

THE KARAKHANIDS*

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Sources for Karakhanid history

The history of the Karakhanids is one of the least studied periods in the history of Central Asia and East Turkistan. The most important information is derived from written sources of a later date. These sources provide a very detailed account of relations between the Karakhanids and the neighbouring states of the Ghaznavids, the Seljuqs, the Khwarazm Shahs and the Kara Khitay. Information about events within the Karakhanid state is sparse and frequently contradictory, and has quite often proved to be completely incorrect. Barthold conducted a critical analysis of the principal written sources in the 1920s, and his works on the history of the Karakhanids still provide the fullest and most reliable account. Other historians have since managed to extract no more than isolated details from the written sources.

* See Maps 3 and 4.

The second historical source is Karakhanid coinage. Barthold and other historians realized that Karakhanid coinage represented a major source for the political history, supplementing the written sources and correcting their at times contradictory testimonies. They also understood, however, that Karakhanid coinage represented the most difficult branch of Islamic numismatics and that its attribution demanded a great deal of preparatory work. Barthold wrote despondently that it was often impossible to determine even such a simple point as the number of persons referred to in the inscriptions on coins.¹ None the less, he made careful use of the Karakhanid coins published in his day, and this enabled him to discover a great deal of information, although it did not prevent him from making the occasional mistake.

The content of the written sources and the progress made in the study of the coins did not permit a reliable list of Karakhanid rulers to be constructed at that time; this is reflected in the reference books used by all orientalists, such as handbooks for the chronology and the genealogy of Muslim dynasties. The section on the Karakhanids in Lane-Poole's book, even with Barthold's additions,² is very brief and fragmentary and contains errors. A similar section in the work by Zambaur should simply not be consulted.³ Bosworth based his section on the Karakhanids in his book on the work of Pritsak.⁴ Later numismatists and historians (Vasmer, Pritsak, Davidovich, Kochnev and others) have published and studied an enormous number of Karakhanid coins, developing methods for their attribution, supplementing and correcting the information in the written sources for political history and providing fresh data for the chronology and genealogy not only of dynastic heads but also of a number of appanage-holders. Karakhanid coinage has also provided information for the study of a number of questions in the areas of social and economic history.

The conquest of Transoxania by the Karakhanids: the division into appanages

The confederation of Turkish tribes present in Kashghar and Semirechye in the ninth and tenth centuries was ruled by a dynasty referred to in the literature as the *Ilek Khans* or *Karakhanids*.⁵ The accounts provided in the sources regarding the composition of this confederation and the origin of the dynasty itself are contradictory and have given rise to

¹ Barthold, 1928, p. 274.

² Lane-Poole, 1899, pp. 110–12 (there is no genealogical table).

³ Zambaur, 1927, pp. 206–7 (on the errors in the section on the Karakhanids, see Davidovich, 1957, pp. 115–17).

⁴ Bosworth, 1965, pp. 111–14.

⁵ Both designations represent titles. The title *Kara Kaghan* was the most important Turkish title up till the end of the dynasty.

several hypotheses.⁶ It is, however, probable that the dynasty came from the Yaghma or Chigil tribes.

Clashes between the Samanids and the Karakhanids began to occur in the ninth century. The Samanids even advanced some small distance to the east into the lands of the Turkish peoples. In 840 they took Isfijab and built walls around it to protect its inhabitants' crops from the raids of the nomads. Isfijab was not merely a military outpost, however; brisk trade with the nomads was also conducted there and the town contained many bazaars and caravanserais. The traders from Bukhara, Samarkand and other large towns of Transoxania constructed separate caravanserais for themselves. Significantly, however, Isfijab remained a largely independent possession of the local Turkish dynasty, which owed only three obligations to the Samanids: military service, the presentation of symbolic gifts and the inscription of the name of the Samanid amir as suzerain on their coinage. The names of several members of this Turkish family who ruled Isfijab in the tenth century are known from the legends on coins and from the manuscript sources. At a later date, in 893, the Samanid Ismā'īl b. Ahmad took Taraz, long a possession of the Karakhanids, and converted the Christian church there into a mosque; Taraz was another major trading post for exchanges with the Turkish nomads.

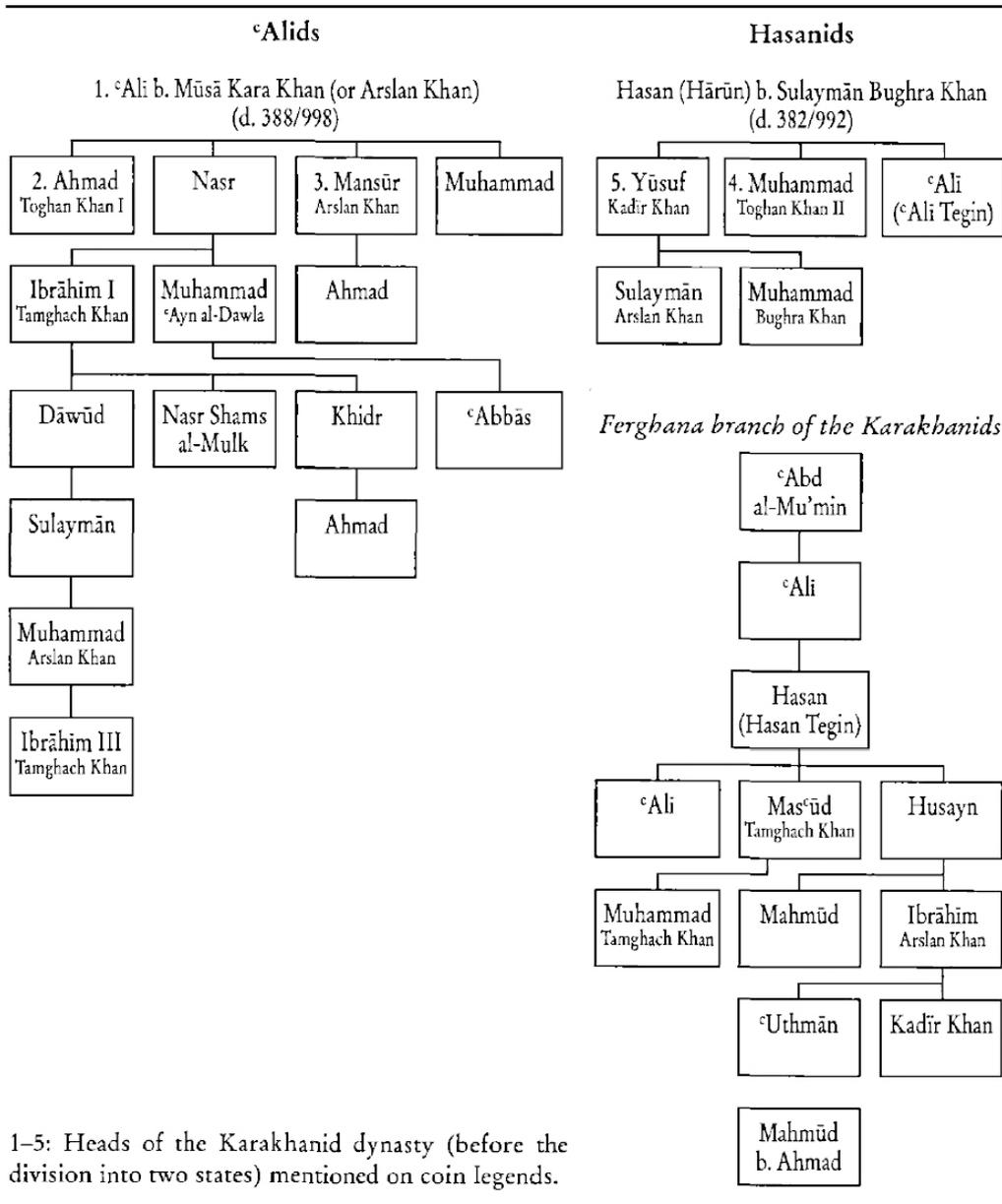
In the mid-tenth century, the Karakhanids themselves adopted Islam and declared it to be the religion of their tribal society. They began to take Muslim names and, later, Muslim honorifics (*alqāb*; pl. of *laqab*). But the regnal titles conveying the real or formal position of their holders in the dynastic hierarchy were Turkish: Khan and Kaghan (Kara Khan and Kara Kaghan), Ilek (Ilig), Tegin, etc. The names of animals were a regular element in the Turkish titles of the Karakhanids: thus Arslan (lion), Bughra (camel), Toghan (falcon), Böri (wolf), Toghrul or Toghrīl (a bird of prey), etc. The Karakhanids later also began to use the Arab titles sultan and *sultān al-salātīn* (sultan of sultans). The titles of the members of the dynasty changed with their changing position, normally upwards, in the dynastic hierarchy.

