154-155; Bosworth, p. 943; Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Hakkında Dersler*, pp. 151-152; Grousset, p. 160; Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, p. 215; Merçil, pp. 71-72 and Köprülü, p. 119. Sultan Sancar escaped from captivity but he could only live a few years after the imprisonment and died in 1157. After his death, the break down of the Seljuk State fastened; see Atagarriev, p. 947. Actually, one of the important reasons of this rebellion was linked with the defeat of the Seljuk army in the battle of Katvan (or Katavan) in 1141. When the Seljukid army was defeated by the Kara Khitays in this battle, Sultan Sancar believed that amongst the Kara Khitays (Kara Hitay) there was also an Oghuz group. Therefore, the Sultan sent an army under the command of Kamac (Kumac or Kummac), who had serious conflicts with the Oghuz *begs* within the Balkh region. Consequently, Kamac and his son was killed by the Oghuz *begs* and this incident triggered the battle between the Seljuk army and the Turkmens, which resulted in favor of these Turkmen *begs*; for detailed information about the rebellion and the battle, see Köymen, pp. 159-173. Also see İmad ad-din al-Kâtib al-İsfahânî, pp. 252-254; Sümer, "X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar," p. 153; Sümer, *Eski Türkler'de Şehircilik*, p. 76 and Vásáry, p. 183. In 1899, Skrine and Ross says that "[i]n the twelfth century the Sultan Sanjar, the

some towns in Khorasan, Merv and Nishapur (Nişapur).⁴⁰⁵ This incident is critically important in the Seljukid history, since the imprisonment of the Seljuk Sultan meant a temporary end of the Seljuk Empire.⁴⁰⁶ As René Grousset puts it, here one may again see the difficulty of implementing the Arabo-Persian administrative structure over the Turkmen nomad tribes.⁴⁰⁷ Consequently these rebellious Turkmens played an important role for 15-20 years in Khorasan but they could not establish a state and many of them had to abandon Khorasan since they lacked a unifying leader.⁴⁰⁸ However, it should be noted that after the imprisonment of Sultan Sancar, the conflicts among the Turkmen *begs* did not cease until the Mongol invasion.⁴⁰⁹

In 1179, a group of 5,000 Turkmen left Khorasan for *Fars* (Persia) where resided their tribesmen Salurs (Salgurs); while another group of 10,000 Turkmen⁴¹⁰ left for Kirman (Kerman in southeastern Persia).⁴¹¹ Eventually, in 1185 or 1186, another Turkmen group came to the very same province, and the Turkmen leader Melik Dinar⁴¹² took control of Kirman.⁴¹³ Among the Turkmens who destroyed Sultan Sancar's Seljuk Empire, some of them (mostly the Yazırs)

greatest of the Seljūkides, was defeated by the Kara and Alieli Turkomans at Andakhūy and Maymena, where both are still to be found;” see Skrine and Ross, p. 266.

⁴⁰⁵ Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 329; Barthold, *İlk Müslüman Türkler*, pp. 311-312; Skrine and Ross, pp. 140-143 and Vásáry, p. 178.

⁴⁰⁶ Köymen, p. 172; Sümer, “Yıva Oğuz Boyuna Dâir,” p. 156 and Vásáry, p. 178.

⁴⁰⁷ Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, p. 160.

⁴⁰⁸ Sümer, “X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar,” p. 155.

⁴⁰⁹ Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 188-189.

⁴¹⁰ These Turkmens were called as *Kara-Oğuz* or *Karağuzz*.

⁴¹¹ Efdal-i Kirmanî, *Bedâyi’ul-ezman* (Tahran, 1326), pp. 88-98; cited in Sümer, p. 155 and Bosworth, p. 946.

⁴¹² Referring to Afzal ad-Din Kermani, S. G. Agacanov says that Dinar's ancestors were from the sovereigns who ruled Mavaraunnahr and Khorasan in the past and that Dinar had 20,000 people under his command during his childhood; Afzal ad-Din Kermani, *Tarikh-i Afzal ya badayi al-azman fi waqayi Kerman* (Tahran, 1326), p. 20; cited in Agacanov, p. 353.

⁴¹³ Sümer, p. 155; Bosworth, p. 946 and Agacanov, pp. 353-358.

remained in Khorasan.⁴¹⁴ Here it should be noted that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Yazırs were considered as a separate people since they were so numerous and were the only Turkmen clan which was defined with a definite locality.⁴¹⁵ They were so crowded that the thirteenth century historian Ibn al-Athir spoke of them as “Yazır Turks.”⁴¹⁶

Actually Melik Şah’s death in 1092 was considered as the very beginning of the fall of the Seljuk dynasty. Because of the conflicts upon the accession after Melik Şah, regional Seljuk governors namely Seljuks of Syria (1078-1117), Seljuks of Kerman (1041-1187), and Seljuks of Rûm (Anatolia) (1077-1307) began to act independently from the Great Seljuk Sultan.⁴¹⁷

2.5 Seljuks of Rûm (Anatolia)

The Turkmens were the backbone of the Seljuk armies during the period of Great Seljuk Empire all along its conquests. Therefore, within the eleventh and twelfth centuries, migration of Turkmens began when large numbers of Turkmen

⁴¹⁴ Sümer, p. 155.

⁴¹⁵ Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, pp. 122-123; Sümer, p. 155 and Agacanov, pp. 358-368. The thirteenth century geographer Muhammad Bakran wrote in his work *Jahān-nāma*; “Yazırs are a tribe from among the Turks; they came to the border of Balkan and its mountains. They were joined by a tribe from Manghishlaq and by another from Khorasan. Then their numbers increased, they grew stronger, left that place and came to the limits of Shahrstān [near Aşgabat] and Farāva [now Serdar], and later settled in the fortress of Tāq. Now they consist of the following groups: the pure Yazır, those from Manghishlaq and the Persian (Pārsī) ones;” cited in Barthold, pp. 123-124. In his work *Şecere-i Terākime*, Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan said: “Yazır ilı Horāsānga barıp Durun etrāfında köp yıllar olturdılar. Ol sebebdin Durunga Yazır yurtı dirler,” meaning Yazır people came to Khorasan and lived there for many years near Durun. Thence, Durun was called homeland of the Yazır; see Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text p. 202 and trans. p. 262. It is also quoted in Agacanov, p. 358.

⁴¹⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, XI, p. 171; cited in Barthold, pp. 122-123. Also see Sümer, p. 155.

⁴¹⁷ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 185. Also see Ortaylı, pp. 98-99.

tribal groups joined the Seljuk armies and migrated to northern Persia, Azerbaijan (i.e. Azerbaijan), Asia Minor, Irak, Syria, and Hijaz. The Seljuks were continuously sending the Turkmen groups to the border provinces of the Empire.⁴¹⁸ Thus, while the Seljuk sultans were trying to prevent the Turkmen raids into Iran and Iraq -which caused material damages and disorder within the state-, they were also weakening the Byzantine Empire with offensive Turkmen raids.⁴¹⁹

The majority of the twelve *Bozok* tribes settled into the northern parts of Anatolia while the majority of the *Üçok* tribes settled into the southern parts.⁴²⁰ However, the population density of these Turkmen tribes within the Anatolian lands varied.⁴²¹ For instance, during these raids Seljuk into Anatolia, the Kınık tribe of the Seljuk house composed the most populated Turkmen tribe.⁴²² If one compares the Turkmen tribes' population density within these raids, after the most populated Kınık tribe; the Bayındır, Afşar, and the Kayı would be the second; Çepni, İğdir, Salur, Döğer, and Bayat would be the third while the Yıva tribe would be at the fourth density rank.⁴²³ On the other hand, it should be mentioned that during these settlement process, the Seljuks were dividing major and powerful tribes and clans into several groups and were placing them into far away locations from each other.⁴²⁴ In this way, the Seljuks were avoiding a possible

⁴¹⁸ Barthold, p. 117; Yinanç, p. 166; Sümer, p. 152; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 95; Merçil, p. 51; Roux, p. 257 and Ortaylı, p. 97. However, at this point, we should add that during the reign of Melik Şah, who ruled from 1072 to 1092, in Persia and northern parts of the Empire, there were Oghuz groups along side with the settled people of the Empire. Moreover, afterwards, during Sultan Sancar's reign (1117-1157), there were nomad Oghuz/Turkmen tribes in Khorasan and its east; see Köymen, p. 160. For detailed information about the military organization, Islamization process and the ethnic and religious elements within the people along the borders of the Empire, see Köprülü, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*, pp. 73-103.

⁴¹⁹ Kafesoğlu, p. 133; Köprülü, p. 40; Bosworth, p. 941 and Merçil, p. 51.

⁴²⁰ Yinanç, p. 172.

⁴²¹ Yinanç, p. 172 and Ortaylı, p. 102.

⁴²² Yinanç, p. 172.

⁴²³ Yinanç, p. 172.

⁴²⁴ Köprülü, pp. 40-41 and Yinanç, p. 166.

powerful ethnical unity and national formation which might have result with a rebellion.⁴²⁵ This also explains the Seljuk rulers' suspicious policies over the rebellious Turkmens. Actually, during this period while some Turkmen groups were settling and incorporating with the local populations, the others which composed the majority preserved their nomadic and semi-nomadic way of life.⁴²⁶

This Turkmen migration into the central Islamic lands triggered the Turkification especially of Azerbaijan and Anatolia. After comparing various sources like Yazıcıoğlu Ali's *Tarih-i âl-i Selçuk* and Nizam al-mulk's *Siyâset-nâme*, M. H. Yinanç concludes that during these Seljuk raids, from Turkistan more than 1,000,000 Turks and Muslims migrated to Anatolia.⁴²⁷

Indeed even after the collapse of the Great Seljuk Empire in 1157, Turkmen migration from Central Asia continued and they served as mercenaries for the successor states.⁴²⁸ After the battle of Malazgird in 1071, within a decade, Turkmens spread throughout Anatolia with continuous raids until the thirteenth century. D.E. Eremeev argues that the number of Turkmen (with smaller other Turkish groups) that entered Anatolia in the eleventh century totaled 500,000-

⁴²⁵ Fuad Köprülü, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*, pp. 40-41 and Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, *Türkiye Tarihi: Selçuklular Devri*, p. 166.

⁴²⁶ Sümer, *Türk Devletleri Tarihinde Şahıs Adları -I-*, pp. 139-140 and Kellner-Heinkele, p. 682. Here it should be noted that when Alp Arslan went to Cend in 1066, in order to visit his grandfather Selçuk's tomb, a very crowded Oghuz people were living in the banks of Syr Darya which stretched as far as Isfıcab (Sayram), in the east of Cend. Among these Oghuz, the sedentary ones were living in Sıgnak, Sabran or Savran (Sıpren or Sepren), Karaçuk (Farab or Parab then Otrar), Karnak and Sitgün (probably Süt Kend). In winter time, the nomadic Oghuz were living in the banks of Syr Darya, nearby the aforementioned towns, and in summer, they were going to the Karaçuk mountains' chains. Besides, the nomadic Oghuz were calling their sedentary brethren as "yatuk" which means "lazy" since they did not make war and live a lazy settled life; Sümer, pp. 139-140 and Sümer, *Eski Türkler'de Şehircilik*, pp. 21,99. Also see Sümer, "X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar," pp. 147-148, 150-151 and Agacanov, p. 142.

⁴²⁷ Yinanç, pp 174-176

⁴²⁸ Kellner-Heinkele, p. 682.

700,000;⁴²⁹ while Peter B. Golden estimates that on the eve of the Mongol conquests, Turkmen numbered one million in Anatolia.⁴³⁰ During this time, Melik Şah's cousin Süleyman (Süleyman bin Kutalmış bin Arslan bin Selçuk)⁴³¹ gained control over the Turkmens in the central Anatolia in 1081 and he founded the Seljuks of Rûm (the Seljuks of Anatolia)⁴³² which was to be lasted until the very early fourteenth century with its first capital İznik (Nicaea) between 1081 and 1097 and then the second capital Konya (Iconium) between 1097 and 1302.⁴³³

Before to the Mongol invasion, the Seljuks of Rûm considerably lost their power because of the Baba İshak -a *sheikh* that lead a Turkmen rebellion against the Anatolian Seljuk Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II- in 1240.⁴³⁴ Therefore in 1243 at Köseadağ,⁴³⁵ the Seljuks were defeated by the Mongols although the Mongols were much less numerous.⁴³⁶ After this defeat, the Seljuks became vassals of the Mongols and the Mongols took the control of Anatolia more than half of a century.⁴³⁷

2.6 Seljuk Turkmens under the Mongol Rule

⁴²⁹ D.E. Eremeev, *Étnogenez turok* (Moskva, 1971), pp. 83ff; cited in Golden, p. 224.

⁴³⁰ Golden, p. 224.

⁴³¹ Neşrî, vol. I, p. 27.

⁴³² Its Turkish transcription is *Anadolu Selçukluları* and it is used as "The Seljuks of Rûm" because Rûm refers to the "Roman land."

⁴³³ Bosworth, p. 948; Golden, p. 224; Grousset, p. 153; Köprülü, p. 40 and Vásáry, p. 175.

⁴³⁴ Kafesoğlu, p. 105 and Wittek, p. 37. Wittek gives dates the rebellion at 1239.

⁴³⁵ Köseadağ is located in Turkey which is roughly 80 km. east of Sivas.

⁴³⁶ Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, pp. 132-133 and Golden, p. 290 and Grousset, p. 263.

⁴³⁷ Sümer, p. 133; Golden, p. 290. Also see Kafesoğlu, p. 195.

In his work *The History of the World Conqueror*, the thirteenth century historian Juvaini (i.e. Cüveynî)⁴³⁸ recorded that Genghis Khan (i.e. Cengiz Han) sent his eldest son Jöchi (also known as Juchi, Cuci or Tushi), to Cend and Barjligh-Kent (somewhere between Cend and Sughnaq) and that Jöchi took Cend in 1219.⁴³⁹ Juvaini also told that then under the leadership of the Mongol general Tainal (or Taynal) Noyan, a band of some 10,000 Turkmen nomads was formed to march against Khwarazm but after a few days' march the Turkmen killed the Mongol officer that Tainal left as his substitute.⁴⁴⁰ Then, Tainal returned and killed most of the Turkmen and those who could escape from him fled to Amuya⁴⁴¹ and Merv.⁴⁴² Meanwhile, the Turkmen residing around Cend and Yengi Kent were forced to accept the Mongol rule.⁴⁴³

Because of the Mongol invasion, many Turkmen residing in Mavaraunnahr, Khorasan and Azerbaijan arrived to Anatolia.⁴⁴⁴ Probably, those who remained stayed in Karakum, Üst-Yurt, Balhan and Mangışlak region.⁴⁴⁵

⁴³⁸ 'Ala-ad-din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini was born in the year 1226 and began to work on "The History of the World-Conqueror" in Karakorum (Qara-Qorum) in 1252 or 1253 and he was still working on it in 1260. For detailed information about the work see; 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World Conqueror*, translated from the text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini by John Andrew Boyle (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958).

⁴³⁹ Juvaini, vol. I, pp.89-90. Also see Vámbéry, p. 124 and Skrine and Ross, pp. 232-233.

⁴⁴⁰ Juvaini, vol. I, p. 90. Also see Barthold, p. 122. Also see Agacanov, p. 369 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 197-198.

⁴⁴¹ Also transcribed as Amūya, Amūye, Amul, later known as Çarcuy, also transcribed as Charjuy or Charjui, i.e. today's Türkmenabat in modern Turkmenistan.

⁴⁴² Juvaini, vol. I, p. 90. Also see Barthold, p. 122 and Agacanov, p. 369.

⁴⁴³ Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 198.

⁴⁴⁴ Sümer, p. 121 and Agacanov, p. 372.

⁴⁴⁵ Agacanov, p. 374.

2.7 Conclusions on the Turkmens after the Mongol Rule

Right after the Mongol rule in Central Asia (1220-1370), in 1370 the very same territories witnessed a Turkic conqueror's emergence; Timur (r. 1370-1405).⁴⁴⁶ His campaigns stretched from eastern Turkistan to southern Russia, to India, Syria and Anatolia.⁴⁴⁷ After Timur's death in 1405 at Otrar, his rule continued until 1507 through his successors.⁴⁴⁸ Since there are no historical work on Turkmens of the Golden Horde and the Timurid period (1220-1370) that are known to us, Khwarazmian Khan Ebulgazi Bahadır's seventeenth century work *Şecere-i Terākime*, is considered as one of the most important historical work on the Turkmens after the Mongol rule.⁴⁴⁹ Actually Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan gave a special importance to the Salur tribe since he said that some of the other tribes derived from them like the Yomuts and the Ersarıs and then the Tekes and the Sarıks.⁴⁵⁰ Khwarazmian Khan told that the leader of the Salur tribe was Salur Ögürçık Alp⁴⁵¹ who had six sons, Bedri, Buka, Usar, Kusar, Yaycı and Dingli.⁴⁵² The eldest Bedri was the ancestor of the Yomut; while the latter was the ancestor

⁴⁴⁶ For detailed information about the Timurid Empire, see Vámbéry, pp. 162-243; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, pp. 165-185 and Soucek, pp. 122-148. Also see W. Barthold, *İslâm Medeniyeti Tarihi* (prologue, commentary and revision by M. Fuad Köprülü) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973), pp. 68-72 and Bregel, p. 42-46. Timur was one of the leaders of the Barlas tribe; see Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, p. 168 and Bregel, p. 42 and Denis Sinor, *Inner Asia: History- Civilization- Languages, A Syllabus* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1969), p. 188.

⁴⁴⁷ Soucek, p. 125. Also see, Captain Henry Spalding, *Khiva and Turkestan*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874), p. 114 and Skrine and Ross, pp. 235-236.

⁴⁴⁸ Vámbéry, pp. 191-192, 212-243 and Soucek, pp. 125-126.

⁴⁴⁹ Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan himself said that he wrote the history of the Turkmen people because the Turkmen scholars, *sheikhs* and *begs* requested from him to do so since they considered the other *Oğuznâmes* as worthless; see Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text p. 109 and trans. p. 231.

⁴⁵⁰ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 207-218 and trans. pp. 267-268.

⁴⁵¹ Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan said that Turkmens tried to link Salur Ögürçık Alp with Oğuz Khan. He approved this linkage however, he said that these Turkmens lacked some of the ancestors' name of Salur Ögürçık Alp since from Salur Ögürçık Alp's time to Oğuz Khan's time four thousand four hundred years had past; see Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 207-208 and trans. pp. 264-265.

⁴⁵² Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text p. 214 and trans. p. 267.

of Ersarı Bay⁴⁵³ and finally Ersarı Bay was recorded as the ancestor of the İçki Salur (or İç Salur meaning “Inner Salurs”).⁴⁵⁴

As mentioned earlier, apart from this work, there are almost no sources concerning the Oghuz and the Turkmen tribes’ situation between the second half of the thirteenth and the very beginning of the fourteenth centuries. However, it is for sure that the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century should be noted as the most important event of its time for the Turkmen people as well for the history of the Central Asia and Near East. Prior to the Mongol invasion, Khorasan, Iran and East Caspian region (towards the far south of Mangışlak) were under the control of the Turkmens.⁴⁵⁵ However, this second wave of the Turkmen migration into the Islamic lands changed drastically the Turkmens’ political, ethnic and socio-economic structure even more than the Seljuk conquests. The Mongols devastated many towns and killed thousands of people within the region, and those who remained alive were obliged to pay unbearably huge taxes. Thus, after the Mongol invasion, the Turkmens’ strength was greatly weakened and the Turkmen economy and culture could not completely be recovered.

⁴⁵³ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han transcribed Ersarı Bay’s name as “Arsarı Bay.” See Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text p. 214 and trans. p. 267.

⁴⁵⁴ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 214-215 and trans. p. 267.

⁴⁵⁵ Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 190-192.

CHAPTER III

THE UZBEK KHANATES AND THE CONQUEST OF THE TURKMEN LAND

But I have seen
Afrasiab's cities only, Samarkand,
Bokhara, and lone Khiva in the waste,
And the black Toorkmun tents; and only drunk
The desert rivers, Moorghub and Tejend,
Kohik, and where the Kalmuks feed their sheep,
The Northern Sir, and the great Oxus stream,
The yellow Oxus.

Matthew Arnold, *Sohrab and Ruslan*⁴⁵⁶

Apart from the devastating impacts on the socio-economic development, one of the very important results of the Mongol conquest upon Central Asia was the feudal disintegration. After the Mongol invasion, Central Asia divided into three feudal Khanates, namely Bukhara, Khiva and Khokand, all of which were formed of different ethnic compositions.

⁴⁵⁶ Curzon, p. 105.

3.1. Rise of the Uzbek Dynasty

At the end of the fifteenth century the last Timurids were beginning to fall apart because of the rise of a Turkic dynasty in Persia; Safavids (1502-1736). The Timurids were now hardly more than local princedoms of Mavaraunnahr and Khorasan and it was during that time that the Uzbek Shaybanids began to expand at the expense of the Timurids.⁴⁵⁷ It was Muhammad Shaybani (Şeybânî)⁴⁵⁸ (1451-1510), who seized Tashkent, Farghana, Bukhara and Samarkand, Khwarazm and Khorasan.⁴⁵⁹ Muhammad Shaybani created a Sunnite Uzbek Empire, became the master of Central Asia by conquering the western Turkistan, Mavaraunnahr and Khorasan against the Shiite Safavid dynasty.⁴⁶⁰ It should be noted that as a result of this Uzbek conquest over the sedentary regions of Central Asia, the Mongol

⁴⁵⁷ Vámbéry, pp. 244-303; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 876; Burnes, vol. II, pp. 357-358; Suavî, pp. 60-61; Bregel, pp. 50-51; Baymirza Hayit, *Türkistan: Rusya ile Çin Arasında: XVIII – XX. Asırlarda Ruslar ve Çinlilerin İstilâları Devrinde Türkistan Milli Devletleri ve Milli Mücadeleleri Tarihi*, trans. from German by Abdülkadir Sadak (Otağ Matbaası, 1975), pp. 7-8; Bacon, p. 6 and Grousset, pp. 463, 478. Also see Spalding, pp. 113-114.

⁴⁵⁸ It should be noted that the house of Shaybanids were descended from Shayban; a grandson of Genghis Khan, see; Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân, p. 192; Skrine and Ross, pp. 183-184; Suavî, p. 60; Rásonyi, p. 188 and Bregel, p. 50. Note that Muhammad Shaybani was also known as “Shai-bek” or “Shahi Begi;” General Perovski, *A Narrative of the Russian Military Expedition to Khiva, Under General Perofski, in 1839*, trans. from Russian for the Department of the Government of India, (Calcutta; Office of Superintendent Government Printing, 1867), p. 14; Suavî, p. 60 and Skrine and Ross, p. 184. László Rásonyi also says that he was also mentioned as “Şahi-Beg;” Rásonyi, p. 188. Yuri Bregel says that his given name was “Muhammed Shai Bek (or Sheybek)” while “Shah-Bakht” and “Shībani” were his nickname and his pen name respectively; see Bregel, p. 50.

⁴⁵⁹ Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân, pp. 203-209; Perovski, p. 12; Vámbéry, pp. 244-272; Skrine and Ross, pp. 184-185; R. D. McChesney, “Shībānids,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs and G. Lecomte, vol. IX (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), p. 428; Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 135; Bregel, p. 50; Sinor, p. 197; Hayit, pp. 8-9; Grousset, pp. 481-482 and Krader, pp. 91-92. Also see Bacon, p. 6.

⁴⁶⁰ Burnes, vol. II, pp. 357-358; Vámbéry, pp. 244-272; Skrine and Ross, p. 184; Rásonyi, p. 188; Hayit, pp. 8-9; Grousset, pp. 482-483 and Seymour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924* (Massachusetts, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 4. Also see Perovski, p. 12.

political traditions regained their importance within the region.⁴⁶¹ Now, only the descendants of the Genghisid line could be the sovereigns of the region with the title “Khan.”⁴⁶² Meanwhile, in 1510 near the city of Merv, Muhammad Shaybani was killed in a battle with the Safavid Shah Īsmail (1500-1524), and consequently Shaybanids lost some of their land.⁴⁶³ Nevertheless in a short period of time, the Uzbeks restored their power, regained Mavaraunnahr and formed two independent khanates; one in Samarkand and Bukhara and the other in Khwarazm (Khiva).⁴⁶⁴

3.2. The Khivan Khanate⁴⁶⁵

The Uzbek conquerors of Khwarazm (the successor to the old kingdom of Khwarazm),⁴⁶⁶ could not have unified the state under a single rule since there were several other family members which could be stronger than the acting Khan in

⁴⁶¹ Bregel, p. 50.

⁴⁶² Bregel, p. 50.

⁴⁶³ Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân, p. 208; Vámbéry, pp. 269-273; Perovski, p. 14; Suavî, pp. 63-64; Skrine and Ross, p. 185; Rásonyi, p. 188; Barthold, p. 135; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, pp. 186-188; McChesney, p. 428; Bregel, p. 50; Hayit, pp. 8-9; Grousset, pp. 482-483; Soucek, pp. 150-151; Sinor, p. 197 and Becker, p. 4. Henry H. Howorth dates the death of Muhammed Shaybani at about 1610; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 876. Also see Burnes, vol. II, pp. 258, 358 and Bregel, pp. 46, 50-51.

⁴⁶⁴ Skrine and Ross, pp. 185-193; Barthold, p. 136; Bregel, pp. 50-53; Grousset, p. 484; Becker, p. 4 and Saray, p. 18.

⁴⁶⁵ For detailed information about origin and history of the Khanate, see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 876-977. Also for the genealogy of the Khans of Khwarazm, see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 977.

⁴⁶⁶ In the seventeenth century, Köhne Ürgenç (i.e. Kunya Urgench, meaning “old” Urgench), the ancient capital of Khwarazm, was transferred from Köhne Ürgenç to Khiva, it was then that Khwarazm became known as Khiva; see Becker, p. 4 and W. Barthold and M.L. Brill, “*Khīwa*,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, B. Lewis and Ch. Pellat, vol. V (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), p. 24. Baymirza Hayit also says that probably Khiva became the capital of Khwarazm about 1615; see Hayit, pp. 27-28. However, note that Mary Holdsworth says that “Khiva had become the capital since the late sixteenth century when old Urgench had lost its water supply through a change in course of the Amu Dar’ya,” see Mary Holdsworth, *Turkestan in the Nineteenth Century: A Brief History of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva* (Oxford: Central Asian Research Centre, 1959), p. 21. Yuri Bregel says that the city of Khiva became the capital of Khwarazm between the years 1603 and 1622; Bregel, p. 56.

many cases.⁴⁶⁷ Actually, during the sixteenth century, Khwarazm was “a confederation of practically independent principalities.”⁴⁶⁸ In other words, under the rule of the Khwarazmian Khan, there were several *begliks* that formed the khanate.⁴⁶⁹ Therefore, Shaybanid dynasties lost their power in 1598 in Bukhara and in 1687 in Khiva.⁴⁷⁰ The Uzbek tribal aristocracy was only able to seize power at the core of the khanates while independent principalities were formed in the outlying areas of both of the khanates.⁴⁷¹ However, it should also be noted that since the Khivan Khanate was smaller and isolated by deserts, it was still easier to deal with the internal conflicts.

When the Uzbeks gained the control of Khwarazm in the first half of the sixteenth century, they immediately began to plunder Khorasan and the Turkmens.⁴⁷² After these plunderings against them, Turkmens were forced to pay tribute while the rest remained hostile to the Uzbek rulers.⁴⁷³ For instance, during the reign of Sufyan Khan, the Ersari tribe of the Turkmens, who were then encamping nearby Balkan, were forced to pay tribute but later they killed some of Khan’s tax collectors.⁴⁷⁴ Therefore, the Turkmens were punished to pay 40,000 sheep for the loss of the Khan.⁴⁷⁵ The Ersaris and the Khorasan Salurs both paid 16,000 sheep while 8,000 sheep were paid by the Teke, Sarik and the Yomuts.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁶⁷ Barthold, p. 136.

⁴⁶⁸ Bregel, p. 52.

⁴⁶⁹ Skrine and Ross, pp. 194-203; Barthold and Brill, p. 24. Also see Becker, p. 4 and Bregel, p. 52.

⁴⁷⁰ Becker, p. 4.

⁴⁷¹ Becker, p. 4.

⁴⁷² Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 880.

⁴⁷³ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 880.

⁴⁷⁴ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 881. Actually, Ali Suavî says that the “Ebu’l-Han” Turkmens killed forty tax collectors; Suavî, p. 68.

⁴⁷⁵ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 881.

⁴⁷⁶ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 881.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, the Khanate of Khiva was composed of three peoples; Sarts⁴⁷⁷, Turkmens, and finally the most dominantly the Uzbeks.⁴⁷⁸ In fact, there was a great hate and struggle of power between the old and the new masters of the region, namely the Turkmens and the Uzbeks.⁴⁷⁹ Among these conflicts, the reign of Arab Muhammed Khan⁴⁸⁰ (r. 1602-1621) ended with a rebellion led by his two younger sons; Habaş Sultan and İlbars Sultan.⁴⁸¹ However, Arab Muhammed Khan was succeeded by his elder son İsfendiyâr Khan (r. 1623-1642) who was supported by the Turkmens rather than his own people; the Uzbeks.⁴⁸² For instance, when İsfendiyâr Khan made an attack on the camp of his younger brother Habaş Sultan, 300 men of the Teke, Sarık and Yomut Turkmens joined İsfendiyâr Khan.⁴⁸³ Thus, between the years 1623-1642, which is within İsfendiyâr Khan's reign, the westernmost of the Uzbek Khanates was under Turkmen rule.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁷⁷ Concerning the name of "Sart," relying on Mr. Lerch, Eugene Schuyler says that "Sarts means merely a city inhabitant;" see Schuyler, vol. I, pp. 104-105. On the other hand, Barthold says that before, the word "Sart, Sartak, Sartavul" meant "merchant" in Hindi. Then, according to him, the Turks and Mongols began to apply this term to the sedentary people of Iran (Persia); see Barthold, *İslâm Medeniyeti Tarihi*, p. 59. Moreover, according to Elizabeth E. Bacon, literally the word "Sart" means "merchant" and is of Indian origin. E. Bacon says that the early Turks applied this term to the "oasis people of Iranian speech as an alternative to Tajik." She also adds that under the Uzbek dynasties, the word "Sart" referred to a way of life. In other words, the nomad people applied this term to the oasis dwellers regardless of their language; whether Persian or Turkic; see Bacon, pp. 15-18.

⁴⁷⁸ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 896-897; here while Howorth says that the Sarts are of Persian descent and the Uzbeks came in with the Shaybanids, he also says that the "Tukomans descended from the Guz and Kankalis, the stemfathers of the Sëljuks and Osmanlis." However, he does not explain the Kankalis' descendance. Also see Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, pp. 190-192.

⁴⁷⁹ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 897. Also see Barthold, pp. 190-192.

⁴⁸⁰ His successors were also called as Arabshaniids.

⁴⁸¹ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 894-896 and Suavî, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁸² Aboul-Ghâzi Bêhâdour Khân, pp. 311-340; Suavî, pp. 80-81; Zuhâl Kargı Ölmez, "Preface" in Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, *Şecere-i Terākime (Türkmenlerin Soykütüğü)*, p. 22; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 896-900 and Bregel, p. 56. Also see V.-V. Barthold, *La Découverte de l'Asie: Histoire de l'Orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*, trans. and annotated by B. Nikitine (Paris: Payot, 1947), pp. 204-205.

⁴⁸³ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 897. Here Ali Suavî says that İsfendiyâr Khan was supported by the Teke Turkmens against Arab Muhammed's other son; see Suavî, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁸⁴ Sinor, p. 215.

Throughout this period, the best known figure of the Khivan Khanate was the aforementioned Uzbek ruler Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan -also brother of İsfendiyâr Khan-, the author of the works *Şecere-i Terākime* and *Şecere-i Türk*.⁴⁸⁵ Within the seventeenth century, the most detailed information about the Turkmen history was given by Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan as mentioned earlier. It should be noted that, at the very beginning of his work *Şecere-i Terākime*, Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan also mentioned the great hatred between the Uzbeks and the Turkmens within the khanate.⁴⁸⁶ Actually Turkmens suffered very much during Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan's continuous twenty-one years of reign since he was very hostile to the Turkmen people.⁴⁸⁷ During the throne struggle between İsfendiyâr Khan and Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan, Turkmens sided with the elder brother as mentioned above.⁴⁸⁸ Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan was defeated and exiled to Persia, while İsfendiyâr Khan became the new Khan of the Khivan Khanate after his father Arab Muhammed Khan.⁴⁸⁹ Throughout the reign of İsfendiyâr Khan, Turkmens enjoyed being the dominant power within the Khanate for almost two decades.⁴⁹⁰ Even some of the Uzbeks were sent away from Khivan Khanate into Bukhara.⁴⁹¹ However, when his brother died in 1642, Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan returned from exile and became the Khan of Khiva which happened to be a disastrous event for

⁴⁸⁵ Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan died in 1663 and after his death, his work *Şecere-i Türk* was completed by his son Enûşe Muhammed Bahadır Khan (1663-1687), also known as Anusha. For detailed information about the work see Zühal Ölmez, *Şecere-i Türk'e göre Moğol Boyları* (Ankara: Sanat Kitabevi, 2003). Also for the reign of Enûşe Muhammed Bahadır Khan, see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 903-904 and Bregel, p. 56.

