

An Example of Turkish-Tatar Urbanism in Siberia: Kyzyl Tura

Sibirya'daki Türk-Tatar Şehirciliğine Bir Örnek: Kızıl Tura

Yusuf AKBABA * Abstract

This study examines the geographical location, historical origins, and socio-economic and political dynamics of Kyzyl (Kızıl) Tura, a city situated in Siberia and inhabited by the Turkish-Tatar population. Emir Timur's military expeditions in the second half of the 14th century led to a decline in trade along the Trans-Asian road system and subsequently caused international trade to move to Trans-Siberia. In Siberia, the construction of new Turkish-Tatar cities and the expansion of already existing settlements started at the same time. The main argument of this study is that the presence of the Turkish-Tatar population in Siberia was considerable. Additionally, it suggests that the Turkish-Tatar urbanisation and commercial network played a significant role in the historical development of the region, as exemplified by the case of Kyzyl Tura. The objective of this study is to provide advantages to researchers in the field by demonstrating that the Turkish-Tatar presence in the region, as well as the subsequent changes in demographic and political structures following Russian colonisation, have exhibited variations throughout history. The study engaged in a comparative evaluation of data obtained from primary sources and contemporary literature. The utilisation of Russian chronicles and period maps was done. This study seeks to gather comprehensive information on Kyzyl Tura and provide evidence of Turkish-Tatar urbanism in Siberia through the examination of Kyzyl Tura. Research has demonstrated a deterioration in the transport network and trade after the settlement of Russians in numerous Turkish-Tatar cities in Siberia.

* Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi, İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü
yakbaba@ogu.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0002-1082-616X
Eskişehir / TÜRKİYE

* Assist. Prof. Dr. Eskişehir Osmangazi University, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences History Department
yakbaba@ogu.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0002-1082-616X
Eskişehir / TÜRKİYE

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Öz

Bu çalışma Sibirya'daki Türk-Tatar şehirlerinden biri olan Kızıl Tura'nın konumunu, kuruluşuna dair varsayımları ile ticari ve siyasi ilişkilerini ele almaktadır. Tarihsel sürece bakıldığında, 14. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Emir Timur'un gerçekleştirdiği askeri seferler sonucunda Trans-Asya yol sisteminde ticaret gerilemiş ve kısa bir süre sonra uluslararası ticaret Trans-Sibirya'ya kaymıştır. Bunun sonucunda Sibirya'da yeni Türk-Tatar şehirleri kurulmaya, hâlihazırda var olanlar da gelişmeye başlamıştır. Çalışmanın temel hipotezi, Sibirya'da Türk-Tatar varlığının yoğun biçimde bulunduğu ve Türk-Tatar şehirciliğinin ve ticari ağının bölge tarihinde önemli bir ağırlığa sahip olduğudur. Bu da Kızıl Tura örneği üzerinden gösterilmiştir. Böylece bu alanda çalışacak olan araştırmacılara fayda sağlamak ve bölgedeki Türk-Tatar varlığını ve bilhassa 16. Yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren sistematik biçimde uygulanan Rus kolonizasyonu sonrası değişen demografik ve siyasi yapının tarih boyunca aynı olmadığını göstermek amaçlanmıştır. Çalışmada ana kaynaklar ve modern yazında yer alan bilgiler karşılaştırmalı olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Bilhassa Rus kronikleri ve dönem haritaları kullanılmıştır. Bu sayede Kızıl Tura hakkında genel bilgiler edinilmeye ve Sibirya'da Türk-Tatar şehircilik geleneğinin varlığı Kızıl Tura

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üzerinden kanıtlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Sibirya'daki birçok Türk-Tatar şehirlerinin Rusların bölgeye yerleşmesinden sonra ulaşım ağı sisteminin ve bununla bağlantılı olarak ticaretin gerilediği gösterilmiştir. Ayrıca Kızıl Tura'nın, şehircilik geleneğinin yokluğu yahut nüfus azlığı gibi nedenlerle yıkılmadığı sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Sibirya, İşim Hanlığı, Kızıl Tura, Kuzey Ticaret Yolu, Rusya Emperyalizmi.

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Etik Beyan: sutad@selcuk.edu.tr, selcukturkiyat@gmail.com
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Introduction

For ages, Siberia has served as the ancestral homeland of the Turkish people. Concerning this matter, an examination of the earliest cultural sites in Siberia is necessary. The archaeological site of Afanasievo, which has been dated to the fourth millennium BC, is notable (Stepanova and Polyakov, 2013, p. 72; Soenov and Trifanova, 2013, p. 72). The origins of its development have been identified in the Altai Mountains and the vicinity of Minusinsk. During the third millennium BC, there was a notable increase in the level of interaction between the Altai peoples and the inhabitants of Southern Siberia (Ögel, 1962, s. 16-17). This culture is characterised by its remarkable practices of animal husbandry, the establishment of cemeteries, and, notably, the significant emphasis on mineral processing. The Afanasyevo society was either forced to migrate or destroyed by the Okunevo society. The cultural period of this society dates back to B.C. II. The Okunevo society, renowned for its enormous stelae, practices inhumation in nearly all of its burials, with relatively few instances of cremation (Yıldırım, 2020b, s. 32). An additional culturally significant region in Siberia is Andronovo, which has been identified in the Tian Shan Mountains and Minusinsk region. Carbon dating indicates that Andronovo culture in Urals dates to the 2150 BC (Yıldırım, 2020a, p. 22). This culture often encountered animal bones. They adopted a nomadic lifestyle and engaged in animal husbandry (Yıldırım, 2020c, p. 453). Nevertheless, the practice of agriculture was also seen (Okladnikov, 2009, p. 123).

