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ECOLOGIC AND ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE FALL OF THE EASTERN TÜRK QAGHANATE (627-630)

HAYRETTIN İHSAN ERKOÇ

When the Tang 唐 Dynasty was founded in a fragmented and chaotic China in the year 618, the Eastern Türk Qaghanate in the north seemed to be enjoying the zenith of its power. While the newly-founded Tang Dynasty reunified China, the Eastern Türks continued their political and military activities in China, with raiding Türk armies advancing as far south to the Tang capital Chang’an 長安 in 626. However, various economic, political, military and social problems were undermining the power of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate, and this did not go unnoticed by Tang administrators. A series of natural disasters started to occur just a year later, triggering the sudden collapse of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate in a few years. In our study, we examined the dissatisfaction of the Türks for their administrators caused by some economic reasons. We also examined the natural disasters and their narratives in the Chinese sources in more detail. As some of these sources contain chronological problems and confusions in the cause and effect relationship regarding this issue, we focused on these problems and made a proper reconstruction of the events that led to the fall of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate.

The Accounts of the Türks of ZS, SS and BS have stated that the economy of the Türks rely predominantly on animal husbandry and hunting.¹ The structure of nomadic economy based on animal husbandry done in grasslands is built upon a fragile balance and one of the most detailed studies on this structure and the problems faced by this type of economy throughout history has been made by Khazanov.² Di Cosmo has also studied the background of the weakness of nomadic economy.³ Agrarian products and luxury goods had to be acquired from sedentary neighbors, through trade, tributes and raiding. Nomadic rulers were able to preserve the loyalty of their nobility, tribesmen and vassals by the distribution of these foreign goods. A ruler who failed to do so was naturally doomed to fail; he was soon abandoned or

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¹ BS 99.3287; SS 84.1864; ZS 50.909.
overthrown. This was also the case with Illig Qaghan (Xieli Kehan 額利可汗, Duobi 嘼苾; r. 620-630), the last ruler of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate.

Illig Qaghan’s reign was marked by intense raiding into China. According to the Accounts of the Türks of TD, JTS and XTS, as well as the records of the 1st year of the Zhenguan 勝観 reign period (January 3, 627-February 10, 628) in the ZZTJ, Illig Qaghan filled the ranks of his immediate surroundings in state administration with Soghdians (Hu 胡) and trusted them very much. According to these sources, the Soghdians acting arbitrarily around Illig Qaghan were constantly provoking him to launch raids into China because they were greedy men. As a result of this, Türk armies raided China every year, which caused the army to grow weary while milit-


tary casualties were suffered during some campaigns. Skaff has prepared two tables of attacks on North China Prefectures between the years 599 and 755, demonstrating how intensified Türk raids were between 620 and 626. In fact, the statistics given by Skaff show that Illig Qaghan launched a total of 62 attacks on North China between 621 and 630; this number is far bigger than the attacks conducted by all other Türk rulers in the region between 599 and 741 (the closest number belongs to Qapghan Qaghan, who launched 20 attacks). However, as the Tang Dynasty consolidated its domestic power and improved its frontier defenses on the Tang-Türk border, the ability of Türks to raid China was vastly reduced after 626 onwards. Skaff has come to the conclusion that as Illig Qaghan failed to launch successful raids after 626, subordinate tribes were dissatisfied and this dissatisfaction probably contributed to the Tang defeat of Illig Qaghan in 630. It is highly possible that as the over-extended military activities carried on by the Türk armies, Illig Qaghan and his greedy Soghdian retinue kept the booty to themselves and did not properly distribute them to the tribesmen. This reason alone would be sufficient enough for the qaghan’s subjects to abandon or overthrow him.

The sudden fall of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate in a short span of time between the years 627-630 was triggered by the occurrence of natural disasters that happened during those years. Unusual drops in temperature that happened one after another during several winters caused mass deaths among the animal herds of the Türks and a great famine among the populace, dealing a major blow on Türk economy which relied predominantly on animal husbandry. Decreases in the animal and manpower among the Türks also dealt blows on the already fragile economy, which the qaghanate could not overcome. Türk tribesmen were already dissatisfied with their ruler in the recent years because while they overworked themselves during the raids made into China, which were launched with the incitements of Soghdian...

