

2. Historical Overview: Social Order in Mā Warā' al-Nahr

With the beginning of Uzbek dominance in southern Central Asia around the year 1500, a fresh wave of Turkic nomads was brought in and added a new element to the populace of the region.¹ Initially the establishment of Uzbek rule took the form of a nomadic conquest aiming to gain access to the irrigated and urban areas of Transoxania. The following sedentarization of the Uzbek newcomers was a long-term process that took three and perhaps even more centuries. In the course of time, the conquerors mixed with those Turkic groups that had already been settled in the Oxus region for hundreds of years, and, of course, with parts of the sedentary Persian-speaking population.²

Based on the secondary literature, this chapter is devoted to the most important historical developments in Mā Warā' al-Nahr since the beginning of the sixteenth century. By recapitulating the milestones of Uzbek rule, I want to give a brief overview of the historical background for those who are not familiar with Central Asian history. I will explore the most significant elements of the local social order at the highest level of social integration: the rulers and ruling clans. In doing so, I will spotlight the political dynamics resulting from the dialectics of cognitive patterns and institutions that make up local worldviews and their impact on the process of institutionalizing Abū'l-Khairid authority. The major focus will be on patronage. As the current state of knowledge shows, this institution was one of the cornerstones of the social order in the wider region until the Mongol invasion. The research by Beatrice Manz illustrates its continued relevance in the post-Mongol (Timurid) period. I would like to put forward the thesis that patronage played a similar role in Uzbek-dominated Mā Warā' al-Nahr.

The summary starts with a brief sketch of the geographic and topographic conditions of the Oxus region. Subsequently I will discuss the ethno-genesis

¹ Bel'qis Kh. Karmysheva, "Naselenie," in *Etnograficheskie ocherki uzbekskogo sel'skogo naselenija*, ed. G. P. Vasil'eva and B. Kh. Karmysheva (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1969), 18.

² Khazanov attributes the dominance of pastoral economy in Mā Warā' al-Nahr to the scarcity of grazing grounds, which was an obstacle to any purely nomadic economy, while the shortage of arable land impeded full sedentarization (Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 262.

of the Uzbeks and their Mongol legacy. In the next step I will deal with institutions of authority in the Shibanid and Tuqay-Timurid periods. The chapter concludes with an encyclopedic overview of the most important tribal groupings and locations (places and regions) in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Mā Warā' al-Nahr. This overview will help set the stage for the examination of the various actors and networks of power in the third main chapter.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF MĀ WARĀ' AL-NAHR

Transoxania is located at the southwestern fringe of a large continental landmass known as Central Asia (Russ. *Srednaja Azija*). Its immense, seemingly endless steppes were for a very long time a cultural no-man's-land, a vast open space where the cultural and political influence of the Chinese, Persian, Indian and Byzantine civilizations faded out.³ With its hot and arid continental climate, Central Asia is a relatively compact landmass framed and internally structured by high mountain ranges that are to a good part covered by eternal ice and snow. Here rise the region's long glacier rivers like the Āmū Daryā and the Sir Daryā—the Oxus and Jaxartes of antiquity—supplying the lowland oases with water. In addition to these two major rivers, there are other streams such as the Zarafshān, the Ili or the Tarim, all of which have their sources in the high mountains and water the oases at the edge of large deserts.⁴

On the southern and southwestern margins of this continental mass, the constant water supply and an extended irrigation system made a more centralized administration necessary. Here, great river oases like Transoxania (Soghdia), Khwārazm or Bactria formed the centers of old civilizations and “hot spots” of world history. By the beginning of the

³ Bert G. Fragner, “Zentralasien – Begriff und historischer Raum,” in *Zentralasien 13. bis 20. Jahrhundert. Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, ed. Bert Fragner and Andreas Kappeler (Wien: Promedia Verlag, 2006), 12.