Furthermore, it is worth noting the presence of the Karasuk culture, which is associated with the inhabitants residing in the region spanning from the Tian Shan Mountains to the Altai Mountains. The duration of this period is believed to have spanned from approximately 1400 BC to around 1000 BC (Svyatko et al., 2009, p. 244). The extensive adoption of husbandry characterised the Karasuk culture, and it displays significant similarities with the Andronovo civilization. Moreover, it has served as a significant source of inspiration for numerous nomadic tribes. Additionally, it is worth noting that Tagar, a culturally significant location in southern Siberia, emerged as a prominent influence in the region around 800 BC (Okladnikov, 1968, p. 187). The practice of nomadic animal husbandry had a very important place in this culture. The findings also indicate that there had been a development in the mining industry. The presence of arrowheads was also observed. The use of harnesses implies that horses began to assume a significant role within the nomadic Turkish communities. Bronze was used as a recognisable characteristic.

There is a prevailing belief that the migration of Turkish peoples towards Southwestern Siberia commenced in the 2nd century, coinciding with the era of the Great Hun Empire (Topsakal, 2017, p. 61). During this period, the Great Hun Empire was characterised by three primary cultural zones, namely Katanda, Pazyryk, and Shibe Kurgans. Noble burial sites have been discovered within the geographical area. The southern Siberian region has witnessed a significant concentration of Kyrgyz populations since the 1st century. The Huns emerged victorious over them and subsequently incorporated them into the Hun Empire (Atlasi, 1911, p. 25). From this

point on, Turkish groups, originating from the Kem Valley and Altai governed the region for an extended period (Topsakal, 2017, p. 66).

During the Turkic Khaganate era, the migratory movements of the Kimek and Kipchak peoples held historical significance in the history of Siberia. They mingled with the local Turkish tribes and migrated to the Ishim (İşim) and Irtysh (İrtiş) regions. Hence, it is necessary to examine the historical migration of the Kimeks. The Kimeks, an ethnic group residing in the northern region of the Altai Mountains and surrounding the Irtysh River, were subject to the political authority of the Western Turkic Khaganate during the middle of the 7th century (Kumekov, 2013, pp. 119–120). Nevertheless, in the year 656, the leader of the Western Turkic Khaganate, Ho-lu Khagan, suffered a loss at the hands of the Chinese General Su Ting-fang near the Ye-hsi River, compelling him to withdraw his forces. General Su Ting-fang thereafter launched an assault on the tent belonging to Ho-lu Khagan, successfully seizing the drums, standards, and assorted artefacts that served as emblematic representations of his sovereignty. Following a brief period, Su Ting-fang apprehended Ho-lu Kagan, resulting in the decline of the Western Turkic Khaganate (Taşağıl, 2018, p. 285-286). Following the decline of the Western Turkic Khaganate, the Kimeks achieved their autonomy. During the latter half of the 8th century and the early years of the 9th century, it is evident that the Kimek tribes embarked upon two primary migration pathways. The first pertains to the movement towards the northwest, namely in the South Ural direction. The second one involves migration towards the southwest, specifically directed towards the Northeast Zhetysu (Yedisu) region (Kumekov, 2013, pp. 119–120).

The work titled *Hudūd al-‘ālam* believed to have been authored between 982 and 983, references the country of Kimek. The author of this work remains unidentified. *Hudūd al-‘ālam* is structured into four primary sections, namely *Andar az Khifchaq*, *Qarqarkhan*, *Yaghsun Yasu*, and *Namakiya* or *Yimakiya* (Hudūdü'l Âlem, 2020, p. 54). Another source from the same period is the literary work titled *Muruğ al-dhahab wa ma'adin al-jawhar* by al-Masudi, a prominent geographer and historian who resided during the 10th century. In this work, the author mentioned that the Kimeks resided in the regions known as the “Black Irtysh and White Irtysh coasts.” Furthermore, the author identified these people as a subgroup of the Turks residing beyond the Balkh River, referred to as *Amu Darya* (Ceyhun) (Mesudi, 2004, p. 32). Archaeological studies confirm the aforementioned information. Archaeologists have discovered ornately decorated quivers that once belonged to the Kimek people in the Upper Irtysh region, which serves as an illustration of this. These quivers were unearthed from burial mounds that have been dated to the period spanning the 9th to the 11th centuries (Matyuşko, 2013, p. 105). Another notable source in the field is the literary work titled *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fi'khtirāq al-‘Āfāq*, authored by the renowned geographer al-Idrisi during the 12th century. This study references the existence of 16 cities within the Kimeks' domain. Six of these cities were probably established in the “Yaghsun Yasu” region, as documented in *Hudūd al-‘ālam* (Şeşen, 2001, p. 108; Sabitov, 2020, p. 140).

The Mongolian Khitans' westward expansion after leaving their native lands in North China during the early 11th century functioned as the impetus for the migration of Turkish tribes towards the western regions (Grousset, 2011, p. 150). The introduction of new migratory movements led to a disturbance in the social structure of the Kimeks, ultimately resulting in their dispersion and subsequent replacement by the Kipchaks. The prevailing consensus is that the Kipchak tribes governed the territory until the arrival of the Mongols.

Throughout history, Turkish populations have established settlements near the Tura River, located in the southern and western regions of Siberia. Their neighbours called them "Turalı" or "Turalılar", that is, urbanites (Tura-Turkish city) (Kızlasov, 1992, p. 48). The emergence of the Tyumen and Sibir Khanates along the Tura and Ishim rivers mostly resulted from the declining influence of the Golden Horde. Moreover, significant cities were founded. These cities held significant strategic and economic significance, encompassing both military and commercial aspects.

Focusing primarily on Kyzyl Tura, the establishment of the Ishim Khanate can be seen as an important point in the city's history. The Khanate's origins can be traced to the late 11th and early 12th centuries when the Kimek and Kipchak tribes migrated to the Ishim and Irtysh districts and assimilated with the indigenous Turkish tribes (Fayzrahmanov, 2007, 389; Koblova, 2010, p. 36). Based on the evidence derived from Russian chronicles and the scholarly findings put forth by historians, it may be asserted that Kyzyl Tura served as a prominent administrative centre in the period immediately preceding the conquests of Genghis Khan. The heyday of Kyzyl Tura is believed to have occurred between the 14th and 15th centuries. The downfall of the city began in the 16th century.