6 JTS 194A.5159; TD 197.5411; XTS 215A.6034; ZZTJ 192.6037. Regarding the reason for Illig Qaghan’s numerous raids into China, Graff has commented: “The relentlessness and the large scale of the Xieli qaghan’s raiding can be understood as a consequence of the failure of the Turks’ policy of seeking to dominate a divided China. Once the Tang founder had eliminated all of his major rivals, the Turkish qaghan was driven to take the field himself in a series of increasingly desperate attempts to prevent the new dynasty from consolidating his power.” (Graff, ibid., pp. 36).

7 Skaff, ibid., pp. 40-43, 303-306.

8 Skaff, ibid., p. 50. For the description of Tang frontier defenses on the Tang-Türk border, see Skaff, ibid., pp. 48-50.

9 We would like to remind that ecologic and economic reasons were not the only factors for the fall of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate, but they were quite significant. In fact, these factors had triggered this process, which also occurred because of other political, military and social problems (Hayrettin Ihsan Erkoç. General Li Jing’in Askerî Düışüncesi ve Doğu Götükürk Kağanlığı’nın Çöküşü, (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation), Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, Ankara, 2015, pp. 120-182).

10 This type of a disaster was called Yut in Old Turkic (Gerard Clauson, An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1972, p. 883).
an officials, they could not get their prizes. When the administrators of the qaghanate raised the taxes in order to recover the economy, this caused unrest among the Türks and eventually resulted with a movement of rebellion among the peoples subordinate to the qaghanate. Graff has briefly studied the natural disasters of 627 and their consequences on the Eastern Türk Qaghanate.\textsuperscript{11}

There are records in the Chinese sources regarding the occurrences of some natural disasters in the country of the Türks during previous periods. For example, an edict issued by the Sui 隋 Dynasty emperor Sui Wendi 隋文帝 in the year 583\textsuperscript{12} has been recorded in the \textit{Accounts of the Türks} of SS and BS, as well as in the \textit{CFYG}. According to the edict, twelve years before this edict was written, there was neither rain nor snow for a period of a year in the Türk country, the rivers had dried up and there was an invasion of locusts. Plants and tree roots had burnt in the great steppe fires, half of the population and animals had perished from hunger and epidemics, and the fertile lands of the Türks had become inhospitable as they were dried up and burnt.\textsuperscript{13} Without giving any exact year, the \textit{Account of the Türks} of TD has written that during the reign of İshbara Qaghan (Shabolüe Kehan 沙鉢略可汗; r. 581-587) there was famine, the people could not find any food, they were forced to eat bone powder and a significant portion of the people died because of disasters. The \textit{Account of the Türks} of SS and the records of the 4\textsuperscript{th} month of the 1\textsuperscript{st} year of Zhide (April 27-May 26, 583) in the ZZTJ have also given the same narration, stating that many Türks died because of famine and epidemics.\textsuperscript{14} Also according to the \textit{Accounts of the Türks} of TD, JTS and XTS, as well as the records of the 5\textsuperscript{th} year of Wude 武德 (February 16, 622-February 4, 623) in the ZZTJ, another famine occurred among the Türks during the spring of the year 622 and the Türks had become weak for some time.\textsuperscript{15}

Information regarding the natural disasters that happened in Mongolia between the years 627 and 630 is recorded in the \textit{Accounts of the Türks} of TD, JTS and XTS. Records of the 7\textsuperscript{th} month of the 1\textsuperscript{st} year of Zhenguan (August 17-September 14, 627) and the 12\textsuperscript{th} month of the same year (January 12-February 10, 628) in the ZZTJ also give information regarding these disasters. The narrations of these sources are generally similar to each other, but they also contain some differences. \textit{TD} narrates that in the 1\textsuperscript{st} year of Zhenguan (January 23, 627-February 10, 628), the Xueyantuo 薛延陀, Uyghurs (Huihe 回紇), Bayırqu (Bayegu 拔野古) and more than ten other tribes rebelled against Illig Qaghan, defeating the armies sent by him. Not explaining here