⁴⁸⁶ Ölmez, "Preface," p. 22. Also see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 896-903.

⁴⁸⁷ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 109-110 and trans. pp. 231-232 and Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân, pp. 342-348.

⁴⁸⁸ Also see Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân, pp. 311-340; Suavî, pp. 80-81; Ölmez, p. 22; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 896-903 and Bregel, p. 56.

⁴⁸⁹ Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân, pp. 308-312; Suavî, pp. 81-83; Ölmez, pp. 21-22; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 896-900 and Bregel, p. 56. Also see Hayit, pp. 27-28.

⁴⁹⁰ Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân, pp. 308-312 and Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 896-900.

⁴⁹¹ Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân, pp. 311-312.

the entire Turkmen people of the Khiva.⁴⁹² Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan himself said that all of the Turkmens were hostile to them in the year 1642,⁴⁹³ therefore, for many times they attacked the Turkmens, and that once they had a fight around Khorasan and some 20,000 people died.⁴⁹⁴ Indeed, throughout the 1640s, Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan drove some Turkmen tribes out of Khwarazm.⁴⁹⁵

The continuous conflict between the Turkmens and the Uzbeks had four major reasons; first the problem of distribution of the land, second the distribution of water, third taxation, and finally the succession of the Khan.⁴⁹⁶ Most of the time, Turkmens were uncomfortable with their situation within the Khanate. The control of the largest part of the fertile lands and a great deal of the water were under Uzbek supervision since during that time Uzbeks were more populous within the Khanate. At this point, it should be noted that Salur tribes including the Teke, Ersarı, Yomut and Göklen began to move into Khorasan beginning with the middle of the seventeenth century.⁴⁹⁷ At the end of the seventeenth century the Ersarı and a part of the Yomut began to be settled while the Çavuldur and the Teke were to be settled by the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁴⁹⁸

Beginning with the second half of the eighteenth century, another Uzbek tribe, namely the Kongrats (i.e. Kungrat, Qongrat or Qungrat) achieved the

⁴⁹² Aboul-Ghâzi Bêhâdour Khân, pp. 338-346; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 900-903 and Bregel, p. 56. Also see Suavî, pp. 81-83; Hayit, pp. 27-28.

⁴⁹³ In his work *Şecere-i Terākime*, Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan says that all of the Turkmens were hostile to them seventeen years before he wrote his work. Since he wrote *Şecere-i Terākime* between 1659 and 1660, the mentioned year would be 1641 or 1642. See Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 109-110 and trans. pp. 231-232.

⁴⁹⁴ Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, org. text pp. 109-110 and trans. pp. 231-232.

⁴⁹⁵ Bregel, p. 56.

⁴⁹⁶ Becker, pp. 81-82; Bregel, p. 60 and Saray, pp. 104-105.

⁴⁹⁷ Kellner-Heinkele, p. 684 and Bregel, p. 58.

⁴⁹⁸ Yuri Bregel, *Nomadic and sedentary elements among the Turkmens*, CAF, xxv (1981), pp. 32-36; cited in Kellner-Heinkele, p. 684.

superiority within the Khivan Khanate.⁴⁹⁹ However, since they were of non-Genghisid descent, they could only bore the title *inak*⁵⁰⁰ (tribal and military chiefs).⁵⁰¹ Then on, the Genghisid dynasty held a little power and enthroned as “puppet-khans.”⁵⁰² From 1763 to 1804, the Kongrat ruled the khanate with the title of *inak*, but from 1804 to 1920 they bore the title Khan.⁵⁰³ Throughout the process beginning with the fall of the Arabshanid dynasty within Khwarazm, the strength of the Turkmens increased in the Khanate.⁵⁰⁴

During the eighteenth century, the Khivan Khanate faced three major dangers; first Peter the Great (1682-1725) sent a military expedition against Khiva in June 1717⁵⁰⁵ -but the attempt was a total failure since the entire expedition was slaughtered by the Khivans-; second in 1740 Nadir Shah of Persia, a Turkmen of the Afşar tribe (1736-1747) conquered Bukhara and Khiva for a short period of time.⁵⁰⁶ At his point, it is important to note that Nadir Shah who subjugated Tekes

⁴⁹⁹ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 916; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, p. 192; Barthold and Brill, p. 24; C.E. Bosworth, “*Kh̲wārazm*,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, B. Lewis and Ch. Pellat, vol. IV (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), pp. 1064-1065; Becker, pp. 4-5; Holdsworth, pp. 1, 21 and Bregel, p. 60.

⁵⁰⁰ Howorth, explains the term *inak* simply as “prime minister,” and says that while the Uzbek Khans were only “titular” rulers, the Kongrats were actually the real ones; see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 916.

⁵⁰¹ Barthold and Brill, p. 24; Bosworth, pp. 1064-1065; Becker, pp. 4-5; Holdsworth, pp. 1, 21 and Bregel, p. 60.

⁵⁰² Bregel, p. 60.

⁵⁰³ Becker, p. 5. Also see Holdsworth, pp. 1, 21 and Bregel, pp. 60, 62.

⁵⁰⁴ Bregel, p. 58.

⁵⁰⁵ Perovski, pp. 37, 42, 84-85, 89; Schuyler, vol. II, p. 329. Also see Suavî, pp. 23-24, 83-84; Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Rusya Tarihi: Başlangıçtan 1917'ye Kadar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1948), pp. 262-263 and Edward Allworth, “Encounter,” in Edward Allworth, ed., *Central Asia: 130 Years of Russian Dominance, A Historical Overview*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), p. 9.

⁵⁰⁶ Charles Marvin, *The Russians at Merv and Herat, and their Power of Invading India*, (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1883), pp. 52-53; Fred Burnaby, *A Ride to Khiva: Travels and Adventures in Central Asia* (London, Paris & New York, Seventh Edition, 1885), pp. 38-39; Skrine and Ross, pp. 200-203, 263; Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, pp. 160-165. Also see W. Barthold, “*Kh̲wārazm*,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*, eds. M. Th. Houtsma, A.J. Wensinck, T. W. Arnold, W. Heffening and E. Lévi-Provençal, vol. II (Leyden: Late E.J. Brill Ltd., 1927), p. 910 and Bregel, p. 58. Vámbéry claims that Nadir Shah was descended from the “Karakli” branch of the Afşar tribe; see Vámbéry, p. 339.

without any resistance, made a census of his newly subjects; the Tekes.⁵⁰⁷ According to this census, the population of the Akhal and Merv Tekes was 40,000, which corresponds to 280,000 people (taking seven persons to each *kibitka* according to Charles Marvin's calculation) of both sexes.⁵⁰⁸ C. Marvin also says that 140,000 of this number belong to the Akhal Teke population.⁵⁰⁹

Then, concerning the dangers that the Khivan Khanate faced, between 1740 and 1770, there was the danger of the raids of the Yomut Turkmens⁵¹⁰ of the Kara Kum desert.⁵¹¹ Yet, within the first half of the eighteenth century, the Turkmens increased their pressure and presence in northern Khorasan.⁵¹² Actually, after the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, the Yomuts' number increasingly grew within the Khivan Khanate.⁵¹³ Although they were defeated by the Kongrat *inak* in the year 1770, it is important to note that the Yomuts were even able to capture the capital Khiva within the very same year.⁵¹⁴ Some fifty years later, in 1819, Nikolai N. Muraviev said that in 1811, the Khivan Khan Muhammed Rahim requested help from the Turkmen tribes of Teke, Göklen and Yomut to make a campaign against the Persians of Khorasan.⁵¹⁵ However, the Teke and Göklen tribes rejected his wish while the Yomuts could not answer right away and

⁵⁰⁷ Marvin, pp. 52-53; Burnaby, p. 38.

⁵⁰⁸ Marvin, pp. 52-53; Burnaby, pp. 38-39.

⁵⁰⁹ Marvin, pp. 52-53; Burnaby, p. 39.

⁵¹⁰ The continuous raids of the Yomut Turkmens were really destructive. Barthold says that shortly before 1770, because of the Yomut Turkmens' raids, "only 40- according to another account, 15-families are said to have been left and he also points that Khiva was about to get completely destroyed. The *Inak* Muhammed Emin was the one to defeat and conquer Turkmens and to restore the power of the town and the country. Barthold also relates the destruction of the old Khiva and the foundation of the new Khiva with Yomut's destructive raids and *Inak* Muhammed Emin's restoration of the prosperity of the country"; see Barthold, pp. 910-911. Also see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 912-915, 917 and Bregel, p. 60.

⁵¹¹ Barthold and Brill, p. 24; Bosworth, p. 1065 and Bregel, p. 60.

⁵¹² Bregel, p. 58.

⁵¹³ Bregel, p. 60.

⁵¹⁴ Bregel, p. 60.

⁵¹⁵ Muraviev, p. 124.

postpone their response; therefore, the Khivan Khan marched against the Göklens and Tekes.⁵¹⁶

3.3. The Demography of the Khivan Khanate

Claims on the population of Khivan Khanate in the nineteenth century differ according to various scholars. In 1885, M. Kostenko, the Chief of the Asiatic Department of the General Staff of the Russian army, stated that the population of Khiva was 400,000.⁵¹⁷

For instance, referring to N. A. Khalfin, D. Kaushik says that in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the three Central Asian Khanates' population was four million, adding that it was almost five million by the middle of the century.⁵¹⁸ Khalfin states that Bukhara's population was about three million while Khokand and Khiva's population were one and a half and half a million respectively.⁵¹⁹ However, Mary Holdsworth claims that the population of the Khivan Khanate was around 700,000.⁵²⁰ She also adds that the 40,000 of this population belonged to the Uzbeks ruling classes.⁵²¹ Similarly, Seymour Becker also estimates the population of the Khanate around 700,000 to 800,000.⁵²² Relying on Colonel G. I. Danilevsky, S. Becker also states that 72 percent of the

⁵¹⁶ Muraviev, pp. 124-125.

⁵¹⁷ Curzon, p. 252.

⁵¹⁸ N. A. Khalfin, *Politika Rossii v Srednei Azii* (Moscow, 1960), p. 19 and N. A. Khalfin, *Prisoyedineniye Srednei Azii k Rossii* (Moscow, 1965), p. 52; cited in Kaushik, pp. 29-30.

⁵¹⁹ N. A. Khalfin, *Politika Rossii v Srednei Azii* (Moscow, 1960), p. 19 and N. A. Khalfin, *Prisoyedineniye Srednei Azii k Rossii* (Moscow, 1965), p. 52; cited in Kaushik, p. 30.

⁵²⁰ Holdsworth, p. 21.

⁵²¹ Holdsworth, p. 21.

⁵²² Becker, p. 10.

population was sedentary, while the 22 percent and 6 percent were semi-nomadic and nomadic respectively.⁵²³ Concerning the demographic information about Khiva in the nineteenth century, here the data recorded by Nikolai N. Muraviev, Baron Von Meyendorf, Captain James Abbott, Arminius Vámbéry, Ali Suavî and Captain H. Spalding will be analyzed since they gave the very important information and figures on this issue.

3.3.1. Peoples of the Khivan Realm throughout the Nineteenth Century

Actually, Khiva was populated mostly by the Uzbeks (about 60 percent) and by the Turkmens (about 27 percent) while the rest was composed of Karakalpaks and Kazakhs.⁵²⁴ In 1819, Nikolai N. Muraviev stated that Khiva was inhabited by four different “races;” Sarts, Karakalpaks, Usbegs [Uzbeks], and Turcomans [Turkmens] and also adds that there were also slaves (Russian, Persian and Kurds) and the Jews.⁵²⁵

A year later, in 1820, Baron Von Meyendorf listed the inhabitants of Khiva as Uzbeks, Turcomans [Turkmens], Kara-Kalpaks [Karakalpaks], Arabese

⁵²³ Colonel G. I. Danilevskii, “Opisanie Khivinsago khanstva,” IRGO, *Zapiski*, V (1851), p. 100 and Prince V. I. Masalskii, *Turkestanskii krai*, in V. P. Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, ed., *Rossia, Polnoe geograficheskoe opisanie nashego otechestva*, XIX (St. Petersburg, 1913), p. 352; cited in Becker, p. 10.

⁵²⁴ Prince V. I. Masalskii, *Turkestanskii krai*, in V. P. Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, ed., *Rossia, Polnoe geograficheskoe opisanie nashego otechestva*, XIX (St. Petersburg, 1913), p. 361; cited in Becker, p. 10.

⁵²⁵ Muraviev, p. 110.

[Arabs], Kirghiz, a few Jews, and partly Sartys [Sarts] or Tadjiks.⁵²⁶ Some twenty years later, General Perovsky names the population of the Khanate as; Uzbeks, Sarts, Karakalpaks, Persians, Russians and Turkomans [Turkmens].⁵²⁷ Then, a year later, in 1840, Captain James Abbot, said that the “races” in Khiva were Oozbegs [Uzbeks], Kara Kulpauks [Karakalpaks], Kulmauks [Kalmuks], Sarts, Toorcumuns [Turkmens], and Kuzzauks [Kirghiz and/or Kazaks].⁵²⁸ Again some twenty years after Captain Abbott, in 1863, Arminius Vámbéry wrote that Khiva was peopled by Özbeks [Uzbeks], Turkomans [Turkmens], Karakalpaks, Kasaks [Kazaks],⁵²⁹ Sarts and Persians.⁵³⁰ Ten years after Vámbéry, in 1873, Ali Suavî said that Khiva was composed of Sart, Özbek, [Uzbeks], Türkmen [Turkmens] and Karakalpaks.⁵³¹

3.3.2. The Population of the Khivan Khanate According to Nineteenth Century Works

Taking into account the numbers that Muraviev gives, (see table 9), we calculate that the four major peoples in Khiva, including the slaves’ numbers, accounts 286,600 families, which corresponds to roughly 1,433,000 persons in

⁵²⁶ Baron Von Meyendorf, ed., *A Journey From Orenburg to Bokhara in the Year 1820*, revised by Chevalier Amadée Jaubert, trans. by Captain E. F. Chapman, R. H. A. (Calcutta: The Foreign Department Press, 1870), Appendix III, p. v.

⁵²⁷ Perovski, p. 93.

⁵²⁸ Actually, Captain Abbott says that the original population of the Khivan Khanate was the “Toorcumun” and “Kuzzauk” tribes who were subjects of the Sarts. Abbott also says that, in time the Uzbeks gained the control of the Khanate at the expense of the Sarts; Captain James Abbott, *Narrative of A Journey From Herat to Khiva, Moscow, St. Petersburg. During the Late Russian Invasion of Khiva; Some Account of the Court of Khiva and the Kingdom of Khaurism*, vol. II (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1884), pp. 271-272.

⁵²⁹ Arminius Vámbéry noted that Kazaks were “called by us Kirghis,” see Vambéry, *Travels In Central Asia*, p. 347.

⁵³⁰ Vambéry, p. 347.

⁵³¹ Suavî, p. 47.

total.⁵³² However, after listing the “races” and their numbers within the Khanate of Khiva, Muraviev assumes that the inhabitants of all the territories directly subject to the Khan was 3,000,000 people adding that this calculation should not be considered as absolutely accurate since it is based only on the results of his own enquiries and suppositions.⁵³³

Table 9. Detailed list of the population within the Khivan Khanate in the accounts of Nikolai N. Muraviev in 1819.⁵³⁴

Population of Khivan Khanate According to Nikolai N. Muraviev (in 1819)⁵³⁵		
“Races”	No. of Families	No. of Persons⁵³⁶ (reckoning to each family five persons)
Sarts	100,000	[500,000]
Karakalpaks	100,000	[500,000]
Usbegs [Uzbeks]	30,000	[150,000]
Settled Turcomans [Turkmens]	50,000	[250,000]
Russian Slaves ⁵³⁷	-	3,000

⁵³² Muraviev, pp. 110-114.

⁵³³ Muraviev, p. 114.

⁵³⁴ Muraviev, pp. 110-114. Also see N.A. Khalfin, *Rossiia i khanstva Srednei Azii (pervaia polovina XIX veka)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1974), pp. 104-117, 118-132.

⁵³⁵ Muraviev, pp. 110-114.

⁵³⁶ Except from the number of Russian and Persian slaves’ numbers, which is discussed right below, rather than stating the number of persons, N. N. Muraviev gives the exact number of families within the Khanate. Since it is mostly accepted that each family was composed of 5 persons, here alongside with the number of families, the number of people is added in order to make a comparison with the other scholars.

⁵³⁷ Pazukhin, a Russian envoy in 1671, says that the price of a slave at Khiva was about 40 to 50 rubles; Captain R. A. Clarke, “A Voyage to Uzbekistan in 1671-72,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (1876 - 1877), p. 220. (The very same article may also be found; Captain R. A. Clarke, “A Voyage to Uzbekistan in 1671-72,” in *The Country of the Turkomans: An anthology of exploration from the Royal Geographical Society*, introduction by Sir Duncan Cumming (London: Oghuz Press and the Royal Geographical Society, 1977), pp. 85-86. This article is communicated and read by Nicholas Tcharikov at the Congress of Orientalists at St. Petersburg in 1876). Henri Moser notes that Florio Beneveni, -an employee of the Russian Foreign Office and Peter the Great’s envoy-, who visited Khiva in 1725 said that the Russia’s envoy noted that in Bukhara, Samarkand and environs, there were more than 3,000 Russian slaves; see Henri Moser, *À Travers l’Asie Centrale: La Steppe Kirghize – Le Turkestan Russe – Boukhara – Khiva – Le Pays des Turcomans et La Perse; Impressions de Voyage* (Paris, E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie, 1885), p. 247. Henry H. Howorth says that throughout the 1720s, there were as many as 10,000 Russian and Persian slaves within the Khanate of Khiva; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 911. As it may be seen above in the figure, Muraviev said that the Russian slaves in Khiva were not more than 3,000, indeed, in 1832, Alexander Burnes stated that there were about 2,000 Russian slaves within the

Persian Slaves ⁵³⁸	-	30,000
TOTAL	[280,000]	[1,433,000]

Table 10. The population in the town Khiva, according to Nikolai N. Muraviev and Captain H. Spalding in 1819 and 1874 respectively.

Population of the town of Khiva According to Nikolai N. Muraviev in 1819 ⁵³⁹		Population of the town of Khiva According to Captain H. Spalding in 1874 ⁵⁴⁰
No. of Families	No. of Inhabitants	No. of Inhabitants
3,000	10,000	4,000

Some twenty years later than N. N. Muraviev, in 1839, General Perovsky says that the “fixed population” of the Khivan Khanate was at 500,000 of both sexes.⁵⁴¹ A year later, in 1840 Captain James Abbott states that the population of Khiva corresponds to 2,468,500, which is almost two fold of Muraviev’s account.⁵⁴² The number of the Turkmen population given by Captain James

Khivan Khanate; see Muraviev, pp. 58, 148 and Burnes, vol. II, p. 386. Some ten years later, in 1840, Captain James Abbott said that “[t]he number of captives in Khaurism is supposed to exceed the Oozbeg population of 700,000;” see Abbott, vol. I, p. 203. In 1873, Eugene Schuyler says that at the time of fall of Khiva, there were 30,000 slaves within the Khivan Khanate; see Schuyler, vol. I, p. 354. Later, in 1874, Captain H. Spalding said that in 1835, the Russian captives in Khiva numbered about 1,000 souls; see Spalding, p. 129. For detailed description of the slave trade in Central Asia, see Perovski, pp. 46-53 and Vámbéry, *Sketches of Central Asia*, Chapter XIII, pp. 205-230; here Vámbéry names the Teke and the Yomut tribes as the most “addicted” Turkmen tribes to the slave trade. Again, concerning this human traffic, after the Teke and the Yomut, Vámbéry lists the Salur and the Sarık; the Alieli and Kara; and the Çavuldurs respectively.

⁵³⁸ While numbering the Persian slaves at 30,000, Muraviev also adds that they were considered as much cheaper than the Russian slaves in Khiva; Muraviev, pp. 58, 148. Vámbéry says that the great majority of the slaves within Turkistan and Khiva was composed of the Shiite Persian slaves; Vámbéry, p. 212. Indeed, in 1874, in the work *Khiva and Turkestan*, Captain H. Spalding said that the total number of Persian slaves within Khiva numbered 40,000 souls. Again in the very same work, a Turkmen saying which is related to the subject is mentioned; “no Persian ever approached the Atrek without a rope round his neck;” see Spalding, p. 55.

⁵³⁹ Muraviev, pp. 114-115.

⁵⁴⁰ Here the author says that the population of both sexes within Khiva did not exceed 4,000 souls and that it was mainly composed of the officials, priests, and merchants. Moreover, concerning the ethnic composition of the town, the author names the Sarts, Persians and the Uzbeks respectively as the main people; Spalding, p. 230.

⁵⁴¹ Perovski, p. 93

⁵⁴² Abbott, vol. II, pp. 271-272.

Abbott also almost doubles N. N. Muraviev's figure on the Turkmen people.⁵⁴³ Muraviev only counts the settled Turkmen, but Abbott's figures include all of the Turkmen. Therefore, the difference between the accounts of Muraviev and Abbott may be reasonable.

Table 11. Detailed list of the population in Khanate of Khiva in the accounts of Captain James Abbott in 1840.⁵⁴⁴

Population of Khanate of Khiva		
Inhabitants	According to Captain James Abbott (in 1840)	
	No. of Families	No. of Persons (reckoning to each tent five persons)
Uzbeks	100,000	500,000
Karakalpaks	40,000	200,000
Kalmuks	6,000	30,000
Sarts	20,000	100,000
Turkmens	91,700	458,500
Kazakh	100,000	500,000
TOTAL	357,700	1,788,500

In addition, Captain James Abbott adds that in Khanate of Khiva there were 700,000 slaves; 20,000 Koozulbaush [Kızılbaş], or Persian tribes; and 90,000 others including the Sarts, which amounts 2,468,500 people in total.⁵⁴⁵ Some thirty years later, in 1873, Ali Suavî gives the list and the population of the inhabitants of Khiva and he accounts the population of Khiva between 500,000 and 510,000.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴³ Abbott, vol. II, pp. 271-272.

⁵⁴⁴ See Abbott, vol. II, pp. 271-272.

⁵⁴⁵ Abbott, vol. II, p. 272.

⁵⁴⁶ Suavî, pp. 47-51.

Table 12. A list of the population in Khiva in the accounts of Ali Suavî in 1873.⁵⁴⁷

Population of Khiva According to Ali Suavî (in 1873)	
Inhabitants	No. of Persons
Uzbeks	70,000
Turkmens	150,000
Karakalpaks	120,000
Slaves (Persian, Kurd, and Russian –being 4-5,000 people)	50-60,000
Sarts	110,000
TOTAL	500-510,000

3.3.3. The Classification of the Inhabitants of Khiva

N. N. Muraviev says that at first, the relation of the four “races” within the Khivan Khanate, to one another was as follows; the Sarts; being the noble; the Karakalpaks the servants; Usbegs [Uzbeks] the conquerors and finally the Turcomans [Turkmens] being the guests.⁵⁴⁸ However, Muraviev mentions that in time, the nation grew more, the old distinctions disappeared and a new classification occurred between the inhabitants of Khiva; the Sarts, Karakalpaks, Usbegs [Uzbeks] and the Turcomans [Turkmens] being the merchants, farmers, nobles and warriors respectively.⁵⁴⁹ On the other hand in 1820, a year after N. N. Muraviev, Baron Von Meyendorf classified the inhabitants of Khiva into two; Uzbeks and Turcomans [Turkmens]: the conquerors of the land, while the Kara-

⁵⁴⁷ Suavî, pp. 47-51. In 1872, Colonel Stebnitzky estimates the number of the various Turkmens tribes within the Khivan Khanate at 5,000 *kebitkas* (15,000 souls); see E. Delmar Morgan, “Colonel Stebnitzky's Report on His Journey in 1872 in Central and Southern Turkomania,” *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 44. (1874), p. 226.

⁵⁴⁸ Muraviev, p. 110.

⁵⁴⁹ Muraviev, p. 110.

Kalpaks [Karakalpaks], Arabese [Arabs], Kirghiz, a few Jews, and partly Sartys [Sarts] or Tadjiks were the nomads.⁵⁵⁰ Later, in 1839, General Perovsky names the Uzbeks as the “conquering race,” while he points the Sarts as the “primitive inhabitants” of the Khanate.⁵⁵¹ In 1840, Captain James Abbott says that the original population of the Khanate of Khiva was composed of the Turkmens and the Kazakh tribes, and that earlier they were subject to the Sarts.⁵⁵² He also adds that the Uzbeks were the “present lords of the soil.”⁵⁵³ Meanwhile, Muraviev also states that the Turkmens, who are divided into many tribes, settled or rather lived a nomadic life within the State according to their commercial or other profits.⁵⁵⁴ Muraviev adds that the settled Turkmens were largely farmers who dwelled in the villages may count about 50,000 families.⁵⁵⁵

While giving such detailed information about the Turkmens, Muraviev also says that at first the Turkmens were regarded as they were guests,⁵⁵⁶ but in time, they permanently settled in Khiva and they formed the “soldier-class” of the Khan’s army.⁵⁵⁷ N. N. Muraviev states that the Khivan army was not a “real standing army” but it was raised in case of war and mainly composed of the Turkmens and the Uzbeks.⁵⁵⁸ Moreover, he adds that the Khan of Khiva could

⁵⁵⁰ Von Meyendorf, Appendix III, p. v.

⁵⁵¹ Perovski, p. 93.

⁵⁵² Abbott, vol. II, p. 271.

⁵⁵³ Abbott, vol. II, p. 271.

⁵⁵⁴ Muraviev, p. 110.

⁵⁵⁵ Muraviev, p. 113. Muraviev also states that in 1819, the Khivan Khan Muhammed Rahim “imposed a charge of half a tilla per camel on every Turcoman caravan arriving in Khiva.” Moreover, the Russian officer estimates this revenue would bring the Khan from £ 23,000 to £ 29,000 per annum; Muraviev, p. 140.

⁵⁵⁶ Muraviev claims that the Turkmens who were considered as “merely temporary sojourners” really wish to be seen as “temporary residents, encamping in the Khanate today and leaving it tomorrow,” see Muraviev, p. 113.

⁵⁵⁷ Muraviev, p. 113.

⁵⁵⁸ Muraviev, pp. 150-151. Also see Spalding, pp. 233-234.

raise only 12,000 well armed troops.⁵⁵⁹ At this point, twenty years after Russian officer Muraviev, General Perovsky claimed that in case of war, although they would be badly armed, the Khivan Khan could raise 20,000 men into the field.⁵⁶⁰

It is also important to note the Russian officer accounts in which he says that the Khivan Khan considered the Turkmens who formed the Khanate's "war army" as his safeguard both against the exterior dangers and the "unruly" Uzbeks.⁵⁶¹ The Khan also exempted these warrior Turkmens from paying taxes.⁵⁶²

At this point, in case of the warriors of the Khivan Khanate, one may use the roughly estimate of Captain James Abbott;

Table 13. The military force of the Khanate of Khiva in the accounts of Captain James Abbott in 1840.⁵⁶³

Captain James Abbott's Estimation of the Military Force of the Khanate of Khiva in 1840	
Oozbegs [Uzbeks]	50,000 horsemen
Toorcumus [Turkmens]	25,000 horsemen
Koozulbash [Kızılbaş], or Persians	8,000 horsemen
Kuzzauks [Kazakhs]	25,000 horsemen
Total	108,000 horsemen

It should be noted that Captain Abbott also says that this figure of 108,000 horsemen is far less than the general estimate, which is considered 350,000.⁵⁶⁴ According to him, this claim is mistaken since he was "credibly informed that the

⁵⁵⁹ Muraviev, pp. 150-151.

⁵⁶⁰ Perovski, p. 93.

⁵⁶¹ Muraviev, p. 138.

⁵⁶² Muraviev, p. 138.

⁵⁶³ Here Abbott also says that the general estimation about the military force of Khaurism is 350,000. But he also states that it is an error since he had been informed that the largest "muster" never exceeded 85,000. See Abbott, vol. II., p. 290. About this issue, also see Suavi, pp. 98-101 and Spalding, pp. 233-234.

⁵⁶⁴ Abbott, vol. II., p. 290.

largest muster has never exceeded 85,000.”⁵⁶⁵ On the other hand, in 1873, Ali Suavî says that Khiva had a regular 1,000 royal guards called “serbâz.”⁵⁶⁶ He also states that in 1873, the Khanate had 3,000 cavalry forces armed with new European carabines adding that there were no infantry within Khiva.⁵⁶⁷

3.4. The Situation of the Khivan Khanate Prior to the Russian Conquest

After overthrowing the Mongol yoke, the Muscovite Grand Duchy began its expansion into Asia. Ivan the Terrible conquered Kazan and Astrakhan⁵⁶⁸ in 1552 and in 1556⁵⁶⁹ respectively.⁵⁷⁰ Meanwhile, for trading purposes, Russia and the Uzbek principalities were in contact with each other since the sixteenth

⁵⁶⁵ Abbott, vol. II., p. 290. Almost twenty years earlier, in 1819, N. N. Muraviev said that “[t]he largest number of well armed troops that Khiva can furnish does not exceed 12,000, but when the Khanate is menaced by any great danger, the Khan forces the Sarts and Karakalpaks to bear arms; now although this supplement doubles or trebles the strength of the army, it does not make it in reality more formidable, on the contrary, it acts rather as a drag upon it, for neither Sarts nor Karakalpaks have any liking for war, or aptitude for warlike exercises, and they are badly armed besides;” Muraviev, p. 151. It should also be noted that although all Khivan troops must pay for their own equipment, only the Turkmens were receiving “an equipment allowance of from 5 to 20 tillas per man from the Khan.” Muraviev, p. 151. Indeed, in 1832, Alexander Burnes said that the Khivan Khan whose troops were either Uzbeks or Turkmens, could “raise a force of 10,000 men, and has a park of nine pieces of ordnance;” Burnes, vol. II, p. 385.

⁵⁶⁶ Suavî, p. 99.

⁵⁶⁷ Suavî, p. 100.

⁵⁶⁸ Also transcribed as Astrahan, Astrachan and also known as Hacitarhan, Hajjitarkhan or Ejderhan; see Muraviev, pp. 98-99; Spalding, p. 184; Allworth, p. 22; Bregel, p. 54 and Kurat, p. 154. Also for the derivation of the name of the city of Astrakhan, see George Vernardsky, *A History of Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), p. 21.

⁵⁶⁹ The occupation took place at the end of 1556 or at the very beginning of 1557; see Kurat, p. 154.

⁵⁷⁰ On July 14th 1558, the famous English traveler Anthony Jenkinson recorded that the Emperor of Russia conquered the town of Astrakhan six years ago; see Richard Hakluyt, *Voyages and Discoveries: The Principal Navigations Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed., abridged and introduced by Jack Beeching (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), pp. 77-102. Also see Kurat, pp. 152-154; Becker, pp. 11-12; Bregel, p. 54; Kaushik, p. 40 and Soucek, p. 163. In 1899, Francis Henry Skrine and Edward Denison Ross dates the occupation of Kazan and Astrakhan at the year 1554; see Skrine and Ross, pp. 236-237.

century primarily because of their geographic position.⁵⁷¹ Indeed, since they were only in relation with the Russians, according to the Turkmens there were two types of Europeans; first the “yellow Russians,” being the real Russians and the “black Russians” being all of the other European nations.⁵⁷²

The fall of the Astrakhan and Kazan Khanates in the latter half of the sixteenth century increased the commercial relations of Russia and Central Asia. For instance, in 1558 the famous English traveler, Anthony Jenkinson was sent to Central Asia as the captain-general of the fleet of the Muscovy Company and he had been to Nizhniy Novgorod, Caspian Sea, Khiva and Bukhara.⁵⁷³ When he was in Ürgenç (Urgench) in October 1558, A. Jenkinson recorded that all the land as far as the Caspian Sea was called “land of the Tartars called Turkmen,”⁵⁷⁴ adding that this land was subject to Hacı (Haji) Muhammed Khan⁵⁷⁵ and his five

⁵⁷¹ W. Barthold and R.N. Frye, “Bukhārā,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. H. A. R. Gibb, J. H. Kramers, E. Lévi-Provençal, J. Schacht, vol. I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), p. 1295. Also see Kurat, p. 349.

