

## Analysis of Written Sources on the Socio-Economic and Cultural Life of Khorezm During the Period of Amir Temur and the Timurids

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**Abstract:** In this article, the researcher studied written sources about the socio-economic and cultural life of Khorezm during the reign of Amir Temur and the Timurids, and analyzed the specific aspects of many written sources.

**Keywords:** Central Asia, Middle Ages, Amir Temur, Golden Horde, Khorezm, Movarunnahr, Joji Ulus, Nizamuddin Shami, "Zafarnama", Kungirat Sufi, Husayn Sufi, Yusuf Sufi, Kat, Chigatay Ulus, Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, Ibn Arabshah, Khandamir, Abdurazzoq Samarkandi, political situation, culture, economy.



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In the late 14th and 15th centuries, the geography of information about the era of Amir Temur and the Timurids in Central Asia, the Near and Middle East, and Europe was widespread. These works serve as a primary source for today's readers and researchers. These written sources and literature contain, along with positive opinions about Amir Temur, the figure of the most complex period of medieval history, there are also negative views to a certain extent. In particular, there are sources that evaluate Sahibkiran's campaigns only as invasions, and in the process of studying them, this information should be used with caution. Some researchers of later periods, who relied on these sources and used them more, expressed their attitude towards the person and work of Amir Temur in a spirit of open prejudice [6, - p.328].

Although in medieval literature, Amir Temur's extensive reformist activities, great statesmanship and politics, military qualities, especially his work to bring Central Asia out of the crisis that had fallen into disarray during the Mongol era, were recognized and covered in detail in many sources. This group of literature also includes sources related to the Timurid era.

It should be noted that there is a lot of information about Amir Temur and the Timurid era in historical literature in European and Arab-Persian languages, but not all of them analyzed events related to Amir Temur and the region under study. Therefore, we will focus only on the main sources related to the history of Khorezm during the Amir and Timurid eras, historical works in which this issue was covered to one degree or another.

From the 70s of the 14th century to the end of the 15th century, Khorezm was part of the centralized state of Amir Temur and the Timurids. Of course, this positive work was carried out by Amir Temur in the northwestern region of the Khorezm oasis, which was part of the Golden Horde, after almost 15 years of hard struggle (1372–1388) with the viceroys of the Joji Ulus and

representatives of the local dynasty - the Kungirat Sufis. Naturally, during Amir Temur's forced military campaigns (1372, 1373, 1377–1378, 1379 and 1388), there were casualties on the battlefield and material destruction during the occupation. Because the conquest of fortresses and cities by military means is impossible without this, and this has been the case in all eras. An impartial person will undoubtedly admit that this is a law, but it is also possible that the issue will be assessed one-sidedly from the point of view of bias. Since it is a law that destruction occurs during wars, now it is all about whether the territory or city was occupied and incorporated into a single kingdom, whether it was abandoned in ruins or restored and developed, the activities of the conquerors and rulers are evaluated from this perspective, and accordingly we describe them as either destructive or constructive rulers. The existence of cases where the authors of some sources allowed vague and one-sided opinions in describing the internal political situation in the conditions of that period, that is, the Middle Ages, is also explained by the result of a one-sided assessment of the temporary situation, separating the consequences of the above-mentioned wars from the context of a holistic historical process.

However, such negative opinions and attitudes are much rarer in sources and modern studies on the history of Khorezm. Indeed, the sources even acknowledge that Amir Temur forbade his troops from harming the Khorezm population and tried to reach an agreement with the Kungirat Sufis who opposed him.

In the written sources that have come down to us, which provide more or less information on the subject, attempts have been made to describe information about Khorezm, first of all, the military campaigns of Amir Temur and the Timurids against Khorezm. Although the historical works relied on as sources provide little information about the internal cultural and economic situation of Khorezm from the 70s of the 14th century to the end of the 15th century. The information available in them cannot fully reflect the history of Khorezm during this period.

One of the first sources related to the era of Amir Temur is the work of the court historian Nizamiddin Shamiy, "Zafarnoma" or "Temur Zafarnoma". Some fragments of this work were translated into Russian (V.G. Tizenhausen) and Czech (F. Gauer, 1937)[7, - p.511-522]. The description of events in this work covers the period up to the end of 1404. In compiling the work, the author used sources related to the history of Timur, diaries compiled during military campaigns, and even oral information. This work was published in Russia in 1941 and in Tashkent in 1972 under the supervision of the orientalist O. Orinbayev[11, 68-b]. This work by Nizomiddin Shami also contains information about Khorezm. In particular, information about Amir Timur's order to restore Gurganj is among them[7. - p.534].