\begin{itemize}
\item 11 Graff, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 44-45.
\item 12 Dating of this edict to the year 583 was made by Liu (Liu Mau-tsai, \textit{Die Chinesischen Nachrichten Zur Geschichte Der Ost-Türken} (T’u-küe), Vol. I, Wiesbaden, 1958, p. 45). ZZTJ has also given Sui Wendi’s edict against the Türks among the records of the 4\textsuperscript{th} month of the 1\textsuperscript{st} year of Zhide 至德 (April 27-May 26, 583). However, here the edict has been shortened compared with its copies in the other sources (ZZTJ 175.5462-5463).
\item 13 BS’99.3292; CFYG 984.11561a; SS 84.1867.
\item 14 SS 84.1867; TD 197.5.405; ZZTJ 175.5463.
\item 15 JTS 194A.5155; TD 197.5408; XTS 215A.6030; ZZTJ 190.5950.
\end{itemize}
why this rebellion started, *TD* later recorded that in the 3rd year of Zhenguan (January 30, 629-February 17, 630), there were frequent and heavy snowfalls, most of the animals of the Türks died and a major famine happened in the country. Illig Qaghan, faced with difficulty in covering the expenses of the qaghanate, wanted to collect heavy taxes from all the peoples subordinate to him. However, both the Türk people and the tribes subordinate to the Türks suffered economic hardships due to heavy winter, so they could not bear this heavy taxation and eventually rebelled.\(^{16}\) It is evident that there is a chronological confusion in this text in the *TD*. Hence, it has been stated in Töli Qaghan’s (Tuli Kehan 突利可汗, Shibobi 什钵苾 or Shibobi 什鉢苾; nephew of Illig Qaghan) biography in the *Account of the Türks of TD* without giving a date that Töli Qaghan was ruling more than ten tribes such as the Qai (Xi 奚, Tatabī) and Xi 喬 in the eastern wing of the qaghanate, gaining the enmity of most of these tribes when he raised the taxes on an extreme level. Even though it has not been written when Töli Qaghan raised the taxes, according to the following text, peoples such as the Qai offered allegiance to China in the 1st year of Zhenguan. Here *TD* also mentions the defeats suffered by Töli Qaghan against the rebels during the rebellions of the year 627.\(^{17}\) Töli Qaghan’s raising of the taxes was probably in parallel with Illig Qaghan’s tax boost following 627’s harsh winter.

Just like *TD*, the *Account of the Türks of JTS* expresses that the Xueyantuo, Uyghurs, Bayirqu and other tribes rebelled in the 1st year of Zhenguan, but it differs itself from *TD* by stating that the natural disaster occurred in the same year. According to this source, a heavy snowfall happened in the Türk country in 627, the earth was covered with snow in a depth of several feet, all the sheep and horses perished, and people died from hunger.\(^{18}\) In the part in this source narrating the events of the 3rd year of Zhenguan, while listing the reasons for the decline of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate, it has also been stated most of the animals perished and hunger broke out in the country due to heavy snowfalls occurring in successive years. As the incomes of Illig Qaghan could not cover his expenses, the people were burdened with heavy taxation and because the subjects of the qaghanate were being crushed under these harsh conditions, rebellions broke out among both the Türk and other subordinate tribes.\(^{19}\) As to the biography of Töli Qaghan in the *Account of the Türks of JTS*, the same information written in his biography in the *Account of the Türks of TD* is given.\(^{20}\) The *Account of the Türks of XTS* repeats the information given in *JTS* in the same way. Tribes subordinate to the qaghanate rebelled and defeated Türk armies in the 1st year of Zhenguan; a great snowfall occurred in that year which caused the great majority of sheep and horses to freeze, and people to suffer from hunger. As to the part in *JTS* where the reasons for the fall of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate are listed, it is given in the *Account of the Türks* in the part where the events

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\(^{16}\) *TD* 197.5411.
\(^{17}\) *TD* 197.5412.
\(^{18}\) *JTS* 194A.5158.
\(^{19}\) *JTS* 194A.5159.
\(^{20}\) *JTS* 194A.5160.

