

THE EMPIRE OF THE STEPPES

A HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

RENÉ GROUSSET

TRANSLATED BY NAOMI WALFORD

Contents

Foreword	v
Preface	vii
List of Maps	xx
Introduction: The Steppe and History	xxi

I. THE HIGH PLATEAUS OF ASIA UNTIL THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

1. Early History of the Steppes: Scythians and Huns	
<i>The Antiquity of Steppe Civilizations</i>	3
<i>The Scythians</i>	6
<i>Scythian Art</i>	11
<i>The Sarmatians and Western Siberia</i>	15
<i>Pre-Turkic Cultures of the Altai</i>	17
<i>Origins of the Hsiung-nu</i>	19
<i>Hunnic Art</i>	24
<i>The First Thrust of the Hsiung-nu and the Migration of the Yüeh-chih</i>	26
<i>Repercussions of the First Victories of the Huns; Collapse of Greek Domination in Afghanistan</i>	29
<i>Conflicts Between the Hsiung-nu and the Early Han; Split with the Western Hsiung-nu</i>	32
<i>Conflicts Between China and the Hsiung-nu During the Period of the Later Han Dynasty; Split with the Southern Hsiung-nu</i>	38
<i>The Silk Road</i>	39
<i>Pan Ch'ao's Conquest of the Tarim Basin</i>	41
	xiii

<i>Civilization of the Tarim Oases at the End of Antiquity and the Beginning of the Middle Ages</i>	48
<i>Supplanting of the Northern Hsiung-nu by the Hsien-pi in the Empire of Mongolia</i>	53
<i>The Great Invasions of the Fourth Century; North China Conquered by the Hsiung-nu and the Hsien-pi</i>	55
<i>The Kingdom of the Tabgatch Turks, or Toba, and the Mongol Khanate of the Juan-juan</i>	60
<i>The Last Minusinsk Culture</i>	66
<i>The Ephthalite Huns</i>	67
<i>The Huns in Europe: Attila</i>	72
2. <i>The Early Middle Ages: T'u-chüeh, Uigur, and Khitan</i>	
<i>The Empire of the T'u-chüeh</i>	80
<i>Partition of the T'u-chüeh Empire</i>	87
<i>Destruction of the Khanate of the Eastern T'u-chüeh by Emperor T'ai-tsung</i>	90
<i>Dissolution of the Khanate of the Western T'u-chüeh</i>	93
<i>The Indo-European Oases of the Tarim at the Accession of the T'ang Dynasty</i>	95
<i>The Establishment of the T'ang Protectorate in the Tarim Basin</i>	98
<i>T'ang China, Lord of Central Asia</i>	101
<i>The Last Blaze of T'u-chüeh Power: Mo-ch'ö Khagan</i>	103
<i>Kul-tegin and Mo-ki-lien</i>	110
<i>Destruction of the Empire of the Eastern T'u-chüeh; Rise of the Uigur Empire</i>	113
<i>The Peak of T'ang Power; the Subjection of Western Turkestan</i>	114
<i>Chinese and Arab Rivalry West of the Pamirs</i>	116
<i>The Chinese in the Pamirs, 747-750</i>	118
<i>The Collapse of T'ang Domination in Central Asia</i>	119
<i>The Uigur Turkic Empire</i>	120
<i>The Sha-t'ö Turks</i>	126
<i>The Khitan</i>	127
<i>The Jurchid</i>	134
3. <i>The Turks and Islam to the Thirteenth Century</i>	
<i>The Iranian Barrier Against the Turkic World in the Tenth Century: The Samanids</i>	141

<i>The Turkicizing of Kashgaria and Transoxiana: The Karakhanids</i>	144
<i>Role of the Seljuks in Turkish History</i>	148
<i>Sultan Sanjar and the Watch on the Oxus</i>	159
<i>The Kara-Khitai Empire</i>	164
<i>The Khwarizmian Empire</i>	166
4. The Russian Steppe from the Sixth to the Thirteenth Century	
<i>The Avars</i>	171
<i>Bulgars and Magyars</i>	176
<i>The Khazars</i>	179
<i>Petchenegs and Kipchaks</i>	182