⁴ “Central Asia, i. Geographical Survey,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, V, 160; Fragner, “Zentralasien,” 14–15; Fritz Machatschek, *Landeskunde von Russisch Turkistan* (Stuttgart: Engelhorn, 1921), 233–46, 248–53, 263. See also Wolfgang Holzwarth, “Relations between Uzbek Central Asia, the Great Steppe and Iran, 1700–1750,” in *Shifts and Drifts in Nomad-Sedentary Relations*, ed. Stefan Leder and Bernhard Streck (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2005), 180.

nineteenth century, these cultural landscapes were known under the term khanates.⁵

Transoxania, or Mā Warā' al-Nahr (Arab. the land beyond the river, meaning here the Āmū Daryā or ancient Oxus)—as it was designated by native writers—forms a crescent with a kaleidoscope of different small geographic spaces extending up to the banks of the Sir Daryā.⁶ According to Wolfgang Holzwarth, Ma Warā' al-Nahr represents a “mixed agro-pastoral zone” similar to Iran, with an ensemble of towns, agricultural oases and clusters of pastures.⁷ These natural and geographic conditions result in a historical dualism between dry steppes, deserts and semi-deserts on the one hand, and the cultivated oases with the major urban centers (e.g., Samarqand and Bukhara) on the other. The steppes and semi-deserts were suitable for a pastoral or nomadic economy and were used by nomads like Uzbeks, Turkmen, Qazāq (Kazakhs), Qaraqalpāq and others.⁸ Therefore, its social and cultural life was dominated by the close interconnection between two distinct lifestyles and populations, nomadic and sedentary, Turko-Mongolian and Persian (Tajik).⁹ Referring to the coexistence between these two ways of life, Maria Eva Subtelny points to the symbiotic relationship between the nomads and the sedentary population, a relationship characterized by ecological and economic interdependence based on the exchange of goods and products. This applied especially to the southwest, Transoxania proper, where nomads and sedentary peasants were seldom in competition with each other in spite of the inherent tension between the two.¹⁰

According to Barthold, we can draw the eastern and northern frontiers of Mā Warā' al-Nahr where the influence of Islam usually ended and the steppes inhabited by non-Muslim Turkic tribes began.¹¹ Unprotected by

⁵ Fragner, “Die ‘Khanate’,” 34, 37–38.

⁶ Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 21.

⁷ Holzwarth, “Relations,” 180. See also Stephen F. Dale, *Indian merchants and Eurasian trade, 1600–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 19.

⁸ Chekhovich, “K istorii Uzbekistana,” 47.

⁹ Beatrice F. Manz, “Historical Background,” in *Central Asia in Historical Perspective*, ed. Beatrice F. Manz (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1994), 5.

¹⁰ Maria Eva Subtelny, “The Symbiosis of Turk and Tajik,” in *Central Asia in Historical Perspective*, ed. Beatrice F. Manz (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1994), 46–47. See also Chekhovich, “K istorii,” 56.

¹¹ W. W. Barthold, “Mā warā' al-Nahr,” *Enzyklopaedie des Islam*, Ger. edn., III, 484; W. W. Barthold, “Mā warā' al-Nahr, 1. The Name,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., V, 852.

physical barriers, the region was relatively open and easily accessible for nomadic invaders and their troops. Although the Āmū Daryā formed the southern boundary with Khurāsān, it was often traversed with considerable ease by invading forces. While the river could be crossed at fordable sections,¹² the strips of desert on both sides of its lower course were regarded as real obstacles on the way between Bukhara and Khurāsān.¹³ Hence the Oxus was more a boundary of tradition than of history,¹⁴ but also a connecting element between Transoxania and Ferghana in the north and Khurāsān in the south.¹⁵ The Sir Daryā marks the region's northern boundary with the Kazakh or Great Steppe. There are a number of towns like Khojand, Utrār, and Sighnaq. The most important settlement on its lower course is Yanghīkent.¹⁶ On its eastern flank, Transoxania is bordered by the Ferghana Valley and the mountains and plateaus of the Pamir and the Tian Shan further in the east and the south.¹⁷ Enclosed by the Sir Daryā, the Pamir and the Āmū Daryā, the areas of Ḥiṣār and Qarāteghīn mark the border with Little Turkistan in the south and Eastern Turkistan in the east. Here rises the Zarafshān, the valley of which forms the central artery, the fertile heartland of Mā Warā' al-Nahr with its important cities Samarqand, Paykent and Khaṭarchī.¹⁸

Eighteenth-century Bukharan historians call the region alternately the "Kingdom of Transoxania" (*mamlakat-i Mā Warā' al-Nahr*), or the "Domains of Transoxania" (*mamālik-i Mā Warā' al-Nahr/ wilāyat-i Mā Warā' al-Nahr*).¹⁹ Other designations such as "Kingdom of Turan or

¹² See Introduction/The Oxus and Mā Warā' al-Nahr in History.

¹³ W. W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London: Messers, Luzac and Company Ltd., 1968), 64–65; Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 270–71, 294.

¹⁴ H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1923), 1.