V. A. Mogilnikov, a prominent researcher in the field, has established a connection between Kyzyl Tura and the archaeological site known as Krasnoyarsk II. This site was discovered in 1961 in the Ust-Ishim (Ust-İşim) district of Omsk oblast. Omsk State Pedagogical University, under the direction of E. M. Dançenko, conducted a thorough archaeological expedition between 1990 and 2000 to discover Krasnoyarsk's region. Dançenko points out the similarity between the names of Kyzyl Tura and Krasny Yar (Krasny Yar) (Dançenko, 2008, p. 58). Archaeological discoveries related to the mediaeval period were unearthed inside the boundaries of that region. The archaeological collection discovered at the site encompasses a variety of artefacts, including earthenware vessels and metallic objects, specifically iron knives, arrowheads, bronze buckles, clips, and figurines. Additionally, the collection comprises tools and items crafted from spindle whorls and bone materials (Matveyev, 2018b, p. 194).

The written sources encompass several notable works, including *Kara Tevarih* by Otemish Haji (Ötemiş Hacı), *the Yesipov Chronicle*, *the Stroganov Chronicle*, and *the Remezov Chronicle*, as well as Remezov's drawings and maps (the Chronicles translated into Turkish. See: Sibir Hanlığı Kronikleri I, 2020; Sibir Hanlığı Kronikleri II, 2020; Sibir Hanlığı Kronikleri III, 2020; Özkan, 2020; see also Karakulak, 2020; Sever, 2020; Arslantürk, 2020). Additionally, the jarligns found in the Topkapı Palace Museum

Archive, as published by Akdes Nimet Kurat, contribute to the available body of information (see: Kurat, 1940). Another potential source for examination is Johann Peter Falk's travelogue. As can be seen below, a number of sources are used, such as the Codex Cumanicus, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, and the Orkhon Inscriptions, to enable a comparative analysis that provides important lexicographic insights on the term Tura.

Through the primary sources cited above and the works proposed in the relevant subject of contemporary literature, this study attempted to uncover as much of Kyzyl Tura's comprehensive history as the available data would allow.

The History and Connotation of the Term "Tura"

Starting in the 12th century, several governments emerged in western Siberia. These governments emerged in proximity to specific city centres. The term "Tura" is commonly observed in the nomenclature of the settlements within the given geographic area. Examples of such city names include Chimgi (Çimgi) Tura, Kyzyl Tura, Yavlu Tura, Kara Tura, and Yashil (Yeşil) Tura. Hence, it is essential to begin by explaining the definition of the term tura. There is an abundance of material available on this subject among the sources. Because terms and roots from common Turkish make up the Siberian Turkish vocabulary (Gömeç, 2018, p. 152).

Through examination of the Orkhon Inscriptions, it is seen that while the explicit mention of the term tura is absent, there are words that can be traced back to the etymological root "tur". According to Vilhelm Thomsen, the term "bizin sü atı turug azığı yog erti" found in the 39th line of the Eastern section of the Kül Tigin inscription might be interpreted as "there was no headquarters or food for our army and horses." (Thomsen, 2011, pp. 151–152). The term "turug" refers to headquarters. Turkish historian and linguist Hüseyin Namık Orkun expressed this sentence as "Our army had bad horses and no supplies". Yet he translated the word "turug" as dwelling in the sentence "marıma yüz er turug bertim", "give my master a hundred men and a dwelling" in the seventh line of the Suci inscription (Orkun, 2011, pp. 46, 156–157).

According to the translation of *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, the term "tura" is described as including all objects used for concealing oneself from enemies (*Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercümesi III*, 1985, p. 221). The term "Turag" means "shelter," while "tura" refers to a designated location for resting. Mahmud al-Kashgari stated, "The Turks call 'turgu ogur' for a place to stand, and the Oghuz say 'turası ogur'" (*Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercümesi I*, 1985, p. 33). Furthermore, the term "tura" is referenced in a line that he provided to elucidate the meaning of "Yaşnattı": "Yaşnat kılıç başına üze kakkıl yara, biçilip anın boynı takı kalkan tura" (Make the sword shine on its head; poke it, injure it, and cut off its neck and head shield). The term "Tura" in the line could refer to a trench (*Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercümesi II*, 1985, p. 356).

The term "tura" is also included in *Codex Cumanicus* (*Codex Cumanicus*, 1880, p. 146). In this context, the term "tura" refers to the act of standing upright. The term "turarmen" denotes the state or posture of being upright and straight. Nevertheless, Kuun was unable to interpret the sentence "Altu ayrğa tura tuser", which includes the term tura. According to Mefküre Mollova (1996), the translation of this statement was proposed as "That which divides in two gold falls upright" (p. 234).

Verbs that are derived from the root -tur continue to be used in the Crimean Tatar Turkish language. “Turmak” denotes the actions of standing up, existing, and assuming a standing position (D. Evirgen & C. Evirgen, 2017, p. 416). According to Otemish Haji, in his work titled “Tarih-i Dost Sultan” or “Kara Tevarih” written in the 1550s, he mentioned that “Tura” was the settlement of the Manghuds (Ötemiş Hacı, 2017, p. 83; Togan, 1942, p. 41–42; Togan, 2020, p. 16). As can be observed, there exists a possibility that the term “tura” denotes the action of standing or rising and that the use of a shield in warfare originated from this linguistic root. In the context of city names, the term denotes the concept of a place to stand.

Establishment of the Kyzyl Tura According to Historical Records

The historical data concerning Siberian cities is derived from Russian chronicles. Nevertheless, the clarity of the material, particularly the names contained within these chronicles, is inadequate. Legend and reality are intertwined. Because of this issue, it has engendered considerable debate within the field over an extended period, leading to the emergence of diverse perspectives. The city of Kyzyl Tura also experiences a comparable issue. The Russian chronicles contain significant information regarding the city. The significance of the Stroganov, Remezov, and Yesipov chronicles should be noted in this context.