II. THE JENGHIZ-KHANITE MONGOLS

5. Jenghiz Khan	
<i>Mongolia in the Twelfth Century</i>	189
<i>First Attempts at Unity Among the Mongols</i>	197
<i>The Youth of Jenghiz Khan</i>	199
<i>Jenghiz Khan, Vassal of the Kerayit</i>	200
<i>Breach with the Wang-khan: Conquest of the Kerayit Country</i>	209
<i>Conquest of the Natman Country; Unification of Mongolia</i>	213
<i>Jenghiz Khan: Emperor</i>	216
<i>The New Mongol Empire: State and Army</i>	219
<i>Conquest of Northern China</i>	226
<i>Mongol Conquest of the Old Kara-Khitai Empire</i>	233
<i>Destruction of the Khwarizmian Empire</i>	236
<i>Raid by Jebe and Sübötai into Persia and Russia</i>	245
<i>The Last Years of Jenghiz Khan</i>	247
<i>Jenghiz Khan: His Character and Achievements</i>	248
6. The Three Immediate Successors to Jenghiz Khan	
<i>Distribution of Appanages Among Jenghiz Khan's Sons</i>	253
<i>The Reign of Ogödai (1229-41)</i>	256
<i>Destruction of the Kin Realm by the Mongols</i>	257

<i>Conquest of Western Persia by the Mongols</i>	259
<i>Batu's and Sübötai's Campaigns in Europe</i>	264
<i>Törägänä's Regency (1242-46)</i>	268
<i>Güyük's Reign (1246-48)</i>	269
<i>Regency of Oghul Qaimish</i>	272
<i>Mongka's Reign (1251-59)</i>	275
<i>Rubruck's Journey</i>	276
<i>Mongka's War Against the Sung Empire</i>	282
7. Kublai and the Mongol Dynasty of China	
<i>Rivalry Between Kublai and Ariq-bögä</i>	285
<i>Conquest of the Sung Empire</i>	286
<i>Wars in Japan, Indochina, and Java</i>	288
<i>Struggle with Qaidu</i>	291
<i>Kublai's Government: Mongol and Chinese Policy</i>	295
<i>Religious Policy of Kublai and His Successors: Buddhism</i>	297
<i>Religious Policy of Kublai and His Successors: Nestorianism</i>	300
<i>Marco Polo's Journey</i>	304
<i>Economic Prosperity in China Under Mongol Rule</i>	309
<i>Catholicism in China Under the Mongol Dynasty</i>	313
<i>The Last of the Kublai Line and the Expulsion of the Mongols from China</i>	320
8. Turkestan Under the House of Jagatai	
<i>The Jagatai Khanate: Origins and General Characteristics</i>	326
<i>Alghu's Reign: Jagataite Attempt at Independence</i>	331
<i>The Khanate of Jagatai Under Qaidu's Suzerainty</i>	333
<i>The Khanate of Jagatai at Its Zenith: Duwa, Esen-buqa, and Kebek</i>	336
<i>Schism in the Khanate of Jagatai: Transoxiana and Mugholistan</i>	341
<i>Transoxiana Under the Rule of Emir Qazghan</i>	342
<i>Tughluq Timur: Reintegration of Jagatai</i>	343
9. Mongol Persia and the House of Hulägu	
<i>The Mongol Regime in Persia Until the Coming of Hulägu: Chormaghan, Baiju, and Eljigidai</i>	347
<i>The Mongol Regime in Persia to the Arrival of Hulägu: Körgüz and Arghun Agha</i>	351

<i>Hulāgu's Reign: Destruction of the Assassins, Conquest of Baghdad, and Annihilation of the Caliphate</i>	353
<i>Hulāgu's Sympathy with Christianity</i>	356
<i>Expedition of Hulāgu to Syria</i>	359
<i>Hulāgu's Last Years</i>	365
<i>Abaqa's Reign</i>	367
<i>Arghun's Reign</i>	371
<i>Rabban Sauma's Embassy to the West</i>	373
<i>The Reigns of Gaikhatu and Baidu</i>	376
<i>Ghazan's Reign</i>	378
<i>Oljaitu's Reign</i>	383
<i>Abu Sa'id's Reign</i>	387
<i>Dissolution of the Mongol Khanate of Persia</i>	389
10. The Khanate of Kipchak	
<i>Jöchi and His Sons: The Golden Horde, the White Horde, and the Ulus of Shayban</i>	392
<i>Batu and Berke</i>	394
<i>Nogai and Toqtai</i>	401
<i>Özbeq and Janibeg</i>	404
<i>Mamai and Toqtamish</i>	405
11. Tamerlane	
<i>The Kingdom of Transoxiana Delivered from the Mongols by Tamerlane</i>	409
<i>Duel of Tamerlane and Mir Husain</i>	412
<i>Ruler of Transoxiana and the Timurid Empire</i>	414
<i>Conquest of Khwarizm</i>	419
<i>Expeditions to Mogholistan and Uiguria</i>	422
<i>Conquest of Eastern Iran</i>	426
<i>Conquest of Western Iran</i>	429
<i>Tamerlane and Kipchak</i>	435
<i>Expedition to India</i>	443
<i>Tamerlane and the Mamelukes</i>	446
<i>Tamerlane and the Ottoman Empire</i>	448
<i>The Conquest of China</i>	453
<i>The Tamerlane Succession: Shah Rukh's Reign</i>	456
<i>Abu Sa'id</i>	460
<i>The Last Timurids</i>	463