In the final decade of the tenth century, the Karakhanids began a systematic struggle against the Samanids for control of Transoxania. As Muslims who had already had contacts with the Islamic culture of Transoxania, they knew that one of the principal emblems of power, providing material proof of the control of a town, a region or a state, was the minting of coins in one's own name. That is why the coins that made their appearance with the first military successes of the Karakhanids represent a most important indicator for their political history.

The conquest of Transoxania was initiated by two cousins, ^cAlī b. Mūsā (the head of the dynasty; title: Kara Khan or Arslan Khan) and Hasan b. Sulaymān (title: Bughra Khan).

⁶ Pritsak, 1953, pp. 21–2.

Table 1. Genealogy of the Karakhanids mentioned in the present chapter



Pritsak proposed that the families of these two cousins be referred to as the ^ʿAlids and the Hasanids,⁷ and this nomenclature is most convenient for a consideration of the subsequent history of the Karakhanids, as the relations between the two families determined the events of the time (see Table 1).

The following account of the conquest is provided by the written and numismatic sources. The first campaign was led by Hasan b. Sulaymān Bughra Khan. The Karakhanids took Isfijab in 380/990, Fergana in 381/991–2 and Ilaq, Samarkand and the Samanid

⁷ Pritsak, 1953, p. 26.

capital, Bukhara, in 382/992. These military successes were celebrated by a political gesture: the minting of coins in the name of Bughra Khan.⁸ Having fallen ill in Bukhara, he travelled to Samarkand and from there set out for Kashghar but died on the way in 382/992. The Samanid ruler returned to Bukhara and took control of the central regions of Transoxania, whereas the Karakhanids retained a part of the north-eastern and eastern regions. The initiative then passed to the family of °Alī b. Mūsā. One of his sons, Nasr b. °Alī, played a particularly active role; in 386/996 he conquered the region of Chach, in 387/997 Samarkand and in 389/999, having encountered no resistance, he also took the capital, Bukhara.⁹

There were two reasons for the speedy and effortless victory of the Karakhanids. The first was that the members of the military and bureaucratic structures of the Samanid state, who wielded a great deal of power, fought among themselves and also, at times, against the head of the dynasty. The vassal rulers of Khwarazm, Khurasan and Tukharistan had become virtually independent and took part in the internecine strife, sometimes on the side of the Samanids and sometimes against them. A new state had thus emerged, the state of the Ghaznavids. In this complex situation, the Samanid ruler was unable to concentrate all his forces on the struggle against the Karakhanids. Second, the Karakhanids were Muslims, and their arrival merely represented a change of rulers at the apex of government at a time when many people were unhappy with the Samanids and entertained hopes of fresh privileges and advantages under the Karakhanids. Certain leading representatives of the military and bureaucratic class assisted the Karakhanids, and the *dihqāns* (major landowners) also took their side. The populace, on the other hand, looked on the change of dynasties with indifference.

There seems no doubt that the Karakhanids rewarded generously those who had assisted them. A typical case is that of Begtuzun, who had risen to the highest office under the Samanids and had settled the fate of the throne on more than one occasion. When the Karakhanids reached Bukhara in 999, Begtuzun rallied to their cause and, as their vassal, went on to govern several towns including Kish (coinage 399–402/1008–12) and Khujand (coinage 415/1024–5).¹⁰ The position of the Ilaq *dihqāns* was strengthened under the Karakhanids. From the year 992 onwards, the Karakhanid coinage for the region refers to

⁸ On the early coinage of the Karakhanids, see Ishankhanov and Kochnev, 1979. (Since many of the dates given in this chapter stem from coin legends, the original *hijri* forms of these dates are given in this chapter – Editors.)

⁹ On the unsuccessful struggle of the last Samanid against the Karakhanids, see above, Chapter 4.

¹⁰ Kochnev, 1982, pp. 152–7.

the *dihqāns*, the direct rulers of Ilaq,¹¹ as vassals. That was a privilege they had not enjoyed under the Samanids.

The Karakhanid state exhibited several prominent features during its first period (until *c.* 1040). First, there was the idea of the integrity of the state, which found expression in the recognition of the head of the dynasty and was reflected in the references to him in coin legends as suzerain. Second, there was the division of the state into appanages, which lacked stable borders because of the internecine strife. A third feature was the hierarchical structure of political power, which was reflected in the differing ‘value’ of titles. Lastly, there were the common economic rights – to one and the same appanage sometimes nominal, and sometimes real – of several members of the dynasty.

Four sons of °Alī b. Mūsā (Ahmad, Nasr, Mansūr and Muhammad) held their own independent appanages within the Karakhanid state; two of them (Ahmad and Mansūr) became, in turn, head of the dynasty after the death of their father in 388/998. The first to do so was Ahmad b. °Alī (not Nasr b. °Alī, as believed by many historians). Ahmad, to whom the Muslim written sources make practically no reference, adopted his father’s title (Kara Kaghan) as well as the title Toghan Khan, but Nāsir al-Haqq Khan is found more often on the coinage. His own appanage was located in Semirechye, but he also held Chach. The chief town of the appanage and the capital of the Karakhanid state at the time was Balasaghun (thus in Muslim sources), otherwise referred to as Quz Urdu and Ulush Urdu (Mahmūd Kāshgharī). The dynastic head lived not in the town but in his nearby army encampment (*ordo, urdu*); the nomadic traditions and way of life of the Karakhanids were still very strong at the time. Palaeographic studies provide us with two possible interpretations of the legends on the coins struck in the capital: *Qara Urdu* and *Quz Urdu*. Pritsak made a special study of the question of Turkish colour symbolism and concluded that the headquarters of the dynastic head near Balasaghun was indeed called *Qara Urdu*.¹² Kashghar at that time, and subsequently, was in the hands of the Hasanids. From 395/1004–5 Yūsuf Kadīr Khan (the son of Hasan Bughra Khan) regularly struck coins there in his own name with the title *malik al-mashriq* (King of the East).

The most influential and the best-known figure was the °Alid Nasr b. °Alī (the conqueror of Transoxania). Although his titles were modest (initially Tegin and later Ilek), he held a vast, wealthy and prestigious appanage that comprised the central areas of Transoxania (Samarkand, Bukhara, etc.), Ferghana and also, at certain periods, other areas and towns. The principal town in his appanage was Uzgend in Ferghana. Nasr b. °Alī was in practice an independent ruler but formally recognized his brother, Ahmad b. °Alī, as head

¹¹ Davidovich, 1978, pp. 80–100.

¹² Pritsak, 1955, p. 15.

of the dynasty. They both appear on most of the coins from Nasr's appanage as suzerain and vassal (with the emphasis on Nasr's independence, however). There are instances of joint economic ownership, including that of the wealthy town and region of Khujand: the brothers shared the income from this domain. Ahmad and Nasr also transferred control of individual towns and regions in their enormous appanages to other individuals (some of whom were not members of the dynasty) as their vassals.

