TURKESTAN
DOWN TO THE MONGOL INVASION

BY W. BARTHOLOD

Third Edition
WITH AN ADDITIONAL CHAPTER,
HITHERO UNPUBLISHED IN ENGLISH
TRANSLATED BY MRS. T. MINORSKY
AND EDITED BY C. E. BOSWORTH, AND
WITH FURTHUR ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA
BY C. E. BOSWORTH

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Elias John Wilkinson Gibb

and to promote those researches into the history, literature, philosophy and religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs, to which, from his youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented death in his forty-fifth year, on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.

"These are our works, these works our souls display; Behold our works when we have passed away."
"E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL"

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THE fact that a third edition of Barthold’s *Turkestan* has been called for indicates the permanent value of the work, unsurpassed after nearly seventy years in its breadth of treatment and mastery of abstruse detail. The task of preparing a new edition was originally entrusted by the Gibb Memorial Trustees to the late Professor V. Minorsky, whose own vast knowledge of the Iranian world aptly complemented Barthold’s special field of Central Asia. Professor Minorsky’s own death unhappily supervened before he could take the work in hand, and the Trustees then conveyed the task to myself.

Barthold’s rigorous standards of scholarship, and his steadfast refusal to bend these canons to the exigencies of politics and ideology, did not commend him to the Soviet authorities. Barthold’s greatness as a scholar could not be gainsaid, nor could his firm Russian patriotism, but his works became increasingly hard to find in Russia, and the results of his researches were only cited in a selective and often tendentious way. In the post-Stalinist era, the pendulum has swung, and Barthold has become, in the view of Soviet ideologists, ready for rehabilitation. In 1963 there began in Moscow publication of the whole collected corpus of Barthold’s works, a praiseworthy project which will make available many studies which, for western specialists at least, have been largely inaccessible in the West. A Russian version of the 1928 English version of *Turkestan* has formed the first volume of this project, and it has been ably edited by the prominent orientalist I. P. Petrushevskiy.

A particular point of interest here is that an additional chapter by Barthold, absent from both the 1900 Russian original and the
1928 English version, is included in the new Moscow volume. The discovery amongst Barthold's posthumous papers of this long chapter was, according to the note by Professor Minorsky prefixed to the 1958 English reprint of Turkestan, announced in Moscow News of 28 April 1941. It covers the events in Central Asia between the death of Chingiz Khan in 1227 and the formation of the independent Chaghatay Khanate in 1269, and in the 1963 Moscow volume it comprises, with its extensive notes, pp. 531–84. Mrs. T. Minorsky prepared an English translation of this chapter; this has been edited by myself, and is now here printed and made available to the English-speaking world for the first time. It should be noted that the Russian editor of Turkestan has supplied further notes, and in some cases corrections, to Barthold's text; these are placed in square brackets. I have myself made some further additions here; these are also placed in square brackets, but are marked with the initials "C.E.B." My colleague, Professor J. A. Boyle, kindly read through the chapter and elucidated many of those Mongol personal names whose correct form was not known to Barthold or to the Russian editor; certain of his notes have been inserted, again in square brackets and with the initials "J.A.B."

For the 1958 reprint of the English second edition, Professor Minorsky noted that some copies of the Russian original of 1900 contain the "theses" advanced by Barthold when he presented his thesis, Turkestan, to the Oriental Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg. These form a helpful synopsis of the whole work, and have again been reproduced in the present third edition. Professor Minorsky also supplied a list of his own notes on and corrections to Turkestan. As many as possible of these remarks were incorporated in the text of the book, and the rest were prefixed to the book as Addenda and Corrigenda (pp. xiii-xiv of the 1958 reprint). I have myself accumulated numerous addenda and corrigenda to the work, and have accordingly combined these with the earlier ones of Professor Minorsky and a few more communicated
to me by Professor Boyle. The respective origins of all these are indicated by the initials C.E.B., V.M. and J.A.B. at the end of each point.