Based on the Stroganov chronicle, which is believed to have been composed during the 17th century, it is indicated that a king named Ivan, who was associated with the “Magmetov laws” of Tatar origin, held authority in Siberia.¹ Chingiz (Çingiz), someone who derived his authority from the common Tatar population, initiated a rebellion against Ivan, gathering a following of like-minded people. Through this collective effort, Chingiz successfully overthrew Ivan, resulting in his ascension to the position of monarch. The sole survivor of this slaughter was Taibuga (Taybuga / Taybuğa), the son of Ivan. Several years after the aforementioned event, Chingiz learned that he was Ivan's son, called him to his side, and gave him the title “Bey”. He wanted the remaining others to start calling him by that name. After this, Taibuga requested to be sent back. Chingiz did not refuse this request and sent him with an army. He went to the vicinity of the Irtysh River, where the Chyuds lived, and returned after subduing many people living in the Irtysh and Great Obi. After a short period, he once again requested permission. On this occasion, he proceeded towards the Tura River and established a settlement known as Chingiz (Sibirskiya Letopisi, 1907, p. 17–18).

A well-known Muslim ruler known as On presided over the Ishim (İşim) River region, according to Savva Yesipov's chronicle from the first half of the 17th century. A commoner named Chingiz initiated a rebellion against On.² Chingiz, engaged in a

¹ The expression “from the laws of Muhammad (Magmetov)” should refer to the Muslim Tatars.

² The Chinese called all Mongolian-speaking tribes Ta-ta, that is, Tatars, and divided them into three groups: white Tatars, black Tatars, and wild Tatars. White Tatars were the most civilised according to the Chinese; black Tatars were those who continued their nomadic lives; and wild Tatars, on the other hand, were the communities that made their living by hunting in the north of Lake Baikal. The

military campaign against him, which resulted in the defeat of On and his allies and ultimately led to his ascendancy to the position of Khan. Except for one of his sons, none of his retinue survived the massacre. His son's name was Taibuga. A few years later, Chingiz learned that Taibuga was On's son. He honoured and granted him sovereignty and the administration of his people (Sibirskiya Letopisi, 1907, p. 113).

Based on an alternate narrative that was created during the latter part of the 17th century under the direction of Pyotr Ivanoviç Godunov, the voivode of Tobolsk, it is suggested that Genghis Khan successfully conquered Bukhara. Taibuga, the leader of the Kazakhs, or Kyrgyz-Kazakh Horde, formally requested Genghis Khan to assume governance over the territories encompassing Irtysh, Tobol, Ishim, and Tura (Miller, 1937, p. 190). Genghis Khan handed the administration of these regions to him, and subsequent rulers from the lineage of Taibuga maintained their governance over these territories.

Another narrative can be found in Semyon Remezov's chronicle, which was authored during the latter part of the 17th and early 18th centuries. The chronicle identifies the ruler as Onsom, rather than Ivan. Based on the provided listing, the initial rulers are identified as Onsom, Irtishak (İrtişak), and Sargachik (Sargaçık). Onsom Khan resided near Ishim, specifically near the mouth of the Ishim River, within the settlement of Kyzyl Tura, and three fortresses. Following the reign of Onsom, Irtishak ascended to the position of ruler. According to Remezov's account, Irtishak derived his name from the Irtysh River, as he intended to symbolise the perpetuity of his reign, akin to the everlasting nature of the aforementioned river. Nevertheless, Chingiz, the leader of the Tyumen soldiers, emerged victorious over him. Following the death of Irtishak, Sargachik assumed the position of ruler. Nevertheless, the reign of Sargachik ended upon his arrest by Kuchum Khan. Remezov's account makes it obvious that the Ishim Tatars continued to use the name Sargachiks during his time (Sibirskiya Letopisi, 1907, p. 318).

Based on the accounts presented in the chronicles, it is evident that Chingiz and Taibuga emerge as significant historical individuals, while the Ishim River, Irtish, Tobol, and Tura regions hold geographical relevance across many narratives. According to the prevailing account in historical chronicles, it is widely believed that a Muslim Tatar ruler or Khan by the name of On or Ivan resided in the aforementioned territories. Additionally, it is asserted that a subordinate under his authority, identified as Chingiz, led a revolt against his rule, finally leading to the collapse of his reign. The younger son of the fallen Khan is known as Taibuga. Chingiz allocated a significant portion of his paternal property to him and bestowed upon him the position of commander within an army. Taibuga demonstrated effective leadership as the leader of this army, resulting in notable achievements. Historians carried out a comparative analysis of the individuals and events referenced in the accounts, resulting in the identification of four main alternatives.

expression common or commoner in the chronicles must refer to the Black Tatars. (For detailed information, see Sümer, 2011, s. 168.)

Firstly, during the time of Genghis Khan, two Tatars named On and Irtishak may have held concurrent positions of power in Siberia, with On ruling in Ishim and Irtishak ruling in Irtish. It is possible that Genghis Khan successfully annexed these territories and afterwards bestowed them upon Taibuga, a prominent regional noble. G. F. Miller, associated with establishing Siberian studies, served as the primary proponent for this theory (Miller, 1937, p. 190–191).

Secondly, there may exist a correlation between the person referred to as “On” in the chronicles and Toghrul Wang Khan (Tuğrul Ong Han), who was a contemporary of Genghis Khan. L. N. Gumilev, D. N. Maslyujenko, and J. E. Fischer—who can be considered one of Miller's disciples—all supported the theory in question (Fischer, 1774, p. 93). Maslyujenko expounded upon this notion, positing that the Taibuga dynasty strategically asserted a fictitious genealogical connection to Toghrul Wang Khan as a means to acquire political legitimacy (Maslyujenko, 2008, p. 107–108).

Thirdly, it is worth noting that On Khan could potentially refer to Bekkondy Oghlan, a person who existed during the latter part of the 14th century. Bekkondy Oghlan is known to have actively engaged in the conflict between Timur and Tokhtamysh, resulting in his death while supporting the cause of Tokhtamysh. According to M. G. Safargaliyev, the narratives might be interpreted as reflecting the historical conflict between Tokhtamysh (Toktamış) and Edigey. Furthermore, it is asserted that the chroniclers may have mistakenly identified Tokhtamysh as Onsom and Edigey as Chingiz. Tokhtamysh, who was slain close to the contemporary centre of Tyumen, was affiliated with the Islamic faith. According to Safargaliyev, Edigey, who was executed, did not belong to the common Tatar population. However, it is important to note that he also did not belong to the ruling family (Safargaliyev, 1960, p. 221).