After the death of Nasr b. °Alī in 403/1012–13, his appanage was broken up. A large part fell to the head of the dynasty, but his other brothers were also stirred to action. Mansūr b. °Alī, who, according to the coinage, had assumed the august title of Arslan Khan during Ahmad's lifetime, seized the capital Balasaghun and many other towns. This act evidently led to a state of war between them, and they were reconciled only as a result of the mediation of the Khwarazm Shah Ma'mūn. Nevertheless, in defiance of every tradition governing the hierarchy of titles, the title of Khan was for a certain time borne by three Karakhanids: the °Alīds, Ahmad and Mansūr, and the Hasanid, Yūsuf b. Hasan.

Among the external political events of the period during which Ahmad b. °Alī was the head of the dynasty, mention should be made of the war against the 'infidel' Turkish peoples to the north-east and east of the frontiers of the Karakhanid state, and also of relations with the Ghaznavids to the south-west and the south. Ahmad's father had fallen in combat against the infidel Turks in 388/998, and Ahmad himself fought against them on at least two occasions. Following the first clash, he obtained the title of *ghāzī* (fighter for the faith).¹³ At a later date (not before 403/1012–13), the pagan Turks invaded the domains of the Karakhanids and almost reached the capital Balasaghun, but many *ghāzī* volunteers, including some from neighbouring Muslim states, responded to the appeal of Ahmad b. °Alī, who repelled the invaders and gained a brilliant victory, seizing both prisoners and vast spoils. News of this major campaign spread throughout the Muslim world, hence the detailed and exaggerated accounts found in the sources (the dates for this campaign vary).

Relations with the Ghaznavids were not stable, and the brothers Ahmad and Nasr conducted independent foreign policies. Nasr and Mahmūd of Ghazna at first agreed that the Oxus (Amu Darya) should be considered the frontier between their two states. However, Nasr attempted on two occasions to expand his appanage southwards at the expense of Ghaznavid territory. Ahmad, on the other hand, relied on an alliance with Mahmūd of Ghazna whenever relations with his brother worsened.

After the death of Ahmad b. °Alī in 408/1017–18, his brother Mansūr b. °Alī became the nominal head of the dynasty, with the title of Arslan Khan; later (after 415/1024–5), supremacy passed to the Hasanids. It is important to emphasize that there was no

¹³ On a silver coin from Isfijab 398/1007–8, see Kochnev, 1988, pp. 197–9.

precise delimitation of territory between the °Alids and the Hasanids during the first period (regardless of which family representative was head of the dynasty). Some Hasanids held appanages in Transoxania and declared themselves to be vassals of the °Alids. Another significant feature of the time was the further development of the hierarchical structure of power and joint economic ownership, i.e. the sharing of the income from the same appanage between several members of the dynasty. This process can be closely traced in the coinage of the Karakhanids. We may consider by way of example the coins of Akhsikath from 409/1018–19 to 415/1024–5. The head of the dynasty at that time was Mansūr b. °Alī Arslan Khan, who is referred to as suzerain on these coins. The ruler of the town during these years was his brother Muhammad b. °Alī Ilek, who at one time ceded some of his rights and income to one of his nephews, Ahmad b. Mansūr (coinage of the years 409–10/1018–20), at another time to a second nephew, Muhammad b. Nasr (coinage of the years 413–15/1022–5), and at a third time to both together (coinage of the year 412/1021–2). The year 415/1024–5 appears to have been most eventful: the two previous joint owners, Muhammad b. °Alī and his nephew Muhammad b. Nasr, were joined by the latter's son, °Abbās. The head of the dynasty, the °Alid Mansūr b. °Alī Arslan Khan, died in the same year: the Hasanid Toghan Khan II (= Muhammad b. Hasan)¹⁴ then appears on the coinage as suzerain, while the °Alids Muhammad b. Nasr and his son °Abbās figure as joint owners of Akhsikath.

Even before Muhammad b. Hasan Toghan Khan II became the head of the Karakhanid dynasty, another member of the same family, °Alī Tegin (= °Alī b. Hasan), played an extremely active role in the central region of Transoxania. The written sources and the coinage both provide a great deal of information about him. Having been imprisoned by the head of the dynasty, the °Alid Mansūr b. °Alī Arslan Khan, °Alī Tegin escaped from captivity (not later than 411/1020–1) to seize control of Bukhara and several other towns and regions. After the death of Mansūr b. °Alī, he extended his domains still further. Peace did not reign among the Hasanids at that time. °Alī Tegin was allied to his brother Muhammad Toghan Khan II (the head of the dynasty), in opposition to their brother, Yūsuf Kadīr Khan (the long-established ruler of Kashghar), who sought to become the head of the Karakhanids. Yūsuf Kadīr Khan formally achieved his ambition, but central Transoxania remained in the hands of °Alī Tegin until his death in 426/1034–5 and was then passed on to his sons.

Mahmūd of Ghazna also intervened in the internal strife between the Karakhanids. According to the sources, complaints about °Alī Tegin from the region's inhabitants

¹⁴ The written sources identify Toghan Khan with various Karakhanids. Kochnev, 1979, pp. 125–31, convincingly shows on the basis of coin inscriptions that he was, in fact, Muhammad b. Hasan.

provided the pretext for Mahmūd's campaign against Transoxania. Mahmūd was himself displeased, as °Alī Tegin allegedly did not allow his envoys passage to Yūsuf Kadīr Khan in East Turkistan. The real reason uniting Mahmūd and the Karakhanid Kadīr Khan, however, was the threat posed by the strengthening position of °Alī Tegin. The allies met in the year 416/1025 to the south of Samarkand, exchanged gifts of great value and decided to join forces in order to wrest Transoxania from °Alī's grasp. Mahmūd routed his Turkmen allies, and °Alī then abandoned Bukhara and Samarkand: his baggage train was pillaged en route. Although Mahmūd of Ghazna did not consolidate these military successes and returned to his capital, he had achieved a great deal. Henceforth, none of the Karakhanids represented a threat; their forces counterbalanced each other, although the balance of forces in the Karakhanid state continued to be a matter of concern to the Ghaznavids even after Mahmūd's death (see above, Chapter 5).

The two Karakhanid Khanates; the policy of Ibrāhīm b. Nasr Tamghach Khan

The formation of two states (Khanates) was a watershed in the history of the Karakhanids. Barthold notes in passing that Ibrāhīm b. Nasr established an independent state in Transoxania but is extremely circumspect about the date of this event, supposing that Ibrāhīm could still have ruled as a vassal in Bukhara in 433/1041–2.¹⁵ Pritsak was the first to give special, detailed consideration to this question. In essence, his view is that following the death of the nominal head of the dynasty, Yūsuf Kadīr Khan in 424/1032, two of his sons assumed the highest titles: Sulaymān b. Yūsuf in Balasaghun and Kashghar became Arslan Khan, and Muhammad b. Yūsuf in Taraz and Isfijab took the title of Bughra Khan. Two sons of the °Alid Nasr b. °Alī broke away completely from the Hasanids: Muhammad b. Nasr became the ruler of the whole of Ferghana, with his residence at Uzgend and the title of Arslan Khan, whereas Ibrāhīm b. Nasr established himself in the centre of Transoxania. The process of partition culminated in the year 433/1042–3: an Eastern Khanate was formed with its capital at Balasaghun (later, Kashghar) and a Western Khanate with its capital at Uzgend (later Samarkand). The head of each Khanate bore the title Arslan Khan, and the second-ranking associate Khans the title Bughra Khan.¹⁶

This concept, while orderly in appearance, does not tally with some of the written sources or with any of the numismatic evidence. Indeed, the independent state of the Western Karakhanids was formed in an entirely different manner. Muhammad b. Nasr was never

¹⁵ Barthold, 1928, p. 304.