There only remains to thank, on behalf of the scholarly world, the Gibb Memorial Trustees for making this great work available once more.

University of Manchester

C. E. BOSWORTH
In Brockelmann's work, the criticism of Ṭabari's methods is qualified by the addition of *gelegentlich* ("occasionally"). (V.M.)

A manuscript of part of an epitome of the *Ṭaʿīj* has now been found in the Yemen. See M. S. Khan, "A manuscript of an epitome of al-Ṣābi’s *Kitāb al-Ṭaʿīj*," *Arabica*, XII, 1905, 27–44, who is also preparing an edition of this whole section. (C.E.B.)

Thaʿalibī’s *Laṭāʿif al-maʿāřif* is now available in an English translation by C. E. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968. (C.E.B.)

Sallāmī’s *Taʿīkh wulāt Khurāsān* is also mentioned in Ibn Funduq’s biography of Sallāmī in the *Taʿīkh-i Bayhaq*, ed. Bahmanyār, 154, and in Juwaynī’s *Taʿīkh-i Jihān-Gushā*, ed. Qazwīnī, III, 271. (C.E.B. and V.M.)

For Farīd at-taʿīkh read Mazīd at-taʿīkh (see p. 252 n.4). (V.M.)

Correct the reference to Minorsky’s translation of the *Hudūd al-ʿālam* to: G.M.S., N.S. XI, 1937. See also Minorsky, "Addenda to the Hudūd al-ʿĀlam," *B.S.O.A.S.*, XVII, 1955, 250–70; these addenda will be included in a forthcoming second edition of the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*. (C.E.B.)


The Istanbul manuscript of al-Fārisī’s *dhayl* is Köprülü 1152. (C.E.B.)


The identity of the two Thaʿalibīs "appears to be established beyond any reasonable doubt" (F. Rosenthal, "From Arabic books and manuscripts.

19 4 The Bodleian MS. (d'Orv. X, 2) ends with the reign of the Abbasid al-Manṣūr. (V.M.)

19 8 The first book of the Ghurar as-siyar was published and translated by H. Zotenberg, Histoire des rois des Perses, Paris 1900; for an analysis of the unpublished part dealing with the early Islamic period, see G. Gabrieli in Rend. dell'Accad. dei Lincei, Scienzi Morali, Ser. 15, Vol. XXV, 1916, 1138–43. (C.E.B.)

21 18 There is a partial edition of the Zayn al-akhbār, covering the sections from the Tāhirids to the Ghaznavids, by M. Nazim, Berlin 1928, and another partial edition, covering the sections from the Sāsānids to the Tāhirids, by Sa'īd Nafisi, Tehran 1333/1954. The whole text has thus still not been published, but an English translation is being prepared by V. Pontecorvo. (C.E.B.)

22 26 The citations from Bayhaqi in other works, and the apparent borrowings from him, are collected together by Nafisi in his Dar pirāmūn-i Ta'rikh-i Bayhaqi, shāmil-i āhār-i gum-shuda-yi Abu'l-Fadl Bayhaqi va Ta'rikh-i Ghaznaviyān, Tehran 1342/1963, 2 vols. (C.E.B.)


25 n.1 The most recent and best text is that of H. Darke, Tehran 1340/1962, who has also published an English translation, The book of government or rules for kings, London 1960; translations into German, Turkish and Russian also exist. (C.E.B.)


27 n.5 Read: Muḥammad Iqbāl. (V.M.)

28 34 The Khartīyat al-qāṣr is still only in part published; the section on the poets of Egypt by Ahmad Amin et al., Cairo 1951, 2 vols., and that on the poets of Iraq, Part I, by M. Bahjat al-Athari and Jamil Sa'īd, Baghdad 1375/1955. (C.E.B.)

28 36 The Ākkār ad-dawla as-Saljūqīyya of Šadr ad-Dīn (?) now edited by M. Iqbāl, Lahore 1933. (V.M.)