¹⁵ Bert G. Fragner, "The Concept of Regionalism," 345–46. For the shifting role of the Oxus as boundary and connecting element, see Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 6–12.

¹⁶ For details on the Sir Daryā, see W. Barthold [C. E. Bosworth], "Sir Daryā," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., III, 1088–91. For a sixteenth-century description of the Sir Daryā, see Ott, *Transoxanien und Turkestan*, 94–95.

¹⁷ C. E. Bosworth, "Mā warā' al-Nahr, 2. History," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., V, 852; Fragner, "Zentralasien," 14–15; Fragner, "Regionalism," 345, Machatschek, *Landeskunde*, 248–58.

¹⁸ Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 5. See also "Central Asia i. Geographical Survey," 161.

¹⁹ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fols. 16b, 33a, 59a, 64b passim; Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fols. 69b, 71b, 104a, 208b, 274a passim.

Turkistan” (*mamlakat-i Tūrān/Turkistān*) also appear in the sources.²⁰ Additional titles like “Guarded Domains” (*wilāyāt-i mahrūsa/mamālik-i mahrūsa*) or “Guarded Cities and Fortresses” (*bilād wa qalā' -i mahrūsa*)²¹ further confuse the reader. Contrasting with these designations, the Russian toponymy “Khanate of Bukhara” (*Bukharskoe khanstvo*) found its way into Western science and area studies later on.²² The Indian traveler Khwāja ‘Abd al-Karīm Kashmīrī lists the following provinces and cities of Mā Warā' al-Nahr: Bukhara, Samarqand, Tashkent, Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān, Kish (Shahr-i Sabz) and Nakshab (Qarshī).²³

Transoxania formed part of the greater Turko-Persian world characterized by the cultural dominance of the Persian language (*fārsī*) and the political and military dominance of Turkic peoples.²⁴ Sometimes we find synonymous designations such as Turkistan and Turan (*Tūrān*).²⁵ Going back to Firdausī’s *Shāhnāma*, the latter forms part of a historical word pair (*Īrān wa Tūrān*) describing the historical, at times antagonistic relations between Iran—the land south of the Oxus—and the realm of Turan.²⁶ By using this terminology, the Bukharan chroniclers invoke the imperial might and splendor of the past and simultaneously distinguish between their native region and Iran. However, the area thus described was much smaller than the mythical Turan.

²⁰ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 21a, 31b, 34a, 96b, 97b passim; Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fols. 72b, 134a, 222a, 254b, 279b, 301b passim. Sometimes the toponyms Turkistān and Mā Warā' al-Nahr are used as a word pair (ما ورا النهر و ترکستان) (Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 319b).

²¹ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 135b, 203a, 204a, 331b passim; Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fols. 161a, 233a, 258b passim.

²² Yuri Bregel, “The new Uzbek states: Bukhara, Khiwa and Khoqand, ca. 1750–1886,” in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia*, ed. Nicola di Cosmo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 396–97; W. W. Barthold, “Mā warā' al-Nahr,” 852. On the term “khanate” see Fragner, “Die ‘Khanate’,” 33–35.

²³ Khwāja ‘Abd al-Karīm, *Bayān*, 82.

²⁴ Robert L. Canfield, “Introduction: The Turko-Persian Tradition,” in *Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective*, ed. R. L. Canfield (Cambridge/New York et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 6–9.

²⁵ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 21a, 31b, 34a, 96b passim; Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fols. 72b, 134a, 222a, 254b, 279b, 301b passim.

²⁶ Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 1; Fragner, “Regionalism,” 343, 346; von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 86; Le Strange, *Lands*, 433.

THE UZBEKS AND THEIR TURKO-MONGOL LEGACY

UZBEK ORIGINS AND WAVES OF MIGRATION

With the beginning of Uzbek dominance around the year 1500, the region experienced a last wave of Turko-Mongol migrants. Extending their grip to the irrigated areas of Transoxania and the major cities as centers of the caravan trade and commercial activities, the Uzbek expansion followed the model of other nomadic conquests and set a new stage for the Turkification of the region.²⁷ The sedentarization of the Uzbek tribal population took a somewhat longer period of time and was—according to early Manghit works—not finished until the first half of the nineteenth century.