Additionally, the chronicled “On” may refer to Shiban (Şiban/Şeyban), who was descendant of Jochi. The reason for the apparent similarity between the names of the two individuals is being attributed. Based on this hypothesis, it is postulated that Taibuga's lineage does not trace back to On but rather to Chingiz, a figure documented in the chronicles (Koblova, 2010, p. 38). Due to the lack of data provided in the sources, it is not possible to arrive at a conclusive determination.

In light of the historical establishment of Kyzyl Tura in the late 11th century, it seemed implausible for On to have resided in the region during the Genghis Khan period. Hence, the plausibility of the hypothesis positing that the chronicles depict the conflict between Edigey and Tokhtamysh is diminished. In addition, it is important to note that there is currently a lack of actual proof verifying the claim that Taibuga was indeed the son of Chingiz. However, it is worth noting the striking similarity in names between Shiban and On. According to Maslyujenko's analysis, it is plausible to consider that the Taibuga dynasty employed a strategy of claiming descent from Toghrul Wang Khan to prove their legitimacy. It is also suggested that the name Toghrul Wang Khan might have been documented in historical chronicles as On or Ivan. Owing to the lack of data and the insufficiency of archaeological investigations, it is difficult to arrive at a conclusive decision.

The state mentioned in the sources may be referred to as the Ishim Khanate, with its capital being Kyzyl Tura. The probable geographical location of Kyzyl Tura is believed to be near the present-day region of Ust Ishim. The city of Kyzyl Tura maintains a strong and interconnected relationship with the neighbouring city of Chimgi Tura, mostly due to the efficient transportation networks that connect the two cities. A straight-line distance of about 342 km separates Tyumen from the Ust-Ishim region. Given the significant interdependence between commercial and political factors, it is reasonable to believe that the establishment of Kyzyl Tura took place within the Ust-Ishim region. The geographical location of the city of Kyzyl Tura can be ascertained from the depiction in Remezov's *Kratkaya Sibirskaya Letopis (Kungurskaya)* as being situated in the northern part of the Ust-Ishim region. In the cartographic representation shown in the *Horograficheskaya Kniga Sibiri*, a settlement denoted as Irtishak (İrtişak) is observable in the northern vicinity of the Ust-Ishim region. This town is associated with Irtishak, the mythical sovereign of Kyzyl Tura. According to Remezov (1697–1711, p. 87), there was an eastern village known as Krasny Yar (Krasny Yar). In addition to Remezov, Johann Peter Falk, who arrived in Russia around the 1760s and held a position at the Russian Academy of Sciences, also undertook a journey to the Ust-Ishim region. The author's travelogue, which was also published in Russian, indicates that the city is situated at the estuary of the Ishim River (Remezov, 1880, p. 4; *Polnoe Sobranie Uçenih Puteşestviy po Rossii Tom Şestiy Zapiski Puteşestviya Akademika*, 1824, p. 396).

Development Process of Kyzyl Tura

Various historical circumstances and a conducive political environment, both domestically and internationally, might compel a state to align with other organisations and experience transformative processes. One potential outcome of this phenomenon is the development of novel centres and transport infrastructure in regions that were previously devoid of human habitation. The rulers of the Golden Horde were compelled to create new cities due to their need for access to viable water supplies and efficient transportation networks. Thus, it is not surprising that all of the recently developed cities are situated in proximity to expansive rivers that are conducive to transit. The cities had gradual and consistent growth in trade.

Emir Timur started his military expeditions in the latter half of the fourteenth century (for these expeditions see: Aka, 2017, p. 11-17; Alan, 2020, p. 36-37; Yüksel, 2021, p. 63; Tombuloğlu, 2020, p. 323-324). Thus, there was a notable decrease in trans-Asian trade, even if only temporarily, especially in the Idyll (Volga), Crimea, and Jetysu (Yedisu) regions (Baypakov et al., 1997, p. 212; Matveyev, 2018a, 160). In the year 1375, 103.2 thousand squirrel skins were transported to Italy across the regions of Crimea and the Sea of Azov. However, the following year, the export of squirrel and marten furs was limited to only 4.8 thousand units (Vorotintsev, 2019, p. 23). Consequently, there became an obligation to enhance the infrastructure of the northern regions to facilitate foreign trade. During the initial half of the 15th century, there was a notable emergence of trade along the Trans-Siberian axis, leading to the increased significance of the city of Chimgi Tura and its environs.

In the region of Western Siberia, establishing interconnectivity between cities held major importance. The need to facilitate trade, which was these cities' main source of wealth, served as the primary driving force behind this. Additionally, the establishment of efficient transportation networks was crucial for rapid mobilisation towards border regions during times of conflict. Furthermore, these networks play a vital role in facilitating the enforcement of regulations and policies. To establish these linkages, they needed to own vehicles capable of crossing rivers and accommodations along the roadways (Matveyev and Tatauraov, 2011, p. 96). Cities like Isker, Kyzyl-Tura, and Chimgi Tura were capable of offering these amenities. The routes under question possess significant strategic value for the surrounding region. The facilitation of transportation played a crucial role in promoting trade between the regions of the Idyll and Western Ural and the areas of Siberia, Central Asia, and China (Haydarov, 2017, p. 39).

The Khanate, believed to have been established in the late 14th century, was centred on the Tura River, with its capital located in Chimgi-Tura. The ruling authority of this state was comprised of the descendants of Shibani, who was the fifth son of Jochi (Kafalı, 1970, p. 67).³ The Kyzyl Tura region is also included within the territorial boundaries of this khanate. According to Haydarov, the decline in the overall political climate and adverse climatic circumstances in the Jochi nation between the 1360s and 1370s prompted the Shibaniids to find the steppe and forest-steppe regions of Western Siberia to be appealing residential areas (Haydarov, 2017, p. 38).