30 12 Žahir ad-Dīn's Saljūq-nāma has now been published
in Tehran, 1332/1954, together with the dhayl of Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm; it is thus Zahir ad-Dīn’s work, and the mere continuation of Abū Ḥamīd, which is the basis of Rāwandī’s Ṛḥat aṣ-ṣudūr. (V.M. and C.E.B.)

31 n.8 The Taʿrikh-i Bayhaq, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1317/1938. (V.M.)

33 7 Muntajab ad-Dīn’s collection, the ʿAtabat al-kataba, was published by M. M. Qazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iqbāl, Tehran 1320/1950; see also A. K. S. Lambton, “The administration of Sanjar’s empire as illustrated in the ʿAtabat al-kataba,” B.S.O.A.S., XX, 1957, 367–88. (V.M. and C.E.B.)


33 15 Watwāt’s Arabic correspondence was published in the Majmūʿat rasāʿīl, Cairo 1315/1897–8; the Persian letters are now available in Q. Tūsyārīnī’s Nāmahā-yi Rashīd ad-Dīn Watwāt, Tehran 1338/1959. (C.E.B.)

35 17 An edition of Samānī’s text is now being published by the Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1962– (6 vols. so far published). (C.E.B.)


41 n.1 The third volume of Juwaynī has now been published as G.M.S., N.S., XIV/3; see also the excellent translation of J. A. Boyle, The history of the World-Conqueror, Manchester 1958, 2 vols. (C.E.B.)


51 18, 19 An etymology of the term bakhshi from Sanskrit bhikṣu is now generally rejected in favour of one from the Chinese 陟o-shi8h “learned man, teacher”; see Pelliot, “Notes sur le ‘Turkestan’ de M. W. Barthold,” T’oung-Pao, XXVII, 1930, 14–15, and the exhaustive discussion in G. Doerfer, Türkische und
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA


56 2 The Malāc as-sa'dayn, edited by Muḥammad Shafi, Lahore 1360-8/1941-9, 2 vols. (V.M.)

57 n.2 The Ta'rikh-i Harāt or Ta'rikh-i Mulāk-i Kār, ed. M. Z. as-Ṣiddiqī, Calcutta 1943. (V.M.)

70 n.6 The Kumjlīs (and the associated group of the Kanjina, who also occupied a valley running down from the Buttamān Mts.) were very probably remnants of early conquering empires in Central Asia, such as the Sakas or Hephthalites; Ptolemy mentions a Saka tribe of Kupīs (see Minorsky, Hudūd al-ʿalam, 120, 361-3). (C.E.B.)

127 n.18 Kufin in the neighbourhood of Karmīnā. (V.M.)

133 n.11 Add:

Wanūfakhsīन (in the facsimile Buchārā (evidently identical with Wanūfakh)) (V.M.)

133 n.11 Add:

Wanūfakh, (in the facsimile Buchārā (evidently identical with Wanūfakh)) (V.M.)

186 n.39 Apparently: end of the seventh century. (V.M.)

216 n.5 The form Rūtbīl or Ṻatīl, admittedly thus read by the Arabic lexicographers and philologists, has never been plausibly explained. It is, therefore, probable that Marquart was right and that we should read Zūnbīl, to be connected with the god Zūn or Zūnī whose shrine was in Zāmundāvar in south-eastern Afghanistan and whose name is secured by Chinese renderings of the name. See amongst recent literature, M. Bussagli, "Cusanica et serica. I La fisionomia religiosa del dio Zūn (o Shūn) di Zābul," R.S.O., XXXVII, 1962, 79-91, and G. Scarcia, "Zūnbīl or Zānbīl,"? Yādānī-ye Jan Ryška, Prague 1967, 41-5. (C.E.B.)

221 n.5 Abdālīh, "revenue from fines"? (V.M.)