The ethnogenesis of the Uzbeks is commonly described as the transformation from a political entity to the present-day ethnic category. Modern historians trace their origins back to the White Horde (*Āq Ūrda*),²⁸ the eastern section of the Golden Horde led by the descendants of Chingīz Khān's eldest son Jūchī (d. 1227) in the line of Shībān. In the beginning, the Golden Horde was ruled by Bātū (r. 1227–55), who established himself at Sarāy located north of Astrakhan on the lower Volga.²⁹ With its territories

²⁷ Yuri Bregel, "Turko-Mongol Influences in Central Asia," in *Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective*, ed. R. L. Canfield (Cambridge/New York et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 61.

²⁸ K. Sh. Shanijazov, "Nekotorye voprosy etnicheskoj dinamiki i etnicheskikh svjazej uzbekov v XIV–XVII vv.," in *Materialy k etnicheskoj istorii naselenija Srednej Azii* (Tashkent: Akademija Nauk Uzbekistana/Izdat. Fan Uzbek SSR, 1986), 86, 87.

²⁹ Gavin Hambly, "Die Goldene Horde," in *Fischer Weltgeschichte*, vol. 16: *Zentralasien*, ed. Gavin Hambly (Frankfurt a. Main: Fischer, 1966), 129; Shanijazov, "Nekotorye voprosy," 86; Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* (Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz, 1943), 25–26; Emanuel Sarkisyanz, *Geschichte der orientalischen Völker Russlands bis 1917* (München: R. Roldenburg Verlag, 1961), 182; Shirin Akiner, *Islamic Peoples of the Soviet Union* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1983), 367; Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversation to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 345; Michael Weiers, "Die Goldene Horde und das Khanat von Qypchaq," in *Die Mongolen. Beiträge zu ihrer Kultur und Geschichte*, ed. Michael Weiers (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986), 347; Michael Weiers, *Geschichte der Mongolen* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2004), 122–23; Fragner, "Zentralasien," 25.

Manz notes that primary sources dating back to Mongol times and modern historians disagree on the name of the Juchid appanages north of the Sir Daryā (Manz, *Power*,

beyond the borders of Bātū's sphere of influence, the eastern sub-*ulūses* of the Golden Horde (Blue Horde/White Horde) were perhaps just loosely associated with Sarāy, though the degree of internal autonomy and the character of their relationship with the center is less clear.³⁰ Although Ūrda, the leader of the eastern branch of the Golden Horde, was the eldest of Jūchī's surviving sons, he was subordinate to his younger brother Bātū,³¹ after whose death the Golden Horde gained increasing weight under his brother Berke (r. 1257–66), the first emperor who converted to Islam.³²

Furnishing the rulers of the whole *ulūs* until 1359, Bātū's house ruled over the Qipchāq Steppe, which formed the core of the dominion and habitat of Turkic tribes. The Mongols were a minority that provided the military elite that was step by step absorbed into the Turkic environment.³³ At the end of the fourteenth century, however, the White Horde dominated by the house of Jūchī's fifth son Shībān came to rule the entire dominion, which had

Politics and Religion, 24, footnote no. 31). W. W. Barthold and Bertold Spuler designate the descendants of Bātū as Blue Horde (*Kok Ūrda*) and those of Ūrda as White Horde (*Āq Ūrda*), both being component parts of the Golden Horde (W. W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962), 172; Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, 25). According to Weiers it was Shībān who led the Blue Horde, while his elder brother Ūrda founded the White Horde (Weiers, *Geschichte*, 123). Referring to Bregel, von Kūgelgen identifies Ūrda as leader of the Blue Horde but she does not mention the White Horde (von Kūgelgen, *Legitimierung*, 55).

³⁰ DeWeese, *Islamization*, 93.

³¹ Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, Part II: *The So-Called Tartars of Russia and Central Asia* (1880; repr., New York: Burt Franklin, 1973), 66, 79; David O. Morgan, *The Mongols* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 112–13, 143; Tilman Nagel, *Timur der Eroberer* (München: C. H. Beck, 1993), 50–51; Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, 26, 29; Weiers, "Goldene Horde," 347. After Güyük Khān's death in 1248, Bātū coalesced with the house of Tului and arranged the enthronization of Möngke 1251–59. This contributed to the separation of the Golden Horde from the Mongol Empire (Joseph Fletcher, "The Mongols. Ecological and Social Perspectives," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46, no. 1 (1986): 39).

³² DeWeese, *Islamization*, 83–86.