During the 15th century, there was a notable escalation of political turmoil within the central areas of the Irtysh and Ishim regions. According to Tomilov, there is a belief that Kyzyl Tura served as the central command centre for Haji Mohammad (Hacı Muhammed), who was a descendant of Shibani, around the 1420s (Tomilov, 1981, p. 117). The initial mention of Haji Mohammad Khan can be traced back to Timur Qutlugh's Jarlig, which is dated 1398. In this Jarlig, it is written, "Mohammad's sons, May the elder Haji Mohammad and Mahmud be free Tarkhans" (Kurat, 1940, p. 148; Özyetgin, 1996, p. 137; Pochekeyev, 2009, p. 71). The term "Tarkhan" refers to the state of being exempted from certain requirements within the historical contexts of the Turkish and Mongol dynasties. These advantages were bestowed upon individuals who demonstrated their loyalty to the state and earned the ruler's approval. These privileges were granted to state servants, military commanders, scholars, sheikhs, and even merchants and were established by royal edict (Ahmetbeyoğlu, 2011, p. 20).

The historical account titled "Kara Tevarih" by Otemish Haji, a historian of the 16th-century Khiva Khanate, also includes references to the endeavours of Haji Mohammad. The work of Otemish Haji also provides the genealogy of Haji Mohammad (Ötemiş Hacı, 2017, p. 84). Nonetheless, the period of his ascendancy was only a few years, as Haji Mohammad Khan ultimately encountered his death during

³ Jochi had sons named Orda, Batu, Berke, Berkechir (Berkeçar), Shibani (Şibani), Tangad (Tangkut), Buval (Boal), Chilagun (Şilaukum), Sinqur (Şingar), Chimbay (Şimtai), Muhammed, Udur, Tuqa Timur (Tuka Timur) and Shingum (Şinggüm), in order of age. (Yolsever, 2021, s. 620).

the conflict he engaged in against Abu'l Hayr, another descendant of the Shiban lineage.

The discourse has revolved around the association between Haji Mohammad Khan and the Kyzyl Tura. In the context of Tatar history, Z. Y. Boyarşinova posited that Hadji Muhammad assumed leadership over the Tatars residing in the Ishim region during the 1420s. Boyarşinova further asserted that Haji Mohammad established a fortified centre known as Kyzyl Tura at the confluence of the Ishim and Irtish rivers (Boyarşinova, 1967, p. 34). Conversely, AN Nesterov presented a contrasting viewpoint, contending that the establishment of Kyzyl Tura, which served as the historical centre of the Taibugids, could not have occurred simultaneously with the activities attributed to Haji Mohammad Khan (Nesterov, 2007, p. 79). A. V. Parunin holds a contrary stance about the attribution of the foundation of Kyzyl Tura to Haji Mohammad Khan. According to Parunin, the city of Kyzyl Tura acquired its Tatar identity in the latter part of the 15th century, namely following the demise of Haji Mohammad (Parunin, 2011, p. 106). Given the growing significance of Kyzyl Tura, it can be assumed that Haji Muhammad Khan played a pivotal role in the expansion and development of the city, albeit not in its founding. Following the reign of Haji Mohammad Khan, Kyzyl Tura retained its significance as a prominent frontier city, maintaining its pivotal role in both the military and commercial domains.

The economic route extending from the Idyll to Chimgi Tura via the Ufa steppes saw increased significance during the reign of Abu'l Hayr after 1428 (Vorotintsev, 2019, p. 23). The aforementioned thoroughfare was designated Kazan Road. The trade route extends in a southeastern direction from Chimgi Tura to China, traversing the territories of the Irtysh, Baraba, and Kalmyk regions. The cities situated along the route served not only as pivotal transit points for facilitating international trade but also as significant suppliers of Siberian furs. The relocation of the capital of the Blue Horde to the city of Sugnak in the Syr Darya basin occurred in the year 1446 (Matveyev and Tataurov, 2011, p. 96). Nevertheless, the operation of international trade routes persisted. The Kyzyl Tura once again served as the main hub after Ibak, the grandson of Haji Mohammad Khan, ascended to the throne with the help of the Nogai chiefs.

In the year 1495, Muhammad Taibuga, who hailed from the Taibuga lineage and was the descendant of Ader, instigated a rebellion against Ibak Khan, whom he thought had usurped the throne. According to historical records, as documented in the Yesipov chronicle, Muhammad Taibuga was responsible for the demise of Ibak Khan. Taibuga successfully seized control of the city of Chimgi Tura, afterwards establishing a new settlement along the Irtysh River (Sibirskiya Letopisi, 1907, p. 115; Atlasi, 1911, p. 31). The city, known as Isker, was under the control of Muhammad Taibuga until his death. The period of Taibugids in Isker was from 1495 until 1563 (Ishakov, 2018, p. 75). The archaeological data indicates that trade also emerged in the city of Isker during this particular period. The excavation findings from 1922 indicate the presence of scales and weights in the city (Zikov, Kosintsev, & Trepavlov, 2017, p. 275). Following the reign of Muhammad Taibuga around the 1530s, Yadigar Khan, hailing from the Taibugids, assumed rule with his brother Bekbulat. Nonetheless, the incursion of

Russia into the Kazan Khanate in 1552 had a consequential impact on the Sibir Khanate as well. In the year 1555, Ediger (Yâdigâr) Khan acknowledged the authority of Russia (Acar, 2016, p. 394; Kemaloğlu, 2019, p. 505; Ünal, 2015, s. 614). This was the start of the end of the Taibugid rule.

In the year 1563, Kuchum Khan, identified as the descendant of Murtaza Khan according to *Shajara-i Turk* and tracing his genealogy back to the Shibani, collaborated with the Noghais against the Taibugids and took over the throne (Nebolsin, 1846, p. 36; Ebülğazi Bahadır Han, 2020, p. 132). He did not choose capital relocation and instead utilised the preexisting transportation infrastructure. The expansion of the road network extended to the northern regions of Irtysh and Ob, the southeastern Baraba steppes, and the southwestern steppes located south of the Ural. Kuchum Khan significantly extended the territorial boundaries. Subsequently, he proceeded to construct fortified military outposts along the territorial boundaries, undertake a comprehensive restructuring of the taxation framework, and oversee the construction of sophisticated engineering infrastructure to facilitate the crossing of rivers and other routes (Matveyev and Tataurov, 2010, p. 62). Kuchum Khan consistently supported armed garrisons along its southern frontiers as a defensive measure against the Kalmyks. During this period, the international trade route traversed the city of Isker and the Irtysh River, passing through Chinggi Tura and extending to the Kalmyks and China in the east by way of Barabinsk. The route traverses the area of Isker, situated on the left side of the Irtysh River, and proceeds towards the estuary of Ishim, where the Kyzyl Tura is situated nearby. The route extended along the southern coastline of the Tara River before ultimately arriving at the city of Ton-Tura through the Om River in the southeastern direction (Matveyev and Tataurov, 2011, p. 99).