The parts of the work called "Temur's Affairs with Khorezm and its Rulers" and "Temur's Campaigns to Khorezm" describe in detail Sahibkiran's relations with the brothers Husayn and Yusuf Sufis. Of course, it is worth recognizing that this information is of greater political importance. In "Zafarnoma", the author also specifically touches upon the defense system and management methods of the Khorezm cities of Kat and Gurganj. The information provided in this source about the trade route between Khorezm and Movarunnahr in the 14th–15th centuries (Sepoya – Uch Och) is also noteworthy. The importance of this information is that it also serves to some extent to determine the main trade routes of Khorezm in the period under study.

One of the authors who covered the history of Amir Temur's military campaigns to Khorezm in more detail, who was close to the times in which the events took place, and who met with living witnesses, is Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi (died 1454). In separate sections of his work "Zafarnama", completed in 828 AH (1424–1425 AD), there is information about Sahibkiran's campaigns to Khorezm, which are analyzed from the point of view of historical chronicle [11,72-76, 79-80, 86, 119-p]. The true essence and reasons for Amir Temur's campaigns to Khorezm are revealed in "Zafarnama". In particular, in this work we read the following thoughts: "Hazrat Sahibkiran freed the Maveraunnahr region from the clutches of opponents and conquered it with the Chigatay

program. But five or six years ago, the zakat of the (Kot and) Khivak region was given to my son Husayn Sufi, his uncle was Kun'irat, and he was the governor of the Khorezm region, and he would take the half of the proceeds from the zakat." Against this inappropriate move, Amir Temur sent his representative Alafa Tovachi to the embassy and set the following condition: "The zakat of Khivak (and Kot) belongs to the Chigatay ulus and you will be the owner. You will not interfere and you will be the one who belongs to us, so that there will be friendship between us" [11,72-p]. In this unique information cited in the source, we see that Amir Temur had already called for a radical resolution of the conflict between them and the Kun'irat Sufis of Khorezm, and to extinguish the fire of sedition. To this call, Sahibkiran tried to remain loyal to Khorezm during the first and second campaigns in 1372 and 1373, not to exchange the bonds of friendship for the chains of enmity. According to Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, Amir Temur did not consider it necessary to harm the Khorezmians even in the last situations. However, the emir and other rulers of Khorezm did not disregard Amir Temur's wishes. This situation, that is, the course of events unfolded in this way, is confirmed by other sources on the subject, in addition to Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi's "Zafarnama". Yusuf Sufi and Sulayman Sufi, local rulers of Khorezm, had long been allied with the Golden Horde Khan Tokhtamysh to conquer Kot and Khiva, which belonged to the Chigatai ulus, and had made military campaigns in the vicinity of Bukhara and were engaged in plunder. It is emphasized in the "Zafarnama": "Yusuf Sufi put the wounded horse outside the order and, having taken away his pride, spread it to the provinces and coveted the property of Muslims" [11,72-p].

These unlawful actions and encroachments caused Amir Temur to march on Khorezm for the fourth time in the month of Shawwal 780 AH (February 19-20, 1379 AD).

In general, when we carefully examine the information provided in Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi's "Zafarnama", we can not only observe in more depth the real causes of the political crisis between the Khorezm rulers who were under the influence of the Golden Horde and Amir Temur, but also witness Sahibkiran's diligent efforts to resolve the conflicts that arose peacefully.

However, internal conflicts among the Kungirat Sufis, the situation that arose, and the inability of Sahibkiran to correctly assess the real power of the Sufis, followed by their flight to the Poles and their compromise with the Golden Horde, led to the Sufis' uprising against Amir Temur. This led to Sahibkiran's fifth military campaign against Khorezm in 1388, which ended with the capture of the capital Urgench, the surrender of the Sufis, and the complete abolition of the dynasty. As a result, the Kungirat Sufi dynasty was removed from the political scene. Amir Temur, as was his custom, moved most of the population of the capital Urgench (mainly artisans) to Samarkand. The Mongols had already reduced the city to ruins and flooded it. In this regard, there is not a lack of contradictory information in the sources about the path taken by Amir Temur, so we are far from the idea of putting any of the claims as truth. As we noted above, the state of the capital after the conquest is of interest to us, whether it was abandoned in ruins or rebuilt as part of a single empire.