¹⁶ Pritsak, 1950, pp. 227–8; 1953, pp. 37, 44–5.

head of that state, nor did he bear the title Arslan Khan. Moreover, Ferghana did not constitute the core nor Uzgend the capital of the Western Khanate. Muhammad b. Nasr (better known as ^cAyn al-Dawla) was always the holder of an appanage and a vassal of either his close relatives, the ^cAlids, or the more distant Hasanids.¹⁷ Between the years 411/1020–1 and 447/1055–6 coins bearing his name appeared at different periods in the various towns of Ferghana, in Khujand and in Ilaq. For example, when the head of the dynasty of all the Karakhanids was his uncle Mansūr b. ^cAlī Arslan Khan (up to 415/1024–5), Muhammad b. Nasr controlled Uzgend (the main town of Ferghana) and Akhsikath, recognizing his two uncles Mansūr b. ^cAlī and Muhammad b. ^cAlī as suzerains. Even in economic terms he was not in full possession of these towns, as he was obliged to share the revenue with other members of the dynasty. In the year 415/1024–5, when the Hasanids became dynastic heads, Muhammad b. Nasr recognized their suzerainty and retained control of both towns for a certain time. In 431/1040 a celebrated battle took place between the Ghaznavids and the Seljuqs near Dandanqan; the Seljuqs were victorious, and Khurasan passed into their hands (see above, Chapter 5). They then informed the following Karakhanids of their victory: the two Khans of Turkistan (i.e. the brothers Sulaymān b. Yūsuf and Muhammad b. Yūsuf), the sons of ^cAlī Tegin in Transoxania and also the brothers of the ^cAlid family, Böri Tegin (i.e. Ibrāhīm b. Nasr) and ^cAyn al-Dawla (i.e. Muhammad b. Nasr). The Karakhanid state was still formally united; the Hasanid family enjoyed clear political preponderance, although two sons of Nasr b. ^cAlī, Muhammad (their vassal) and Ibrāhīm (who had already engaged in a struggle against them), were well known to the world beyond and were held in high esteem.

When the Karakhanid state split into two independent Khanates, Ferghana fell within the bounds of the Eastern Khanate, i.e. within the sphere of influence of the Hasanids. Both Hasanids – Sulaymān b. Yūsuf Arslan Khan and Muhammad b. Yūsuf Bughra Khan – appear as suzerains on the coinage of a number of towns there (Uzgend, Kuba, Marghinan and Akhsikath) in the year 440/1048–9. The northern part of Ferghana (Akhsikath) belonged to the latter and the south-east (Uzgend, Kuba, etc.) to the former, although these boundaries were not rigid. The Hasanids also had their vassals in Ferghana. Muhammad b. Nasr ^cAyn al-Dawla was one of the vassals of Sulaymān b. Yūsuf Arslan Khan and held some of the towns there in appanage (it is not known whether at certain times he controlled such towns as Kuba and Marghinan). Muhammad b. Nasr remained an appanage-holder, a vassal and nothing more, until the end of his life.

The political career of the other son of Nasr b. ^cAlī, Ibrāhīm b. Nasr (the Böri Tegin of the written sources), was very different. Böri Tegin was for some time a prisoner of the

¹⁷ Davidovich, 1968, pp. 69–74.

Hasanids (the sons of ^cAlī Tegin in Transoxania). Escaping to join his brother in Uzgend, he then moved south to the mountains, where he assembled an army, intending to win back some regions from the Ghaznavids. He first laid waste the areas of Khuttal and Wakhsh (in modern southern Tajikistan) and then took control of the area of Chaghaniyan (in modern southern Uzbekistan). Coins were minted in his name in Chaghaniyan from 430/1038–9. It was from there that Böri Tegin began the battle for Transoxania against the sons of ^cAlī Tegin. He gained several victories over them at the beginning of 431/1039, and by the following year had seized a considerable part of central Transoxania. He marked his military successes by a political act: in 431/1039–40 (coinage of Chaghaniyan) he replaced his modest title Böri Tegin with the title Tamghach Bughra Khan (Kaghan).¹⁸ Ibrāhīm Tamghach Khan immediately made Samarkand his capital. Such were the origins of the independent state, the Western Khanate: all the initiative was taken not by Muhammad b. Nasr but by his brother, Ibrāhīm b. Nasr. The division of the Karakhanid state also established the demarcation line between the two families, the ^cAlids and the Hasanids, ruling respectively the Western and Eastern Khanates. The border between the two Khanates changed repeatedly. The bone of contention was Ferghana, with its wealthy towns, mineral resources and fertile land. Several areas along the course of the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) also changed hands.

Ibrāhīm Tamghach Khan no longer conducted an active foreign policy after forming an independent state. However, he successfully exploited the civil strife among the Eastern Karakhanids, the struggle between the Hasanid brothers, Sulaymān and Muhammad. No later than the year 451/1059–60 Ibrāhīm attached Ferghana to his domain. The conquest of the region was duly marked by the striking of coins in his name at a number of towns (such as Uzgend, Akhsikath and Marghinan).

Muslim historians considered Ibrāhīm Tamghach Khan to be a great and devout sovereign. His domestic policy does indeed reveal him to have been a quite exceptional ruler. Barthold discovered in the written sources some amusing stories about his life and deeds,¹⁹ each of which has a rational core. These stories, together with the indirect evidence provided by the coinage of the time, show that Ibrāhīm did indeed concern himself with internal order in the country, the security of the population, respect for property, trade and currency circulation. According to one tale, some robbers once wrote on the gate of the citadel of Samarkand, ‘We are like an onion, the more we are cut the bigger we grow.’ The Khan ordered to be written underneath their words, ‘I stand here like a gardener; however

¹⁸ Davidovich, 1970, pp. 88–94.

¹⁹ Barthold, 1928, pp. 311–13.

much you grow I will uproot you.’²⁰ It is clear from another story that he did indeed instil terror among thieves and robbers and that the ordinary people in his dominions felt safe. It may be concluded from indirect evidence that state control of market prices existed during Ibrāhīm’s reign. On one occasion, the butchers complained to him that the statutory price of meat was too low and asked him to raise it, promising to contribute 1,000 dinars to the treasury. The Khan agreed but forbade the people to buy any meat. The butchers were then obliged to pay more money into the treasury in order to have the old, low price of meat restored.

Normal trading always depended on the organization of currency circulation. Ibrāhīm took responsibility for this aspect of economic life. During his rule, a single system of coinage with different denominations circulated throughout the Western Karakhanid Khanate, creating good, stable market conditions. The dirhams struck with the name and title of Ibrāhīm Tamghach Khan were known as *mu’ayyadī*. They were made of low-grade silver, but the addition of copper was not a fraud carried out in secret. The population knew the official standard of purity of the *mu’ayyadī* dirhams; their value, which tallied with that standard, fluctuated slightly and was fixed in terms of pure gold. Greater purchasing power was attached to the Bukhār Khudāt dirhams, which were struck on the model of the Sasanian coinage (see below, Chapter 20). By the beginning of the ninth century these dirhams were divided into three groups, each with its own name, on the basis of the quantity of silver they contained: the highest-grade coins (with over 70 per cent silver) were known as *musayyabī*, the lower-grade (over 40 per cent silver) as *muhammadī* and the copper coins with no silver content as *ghitrīfī*. *Muhammadī* and *ghitrīfī* dirhams were still in circulation under the Karakhanids. The rate for the copper *ghitrīfī* was equal to or higher than that for pure silver, but the rate for the *muhammadī* was higher than that for the *ghitrīfī*. This phenomenon developed in the ninth and tenth centuries and continued under the Karakhanids, which clearly shows that they pursued the same financial and fiscal policies as had been applied by the Arab governors and Samanids in the previous period. In this context, it is important to note that the three types of dirham provided a satisfactory basis for the different levels of internal trade under Ibrāhīm Tamghach Khan (see below, Chapter 20).

An important component of Ibrāhīm’s financial and fiscal policy was the currency reform that he introduced after conquering Ferghana, previously a part of the Eastern Karakhanid Khanate. Copper–lead dirhams were issued in the towns of Ferghana and in several other towns of the Eastern Khanate. These were coins of irregular shape and differing weight, with serrated edges. Ibrāhīm banned their circulation in Ferghana and

²⁰ Ibid., p. 312.