222 19-21 It seems very dubious that the Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir at-Ṭāʿī, whose activities at Buhkārā Narshakhī describes at length, is identical with the Ṭāhirīd Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh; see R. Vasmor, "Über die Münzen der ʿṢaffarīden und ihrer Gegner in Fārs und Ḥūrāsān," Numismatische Zeitschrift, LXIII, 1930, 148-9. (C.E.B.)

227 n.24 Barthold probably takes this account of Nīzām al-Mulk's too seriously; see Bosworth, "Ghaznavid military organisation," Der Islam, XXXVI, 1960, 45. (C.E.B.)
230 n.12 Ushkur probably from ἐκκουρεῖον. (V.M.)

242 +30 The whole passage from the Ta‘rikh-i Bayhaq on the establishment of the ʿAlids in Khurāsān is translated by Bosworth in The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994–1040, Edinburgh 1963, 196–7 (C.E.B.)

250 5 Ibrahim b. Alptigin, one of Ibn Hawqal’s informants, described as Ḥajib Šāhīb Khurāsān in Kitāb ṣūrat al-ard, ed Kramers, Leiden 1938–9, I, 14 (V.M.)

253 31 Abu ʿAli’s laqab was self-assumed, and not bestowed by Nūh b. Manṣūr; cf. ʿUthbi-Manānī I, 155, and Gardizī, ed. Nazim, 53 (“He subjected Amir Nūh to every possible sort of scornful treatment and styled himself Amir of Amirs, the divinely-aided one”). (C.E.B.)


257 n.1 Whilst is it true that Kāshgharī spells كلاً and includes it in the class of palatalised i.e. front vowels, it is also worth bearing in mind that the earliest sources on the Seljuq invasions, the contemporaries or near-contemporaries Gardizī, Bayhaqi and the author of the Ta‘rikh-i Sīstān, invariably spell suffix. Obviously, the etymology of the name is crucial, but this has not yet been explained with entire certainty. Recently, K. H. Menges has plausibly suggested one from salmaq “attack, charge forward” > salchug “attacking, charging,” attributing the various spellings in the Arabic script to variable eastern Turkish orthography (J.N.E.S., X, 1951, 268 n.2). (C.E.B.)

261 n.1 The correct form of the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty’s name is almost certainly Sebük/Sevük-tigin “Beloved prince”; the first element is already found in Orkhon Turkish onomastic (cf. Pelliot, “Notes sur le ‘Turkestan’ de M. W. Barthold,”” 16). (C.E.B.)

269 30 Pelliot, loc. cit., suggested that Payghū might not necessarily be connected with another Turkish word bighu, “a kind of falcon” (cf. also Doerfer, op. cit., II, 427–8, No. 846 under pıgh); but it is clear that, in this place at least, we are dealing with the head of the Oghuz on the lower Syr Darya and Aral Sea fringes, who undoubtedly had the title Yabghu. See now Pritsak, “Der Untergang des Reiches des Oguzischen Yabgu,” Fuad Köprülü armagani, Istanbul 1953, 397–410. (C.E.B.)

271 5 Ilak: better Ilig, see O. Turan, “Ilig unvanî hak-

280 12 On "Altitgin," see Pritsak, "Karachanidische Streitfragen. z Wer war "Ali Tigin?", Orients, III, 1950, 216-24, showing that he was not, pace Sachau and Barthold, the brother of the Il Iği Naşr, but a second cousin, the son of Bughra Khan Härün, first conqueror of Bukhārā, and brother of Qadîr Khan Yūsuf. (C.E.B.)

286 n. 2 The anonymous work originally edited by Melioranskiy is, in fact, the vocabulary of Ibn Muhannâ, Hilyat al-insān wa-halbat al-lisān, further edited by Kilisli Rif'at Bey, Istanbul 1337/1919; cf. Pelliot, op. cit., 17-18. Part of the Tabā'î al-hayawān is now edited and translated, with an extensive commentary, by Minorsky, Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India, London 1942. From Marvazī's account of this embassy (text *7*9, tr. 19-21, 76-82), the name of the second ruler emerges not as Bughra Khan but as "the Exalted Ilīg, Yughur Khan"; Minorsky thought that this was probably the ruler of the Uighur Khanate centred on Kan-su. (C.E.B.)