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of the 2nd year of Zhenguan (February 11, 628-January 29, 629) are narrated. Here, it has been mentioned that much hunger happened every year, taxes were being a heavy burden on the people and tribes subordinate to the empire had started to break away. The part which differentiates the text of XTS from JTS is that a few sentences before this information is given, it is narrated that in the same year a Chinese official proposed the emperor Tang Taizong to strengthen the border against the Türks and the emperor replied him; this information is not located in the JTS.

According to this narration, the emperor said that in the Türk country during this summer, frosts occurred, five suns rose up, three moons were seen at the same time and the pastures were covered with a red fog layer, all these being a warning sent by Heaven to Illig Qaghan.21 This information is also given in the CFYG among the records of the 2nd year of Zhenguang.22 Töli Qaghan’s heavy taxation on his subject tribes and their rebellion as a consequence of this taxation is also given in Töli Qaghan’s biography in the Account of the Türks of XTS in the same way as narrated in other sources.23

As it is seen, the texts in TD, JTS and XTS are mostly in parallel with each other. However, some chronological problems in these texts stand out instantly. Yet, compiled with the review of both these texts we have studied and some other sources that have not reached today, ZZTJ has presented the events with a more accurate chronology and cause and effect relationship. In the records of the 7th month of the 1st year of Zhenguan (August 17-September 14, 627) in the ZZTJ, the reasons for the decline of the Türks are listed first. Among these is the narration that starting from several years before 627, too much snowing occurred in the Türk country, many animals perished because of the cold, and hunger continued among the people for many years. After this narration, it has been stated that when Illig Qaghan lacked enough incomes, he started collecting taxes from the tribes subordinate to the qaghanate with the aim of overcoming heavy expenses, both the Türk people and the tribes subordinate to the qaghanate resented this and rebellions broke out eventually.24 As to the records of the 12th month of the 1st year of Zhenguan (January 12-February 10, 628), ZZTJ states that due to the worsening of Illig Qaghan’s rule, the Xueyantuo, Uyghurs, Bayïrqu and other tribes rebelled and successively defeated Türk armies. This caused the qaghan to become even weaker and the Türk people started migrating in various directions. According to our source, that year heavy snowing caused snow to exceed one meter even in flatlands, many people died from freezing due to cold weather and a great famine broke out. After giving this information, ZZTJ quotes the report presented to the emperor by Zheng Yu-andao, a Chinese official who had returned back from the Türk country where he was sent as an envoy. According to this report, the way to learn whether a people living across the northern border of China are strong or weak is to look at the

21 XTS 215A.6034.
22 CFYG 125.1501a-1501b.
23 XTS 215A.6038.
24 ZZTJ 192.6037.
conditions of the sheep and horses possessed by that people. At that time, the animals of Türks were weak while the people were suffering from hunger, which was an indication of the fall of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate. Zheng Yuandao even made a prediction, in which he guessed that the qaghanate would fall within three years. 25 ZZTJ has actually acquired this information from Zheng Yuandao’s biography in JTS, where it has been narrated in the same way. 26 ZZTJ also remarked in the records of the 4th month of the 2nd year of Zhenguang (May 9-June 6, 628) that Töli Qaghan was ruling the eastern wing of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate, but peoples like the Qai and Xi rebelled against him; however, this source does not state why these peoples rebelled against the rule of Töli Qaghan. 27 As to the CFYG, it has quoted an edict of Tang Taizong in the records of the 9th month of the 4th year of Zhenguang (October 12-November 9, 630). According to this edict, the Türks met with great disasters in the previous years, many people died from hunger and epidemics, and many corpses were littered across their country. 28 This information is significant as it mentions the epidemics that happened in the Türk country during the harsh winters which occurred successively. Alongside these sources which we have studied, natural disasters occurring in the Türk country are also mentioned in the report presented to Tang Taizong in the year 629 by Zhang Gongjin 張公謹, a governor serving on the northern border of China. In his report listing the reasons for the decline of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate, Zhang Gongjin wrote in number four that in the year 629, winter came too early, frosts and famine occurred and the Türks were left with an insufficient amount of corn. 29 As can be understood from here, harsh winters in Mongolia as a result of unusual drops in temperature and heavy snowing started in the years before 627, got intensified in that year and continued throughout the years 628-629 without losing intensity. Thus, these natural disasters happening one after another inflicted irreparable damages on the Eastern Türk Qaghanate.