Mu'ayyadī dirhams began to be issued in various towns of the region. This led to very different consequences in the two Khanates. Ferghana was incorporated into the currency area of the Western Khanate, whereas the bulk of the banned copper–lead dirhams flowed into the Eastern Khanate (mostly to the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan and southern Kazakhstan). However, the level of trade there did not require such large quantities of copper–lead dirhams and the resulting inflation led to a severe currency crisis. People no longer wanted the devalued coins and they ended up in deposits.

Ibrāhīm waged a successful struggle against the appanage system, which had been the cause of endless fratricidal strife, and the reassignment of towns and regions. He did not set up a centralized state, but managed to reduce considerably the number of appanages and the rights of appanage-holders. This was a great political triumph and one of the most important factors contributing to the stability of the Western Karakhanid Khanate under Ibrāhīm Tamghach Khan.

The economic successes were of even greater importance, however. We may assume that substantial sums flowed into the coffers of the central government. This was one of the factors underpinning the considerable building activity that took place. Both Ibrāhīm and his son Nasr Shams al-Mulk engaged in major building projects. Ibrāhīm built a hospital in Samarkand where he not only cared for the sick but also gave shelter to the poor. He provided the hospital with funds for the maintenance of the doctors and auxiliary staff, for the patients' meals, for light, for firewood for the kitchen and for the repair of the premises. In Samarkand he also built a *madrassa* (Islamic school), providing the wages of the teachers, grants for the students, books for the library, the lighting of the premises, etc.²¹ For the benefit of the caravan trade, his son built *ribāts* (caravanserais) in the steppes between Bukhara and Samarkand (Ribāt-i Malik, 'the *ribāt* of the king') and on the road from Samarkand to Khujand. Nasr Shams al-Mulk also restored the mosque and minaret in Bukhara and, close to the town, built a beautiful palace at a place that was thereafter known as Shamsabad. Muhammad b. Nasr (Ibrāhīm's brother) and his son, ^cAbbās, built a mausoleum in Ferghana (now known as the Shāh Fādila mausoleum), the interior of which is decorated with elaborate alabaster carving and inscriptions recording the names of both men.²² At this period the Karakhanids still maintained their nomadic traditions, but the extent and diversity of the civil and religious buildings constructed testify to the fact that the culture and traditions of the settled population of Transoxania had been more extensively and profoundly assimilated.

²¹ Khadr, 1967. One of the *waqfs* is dated Rajab 458/May–June 1066.

²² Nastich and Kochnev, 1988, pp. 68–77.

Karakhanids, Seljuqs and Kara Khitay

It was clear even in the days of Ibrāhīm Tamghach Khan and his son, Nasr Shams al-Mulk, that the Seljuqs had designs on Transoxania, but they achieved no decisive successes. On the contrary, Nasr took possession of the Seljuq towns in northern Khurasan, albeit for just a short time. But during the reign of Ibrāhīm's grandson Ahmad b. Khidr (d. 1095), the Seljuqs took Samarkand with the support of the town's religious classes (friction had long existed between them and the Karakhanids), together with other domains belonging to the Western Khanate. Even the Karakhanids of Kashghar declared their submission. For half a century the Karakhanids became vassals of the Seljuqs. The vassal status of the Eastern Karakhanids was of short duration. Moreover, at the beginning of the twelfth century they invaded Transoxania, advancing into the domains of the Seljuqs themselves; for a short time they even held the Seljuq town of Termez on the Oxus. The Western Karakhanids were more dependent on the Seljuqs, although nothing is known of the financial aspect of their dependence. (Did they pay tribute?) Their political dependence was considerable, however: the Seljuqs placed on the Karakhanid throne in Samarkand whichever members of the dynasty they required. The vassal status of the Western Karakhanids is also reflected in the coinage, some of which bears the names of Seljuq sultans.

The following internal events are also worthy of note. The Seljuqs soon restored to the Karakhanid Ahmad b. Khidr the throne that they had wrested from him. The long-standing strife between the Karakhanid rulers and the *‘ulamā’* (scholars learned in the Islamic legal and theological sciences) grew more intense during Ahmad's reign, however, and the clergy gained the upper hand in the struggle. They accused Ahmad of heresy and in 1095 secured his execution. Barthold correctly emphasized that 'this event must be regarded as the greatest of the successes gained by the priesthood in alliance with the military classes over the government and the mass of citizens'.²³

In 1102 the Seljuqs placed Muhammad Arslan Khan, the great-grandson of Ibrāhīm Tamghach Khan, on the throne of Samarkand and helped him to overcome another claimant. The situation in Transoxania remained peaceful and stable (until 1130) during Muhammad's reign, and he himself became renowned for his building activities. The scale of civic construction was considerable. Muhammad built a *ribāt*, restored the walls of the Bukhara citadel and constructed a new outer wall surrounding the entire town; he also raised three new palaces, one in the citadel and two in the town. Having managed to maintain smooth relations with the *‘ulamā’*, he erected many religious buildings. Thus on the outskirts of Bukhara (on the site of the palace at Shamsabad, which had by that time been destroyed),

²³ Barthold, 1928, p. 318.

he laid out an area for ceremonial acts of worship (*namāzgāh*); within the town he built a magnificent new mosque, the minaret of which still stands, and also repaired an old one.

At the end of his life, Muhammad was struck down by paralysis. Conflicts with the religious classes broke out once more and the Seljuqs again interfered in the affairs of the Karakhanids. The renowned Seljuq Sultan Sanjar took Samarkand in 1130 and began to dispose of the throne in a despotic fashion, replacing one Karakhanid with another.

It was at that time that the Kara Khitay (referred to as such by the Muslim sources) made their appearance on the political scene. The Khitay had established an enormous empire as early as the end of the tenth century, the residence of the dynasty being in northern China. They were driven out by the nomadic Jürchen, and surviving elements made their way westwards. The Khitay first took over the domains of the Eastern Karakhanids and in 1137 defeated the Western Karakhanids near Khujand. They did not move into Transoxania in the same year, however. The chief of the Kara Khitay bore the title of Gür Khan and his capital was located not far from Balasaghun.

In 1141 the Qatwan steppe to the north of Samarkand was the scene of a decisive battle between the Kara Khitay and the Seljuqs in which the latter were utterly defeated. Sultan Sanjar and the ruler of the Karakhanids both fled to Khurasan and the Kara Khitay took control of Transoxania. They did not, however, destroy the dynasty of the Karakhanids. We do not find the names of Kara Khitay Gür Khans on Karakhanid coins, which indicates that they were not interested in what was for the Muslims an important mark of political supremacy. The financial aspect of the conquest found expression in the tribute that the Kara Khitay exacted from the Karakhanids. The Kara Khitay did not remain in Transoxania, however, and did not themselves collect the tribute; that task was performed on their behalf by Karakhanid officials.

The dominion of the Kara Khitay did not bring peace and tranquillity to Transoxania. Various nomadic Turkic tribes and federations living within its bounds (Karluk, Turkmens, etc.) were highly active at the time. The Karluk killed Ibrāhīm III Tamghach Khan (536–51/1141–56), head of the Western Karakhanids, and left his body on the steppe. The next head of the Western Karakhanids took vengeance on the Karluk, killing their leader. The Kara Khitay Gür Khan demanded that all the Karluk move to Kashghar and take up agriculture; he clearly hoped to assist the vassal Karakhanids in this way and establish order in Transoxania. The result was quite the opposite, however. A new war against the Karluk ended with the victory of °Alī b. Hasan, but the victory did not prove decisive. Mas°ūd b. Hasan (the brother of °Alī b. Hasan) mounted the throne after a long and exhausting struggle of perhaps two years' duration against the nomadic pagan Türks, a struggle that was to have ruinous consequences for Transoxania. Mas°ud won a decisive victory in 556/1160–1

on the steppe near the famous Ribāt-i Malik, which has survived to this day, where travellers and caravans carrying merchandise stopped on the 'shah's road' between Bukhara and Samarkand. It was shortly after Mas'ūd's accession to the throne that Muhammad al-Kātib al-Samarqandī presented him with his *Sindbād-nāma* [Book of Sindbād]: in the introduction and the final part of this work, Samarqandī extravagantly praises the ruler for his victory in the fierce struggle against the nomads.