⁵⁷² Edmond O'Donovan, “Merv and Its Surroundings,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, Vol. 4, No. 6. (Jun., 1882), pp. 351.

⁵⁷³ *The Country of the Turkomans*, p. xix. Also see Marvin, p. 51; Allworth, p. 23; Krader, pp. 91-92 and Barthold, *La Découverte de l'Asie*, pp. 204-205. For brief information about A. Jenkinson's travel, see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 890-892. Also see Barthold, pp. 204-205.

⁵⁷⁴ In the text, Jenkinson says “...Thus proceeding we passed by a goodly river called Kama, unto Astrakhan and so following the north and northeast side of the Caspian Sea, to a land of the Tartars called Turkmen, whose inhabitants are of the law of Mahomet, and were all destroyed in the year 1558, through civil wars among them, accompanied with famine, pestilence, and such plagues, in such sort that in the said year there were consumed of people, in one sort and another, above one hundred thousand. They were divided into divers companies called hordes, and every horde had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king and was called a murse;” Hakluyt, p. 78. Denis Sinor also quotes him: “All the land from the Caspian Sea to the city of Urgenj is called the land of the Turkmen...(The Khan) is little obeyed saving in his own dominion and where he dwells, for everyone will be king in his own portion and one brother always seeks to destroy another... And when there were wars between these brothers (as they are seldom without), he that is overcome, if he is not slain, he flees to the field with such company of men as will follow him...and there he lives in the wilderness resorting to watering places, and robs and spoils as many caravans and merchants as he is able to overcome, continuing this sort of wicked life until such time as he may get power and aid to invade some of his brethren again;” Sinor, pp. 214-215.

⁵⁷⁵ For detailed information about the rule of Hacı Muhammed Khan, see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 886-894.

brothers.⁵⁷⁶ At the end of his travel, A. Jenkinson took four envoys from Hacı Muhammed Khan to the Russian Emperor.⁵⁷⁷ Later, in 1595, in order to “solicit” the friendship of the Tsar Feodor, fresh envoys were sent from Khwarazm.⁵⁷⁸ Anthony Jenkinson was the first official ambassador to the Central Asia and then after; diplomatic relations were maintained between Russia and the region despite the irregularity of the relations.⁵⁷⁹

In the year 1669, another Russian envoy, Boris Andreyevich Pazukhin was sent by Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (r. 1645-1676, Peter the Great’s father) to the Khans of Khiva, Bukhara and Balkh.⁵⁸⁰ Pazukhin left Moscow on the 30th of June, 1669 and arrived to Khiva on 18th of May 1671, and met the Khivan Khan.⁵⁸¹ Pazukhin, who studied the political and economical condition of the Uzbek Khanates, says that the army of the Khan of Khiva was hardly numbered 30,000 horsemen.⁵⁸² Besides, Pazukhin also adds that in case of war, all the Khivan people, including agriculturalists and merchants, etc, would join the troops in order to obtain booty.⁵⁸³ Concerning the financial situation of the Khanates, the Russian envoy says that the Khans were not rich since they distribute their lands

⁵⁷⁶ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 893 and Hakluyt, p. 78.

⁵⁷⁷ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 894 and Becker, p. 12.

⁵⁷⁸ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 894.

⁵⁷⁹ Barthold, pp. 204-205 and Becker, *Russia’s* p. 12. Actually, the missions that were carried in order to obtain reliable and valuable information about the region were extremely important for both sides. For instance D. Kaushik states that in the latter half of the sixteenth century, eight missions from Russia came to Central Asia, while in the next century twelve Khivan and Bukharan missions visited Russia; see Kaushik, p. 31.

⁵⁸⁰ Clarke, pp. 218-219.

⁵⁸¹ Clarke, pp. 218-219. Captain Clarke records the Khivan Khan of that time as “Navsha Mambet Khan” but the proper transcription would be Enûşe Muhammed Bahadır Khan (1663-1687), also known as Anusha, the son of Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan.

⁵⁸² Clarke, p. 220.

⁵⁸³ Clarke, p. 220.

to the dependents rather than paying them, and that the revenues were derived from house-tax and custom-dues.⁵⁸⁴

It is very important to note that in 1700, because of his discontent of being the subject of Bukhara, the Khivan Khan sent an envoy to Russia requesting the annexation of Khiva to Russia.⁵⁸⁵ Then, in May 1703, another Khivan envoy was sent to Russia by the new Khivan Khan, declaring Khan's submission to Russia.⁵⁸⁶ However, this "tempting offer" was ignored by Peter the Great until the year 1714, and from then on Peter the Great decided to interfere in Central Asian affairs more than ever.⁵⁸⁷ Indeed, it was the eighteenth century when the relations between Central Asia and Russia became relatively important since beginning with Peter the Great's reign, Russia began to seek ways to Bukhara and India for trading purposes.⁵⁸⁸ Besides, it was claimed that there was gold, which was to be found along the valley of the Amu Darya.⁵⁸⁹ Therefore, Peter the Great had a policy of penetration of Central Asia alongside with his trading concerns.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁴ Clarke, p. 220.

⁵⁸⁵ Schuyler, vol. II, p. 329; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 905; Spalding, p. 115 and Skrine and Ross, p. 240. Actually, the Khivan envoy declared Khiva's request of being a Russian subject to Prince Boris A. Golitsyn, who was a close confidant of the Russian Tsar Peter the Great; see Allworth, p. 43.

⁵⁸⁶ Perovski, pp. 9, 15; Schuyler, vol. II, p. 329; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 905; Spalding, p. 115 and Skrine and Ross, p. 240. Also see Holdsworth, p. 50.

⁵⁸⁷ Perovski, p. 9 and Skrine and Ross, p. 240. Also see Suavî, p. 83; Hayit, p. 28 and Barthold, pp. 233-238. A. Z. V. Togan says that at those times, the most powerful Turkmen tribe was the Teke which was composed of 100,000 tents and that the Turkmens requested to be the subject of the Russians at 1744; see A. Z. Velidî Togan, *Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve yakın Tarihi*, Vol I, "Batı ve Kuzey Türkistan" (İstanbul: Aksiseda Matbaası, 1981), pp. 233-234.

⁵⁸⁸ Perovski, pp. 9-11, 37; Nikolai N. Muraviev, "Author's Preface" in *Journey to Khiva through the Turkoman Country, 1819-20*, p. I; Skrine and Ross, pp. 239-240; Marvin, pp. 52-53; Burnaby, p. 249; Barthold, pp. 233-238; Hayit, pp. 28, 44-49; Baymirza Hayit, *Islam and Turkestan Under Russian Rule* (İstanbul: Can Matbaa, 1987), p. 223; Vernardsky, p. 104; Bregel, p. 58 and Bosworth, p. 1065. Also see Suavî, pp. 23-24, 83-84 and Kurat, pp. 262-263. The Russian Tsar Peter I said; "Russia's domination in Asia must be extended. Turkestan is the gate to the whole continent of Asia and consequently to India too;" Hayit, p. 223.

⁵⁸⁹ Schuyler mentions a Turkmen named Hadji Nefes (i.e. Hacı Nefes) -who came to Astrakhan in 1713 and converted there- telling many stories about the gold which was to be found along the valley of the Amu Darya. This Turkmen also told how the Uzbeks had closed the old channel of the stream which had flowed into the Caspian, and suggested to the Russians to break down the

Actually in 1715, because of the aforementioned gold reserves issue, Peter the Great sent an expedition -which proved to be unsuccessful- to the eastern Turkistan nearby the Yarkent town.⁵⁹¹ After this attempt, the Tsar was determined to capture Khiva.⁵⁹² In June 1717, Prince Bekovitch Cherkassky⁵⁹³ moved over the steppe towards Khiva with an army of 3,500 men, six guns, and a caravan of 200 camels and 300 horses.⁵⁹⁴ The Russians had a battle with Khivans, which took place about a hundred miles from Khiva, in the banks of Amu Darya, and that

dam and restore the river to its former channel. Apart from this event, Schuyler also tells that at the same time, Prince Gagarin who was the Governor of Siberia, sent information to Peter the Great that in Little Bukhara there was gold sand. Schuyler suggests that since the mines in the Ural and in Siberia had not been discovered, this information aroused the great monarch's interest and consequently, for three years Prince Bekovitch Cherkassky made several surveys in the eastern shore of the Caspian; see Schuyler, vol. II, p. 329. Also see Arthur Conolly, *Journey to the North of India, Overland from England, Through Russia, Persia, and Affghaunistaun By Lieut. Arthur Conolly* (London, Richard Bentley, 1834), vol. I, pp. 145-146; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 906-907; Burnaby, p. 249. Skrine and Ross mentions that this adventurer "Khwāja Nefes" studied in Samarcand and Bukharan colleges, see Skrine and Ross, p. 240. Also see Barthold, pp. 235-236 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 261. For the mentioning of the golden reserves also see Muraviev, p. 39; Von Meyendorf, p. 21; Bregel, p. 58; Kurat, pp. 262-263 and Hayit, *Türkistan*, pp. 45-46. Ali Suavî strongly disagrees with the gold reserve claims and says that Peter the Great had only one motive in sending an expedition against Khiva; to conquer the Khivan lands; see Suavî, pp. 83-84.

⁵⁹⁰ See Schuyler, vol. II, p. 329; Burnaby, p. 249 and Suavî, pp. 23, 83-84. Also see Kurat, pp. 262-263; Hayit, pp. 46-47; Skrine and Ross, pp. 239-240 and Barthold, pp. 233-238.

⁵⁹¹ Muraviev, pp. 39, 104, 108; Also see Barthold, pp. 235-236; Bregel, p. 58; Hayit, pp. 46-47 and Kurat, pp. 262-263, 347. Note that N. N. Muraviev mentions the year of the expedition at 1716.

⁵⁹² Kurat, p. 263.

⁵⁹³ In 1819, Muraviev says that Prince Bekovitch was known in Khiva as "Dowlat Harai;" see Muraviev, p. 108. Actually, Alexandre Bekovitch Cherkassky, was a Caucasian chieftain whose real name was "Devlet Giray." After his conversion and baptism, he was given the name Bekovitch Cherkassky, and later on he had been given a commission in the Preobazhinskiy regiment with the title of prince; see Suavî, pp. 23-24; Mehmet Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Orta Asya'ya Seyahat*, ed., Rızâ Akdemir (Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1996), p. 18 (This work was first published in 1878 in İstanbul with its original title "İstanbul'dan Asya-yı Vüstayı Seyahat"); Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 907; Barthold, pp. 235-238 and Skrine and Ross, p. 240. On the other hand, in his work *Türkistan*, Baymirza Hayit says that Cherkassky's real name was "Davlat Kisden Mirza," and that he was a Muslim from Kabardin; see Hayit, p. 46. B. Nikine also says that Bekovitch was a Cherkassian from Kabardin and notes that Bekovitch means "the son of a bek (noble);" see Barthold, pp. 235-236.

⁵⁹⁴ Schuyler, vol. II, p. 329. Also see Muraviev, p. 104; Von Meyendorf, pp. 21, 48; Conolly, vol. I, pp. 145-146; Abbott, vol. II, pp. 290-291; Suavî, pp. 23, 83-84; Mehmet Emin Efendi, p. 18; Hayit, p. 47 and Hambly, p. 202. It should be noted that in 1840, Captain James Abbott says that Bekovitch's force was 4,000 men; see Abbott, vol. II, p. 290. A year later, Arthur Conolly says that there were 3,000 regular Russian soldiers; see Conolly, vol. I, p. 146. Later, in 1873, the number of 3,000 Russian soldiers was confirmed by Ali Suavî; see Suavî, p. 83. A year later, in 1974, in his work *A Ride to Khiva*, F. Burnaby mentions that the detachment consisted in all of 3,300 men, and six guns, see Burnaby, p. 250. A. N. Kurat says the very same detachment was composed of 3,650 soldiers; see Kurat, p. 263; also see Spalding, pp. 115-122. Also see Perovski, pp. 37, 42, 84-85, 89; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 907-910; Hayit, *Islam and Turkestan Under Russian Rule*, p. 223 and Allworth, p. 9.

after the battle, the Khan surrendered himself and tricked Prince Bekovitch Cherkassky by gaining his full confidence.⁵⁹⁵ The Khan convinced the Prince to go and take the actual possession of Khiva, and when Prince Bekovitch Cherkassky divided his army into several parts –according to the Khan’s request-, the Khivans attacked the separate portions of the expeditions and massacred almost the entire expedition.⁵⁹⁶ After this decisive defeat, apart from the commercial relations, the Russians left the Turkmens of the region alone more than a century until the expedition of 1819 led by Nikolai N. Muraviev.⁵⁹⁷ For instance, in 1791, the Turkmens took the oath of allegiance to Russia but the Russians ignored them and they had to rely on Khiva.⁵⁹⁸

Indeed, in 1819, Nikolai N. Muraviev said; “[t]he unhappy fate of Prince Bekovitch taught us a lesson of Khivan faithlessness and blood-thirstiness, and

⁵⁹⁵ Muraviev, “Author’s Preface,” p. I; Schuyler, vol. II, p. 329; Abbott, vol. II., pp. 290-291; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 907-909; Spalding, pp. 119-121; Burnaby, p. 250; Skrine and Ross, pp. 240-242; Hayit, *Türkistan*, p. 47 and Barthold, pp. 235-236.

⁵⁹⁶ Muraviev, p. I; Von Meyendorf, p. 48; Schuyler, vol. II, p. 329; Spalding, pp. 120-121; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 908; Burnaby, p. 250; Mehmet Emin Efendi, p. 18; Suavî, p. 23 and Hambly, p. 202. In 1820, Baron Von Meyendorf said that Prince Bekovitch’s tragical end Russian saying, “he is lost like Bekewitsch;” see Von Meyendorf, p. 48. Also see N.A. Khalfin, p. 18; Skrine and Ross, pp. 240-242; here F. H. Skrine also mentions that after this defeat, in Russia, hopeless ruin was synonymously used with the expression “Lost as Bekovitch.” Also see Vernardsky, p. 104; Allworth, p. 9; Bregel, p. 58; Hayit, p. 47; Soucek, p. 197 and Kurat, p. 263. Note that in 1819, N. N. Muraviev, stated that Prince Bekovitch “was flayed alive, and a drum head made out of his skin;” see Muraviev, p. 136. This is also mentioned by Conolly; Conolly, vol. I, pp. 145-146. However note that Ali Suavî strongly disagrees with this claim; see Suavî, pp. 23, 83-85.

⁵⁹⁷ Holdsworth, p. 50. However, note that in 1721, Peter the Great sent a Russian envoy, an Italian named Florio Beneveni, who was an employee of the Russian Foreign Office. Beneveni arrived to Bukhara in 1721 and visited Khiva in 1725 to Khiva and Bukhara; see Schuyler, vol. II, pp. 329-330; Moser, p. 247; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 909-911; Vernardsky, p. 104; Barthold, pp. 237-238; Allworth, pp. 5, 25; Perovski, p. 10 and Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 156. Note that General Perovsky says that Peter the Great sent Beneveni to Bukhara in 1718. Sir Henry Rawlinson notes that in 1723, an English officer, Captain Bruce examined the east coast of the Caspian in a Russian vessel for the Russian Tsar, Peter the Great; see Rawlinson, p. 161. Moreover, in 1725, during the reign of Empress Anna of Russia (r. 1730-1740), another envoy, namely Colonel Erdberg was sent to Khiva but he had to return to his country right away since they were pillaged; see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 912.

⁵⁹⁸ Perovski, pp. 58-59 and Allworth, p. 53.

since then all inter-course between Russia and Khiva had ceased.”⁵⁹⁹ In the meantime, in 1793, the Russian court sent a doctor named Blankenagel⁶⁰⁰ in order to prescribe the Khivan Khan’s uncle who was suffering from an eye disease.⁶⁰¹ The Doctor arrived at Khiva in October, 1793, and after examining the patient, he decided that it was incurable, and requested to leave for his country right away.⁶⁰² However, the Khivans did not release him, thus he escaped from Khiva and took refuge with the Turkmens, who sent him to Mangışlak, then to Astrakhan for him to go to Russia.⁶⁰³ In 1793, after his observations within the Khivan Khanate, in a pamphlet on Khiva, Doctor Blankenagel concluded that “I dare to say, with all confidence, that five thousand men could without difficulty occupy the whole of the Khivan territory.”⁶⁰⁴ The Russian doctor also said that the population of Khiva did not exceed 100,000.⁶⁰⁵ Besides, he added that of this 100,000 people, 41 percent were Uzbeks, 15 percent were of Sarts, ten percent were of Karakalpaks, and five or six percent were of the Yomuts while counting the rest as the slaves.⁶⁰⁶ Concerning the military power of Khiva, Blankenagel said that the army was consisted of 12,000 to 15,000 men, of whom only some 2,000 had guns while the rest of the army was the cavalry armed with “sword, spears, and bows and arrows.”⁶⁰⁷

⁵⁹⁹ Muraviev, “Author’s Preface,” p. I.

⁶⁰⁰ Also transcribed as Blankennagel, Blankenagel or Blankenuayel.

⁶⁰¹ Perovski, p. 42; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 917-918; Spalding, p. 123 and Barthold, *La Découverte de l’Asie*, p. 256. Also see Von Meyendorf, pp. 48-49 and Allworth, pp. 42, 55.

⁶⁰² Perovski, p. 42; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 917; Spalding, pp. 123-124 and Barthold, p. 256.

⁶⁰³ Perovski, p. 42 and Spalding, pp. 123-124.

⁶⁰⁴ Spalding, pp. 124-125 and Allworth, p. 55.

⁶⁰⁵ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 917-918.

⁶⁰⁶ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 918.

⁶⁰⁷ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 918.

After Peter the Great's reign, for a long time -actually until the second Russian attack against Khiva in 1839- the Russian government was basically focused on improving trade relations; opening a Russian trade route to India; and to free Russian slaves.⁶⁰⁸ Actually, throughout the eighteenth century, Russia was very concerned about the Kazakh nomads since they overwhelmed Russia with their continuous raids into the Russian frontier and the Russian and Central Asian trading caravans.⁶⁰⁹ Meanwhile, it was again during the eighteenth century when the Khivan Khanate began to attract the Russian and European travelers' attention. However, the Russian expansionist threat at the expense of the Turkestani territories ended miserably for the Uzbek Khanates by the mid-nineteenth century.

It should also be noted that in 1803, the Mangışlak tribes –of the eastern shores of Caspian- declared their loyalty to the Russian Tsar.⁶¹⁰ However, when the Turkmens requested Russian help against Persia in 1813, they were refused – because of the Napoleonic wars- and this refusal caused a great hatred against Russia.⁶¹¹ Therefore, some of them -who were dwelling around Caspian's eastern parts- desperately, remained loyal to Persia, while the ones who refused to do so went to Khiva and declared their loyalty to the Khivan Khan Muhammed Rahim.⁶¹²

From 1806 to 1842, territory of the Khivan Khanate reached its greatest extent; from the shores of the Aral Sea and the Syr Darya mouth to the south of

⁶⁰⁸ Becker, pp. 12-13.

⁶⁰⁹ Perovski, p. 37; and Barthold, pp. 248-263 and Becker, p. 13. Also see Skrine and Ross, p. 243.

⁶¹⁰ Skrine and Ross, p. 243.

⁶¹¹ Suavî, pp. 24-25 and Skrine and Ross, pp. 243, 267.

⁶¹² Suavî, pp. 24-25.

Merv.⁶¹³ During his reign, Muhammed Rahim Khan⁶¹⁴ (r. 1806-1826) of Khiva, subdued the Teke; deported the Karadaşlı, Göklen and Yemreli tribes to Khivan Khanate.⁶¹⁵ Moreover, the Yomuts⁶¹⁶ who had been banished from Khivan Khanate in the reign of his brother Avaz İnak İltüzer⁶¹⁷ (r. 1804-1806), also returned.⁶¹⁸ Thus, within the year 1822, many Turkmen tribes recognized the authority of the Khivan Khan.⁶¹⁹ However, within the nineteenth century, there was a continuous rivalry between the Central Asian khanates, namely of Bukhara, Khiva and Khokand and the disunity between them made them more vulnerable against the upcoming invader; Russians.⁶²⁰ For instance, in the late nineteenth century, Arminius Vámbéry said that even the legendary leaders like Timur or Genghis could hardly unify these Khanates against their common enemy.⁶²¹ Concerning the rivalry and the conflict between the Uzbek khanates, it should be noted that in 1839-1842, and then in 1863, Bukhara invaded the Khokand Khanate and in 1873 the Bukharans expanded their territories against the Khivan Khanate.⁶²²

⁶¹³ Bosworth, p. 1065 and Barthold, “*Khawārizm*,” p. 911. Also see Bregel, pp. 62-63.

⁶¹⁴ For further information about his reign, see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 920-939.

⁶¹⁵ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 949-977; Bregel, p. 62. Also see Holdsworth, p. 22. Note that in 1808, the Khan of Bukhara conquered Khiva but gave it back to the Khivans; see Von Meyendorf, p. 57, Appendix III, p. v; Conolly, vol. I, p. 157 and Suavî, pp. 88-89.

⁶¹⁶ Note that Henry H. Howorth says the Yomuts’ role within the history of the Khivan Khanate “recalls that of the janissaries in Turkey;” see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 919.

⁶¹⁷ For further information about his reign, see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 918-920.

⁶¹⁸ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 918-920; Bregel, p. 62. Also see Holdsworth, p. 22.

⁶¹⁹ Von Meyendorf, Appendix III, p. v; Spalding, *Khiva and Turkestan*, p. 126 and Togan, Vol I, p. 233.

⁶²⁰ Kurat, pp. 346-347; Holdsworth, p. 2 and Becker, pp. 5-6. Also see Vámbéry, *History of Bokhara*, pp. 377, 399-400.

⁶²¹ Vámbéry, *Sketches of Central Asia*, pp. 399-400.

⁶²² Barthold and Frye, p. 1296 and Becker, p. 5. Note that Francis Henry Skrine and Edward Denison date the invasion of the Khokand Khanate by the Bukharan Emir at the year 1865; see Skrine and Ross, p. 221.

3.5. The Locations and the Populations of the Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest

If we consider the population of Turkistan, which was formed as a new Province of Russia in 1865, it would be easier to figure the Turkmen's position and population prior to the Russian conquest. Here the contemporary travelers' detailed notes are very explanatory, for instance, in 1873 Eugene Schuyler estimated the population of the Russian province of Turkistan at 1,600,000 and added that fully 1,000,000 of this estimation were nomads.⁶²³

Indeed, again in 1873, Ali Suavî assumes that the population of Turkistan was 1,466,735.⁶²⁴

Table 14. The Population of Turkistan in 1873 according to Ali Suavî.⁶²⁵

The Population of Turkistan in 1873 (According to Ali Suavî)		
	Population	Area (km²)
Syr Darya Province	865,461 person	512,330 km ²
Yedi-Su (Semirechye) Province	486,937 person	375,500 km ²
Kulca Province	114,337 person	71,225 km ²
Total	1,466,735 person	909,055 km²

Some 25 years after Ali Suavî, the Tsarist census of 1897, declared the total population of the *gubernia* (i.e. administrative territorial unit) of Turkistan

⁶²³ Schuyler, vol. I. p. 109, vol. II, p. 202. For detailed information about the Russian administration of Turkistan, see Schuyler, vol. II. Chapter XIII, "The Russian Administration," pp. 202-258.

⁶²⁴ Suavî, p. 33.

⁶²⁵ Suavî, p. 33.

was 5,281,000.⁶²⁶ Besides, the data given in the table of statistics which was published in the Russian Journal of the Ministry of Finance in 1885 was as follows:

Table 15. The table of statistics published in the Russian Journal of the Ministry of Finance in 1885.⁶²⁷

District	Sedentary Population	Nomad Population	Total Population
Syr Darya	500,000	654,000	1,154,000
Zarafshan	360,000	-	360,000
Ferghana	540,000	150,000	690,000
Amu Darya	30,000	101,000	131,000
Total	1,430,000	905,000	2,335,000

Some four years later, in *Moscow Gazette* of May 1889, the figures increased:

Table 16. The population figures of Turkistan published in the *Moscow Gazette* of May 1889.⁶²⁸

District	Total Population
Syr Darya	1,214,000
Zarafshan	394,000
Ferghana	716,000
Amu Darya	133,630

⁶²⁶ Ian Murray Matley, "The Population and the Land," in *Central Asia: 130 Years of Russian Dominance, A Historical Overview*, p. 94.

⁶²⁷ Curzon, p. 253.

⁶²⁸ Curzon, p. 253.

Total	2,457,630
--------------	------------------

Here it should also be noted that General Grodekoff says that, the Turkmen population in the Turkmen land during the Russian invasion was exceeding 700,000.⁶²⁹

3.5.1. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Nikolai N. Muraviev in 1819

In 1819 General A. P. Yermalov, Military Governor of Georgia, General of Infantry in the Russian Imperial Service, sent Captain N. N. Muraviev of the General Staff, and Major Ponomarev to make a survey of the eastern coast of the Caspian.⁶³⁰ The Staff Officer Muraviev was specifically assigned to “negotiate an alliance with the Khan, and furnish a description of the country and its habitants.”⁶³¹

Relying on an old Turkmen of sixty named Devlet Ali -who was respected greatly by his countrymen-, in 1819, N. N. Muraviev concludes that the Turkmens

⁶²⁹ N. I. Grodekoff, *Voina v Turkmenie*, (St. Petersburg, 1883), p. 40; cited in Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 231.

⁶³⁰ Muraviev, “Author’s Preface,” pp. I-III.

⁶³¹ Muraviev, p. III. Actually the instruction given to N. N. Muraviev was as follows; “Your capacity for making yourself liked, as well as your acquaintance with the Tartar language, can be turned to good account. Do but regard the arts of flattery from an European point of view; they are constantly used by the Asiatics, and you need never fear of being too lavish in this respect. You will be able to make other useful researches, which a residence among those tribes will suggest to you better than I can do, especially as the race you are going to is one regarding which we have but scanty information. Your qualifications and your zeal give me good grounds to expect that this attempt to establish friendly relations with the Turcomans will not be fruitless one, and that the account you will give them of our Government will open the way to future proceedings;” see Muraviev, p. 1.

had no common ruler, and that they were composed of several tribes each of which had its own elder or Chieftain.⁶³² Although Devlet Ali could only mention five of such Chiefs, he also assured Muraviev that there were many more of them among the Turkmen tribes.⁶³³ The Russian Staff Officer also mentions the great power controlled by the “Ak Sakalis” [originally it is transcribed as *Ak Sakals*, which means “white beards” in Turkish, referring to the elderly Chiefs of the Turkmen tribes] and states that the power held by these elders seemed to be greater than that of the Khan’s.⁶³⁴ On the other hand, from Devlet Ali’s accounts and Muraviev’s observations, one may again see the great enmity between the people of Khiva and the Turkmen in the very beginning of the nineteenth century as it was repeatedly mentioned above for the seventeenth century.⁶³⁵

Muraviev gives a detailed list of the Turkmen tribes, their strength, their districts and their branches. He names eleven Turkmen tribes as; 1) Chobdur Essen Ili [Çavdar or Çavuldur], 2) Atta [Ata], 3) Takka [Teke], 4) Salur, 5) Ar Sare Baba [Ersarı], 6) Yomud [Yomut],⁶³⁶ 7) Sakhar [Sakar], 8) Yemreli [İmrali], 9) Sarrack [Sarı], 10) Kaklan [Göklen], 11) Waimak [Oymak].⁶³⁷ Amongst these Turkmen tribes, Muraviev says that the Yomut, Teke and the Göklens dwelled

⁶³² Muraviev, p. 10.

⁶³³ Muraviev, p. 10. Also for the names of the most eminent Turkmen Chiefs, see Muraviev, p. 13.

⁶³⁴ Muraviev, p. 17.

⁶³⁵ Muraviev, p. 10.

⁶³⁶ N. N. Muraviev says that the name of the Yomut tribe was related to a “patriarch” of that name, who had three wives. His very first wife gave him his sons Juni [Cunı], Sharab [Şarab], while the second gave him Kujuk [Küçük] and finally the third gave him his son Bayram Shah [Bayram Şah]. Thus, Muraviev concludes that the four major clans of this tribe descended from these above mentioned four sons, each of which named after their founders; see Muraviev, pp. 21-22.

⁶³⁷ Muraviev, pp. 98-99. Also see N.A. Khalfin, p. 114. For Muraviev’s detailed chart on Turkmen tribes, see Appendix A.

towards the south of the Balkan Bay, and along the coast and in the inner sides of the steppe.⁶³⁸

While he was giving further information about the Yomut tribe, he said that in the summer time the members of this tribe grazed their herds on the banks of the Atrek [Etrek] and Gurgan, while in winters they dwelled nearby the Ak Tepe and its interiors.⁶³⁹ The Russian officer states that the Cunı and Şarab clans of the Yomut tribe were composed of about 15,000 families while he adds that Küçük, Bayram Şah⁶⁴⁰ and Cafer Bey⁶⁴¹ numbered about 8,000; 14,000 and 2,000 families respectively.⁶⁴² Besides, while mentioning the settled Turkmen tribes within the Khivan Khanate, N. N. Muraviev names the Bayram Şah clan of the Yomut tribe as the most numerous amongst all.⁶⁴³ The Russian Staff Officer also says that earlier, this particular clan of the Turkmens was residing by the Caspian Sea, but then they settled around the Arna Canal.⁶⁴⁴ At this point, it should be noted that Muraviev also noted the alliance of the Bayram Şah clan with Khiva.⁶⁴⁵ He mentions the conflicts between the Yomut and the Göklens who had been at war with each other for a long time.⁶⁴⁶ Again, according to Muraviev, although only a 1,000 of them could be well armed, in case of need, the Yomuts could gather 30,000 men in the field.⁶⁴⁷

⁶³⁸ Muraviev, p. 21.

⁶³⁹ Muraviev, p. 22.

⁶⁴⁰ Muraviev says that Bayram Şah of the Yomut tribe were the most numerous one and that before they inhabited the country by the Caspian but in 1839 he also said that they settled around the Arna Canal; Muraviev, p. 113.

⁶⁴¹ Muraviev says that "Jaffir Bey" [Cafer Bey] tribe was the most warlike and numerous tribe which is highly respected for its courage; Muraviev, pp. 36-84.

⁶⁴² Muraviev, pp. 22, 36. For the Chiefs' names of these four clans of the Yomut tribe, again see Muraviev, p. 22.

⁶⁴³ Muraviev, p. 113.

⁶⁴⁴ Muraviev, p. 113.

⁶⁴⁵ Muraviev, p. 22.

⁶⁴⁶ Muraviev, p. 21.

⁶⁴⁷ Muraviev, p. 22.

Concerning the Göklens, the enemy of the Yomuts, Muraviev says that they were “distinguished for its predatory habits.”⁶⁴⁸ At this point, he adds that “predatory” Tekes, another enemy of the Yomuts, who were considered by him as the most violent Turkmen tribe, were quelled by the Khivan Khan in 1813.⁶⁴⁹

The Russian Staff Officer says that the Ar Sare [Ersari] tribe was descended from a “patriarch” [i.e. holy man] named “Ar Sare Baba” and that earlier, they were on the shores of the Balkan Bay but when he was on his way to Khiva on September 1819, he recorded that the Ersaris were settled in Bukhara.⁶⁵⁰

Muraviev also says that the Atta [Ata] tribe was a considerably small tribe comparing to the other Turkmen tribes, and that this fact led this tribe members to seek protection from the Khan of Khiva.⁶⁵¹ Muraviev states that the Yomuts expelled the Ata Turkmen from the Caspian shores and until then, they became the subjects of Muhammed Rahim.⁶⁵² On 25th of September, the Russian officer recorded that the Ata tribe could not number more than 1,000 *kibitkas*⁶⁵³ (i.e. Turkmen carts or tents), which corresponds to 6,000 souls since Muraviev counted that a *kibitka* could be estimated at six souls.⁶⁵⁴ It is important to note that

⁶⁴⁸ Muraviev, p. 21.

⁶⁴⁹ Muraviev, pp. 21, 36.

⁶⁵⁰ Muraviev, p. 35.

⁶⁵¹ Muraviev, p. 36.

⁶⁵² Muraviev, pp. 53, 102.