The expansion of trade and the high demand for fur in international markets garnered the interest of Russian entrepreneurs. Russia, to acquire control over the region, employed these roadways for military objectives. On October 26, 1582, Yermak Timofeyevich, one of the Kozak chiefs appointed by Tsar Ivan IV, seized Isker (Kızlasov, 1992, p. 48). However, Kuchum continued to resist. In the year 1584, the formidable resistance of Kuchum Khan concluded the defeat and death of Yermak (Karakulak, 2019, p. 289). Another army was once again dispatched to confront Kuchum Khan in the year 1594. After a series of conflicts, it is thought that the struggle of Kuchum Khan ended with the Nogai Horde in 1598 (Atlasi, 1911, p. 173).

Following the period of Russian occupation, there was a notable and precipitous drop in both cities and commercial activities within the region. Remezov depicted the city in his chronicle, which was composed during the latter part of the 17th century. The image displays residential dwellings situated within a tripartite enclosure beside a prominent edifice of greater magnitude relative to the surrounding residences. This particular construction served as the abode of a governing figure who resided within the fortified walls (Remezov, 1880, p. 4). In the 1760s, Johann Peter Falk also conducted a trip to the aforementioned region. Falk described his observations, stating that approximately 20 versts downstream from the Ishim River's mouth, near a square area, there exists a ditch and a rampart measuring 293 sagan in length and 120 sagan in

width.⁴ Present at this location are a stone mosque minaret and a substantial stone dwelling (Polnoe Sobranie Učenih Puteşestviy po Rossii Tom Şestiy Zapiski Puteşestviya Akademika, 1824, p. 396). Based on the available evidence, it can be asserted that inhabitants were absent in the city during that period.

The expeditious occurrence of the city's desertion and destruction transpired. According to the research of Russian historian SF Tataurov, Siberian rulers were solely responsible for managing and regulating trade in the region (Tataurov, 2017, p. 357). T. F. Haydarov suggests that the primary cause was the classification of cities within the Siberian Khanate as trade centres or military-administrative centres, rather than to enhancing their economic capacity and transforming them into permanent settlements. (Haydarov, 2017, p. 39). Nevertheless, historical evidence suggests that commercial activities remained vibrant and city centres continued to flourish throughout the whole of the Kuchum Khan era. The Stroganov family took a significant level of interest in the routes leading to Siberia, Central Asia, and China. Hence, it can be asserted that Kyzyl Tura, akin to several Turkish-Tatar city centres in Siberia, experienced a fall in its populace due to the disintegration of the transportation infrastructure and the concomitant decrease in trade after the Russian settlement in the area. Kyzyl Tura and Chimgi Tura became less important due to trade route changes, while Verkhoturys and Perm became more important (Bahruşin, 1928, p. 79, 94). The population composition of the region underwent notable transformations. This was primarily due to Russia's establishment of new urban centres and the development of transit networks and systems that were strategically linked to its objectives. During the period spanning from the late 16th century to the early 18th century, the region witnessed an influx of Russians who established permanent settlements. (Vilkov, 1990, p. 274).

Conclusion

The first conclusion that can be drawn regarding the history of Kyzyl Tura is that it was politically motivated. Kyzyl Tura, a significant city under the Khanate of Sibir, held considerable political and economic significance over a certain period. It is likely that Kyzyl Tura was established prior to Genghis Khan's rule, around the 11th or 12th centuries. The Taibuga dynasty was probably an independent local dynasty. Following the reign of Genghis Khan, the Taibuga dynasty maintained control over the region of Kyzyl Tura and its environs for a considerable period. Subsequently, there was a notable escalation of political tensions in the region, leading to frequent changes of rule. Subsequently, the city fell under the control of the Khanate of Sibir; however, with Russia's occupation of the region, it was ultimately abandoned.

Additionally, it is possible to derive certain economic consequences. Drawing from the case study of Kyzyl Tura, it can be argued that trade served as the main source of income in the region. Despite the existence of pre-existing economic activities, Emir Timur's military expeditions caused a noticeable shift in trade in favour of the northern regions. As a result, there was a notable increase in logistical endeavours to guarantee

⁴ Here, verst and sagan are Russian units of measurement, and 1 verst corresponds to 1.066 kilometres and 1 sagan to 2.13 metres.

the continuous movement of international transit commodities. A comprehensive network of roads was successfully established. During the late 16th century, the economic prospects of the region drew the interest of Russia and its commercial community. Consequently, due to Russian occupations, the development of road networks and urban centres came to a standstill. Over time, Kyzyl Tura gradually ceased to be shown in cartographic depictions. Given the expeditious nature of the decline and abandonment process, it is possible to infer that Russia implemented an organised strategy in the aforementioned region. Based on this, it is possible to conclude that Kyzyl Tura was not devastated due to the region's lack of city-planning tradition. The city of Kyzyl Tura managed to sustain its existence for an extended period of almost four centuries, despite its complex political circumstances, due to its adherence to this unique tradition.

