

## Appendix. Evolution of Central Eurasia in Different Imperial Systems

1. The Hun Empire (4th-5th cc.)<sup>1</sup> stretched from the Caucasus to the Rhine and from the right bank of the Danube to the Danish Islands. In the latter half of the 5th century, it fell apart into segments of the Heartland:
  - The Central European segment (latter half of the 5th-early 6th cc.) – possessions of the Balkan dynasts and of the dynasts of the Northern Black Sea coast;
  - The North Caucasian segment (latter half of the 5th-early 6th cc.) – possessions of the local dynasts.
  
2. The Turkic Khaganate (6th-8th cc.)<sup>2</sup> occupied the central strip stretching from Manchuria to the Black Sea steppes and the Crimea. In the latter half of the 6th century, it fell apart into segments of the Heartland:
  - The Central European segment (latter half of the 6th-first half of the 8th cc.) – possessions of the dynasts of the Northern Black Sea coast;
  - The North Caucasian segment (latter half of the 6th-first half of the 8th cc.) – possessions of the local dynasts;
  - The Central Asian segment (latter half of the 6th-8th cc.):
    - The Eastern Turkic Khaganate (609), which occupied the territory to the east of the Syr Darya and stretched to Manchuria. When it fell apart in 745, the Uighur Khaganate appeared on its territory (the Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region of contemporary China);
    - The Western Turkic Khaganate (603), which occupied the territory to the west of Syr Darya (stretching to the Caspian Sea) and the steppes of the Northern Black Sea coast and the

---

<sup>1</sup> A.N. Bernstam, *Ocherk istorii gunnov* [Essay on the History of the Huns] (Leningrad: Leningradskii universitet, 1951); L.N. Gumilev, *Hunny. Sredinnaia Azia v drevnie vremena* [The Huns. Middle Asia in Ancient Times] (Moscow: Institut vostochnoi literatury AN SSSR, 1960).

<sup>2</sup> L.N. Gumilev, *Drevnie Tiurki* [The Ancient Turks] (Moscow: Nauka, 1967).

Northern Caspian steppes. When it fell apart in 659, the Khazar Khaganate appeared on its territory.

3. The Khazar Khaganate (mid-7<sup>th</sup>-mid-10<sup>th</sup> cc.)<sup>3</sup> owned the Northern Caucasus, the Azov area, the steppes and forest steppes of Eastern Europe up to the Dnieper, as well as a large part of the Crimea it had wrenched away from Byzantium. Between the latter half of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, it fell apart into segments of the Heartland:
- The Central European segment (latter half of the 8<sup>th</sup> to the late 9<sup>th</sup> cc.) – possessions of the dynasts of the Northern Black Sea coast;
  - The North Caucasian segment (latter half of the 8<sup>th</sup> to late 9<sup>th</sup> cc.) – possessions of the local dynasts.

The Turkic tribal unions that appeared in Central Asia created three powerful states (the Hun Empire and the Turkic and Khazar khaganates) over the span of four centuries. They laid the foundation of the Pivot Area for the first time and strove to extend it.<sup>4</sup> They never achieved this, however, and the empires fell apart. At the same time, none of the titular ethnoses managed to strike root in any of the segments and/or set up states of their own. As a result history “dissolved” them.

4. The Arabian Caliphate (first half of the 7<sup>th</sup>-mid-13<sup>th</sup> cc.) (Beliaev, 1966)<sup>5</sup> occupied the territory between the Atlantic and Indian oceans and between the Caucasus and Central Asia to North Africa. Between the mid-8<sup>th</sup> and the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, it fell apart into segments of the Heartland:
- The Central Caucasian segment (mid-10<sup>th</sup>-mid-12<sup>th</sup> cc.) – the Kakheti (late 8<sup>th</sup> c.), Ereti (late 8<sup>th</sup> c.), Tao-Klarjet princedoms (early 9<sup>th</sup> c.), the Abkhazian Kingdom (early 9<sup>th</sup> c.), the Tiflis Emirate (the Jafarid

---

<sup>3</sup> M.I. Artamonov, *Istoria Khazar* [History of the Khazars] (Leningrad: Nauka, 1962).