⁶⁵³ Referring to Stahl, Muraviev says that “[t]he word [“kibitke”] signifies in Russian a half-covered, badly built, four-wheeled cart, among the nomadic hordes it means a family;” Muraviev, p. 11. “Kibitka is the Russian term for the nomads’ tents. It is composed of portable felt carpets secured by strips of row hide to a circular collapsible wooden frame. An old tent, black with age and smoke, is called by the Turkomans “kara ev” [literally means black house in Turkish]; a new one, still whitish-grey, “ak ev” [literally means white house in Turkish]. The kibitka is the Russian administrative unit, and is supposed to connote five inhabitants. A group of kibitkas ranging between twenty-five and fifty is called *aul*, “portable village;” Skrine and Ross, p. 268.

⁶⁵⁴ Muraviev, pp. 11, 36.

Muraviev concludes that according to him this small Turkmen tribe must have been an “offshoot” from “Tartary” races which populated the country.⁶⁵⁵

Another Turkmen tribe which was pointed as subject to the Khan of Khiva was Chobdur Essen Ili [Çovdur Esen İli] dwelling in the nearby of Mangışlak.⁶⁵⁶ On 2nd of October 1819, finally when N. N. Muraviev was actually within the Khivan Khan’s territory nearby the Amu Darya, he met a great Turkmen caravan of Igdur [İğdur or İgdur] clan of the Chobdur [Çavuldur] tribe, which was composed of 1,000 camels and 200 men.⁶⁵⁷

3.5.2. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Alexander Burnes in 1832

British expansionist aims on Central Asia, which will be discussed later, were obvious already in the beginning of the 1800s.⁶⁵⁸ At this point, the military and socio-economic information that was collected in 1832, by British intelligence Alexander Burnes is very important since he gives detailed information about the region and the Turkmen people. Indeed, in 1832, Lieutenant Alexander Burnes makes a division of the Turkmens who occupied the country between the Amu Darya and Bukhara while differentiating them as the Eastern

⁶⁵⁵ Muraviev, p. 36.

⁶⁵⁶ Muraviev, p. 42.

⁶⁵⁷ Muraviev, p. 42.

⁶⁵⁸ For instance in 1812, a senior official of the East India Company, William Moorcroft sent specially trained agents into Central Asia in order to maintain detailed information about the region, see Kaushik, p. 34. Note that the British intelligence within Turkestan will be discussed later.

and Western Turkmen.⁶⁵⁹ While making this division, Burnes lists the Turkmen tribes as 1) Salore [Salur], 2) Saruk [Sarık], 3) Ersaree [Esrarı], 4) Tuka [Teke], and 5) Sakar being the Eastern Turkmen; while 6) Yamood [Yomut], 7) Goklan [Göklen], 8) Ata, and 9) Choudur [Çavdar or Çavuldur] are listed as the Western Turkmen.⁶⁶⁰

Table 17. List of the Turkmen tribes in July 1832 in the accounts of Alexander Burnes.⁶⁶¹

Alexander Burnes' List of the Turkmen Tribes in July 1832			
	Turkmen Tribes	No. of Families	No. of Persons ⁶⁶²
Eastern Turkmen	Salur (of Shurukhs)	2,000	[10,000]
	Sarık (of Merv)	20,000	[100,000]
	Esrarı (of the Upper Amu Darya)	40,000	[200,000]
	Teke (of Tejend)	40,000	[200,000]
	Sakar (of the Amu Darya)	2,000	[10,000]
Western Turkmen	Yomut (of Astrabad and Khiva)	20,000	[100,000]
	Göklen (of the Gurgan)	9,000	[45,000]
	Ata (of Balkan)	1,000	[5,000]
	Çavdur (Çavuldur) (of Mangışlak)	6,000	[30,000]
Total		140,000	[700,000]

Concerning the Turkmen tribes' position before the Russian conquest, Alexander Burnes says that the Turkmen occupied the country between the Amu Darya and Bukhara as the Eastern and Western Turkmen, and counted the

⁶⁵⁹ Burnes, vol. II, p. 253.

⁶⁶⁰ Burnes, vol. II, p. 253.

⁶⁶¹ Burnes, vol. II, p. 253. Burnes' accounts were also mentioned in; Skrine and Ross, pp. 267-270.

⁶⁶² Meanwhile, it should also be noted that Burnes just gave the number of the families and since all the other authors of the nineteenth century estimated that each family has at least five souls, here we take Burnes' calculation as 700,000 persons.

number of the families as 104,000 and 36,000 respectively with a total number of 140,000 Turkmen families which corresponds at least to 700,000 people.⁶⁶³

Burnes describes the Turkmens as a race that does not live “under a fixed or permanent ruler” and adds that the Turkmens have a reason when they proudly say that “they neither rest under the shade of a tree, nor a king.”⁶⁶⁴ He considers the tribe Salur as the noblest tribe of the Turkmens and says that there is nothing improbable in the assertion that the Salur founded the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁶⁵ Besides according to Burnes, the Ata is the second most “illustrious” tribe of the Turkmens after the Salur, and the Ata were descended from the Caliph Osman.⁶⁶⁶ About the other great tribes of the Turkmens, Burnes says that the Yomut, Goklan [Göklän]⁶⁶⁷ and the “Tuka” [Teke] “are said to have been descended from brothers; but the last, as sprung from a Persian slave, is considered inferior to the other two.”⁶⁶⁸ Moreover, Burnes states that about 1,000 of the Göklens were guards of the Persian ruler while the rest remained in their native places and just pay a tribute to Persia.⁶⁶⁹ In his work, Alexander Burnes gives the list of the subtribes of the Göklens as follows:

⁶⁶³ Burnes, vol. II, p. 253.

⁶⁶⁴ Burnes, vol. II, pp. 250-251. Almost the same proverb was mentioned by George N. Curzon in 1889; “The Turkoman neither needs the shade of a tree nor the protection of a man,” Curzon, p. 119.

⁶⁶⁵ Burnes, vol. I, p. 338 and vol. II, pp. 253-254. It is widely accepted that the Ottoman Empire was founded by the Kayı tribe of the Turkmens; see Köprülü, pp. 68-73.

⁶⁶⁶ Burnes, vol. II, p. 253.

⁶⁶⁷ Burnes, vol. II, pp. 254-255. Here Burnes also says that at one time, the Göklen tribe consisted of twenty four divisions (to each of which there was a “yooz kyelee,” or “commander of 500”), but their number decreased because the wars on Khiva and Persia, and of the internal feuds.

⁶⁶⁸ Burnes, vol. II, p. 253.

⁶⁶⁹ Burnes, vol. II, p. 390.

Table 18. List of the subtribes of the Göklen in July 1832 in the accounts of Alexander Burnes.⁶⁷⁰

Subtribes of the Göklen	According to Alexander Burnes (in 1832)
1	Ghaee [Kayı]
2	Karabul Khan [Karavul Han]
3	Baeéundur [Bayındır]
4	Kevish
5	Kyk-soorunlee or Arkuklee [Erkekli]
6	Aye durwesh [Ay Derviş]
7	Chakur or Bugdulee [Çakır or Beğdili]
8	Yunguk or Gurluk [Yangak (Yaňak) or Gerkez]
9	Sangreek [Sengrik (Seňrik)]

Burnes points the Ersarı on the Amu Darya and says that they were mingling with the Sarık tribe.⁶⁷¹ Besides, he adds that because of their vicinity to Bukhara, the Ersarı enjoys a partial civilization.⁶⁷² Burnes also says that the Teke, Göklen and the Yomut lie towards the Caspian.⁶⁷³ While giving details about the Turkmens of the Caspian, Burnes says that the Göklen and the Yomut, who were in the south-eastern banks of the Caspian, were the subjects of Persia with an unwilling allegiance.⁶⁷⁴ He also adds that the Göklen have no political power but since Yomut had a population of 20,000 families, they could frequently resist and

⁶⁷⁰ Burnes, vol. II, p. 254.

⁶⁷¹ Burnes, vol. II, p. 40.

⁶⁷² Burnes, vol. I, p. 340.

⁶⁷³ Burnes, vol. II, p. 40.

⁶⁷⁴ Burnes, vol. II, pp. 40, 111-112, 389-390.

rebel and that it was Teke Turkmens who maintained their independence from Persia.⁶⁷⁵

3.5.3. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Captain James Abbott in 1840

Afterwards in 1840, Captain James Abbott, of the East India Company's service, names the Turkmen tribes (in Khiva) as the Yahmoot [Yomut], Tukka [Teke], Chowdhoor [Çavuldur], Salore [Salur], Gogelaun [Göklen], Saroke [Sarik], Yumraulie [İmrâli], Aulylie [Alili], Kara Daughlie [Kara Dağlı] and Ersarie [Ersarı].⁶⁷⁶

While describing the Caspian Sea, Abbott says that the sea was controlled by the Yomuts of Balkan, and adds that the Gulf of Balkan belonged to the Yomuts who thrown off allegiance to Khiva.⁶⁷⁷ Captain Abbott also states that Çovdur Turkmens were dwelling in Mangışlak and in some other parts.⁶⁷⁸

3.5.4. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Baron Clement Augustus de Bode in 1844

⁶⁷⁵ Burnes, vol. II, pp. 111-112.

⁶⁷⁶ Abbott, vol. II, p. 272.

⁶⁷⁷ Abbott, vol. II, pp. 259-260.

⁶⁷⁸ Abbott, vol. I, p. 215.

In 1844,⁶⁷⁹ Baron Clement Augustus de Bode makes a clear distinction between the Turkmen tribes; the very first six tribes being great in number and the other four tribes being the descendants of the first four caliphs.⁶⁸⁰ De Bode, notes the Turkmen tribes as 1) Salú [Salur], 2) Saruk or Sarik [Sarık], 3) Tekke [Teke], 4) Goklan [Göklen], 5) Yamúd [Yomut], and the last four being the Khoja [Hoca], Atta [Ata], Shikh [Şih], and Makhtum-Kuli [Mahtum Kulı]⁶⁸¹.⁶⁸² De Bode explains this division saying that since the Khoja [Hoca], Atta [Ata], Shikh [Şih], and Mahtum Kulı families were descendants of caliphs Ali, Omar [Ömer], Osman, and Abúbekr [Ebubekir] respectively, they enjoy a privileged position amongst the other Turkmen tribes because of their sacred origin.⁶⁸³

Almost by all the travelers, de Bode says that the Salur was reckoned as the noblest tribe, while the Teke, which was subdivided into Akhal Teke and Tejend Teke were the most numerous one.⁶⁸⁴ He also points the great animosity

⁶⁷⁹ The article was read before the Ethnological Society of London on 13th March 1844; see Clement Augustus de Bode, "On the Yamud and Goklan Tribes of Turkmania," *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1848-1856)*, vol. 1. (1848), pp. 60, 78.

⁶⁸⁰ De Bode, pp. 60, 67.

⁶⁸¹ In Turkmen, the original transcription is Magtymguly. Also transcribed as Mahtum Quli, Magtim Guli or Mahtum Kulı as mentioned above. Mahtum Kulı (1733?-1782?) is regarded as the national poet of all of the Turkmens, he is also considered as the most respected and leading Turkmen poet and writer. He was also recognized as one of the founders of the modern Turkmen language, literature and poetry. Mahtum Kulı was of the Göklen tribe however throughout his life he always wanted the unity of all Turkmen tribes. For instance in one of his well known poems, he said;

The tribes live as one family,
One tablecloth is spread for all,
Great tribute is paid to the fatherland,
And granite melts before the troops of Turkmenia.
Here brotherhood is the custom, and friendship the law
For the famous clans and powerful tribes.
And when the people are armed for the struggle,
The enemy trembles before the sons of Turkmenia.

With his poem, Mahtum Kulı narrates his love for his country; *Klasiksi Turkmenskoi Poezii* (Moscow, 1955), pp. 8-11; cited in Saray, pp. 43-44. Note that Mahtum Kulı's pen name was Fragi (in Turkmen transcriptions Pyragy). For brief information see Abazov, p. 100.

⁶⁸² De Bode, pp. 60, 67.

⁶⁸³ De Bode, p. 67.

⁶⁸⁴ De Bode, p. 60.

between the Yomuts and the Göklens.⁶⁸⁵ However, he notes that although there was hatred between these two tribes and they even do not intermarry, they still consider themselves equally noble lineage while they regard the Teke Turkmen as their inferiors.⁶⁸⁶

Table 19. Designation list of some of the Turkmen tribes in the accounts of Baron Clement Augustus de Bode in 1844.⁶⁸⁷

Designation of Some of the Turkmen Tribes According to Baron Clement Augustus de Bode in 1844	
Turkmen Tribes	Inhabitations of the Tribes
Salú [Salur]	Occupy Serekhs [Sarakhs] to the east of Mesched [Meshed] in Khorasan, on the road to Bukhara
Saruk or Sarik [Sarik]	Inhabit Merv at Merú, to the north of Meshed, in a straight line to Khiva
Tekke [Teke]	Spread along the skirts of the Alburs chain, called Attók [Atrek], to the north-west of Meshed
Goklan [Göklén]	Live to the west of the Tekes
Yamúd [Yomut]	Live to the west of Goklens, up to the eastern shores of the Caspian

De Bode states that the Yomut were composed of the descendants of the four sons of, Yomut, the founder of the race, and that the tribe was divided into four principal tribes accordingly.⁶⁸⁸ According to De Bode's estimation, the average number of the Yomuts accounts to 40,000 or 50,000 families.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁵ De Bode, pp. 61, 71.

⁶⁸⁶ De Bode explains this humiliation is about the genealogies of these three tribes; the Yamúds [Yomut] and the Goklans [Göklén] being the descendants of a free-woman (Turkmen women of pure blood), while the Tekkes [Teke] are the descendants of a slave woman; see De Bode, p. 71.

⁶⁸⁷ De Bode, p. 60.

⁶⁸⁸ De Bode, pp. 61-62.

⁶⁸⁹ De Bode, p. 62.

He also indicates that the main distinction among the Yomuts is their division into “Chomúr” [Çomur] and “Chorvá” [Çorva] which were based on the “difference of their mode of occupation, and the relative distance of their encampments in respect to the Persian territory of *Asterabad* [Astarabad or Esterabad, Esterâbâd].”⁶⁹⁰ Here it should be noted that this distinction had nothing to do with the racial differences since they were both composed of the very same tribes. The major difference between the Çomur Yomut and the Çorva Yomut is that the first was living a sedentary life, while the latter was pursuing a pastoral/nomadic life. De Bode designates the Çomur Yomuts -who were dealing with agriculture with their corn-fields, rice plantations, and vegetable gardens and who had much better (commercial) relations with the Persians- from the banks of the Gurgan to the Karasú [Karasu] river.⁶⁹¹ Then he points the Çorva Yomuts - who had numerous flocks of sheep, herds of camels, and droves of horses- to the north of the Çomur Yomuts that is, on the banks of the Atrek River, far from Persian influence.⁶⁹²

Actually, being a Çomur or Çorva does not only belong to the Yomut tribe since this categorization was also applied to the other Turkmen tribes. In general, the appellation of Çomur signifies the sedentary Turkmens, while the Çorva designates the nomads.⁶⁹³ For instance, Charles Marvin designates the Tcharvoi [Çorva] Turkmens as herdsmen, while he points the Tchoomori [Çomur] as tillers

⁶⁹⁰ De Bode, p. 62.

⁶⁹¹ De Bode, p. 62.

⁶⁹² De Bode, p. 62.

⁶⁹³ Arminius Vámbery, “The Future of Russia in Asia” (Boston: Littell’s Living Age), Fifth Series, vol. 69 (from the beginning vol. 184) (Jan., Feb., March 1890), p. 779; Conolly, vol. I, pp. 31-32; Skrine and Ross, p. 278; Bacon, p. 50; Daniel Bradburd, “Producing Their Fates: Why Poor Basseri Settled but Poor Komachi and Yomut Did Not,” *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 16, No. 3. (Aug., 1989), p. 503; Irons, pp. 806-807 and Meserve, p 147.

of the soil.⁶⁹⁴ But it is also important to note that, between these two categories of the Turkmens, there were no clear divisions since there were very rare completely sedentary Turkmen tribes whereas there were just a few fully nomadic Turkmen tribes.⁶⁹⁵

Table 20. List of the Subtribes of Yomut in July 1844 in the accounts of Baron Clement Augustus de Bode.⁶⁹⁶

<p style="text-align: center;">Subtribes of the Yamúd [Yomut]⁶⁹⁷ Tribe According to Baron Clement Augustus de Bode (in 1844)</p>
Sheref [Şeref] (subdivided into six “shafts” [branches])
Chúni [Cuni] (subdivided into ten “shafts” [branches])
Beyram-Shali [Bayram Şalı or Bayram Şah] (subdivided into five “shafts” [branches])
Kujúk-Tatár [Küçük Tatar] (subdivided into eight “shafts” [branches])

De Bode also gives detailed information about the Göklens saying that they were descendants of the two brothers; Dudurgá [Dodurga] and Alghidagli [Alidagli].⁶⁹⁸ He also says that the number of the Göklens formerly amounted to 12,000 families but because of attacks of other tribes i.e. the Tekes, as well as the

⁶⁹⁴ Charles Marvin, *The Eye-Witnesses' Account of the Disastrous Russian Campaign Against the Akhal Teke Turcomans: Describing the March Across the Burning Desert, The Storming of Dengeel Tépé and the Disastrous Retreat to the Caspian* (W. H. Allen, 1880), p. 37.

⁶⁹⁵ Vámbery, p. 779 and Bacon, p. 50.

⁶⁹⁶ De Bode, p. 61.

⁶⁹⁷ De Bode gives the subtribes of the Yamúd [Yomut] tribe who are encamping on the borders of the Gurgan and Atrek Rivers. Here the order of the subtribes preserved as stated by de Bode; see De Bode, p. 61.

⁶⁹⁸ De Bode, p. 66.

Persian attacks and the pursuit of the Uzbeks who were trying to force them to settle in their dominions, this number considerably decreased.⁶⁹⁹

Table 21. List of the Subtribes of the Göklens in July 1844 in the accounts of Baron Clement Augustus de Bode.⁷⁰⁰

<p style="text-align: center;">Subtribes of the Goklans [Göklens] According to Baron Clement Augustus de Bode (in 1844)⁷⁰¹</p>
Yangakh [Yangak]
Senkrik [Sengrik]
Kerrik
Boïnder [Bayındır]
Kara-Balkhan [Kara Balkan]
Erkegli [Erkekli]
Koï [Kayı]
Ay-Dervish [Ay Derviş]

3.5.5. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Arminius Vámbéry in 1865

Some twenty years later after Baron Clement Augustus de Bode, in 1863, Arminius Vámbéry also names nine major Turkmen tribes; 1) Tchaudor [Çavdar or Çavuldur], 2) Ersari (Lebab-Turkmen or Bank-Turkmen) [Ersarı], 3) Alieli, 4) Kara, 5) Salor [Salur], 6) Sarik [Sarık], 7) Tekke [Teke], 8) Göklens, and 9)

⁶⁹⁹ De Bode, p. 66.

⁷⁰⁰ De Bode, pp. 65-66.

⁷⁰¹ For the enumeration of the Göklens' by de Bode; De Bode, pp. 65-66.

Yomut.⁷⁰² It should be noted that since Vámbéry personally visited and lived among Teke, Göklen and Yomuts, the list of these three tribes is more detailed than the other Turkmen tribes.⁷⁰³

While mentioning the Turkmen's emigration from Mangışlak, A. Vámbéry names the Salur and the Sarıks as the oldest in their present native country, while mentioning the Yomuts, -who "stretched from the north towards the south along the shores of the Caspian"- before the Safavid era, as the second.⁷⁰⁴ He also adds that during the Timurid rule, the Teke tribe was shifted to Akhal region in small numbers due to counteract the great strength of the Salur.⁷⁰⁵ Besides, the Magyar scholar says that, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Ersarı tribe moved to Amu Darya.⁷⁰⁶

Finally, concerning the Çavuldur tribe, Vámbéry says that a part of this tribe moved to the opposite banks of the Amu Darya during the rule of Muhammed Emin Khan of Khiva, adding that many of them remained in their old places.⁷⁰⁷ Besides, according to A. Vámbéry, the Teke and Çavuldur tribes were of the pure "Turkoman type."⁷⁰⁸ Meanwhile, in his work *History of Bokhara*, Vámbéry also discussed the Kara tribe of the Turkmen. He says that from the year 1602, to his present time of 1873, the Kara tribe inhabited in Kunduz but he

⁷⁰² Vámbéry, *Travels In Central Asia*, pp. 302-309.

⁷⁰³ For the detailed list of the Turkmen tribes mentioned by Arminius Vámbéry, see Appendix B and C.

⁷⁰⁴ Vámbéry, *Sketches of Central Asia*, p. 298.

⁷⁰⁵ Vámbéry, p. 298.

⁷⁰⁶ Vámbéry, p. 298.

⁷⁰⁷ Vámbéry, p. 298. Also see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 941-943.

⁷⁰⁸ Vámbéry, p. 296.

adds that after the very first years of the seventeenth century, the power of this particular tribe diminished and they could not recover ever since.⁷⁰⁹

Vámbéry notes that during the last half of the nineteenth century, in many regions like left shore of the Amu Darya, from Belkh as far as Charjuy (Çarcuy, today's Türkmenabat as mentioned before) and in Khiva, Turkmens lived a semi-sedentary life.⁷¹⁰ Apart from these, the Magyar scholar also claims that instead of being related to the Kirghiz, Karakalpaks, and Uzbeks; the Turkmens had more in common with the Kipchaks in terms of their social relations, their warlike character and their religious procedures.⁷¹¹

3.5.6. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Colonel Stebnitzky in 1872

In the autumn of the year 1872, Colonel Stebnitzky named the three chief tribes of Turkmens inhabiting the central and southern parts of the trans-Caspian region as; the Yomuts, Höklens [Göklens], and the Tekkes [Tekes].⁷¹² He also says that the Yomuts' and the Göklens' winter-quarters is in the territory between the Hürgen [Gürgen, Gurgan] and Atrek, which was also used as some kind of a head-center by them.

⁷⁰⁹ Vámbéry, *History of Bokhara*, pp. 308-309. The very same mention was recorded by Skrine and Ross in 1899; see Skrine and Ross, p. 195.

⁷¹⁰ Vámbéry, *Sketches of Central Asia*, p. 310.

⁷¹¹ Vámbéry, p. 297.

⁷¹² Morgan, p. 224.

Stebnitzky says that the Yomuts are divided into two branches and names them; the Bairam-Shala [Bayram Şalı] and the Kara-Chukha [Kara Çoka]; who were divided into “settled-Chomura” [settled-Çomur] and “nomad-Charva” [nomad-Çorva].⁷¹³ He says that the former subtribe of the Yomuts inhabit in the northern part of the Khivan Khanate extending to Sarı Kamyş, while the Kara Çokas settled in the lower valleys of the Atrek and Gurgan and engaged in fisheries and agriculture.⁷¹⁴ Even though he says that the estimation of the number of *kibitkas* of the Çomur and Çorva is 15,500, -which corresponds to 77,500 Yomuts since he assumed that there were five persons in each of the *kibitkas*-, he adds that this estimation is probably excessive.⁷¹⁵

He points the Göklens on the road on the left bank of the Atrek River and adds that these Turkmen nomad tribe’s encampments extend along the Hökchatağ [Gökçe Dağ] Mountains.⁷¹⁶ Stebnitzky also says that almost all of the Göklen tribes are farmers and its subtribes Erkeklu [Erkekli] and Koi [Kayı] inhabited between the parent streams of the Gurgan.⁷¹⁷ About the population of the Göklen tribe, Stebnitzky first mentions that this tribe used to be more numerous but their number decreased since some of them were forced to migrate to the Khivan Khanate, while the others who were suffering from the Persian attacks escaped Khiva.⁷¹⁸ After these decreases in the population of the Göklens, Stebnitzky states that their number is estimated at 3,000 *kibitkas*, that is, 15,000 persons.⁷¹⁹

⁷¹³ Morgan, p. 224.

⁷¹⁴ Morgan, p. 225.

⁷¹⁵ Morgan, p. 225.

⁷¹⁶ Morgan, p. 221.

⁷¹⁷ Morgan, pp. 222, 225.

⁷¹⁸ Morgan, p. 225.

⁷¹⁹ Morgan, p. 225.

Among all of the Turkmen tribes, Stebnitzky counts the Tekkes [Tekes] the most numerous. He says that the Tekes who inhabit on the banks of the Murghab River, number about 30,000 *kibitkas* (150,000 persons).⁷²⁰

3.5.7. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Ali Suavî in 1873

A year after Colonel Stebnitzky, in 1873, Ali Suavî lists the Turkmen tribes of the East of the Caspian Sea, as Çavdar and Hasan-ili, Ata, Teke, Sakır, Saruk, Yumrulu, Yemüt [Yomut], Köğlan, Ersarı, Sakar and Oymak.⁷²¹

Table 22. List of the Turkmen tribes of the East of the Caspian Sea, including their living places and population figures in 1873 in the accounts of Ali Suavî.⁷²²

Ali Suavî's List of the Turkmen Tribes of the East of the Caspian Sea in 1873			
Turkmen Tribes	Places of the Tribes	No. of Tents	No. of Persons (reckoning to each tent five persons)
Çavdar and Hasan-ili	From Mangışlak to Khiva	8,000	40,000
Ata	From Balkan to Khiva	1,000	5,000
Teke	Around Atrek River	30,000	150,000
Salur	East of the Teke	4,000	20,000
Saruk	East of the Teke	30,000	150,000
Yumrulu	East of the Salur	300	1,500
Yemüt (Yomut)	On the Atrek River	30,000	150,000

⁷²⁰ Morgan, pp. 225, 226.

⁷²¹ Suavî, p. 50

⁷²² Suavî, p. 50. Here it should be noted that in the work *Hive Hanlığı ve Türkistan'da Rus Yayılması*, there is a printing failure since the total number of the tents of the Turkmen tribes of the east of the Caspian Sea is given as 343,300 and accordingly total number of persons is given as 1,716,500. Actually if we sum up the given data for every single tribe, we find out that the total tent number should be 333,300 and total number of persons should have been 1,666,500.

	and Cürcan (Jurjan)		
Köğlan [Göklen]	On the Atrek River and Cürcan (Jurjan)	30,000	150,000
Ersarı	Around Bukhara	100,000	500,000
Sakar	Around Bukhara	20,000	100,000
Oymak	Around Khorasan	80,000	400,000
Total		333,300	1,666,500

3.5.8. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of I.

A. Mac Gahan in 1873

Meanwhile, within the same year, in 1873, Mac Gahan said that six Türkmen [Turkmen] tribes gave up nomad life style and settled in Khiva; the İmrâli, Cavdors [Çavdar or Çavuldur], Karataşlı, Karaçigeldi, Alieli-Göklen, and Yomuds [Yomuts].⁷²³

3.5.9. Turkmen Tribes Prior to the Russian Conquest in the Accounts of Captain H. Spalding in 1874

In 1874, in the work *Khiva and Turkestan*, Captain H. Spalding said that the Turkmens themselves accounted the number of their tents at 3,500, which numbered about 1,750,000 souls of both sexes.⁷²⁴ However, the author relies on Arminius Vámbéry's claims, and concludes that the total number of the Turkmens

⁷²³ I. A. Mac Gahan, *Hive Seyahatnâmesi ve Tarihi Musavver*, eds. İsmail Aka and Mehmet Ersan, trans. by Kolağası Ahmed, (İzmir; Akademi Kitabevi, 1995), pp. 207-208.

⁷²⁴ Spalding, p. 52.

did not exceed 1,000,000 souls of both sexes.⁷²⁵ While giving a detailed information about the Turkmen tribes, the author points the Yomuts -who had a constant trouble with the Göklens-, between the Balkan Bay and Persia, on the Atrek and Gurgan, and adds that they many of them lived a sedentary life.⁷²⁶ In this very same work the Göklens who were placed nearby the sources of the Atrek and Gurgan, are named as the most civilized of all Turkmens, while adding that they practiced “agriculture, horticulture, and cattle breeding.”⁷²⁷ It should also be noted that the author records this tribe as the subject of Persia.⁷²⁸ The author places the “greatest robbers and pirates in the whole steppe” namely the Tekes to the east of the Yomuts, and then he points the Salurs on the Murghab River.⁷²⁹

Apart from the Turkmen tribes that were subject to Persia, Bukhara and Khiva, the author also says that a minor number of the Turkmens of Mangışlak region paid tribute to Russia.⁷³⁰ At this point, concerning the rest of all other Turkmens, the Russian author says that they were behaving independently.⁷³¹

3.5.10. The Comparative List of the Turkmen Tribes According to Captain

James Abbott, Arminius Vámbéry and I. A. Mac Gahan

⁷²⁵ Spalding, p. 52.

⁷²⁶ Spalding, p. 52.

⁷²⁷ Spalding, p. 53.

⁷²⁸ Spalding, p. 53.

⁷²⁹ Spalding, p. 53.

⁷³⁰ Spalding, p. 53-55; here Captain H. Spalding said that Turkmens of Mangışlak paid one ruble fifty kopeks per tent to the Russians.

⁷³¹ Spalding, p. 53-54.

Table 23. List of the Turkmen tribes in the accounts of Captain James Abbott, Arminius Vámbéry and I. A. Mac Gahan in 1840, 1863 and in 1873 respectively.⁷³²

Turkmen Tribes	According to Captain James Abbott (in 1840)		According to Arminius Vámbéry (in 1863)		According to I. A. Mac Gahan (in 1873)	
	No. of Families in Khwarazm	No. of Persons in Khwarazm	No. of Tents	No. of Persons	No. of Tents in Khiva	No. of Persons in Khiva
Yomut	12,000	60,000	40,000	200,000	11,000	55,000
Teke	40,000	200,000	60,000	300,000	-	-
Çavdur (Çavuldur)	12,000	60,000	12,000	60,000	3,500	17,500
Salur	6,000	30,000	8,000	40,000	-	-
Göklen	8,000	40,000	12,000	60,000	-	-
Sarik	9,000	45,000	10,000	50,000	-	-
İmrali	2,000	10,000	-	-	2,500	12,500
Ali-eli	1,000	5,000	3,000	15,000	-	-
Kara Dağlı	1,000	5,000	-	-	-	-
Ersarı	700	3,500	50,000	250,000	-	-
Kara	-	-	1,500	7,500	-	-
Kara Taşlı	-	-	-	-	2,000	10,000
Karaçigeldi	-	-	-	-	1,500	7,500
Alieli-Göklen	-	-	-	-	1,500	7,500
TOTAL	91,700	458,500	196,500	982,500	22,000	110,000

3.6. Russian Conquest of Turkistan

Within nineteenth century, the “yellow Russians” In 1868 the Khanate of Bukhara and in 1873 the Khanate of Khiva were brought under the suzerainty of the Russian Empire; from 1856 to 1876 Turkmen territory of the east of the

⁷³² It should also be noted that all the authors say that they reckon to each tent or family five persons which is the lowest possible estimation. For the data given below, see Abbott, vol. II., p. 272; Vámbéry, *Travels In Central Asia*, p. 309 and Mac Gahan, pp. 207-208. For the very same table and some additional information is given by Yuri Bregel; Bregel, *Khorezmskie Turkmeny v XIX veke*, pp. 40-42, 121.

Caspian Sea, and from 1877 to 1900 Turkmen territory as far as the frontier of Afghanistan were annexed to Russia.⁷³³

In 1812 with an *ukaz*,⁷³⁴ Alexander I (1801-1825) placed the Kirghiz [i.e. Kazakh] hordes under the authority of the Governors of Orenburg⁷³⁵ and Western Siberia and the Khanates were disturbed by this annexation attempt.⁷³⁶ In 1826, Major General Alexander I. Verigin submitted to Nicholas I a paper headed “A Brief Elucidation of the Ideas of Major General Verigin about the Necessity to Occupy Khiva as the Sole Means for Widening and Conducting Our Trade Safely in Central Asia” in which Verigin claimed that Russian industry was in a position of competing with European countries because of comparatively low standards of the Russian goods.⁷³⁷ This work shows the Russian court’s serious concerns about the industry competition with the European countries. Obviously, Russians found the only solution on occupying Khiva and control Turkistan economy.

Afterwards many rebellions followed these events and in 1829 a Russian caravan was plundered by the Khivans and hundreds of Russians were brought to slavery.⁷³⁸ As mentioned above, in 1835, the number of the Russian captives within the Khivan Khanate was about 1,000.⁷³⁹ Thus, in 1836, Russia ceased all the commercial relations with Khiva adding that that this implementation would

⁷³³ Hayit, pp. 65-106; Kurat, pp. 349-353; *The Country of the Turkomans*, pp. xvii, xviii; Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 260-261; Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia*, pp. 64-65; Francis Henry Skrine, *The Expansion of Russia, 1815-1900* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1903), pp. 229-237 and Bacon, p. 105.