Rukn al-Dunya wa 'l-Dīn Kīlich Mas'ūd Tamghach Khan was a well-known figure mentioned in many of the written sources. Al-Samarqandī dedicated two celebrated works to him, the above-mentioned *Sindbād-nāma* and the later *A'c rād al-siyāsa*, and the poet Sūzanī Samarqandī a number of *qasīdas* (odes). In 560/1164–5 Mas'ūd restored the walls of Bukhara, which had been destroyed. He also conducted a successful campaign against the Karluk to the south (in Nakhshab, Kish, Chaghaniyan and Termez) and established order there. He suppressed a rising by one of his commanders and was successful in his operations against the Oghuz, who had plundered Khurasan. The date at which his rule came to an end (566/1170–1)²⁴ and the names of his successors in Samarkand have been determined from coins.

Two developments affected the state of the Western Khanate in the second half of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. First, lasting control of the throne of Samarkand passed to the Ferghana branch of the Karakhanids. The above-mentioned brothers, 'Alī and Mas'ūd, were members of this family, as were all subsequent rulers until the end of the dynasty. The second change was that the region of Ferghana itself became formally as well as de facto independent. The rulers of Ferghana, who were members of the same family, struck coins in their own name in Uzgend, the chief town of the region, bearing no reference to the Karakhanids of Samarkand as their suzerains.

The idea of the unity of the Western Khanate was expressed through the prestige of the titles, those of the rulers of Samarkand being slightly more august than those of the rulers of Ferghana. Thus, at the time when Samarkand was ruled by Mas'ūd b. Hasan and his son Muhammad (under their title of Tamghach Khan), Ferghana was held by their close relatives, the brothers Mahmūd b. Husayn and Ibrāhīm b. Husayn. Ibrāhīm issued coins annually from 559/1163–4 to 574/1178–9 in his own name under the title Arslan Khan. At that time, the title Arslan Khan (Kaghan) had a somewhat lower status than the title Tamghach Khan in the Western Khanate. By 574/1178–9 Ibrāhīm b. Husayn was ruling in Samarkand and the title *ulugh sultān al-salātīn* (great sultan of sultans) appeared on

²⁴ Two manuscripts of Jamāl Qarshī erroneously give the year A.H. 560. The description of the Karakhanids contained in these manuscripts also contains many other errors, which have been corrected with information drawn from the legends on coins (see Davidovich, 1977, pp. 179–83).

his coinage. This title, together with the throne, was passed on to his son °Uthmān at the beginning of the thirteenth century. His other son, Kadīr b. Ibrāhīm, had his residence in Uzgend and his title was lower in status than that of his father and brother. The last Karakhanid in Ferghana was another member of the Ferghana family, Mahmūd b. Ahmad.

The Karakhanids and the Khwarazm Shah Muhammad b. Tekish

°Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad b. Tekish (1200–20), the penultimate member of the Anushteginids (the third dynasty of Khwarazm Shahs), consolidated and extended his father's military successes in the south. His main task was then to defeat the Kara Khitay. The Anushteginids were vassals of the Kara Khitay (like the Karakhanids) and paid tribute to them. Muhammad initially wished to have the Karakhanids as his allies in the fight against the common enemy, the 'infidel' Kara Khitay. A threat from a different quarter also awaited the Kara Khitay. To the east there appeared the nomadic Mongol tribe of the Naiman,²⁵ led by the warlike Küchlüg. The generalized conflict that brought about the downfall of both the Karakhanids and the Kara Khitay was preceded by the following events and upheavals.

Bukhara was in practice controlled by the *sadrs* (leaders of the Muslim religious classes) of the Burhān family. They were extremely rich and used their power to oppress the people. In 1207 a certain Sanjar, the son of a seller of shields, led a revolt of the citizenry against the *sadrs* and seized control of the town. This provided the pretext for a campaign against Bukhara; °Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad b. Tekish took the town and quelled the revolt, but also destroyed the power of the *sadrs*. He did not have Sanjar executed but instead sent him to Khwarazm. Muhammad ordered the citadel and the walls of Bukhara to be rebuilt and he himself returned to his domains. Subsequent relations with the Karakhanids²⁶ were to a considerable extent influenced by the cunning policy of °Uthmān, who manoeuvred between the Kara Khitay and Muhammad b. Tekish. Initially, he took the side of the latter, and relations between them were those of allies: °Uthmān even held a higher title (*ulugh sultān al-salātīn*) than did Muhammad (*sultān*). However, °Uthmān soon sided with the Kara Khitay and sought the hand in marriage of the Gür Khan's daughter. On being refused, he reverted to his alliance with Muhammad, but this time as the latter's vassal. In 606/1209–10 coins were struck to mark the new relationship between the two

²⁵ Küchlüg the Naiman fled into the lands of the Kara Khitay after the defeat inflicted on him in 1208 by Chinggis Khan.

²⁶ The accounts provided by the written sources about events at this time are contradictory: the dates vary and are unreliable. The legends on coins have provided the basis for major amendments and a reconstruction of the major changes (see Davidovich, 1957, pp. 113–14; 1994).

rulers; the names of both appear on the coins, that of Muhammad as suzerain and that of °Uthmān as his vassal. °Uthmān was obliged to curb his ambitions: both rulers are given the same title, *sultān*, on these coins. The Kara Khitay Gür Khan, responding to °Uthmān's 'treason', seized control of Samarkand but spared the town and prevented it from being pillaged. However, he was soon compelled to abandon Samarkand and return to his main possessions, where the Naiman Küchlüg had achieved great successes, even seizing the Gür Khan's treasury, which was stored in Uzgend.

The Gür Khan's reversals inspired °Uthmān to acknowledge °Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad b. Tekish yet again as his suzerain, and this acknowledgement was duly marked in 607/1210–11 by new coins in both their names that were struck in Samarkand. Many major events occurred in the course of that year. The Gür Khan won a victory against Küchlüg, but the other half of his army, under his commander Tayanku, was defeated by Muhammad b. Tekish, and Tayanku was taken prisoner. °Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad's victory was the cause of great rejoicing among the Muslims: henceforth, the ruler was referred to in documents and on the coinage as 'The Second Iskandar' (i.e. the second Alexander) and the equal of Sultan Sanjar.

°Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad dispatched envoys to all the leading Karakhanids demanding their submission. °Uthmān had already acknowledged Muhammad as his suzerain and the others now followed suit. Thus Kadīr b. Ibrāhīm, ruler of Ferghana and second ruler in status among the Karakhanids, acknowledged his vassal status in the same way as his brother °Uthmān, that is to say, coins bearing Muhammad's name as well as his own were struck in Uzgend. Kadīr curbed his ambitions to an even greater extent than °Uthmān; his title on the coins is lower than that of Muhammad. The minor ruler who held Utrar was dilatory in declaring his submission and was therefore stripped of his domains and sent to Nasa. Muhammad then incorporated Utrar into his dominions and struck coins in his own name in the town in 607/1210–11. This was the first indication of a change in Muhammad's policy towards the Karakhanids.

Shortly afterwards, °Uthmān married the daughter of °Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad b. Tekish and went to live in Khwarazm for a considerable period. He then returned to Samarkand in the company of a Khwarazmian plenipotentiary. Clearly, Muhammad did not trust °Uthmān – and rightly so, for the latter was not content with his vassal status or the fact that he had to submit to the plenipotentiary. The population of Samarkand was also unhappy with the behaviour of the Khwarazmians. °Uthmān therefore once more took sides with the Kara Khitay, and the inhabitants of Samarkand massacred all the Khwarazmians there in the most barbaric fashion. In 1212 Muhammad b. Tekish captured Samarkand and on this occasion showed no mercy. In 609/1212 he ordered the execution of the Karakhanid °Uthmān

and again sent envoys to the Karakhanids of Ferghana demanding their submission. The last ruler of Ferghana, Mahmūd b. Ahmad, postponed the end of the dynasty by accepting vassal status and confirming it by the issue of coins in two names in 609/1212–13. This was no more than a short-term compromise, however. On the coins of Uzgend struck in 610/1213–14 we find only the name of Muhammad b. Tekish. Starting in the same year, coins were also regularly struck in his name in Samarkand, the capital of the new Anushteginid empire, and then in other towns formerly held by the Karakhanids.