<sup>4</sup> The Huns and the Khazars dominated the European and Caucasian segments, while the Turkic khagans ruled mainly in the Asian, Caucasian, and partly European segments.

<sup>5</sup> E.A. Beliaev, *Araby, islam i arabskiy khalifat v rannee srednevekov'e* [Arabs, Islam, and the Arabian Caliphate in the Early Middle Ages] (Moscow: Nauka, 1966). In the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century the Arabian Caliphate fell apart into the Córdoba Caliphate of the Umayyads (929-1031), the Fatimid Caliphate (909-1171), and the Caliphate of the Abbasids (750-945). When the latter fell apart, the Baghdad Caliphate appeared. Their rulers wielded merely religious power. When the Mongols under Hulagu Khan captured Baghdad in 1258, the caliphate disappeared.

dynasty – early 9th c.) – contemporary Georgia, the Ganja Emirate (the Shaddadid dynasty – 971), and the Shirvan State (861) – contemporary Azerbaijan;

- The North Caucasian segment (mid-10th c.) – the Derbent Emirate (the Khashimid dynasty – mid-10th c.) – the southern part of contemporary Russia;
- The Southeastern Caucasian segment (latter half of the 9th-10th cc.) – the states of the Sajids (879), Sallarids (941), Rawadids (979) – the northwestern part of contemporary Iran;
- The Central Asian segment (latter half of the 9th c.) – the state of the Samanids (875) – contemporary Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Afghanistan;

and into segments of the Rimland:

- The West European segment (mid-8th-first half of the 10th cc.) – the Córdoba Emirate (756) and the Córdoba Caliphate (929) – contemporary Spain and Portugal;
- The Western Asian segment (first half of the 9th-first half of the 10th cc.) – the states of the Taharids (821), Safavids (861), Alids (864), Buids (935) – contemporary Iran;
- The North African segment (latter half of the 8th-10th cc.) – the Fatimid Caliphate (909) which included the state of the Rutamids (776), Idrisids (788), Aghlabids (800), Tulunids (868), Ihshidids (935) – contemporary Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt.

A geopolitical subject that detached itself from the Rimland is West Asia (mid-10th c.) – the Baghdad Caliphate (945-1258) with the Arabs as the titular ethnos. Over the span of eight centuries, it gradually developed into contemporary Saudi Arabia.

5. The Empire of the Seljuks (first half of the 11th-first half of the 12th cc.)<sup>6</sup> – stretched from Central Asia to Asia Minor and from the Caucasus to the

---

<sup>6</sup> S.G. Agadzhanov, *Gosudarstvo Sel'dzhukidov i Sredniaia Azia v XI-XII vv.* [The Empire of the Seljuks and Middle Asia in the 11th-12th Centuries] (Moscow: Nauka, 1991); V.A. Gorlevskiy, *Gosudarstvo Seldzhukidov Maloi Azii: Izbrannye sochinenia* [The Empire of the Seljuks of Asia Minor: Collected Works], Vol. 1 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoy literatury, 1960); Tamara T. Rice, *The Seljuks in Asia Minor* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961).

Persian Gulf. Between the mid-11th and first half of the 12th centuries, it fell apart into segments of the Heartland:

- The Central Caucasian segment (12th c.) – the Azerbaijanian Ildenizid atabeg sultanate<sup>7</sup> (1136) – parts of contemporary Azerbaijan, Iraq, and Iran; the Shirvan State – contemporary Azerbaijan and the Georgian Kingdom – contemporary Georgia;
- The Central Asian segment (late 10th-first half of the 12th cc.) – the state of the Khwarezmshahs (1127) – contemporary Uzbekistan;

and into segments of the Rimland:

- The Western Asian segment (11th c.) – the Sultanate of Kerman (1041), the state of the Ismailites (1090)—contemporary Iran; the Iraqi Sultanate (1118) –contemporary Iraq;
- The Asia Minor segment (latter half of the 11th c.) – the Emirate of the Danishmendids (1071), the Konya Sultanate (1077) – Central and Eastern parts of contemporary Turkey.