Gurganj, restored by the decree of Amir Temur in 1391, was already one of the centers of trade and crafts during this period. In European sources of the Timurid era, the oasis center Gurganj is mentioned several times in the memoirs of the Catholic Church and merchants. The merchant Shamsuddin Muhammad Khoja from Shiraz (who arrived in Urgench in 1438) also writes about this. The research of the Khorezm archaeological and ethnographic expedition led by S.P. Tolstov shows that this city was an international transit trade center during the reign of Timur and the Timurids [4, -p.28-36]. This conclusion was made by the expedition, consisting of prominent scholars in the field, based on irrefutable material evidence, which, again, was not very favorable to such a conclusion due to the ideology of that time, the general negative attitude towards the person of Amir Timur, but the expedition members did not close their eyes to the truth.

Another major source used by historians and orientalists to study information about Amir Timur and evaluate his contemporaries is the work of Ibn Arabshah (1392–1450) “Ajoyib al maqdur fi tarikhi Taymur” (“Wonders of Destiny in the History of Timur”). This work has been translated into several languages (French, Latin, English and Turkish). The readers of our republic are more widely using the Uzbek translation made by the famous orientalist and Arabist U. Uvatov[5,192-p].

Ibn Arabshah was originally from Damascus, and when Amir Temur invaded Syria, he was captured with his family at the age of 12 and sent to Samarkand. He was a direct witness to the last periods of Temur's reign. He was in Central Asia and the Golden Horde in 1401–1411[10, – p.98-102]. Unlike other court historians who wrote works on the history of Amir Temur, Ibn Arabshah expressed his views critically, mainly telling about the negative results of the wars waged by Temur[9, 26-p]. The reason is clear, he was in trouble, forced to leave his homeland, whose land was conquered by the conqueror, and brought to Movarunnahr from the conquered countries before the death of Sahibkiran, he did not have the right to leave the country by crossing the Amu Darya and Syr Darya. Although even in relative captivity, he lived comfortably and freely, received a madrasah education and was engaged in intellectual labor. If we do not mention the prohibition of traveling abroad, Ibn Arabshah lived in every way as described in the treatise and was not subjected to persecution and humiliation. Nevertheless, he considered Amir Temur an enemy to himself and his family, which is clearly reflected in his work in black paints.

Nevertheless, Ibn Arabshah's work serves as an initial and important source for our research. The importance of the work is that it contains valuable information about the economic situation of Khorezm in the 14th-15th centuries. According to him: "The caravans that set out from Khorezm traveled for three months without danger, without any fear, calmly and peacefully, and reached Crimea."

At the same time, describing the period a quarter of a century after the death of Amir Temur: "...now the roads from Khorezm to Crimea have become a place of wild animals, a steppe...", he also admits that trade relations have become relatively weak [8,- p.460]. This in itself sheds light on the issue of the role of the individual in history, and the author of the source, although he did not want to, involuntarily confirms this. Although we witness in many places that the author approaches the personality of Amir Temur and his military campaigns in a one-sided manner and draws conclusions, we will refrain from commenting on them in detail only because these approaches did not directly concern the Khorezm oasis. Nevertheless, the orientalist scholar, academician V.V. Bartold, who evaluated Ibn Arabshah and his work, includes Ibn Arabshah among the “outstanding representatives” of medieval authors[3, – p.488].

Among the sources on the era of Amir Temur and the Timurids, we also find information related to Amir Temur's policy in Khorezm in the Persian-Tajik work “Matla'i us-sa'dayn va majma' ul-bahrayn” (“The Shining of Two Happy Stars and the Confluence of Two Seas”) by Kamolid-din Abdurazzaq bin Jamoliddin Is'haq as-Samarkandi (1413–1482). The work covers a large period, from 1304 to 1470. The author's work "Matla'i us-sa'dayn" was translated from Persian-Tajik into Uzbek[1, 464-p]. As many researchers recognize, along with Sharafiddin Ali Yazdi's "Zafarnoma", this work by Abdurazzoq Samarkandi also provides a detailed account of the history of Amir Temur[9,18-p]. In particular, for us, this source provides additional information in covering the history of the conquest of Khorezm by Sahibkiran and is distinguished by its proximity to the period in which the events took place, and the use of sources that were most likely not seen by later authors.