Fei et al. have expressed that these harsh winters happening in successive years were a climatic cooling and this type of cooling sometimes developed as a result of volcanic eruptions. Remnants of a volcanic eruption that happened between the years 620 and 626, but more probably in the year 623, have been discovered in the Crête ice core from Greenland. It is also possible that traces of this eruption might exist in the ice cores of GRIP and GISP2 from Greenland’s extreme north. Even though no direct records regarding a volcanic eruption in those years have been found in the written sources so far, data about the effects of a volcanic eruption ex-

25 ZZTJ 192.6045-6046.
26 JTS 62.2380.
27 ZZTJ 192.6049. One of the Chinese sources, Taiping Yulan 太平御覽, also states that during the 5th month of the 1st year of Zhenguang (June 19-July 17, 627), frosts happened in the country of the Türks. Taiping Yulan quotes the JTS as the source of this information, but the Basic Annals (Benji 本記) of Tang Taizong in JTS has omitted this sentence. Tang Taizong’s Basic Annals in XTS also does not contain any such records (JTS 2.32; Taiping Yulan 878.3900b; XTS 2.28).
28 CFYG 42.477.
29 JTS 68.2507; XTS 89.3756; ZZTJ 193.6065.
ist in some contemporary European and Southwestern Asian sources. For example, a volcanic dry fog starting in October 626 and spreading over a vast area has dimmed the sun over Ireland and the eastern Mediterranean for a period of 8-9 months. Ash fell on Constantinople in the same year and similar incidents were recorded in some other regions of Europe. Similarly, an unusually cold and rainy weather dominated Japan throughout the summer months of the year 626. It has been suggested that in the tree records from the western regions of the USA, traces of a frost incident in the year 628 might exist. However, no such traces were found in examples from the tree records from Mongolia and Siberia. According to several Southwestern Asian sources, some unusually cold winters occurred around this time but it was not recorded exactly in which years, especially around 626-627, these winters occurred.\footnote{Fei Jie, Zhou Jie and Hou Yongjian, “Circa A.D. 626 volcanic eruption, climatic cooling, and the collapse of the Eastern Turkic Empire”, Climatic Change, 81, (2007), pp. 472-473.} However, Fei et al. have brought together the records in JTS, XTS and CFYG regarding the numerous occurrences of frosts and destructions of harvests in the various regions of China and its northern border between the years 627 and 629. Yet, records found by Fei et al. in the JTS and ZZTJ indicate that following the year 629, unusually cold weathers did not occur and good harvests were made between the years 630 and 633. Thus, this shows that the harsh weather accelerating the fall of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate came to an end in 629. Fei et al. have suggested that this natural disaster devastating the Eastern Türk Qaghanate might have been a global cooling which occurred as a result of a volcanic eruption, which happened around the year 626 but did not get recorded in the written sources.\footnote{Fei et al., ibid., pp. 473-474. Most probably this volcanic eruption happened in regions such as Iceland or Indonesia where writing did not exist or was not yet widespread during that period. The effects of this eruption happening in a remote area must have been recorded by people living in faraway regions that were affected by the eruption.} A recent study made by Büntgen et al. has also showed that a long cooling period between 536 and around 660 during the “Late Antique Little Ice Age” probably was behind many societal and political changes in Eurasia at that time. Volcanic eruptions in 536, 540 and 547 contributed to the unusual cooling that followed; these volcanic eruptions were probably sustained by ocean and sea-ice feedbacks, as well as a solar minimum. Illig Qaghan’s raids and invasions into northern China during the 620s, as well as the Eastern Türk Qaghanate’s decline and collapse between 627 and 630, were connected with these climactic changes.\footnote{Büntgen, Ulf, et al. “Cooling and societal change during the Late Antique Little Ice Age from 536 to around 660 AD”, Nature Geoscience, 9/3, (2016), pp. 231-236.} What followed these natural disasters were the sudden dissolution, collapse and fall of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate. When Illig Qaghan sent armies to suppress the rebellions of vassal Turko-Mongol tribes, these armies commanded by the qaghan’s relatives were all defeated by the rebel forces. Recent military failures in China and the loss of large numbers of horses as well as men due to frost, hunger and epidemics had already weakened Türk military. Upon learning the military disasters suf-
ferred at the hands of rebellious peoples, Illig Qaghan punished his relatives, further distancing himself from the Türk nobility. These members of the Türk nobility, including Töli Qaghan, were already dissatisfied with Illig Qaghan’s rule as he was now failing to break the Tang defense system and he was favoring the Soghdians at the expense of Türk nobles. These Soghdians were probably preventing the booty to be distributed justly, they were making the state administration far too complex for the Türks and they had even started to change Türk traditions, including burial practices. In the meanwhile, Turkic rebel tribes in Mongolia united against the Eastern Türk Qaghanate and submitted to the Xueyantuo Qaghanate, which was founded in 628. Typical of the Chinese policy of using foreigners against other foreigners, the Tang Dynasty recognized this new polity. When Illig Qaghan demanded Töli Qaghan to send military aid to suppress the rebellions one more time, Töli Qaghan did not obey his uncle and a civil war broke out. As Illig Qaghan marched on his nephew, Töli Qaghan and his retinue took refuge in China. Now abandoned by his own relatives and lost control of the vast Mongolian steppes to the north, Illig Qaghan was cornered in a small area to the south of the Gobi Desert. Tang Taizong decided that the time to crush his archenemy had come, so he ordered the preparation of a large expeditionary force and sent it to the north under the command of the famous Tang general Li Jing 李靖. This Tang expeditionary force defeated Türk forces in a successive wave of attacks; Li Jing himself attacked Illig Qaghan’s encampment and captured the qaghan’s remaining retinue. Illig Qaghan fled to his relatives but upon realizing that he was to be betrayed to the Chinese, he fled again. He was captured by his relative Ashina Zhong 阿史那忠 (Yijie 義節), delivered to the Tang officer Zhang Baoxiang 張寶相 who had arrived to the scene, and sent to the Tang capital Chang’an. Thus, the Eastern Türk Qaghanate had come to an end.33