⁷³⁴ Meaning “ordinance of the Tsar, government of the religious leader” in Russian.

⁷³⁵ For the list of the Governors of Orenburg; see Holdsworth, p. 70.

⁷³⁶ Skrine, p. 130 and Skrine and Ross, p. 243.

⁷³⁷ Allworth, pp. 56-57.

⁷³⁸ Skrine, p. 130.

⁷³⁹ Spalding, p. 129.

not end until the release of the Russian captives within the Khivan Khanate.⁷⁴⁰ Although Allah Kulı Khan (r. 1825-1842) liberated 25 Russian captives in 1837, the ongoing problems did not end between Russia and the Khivan Khanate.⁷⁴¹ Because of the cessation of the trade, the revenues of the Khivan Khan diminished and accordingly, the poverty within the Khanate increased.⁷⁴² Therefore, the Khivan Khan imposed heavy taxes on the Turkmens and the Kirghiz within the neighbourhood of Khiva.⁷⁴³ The Khan of Khiva demanded Bukharan alliance against Russia but this request was immediately refused by the Bukharan Emir.⁷⁴⁴ Meanwhile, since the Khivan Khan was ignorant to the Russian demands upon Khiva, on 24th March 1839, the Special Committee of the Russian court decided to start an expedition against Khiva.⁷⁴⁵

It should also be noted in 1839 General Perovsky said that in 1835, “Igdyr” [İgdir] and “Barunchuk” [Buruncuk] tribes –who were living between Mangıslak and Alexander Bay- of the Turkmens requested to be taken under Russian protection.⁷⁴⁶ Moreover, Perovsky added that the very same request was made by the “Kuldai” and “Gdavdyr” tribes.⁷⁴⁷ The Russian General Perovsky also narrated that, two years later, in 1837 several Turkmen tribes stated that they are ready to be subjects of Russia.⁷⁴⁸ These consecutive requests designate the growing influence of Russia within Turkmen tribes.

⁷⁴⁰ Perovski, pp. 62-63; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 932 and Spalding, p. 129.

⁷⁴¹ Perovski, pp. 64-65; Spalding, p. 130. Also see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 932.

⁷⁴² Spalding, p. 131.

⁷⁴³ Spalding, p. 131.

⁷⁴⁴ Perovski, p. 66.

⁷⁴⁵ Perovski, p. 69 and Allworth, p. 57.

⁷⁴⁶ Perovski, p. 57.

⁷⁴⁷ Perovski, p. 57.

⁷⁴⁸ Perovski, p. 57.

In 1839, Nicholas I (r. 1825-1855), who was determined to subdue Khiva, fitted an expedition⁷⁴⁹ led by Governor General of Orenburg, Perovsky but the expedition started late in the year and it failed with an enormous lost in men since the winter had begun before Russians could reach the Üst Yurt desert.⁷⁵⁰ In the summer of 1840, General Perovsky was prepared for a second expedition but the Khivan ruler Allah Kulı Khan (r. 1826-1842),⁷⁵¹ who was discouraged by the might of Russia, accepted to release 418 Russian captives, and issued an order forbidding the capture and enslavement of Russians.⁷⁵² However, although a

⁷⁴⁹ For the list of the main objects in an expedition against Khiva, see Perovski, p. 79.

⁷⁵⁰ For the plan of the campaign and the narrative of the expedition: for the cavalry, infantry, artillery, numbers and all the preparations and the organization process of the expedition, respectively see Perovski, pp. 99-100, 101-126, 126-182. Also see Schuyler, vol. II, pp. 328-331; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 932-933; Spalding, pp. 113-177; Skrine, p. 131; Skrine and Ross, pp. 243-245; Vernardsky, p. 163; Bosworth, p. 1065; Barthold, pp. 274-275; Holdsworth, pp. 22, 50-51; Bacon, p. 105; Allworth, p. 57; Kaushik, pp. 40-41 and Suavı, p. 25-26. In 1873, Eugene Schuyler said that General Perovsky had 5,000 men, 22 guns, and a train in which beside horses, there were 10,000 camels; see Schuyler, vol. II, p. 330. Indeed, General Perovsky stated that at the very beginning, there were 10,500 camels of which 1,500 remained alive by the mid April; see Perovski, p. 173. Note that in 1874, in the work *Khiva and Turkestan*, Captain H. Spalding said that Perovsky “designated for the expedition three and a half battalions of chosen infantry from the 22nd Division, 22 guns, 4 rocket carriages, and 3 regiments of cavalry; in all, 4,413 rank and file, 2,012 horses, with 10,400 camels;” see Spalding, p. 142. On the other hand, Mary Holdsworth says that General Perovsky’s expedition “consisted of 4,000 soldiers, 20 pieces of artillery and 10,000 camels;” while A. N. Kurat notes that Perovsky’s detachment was composed of 6,000 men; see Holdsworth, p. 51 and Kurat, p. 349. Baymirza Hayit notes that the expedition started on 14th November 1839 with 5,217 soldiers and accompanying men, 8,000 Başkırs (ie. Bashkirs or Bashkorts), 30,000 horses, 20,000 camels and 22 guns; see Hayit, pp. 48, 64-65. General Perovsky said that from the beginning of the campaign, to the 4th of May, the amount of the dead was 8 officers and 880 soldiers. Besides, he also said that by the 1st April, there were 857 sick men; see Perovski, pp. 172-173. Again in *Khiva and Turkestan*, Captain H. Spalding said that after the failed expedition, “1,054 men off ranks died and on their arrival at Orenburg, 609 sick were sent to the hospitals;” see Spalding, p. 171. Also see Allworth, pp. 13-14 and Bregel, p. 62.

⁷⁵¹ For further information about his reign; see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 930-941. Howorth and Bosworth mentions the Khivan Khan of that period as “Allāh Kulı Khan” [Allah Guly Khan]; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 932-934 and Bosworth, p. 1065. However, Skrine also mentions the Khan as “Ali Quli Khan”; see Skrine, p. 131.

⁷⁵² Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 940; Spalding, p. 171; Schuyler, vol. II, pp. 329-300. Skrine says that the Khan prevented ruin by “making overtures to Perovsky and releasing 400 Russian bondsmen,” see Skrine, p. 131. Edward Allworth also repeats that the Khivan Khan released 400 Russian captives; see Allworth, p. 33. On the other hand, Sir Richmond Shakespear, who marched from Heraut to Khiva in 1840, said that he arranged a treaty between the Khan of Khiva and the Russian General and liberated more than 500 Russian prisoners and took them back to Russia; Richmond Shakespear, “An Account of Shakespear’s Mission to Khiva” in Martin Ewans, ed., *The Great Game: Britain and Russia in Central Asia*, Vol. I: Documents (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), pp. 103-104. The original copy may be found in Richmond Shakespear, “A Personal Narrative of a Journey from Heraut to Ourenbourg, on the Caspian, in 1840,” *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 51 (320) (1842), pp. 691-720. Also see Barthold, “*Kh̲w̲ārizm*,” p. 911; Bosworth, p. 1065 and Kaushik, pp. 40-41. Howorth says that General Perovsky left Orenburg in

formal treaty was signed, the Khan of Khiva continued his hostile attitude towards Russia and he sided with the Kazakhs against Russia.⁷⁵³

In 1841 Captain Nikiforov was sent to Khiva in order to make a treaty between Russia and the Khivan Khanate.⁷⁵⁴ However, it was another Russian envoy, Lieutenant-Colonel Danilevsky, who could convince the Khivan Khan to sign a treaty⁷⁵⁵ in which he promised “not to engage in hostilities against Russia, or to commit acts of robbery and piracy.”⁷⁵⁶ Although the Khan did not keep his promises afterwards, this treaty is considered as an important accomplishment since a year before Danilevsky, the above mentioned Russian envoy Nikiforov could not succeed to make the Khan to make any concessions.⁷⁵⁷ Besides, apart from the results or the conditions of the treaty, maybe the most important achievement of this treaty is that because of this mission, the Russians extended their geographical knowledge of Turkistan.⁷⁵⁸ Therefore, one may conclude the Russian influence grew increasingly in Turkistan after the subsequent events following the expedition of General Perovsky.

the beginning of 1840 “with about 6,000 infantry, 10,000 camels, and an army of drivers;” see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 932. Note that Sir Richmond Shakespear, who marched from Heraut to Khiva in 1840, numbered Salur and Sarik Turkmens at 10,000 and 15,000 respectively; Shakespear, p. 104.

⁷⁵³ Kaushik, pp. 40-41.

⁷⁵⁴ Perovski, p. 179; Schuyler, vol. II, pp. 273, 330; Spalding, pp. 171-172; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 941; Allworth, pp. 36-37, 42-45 and Barthold, *La Découverte de l'Asie*, pp. 291-292. For the instructions of the Russian court to Captain Nikiforov, again see Spalding, pp. 171-172. For a dialogue between the Khivan Khan Allah Kulı Khan and Nikiforov concerning Khiva's contacts with England; see Allworth, pp. 36-37.

⁷⁵⁵ For the articles of the treaty, see Spalding, pp. 173-175. Also see Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 941 and Allworth, p. 45.

⁷⁵⁶ Schuyler, vol. II, pp. 330-331; Spalding, p. 173; Skrine, p. 131 and Allworth, p. 45. Also see Barthold, pp. 291-292. After his mission to Khiva, Danilevsky supported the suggestion for the development of Russian trade with Central Asia; see Kaushik, p. 33.

⁷⁵⁷ Perovski, p. 179; Schuyler, vol. II, p. 330; Spalding, p. 176 and Barthold, p. 291.

⁷⁵⁸ Perovski, p. 179; Schuyler, vol. II, p. 331; Spalding, p. 176; Barthold, p. 291 and Allworth, pp. 45-47.

After the Treaty of Peace in 1842, in 1844 the Sea of Aral was explored by the steamers which were brought from Sweden and in 1846-47 on the mouth of Syr Darya a fort named Kazanlinsk was constructed by the Russians.⁷⁵⁹ Moreover, after the construction of the Fort Kazanlinsk, in 1853 under General Perovsky, Russia took Khokandian fortress Ak Mescit⁷⁶⁰ (White Mosque), which was on the lower Syr Darya, 280 miles inland from the Aral and henceforward known as Perovsky (contemporary Kızıl Orda).⁷⁶¹ Now, with Arminius Vámbéry's words, the Russian flag which was nicknamed as *Karakuş* (literally meaning black bird) and also which was considered as a bird of ill omen by the Central Asians, was waving upon Turkistan.⁷⁶² Thus, two rivers of Central Asia fell under the control of the Russians. Thus, after the fall of the Khokandian fortress Ak Mescit, Russians began their preparations to invade the Turkistan Khanates.⁷⁶³ However, although Russians were maintaining the control over the neighbouring regions of the Khivan lands, throughout the 1850s, the Khivan Khan, namely Muhammed Emin Khan was still dealing with the annual campaigns against the Turkmen tribes.⁷⁶⁴ For instance, between the years 1851 and 1854, Muhammed Rahim Khan of Khiva made annual campaigns against the Sariks of Merv and its oasis, and consequently subdued them.⁷⁶⁵ Then, he marched against the Teke of Serakhs (Serahs) -with 100,000 men-, but this campaign failed, the Khan was killed and

⁷⁵⁹ Skrine, p. 131 and Skrine and Ross, p. 245. Also see Vernardsky, pp. 163-164; Bosworth, p. 1065; Bacon, p. 105 and Kaushik, p. 41.

⁷⁶⁰ Also transcribed as Ak Mesjid, Ak Mesdjid, Ak Masjid, Ak Mechet or Aq Meshit.

⁷⁶¹ Perovski, pp. 11-12; Schuyler, vol. I, p. 64 and Appendix I; "A Sketch of the History of Khokand in Recent Times," p. 351; Spalding, pp. 13-21; Vámbéry, *History of Bokhara*, pp. 394-400; Vámbéry, *Sketches of Central Asia*, p. 387; Skrine, p. 131; Skrine and Ross, p. 220; Burnaby, p. 368; Vernardsky, p. 164; Barthold, p. 277; Becker, p. 14; Bacon, p. 105; Hayit, pp. 51, 65-66, 74-75; Hambly, pp. 203, 209; Kurat, pp. 349-350; Allworth, pp. 16-17; Holdsworth, p. 51; Soucek, p. 27 and Kaushik, p. 41. Actually in 1852, Russian sent a cartographer mission to Ak Mescit but the group was arrested by the fortress commander on 16 April of the very same year; see Hayit, p. 65.

⁷⁶² Vámbéry, *History of Bokhara*, p. 394 and Skrine and Ross, p. 220.

⁷⁶³ Kurat, pp. 349-350.

⁷⁶⁴ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 941-943 and Bregel, p. 64.

⁷⁶⁵ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, pp. 941-943 and Bregel, p. 64.

this incident was followed by rebellions and wars within the Khivan Khanate until the year 1867.⁷⁶⁶ Apart from the Khivans, the Turkmens had continuous conflicts with the Persians too. In 1859, the Persian Shah marched into Khorasan but defeated by the Tekes.⁷⁶⁷

As mentioned earlier, Central Asia played an important role for Russia for both political and economic terms throughout 1840s and 1850s. Throughout this period, the raiding Kazakh nomads were continuously threatening the Russian trade with Central Asia. Besides, there were two other major problems that ensured the Russian conquest of Central Asia; the problem of Russian frontier defense, and also the Russians' aim of free navigation on the Amu Darya for Russian ships.⁷⁶⁸

3.6.1. Turkmens in the midst of the Great Game and the Russian Offensive

However, it can be said that it was the ongoing political situation beginning with the 1850s, which led the Russian Empire to advance in Turkistan. The Central Asian problem began to be considered much more than being a security issue. It was known to the Russians that the British penetrated Bukhara and Khiva in the 1830s,⁷⁶⁹ which meant a new rivalry on Turkistan. For instance,

⁷⁶⁶ Marvin, p. 50 and Bregel, p. 64.

⁷⁶⁷ Marvin, p. 50.

⁷⁶⁸ Becker, p. 13.

⁷⁶⁹ As mentioned earlier, the very first Englishmen who visited the Central Asia was Anthony Jenkinson in the sixteenth century. Again, as it was mentioned before, in 1812, a senior official of the East India Company, William Moorcroft sent specially trained agents into Central Asia. Then

in 1840s, the British were threatening the Russian trade with lower textile good prices in Bukhara.⁷⁷⁰ The aggressive economic British designs upon Central Asia and aforementioned British intelligence missions into the region seriously concerned the Russian ruling circles. This British-Russian rivalry over Central Asia throughout the nineteenth century known as the “Great Game” and these two powers began to seek ways to control the region at the expense of the other. In 1868, in his work *Sketches of Central Asia*, Arminius Vámbéry claimed that since the Russians were Asiatic, even the “haughty” and “stern autocrat” Tsar Nicholas acted as a “Khan on the Neva,” rather than behaving as the Emperor of all Russians.⁷⁷¹ According to Vámbéry, because of this policy Russia was more advantageous than Britain.⁷⁷²

However, because of the outbreak of the Crimean War (1853-1855), the Caucasian problem and the Emancipation of the Serfs in 1861 in Russia, Russian Empire decided to postpone the advance in Central Asia for a while. Therefore, during his early reign, Alexander II (r. 1855-1881) avoided a further expedition to

in 1819-1825, William Moorcroft and George Trebeck have been in the region for five months in 1825 and they both died in northern Afghanistan on their way back. Seven years later, in 1832, missionary Joseph Wolff had been to the region twice; first in 1831 then 1844. Only two months after Wolff, Lieutenant Alexander Burnes visited Bukhara in 1832. Burnes was followed by Captain Charles Stoddart in 1838; Captain James Abbott and Captain Richmond Shakespeare in 1840; and Arthur Conolly in 1841. In 1842, Stoddart and Abbott were executed by the Bukharan Emir Nasr Allah. As mentioned earlier, two years after their execution, in 1844, Wolff traveled to Bukhara again in order to find out the fate of these two Captains; see Conolly, vol. I and vol II; Joseph Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara, in the Years 1843-1845, To Ascertain the Fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845); Vámbéry, pp. 353, 389; Skrine and Ross, pp. 216-221; Curzon, pp. 110-111, 164-166; Barthold, p. 165; Becker, pp. 15, 348-349 and Kaushik, pp. 34-39. For detailed list of the travelers who visited Central Asia, from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century, see Perovski, pp. 6, 16-17. Also for brief chronological list of the European travelers who had been to Central Asia from the beginning of the eighteenth century up to Arminius Vámbéry's journey in 1863, see Schuyler, vol. I, Appendix II, “Review of Vámbéry's ‘History of Bukhara,’ by Professor Grigorief,” pp. 360-361. For the European travelers of nineteenth century, also see Perovski, pp. 72-73, 78-79.

⁷⁷⁰ Kaushik, p. 37.

⁷⁷¹ Vámbéry, *Sketches of Central Asia*, pp. 417-419.

⁷⁷² For detailed discussion about the rivalry between Russia and England, see Vámbéry, Chapter XIX, pp. 379-444.

Central Asia.⁷⁷³ In this decision of postponing the expedition, Russian Foreign Minister A. M. Gorchakov, who was known with his cautious approach to the international affairs, played an important role too.⁷⁷⁴

On the other hand, after the defeat of the Tsarist Russia in the Crimean War, Russian interests shifted again to Central Asia.⁷⁷⁵ Thus, within this period, the ruling circles of Russian Empire, that is, the statesmen, generals, industrialists, and journalists, began to support a possible Russian conquest of Central Asia.⁷⁷⁶ After the Crimean War, the developments in Central Asia were issued in the journals like *Russky Vestnik*, *Morskoi Sbornik*, and *Ekonomicheskyy Ukazatel* throughout the Russian Empire.⁷⁷⁷ For instance, in 1856, A. I. Baryatinsky who was the Caucasian Commander at that time submitted a project for construction of a railway -from the Caspian Sea to the Aral Sea- to Tsar Alexander II.⁷⁷⁸ Despite the opposition of the Foreign Minister Gorchakov and General Perovsky, later the project was approved by the Tsar.⁷⁷⁹ On the other hand, in 1858, with the instructions that he sent, the Russian Foreign Minister declared his governments' policy change to the Russian Ambassador in London, Brunnow; Russia would act accordingly in order to grow her influence within Central Asia.⁷⁸⁰

Colonel Nicholas Pavlovich Ignatiev (1832-1908)⁷⁸¹ -who was the later to be the famous Russian statesman and diplomat-, was then a young Russian

⁷⁷³ Becker, p. 15.

⁷⁷⁴ Vernardsky, pp. 166-167 and Becker, p. 15.

⁷⁷⁵ Kurat, p. 346 and Kaushik, p. 41.

⁷⁷⁶ Allworth, pp. 53-59 and Kaushik, p. 42.

⁷⁷⁷ Kaushik, p. 42.

⁷⁷⁸ Hayit, p. 67; Holdsworth, p. 51 and Kaushik, p. 42.

⁷⁷⁹ Hayit, p. 67; Holdsworth, p. 51 and Kaushik, p. 42.

⁷⁸⁰ Kaushik, p. 41.

⁷⁸¹ Count Nicholas Pavlovich Ignatiev began his diplomatic career in 1856, and from 1861 to 1884, when was twenty nine, he served as Director of the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Later, from 1864 to 1877, he was the Russian Empire's envoy in Istanbul. For very brief information about N. P. Ignatiev, see Holdsworth, p. 69.

military attaché in London, and he proposed that Russia should extend her political control over Amu Darya.⁷⁸² Now, Russians knew that they could defeat the British only in Central Asia; therefore they decided to advance into Central Asia through the Kazakh steppes and take effective measures in order to secure their border and interests. After analyzing the European market conditions, Russian industrialists and bankers concluded that they could only succeed in Central Asian markets as a manufacturing country.⁷⁸³ Therefore, Russians decided to pursue their penetration into Turkistan. In 1858, Colonel Ignatiev was sent to Khiva and Bukhara as an agent in order to expand Russian influences in those lands.⁷⁸⁴ It should be noted that Ignatiev had a letter from Orenburg Governor Katenin addressed to Ata Murad -the leader of the Yomut Turkmens who rebelled in Kongrad-, in which the Governor assured the Turkmen leader that the Russians would support them when they rebelled against Khiva.⁷⁸⁵ When Ignatiev reminded the Khivan Khan the treaty of 1842, which was mentioned above, the Khivans replied that they could not find such a document in their archives.⁷⁸⁶ When he returned to Orenburg in December 1859, Ignatiev declared that the two Khanates, namely Bukhara and Khiva were weak in terms of military power.⁷⁸⁷

Within the same year, Russia sent a mission led by Dandeville to map the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea and figure out the situation in the region.⁷⁸⁸ In his report, Dandeville said that the Russians should first capture the Balhan region

⁷⁸² Schuyler, vol. II, p. 331; Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, "Systematic Conquest, 1865 to 1884," in *Central Asia: 130 Years of Russian Dominance, A Historical Overview*, pp. 149-150; Becker, p. 16.

⁷⁸³ Holdsworth, p. 51 and Allworth, pp. 56-57.

⁷⁸⁴ Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 945; Holdsworth, pp. 55-58; Becker, p. 16; Allworth, p. 45; Kurat, p. 350; Hayit, p. 68. Also see Togan, Vol I, p. 228.

⁷⁸⁵ Hayit, p. 69.

⁷⁸⁶ Schuyler, vol. II, p. 331; Allworth, p. 45 and Spalding, pp. 176-177.

⁷⁸⁷ Hayit, p. 69.

⁷⁸⁸ Hayit, pp. 100-101 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 259.

since they could receive help from Caucasia and Astrahan.⁷⁸⁹ Moreover, Dandeville also stated that in case of an assault, the Turkmens could gather 115,000 men composing Yomut, Çovdur, Igdir and Abdal Turkmens.⁷⁹⁰ He also added that these Turkmens did not exceed 23,000 tents around Caspian region.⁷⁹¹

Now, Russian government was ready to use force rather than implementing diplomatic relations. Indeed, in 1861, D. A. Miliutin was appointed as Minister of War, while N. P. Ignatiev –then a General- became the Director of the Asiatic Department⁷⁹² of the Foreign Ministry.⁷⁹³ These appointments designate the Russian Empire's determined steps towards the military conquest of Turkistan. After decisive efforts of these statesmen, on December 20, 1863, the Tsar Alexander II instructed D. A. Milliutin to advance into Turkistan in the next year.⁷⁹⁴

In May 1864, while a Russian detachment captured the Khokandian stronghold the city of Turkistan,⁷⁹⁵ again another Russian detachment under Colonel Cherniaev⁷⁹⁶ captured Evliya Ata (i.e. Awliya Ata or Aulie Ata).⁷⁹⁷ Thus, the “New Khokandian line” was established.⁷⁹⁸ Then, in September of the same

⁷⁸⁹ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 259.

⁷⁹⁰ A. Karriyev, V. G. Moşkova, A. N. Nasonov, A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Oçerki po istorii turkmenskogo naroda I Turkmenistana v XIII-XIX vv.* (Aşhabad, 1954), p. 359; cited in. Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 259.

⁷⁹¹ A. Karriyev, V. G. Moşkova, A. N. Nasonov, A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Oçerki po istorii turkmenskogo naroda I Turkmenistana v XIII-XIX vv.*, p. 359; cited in Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 259.

⁷⁹² For the list of the Heads of the Asian Department of Foreign Office of Russia; see Holdsworth, p. 70.

⁷⁹³ Holdsworth, pp. 51, 70; Becker, pp. 16, 66, 69 and Hayit, pp. 51, 73.

⁷⁹⁴ Becker, p. 17. Also see Hayit, p. 76.

⁷⁹⁵ Turkestan which was the resting place of Hoca Ahmed Yesevi, is also known as Hazreti Turkestan; see Vámbéry, *History of Bokhara*, p. 400. Note that after its fall, the entire province was named after this stronghold; see Skrine, pp. 229-230.

⁷⁹⁶ For very brief information about M. G. Cherniaev, see Holdsworth, p. 70.

⁷⁹⁷ Vámbéry, p. 400; Vámbéry, *Sketches of Central Asia*, pp. 388-389; Barthold, p. 278; Hambly, p. 203; Hayit, p. 77; Kurat, p. 350; Allworth, p. 18; Becker, p. 17 and Bregel, p. 64. Also see Skrine, pp. 229-230 and Skrine and Ross, p. 220.

⁷⁹⁸ Becker, pp. 17-18; D'Encausse, p. 131 and Bregel, p. 64.

year, Cherniaev took Çimkent (i.e. Chimkent).⁷⁹⁹ After this advance, in the very beginning of the year 1865, the territories that were taken from Khokand Khanate were united under “Turkistan Oblast” under Cherniaev as its Military Governor.⁸⁰⁰ Finally, Russians took the economic center of the Khokandian Khanate; Taşkent (i.e. Tashkent) in August 1866.⁸⁰¹ In July 1867, the Russian government which already captured Hocent (i.e. Khojend of the Khanate of Khokand), and the Bukharan fortresses Ora Tepe,⁸⁰² Cizzak⁸⁰³ and Yangi Kurgan,⁸⁰⁴ created the Governorate-General of Turkistan with its headquarters at Taşkent.⁸⁰⁵

3.6.2. Final Steps towards the Conquest of Turkistan

In 17 July 1867, General K. P. von Kaufman, who was called by the peoples of Central Asia as *Yarım Padişah* or *Yarım Çar* (i.e. Half Emperor or

⁷⁹⁹ Schuyler, vol. I, pp. 75, 112; Skrine, p. 230; Barthold, p. 278; Hambly, p. 203; Hayit, pp. 77-78; Kurat, p. 350; Allworth, p. 18; Becker, pp. 17-18 and Bregel, p. 64.

⁸⁰⁰ Suavî, pp. 32-33; Skrine, p. 231; Holdsworth, p. 59; Hayit, p. 80; Becker, pp. 17-18, 26; D’Encausse, p. 131; Bacon, p. 105 and Bregel, p. 64. Also see Skrine and Ross, p. 220.

⁸⁰¹ Vambéry, pp. 390-391; Schuyler, vol. I, pp. 112-117; Marvin, *The Russians at Merv and Herat*, p. 11; Skrine, pp. 230-231; Skrine and Ross, pp. 221; Curzon, p. 238; Barthold, p. 278; Hayit, pp. 80-84; Togan, Vol I, pp. 228-230; Kurat, p. 350; Becker, pp. 18, 26-31; Allworth, pp. 1, 33; Bacon, p. 105; Carrère d’Encausse, pp. 132-139; Bregel, p. 64; Krader, p. 103 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 261. Note that in 1873, Ali Suavî says that Taşkent had a population of 70,000, while ten years later in 1883, Charles Marvin states that Taşkent contained 76,000 people; respectively see Suavî, p. 60 and Marvin, *The Russians at Merv and Herat*, p. 11. Kurat notes the fall of Taşkent at June 1865. Akdes Nimet Kurat also points that although Taşkent had a population of 100,000 and 300,000 combatants, the Russians took the town only with 1,950 soldiers; Kurat, p. 350.

⁸⁰² Also transcribed as Ora Tübe, Ura Tübe, Ura Tepé or Ura Teppe. For brief history of Ora Tepe, see Schuyler, vol. I, p. 312.

⁸⁰³ Also transcribed as Jizzak, Jizak, Jizakh, Jizzakh or Djizak. Also note that Jizak was the frontier fortress between Bukhara and Khokand.

⁸⁰⁴ Also transcribed as Yani Kurgan or Yangi Qorghan.

⁸⁰⁵ Schuyler, vol. I, pp. 75, 229, 316-319, vol. II, p. 274; Skrine, pp. 231-232; Skrine and Ross, pp. 249-253; Barthold, pp. 278-279; Hayit, pp. 80-84, 94-98; Holdsworth, p. 59; Hélène Carrère d’Encausse, “Systematic Conquest, 1865 to 1884” and “Organizing and Colonizing the Conquered Territories,” in *Central Asia: 130 Years of Russian Dominance, A Historical Overview*, pp. 140-141, 152-153; Becker, pp. 32-36 and Bregel, p. 64. Also see Vambéry, *History of Bokhara*, pp. 408-409 and Suavî, pp. 33-34.

King), was named as the first Governor-General of Turkistan and performed this duty until 1882.⁸⁰⁶ On May 1868, Russians under General Kaufman took Samarkand only with 3,500 soldiers against 60,000 soldiers of the Bukharan army.⁸⁰⁷

Although his government's cautious attitude, Kaufman was zealous in a military action against Khiva.⁸⁰⁸ Indeed, in the spring of 1869, General Kaufman stated: "A landing in Krasnovodsk Bay will show the Khivans and the Kirgiz [Kazakh] that His Highness had decided to halt the spread of the revolt [the Kazakh's revolt against Russia]...and that, in case Khiva is stubborn, she will be crushed. I think that the Khan will not heed my counsels until he sees that measures are being taken for his punishment."⁸⁰⁹ Consequently, in 1869, Russians established the fort of Krasnovodsk (i.e. Kızıl-Su or Kyzyl-Su, meaning Red Water or Red River-, contemporary Türkmenbaşy)⁸¹⁰ on the south-east coast of the Caspian, which is considered as "the basic prerequisite for the domination of the Turkmen territories."⁸¹¹ In addition to the construction of this fort, the Russians also stationed a military detachment around the mouth of Atrek at Çikişler (i.e.

⁸⁰⁶ Schuyler, vol. I, p. 81; Skrine, p. 232; Skrine and Ross, p. 253; Barthold, p. 279; Hayit, p. 84; Holdsworth, pp. 49, 59; Carrère d'Encausse, "Systematic Conquest, 1865 to 1884," p. 141; Becker, p. 36; Krader, p. 103 and Bregel, p. 64.

⁸⁰⁷ Vámbéry, pp. 410-413; Schuyler, vol. I, pp. 242-248; Marvin, p. 12; Skrine, pp. 233-234, 236-237; Curzon, p. 273; Skrine and Ross, pp. 253-255; Hayit, pp. 95-96, 99-100; Carrère d'Encausse, p. 142; Kurat, pp. 350-352 and Krader, p. 103. Skrine and Ross say that the Russians had 3,600 troops while the united Bukharan and Khivan army had 40,000 soldiers; see Skrine and Ross, pp. 254. Also see Suavî, p. 32 and Barthold, p. 279. Akdes Nimet Kurat also says that throughout the capture of Samarkand, the Russians had only 2 dead and 38 wounded soldiers; Kurat, p. 352

⁸⁰⁸ Skrine, pp. 234-235 and Becker, pp. 66-67.

⁸⁰⁹ Becker, p. 66.

⁸¹⁰ For the derivation of the name Kızıl-Su, see Rawlinson, p. 167. In 1878 Mehmet Emin Efendi says that before the Russians, this region (Krasnovodsk) was called "Şah-kadem;" Mehmet Emin Efendi, p. 17.

⁸¹¹ Schuyler, p. 27; Moser, p. 314; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 949; Skrine, p. 234; Skrine and Ross, p. 262; Rawlinson, p. 163; Barthold, pp. 280-281; Togan, Vol I, p. 234; Kurat, p. 351; Holdsworth, pp. 22, 50, 59; Carrère d'Encausse, p. 143 and Hayit, pp. 70, 101. Note that in 1874, Captain H. Spalding records the construction of this fort in the year 1870, so does F. H. Skrine in 1903; see Spalding, p. 41 and Skrine, p. 234. Also see Bregel, p. 64.

Chikishlar).⁸¹² From then on, Russians began to advance into the Khivan steppes from the direction of Mangışlak and Krasnovodsk.⁸¹³ The continuous and decisive Russian attacks strongly disturbed the Turkmens. The first resistance was showed by the Teke Turkmens headed by Nurberdi Khan and Dıkma Serdar.⁸¹⁴

Still in 1869, the Khivan Khan made an agreement with the Yomuts, positioning the Yomuts to the most privileged group amongst the other Turkmen tribes.⁸¹⁵ According to this treaty, the Yomuts formed the very military force of the Khivan Khanate, while freeing them from taxes, and gave the right to own slaves.⁸¹⁶

Meanwhile, in July 1872, the Khivan Khan Muhammed Rahim sent an ambassador to India requesting British mediation between Khiva and Russia but the British ignored this request and advised the Khivan ambassador to accept the Russian demands.⁸¹⁷ Then, on December, 1872, as a result of a special conference, General Kaufman was authorized to make a military expedition against the Khivan Khanate.⁸¹⁸ For the attack on Khiva, almost 13,000 Russians troops were utilized.⁸¹⁹ It is important to note that Nurberdi Khan of Vekilli Tekes was desperately trying to unify the Turkmen tribes and to compromise with the Khivan

⁸¹² Skrine, p. 234; Howorth, Part II, Division 2, p. 949; Spalding, p. 41; Moser, p. 314 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 262-263.