In conclusion, we may say that ʿAlā al-Dīn Muhammad b. Tekish did not initially intend to destroy the Karakhanid dynasty but merely sought allies in his struggle with the Kara Khitay. He considered it normal that the title of the Karakhanid ʿUthmān should be higher than his own and laid no claim to any of the insignia of power in the Karakhanid state. Subsequently, however, the Karakhanids were obliged to acknowledge themselves as vassals of Muhammad b. Tekish: both ʿUthmān in Samarkand and Kadir in Uzgend confirmed their vassal status by striking coins in two names and adopting titles with an inferior status. In the third and final act, the Karakhanids gradually surrendered their domains – and, in many cases, their lives – to Muhammad b. Tekish. The eastern branch thus disappeared as a result of the struggle between the Kara Khitay, the Naiman Küchlüg and their internal enemies in Kashghar.

*Iqtāʿ*s and the structure of the state

Historians have for long drawn a contrast between the structures of the Karakhanid and Samanid states and the significance of the institution of the *iqtāʿ* (assignment of revenue from an estate) in those states. They considered that the Samanid state was centralized and that *iqtāʿ*s had not developed there, whereas *iqtāʿ*s and the system of appanages were dominant under the Karakhanids.

It is known that the Samanids allocated half their budget for the wages of their troops and officials, a fact that attracted the scholars' attention when they came to evaluate the significance of the *iqtāʿ*; there is also direct evidence indicating that the Samanids did not grant *iqtāʿ*s. The existence on the borders of the state of hereditary vassal domains that were virtually independent did not contradict this assessment, since such domains could not be classed as *iqtāʿ*. However, the situation in the main part of the Samanid state remained outside the consideration of the historians. Narshakhī, writing in his *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* [History of Bukhara] (mid-tenth century), does not employ the term *iqtāʿ*, although an analysis of the information provided about the relationship between the Samanid Nasr I (the head of the dynasty) and his brother Ismāʿīl establishes beyond any doubt that

Bukhara was held by the latter as an *iqṭā*^c, that is to say, as a conditional reward for services rendered in the capacity of governor with the right to levy for his own benefit a part of the income of Bukhara and, later, the entire income from the town.²⁷ It is also clear from the legends on Samanid coins that Bukhara, Akhsikath, Kuba, Nasrabad and other towns and regions were held as *iqṭā*^cs for various periods of time by members of the dynasty and by senior military and civilian officials as rewards for their services. These grants were neither lifelong nor hereditary, although attempts were made to move in that direction and were resisted by the central government.²⁸ Given the presence of such domains and appanages within the main body of the Samanid state, we cannot consider it centralized; the appanage system was already developed in the tenth century, which means that it was not simply introduced by the Karakhanids. The institution of *iqṭā*^c was also quite well developed under the Samanids, but the grants were always large ones, given in return for service as the governor of a town or region, and so on. Middle- and lower-ranking members of the military and official class and simple soldiers received fixed payments in cash from the treasury. Such were the characteristics of the state structure and the institution of the *iqṭā*^c under the Samanids.

The conclusion that the *iqṭā*^c was dominant under the Karakhanids did not rest on facts but solely on an analogy with the Seljuq state. But an analogy does not in itself constitute proof, and it automatically overlooks the varying ways in which the same institutions develop in different states. Variations certainly did occur; convincing proof is furnished by a comparison between the *iqṭā*^c in the Seljuq and Ghaznavid states. Under the Seljuqs there were large and small *iqṭā*^cs that were granted to members of the dynasty, to various members of the military and official class and to ordinary soldiers. The Ghaznavid Sebüktegin (977–97) (see above, Chapter 5) seized land allotments from his forces and reformed the system of rewards for service: ‘the central power in Ghazna was now strong enough to resume the fiefs and substitute a system of cash payments. In general, his successors for at least the next two or three generations maintained the system of paying the troops in cash.’²⁹ The Ghaznavids also avoided distributing large *iqṭā*^cs. Nizām al-Mulk provides an interesting account concerning the governor of Khwarazm, Altuntash, whose salary (paid from the treasury of Mahmūd of Ghazna) represented twice as much as the entire revenue from Khwarazm. Altuntash wished to keep the taxes collected there in settlement of half his salary, but the *wazīr* (vizier) called him to order: the taxes belonged to the ruler and not to his officials; they should therefore be handed over to the treasury in return for

²⁷ Davidovich, 1954, pp. 71–7.

²⁸ Davidovich, 1954, pp. 77–117. Later publications describe further examples of conditional rewards for services consistent with the existence of *iqṭā*^cs.

²⁹ Bosworth, 1973, p. 125.

a receipt, and payment should then be requested for services rendered.³⁰ Contemporaries were clearly aware of the danger that the system of the *iqṭāʿ* posed for the integrity of the state and its economy. This awareness and the indisputable existence of the two variants mentioned above (Seljuq and Ghaznavid) prove that the significance of the *iqṭāʿ* in the life of society and the state was determined not only by the objective features of development but also by a whole set of specific causes particular to each state (the state of the economy and the treasury, the political situation and financial policy, and so on).

Consequently, the question of the *iqṭāʿ* under the Karakhanids requires specific historical research based on local sources; the inscriptions on coins are the one source of this type available at present. During the first period, up to the division of the Karakhanid state into two Khanates, the appanage system exhibited the following features.³¹ The head of the dynasty had his own appanage, and major appanage-holders recognized the head of the dynasty as their suzerain (the political dimension); in most cases, the latter also appeared on their coins. The head of the dynasty enjoyed no other rights within their appanages. But even these principal and major appanages had no fixed and stable borders; nor were they hereditary. The head of the dynasty and the major appanage-holders transmitted some of their rights to their vassals and sub-vassals; this gave rise to a complex, multi-tiered system of joint economic ownership based on vassalage (the economic dimension), in which the joint owners (usually two or three but sometimes four) divided up in specific proportions the entire revenue from the town (or region) or items of such revenue. The lower level of the hierarchy was occupied, and joint economic ownership held, not only by members of the dynasty but also by longstanding local owners from the period before the Karakhanids and by members of the military and official class who had entered their service. A trend towards the consolidation of inheritances was none the less observable in certain regions and towns, although a similar trend also developed under the Samanids. In other words, the appanage system during the first period of Karakhanid rule differed from that under the Samanids not so much in quality as in quantity, i.e. by its all-inclusiveness. This was the result of a development process that was accelerated by the nomadic Karakhanids. The financial nature of appanages and joint ownership under the Karakhanids during this first period corresponds essentially to the institution that received the designation *iqṭāʿ*.

Several changes occurred in the structure of the state during the second period, after the division into two separate Khanates. Chief among these were a reduction in the number

³⁰ Nizām al-Mulk, 1978, pp. 230–1.

³¹ Barthold somewhat simplifies the characteristics of the appanage system under the Karakhanids, supposing that the state ‘was divided into a number of appanages, the large ones being in turn subdivided into many small ones’ (Barthold, 1928, p. 268).

of appanages and the political rights of the appanage-holders, and attempts to consolidate the central authority, to expand its powers and to establish a monopoly over the coinage. Unfortunately, the economic dimension of the changes during this second period cannot be deduced from the numismatic evidence.

The third stage, however – that starting particularly from the second half of the twelfth century – witnessed the consolidation of the appanage system and a considerable increase in the rights of holders. Appanages on the borders of the Western Khanate became hereditary and independent even in political terms. The Karakhanids who held Ferghana and other lesser appanages such as Marghinan, Kasan, Binakat and Utrar issued on a regular or, in the case of the minor appanages, an occasional basis, coins that make no reference to their suzerains. The multi-tiered system of a hierarchy of dependants and joint economic ownership, so typical of the first period, had ceased to exist.