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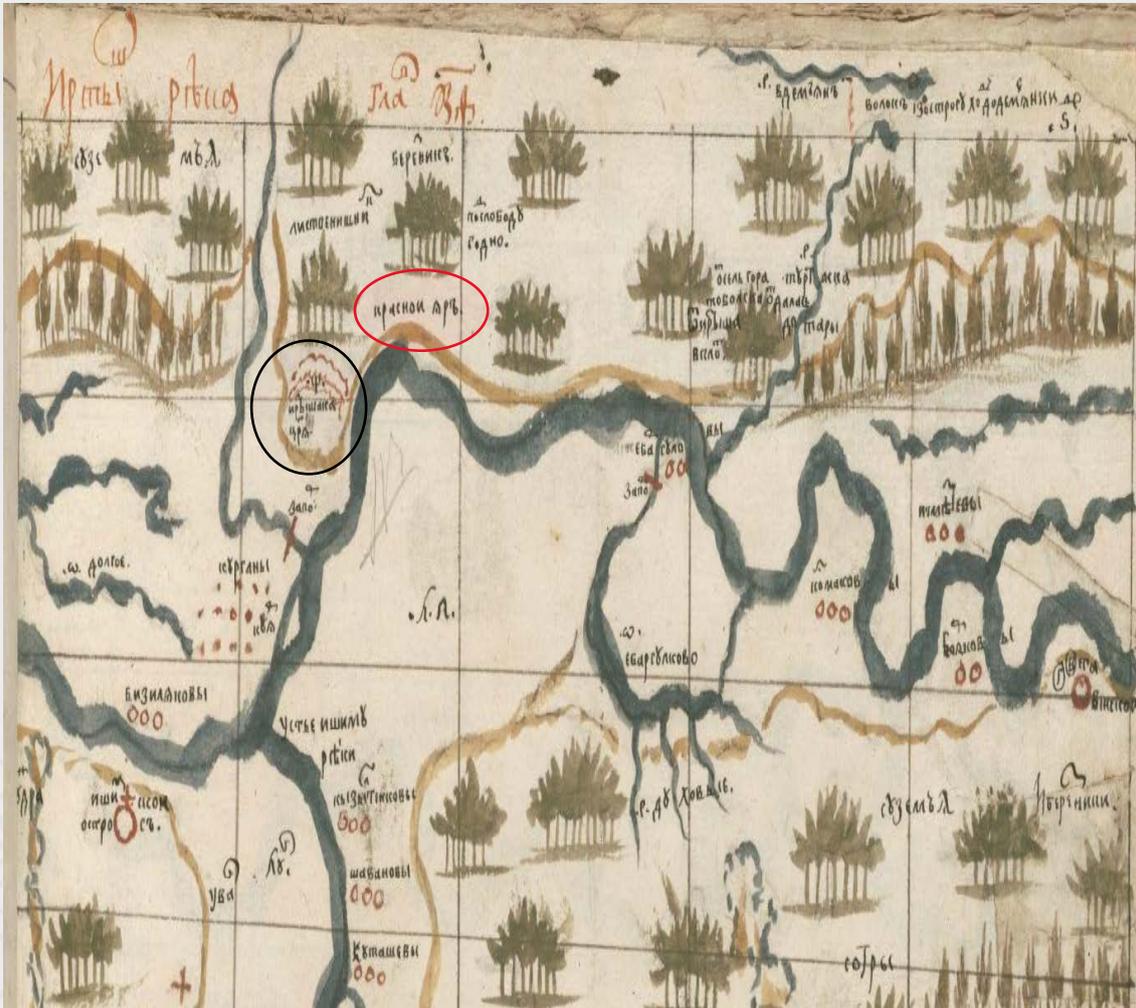
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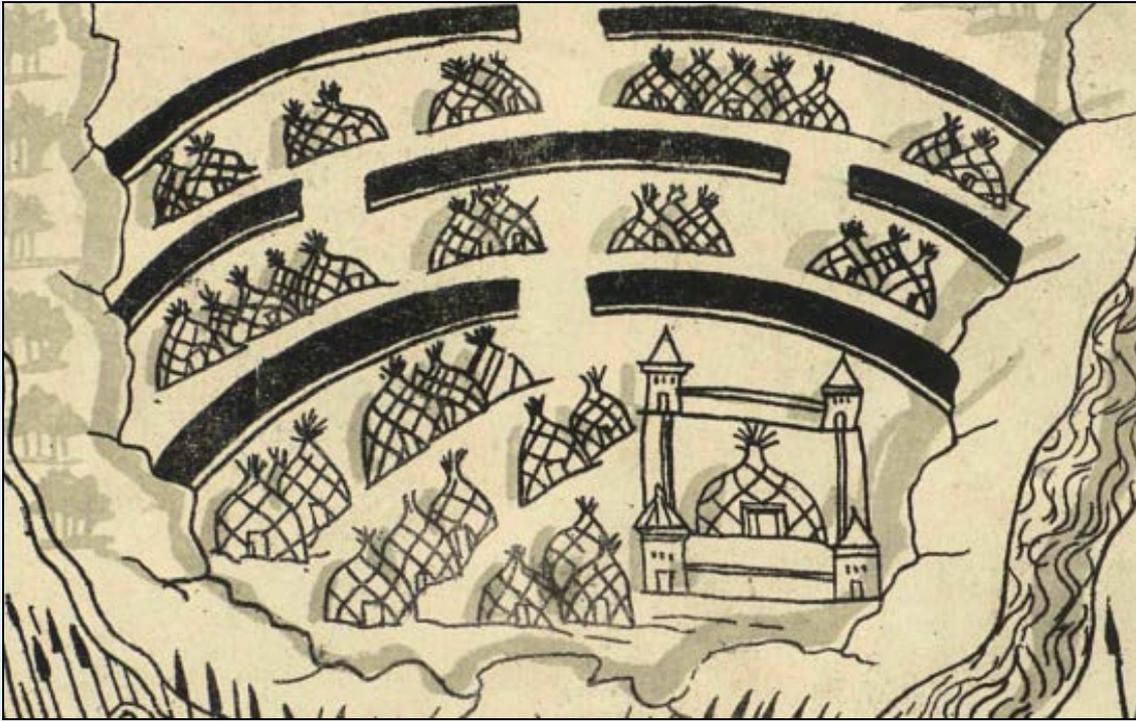
Appendix

Appendix 1: Irtishak (Inside Black Circle) and Krasny (Kyzyl?) Yar (Inside Red Circle) on the Remezov Map



(Remezov, 1711, p. 87)

Appendix 2: Remezov's Depiction of the Kyzyl Tura



(Remezov, 1880, p. 4.)