A geopolitical subject that detached itself from the Heartland is Central Asian (12th c.) – the Sultanate of the Seljuks (1118-1157) in Horosan – the hereditary possession of the Great Seljuk Sultans where the Turkmen settled as the titular ethnos, but failed to unite and create a geopolitical subject. During the following eight centuries, it developed into contemporary Turkmenistan.

6. The Mongol Empire (13th-14th cc.)<sup>8</sup> stretched from China to Asia Minor and from the steppes of the Northern Black Sea and Caspian coasts to the Persian Gulf. In the first half of the 13th century, Genghis Khan divided his empire into 4 uluses (1224) headed by his sons Jochi, Chagatai, Ögedei, and Tolui. In 1256, Genghis Khan's grandson Hulagu conquered Iran and Iraq and set up the fifth ulus.<sup>9</sup> During the 14th-15th centuries the uluses fell apart into segments of the Heartland:

---

<sup>7</sup> In 1136, the Iraqi Sultanate was transformed into the Azerbaijanian Ildenizid atabeg sultanate (Z.M. Buniyatov, *Gosudarstvo Atabekov Azerbaidzhana 1136-1225* [The Atabeg Dynasty of Azerbaijan. 1136-1225], Vol. 2 (Baku: Elm, 1999)).

<sup>8</sup> E. D. Phillips, *The Mongols* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969).

<sup>9</sup> A. A. Ali-zade, *Sotsialno-ekonomicheskaiia i politicheskaiia istoria Azerbaidzhana XIII-XIV vv.* [Socioeconomic and Political History of Azerbaijan of the 13th-14th cc.] (Baku: Izdatel'stvo AN Azerbajanskoi SSR, 1956); N.V. Pigulevskaia et al., *Istoria Irana s*

- The East European segment (15th c.) – the Great Princedom of Muscovy – Western part of the Golden Horde (Ulus Jochi) – the European part of contemporary Russia;
- The North Caucasian segment (13th-14th cc.) – the possessions of the Avar Nutsal (late 13th c.), the Derbent possessions (mid-14th c.), the Nogai Horde (late 14th c.) – the southern part of the Golden Horde (Ulus Jochi) – the southern part of contemporary Russia;
- The Central Caucasian segment (first half of the 14th c.) – the Georgian Kingdom, the Shirvan State – the northwestern part of Ulus Hulagu – contemporary Georgia and Azerbaijan;
- The Central Asian segment (14th c.):
  - the White Horde (14th c.) – the eastern part of the Golden Horde (Ulus Jochi) – contemporary Kazakhstan;
  - the Mogolistan Khanate (1347) – Ulus Chagatai – contemporary Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan;

and into segments of the Rimland:

- The Western Asian segment (first half of the 14th c.) – the states of Jalairids (1336), Sarbadars (1337), Mozafferids (1340), Saids (1350) – the southwestern part of Ulus Hulagu – contemporary Iran;
- The East Asian segment (latter half of the 14th c.) – the Ming dynasty (1368) – the southeastern part of Ulus Tolui – contemporary China.

A geopolitical subject that detached itself from the Heartland is the Central Asian segment (early 15th c.) – the Khanate of Oyrat (1418-1455) – the northern part of Ulus Tolui – the possession of the Great Kaans, where the Mongols settled as the titular ethnos; they failed to unite and create a geopolitical subject. Over the span of six centuries, it developed into contemporary Mongolia.

7. Timur's Empire (latter half of the 14th-first half of the 15th cc.)<sup>10</sup> included the territory that stretched from Central Asia to Asia Minor and from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf: Transoxiana (Ma Wara'un-Nahr),

---

*drevneyshikh vremen to kontsa XVIII v.* [History of Iran from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th c.] (Leningrad: Leningradskii universitet, 1958).

<sup>10</sup> I.M. Muminov, *Rol i mesto Amira Timura v istorii Sredney Azii* [The Role and Place of Amir Timur in the History of Central Asia] (Tashkent: Fan, 1968); Jean-Paul Roux, *Tamerlan* (Paris: Fayard, 1991).