At this third period, there were also domains that did not belong to members of the dynasty. Thus Bukhara was held on a hereditary basis by members of a clerical line, the Āl-i Burhān, upon whom was conferred the title of *sadr-i jahān* (Pillar of the World) and the office of *raʿīs* (headman) of Bukhara. They themselves collected the taxes, and the Kara Khitay sent a special envoy to receive the town's tribute. The local rulers did not issue coins in their own names (we know only of Karakhanid coins in Bukhara during this time), but were otherwise independent. It is also impossible to refer to hereditary domains of this type as *iqṭāʿ*s.

Even this scant evidence is sufficient to show that we would be committing errors of methodology and of fact if we evaluated the institution of the *iqṭāʿ* under the Karakhanids on the basis of Seljuq evidence. The inscriptions on the coins cannot tell us whether, under the Karakhanids, small grants were made to ordinary soldiers and to minor and middle-ranking members of the army and the civilian bureaucracy; consequently, there are simply no data available for the purposes of comparison with the Seljuq system. On the other hand, we may confidently conclude that there are no similarities between the Ghaznavid and Karakhanid systems during the first period. We can also deduce from inscriptions on the coins that the system of rewards and ownership had developed and acquired features 'in the upper echelons of power' that clearly demonstrate the inappropriateness of applying the term *iqṭāʿ* to it. The system of appanages in the Karakhanid state also underwent considerable change; the process was not identical in the Western and Eastern Khanates, however, being less developed in the latter.

In terms of the form of ownership, any holding or joint holding given in reward for services was state property (ground-rent/-tax, urban taxes, etc.). It is essential to note that members of the dynasty who received an income from state property on this basis

were fully aware of their precarious position. They therefore attempted to purchase land and all kinds of income-generating premises as *milk* (private property). The purchase of *milk* was registered in the offices of the *qādī* (judge) through the issue of a *wathīqa* (legal deed) and was a secure form of property protected by the law. In 1128 Qubawī completed the translation from Arabic into Persian of Narshakhī's *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, adding some details of life in his own day, including examples of such private property acquired by the Karakhanids. The owner of *milk* enjoyed full rights to dispose of his property as he wished: by sale, donation, bequest to his heirs or assignment to a *waqf* (endowment for pious purposes). The Karakhanids were great builders, and all buildings were maintained by means of such endowments, so that the volume of *waqf* property expanded considerably during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Karakhanids also endowed *waqfs* for the benefit of their descendants, the most effective means of preserving property amid all the political upheavals of the time.

Towns and trade

The eleventh and twelfth centuries were a period during which towns continued to grow and crafts and trade continued to expand. Three aspects of the development of urban life at the time are worthy of attention. The physical expansion of many towns, limited by the walls of their *rabads* (suburbs), had come to a halt in the tenth century. In these towns the density of the urban fabric increased under the Karakhanids, and a growing number of premises were concerned with trade and craftwork, especially on the outskirts. The areas of other towns did expand in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially those towns on the borders of the state, on the frontier with the nomadic world.

Lastly, the relative importance of the older towns was altered in certain sub-regions. Thus of the many towns, large and small, in Ferghana in the tenth century under the Samanids, Akhsikath (then the region's capital) was considered the most important, followed by Kuba and Ush; Uzgend was two-thirds the size of Ush. Under the Karakhanids, Uzgend became the principal town and capital of both the region and the appanage; Marghinan and Kasan also gained in importance. In the regions of Chach and Ilaq, the valleys of the rivers Chirchik and Angren, an urban explosion took place under the Samanids; there was no other region of Transoxania where so many towns were to be found in such a small area. The main towns in Chach and Ilaq were respectively Binkath and Tunkath. Under the Karakhanids, they were gradually overshadowed by Binakat and Naukat, but did not lose their importance: tenth-to twelfth-century ceramics have been found at all the excavated archaeological sites. On the middle course of the Syr Darya, new towns sprang up during

the Karakhanid period, and old ones expanded. In the latter category we find Isfijab, the possession of a local Turkish dynasty that had managed to hold on to its position under the Karakhanids, and also Barab-Utrar, which, in the twelfth century, was an independent appanage held by the Karakhanids of Ferghana.

Every town had its bazaars and caravanserai. The craftsmen's booths were not to be found only in the bazaars, however, but also built against the walls of the caravanserai or simply set up in the street. The *ribāts* along the roads between towns and the caravanserais inside the towns built under the Karakhanids testify to the lively caravan trade in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Baths for men and women were an essential amenity of urban life. Bath houses and caravanserais represented good sources of income, and people were therefore ready and willing to build them. They were often originally *milk* but were frequently transferred to *waqf* ownership. Qubawi tells of two magnificent 'royal' bath-houses that were built in Bukhara by Ahmad, head of the Karakhanid dynasty and grandson of the renowned Ibrāhīm Tamghach Khan. References to many private and *waqf* bath-houses may be found in the list of properties transferred to *waqf* ownership in two *waqf-nāmas* belonging to Ibrāhīm in which he describes the boundaries of the hospital and *madrassa* that he built in Samarkand. Booths belonging to craftsmen and traders also attached themselves to the walls of these buildings.

To the best of our knowledge, strenuous efforts were made to keep the towns clean. It was forbidden to throw rubbish into the streets and alleyways, which were considered to be public property. Deep wells for rubbish and sewage, covered by earthenware or wooden lids, were provided in private courtyards as well as in public places, houses and palaces, according to the archaeological evidence. Archaeologists have discovered ceramic water pipes and segments of paved streets and courtyards dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Blown window glass was also in use at the time.

Materials produced in large quantities such as ceramics and glass also provide a fair idea of the development of urban crafts. The ceramic industry under the Karakhanids developed its own style, and there were changes in techniques and in the range of colours used to decorate ceramics. Crockery completely covered with a blue glaze enjoyed great popularity. Equally in demand were bowls and cups with an underglaze decoration in the form of intricate geometric and wickerwork patterns in an elegant combination of light-brown and dark-brown tones. Kufic inscriptions were still employed, but they were transformed into an illegible form of decoration imitating Kufic script. Unglazed ceramics resembling metalware in their form and decoration were in great vogue. Such jugs and flasks in grey clay are entirely covered by geometric, stylized vegetal patterns in relief, arranged in several horizontal bands around the vessels. Wild animals are also depicted on this type of ware.

Attractive pottery became cheaper and more easily affordable for the bulk of the urban population as a result of certain technical innovations and the standardization of forms. It is an important sign of the times that this urban ware reached the most remote mountain areas. Yet the influence of the ceramic traditions of these mountain areas on urban ware is of no lesser interest. Unglazed ware thrown on the potter's wheel and embellished with simple terracotta designs made its appearance in the towns, copying the forms and decoration of the unthrown mountain ware. This indicates that the population of the towns was swelled in the eleventh and twelfth centuries not only by lowland peasants and by settled Turkish peoples but also by mountain people whose tastes were at once reflected by urban craftsmen.

The glassware, produced in a variety of forms and sizes for a variety of purposes, also merits attention. Flasks for toiletries and pharmaceuticals, bowls, stemless drinking cups and long-stemmed goblets are among the common finds of archaeologists; blown from transparent, coloured glass, they also ceased to be luxury items. Although engraved and silver-encrusted bronze jugs were very expensive, simpler, almost unadorned versions have also been found.

In the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, baked brick came to be used more widely, especially in major construction projects such as palaces, mosques, *madrasas*, mausoleums and bridges. Patterned brick facework and engraved terracotta were extensively employed for the decoration of important buildings. Epigraphic masterpieces in engraved terracotta – Kufic and Naskhi inscriptions in high relief framed by elegant plant and geometric ornamentation – have survived to the present day. Extant Karakhanid monuments include four mausoleums in Ferghana, the mosque of Magok-i Attari and the Kalan minaret (of the Friday mosque) in Bukhara as well as the above-mentioned Ribāt-i Malik in the steppes between Bukhara and Samarkand.