III. THE LAST MONGOLS

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 12. The Mongols of Russia | |
| <i>The End of the Golden Horde</i> | 469 |
| <i>The Khanates of the Crimea, Astrakhan, and Kazan</i> | 471 |
| 13. The Shaybanids | |
| <i>From Shayban to Abu'l Khair</i> | 478 |
| <i>Muhammad Shaybani and the Shaybanid Khanate of Transoxiana</i> | 481 |
| <i>The Khanate of Bukhara Under the Astrakhanids and Mangits</i> | 486 |
| <i>The Khanate of Khiva</i> | 487 |
| <i>The Khanate of Kokand</i> | 488 |
| <i>The Shaybanids of Siberia</i> | 489 |
| 14. The Last Jagataites | |
| <i>Resurgence of Mogholistan After Tamerlane: Vais-khan and Esen-bugha</i> | 491 |
| <i>Yunus and the Jagatatte Revenge upon the House of Tamerlane</i> | 493 |
| <i>The Jagataites Thrown Back East of the T'ien Shan Range; Influence of the Timurid Renaissance in Kashgaria; the Historian Haidar-Mirza</i> | 496 |
| <i>The Last Jagataites</i> | 498 |
| <i>The Khojas of Kashgaria</i> | 500 |
| 15. The Last Empires of Mongolia from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century | |
| <i>Anarchy in Mongolia After 1370</i> | 502 |
| <i>The First Oirat Empire: Toghon and Esen-taiji</i> | 505 |
| <i>The Last Jenghiz-Khanite Restoration: Dayan-khan and Altan-khan</i> | 508 |
| <i>Partition of the Dayanid Empire: The Ordos and Khalka Khanates</i> | 511 |
| <i>Conversion of the Eastern Mongols to Lamaism</i> | 513 |
| <i>Conquest of China by the Manchus</i> | 515 |
| <i>The Western Mongols in the Seventeenth Century</i> | 519 |
| <i>Movements of Peoples Among the Western Mongols: The Kalmuck Migration</i> | 521 |

Contents	xix
<i>The Khoshot Khanate of Tsaidam and the Koko Nor, Protector of the Tibetan Church</i>	522
<i>The Dzungar Kingdom Under the Choros Dynasty: Ba'atur-khongtaiji's Reign</i>	525
<i>Galdan's Reign (1676-97): Foundation of the Dzungar Empire</i>	526
<i>The Dzungar Empire Under Tsewang Rabdan (1697- 1727)</i>	531
<i>Galdan Tsereng's Reign (1727-45)</i>	536
<i>Dawaji and Amursana: Annexation of Dzungaria by the Manchu Empire</i>	537
<i>The Unfulfilled Destiny of the Western Mongols</i>	539
<i>Annexation of Kashgaria by the Manchu Empire</i>	541
Notes	543
Index	633

List of Maps

Drawn by Dorothy de Fontaine

The Steppe Zone of Eurasia

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 1. First Thrust of the Hsiung-nu and Migration of the Yüeh-chih | 22 |
| 2. Central Asia in the Han Dynasty | 33 |
| 3. The First "Mongol" Empires: Juan-juan and Epthalite about 500 A.D. | 77 |
| 4. The Empire of Attila | 91 |
| 5. The Turkic T'u-chüeh Empire at the End of the Sixth Century and the Beginning of the Seventh | 104-105 |
| 6. Empire of the Uigur Turks between 745 and 840 | 123 |
| 7. The Kin Kingdom about 1150 | 135 |
| 8. The Seljuk Sultanate about 1094 | 156 |
| 9. The Khwarizmian and Kara-Khitai Empires at the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century | 162-163 |
| 10. The Russian Steppe about the Tenth Century | 183 |
| 11. The Mongol Empire between 1230 and 1255 | 278-279 |
| 12. The Mongol Empire of China under the House of Kublai Khan | 322 |
| 13. The Khanate of the Jagatai between 1230 and 1365 | 337 |
| 14. The Mongol Kingdom of Persia under the House of Hulägu | 388 |
| 15. The Empire of Tamerlane | 454-455 |
| 16. The Timurids (Fifteenth Century) | 474 |
| 17. Distribution of the Golden Horde | 476 |
| 18. Upper Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries | 534-535 |