As a conclusion, we can remark that while the Eastern Türk Qaghanate was suffering from various political, military and social problems during Illig Qaghan’s reign, they were the ecologic and economic factors that triggered the fall of this empire. Having lost their primary position in Illig Qaghan’s court with the rising influence of the Soghdians, Türk noblemen were dissatisfied with their ruler. Türk noblemen and tribesmen probably received a much fewer share of the booty despite their exhausting military activities. As China was united by the Tang Dynasty and its frontier defenses strengthened, the Türks could not conduct successful raids into China any more, adding more to the dissatisfaction among the Türks. Soon, a succession of harsh winters and heavy snowfalls hit the lands of the Türks starting from 627, causing mass deaths among both the animal herds and the people. Recent research has shown that these unusually cold winters were probably caused by a volcanic eruption. As the economy of the Türks depended primarily on animal husbandry, these natural disasters inflicted damage on Türk economy beyond repair. Illig Qaghan resorted to heavy taxation in order to cover the expenses, but this only resulted with the rebellion of vassal Turko-Mongol peoples. As the number of horses and the manpower possessed by the Eastern Türk Qaghanate had dropped con-

33 Erkoç, ibid., pp. 76-119.
siderably both because of the long wars with China and because of the ecologic disasters, Türk forces sent to suppress the rebellions were defeated. Illig Qaghan punished his relatives commanding these forces, only to face anger and more dissatisfaction from his kinsmen. It did not take long before Illig Qaghan lost both his lands and his men; cornered in the south of Gobi, he was soon defeated by the Tang Dynasty and captured. This study shows that among the several factors behind the fall of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate, ecologic and economic factors played the primary role. Chronological problems and confusions in the cause and effect relationships on the ecologic and economic factors in the fall of this qaghanate have been examined in this study, making a reconstruction of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate’s process of dissolution and fall.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

BS = Beishi 北史
CFYG = Cefu Yuangui 册府元龜
JTS = Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書
SS = Suishu 隋書
TD = Tongdian 通典
XTS = Xin Tangshu 新唐書
ZS = Zhoushu 周書
ZZTJ = Zizhi Tongjian 資治通鑑

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