300 16 For Abū Şâdiq Tabāni read Abū Tāhir Tabāni. (C.E.B.)


303 2 For a detailed account of this battle of Dandānqān (based mainly on Bāqiqāl), see B. N. Zakhoder in Istoricheskiy Zhurnal, III-IV, 1943, Turkish tr. in Belleten, XVIII, 1954, 581-7. (C.E.B.)

304 15 Pritsak points out (op. cit., 227-8 and "Die Karachaniden," Der Islam, XXXI, 1953-4, 34 ff.) the inaccuracy of Barthold's statement that Būrūtgin Ibrāhīm b. Naşr founded a new, independent Khanate in Transoxania at this time. There was really a split in the Qarakhanid Khanate c. 433/1041-2. The principle of the Double Khanate, with a Chief Khan and a Co-Khan, was destroyed after Qadîr Khan Yūsuf's death in 424/1032 by the ambitious sons of the Ilīg Naşr, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Ayn ad-Dawa Muḥammad set himself up in Uzbek as Chief Khan, in rivalry to Sulaymān b. Qadîr Khan Yūsuf, the senior member of the dynasty, in Khotan and Kāshgār. Ibrāhīm established himself in
Samarqand as Co-Khan with Muhammad. From this time, then, date the two separate Qarakhanid Khanates, an eastern one centred on Balasaghn, later Kashi, and a western one centred on Uzkend, later Samarqand. (C.E.B.)

312 3 It is generally agreed that Turkish bitik "official document" stems ultimately from the Chinese cultural world, Chinese bit (Karlgren, piēl) "brush, write with a brush." Cf. Doerfer, op. cit., II, 262–7, Nos. 717–18. (C.E.B.)

317 16 Jikils: better Chigil. (C.E.B.)

318 16 The Khan was strangled on 25 June 1095 (see A. Ates, "Tarcumān al-balāğa, das früheste neupersische Werk über rhetorische Figuren", Orients, I, 1948, 56–7 n.). (V. M.)

320 n.i Read: Atrak al-Khitā. (V.M.)

323 n.i The History of Semirechye is now available in English, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, in Barthold, Four studies on the history of Central Asia, I, Leiden 1956, 73–171. (V. M.)

324 4 The Khwārazm-Shāh Ekinichi b. Qochar seems to have been personally acquainted with Marvāzī, who was one of Sultan Malik Shāh’s court physicians, and who derived from him information about his own tribe, the Turkish people of the Qūn; cf. Marvāzī on China, the Turks and India, 29–30, 98–100. (C.E.B.)

324 7 Amīr-i Dād "Amir charged with the administration of justice" is here the official designation of Ḥabashi b. Altuntaq; see on this office, I. H. Uzuncarsili, Osmanlı devleti teşkilatına medhal, Istanbul 1941, index, and H. Horst, Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselgūnen und Horazmšāhs (1038–1231). Wiesbaden 1964, 93. (C.E.B.)


330 13 Mahmūd Khān, the probable dedicatee of Anwari’s poem, The tears of Khwāsān. (V.M.)