Khorezm, Horasan, the Central Caucasus, Iran, Punjab. Early in the 15th century it disintegrated into segments of the Heartland:

The Central Caucasian segment (early 15th c.) – the Shirvan State – contemporary Azerbaijan and the Georgian Kingdom – contemporary Georgia; and into segments of the Rimland:

- The West Asian segment (early 15th c.) (the state of Kara Koyunlu (1410) – contemporary Iran.

A geopolitical subject that detached itself from the Heartland is the Central Asian segment (early 15th c.) – Herat (1409-1447) and Samarkand (1409-1449) – the emirates where the Uzbeks settled as the titular ethnos, but failed to unite and create a geopolitical subject. Over the span of five centuries, it developed into contemporary Uzbekistan.

8. The Ottoman Empire (mid-15th-early 20th cc.)<sup>11</sup> covered the territory from the Caucasus to the Balkans and from the Northern Black Sea coast to North Africa.<sup>12</sup> Between the late 17th and the early 20th centuries, it fell apart into segments of the Heartland:

- The Central European segment (late 17th-early 20th cc.) – the Albanian Princedom, the Bulgarian Princedom, Hungarian Kingdom, Greek Kingdom, Rumanian Princedom, the Princedom of Montenegro, the Serbian Kingdom, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia – contemporary Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, Rumania, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Southern Ukraine;
- The Central Caucasian segment (first half of the 19th c.) – the Imeretian Kingdom (1804); Megrelian (1803), Abkhazian (1810), Gurian (1811), Svanetian (1833) princedoms – contemporary Georgia; and into segments of the Rimland:
- The North African segment (early 18th-latter half of the 19th cc.) – Algerian (1711), Libyan (1711), Egyptian (1805), Tunisia (1881) pashalyks – contemporary Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Tunisia;

---

<sup>11</sup> Ekmeleddin Ikhsanoglu, ed., *Istoria Osmanskogo gosudarstva, obshchestva i tsivilizatsii* [History of the Ottoman Empire, Society, and Civilization], in 2 Vols. Vol. 1: *Istoria Osmanskogo gosudarstva i obshchestva* [History of the Ottoman Empire and Society] (Moscow: Vostochniana literatura, 2006).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

- The Western Asian segment (19th-early 20th cc.) – Iraq (1918), Syria (1918), Lebanon (1918), Palestine (1832), Hijaz (1916) – contemporary Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Saudi Arabia.

A geopolitical subject that detached itself from the Heartland is Asia Minor (1923) – the Turkish Republic (1923-to the present day), where the Turks settled as the titular ethnoses.

9. The Safavid Empire (early 16th-first half of the 18th cc.)<sup>13</sup> covered the territory from the Northeastern Caucasus to the Persian Gulf and from Central Asia to Asia Minor. In the first half of the 18th century, the Safavid Empire fell apart into segments of the Heartland:

- The North Caucasian segment (first half of the 18th c.) – Derbent Khanate (1747) – the southern part of contemporary Russia;
- The Central Caucasian segment (first half of the 18th c.) – the kingdoms of Kakheti (1747) and Kartli (1747) – eastern part of contemporary Georgia; Kuba (1726), Sheka (1743), Ganja (1747), Talysh (1747), Nakhchivan (1747), Erivan (1747), Baku (1747), Javad (1747), Karabakh (1748), and Shirvan (1748) khanates where the Azeri settled as the titular ethnoses – contemporary Azerbaijan;
- The Southeastern Caucasian segment (first half of the 18th c.) – Tabriz (1745), Maragi (1747), Khoi (1747), Maki (1747), Sarab (1747), Urmia (1747), Ardabil (1747), Gilan (1747), and Garadag (1748) khanates where the Azeris settled as the titular ethnoses – the northwestern part of contemporary Iran; and into segments of the Rimland:
- The West Asian segment (latter half of the 18th c.) – the Zend State (1760) – contemporary Iran.<sup>14</sup>

A geopolitical subject that detached itself from the Heartland is the Central Caucasus (first half of the 18th c.) – twenty Azerbaijani khanates with an Azerbaijani population as the titular ethnoses which failed to unite and create a

<sup>13</sup> O. Efendiev, *Obrazovanie azerbaidzhanskogo gosudarstva Sefevidov v nachale XVI v.* [Formation of the Azerbaijani Empire of the Sefevids at the Beginning of the 16th c.] (Baku: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Azerbaidzhanskoi SSR, 1961); Lawrence Lockhart, *Nadir Shah* (London: Luzac & Co, 1938); A.A. Rakhmani, *Azerbaidzhan v kontse XVI i v XVII veke* [Azerbaijan at the End of the 16th Century and in the 17th Century] (Baku: Elm Publishers, 1991).