In particular, the account of the events after Amir Temur's occupation of Gurganj presented in it allows us to form an imagination in addition to other sources. At the same time, the author was undoubtedly well aware of the state of Gurganj during his time, because, from a historical point of view, not much time had passed since Sahibkiran.

Through the work “Matlai-us-sa’dayn”, we become aware not only of the events that took place in Khorezm during the reign of Amir Timur, but also of the political situation during the Timurid era. For example, the source cites rare information that is not paid attention to in some other sources, such as the struggles of Shahrukh for Khorezm during the reign of the Golden Horde rulers Idiku, Fulodkhan, and Jalaluddin, who ascended to the khanate in 1412, and the events of Khorezm being re-incorporated into the Timurid empire in 1413.

At the same time, Abdurazzoq Samarkandi's work also describes in detail the invasions of the nomadic Uzbeks led by Abulkhair Khan into Khorezm (1431, 1435, 1446)[7, –p.236]. Although Abulkhair Khan married Mirzo Ulugbek's daughter, Rabiya Sultan-begim, who was a concubine of the Timurids, the relations between him and Mirzo Ulugbek were not friendly. The marriage was also forcibly concluded after the execution of Mirzo Ulugbek, that is, this concubine relationship was not based on voluntariness, and Muhammad Shahbakht's father, Budak Sultan, was not born from this marriage, that is, his mother was another woman.

Abdurazzoq Samarkandi writes in his work that Shahrukh was forced to maintain several districts of troops against the movement of nomads in the north and other border regions. The attacks of nomads always threatened the prosperous oases, so it was natural for Shahrukh to act in this way from the point of view of the security of the country. At the same time, sources state that the cities and villages in the southern and northern parts of Khorezm (the area around Vazir and Adaq, and even Gurganj) sometimes became the scene of conflicts between the Timurids who claimed supreme power (for example, during the time of Sultan Husayn Baykara, in 1460–1464) and suffered great losses [7. –p.539]. This information also indirectly confirms the state of the cities of Khorezm during the time of Amir Temur. That is, only prosperous areas can be turned into ruins, no one writes that a poor city or town was destroyed by some conqueror, common sense requires such reasoning, while sources record that the above cities were destroyed by the descendants of Amir Temur in their mutual wars.

Our information and views on the events that affected Khorezm during this period are enriched by the work of Mirkhand's grandson Ghiyosiddin ibn Humamiddin Khandamir al-Husayni (1474–1535), devoted to world history, "Habib us-siyar" ("Biography of a Friend in Human Messages and Fards") [7. –p.539-540].

There are also many other sources on the history of Khorezm. For example, the works of Ghiyosiddin Ali, Klaviho and Schiltberger are primary sources on the history of Amir Temur, but they do not record events or provide information that is not found in other sources on the subject. In this regard, we can limit ourselves here to these sources, which reflect the political and economic processes that took place in Khorezm during the reign of Amir Temur and the Timurids, using the examples in the works cited above.

Among these sources, the information left by Western European travelers, merchants and priests of the Catholic Church is noteworthy. In particular, the reports of Bishop William, one of the representatives of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, who opened his episcopal see in Gurganj, who began working in this city in 1393, the Bavarian military Johann Schiltberger, the Venetian merchants Andreolo Dandonolo, Antonio Dazinaz and others emphasize that even in the 15th century, Khorezm actively participated in trade relations with the regions up to the Crimea, and had cultural and trade relations with Italy, the Golden Horde, the Astrakhan Khanate and the states that emerged in Siberia [2. 24-27-p]. The frequent mention of the names Khorezm (Khorazman), Urgench (Urenz) in these sources fully proves this. It is noteworthy that during this period, Khorezm served as the most important center for the spread of Islam, especially in the nomadic states and the states that separated from the Golden Horde in Siberia.

In general, the above-mentioned positive developments in the socio-political history and cultural life of Khorezm during the era of Amir Temur and the Timurids are reflected in Arab-Persian,

European and Russian written sources. It can be concluded that the process of comparative study of this information with archaeological research will help to study cultural life in the territory of Khorezm in the late 14th and 15th centuries.

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