⁸¹³ Hayit, p. 101. Also see Carrère d'Encausse, p. 143.

⁸¹⁴ Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 262-263. Dıkma Serdar is also transcribed as Tokma Serdar or Tokme Sirdar.

⁸¹⁵ Edgar, *Tribal Nation*, p. 28.

⁸¹⁶ Edgar, p. 28.

⁸¹⁷ Becker, p. 70.

⁸¹⁸ Marvin, *The Eye-Witnesses' Account of the Disastrous Russian Campaign Against the Akhal Teke Turcomans*, p. 4; Schuyler, vol. II, p. 334-336; Becker, p. 71; Skrine, pp. 234-235 and Hayit, p. 102.

⁸¹⁹ Note that while Baymirza Hayit, Hélène Carrère d'Encausse and Akdes Nimet Kurat say that there were 13,000 Russian soldiers attending to the expedition, Seymour Becker states that there were 12,300 soldiers; see Hayit, pp. 102-103; Carrère d'Encausse, p. 143; Kurat, p. 351. Also see Becker, p. 72. For the narrative of the expedition, see Moser, pp. 242-246.

Khan.⁸²⁰ However, he could not unify the Turkmens since most of them were still ignorant to the Russian attacks.⁸²¹ Thus, Nurberdi Khan contacted the Yomuts and fought with them against the Russian forces but they were defeated and suffered a great loss.⁸²² Nurberdi Khan even visited Muhammed Rahim Khan of Khiva and tried his best to make an alliance against the upcoming invader, but the Khivan Khan ignored demands.⁸²³ Muhammed Rahim Khan, who was trying to show the Russians his loyalty, refused the Turkmens' request of help and advised them submission to Russia.⁸²⁴ Actually, the Khan thought that he needed Russian support in order to maintain his authority within the Khivan Khanate. Besides, the Russian help would be necessary for him while dealing with the Turkmen tribes.⁸²⁵

On May, 1873, the Russians invaded the Khivan town Kungrat, and almost twenty days later, the capital of the Khanate of Khiva was surrounded by the Russians.⁸²⁶ During the siege, the Khan of Khiva declared that some rebel Turkmens were responsible of the fire against the Russians and added that he could not stop them but the Turkmens fought till the end and Kaufman ignored Khan's sayings.⁸²⁷ Then, the Khivan Khan Muhammed Rahim fled to the Yomut Turkmens while the Russians entered to his capital.⁸²⁸ Kaufman insisted on the

⁸²⁰ Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 263-264.

⁸²¹ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 263.

⁸²² Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 263.

⁸²³ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 264 and Becker, p. 100.

⁸²⁴ Mac Gahan, p. 139; Becker, p. 100 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 263-264.

⁸²⁵ Becker, pp. 115-116.

⁸²⁶ Marvin, p. 7; Moser, pp. 242-245; Marvin, *The Russians at Merv and Herat*, p. 77; Skrine, pp. 234-235; Becker, p. 72; Togan, Vol I, p. 232; Hayit, pp. 102-104; Bregel, p. 64; Carrère d'Encausse, pp. 144-145. Also see Kurat, p. 351. Note that George Vernardsky says that Kaufman marched against Khiva with 13,000 Russian troops; see Vernardsky, p. 167.

⁸²⁷ Mac Gahan, pp. 139-141.

⁸²⁸ Schuyler, vol. II, pp. 349, 350, 352; Moser, pp. 244-245; Marvin, p. 77; Skrine, p. 235; Gavin Hambly, p. 215; Becker, pp. 72-73 and Carrère d'Encausse, p. 145.

personal submission of the Khan, therefore, on June, 1873, the Khivan Khan was surrendered.⁸²⁹ After the fall of Khiva, General von Kaufman personally worked on creating a *divan* (i.e. council) while replacing all anti-Russian advisers.⁸³⁰ This newly established pro-Russian *divan* decided to abolish the slavery within the Khivan Khanate immediately.⁸³¹

It is important to note that on July of the very same year, General Kaufman this time made a military expedition against the most powerful Turkmen tribe of the Khanate; the Yomuts.⁸³² General Kaufman forced the Turkmen of Khiva to pay a fine of 600,000 rubles to be collected in two weeks, which was clearly impossible for them to gather.⁸³³ Meanwhile, Kaufman obliged the Yomuts to pay the half of the above mentioned fine as they composed the half of the Turkmen within the Khanate.⁸³⁴ Mac Gahan says that apart from the Yomuts who fled to Khiva, there were 11,000 *kibitkas* of Yomuts.⁸³⁵ The Russian General was determined to march on the Yomuts. Since the money could not be collected from them, even not waiting for the given days to expire, General Kaufman marched on

⁸²⁹ Schuyler, vol. II, p. 352; Moser, pp. 244-245; Becker, p. 73 and Carrère d'Encausse, p. 145. Also see Mac Gahan, pp. 139-141; Bacon, p. 105 and Count K. K. Pahlen, *Mission to Turkestan: Being the memoirs of Count K. K. Pahlen 1908-1909*, ed. and introduced by Richard E. Pierce, trans. by N. J. Couriss (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 162-163.

⁸³⁰ Schuyler, vol. II, p. 352; Moser, p. 245 and Becker, p. 73.

⁸³¹ Schuyler, vol. II, p. 353; Moser, p. 246; Skrine, p. 235 and Becker, p. 73.

⁸³² Marvin, *The Eye-Witnesses' Account of the Disastrous Russian Campaign Against the Akhal Teke Turcomans*, pp. 7-8; Mac Gahan, pp. 107-108; Abbott, vol. I., p. xi; Schuyler, vol. II, pp. 135, 356-359; Burnaby, pp. 259-260; Skrine and Ross, pp. 284-285; Curzon, p. 85; Carrère d'Encausse, p. 147; Becker, pp. 74, 82 and Hayit, p. 106. Also see Necef and Annaberdiev, p. 263. Burnaby says: "This general [General Golovatchev], in order to discover the intentions of the Turkomans, gave an order to the Turkomans, gave an order to his soldiery not to spare any sex of age. Men, women, and children at the breast were slain with ruthless barbarity; houses with bedridden inmates were given up to the fiery element; women-ay, and prattling babes- were burned alive amidst flames; hell was let loose in Turkmania;" Burnaby, pp. 260.

⁸³³ Becker, p. 74 and Schuyler, vol. II, pp. 356-359.

⁸³⁴ Schuyler, vol. II, p. 356; Mac Gahan, p. 210 and Becker, p. 74.

⁸³⁵ Mac Gahan, p. 212.

the Yomuts at Kızıl Takır and made a slaughter en masse and destroyed all their livestock.⁸³⁶

The order of General Kaufman was clear: “You are not to spare either sex or age. Kill all of them,” and the Russian soldiers did so.⁸³⁷ In a written order -on 19th of July- to General Golovatchev, Kaufman wrote that if the Yomuts reject their demands, and oppose the Russian forces: “I order you immediately to move upon the settlements of the Yomuds, which are placed along the Hazavat canal and its branches, and *to give over the settlements of the Yomoods and their families to complete destruction, and their herds and their property to confiscation.*”⁸³⁸ Indeed, Eugene Schuyler states that during the expedition, “[t]he butchery and the destruction by the troops had been so great.”⁸³⁹ The Russian General expressed his attitude towards the Turkmens as follows:

I hold it as a principle that in Asia the duration of peace is in direct proportion to the slaughter you inflict upon the enemy. The harder you hit them the longer they will be quiet afterwards. My system is this: To strike hard, and keep on hitting till resistance is completely over; then at once to form ranks, cease slaughter, and be kind and humane to the prostrate enemy.⁸⁴⁰

Concerning the rest of the fine (310,500 rubles) depending on the other Turkmens tribes, only 92,000 rubles could be collected and the remaining

⁸³⁶ Marvin, p. 4; Mac Gahan, pp. 107-108, 210; Vambery, “The Turcomans Between the Caspian and Merv,” p. 343; Schuyler, vol. II, pp. 356-363; Curzon, p. 85; Becker, p. 74; Edgar, p. 28 and Hayit, p. 106. Also see Abbott, vol. I., p. xi and Skrine and Ross, p. 285. Note that Mac Gahan witnessed the massacre himself. Eugene Schuyler notes that in order to raise the money, the Turkmen women even sold their ornaments almost for nothing but still they could not gather the requested money. Those Turkmen ornaments were then exhibited in St. Petersburg, and the Geographical Congress at Paris in 1875; Schuyler, vol. II, p. 359.

⁸³⁷ Schuyler, vol. II, pp. 359-360 and Burnaby, p. 260. In the accounts of Eugene Schuyler, an eye-witness said that he remembers one particular incident: “A mother, who had been riding on horse back with three children, was lying dead. The eldest child was dead also. The youngest had a sabre cut through its arm, and while crying was wiping off the blood. The other child, a little older, who was trying to wake up the dead mother said to me “*Tiura-stop*,” Schuyler, vol. II, p. 360.

⁸³⁸ Marvin, pp. 7-8 and Schuyler, vol. II, p. 357.

⁸³⁹ Schuyler, vol. II, p. 358.

⁸⁴⁰ Curzon, pp. 85-86. Also see Hayit, p. 108.

payment would be summed later.⁸⁴¹ Because of this ruthless massacre against their tribesmen, Yomuts made raids upon the Khivan oasis.⁸⁴² During this time, the Tekes were also attacking the Russian convoys heading to Khivan capital.⁸⁴³ By these plundering, Turkmens were trying to punish all people who sided with the Russians against themselves.

As a result of the invasion of Khiva and the submission of the Khan, on August, 12, 1873, a treaty⁸⁴⁴ was signed between the Russians and the Khan declaring the Khanate of Khiva as a Russian protectorate and the Khan of Khiva as “obedient servant” of the Russian Emperor.⁸⁴⁵ Thus, the Khanate of Khiva lost all its territories on the right bank of Amu Darya.⁸⁴⁶ Apart from the abolition of the slavery, by this treaty, the Russians gained extensive rights on Khiva including various commercial privileges, the right of controlling the external affairs and finally the navigation on the Amu Darya.⁸⁴⁷ However, the Khivan Khan was still anxious about the possible raids of his Turkmen subjects.⁸⁴⁸ Muhammed Rahim of Khiva even asked the Russian General von Kaufman to establish a fortress and a Russian detachment of troops while even requesting a permanent Russian garrison which would be placed in Khiva.⁸⁴⁹

⁸⁴¹ Schuyler, vol. II, pp. 358-359 and Becker, p. 74. Also see Burnaby, pp. 259-260.

⁸⁴² Marvin, p. 8 and Schuyler, vol. II, p. 370.

⁸⁴³ Marvin, p. 8 and Schuyler, vol. II, p. 370.

⁸⁴⁴ For brief information about the articles of the Russo-Khivan Treaty in 1873, see Schuyler, vol. II, pp. 363-364; Becker, pp. 74-76 and Hayit, pp. 104-105.

⁸⁴⁵ Schuyler, vol. II, p. 363; Skrine and Ross, p. 259; Togan, Vol I, p. 232; Kurat, p. 351; Barthold, p. 281; Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 261; Hambly, pp. 203, 215; Becker, p. 75; Bacon, p. 105 and Carrère d’Encausse, pp. 144-145. Also see Pahlen, pp. 13-163.

⁸⁴⁶ Bregel, p. 60 and Hambly, p. 215.

⁸⁴⁷ Skrine, p. 235 and Becker, p. 76. Also see Skrine and Ross, p. 259.

⁸⁴⁸ Becker, p. 75.

⁸⁴⁹ Becker, p. 75. Also see Schuyler, vol. II, p. 374.

In 1873, the British and the Russian governments made an agreement which left Afghanistan within the British influence, while the Turkmen tribes were left within the Russian zone of influence.⁸⁵⁰ Thus, in 1874, between the Caspian and Amu Darya the Transcaspian military district was established.⁸⁵¹ In 1874, *Türkmen Aksaçlılar Şurası (Kurultayı)* [Assembly of Elderly Turkmen Chiefs] was gathered with Nurberdi Khan's request.⁸⁵² This assembly was important since Nurberdi Khan tried to provoke "nationalist" feelings calling every single Turkmen to defend his/her land.⁸⁵³ Ekber N. Necef and Ahmet Annaberdiyev notes that since they believed that it was impossible for them to be successful because of the great insufficiency of the weapons, the representatives of the Yomuts opposed the idea of fighting against the Russians.⁸⁵⁴

Throughout the year 1875, the Russians continued their massacres against the Turkmens. In January 1875, Colonel Ivanov marched against the Turkmens between Khiva and the Aral and between the Aral and the Üst Yurt plateau and even though they saw any resistance at all, they completely destroyed the Kul tribe –who were numbering about 1,000 *kibitkas*- of the Yomuts.⁸⁵⁵

Then, in 1876, the Russian Tsar Alexander II formally declared the annexation of the Khanate of Khokand and replaced it by the region of

⁸⁵⁰ Skrine, pp. 237-238; Skrine and Ross, pp. 326-327; Curzon, pp. 326-327; Barthold, pp. 279-280; Hambly, p. 215; Becker, p. 63 and Hayit, pp. 118-122. Also see Holdsworth, pp. 24.

⁸⁵¹ Marvin, pp. 8-9; Skrine, p. 238; Skrine and Ross, p. 285; Hayit, p. 105; Carrère d'Encausse, p. 148 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 265.

⁸⁵² Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 266.

⁸⁵³ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 266.

⁸⁵⁴ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 266.

⁸⁵⁵ Marvin, pp. 9-10 and Schuyler, vol. II, p. 375-376.

Ferghana.⁸⁵⁶ Now, the Russian court was ready to deal with the Turkmen. In Transcaspian district, the Tekes of the Akhal and Merv oases were the most populated and highly active in comparison to the other Turkmen tribes.⁸⁵⁷ Since Khiva was conquered by the Russians, the Turkmen who were stucked between the Akhal Teke and Merv region, requested help from Persia.⁸⁵⁸ However, in 1876, the Russian ambassador Zinoviev clearly protested the Persian-Turkmen negotiation.⁸⁵⁹ Thus, the Turkmen were left alone with the enemy. They knew that the Russians were determined to conquer their native lands, and that they had to fight for their freedom on their own, but against all the difficulties they decided to defend their country.

In 1877, the Russians under General Lomakin began to attack the Turkmen lands.⁸⁶⁰ At this point, the Turkmen understood that the Russians' aim was to capture Kızıl Arvat, thus they evacuated the region and retreated towards Göktepe.⁸⁶¹ Mehmet Emin Efendi, who was traveling through Turkistan in 1877, says that General Lomakin tried to manipulate Nurberdi Khan by tempting offers but Turkmen chief clearly refused these offers and said that they will be fighting with 5,000 horsemen until the last man dies.⁸⁶² However, the Russians entered Kızıl Arvat and defeated the Turkmen under Nurberdi Khan.⁸⁶³ Later, the

⁸⁵⁶ Schuyler, vol. II, p. 278; Skrine and Ross, p. 260; Skrine, p. 235; Vernardsky, p. 167; Barthold, pp. 281, 310 and Carrère d'Encausse, p. 147.

⁸⁵⁷ General Annenkov, "General Annenkoff on Russia in Central Asia and England in India," in *The Russians at Merv and Herat, and their Power of Invading India*, pp. 13-14; Skrine, p. 238 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 237. Also see Kurat, pp. 351-352.

⁸⁵⁸ Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 265-267.

⁸⁵⁹ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 267.

⁸⁶⁰ Mehmet Emin Efendi, pp. 30-31 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 266.

⁸⁶¹ Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 267-268.

⁸⁶² Mehmet Emin Efendi, pp. 30-31.

⁸⁶³ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 268. Note that Mehmet Emin Efendi records the entrance of the Russians in Kızıl Arvat at 1876; Mehmet Emin Efendi, p. 30.

Turkmens attacked Kızıl Arvat but the region was empty since the Russians evacuated it because of the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878.⁸⁶⁴

The Russians under General N. Lomakin (after General Lazaryev died), the Governor of Transcaspia, attacked the Tekes' entrenched camp at Dengil Tepe⁸⁶⁵ in the Akhal oasis in 1879.⁸⁶⁶ The fortress was defended by Dıkma Serdar and Berdi Murad Khan, the son of Nurberdi Khan.⁸⁶⁷ Within this Turkmen camp, there were 15,000 Teke warriors with 5,000 women and children.⁸⁶⁸ As asserted by George N. Curzon, during the battle, General Lomakin made a bombardment against the Teke women and children.⁸⁶⁹ The Turkmens strongly resisted and defeated the Russian forces.⁸⁷⁰ While following the fleeing Russian forces, Berdi Murad Khan was killed under heavy gun fire.⁸⁷¹ Meanwhile, Nurberdi Khan, who was in Merv, came to Göktepe to take the corpse of his son and was greeted with great excitement by his people.⁸⁷² Edmond O'Donovan, special correspondent to the *Daily News*, who traveled among the Turkmens from 1879 to 1881, says that

⁸⁶⁴ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 268.

⁸⁶⁵ Also may be transcribed as Denghil Tepe, Dangil, Denjil or Danjil Tepe.

⁸⁶⁶ Marvin, pp. 10-26; Schuyler, vol. II, pp. 377-378; Moser, p. 314; Skrine, p. 239; Curzon, pp. 37, 85; Skrine and Ross, pp. 286-287; Togan, Vol I, pp. 234-237; Barthold, pp. 284-285; Hambly, p. 216; Hayit, pp. 106-108; Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 267-273 and Holdsworth, pp. 60-61. Also see Kurat, pp. 351-352 and Carrère d'Encausse, p. 147.

⁸⁶⁷ Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 262, 272; Moser, p. 314; Skrine and Ross, pp. 274.

⁸⁶⁸ Skrine and Ross, p. 287.

⁸⁶⁹ Curzon, p. 85 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 272-273. Charles Marvin also states that General Lomakin made a massacre in 1879; see Marvin, *The Russians at Merv and Heart*, p. 16.

⁸⁷⁰ Charles Marvin says that the Russian force contained "9 companies of infantry, 2 squadrons of Cossacks, and 8 guns." For the figures of the expedition, see Marvin, *The Eye-Witnesses' Account of the Disastrous Russian Campaign Against the Akhal Teke Turcomans*, p. 15; Skrine and Ross, pp. 286-287; Skrine, p. 239; Hambly, pp. 216-217 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 273. Akdes Nimet Kurat claims that the Turkmens killed one third of the Russians within half an hour; see Togan, Vol I, pp. 234-235. Also see Moser, p. 314; Barthold, p. 285 and General Kuropatkin, *The Russian Army and the Japanese War, Being Historical and Critical Comments on the Military Policy and Power of Russia and on the Campaign in the Far East*, trans. by Captain A. B. Lindsay, ed. by Major E. D. Swinton (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1909), vol I, pp. 30-31. Gavin Hambly says that during the expedition, "[o]f 3,024 Russian troops engaged, nearly 200 were killed and more than 250 wounded;" Hambly, p. 217.

⁸⁷¹ Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 273.

⁸⁷² Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 273.

in Merv there were 500,000 agricultural semi-nomad people.⁸⁷³ He also adds that the people of Merv said that they were only loyal to the Sultan and Turkey, and that they could not understand why the Sultan did not send several army corps so far to support them against the Russians.⁸⁷⁴ In Merv, after a long questioning, Edmond O'Donovan finally convinced the Teke Turkmens that he was a “black Russian,” that is, European, and then he personally met with Dıkma Serdar, the defender of Göktepe, who fled to Merv for protection.⁸⁷⁵ O'Donovan narrates that when they were talking about the situation within the region, Dıkma Serdar said that the Russians were three days' march off and they had to nothing to do but surrender.⁸⁷⁶

Relying on a Teke guide's -attached to Lomakin's expedition in 1879- figures of the population of the fortresses, Charles Marvin concludes that the population of Akhal Teke in 1879 was more than 140,000 (counting every *kibitka* having seven person) people.⁸⁷⁷ The Teke guide's figures were as follows:

Table 24. A Teke guide's figures of the Akhal Teke fortresses in 1879⁸⁷⁸

Fortress	Kibitka	Fortress	Kibitka
1- Kizil Arvat [Kızıl Arvar]	500	15- Yaradji [Yaracı]	200
2- Kotch [Koç]	200	16- Geok Tepe [Göktepe]	5,000
3- Zao	200	17- Kakshal	1,000
4- Kizil Tcheshme [Kızıl Çeşme]	40	18- Kantchik [Kancık]	300
5- Bami	500	19- Gumbetli	300
6- Beurma	1,000	20- Eezgant	300
7- Artchman [Arçman]	400	21- Boozmeun	300

⁸⁷³ O'Donovan, p. 349.

⁸⁷⁴ O'Donovan, p. 349.

⁸⁷⁵ O'Donovan, p. 351.

⁸⁷⁶ O'Donovan, p. 351.

⁸⁷⁷ Marvin, p. 32.

⁸⁷⁸ Marvin, p. 32. For the plan of the Turkmen fortress, see Marvin, p. 33.

8- Soontchee	200	22- Kherick	100
9- Moortche	200	23- Kiptchak [Kıpçak]	250
10- Begreden	250	24- Gektcha [Gökçe]	250
11- Dooroon [Durun]	250	25- Kesha	1,000
12- Kara Kan	300	26- Askabat [Aşkabat]	1,000
13- Ak Tepe	1,000	27- Enao	1,100
14- Mekhin	200	28- Gyaoors	40
Total		16,380	
Thirty-five village settlements		4,000	
TOTAL		20,380 kibiṭkas	

Because of this defeat and loss of prestige, Alexander II preferred to rely on Mikhail Dmitriyevich Skobelev,⁸⁷⁹ who was then considered as “the most brilliant soldier of his armies.”⁸⁸⁰ Indeed, after the upcoming battle, General Skobelev was to be called “*Guenz Kanlı*” [Gözü Kanlı] (i.e. Bloody Eyes) by the Turkmens since his presence caused a great terror upon them.⁸⁸¹

3.6.3 Battle of Göktepe,⁸⁸² the Last Stronghold of Turkistan and the Conquest of Turkmen Lands

By the very beginning of 1880, the Tsar made a conference with the War Minister Miliutin and M. D. Skobelev, which concluded that the defeat of 1879

⁸⁷⁹ For a very brief information about M. D. Skobelev, see Skrine and Ross, pp. 288-289 and Holdsworth, p. 71.

⁸⁸⁰ Moser, p. 314; Skrine and Ross, pp. 288-289; Skrine, p. 239; Curzon, pp. 37-38, 78; Hambly, p. 217 and Hayit, p. 108. Skobelev was a very dominant and impressive figure for his soldier, his lieutenant, General Kuropatkin described Skobelev as: “He was the God of War personified,” see Skrine and Ross, p. 289.

⁸⁸¹ Curzon, p. 84.

⁸⁸² Also may be written as Gökdepe. In his work *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question*, which was first published in 1889, George N. Curzon says that although it is commonly known as Göktepe, the correct name of the fortress is Denghil Tepe. He says that actually Göktepe is “the title of a small settlement a little further in the desert;” see Curzon, pp. 37, 78-79. Later, in 1899, Skrine and Ross say that “Geok Tepe” was the name of a district while “Dangil Tepe” referred to the famous entrenched camp; Skrine and Ross, p. 287. Indeed, Baymirza Hayit says that Dengil Tepe was the main fortress which was in the Göktepe district; Hayit, p. 110.

was a result of transportation deficiencies.⁸⁸³ Consequently, in 1880, Skobelev, who was named “Commander-in-Chief of the troops operating in the Caspian,”⁸⁸⁴ made a detailed plan; first “a light line was laid from Usan Ada on the Caspian to Mulla Kari;”⁸⁸⁵ a vast distillery was made for the water supply; and artillery was increased.⁸⁸⁶ Skobelev’s Chief of the Staff was General Alexis Kuropatkin.⁸⁸⁷

Skobelev, who was ready for the second Göktepe battle came to the Turkmen lands in April.⁸⁸⁸ Meanwhile, the Turkmens were proud of their success within the previous year, but still, they knew that they had to find an ally against the Russians. Thence, for the last time, Nurberdi Khan wrote to Persia for help.⁸⁸⁹ On 5 May, 1880, all of a sudden Nurberdi Khan died and succeeded by his younger son Mahtum Kulu but this incident caused a great disappointment amongst the Turkmens.⁸⁹⁰

In 1879, Persians agreed with the Russians to supply food for the Russian soldiers while they decided not to sell any food items to the Turkmens.⁸⁹¹ Thus, the Turkmens were left all alone and apart from these difficulties, some problems

⁸⁸³ Skrine and Ross, p. 289; Skrine, pp. 239-240; Curzon, pp. 37-38 and Hayit, p. 108. General Annenkov says: “[d]uring the Akhal Tekke Expedition of 1879, as many as 9,600 camels perished out of 10,000; at the close of Skobelev’s Expedition of 1881, only 1,000 remained alive out of 18,000;” see Annenkov, p. 39. George N. Curzon says that during the expedition against the Akhal Teke, led by General Lomakin in 1879, “8,377 camels had perished out of a total of 12,273 employed; and at the end of Skobelev’s own campaign, a year and a half later, only 350 remained out of a total of 12,596;” N. I. Grodekoff, *Voina v Turkmenie (The War in Turkomania)*, 4 vols (St. Petersburg, 1883), Chapters ii and xi, cited in Curzon, p. 38.

⁸⁸⁴ Skrine, p. 240. Note that in *The Heart of Asia*, it is said that Skobelev was named “Temporary Commander of Troops operating in Transcaspia;” see Skrine and Ross, pp. 289-290.

⁸⁸⁵ Skrine, p. 240.

⁸⁸⁶ Skrine, p. 240; Skrine and Ross, pp. 289-290 and Togan, Vol I, pp. 235-236. Also see Curzon, p. 38.

⁸⁸⁷ Skrine, p. 240; Skrine and Ross, p. 290-291 and Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 275. Also see Hayit, pp. 106-115 and Togan, Vol I, p. 235.

⁸⁸⁸ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 274.

⁸⁸⁹ N. I. Grodekoff, *Voina v Turkmenie (The War in Turkomania)* (1883), p. 164; cited in Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 274.

⁸⁹⁰ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 274.

⁸⁹¹ Hayit, p. 109.

occurred among the Turkmen tribes, which weakened them more.⁸⁹² Meanwhile, before the battle started, General Skobelev declared a peace treaty⁸⁹³ which was rejected by the Turkmen who preferred to die rather than accepting the treaty articles.⁸⁹⁴ Again before the battle, Skobelev requested some powerful and influential Turkmen from Ata Bay and Cafer Bay families, tricking them by saying that he would present some gifts.⁸⁹⁵ Then, Skobelev imprisoned all of the Turkmen who came.⁸⁹⁶

Despite Mahtumkulu and Dıkma Serdar's resistance, by June 1880, heading from Krasnovodsk, Skobelev captured Hoca Kale, Bami, Nohur, and Arçman and Turkmen retreated to Göktepe fortress.⁸⁹⁷ On 10th of June 1880, General Skobelev occupied the most populous Teke settlement, Göktepe stronghold.⁸⁹⁸ After completing the railway, on December 1880, all preparations were made and General Skobelev was ready to advance with 12,000 men and 100 guns gathered from Caucasus.⁸⁹⁹ Russians laid mines around the fortress and began a heavy gun fire while Turkmen were completely unaware of General Skobelev's plan.⁹⁰⁰ Amongst the clashes, the Russians fired the mines and all of a sudden, the walls of the fortress fell apart and the Turkmen totally got shocked.⁹⁰¹ Therefore, Turkmen, who were still desperately trying to defend their fortress, could not resist the Russians anymore and were defeated eventually.

⁸⁹² Hayit, p. 109.

⁸⁹³ For the articles of the treaty; see Hayit, p. 109.

⁸⁹⁴ Hayit, pp. 109-110.

⁸⁹⁵ Hayit, p. 110.

⁸⁹⁶ Hayit, p. 110.

⁸⁹⁷ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 275.

⁸⁹⁸ Skrine and Ross, p. 291; Curzon, pp. 80-90; Vernardsky, p. 177; Hayit, pp. 106-122; Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 274-278 and Kurat, pp. 351-352.

⁸⁹⁹ Skrine and Ross, p. 292. Note that Hélène Carrère d'Encausse says that Skobelev had an army more than 11,000 men and some 100 cannon; see Carrère d'Encausse, p. 148.

⁹⁰⁰ Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 275-276.

⁹⁰¹ Necef and Annaberdiyev, pp. 276-277.

After a long and bloody three week long siege, on January 12, 1881, the Göktepe fortress was captured by the Russians.⁹⁰² George N. Curzon states that after the fall of Dengil Tepe, according to Skobelev's instructions, "[e]ight thousand persons of both sexes and all ages were mercilessly cut down and slain."⁹⁰³ Charles Marvin also says that General Skobelev massacred 8,000 people in Göktepe.⁹⁰⁴ Indeed, General Grodekoff notes: "On the morning after the battle, they [Turkmens] lay in rows like freshly mown hay, as they had been swept down by the mitrailleuses and cannon."⁹⁰⁵

Francis Henry Skrine says that the Russian lost at the siege of Göktepe was 800 killed and wounded but the Turkmens' lost was more than 9,000 people.⁹⁰⁶ Besides, Curzon says that in the Dengil Tepe fort, corpses of 6,500 men were found, while some thousands of living women and children also found.⁹⁰⁷ Indeed, General Grodekoff said that "all who had not succeeded in escaping were killed to a man by Russian soldiers, the only males spared being the Persian prisoners, who were easily recognized by the fetters on their legs, and of whom there were about 600 in all. After that only women and children, to the number of

⁹⁰² Kuropatkin, vol I, pp. 31-32; Barthold, p. 285; Carrère d'Encausse, p. 148; Bregel, p. 64 and Becker, p. 100.

⁹⁰³ Curzon, p. 82.

⁹⁰⁴ Marvin, *The Russians at Merv and Heart*, p. 16.

⁹⁰⁵ Curzon, p. 82.

⁹⁰⁶ Skrine, p. 241.

⁹⁰⁷ Curzon, p. 82. Curzon mentions that during the assault of Dengil Tepe, the Russian columns advanced with "drums beating and bands playing," which had a disastrous effect on the Turkmens. Curzon narrates that even five years after the battle, when the railway was opened to Askabad, "the Turkoman women and children raised woful cries of lamentation, and the men threw themselves on the ground with their foreheads in the dust;" Curzon, pp. 83-84. Indeed, General Grodekoff said that during the siege on January 8, "[b]oth bodies of Turkoman troops were close to the Kala (i.e. fortified redoubt) [kale] when suddenly music burst forth from the trenches, and the Tekes at once hastened to retire into the fortress. This music, it appeared, exercised a most depressing influence upon the Turkomans, and one which they could not shake off. It forced the Ishans (i.e. priests) to pray, and caused universal terror; for whenever the music played they imagined the Russians were advancing to the assault;" see N. I. Grodekoff, *Voina v Turkmenie (The War in Turkomania)*, Chapters xv, cited in Curzon, p. 84.

about 5,000, were left.”⁹⁰⁸ Yuri Bregel says that during the siege of Göktepe, 15,000 Teke were killed.⁹⁰⁹

After the fall of Göktepe, the Russian General Skobelev said: “How unutterably bored I am, there is nothing left to do.”⁹¹⁰ Besides, George N. Curzon says that after the Göktepe battle, during the massacre and loot of the Russian soldiers –which lasted for four days without interruption-, the Russian loss was only 60 killed and 340 wounded.⁹¹¹ He also says that during the entire campaign against the Teke Turkmens, the Russian loss was only 283 killed and 689 wounded while General Skobelev himself admitted that he must have destroyed 20,000 Turkmens.⁹¹² Ekber N. Necef and Ahmet Annaberdiyev claim that during the Göktepe battle, the Russians lost one General, twenty officers, 268 soldiers, while the Turkmens lost 6,500 soldiers, and 28,000 women, children and elderly.⁹¹³

Indeed, Akdes Nimet Kurat asserts that throughout its expeditions against the Teke Turkmens between the years 1879-1881, the Russians merely had 621 dead and 825 wounded.⁹¹⁴ However, it should be noted that according to General Kuropatkin, because of the bravery of the Turkmens and their Berdan rifles, the Russians had serious lost during the siege of Dengil Tepe.⁹¹⁵ He said: “[o]f the small force of under 5,000 which attacked Geok Tepe, we lost about 1,000 in

⁹⁰⁸ Curzon, pp. 82-83.

⁹⁰⁹ Bregel, p. 64.

⁹¹⁰ Curzon, p. 85.

⁹¹¹ Curzon, p. 83.

⁹¹² Curzon, p. 83.

⁹¹³ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 277.

⁹¹⁴ Kurat, p. 352.