<sup>14</sup> M.S. Ivanov, *Ocherki istorii Irana* [Essays on the History of Iran] (Moscow: OGIZ, 1952).

geopolitical subject. Over the span of two centuries, the Azeri khanates of the Central Caucasus developed into contemporary Azerbaijan.

10. The Russian Empire (1721-1917)<sup>15</sup> covered the territory between the Far East and Central Europe and from the Arctic Ocean to the Caucasus and Central Asia. In 1917, it fell apart into segments of the Heartland:

- The Central European segment (first half of the 20th c.) – the Polish Kingdom, the Grand Duchy of Finland, Central (Ukrainian) Rada, Byelorussian Rada, and governorships: Bessarabia, Lifland, Kourland, and Estland – contemporary Poland, Finland, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia;
- The North Caucasian segment (first half of the 20th c.) – the Republic of Daghestan, the Mountain Republic, the Kuban Rada – the southern part of contemporary Russia;
- The Central Caucasian segment (1918) – the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan, the Ararat Republic, the Democratic Republic of Georgia – contemporary Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia.
- The Southwestern Caucasus segment (1918) – the Araz-Turkic Republic and the Southwestern Caucasian (Kars) Democratic Republic – contemporary northeastern parts of Turkey;
- The Central Asian segment (first half of the 20th c.) – the “government” of Alash Ordy, “Kokand Autonomy,” Bukhara and Khiva khanates<sup>16</sup> – contemporary Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan.

A geopolitical subject that detached itself from the Heartland is the East European-North Asian segment (1917) – the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (1917-1991) where the Russians settled as the titular ethnos.

---

<sup>15</sup> H. Carrere d’Encausse, *La Russie inachevée* (Paris, Fayard, 2000); Iu.N. Gladkiy, *Rossia v labirintakh geograficheskoy sud’by* [Russia in the Labyrinths of its Geographic Fate] (St. Petersburg: Iuridicheskiiy tsentr Press Publishers, 2006); A.B. Shirokorad, *Uteriannye zemli Rossii. Otkolovshiesia respubliki* [Russia’s Lost Lands. The Breakaway Republics] (Moscow: Veche Publishers, 2007).

<sup>16</sup> The Turkestanian A.S.S.R. with its capital in Tashkent was set up in Central Asia as part of the R.S.F.S.R.



II. The U.S.S.R. (1922-1991)<sup>17</sup> existed on the territory inherited from the Russian Empire. In 1949, the Soviet Union set up COMECON which included the Soviet Union and also other parts of Central Europe and Central Asia, as well as certain states in other parts of the globe. In 1991, the U.S.S.R./COMECON fell apart into segments of the Heartland:

- The Central European segment (1991) – Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, the GDR, Yugoslavia; Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia;
- The Central Caucasian segment (1991) – Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia;
- The Central Asian segment (1991) – Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, and Afghanistan.

A geopolitical subject that detached itself from the Heartland is the East European-North Asian segment (1991) – the Russian Federation (1991 until the present) where the Russians form the titular ethnos.

---

<sup>17</sup> O.L. Margania, ed., *SSSR posle raspada* [The U.S.S.R. After Its Collapse] (St. Petersburg: Ekonomicheskaya shkola Publishers, 2007); B.N. Ponomarev, ed., *Istoria SSSR. S drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney* [History of the U.S.S.R. From Ancient Times to the Present], in 12 volumes (Moscow: Nauka Publishers, 1966-1968); Nicolas Werth, *Histoire de l'Union Soviétique. De l'Empire russe à la CEI, 1900-1991* (Paris: PUF, 2001).