338 16 Early raids into Ghūr are said to have been made by Sibūktīgin and the boy Mahmūd of Ghazna; a major expedition was also launched in 401/1011 under Mahmūd’s generals Altuntaš (the later Khwārazm-Shāh, see below, 279) and Arslan Jādhīb (see Bosworth, "The early Islamic history of Ghūr," Central Asiatic Journal, VI, 1961, 116 ff.). (C.E.B.)
**ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA**

382 30  *Bukāwul* = "food-taster, overseer of supplies for the court and army, quartermaster"; of uncertain etymology, cf. Doerfer, *op. cit.*, II, 301-7, No. 755. Regarding Barthold's n. 4 on this page, that the Naiman term for *bukāwul* was *gïnasat*, Pelliot points out that the manuscripts of Rashid ad-Din used by Berezin have, in fact, *gïshat* and *gïchat*, and he hesitatingly suggests a connection with Turkish *qïsh-* "crush, break up [food]" ("Notes sur le 'Turkestan' de M. W. Barthold," 25-7). (C.E.B.)

383 fl. See the long discussion by Pelliot on the titles of these various guards of the Mongol Khans, in *op. cit.*, 27-32. (C.E.B.)

383 3 *Akhta* originally meant "gelding," and then "riding horse" in general, since the Mongols rode geldings almost exclusively, cf. B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols: le féodalisme nomade*, Paris 1948, 45. This Mongol-Turkish term may be originally Iranian, cf. Doerfer, *op. cit.*, I *Mongolische Elemente im Neuerschienen*, Wiesbaden 1963, 114-17, No. 8, and also 117-18, No. 9 (on akhtachi "Master of the horse" = Arabic-Persian *Amir-i Akhur*). (C.E.B.)

385 27 In the article of Boyle, "On the titles given in Juvauni to certain Mongol princes," *H.J.A.S.*, XIX, 1956, 146-8, is is suggested that the title "Great Noyan" (Turkish *Ulugh Noyan*, Mongolian *Yeke Noyan*) was given to Toluy posthumously to avoid mention of his real name. (J.A.B.)

387 II-14 According to Pelliot, "Notes sur le 'Turkestan' de M. W. Barthold," 33-42, the use of the red seal (*al tamgha*) is directly attested, e.g. by Güyük and the Il Khanids in Persia; but when Barthold spoke of the use of a blue seal (*kök tamgha*) for the most solemn documents, he was reading too much into Rashid ad-Din's text. Instead, Pelliot tentatively proposed a connection with the *kökö debter* "blue register" used by the Mongols for judicial decrees, etc., the use of blue paper or blue ink for official documents being widespread in the Far East (and consequently known at Qubilay's court). (C.E.B.)

389 n.3 It is universally accepted that Mongol *tojın*, Turkish *tojın*, stem from the Chinese *tao-jen" Man of the true way (Tao)" = Buddhist monk; cf. Doerfer, *op. cit.*, II, 648-51, No. 993. (C.E.B.)

389 n.5 *But-parast* here and elsewhere almost certainly means "Buddhist." (C.E.B.)

392 n.3 Barthold was almost certainly right in separating

416 n.1 In Boyle's article, "On the titles given in Juvaini to certain Mongol princes," 148-52, it is suggested that, like Toluy's title Ulugh Noyan, that of *Ulus Idi* "Lord of the Ulus" (sc. the people comprising the leader's patrimony)" was bestowed on Jochi after his death. Barthold's identification of Ulus Idi with the general Jedey Noyan must accordingly be corrected; we are here dealing with one person only, not two. See further, Juwayni-Boyle, *History of the World-Conqueror*, I, 86 n.1. (J.A.B.)

417 15 Barthold has here confused this Alaq Noyan with the Alaq who led the expedition against Banakath; see Juwayni-Boyle, *op. cit.*, I, 46 n.14. (J.A.B.)

449 9 On Turbăy (Mongolian, Törbey) and Qabăy (*recte* Qaban), see Juwayni-Boyle, *op. cit.*, I, 141 and n.1, 166 and nn. 37, 38. (J.A.B.)

459 n1 In the title Sayin Khan, *sayin* probably means "good" not in the sense of "good-natured" or "sagacious," but in that of "the late, deceased, of blessed memory." It would, therefore, be a posthumously-awarded title. (J.A.B.)

460 22 For Jaghatay-Khan read Chaghatayid Khan. (V.M.)
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