⁹¹⁵ Kuropatkin, vol I, p. 32.

killed and wounded.”⁹¹⁶ About the general loss in Turkistan, General Kuropatkin also says:

During our operations in Central Asia, from 1847 to 1881, we never had more than 15,000 men in the field at one time. The total number sent out was some 55,000, of whom we did not lose as many as 5,000 killed and wounded, and 8,000 sick.⁹¹⁷

After the fall of Göktepe, Skobelev called all the Turkmen to accept submission to the Russia Tsar but they refused to do so.⁹¹⁸ Only three days after the capture of Göktepe, Colonel A. N. Kuropatkin took the control of Aşkabad (i.e. Ashkabad) on January 15, 1881, and within few weeks, the Turkmen chieftains -including Mahtum Kulu Khan, Dıkma Serdar and Kurban Murat İşan- in the region surrendered to General Skobelev.⁹¹⁹ The resistant Turkmen were gathered to the Merv region but by 1885, the Russians annexed all the Turkmen territories, including the only unruly Turkmen territory, Merv.⁹²⁰ Thus, the Russians finalized their long-planned conquest of Turkistan with the fall of Göktepe where they met with the fiercest resistance.

⁹¹⁶ A. N. Kuropatkin, *Geschichte des Feldzuges Skobelews in Turkmenien nebst einer Übersicht der kriegerischen Tätigkeit der russischen Truppen in Zentralasien von 1839 bis 1876*, German translation by Mülheim am Ulrich Rhein, 1904; cited in Hayit, p. 111.

⁹¹⁷ Kuropatkin, vol I, p. 32.

⁹¹⁸ Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 277.

⁹¹⁹ Carrère d’Encausse, p. 148; Becker, p. 100; Bregel, p. 64 ; Necef and Annaberdiyev, p. 277 and Hambly, pp. 203-204.

⁹²⁰ Becker, pp. 100-102 and Bregel, p. 64.

CONCLUSION

There are various theories explaining the direct roots of the term Turkmen. The most prominent assumption about the designation of the term is that it refers to the Muslim Oghuz which differentiates them from their non-Muslim brothers. Other leading scholars trying to trace the origins of the term with respect to the etymological findings assert various claims. According to these different claims, the term refers to “pure noble, great, superior, robust Turk, Turks *par excellence*” “faithful Turk,” “resembling the Turks, Turk-like,” and finally “I am a Turk.” On the other hand, a completely different approach was asserted by other prominent scholars who claimed that the term “Türkmen” was used as a political term rather than an ethnical term composing Turkic tribes other than the Oghuz; mostly the Karluks. However, despite all the efforts, the obscurity upon the very designation of the Turkmen term remains.

From very early on, especially from the eighth and ninth centuries on, almost all accounts on the Turkmens demonstrate the existence of a highly organized but also quite segregated society living under the name Turkmen. The organization of the tribes under tribal confederations such as *Üçok* and *Bozok*, and their tribal affiliations, “acephalous political order,” complex sociological

organization, unwritten customary law, and tribal structure, had aroused interests of early Islamic and native scholars writing on Turkistan.

Within this early period, the Turkmens were very influential since they provided cavalry and best warriors to all Empires and Khanates established in the region. However, the real attention of the scholarly research turned on the Turkmens after the rise of the Seljuk Dynasty. Still living in a dispersed semi-nomadic life in the plains of Turkistan and Iran, the Turkmens were the backbone of the Seljuk Empire in terms of the military strength. Following the Seljuk advance westwards, many of these tribes moved into Middle Eastern and Anatolian highlands, while protecting their social framework organized around tribal affiliations. Meanwhile, those Turkmens who remained in Turkistan lived rather an independent life usually in the Mangışlak and Üst-Yurt plateaus. The others were in the Khivan Khanate or populated the nomad land in the North Eastern end of Iran.

Although these nomads founded the mightiest Empires in the history of Turkistan, until the nineteenth century, despite various studies, a full map of the Turkmen social framework was not written. From the very early days of the Russian advance in Turkistan, Turkmens became a target of further study and intelligence gathering for both Russians and other Europeans. Accordingly, throughout the nineteenth century, dozens of accounts were published on the Turkmen tribal organization but they were still far from explaining a full map of the Turkmen sociological framework.

The major reason for that is the difference between the historical records, legends and field observations on the subject matter. All these studies had lacked one important element; the unavailability of a huge literature on the matter and the lack of understanding and treating the problem in a rather dynamic way. As mentioned in the very beginning of the study, while analyzing the Turkmen tribal structure prior to the Russian conquest, the tribal structure and the organization of the Turkmen people should not be analyzed according to the European sense of political organization. This study aimed to designate the Turkmen people's exceptional tribal affiliations and their unique position within the region they lived. Actually, the organic and continuously changing nature of the semantics concerning the Turkmen tribal namings and the structure should have been deeply studied so far.

Thus, there are several advantages of mapping out Turkmen tribes' sociological framework in a detailed way as attempted in this thesis. However, it would be utterly unrealistic to treat the Turkmen, or any tribal nation, in history or in contemporary times, as a strictly disintegrated, segmental society unable to unite under any circumstance. There was a de facto Turkmen identity throughout history. This also includes a clear understanding of Turkmen being different from other regional religious and racial kins such as Uzbeks, and from completely "others" such as Persians and Russians.

The Turkmen of Turkistan never had an independent "nation-state" until 1991. The Seljuk Empire was also composed of several ethnicities rather than depending on a single racial group. Thus, for the peoples of the Seljuk Empire, as

well as for the Turkmen, a single nation-state notion was unknown. However, these peoples of the steppe, who had never recognized a single authority, lived through a painful period while fighting against the Persian and Uzbek rules. They strongly resisted all kinds of authority apart from their tribal organization and customary law. Indeed, in the course of the Russian advance into the Turkmen lands, the Turkmen tribes, which had serious problems on the distribution of land and water mostly ceased to fight against each other and unified against their common enemy; the Russians.

However, the systematic and well-organized expansion of Russia was much stronger than these nomadic peoples. Although they had inter-tribal problems among each other, majority of the Turkmen tribes unified against the Russians but the latter was much well-armed and organized than the former, who were used to old traditional warfare. At this point, the Göktepe battle may be considered as the bloodiest and the most horrific battle of the Turkestani people during their struggle with the Russian forces. Indeed, this massacre had a very long lasting effect upon the Turkmen people. Since the Russian defeat of 1879 encouraged all Turkistani people, the Russians knew that they had to defeat the Turkmen in order to pursue their expansion in Turkistan. The defeat of the Turkmen in 1881 destroyed all the hope of the Turkmen and the Turkestani people. As George N. Curzon puts it, after this decisive defeat, the Turkmen could not lift a finger against the Russians:

It [Göktepe battle] was not a rout, but a massacre; not a defeat, but extirpation; and it is not surprising that after this drastic lesson, the Tekes of the Akhal oasis have never lifted a little finger against their conquerors.⁹²¹

⁹²¹ Curzon, p. 83.

After all, Turkmen suffered a great loss of their own people, and they could not strongly unify against their enemy because of difficulties and conflicts between themselves. However, one of the reasons of this decisive defeat was the huge technical difference between the well-armed Russian army and the traditional Turkmen warfare. In the end, one can say that although most of the Turkmen people boldly defended their lands, the Russians succeeded in conquering the Turkmen lands since they also knew very well how to fill the “political vacuum”⁹²² within Turkistan.

⁹²² Sinor, p. 216.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abazov, Rafis, *Historical Dictionary of Turkmenistan* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005)
- Abbott, Captain James, *Narrative of A Journey From Herat to Khiva, Moscow, St. Petersburg. During the Late Russian Invasion of Khiva; Some Account of the Court of Khiva and the Kingdom of Khaurism*, vol. II. (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1884)
- Agacanov, Sergey Grigoreviç, *Oğuzlar*, trans. from Russian by Ekber N. Necef and Ahmet Annaberdiyev (İstanbul: Selenge Yayınları, 2004)
- Agajanov, S.G., “The States of the Oghuz, the Kimek and the Kipchak,” in *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. IV: The age of achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century, Part One, The historical, social and economic setting, eds., M.S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (UNESCO Publishing, 1998)
- Akbarzadeh, Shahram, “National Identity and Political Legitimacy in Turkmenistan,” *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1999), pp.271-290
- Al-Kâtib al-Isfahânî, İmad ad-din, *Zubdat al-Nuşra va Nuhbat al'Usra*, summarized by al-Bondârî, published by M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1889), translated in Turkish by Kıvameddin Burslan, *İrak ve Horasan Selçukluları Tarihi* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1943)
- Allworth, Edward, “Encounter,” in Allworth, Edward, ed., *Central Asia: 130 Years of Russian Dominance, A Historical Overview* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994)
- Al-Marwazî, *Sharaf Al-Zāmān Tāhir Marvazî on China, the Turks and India, Arabic text (circa A.D. 1120)* (English translation and commentary by V. Minorsky) (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1942)
- Atagarriev, Egen, “Selçuklular ve Ataları,” *Erdem*, trans. by Mustafa Kalkan, vol. 9, no. 27, Aydın Sayılı Özel Sayısı- III, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Ocak 1997)
- Atalay, Besim, *Türkçemizde Men-Man* (İstanbul: Matbaai Ebüzziya, 1940)

- Ataniyazov, Soltanşa, “Türkmen Boylarının Geçmişi, Yayılışı, Bugünkü Durumu ve Geleceği/ Past, Present and Future of Turkoman Tribes and Their Spread,” *Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi/ Journal of the Social Sciences of the Turkish World*, Sayı/ Number 10, (Summer, 1999)
- Bacon, Elizabeth E., *Central Asians under Russian Rule: A Study in Cultural Change* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1968)
- Barthold, V. V., *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia: Mīr ‘Alī-Shīr: A History of the Turkman People*, trans. by V. and T. Minorsky, vol. III (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962)
- Barthold, V. V., *Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Hakkında Dersler* (Ankara: Emel Matbaacılık Sanayi, 1975)
- Barthold, V.-V., *La Découverte de l’Asie: Histoire de l’Orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*, trans. and annotated by B. Nikitine (Paris: Payot, 1947)
- Barthold, W. and Brill, M.L., “Khīwa,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds., C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, B. Lewis and Ch. Pellat, vol. V (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986)
- Barthold, W. and Frye, R.N., “Bukhārā,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds., H. A. R. Gibb, J. H. Kramers, E. Lévi-Provençal, J. Schacht, vol. I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986)
- Barthold, W., “Khwārizm,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*, eds., M. Th. Houtsma, A.J. Wensinck, T. W. Arnold, W. Heffening and E. Lévi-Provençal, vol. II (Leyden: Late E.J. Brill Ltd., 1927)
- Barthold, W., “Turkomans,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*, eds., M. Th. Houtsma, A.J. Wensinck, H. A. R. Gibb, W. Heffening and E. Lévi-Provençal, vol. IV (Leyden: Late E.J. Brill Ltd., 1934)
- Barthold, W., “Türkmen Tarihine Ait Taslak,” in İnan, Abdülkadir, *Makaleler ve İncelemeler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1968), pp. 555-558
- Barthold, W., *Histoire des Turcs d’Asie Centrale*, trans. by M. Donskis (Paris: Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1945)
- Barthold, W., *İslâm Medeniyeti Tarihi* (prologue, commentary and revision by M. Fuad Köprülü) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973)
- Barthold, W., *Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1977)
- Barthold, Wilhelm, *İlk Müslüman Türkler*, Ö. Andaç Uğurlu ed., trans. by M. A. Yalman, T. Andaç and N. Uğurlu (İstanbul: Örgün Yayınevi, 2008)

- Bayat, Fuzuli, *Ay Kültünün Dini-Mitolojik Sisteminde Türk Boy Adlarının Etimolojisi* (Ankara: Üç Ok Yayıncılık, 2005)
- Bazin, Lois, “À Propos du Nom Petchénègues,” ““Ata” dans la Traditions Turgue des Titulatures,” and “Notes sur les mots “Oğuz” et “Türk,” in Bazin, Lois, *Les Turcs: Des Mots, Des Hommes*, études réunies par Michèle Nicolas et Gilles Veinstein; préface de James Hamilton (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó; Paris: AP éditions Arguments, 1994)
- Bazin, Lois, “Notes sur les mots “Oğuz” et “Türk,” *Oriens*, Vol. 6, No. 2. (Dec. 31, 1953)
- Becker, Seymour, *Russia’s Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924* (Massachusetts, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968)
- Beyoğlu, Ağacan (Begliyev, Ağa Niyazi), *Türkmen Boylarının Tarih ve Etnografyası: Oğuz Boylarından Alkirevli ve Karaevli Türkmenlerinin Tarihi ve Etnografyası* (İstanbul: Mor Ajans, 2000)
- Bosworth, C.E., “Khwārazm,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds., C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, B. Lewis and Ch. Pellat, vol. IV (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978)
- Bosworth, C.E., “Saldjūkids,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds., P.J. Bearman, T.H. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel and Wh. P. Heinrichs, vol. VIII (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995)
- Bradburd, Daniel, “Producing Their Fates: Why Poor Basseri Settled but Poor Komachi and Yomut Did Not,” *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 16, No. 3. (Aug., 1989), pp. 502-517
- Bregel, Yu. E., *Khorezmskie Turkmeny v XIX veke* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Vostochnoi literatury, 1961)
- Bregel, Yuri, “Manghishlak,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds., P.J. Bearman, T.H. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel and W. P. Heinrichs, vol. VI (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991)
- Bregel, Yuri, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003)
- Brockelmann, Carl, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, trans. by Joel Carmichael and Moske Perlmann (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950)
- Burnaby, Fred, *A Ride to Khiva: Travels and Adventures in Central Asia* (London, Paris & New York, Seventh Edition, 1885)
- Burnes, Alexander, *Travels into Bokhara: Being the Account of A Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary and Persia: Also, Narrative of A Voyage on the Indus From the Sea to Lahore*, vol. I and II (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services Reprint, 1992)

- Caferoğlu, Ahmet, *Türk Kavimleri* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1983)
- Carrère d'Encausse, Hélène, "Organizing and Colonizing the Conquered Territories" and "Systematic Conquest, 1865 to 1884," in Allworth, Edward, ed., *Central Asia: 130 Years of Russian Dominance, A Historical Overview*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994)
- Clarke, Captain R. A., "A Voyage to Uzbekistan in 1671-72," in *The Country of the Turkomans: An anthology of exploration from the Royal Geographical Society*, introduction by Sir Duncan Cumming (London: Oghuz Press and the Royal Geographical Society, 1977), pp. 85-88
- Clarke, Captain R. A., "A Voyage to Uzbekistan in 1671-72," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (1876 - 1877), pp. 218-221
- Conolly, Arthur, *Journey to the North of India, Overland from England, Through Russia, Persia, and Affghaunistaun By Lieut. Arthur Conolly*, vol. I and II (London, Richard Bentley, 1834)
- Curzon, George N., *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question*, (Frank Caas & Co. Ltd., 1967)
- Czaplicka, M. A., *The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day: An Ethnological Inquiry into the Pan-Turanian Problem, and Bibliographical Material Relating to the Early Turks and the Present Turks of Central Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1918)
- De Bode, Clement Augustus, "On the Yamud and Goklan Tribes of Turkmania," *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1848-1856)*, vol. 1. (1848)
- Deny, J., *Grammaire de la langue turque (Dialecte Osmanli)* (Paris, 1921)
- Divitçioğlu, Sencer, *Oğuz 'dan Selçuklu'ya: Boy, Konat ve Devlet* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2005)
- Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, *Şecere-i Terākime (Türkmenlerin Soykütüğü)*, trans. by Zuhâl Kargı Ölmez (Ankara, 1996)
- Ebülğâzî Bahadır Han, Khan of Khorezm, 1603-1663, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares par Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân*, trans. and ed. by Petr I. Desmaisons (St. Leonards; AD Orientem Ltd.; Amsterdam Philo Pres, 1970)
- Edgar, Adrienne L., "Genealogy, Class, and "Tribal Policy" in Soviet Turkmenistan, 1924-1934," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Summer, 2001), pp. 266-288

- Edgar, Adrienne Lynn, *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006)
- Esin, Emel, “Türkistan Türk Devlet ve Beylikleri (M. S. VI. ilâ X. yüzyıllar),” and “Türklerin İslâmiyete Girişi,” in *Tarihte Türk Devletleri I.* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1987)
- Frye, Richard N., *The Golden Age of Persia: The Arabs in the East* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000)
- Geiss, Paul Georg, “Turkman tribalism,” *Central Asian Survey*, 18 (3), pp. 347-58
- Golden, Peter B., *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden, 1992)
- Gordlevski, V., *Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti*, trans. from Russian by Azer Yaran (Ankara: Şahin Matbaası, 1988)
- Gökalp, Ziya, *Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları; Güneş Matbaacılık, 1976)
- Grousset, René, *L'Empire des steppes: Attila, Gengis-Khan, Tamerlan* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 1993)
- Grousset, René, *The Empire of the Steppes: A History of Central Asia* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991)
- Gumilëv, Lev Nikolayeviç, *Hazar Çevresinde Bin Yıl: Etno-Tarih Açısından Türk Halklarının Şekillenışı Üzerine*, trans. by D. Ahsen Batur (İstanbul: Birleşik Yayıncılık, 2000)
- Hambly, Gavin with Alexandre Bennigsen, David Bivar, Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, Mahin Hajianpur, Alastair Lamb, Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay and Richard Pierce, *Central Asia* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969)
- Hakluyt, Richard, *Voyages and Discoveries: The Principal Navigations Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed., abridged and introduced by Jack Beeching (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972)
- Hasan, S. A., “Notes on the Etymology of the Word Turkoman,” *Islamic Culture*, vol. XXXVII, no. 3 (July 1963)
- Hassan, Ümit, *Eski Türk Toplumunu Üzerine İncelemeler* (İstanbul: Alan Yayınları, 2000)
- Hayit, Baymirza, *Islam and Turkestan Under Russian Rule* (İstanbul: Can Matbaa, 1987)

- Hayit, Baymirza, *Türkistan: Rusya ile Çin Arasında: XVIII – XX. Asırlarda Ruslar ve Çinlilerin İstilâları Devrinde Türkistan Milli Devletleri ve Milli Mücadeleleri Tarihi*, trans. from German by Abdülkadir Sadak (Otağ Matbaası, 1975)
- Holdsworth, Mary, *Turkestan in the Nineteenth Century: A Brief History of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva* (Oxford: Central Asian Research Centre, 1959)
- Howorth, Henry H., *History of the Mongols: From the 9th to the 19th Century: The So-Called Tartars of Russia and Central Asia*, Part II, Division 2, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1880)
- Hudūd al-'Ālam: 'The Regions of the World': A Persian Geography 372 A.H.-982 A.D.*, ed. by C.E. Bosworth and, trans. and explained by V. Minorsky (Cambridge, 1970)
- Irons, William, "Nomadism as a Political Adaptation: The Case of the Yomut Turkmen," *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 1, No. 4, Uses of Ethnohistory in Ethnographic Analysis (Nov., 1974), pp. 635-658
- Irons, William G., "Turkmen," in Weeks, Richards V., ed., *Muslim Peoples: A Word Ethnographic Survey* (maps by John E. Coffman and Paul Ramier Stewart, consultant) (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984)
- İnan, Abdülkadir, "Ink' mı? 'Idık' mı," "Oğuz Destanındaki Irkıl Ata," "Ongon ve Tös Kelimeleri Hakkında," and "'Orun" ve "Ülüş" Meselesi" in İnan, Abdülkadir, *Makaleler ve İncelemeler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1968)
- İnan, Abdülkadir, *Makaleler ve İncelemeler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1968)
- İnan, Abdülkadir, *Tarihte ve Bugün Şamanizm: Materyaller ve Araştırmalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1954)
- İnan, Abdülkadir, *Türkoloji Ders Hülasaları* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1936)
- Juvaini, 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik, *The History of the World Conqueror*, translated from the text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini by John Andrew Boyle (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958).
- Kafesoğlu, İbrahim, "A propos du nom Türkmen," *Oriens*, Vol. 11, No. 1/2. (Dec. 31, 1958)
- Kafesoğlu, İbrahim, "Türkmen Adı, Manası ve Mahiyeti," in *Jean Deny Armağanı: Mélanges Jean Deny*, eds., János Eckmann, Ağâh Sırrı Levend and Mecdut Mansuroğlu (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958)
- Kafesoğlu, İbrahim, *Selçuklu Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1972)

- Kaşgarlı Mahmud, *Divanü Lügat'it-Türk*, vol. III, trans. by Besim Atalay (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1939)
- Kaushik, Devendra, *Central Asia in Modern Times: A History from the Early 19th Century*, ed. by N. Khalfin (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970)
- Kaydarov, Abdu-Ali Tuganbayulı and Orazov, Meyirbek, *Türklük Bilgisine Giriş*, trans. by Vahit Türk (İstanbul: Birleşik Yayıncılık, 1999)
- Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara, “Türkmen,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds., P.J. Bearman, T.H. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel and W. P. Heinrichs, vol. X (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000)
- Khalfin, N.A., *Rossia i khanstva Srednei Azii* (pervaia polovina XIX veka) (Moscow: Nauka, 1974)
- Koca, Salim, “The Oghuz (Turkoman) Tribe Moving From Syr Darya (Jayhun) Region to Anatolia,” in *The Turks*, eds., Hasan Celâl Güzel, Cem Oğuz, Osman Karatay, vol. II (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Publications, 2002)
- Köprülü, Fuad, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988)
- Köprülü, Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1966)
- Köymen, Mehmet Altan, *Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu Tarihi: Kuruluş Devri*, vol. I (Ankara, 1979)
- Köymen, Mehmet Altay, “Büyük Selçuklular İmparatorluğunda Oğuz İsyanı (1153) (Der Oğuzen- Aufstand)” *Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih - Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, reprint from vol. V, No: 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1947)
- Krader, Lawrence, *Peoples of Central Asia*, (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1997)
- Kurat, Akdes Nimet, *IV-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Karadeniz Kuzeyindeki Türk Kavimleri ve Devletleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972)
- Kurat, Akdes Nimet, *Rusya Tarihi: Başlangıçtan 1917'ye Kadar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1948)
- Mac Gahan, I. A., *Hive Seyahatnâmesi ve Tarihi Musavver*, trans. by Kolağası Ahmed, eds., İsmail Aka and Mehmet Ersan (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1995)
- Marvin, Charles, *The Eye-Witnesses' Account of the Disastrous Russian Campaign Against the Akhal Teke Turcomans: Describing the March*

Across the Burning Desert, The Storming of Dengeel Tépé and the Disastrous Retreat to the Caspian (W. H. Allen, 1880)

Marvin, Charles, *The Russians at Merv and Herat, and their Power of Invading India* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1883)

Matley, Ian Murray, "The Population and the Land," in Allworth, Edward, ed., *Central Asia: 130 Years of Russian Dominance, A Historical Overview*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994)

McChesney, R. D., "Shībānids," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds., C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs and G. Lecomte, vol. IX (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996)

Mehmet Emin Efendi, *İstanbul'dan Orta Asya'ya Seyahat*, ed., Rızâ Akdemir (Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1996)

Merçil, Erdoğan, *A Short History of Turkish-Islamic States (Excluding the Ottoman State)*, trans. by Ahmet Edip Uysal, eds., E. Merçil and H.Y. Nuhoğlu (Ankara, 1994)

Merçil, Erdoğan, *Müslüman-Türk Devletleri Tarihi* (İstanbul: Güryay Matbaacılık, 1985)

Meserve, Ruth I., "A Description of the Positions of Turkmen Tribal Leaders According to 19th Century Western Travellers," in *Altaica Berolinensia: The Concept of Sovereignty in the Altaic world/ Permanent International Altaistic Conference, 34th meeting, Berlin 21-26 July, 1991*, ed. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993)

Minorsky, V., "Commentary," in *Sharaf Al-Zāmān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India, Arabic text (circa A.D. 1120)* (English translation and commentary by V. Minorsky) (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1942)

Morgan, E. Delmar, "Colonel Stebnitzky's Report on His Journey in 1872 in Central and Southern Turkomania," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 44. (1874)

Moser, Henri, *À Travers l'Asie Centrale: La Steppe Kirghize – Le Turkestan Russe – Boukhara – Khiva – Le Pays des Turcomans et La Perse; Impressions de Voyage* (Paris, E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie, 1885)

Muraviev, Nikolai N., *Journey to Khiva through the Turkoman Country, 1819-20* (Calcutta: The Foreign Department Press, 1871)

Necef, Ekber N. and Annaberdiyev, Ahmet, *Hazar Ötesi Türkmenleri* (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2003)

- Neşrî, Mehmed, *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ: Neşrî Tarihi*, vol. I, trans. by Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed Altay Köymen (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1949)
- Nizâmü'l-mülk, *Siyâset-nâme*, trans. by Mehmet Altay Köymen (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999)
- Ochs, Micheal, "Turkmenistan: the quest for stability and control," in *Conflict, cleavage, and change in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, eds., Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- Ortaylı, İlber, *Türkiye Teşkilat ve İdare Tarihi* (Ankara: Cedit Neşriyat, 2007)
- Ögel, Bahaeddin, *İslâmiyetten Önce Türk Kültür Tarihi: Orta Asya Kaynak ve Buluntularına Göre* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1962)
- Ölmez, Zühal, *Şecere-i Türk'e göre Moğol Boyları* (Ankara: Sanat Kitabevi, 2003)
- Özaydın, Abdülkerim, "The Turks' Acceptance of Islam," *The Turks*, eds., Hasan Celâl Güzel, Cem Oğuz, Osman Karatay, vol. II (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Publications, 2002)
- Pahlen, Count K. K., *Mission to Turkestan: Being the memoirs of Count K. K. Pahlen 1908-1909*, ed. and introduced by Richard E. Pierce, trans. by N. J. Couriss (London: Oxford University Press, 1964)
- Perovski, General, *A Narrative of the Russian Military Expedition to Khiva, Under General Perofski, in 1839*, trans. from Russian for the Department of the Government of India, (Calcutta; Office of Superintendent Government Printing, 1867)
- Rásonyi, László, *Tarihte Türklük* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1971)
- Rawlinson, Sir H. C., "The Road to Merv," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, Vol. 1, No. 3. (Mar., 1879)
- Ross, E. Denison, *Kuş İsimlerinin Doğu Türkçesi, Mançuca ve Çince Sözlüğü*, trans. by Emine Gürsoy-Naskali (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları: 605, 1994)
- Roux, Jean-Paul, *Orta Asya: Tarih ve Uygarlık*, trans. by Lale Arslan (İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi, 2001)
- Saray, Mehmet, *The Turkmens in the Age of Imperialism: A Study on the Turkmen People and their Incorporation into the Russian Empire* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Printing House, 1989)

- Schuyler, Eugene, *Turkistan: Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, vol. I, II (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2004)
- Shakespear, Richmond, “An Account of Shakespear’s Mission to Khiva” in Ewans, Martin, ed., *The Great Game: Britain and Russia in Central Asia*, Vol. I: Documents (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004)
- Sinor, Denis, *Inner Asia: History- Civilization- Languages, A Syllabus* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1969)
- Skrine, Francis Henry and Ross, Edward Denison, *The Heart of Asia: A History of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates from the Earliest Times* (London: Methuen & Co., 1899)
- Skrine, Francis Henry, *The Expansion of Russia, 1815-1900* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1903)
- Snyder, Louis L., *Encyclopedia of Nationalism* (New York: Paragon House, 1990)
- Soucek, Svat, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- Spalding, Captain Henry, *Khiva and Turkestan*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874)
- Suavî, Ali, *Hive Hanlığı ve Türkistan’da Rus Yayılması* (İstanbul: Orkun Yayınları, 1977)
- Sümer, Faruk, “X. Yüzyılda Oğuzlar,” *Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih - Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, reprint from vol. XVI, No: 3 - 4 September – December (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958)
- Sümer, Faruk, “Yıva Oğuz Boyuna Dâir,” *Türkiye Mecmuası*, reprint from vol. IX (İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1951)
- Sümer, Faruk, *Çepniler: Anadolu’daki Türk Yerleşmesinde Önemli Rol Oynayan bir Oğuz Boyu* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1992)
- Sümer, Faruk, *Eski Türkler’de Şehircilik*, (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, Afşin Matbaası, 1984)
- Sümer, Faruk, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler): Tarihleri-Boy Teşkilatı-Destanları* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1992)
- Sümer, Faruk, *Türk Devletleri Tarihinde Şahıs Adları -I-*, (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1999)

- Şeşen, Ramazan, *İslâm Coğrafyacılarına Göre Türkler ve Türk Ülkeleri* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1985 and 1998)
- Şeşen, Ramazan, *Onuncu Asırda Türkistan'da bir İslâm Seyyahı: İbn Fazlan Seyahatnâmesi Tercümesi*, (İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1975)
- Tarihte Türk Devletleri I* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1987)
- The Cambridge History of Islam: The Central Islamic Lands*, vol I., ed. by P.M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, Bernard Lewis (Cambridge, 1970)
- The Country of the Turkomans: An anthology of exploration from the Royal Geographical Society*, introduction by Sir Duncan Cumming (London: Oghuz Press and the Royal Geographical Society, 1977)
- Togan, A. Z. Velidî, *Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve yakın Tarihi*, Vol I, "Batı ve Kuzey Türkistan" (İstanbul: Aksiseda Matbaası, 1981)
- Togan, A. Zeki Velidî, *Oğuz Destanı: Reşideddin Oğuznâmesi, Tercüme ve Tahlili* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1982)
- Togan, A. Zeki Velidî, *Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş: En Eski Devirlerden 16. Asra Kadar*, vol. I, third edition (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1981)
- Turan, Osman, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1965)
- Turan, Osman, *Türk cihân hâkimiyeti mefkûresi tarihi: Türk Dünya Nizâmının Millî İslâmî ve İnsânî Esasları*, vol. I, (İstanbul: Nakışlar Yayınevi, 1980)
- Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal: Büyük Selçukîler, Anadolu Selçukîleri, Anadolu Beylikleri, İlhanîler, Karakoyunlu ve Akkoyunlularla memlûklerdeki devlet teşkilâtına bir bakış* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941)
- Vambéry, Arminius, "The Geographical Nomenclature of the Disputed Country between Merv and Herat," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, Vol. 7, No. 9 (Sep., 1885), pp. 591-596
- Vambéry, Arminius, "The Future of Russia in Asia" (Boston: Littell's Living Age), Fifth Series, vol. 69 (from the beginning vol. 184) (Jan., Feb., March 1890)
- Vambéry, Arminius, "The Turcomans Between the Caspian and Merv," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 9. (1880)

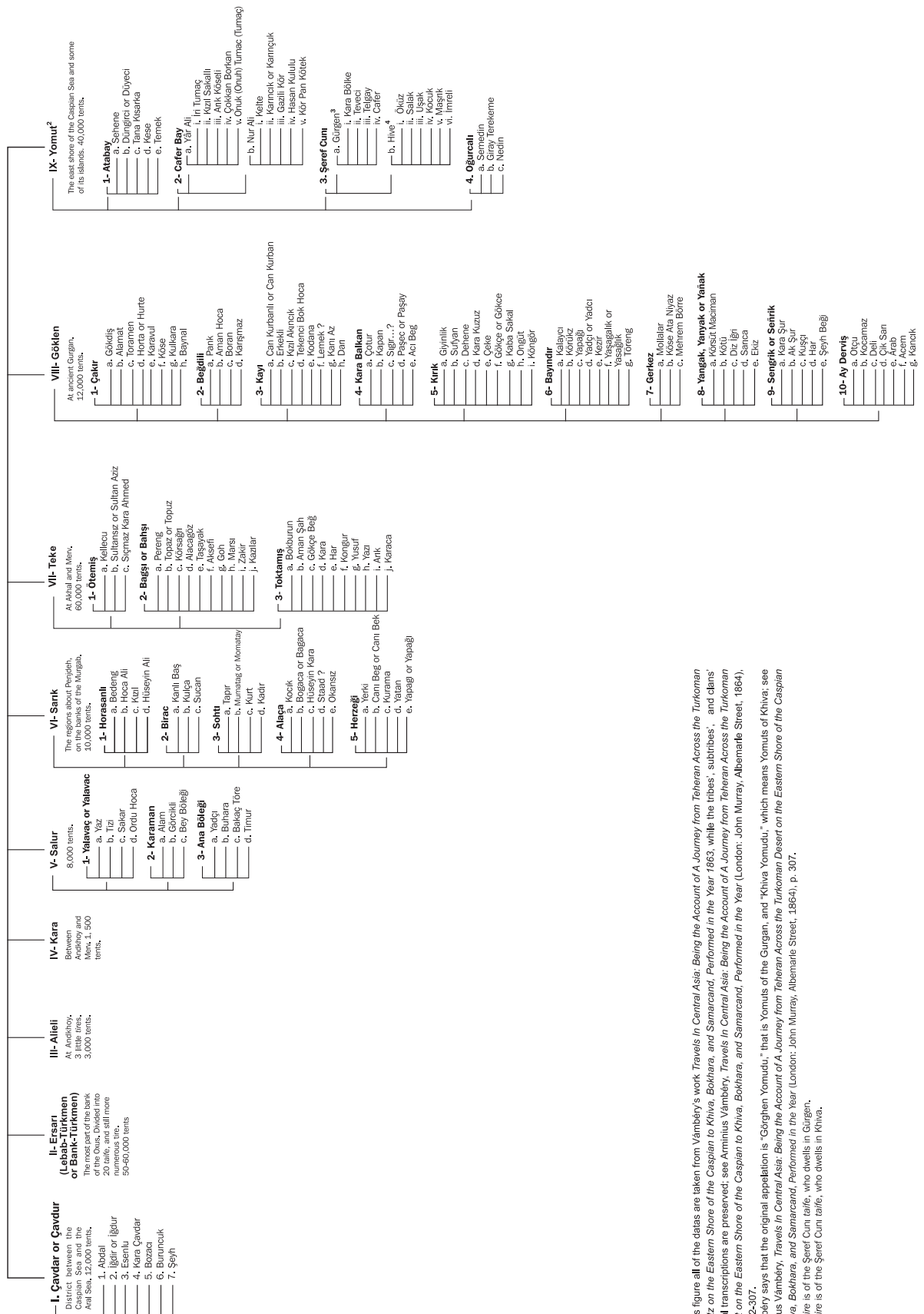
- Vámbéry, Arminius, *History of Bokhara: From the Earliest Period Down to the Present* (London: Henry S. King & Co., 1873)
- Vámbéry, Ármin, *Scenes from the East: Through the Eyes of a European Traveller in 1860s* (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979)
- Vámbéry, Arminius, *Sketches of Central Asia: Additional Chapters on My Travels, Adventures, and on the Ethnology of Central Asia* (London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1868)
- Vámbéry, Arminius, *The Story of my Struggles: The Memoirs of Arminius Vámbéry* (London, 1905)
- Vámbéry, Arminius, *Travels In Central Asia: Being the Account of A Journey from Teheran Across the Turkoman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarkand* (New York: Harper&Brothers Publishers, Franklin Square, 1865)
- Vásáry, István, *Eski İç Asya'nın Tarihi*, trans. by İsmail Doğan (İstanbul: Özener Matbaası, 2007)
- Vernadsky, George, *A History of Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951)
- Von Meyendorf, Baron, ed., *A Journey From Orenburg to Bokhara in the Year 1820*, revised by Chevalier Amadée Jaubert, trans. by Captain E. F. Chapman, R. H. A. (Calcutta: The Foreign Department Press, 1870)
- Witte, Paul, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1938)
- Wolff, Joseph, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara, in the Years 1843-1845, To Ascertain the Fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845)
- Yinanç, Mükrimin Halil, *Türkiye Tarihi: Selçuklular Devri* (İstanbul: Bühraneddin Matbaası, 1944)
- Yörükân, Yusuf Ziya, *Anadolu'da Aleviler ve Tahtacılar*, ed., Turhan Yörükân (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998)
- Zahîr al-Dîn Nîshâpûrî, *The History of the Seljuk Turks From The Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh: An Ilkhanid Adaption of the Saljûq-nâma of An Ilkhanid Adaption of the Saljûq-nâma of Zahîr al-Dîn Nîshâpûrî*, trans. and annotated by Kenneth Allin Luther, ed. by C. Edmund Bosworth (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Pres, 2001)
- Zahoder, B., "Selçuklu Devletinin Kuruluşu Sırasında Horasan," trans. by İsmail Kaynak, *Belleten*, reprint from vol. XIX, No: 76, October, 1955 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1955)

Nikolai N. Muraviev's List of the Turkmen Tribes' Subtribes [Taife], Clans [Tire], and the Districts They Occupy¹

I. Çavdur [Çavdar] Esen-İli District Manglak and Khiva, 8,000 kibileas. 1- Çavdur Borsakla, eastward to the steps. 2- İğdur Eğdur Orai [İğdur Olay], Shanbaba [San Babai] and Ukerabagasa on the coast. 3- Abdal On the Keragan. a. Mengli Oğın b. Kurban i. Şeker Beğ ii. Öganuş iii. Kızıl Yorg Onak 4- Buruncuk In Apraklı, north eastern of the Abdal country. 5- Bozaca In Juhani [Chani], northern of the Abdal country.	II. Ata On the road between Balkan and Khiva, 1,000 kibileas. 1- Nur Ata 2- Gazel Ata 3- Omar Ata 4- Obag Ata	III. Teke Arkash [Arkash] is their head-quarters, the tribe's name is Mured Sairi, 50,000 kibileas.	IV. Salur District Sarabs, eastward from Teke country, 4,000 kibileas.	V. Er San Baba Neighbourhood of Bukhara, 100,000 kibileas.	VI. Yomut On the rivers Atrek and Gurgan, Their Chiefs: Kazim Kulu Beğ and Yomut Beğ, 40,000 kibileas. 1. Sarab a. Balika b. Juedi [Çoğır?] c. Kırkay ? 800 kibileas. i. Kara Dağlı ii. Altdak ? iii. Meyud iv. Hveli v. Garay vi. Ucmak vii. Şuk Beğ d. Balgo kibileas. e. İlğay 700 kibileas. f. Cafer 2,000 kibileas. i. Teraklı ii. Saratun iii. Nedim iv. Harey v. Çukan vi. Şahkali vii. Anık viii. Turnac Yar Ali ix. Pang x. Turnac Can Ali xi. Karmuk xii. Kır Tökali xiii. Kır Kelt xiv. Kır Esen Kulum 2. Bayram Şah a. Salak b. Orkacı c. Ökyus d. Kara Koca e. Uşak f. Cüneyd 3. Küçük Tatar a. Tatar b. Ak Karrun ? c. Korama d. Marama e. Kuyruk f. Keke g. Hveci 4. Çum a. Asa Bay b. Ak c. Daz d. Bodrak e. Kyotchak [Kuşuk ?] f. İğdur g. Yolma h. Eymür i. Maşık	VII. Sakar Near Bukhara, 20,000 kibileas.	VIII. Yemreli Eastward from Salur country, 3,000 kibileas.	IX. Sank 20,000 kibileas.	X. Göklen Up the rivers Atrek and Gurgan, 40,000 kibileas. 1. Yangak 2. Sengrik or Sangrak 3. Har 4. Şur 5. Kuruk 6. Bayındur 7. Kara Balkan 8. Harkaz [Gerkez] 9. Kayı 10. Kızıl 11. Kayık 12. Saranlı 13. Erkekli 14. Pivtur ? 15. Kuçuk	XI. Oymak (Ali Eli ?) In Khorasan near the Gurgan Meshed, 80,000 kibileas.
--	---	---	--	--	---	---	--	-------------------------------------	---	--

¹ In this figure all of the datas are taken from Nikolai N. Muraviev's work, *Journey to Khiva through the Turkoman Country, 1819-20*; see Nikolai N. Muraviev, *Journey to Khiva through the Turkoman Country, 1819-20* (Calcutta: The Foreign Department Press, 1871), pp. 98-99.

Arminius Vámbéry's List of the Tribes, Subtribes [Taife] and Clans [Tire] of the Major Turkmen Tribes With the Original Transcription¹



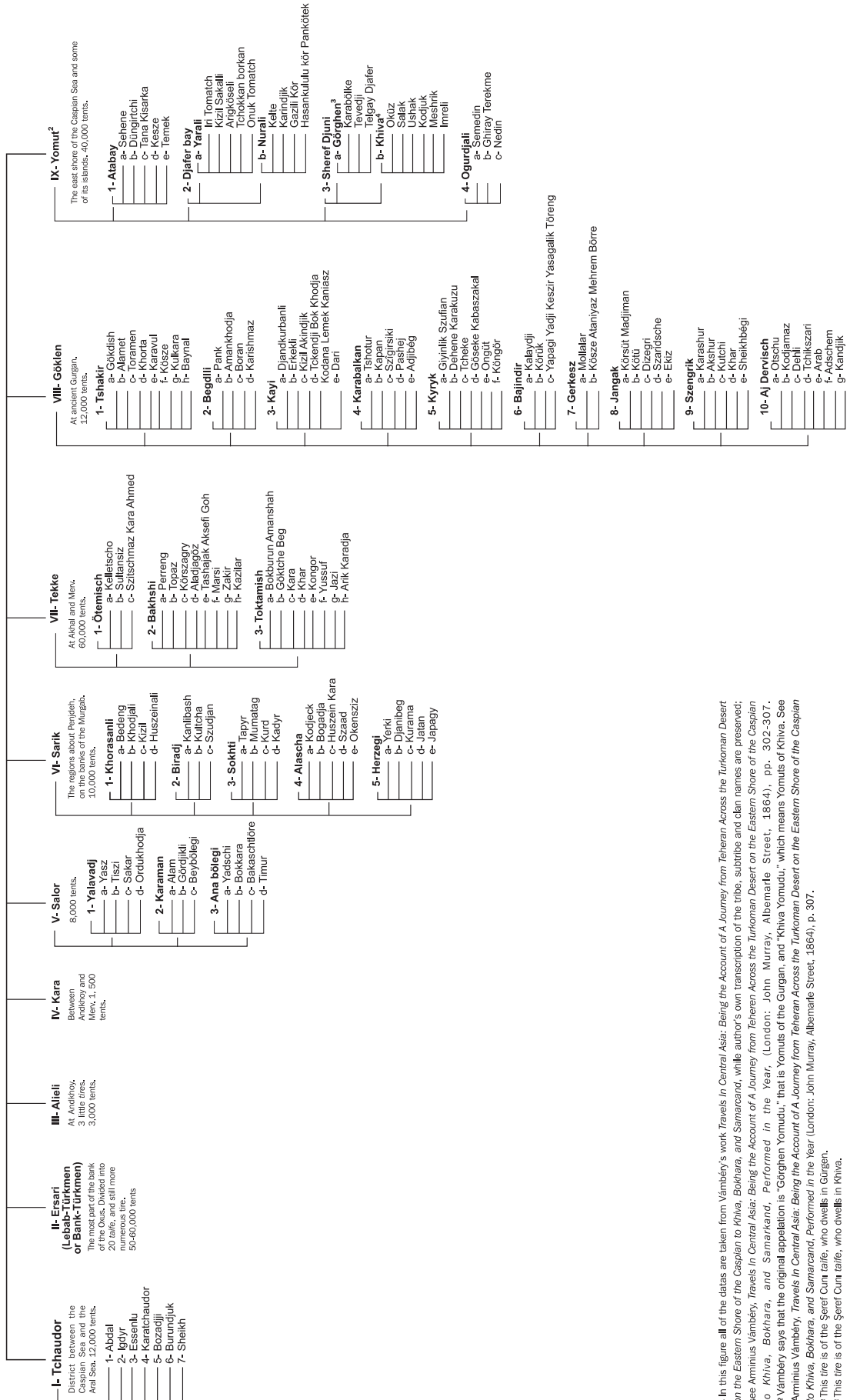
In this figure all of the dates are taken from Vambéry's work. Travels in Central Asia: *Being the Account of A Journey from Tehran Across the Turkman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand, Performed in the Year 1863*, while the tribes, subtribes, and clans' original transcriptions are preserved; see Amminius Vambéry, *Travels in Central Asia: Being the Account of A Journey from Tehran Across the Turkman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand, Performed in the Year 1863* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1864), pp. 302–307.

phases of the 19th century. Vambery says that the original appellation is "Görghen Yomudu," that is Yomuds of the Gurgan, and "Khiva Yomudu," which means Yomuds of Khiva; see Aminius Vambery, *Travels in Central Asia: Being the Account of A Journey from Teheran Across the Turkoman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand, Performed in the Year* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1864), p. 307.

³ This *tire* is of the Şeref Cumi *taife*, who dwells in Gürgen.

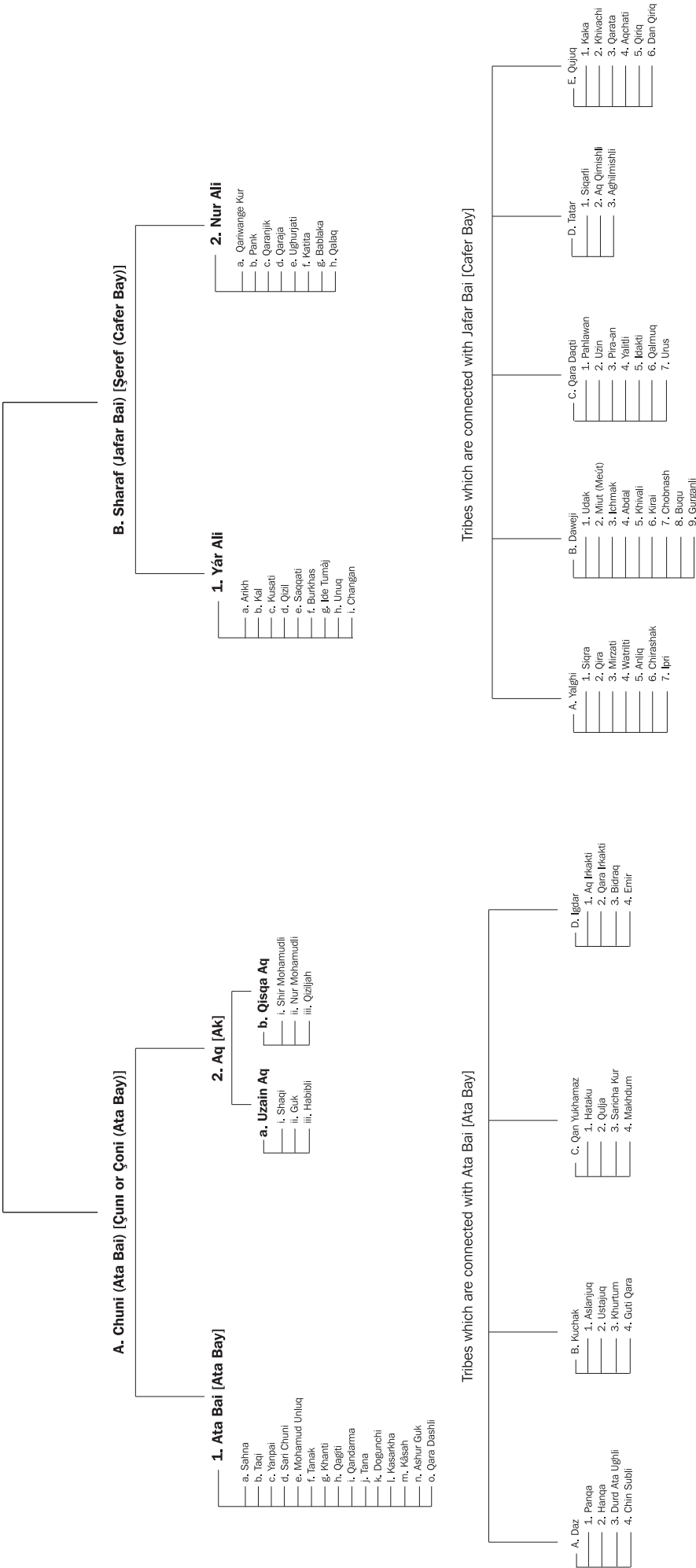
⁴ This *tire* is of the Şeref Cuni *taife*, who dwells in Khiva.

Arminius Vámbéry's List of the Tribes, Subtribes [Taire] and Clans [Tire] of the Major Turkmen Tribes With Author's Own Transcription¹



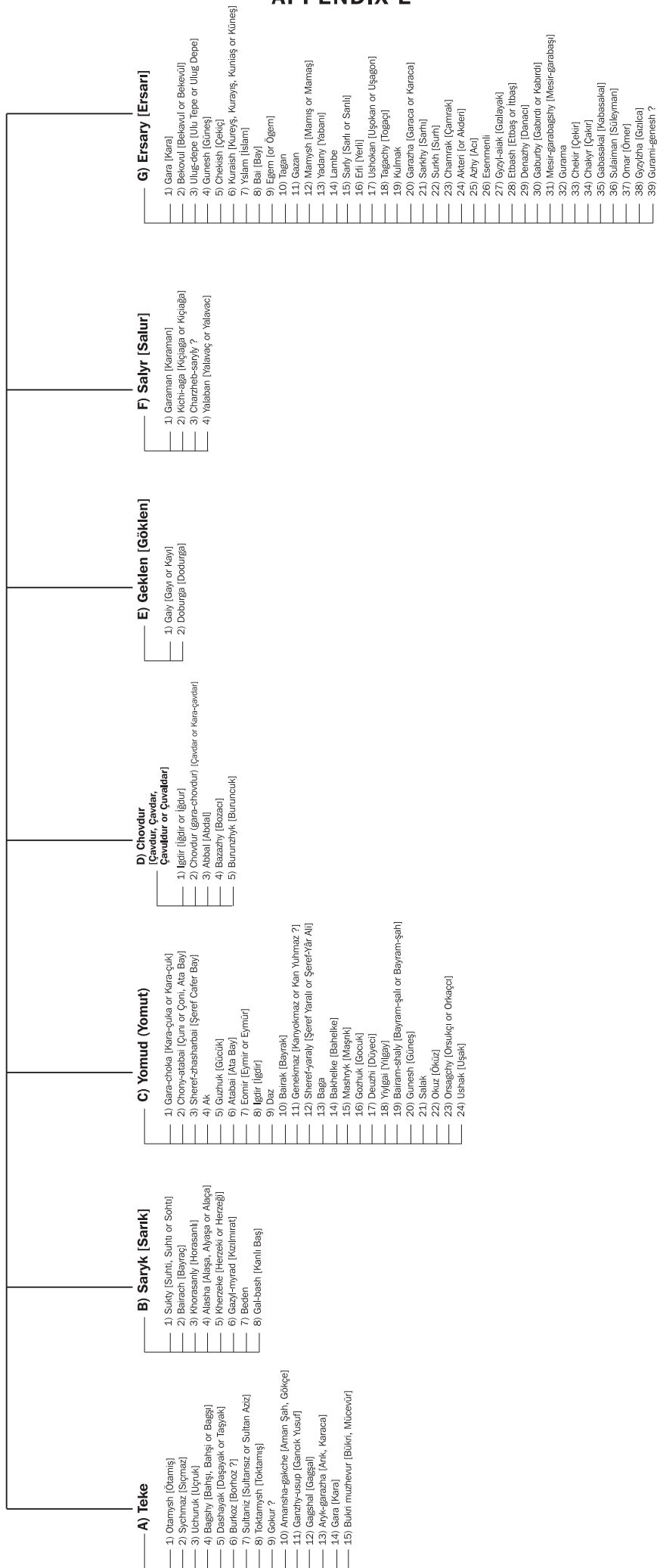
¹ In this figure all of the dates are taken from Vámbéry's work *Travels in Central Asia: Being the Account of A Journey from Teheran Across the Turkoman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand*, while author's own transcription of the tribe, subtribe and clan names are preserved; see Arminius Vámbéry, *Travels in Central Asia: Being the Account of A Journey from Teheran Across the Turkoman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand*, Performed in the Year, (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1864), pp. 302-307.
² Vámbéry says that the original appellation is "Görghen Yomudu," that is Yomuts of the Gurgan, and "Khiva Yomudu," which means Yomuts of Khiva. See Arminius Vámbéry, *Travels in Central Asia: Being the Account of A Journey from Teheran Across the Turkoman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand*, Performed in the Year (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1864), p. 307.
³ This tire is of the Şeref Qum taife, who dwells in Gurgan.
⁴ This tire is of the Şeref Qum taife, who dwells in Khiva.

Captain G. C. Napier’s Guide Kazi Syud Ahmad’s List of the Subdivisions and the Branches of the Yomut Tribe¹



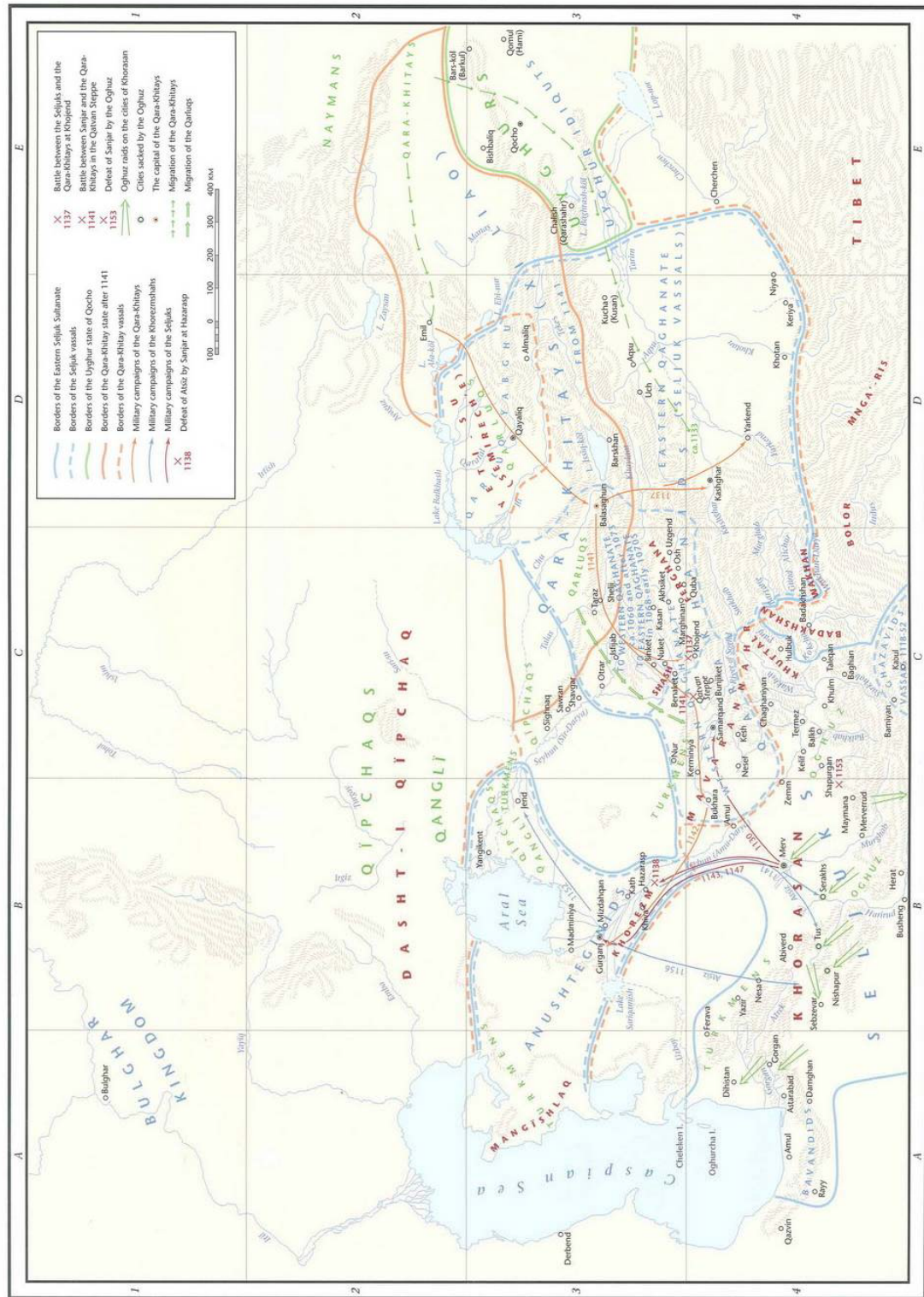
¹ All the datas are taken from: Kazi Syud Ahmad, "Notes on the Yomut Tribe by Kazi Syud Ahmad," in *The Country of the Turkomans: An anthology of exploration from the Royal Geographical Society*, Introduction by Sir Duncan Cumming (London: Oghuz Pres and the Royal Geographical Society, 1977), pp. 82-84.

Sergei Poliakov's List of the Tribes, Subtribes [Taife] and Clans [Tire] of the Major Turkmen Tribes¹



¹ All the dates are taken from: Poliakov, Sergei. *Istoricheskaya etnografiya Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana* [Historical Ethnography of Central Asia and Kazakhstan], (Moscow: Moscow State University, 1980), p. 96; cited in Rafiz Abazov. *Historical Dictionary of Turkmenistan: Historical Dictionaries of Asia, Oceania, and the Middle East*, No. 53, (Maryland: Lanham, 2005), pp. 152-153. Here Abazov mentions that the major subgroups are written in bold. It should be noted that the authors' (Poliakov and Abazov) transcriptions of the tribe names are given in the first place, while the original Turkmen transcriptions are mentioned in the square brackets by us.

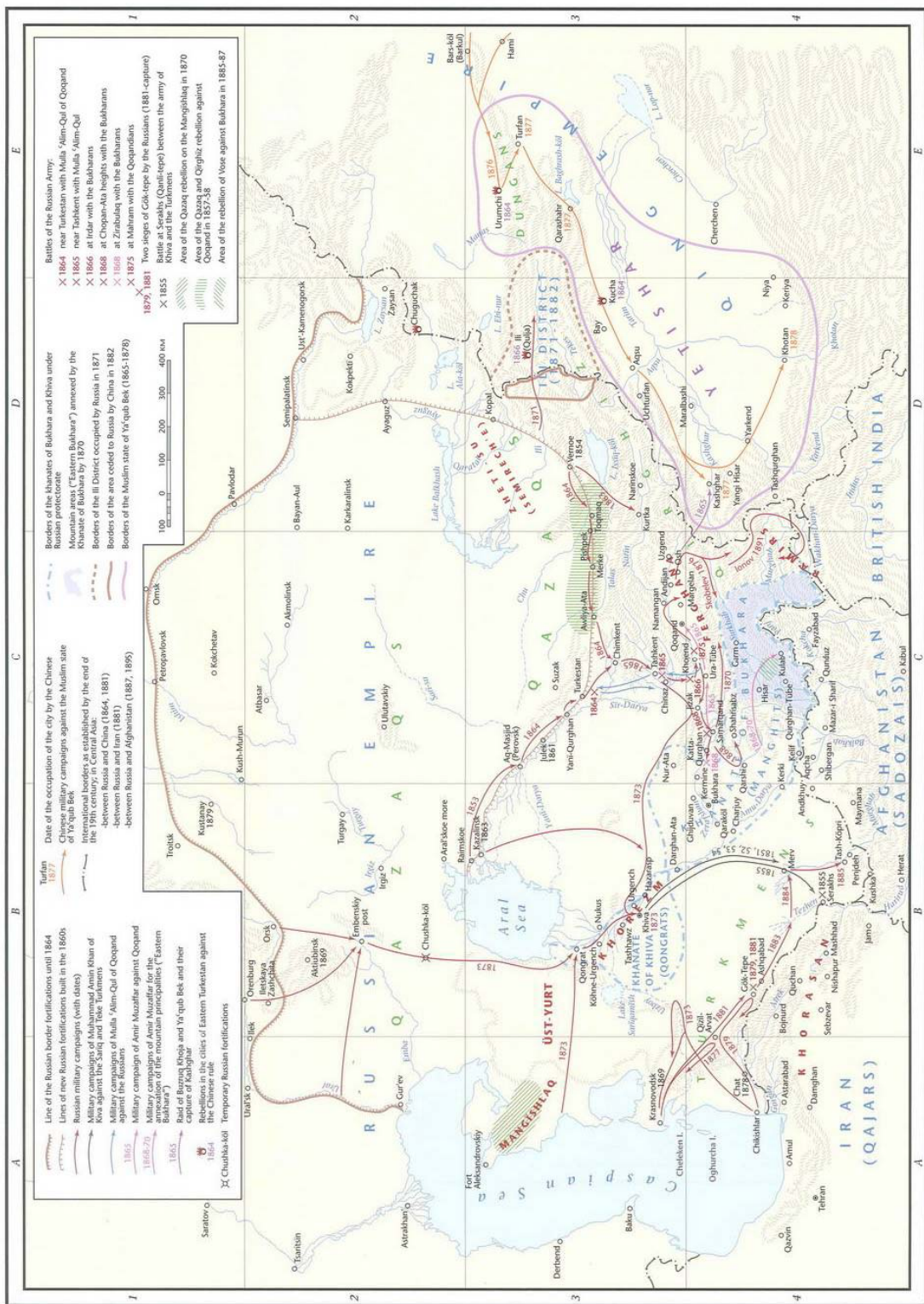
APPENDIX F



© Yuri Bregel 2003

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

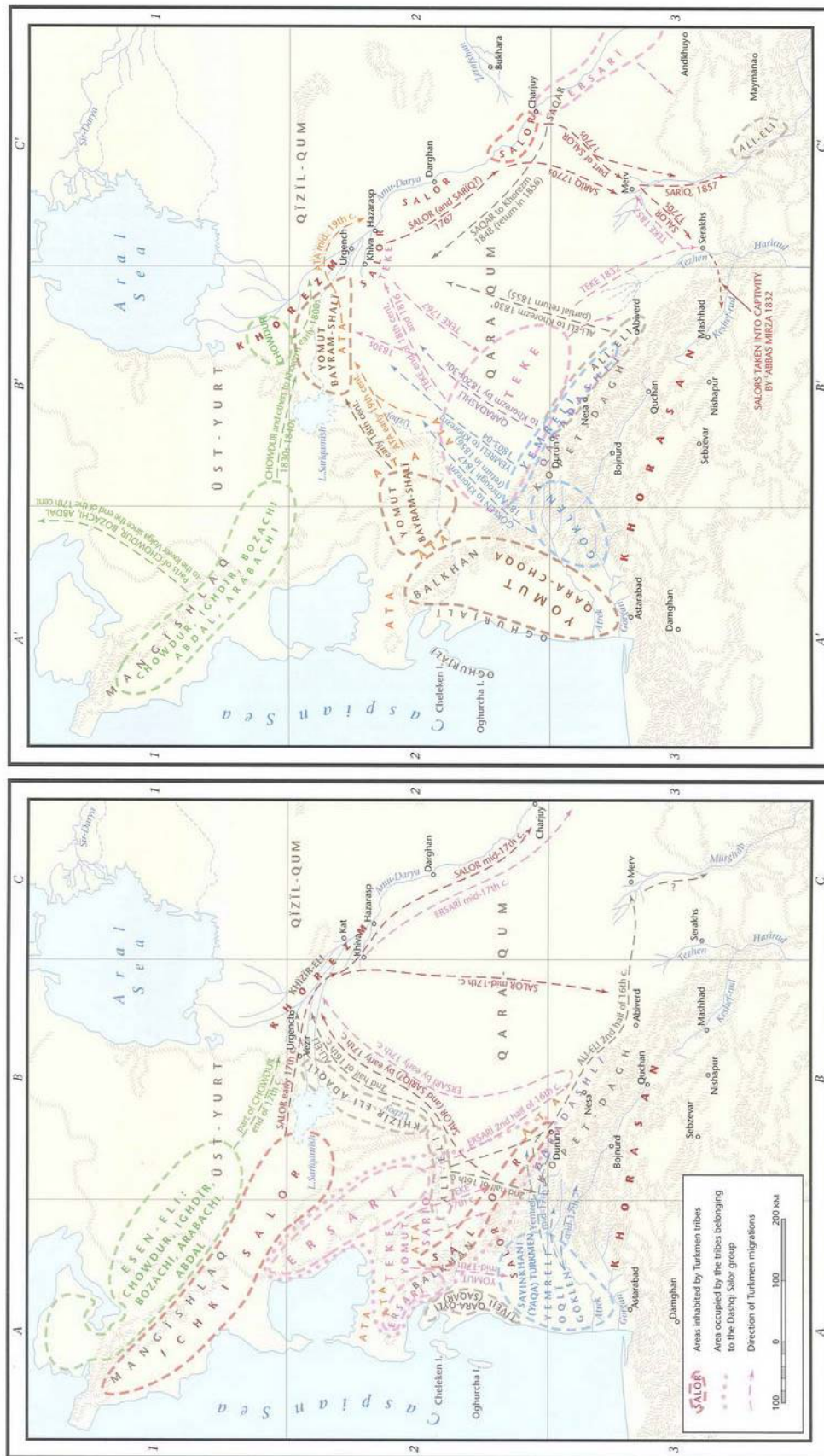
APPENDIX G



© Yuri Bregel 2003

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

APPENDIX H



© Yuri Bregel 2003

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

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

Yuri Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), p.73.