³³ Bel'qis Kh. Karmysheva, *Ocherki etnicheskoi istorii yuzhnikh rajonov Tadzhikistana i Uzbekistana (Po etnograficheskim dannym)* (Moscow: Izdat. Nauka glavnaja red. vos. lit., 1976), 211. See also Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 171; Hambly, "Goldene Horde," 130–31; Morgan, *Mongols*, 142; Fletcher, "Mongols," 44; Bregel, "Turko-Mongol Influences," 54. Regarding the Islamization of the Mongol rulers, see Beatrice Manz, "Mongol History rewritten and relived," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 89–90 (2000): 141–146; DeWeese, *Islamization*.

meanwhile turned into a tightly organized empire.³⁴ Apart from this, much of the history of the White Horde is veiled in darkness. Historians identify the territories between the Ili, Irtysh, and Alakul, the Aral Sea and the lower Oxus as its land.³⁵

Situated in a grey zone between different poles of gravity, the eastern sections of the Golden Horde were divided between Ūrda and his younger brother Shībān. According to Barthold, the winter pastures owned by Shībān's lineage were located between the banks of the lower Sir Daryā, the Sāry Sū in the southern Qipchāq Steppe and the Chū and Ili south of Lake Balkhash. In summer, the tribes migrated with their herds, taking a northwestern route to the lands east of the Ural up to the Irtysh.³⁶ However, we know that the lands on the southern shore of Lake Balkhash, the Semirechie, had been a favorite area as winter quarters among many of Central Asia's nomads and seem rather to have belonged to the *ūlūs* Chaghatay than to the White or Golden Horde.³⁷ Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay notes that the Shibaniid *ūlūs* was composed of Turkic and Mongol tribes inhabiting the Ala-tau steppes. These tribes came to be known as Uzbeks by the end of the thirteenth century and arrived in present-day southern Kazakhstan a century later.³⁸ Karim Shanijazov refers to a stratum of nomadic Mongol tribes such as the Ālchin, Dughlāt, Sulduz, Ming, Manghit, Qungrāt, Naymān and others having entered the region already in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³⁹ Apart from these inconsistencies regarding the name and spatial delineation of the *ūlūses* as well as the Uzbek ethnogenesis, the Turko-Mongolian tribes roaming those areas retained their nomadic life and were less affected by sedentary and urban culture.⁴⁰

³⁴ Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Kasachen und Kirgisen," in *Fischer Weltgeschichte*, vol. 16: *Zentralasien*, ed. Gavin Hambly (Frankfurt a. Main: Fischer, 1966), 152; Sarkisyanz: *Geschichte*, 182; S. A. M. Adshead, *Central Asia in World History* (Houndsmills: MacMillan Press, 1995), 151.

³⁵ Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, 16, 25–26; Nagel, *Timur*, 52; Weiers, "Goldene Horde," 347.

³⁶ Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 165–66; Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, 26; Sarkisyanz, *Geschichte*, 182; Weiers, "Goldene Horde," 347.

³⁷ Hodong Kim, "The early history of the Moghul Nomads," in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. Amitai Reuven-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Boston: Brill, 2001), 298.

³⁸ Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Kasachen und Kirgisen," 152.

³⁹ Shanijazov, "Nekotorye voprosy," 84.

⁴⁰ Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 166.

As a major force carrying the last wave of Turko-Mongolian incursions into southern Central Asia, the Uzbeks epitomize a relatively young element in the socio-political composition of the Oxus region. Migrating south from the lower Sir Daryā, they began to enter Transoxania in the late fifteenth century and are therefore sometimes described as “latecomers” to the region.⁴¹ The Uzbek conquest was much smaller in scale and extent than the Mongol invasion. But it added new groups of Turko-Mongol nomads to the settled lands of Transoxania. The Uzbek conquest seems to have brought three hundred thousand to half a million Uzbek nomads to Transoxania.⁴² They were followed by migrations of several other Turkic groups from the steppe. Most of them later merged with the Uzbeks. As a result, very complex and heterogeneous settlement patterns emerged. Turks and Persian-speaking peasants and town dwellers lived side by side. Yuri Bregel talks of a “complete amalgamation” visible in “the spread of Turko-Tajik bilingualism.”⁴³ Upon their arrival in Transoxania, the Uzbeks encountered a mixed population composed of Turkic peoples and Persian speakers. The first tribes of Turkic origin settled in the Central Asian steppes between the sixth and the eighth centuries.⁴⁴ In the fourteenth century Transoxania was dominated by the Chaghatay, a tribal confederation primarily made up of the Barlās, Jalāyir, Qauchīn, Ārlāt, which furnished the armed elements of the entire *ūlūs*. In the fifteenth century, the term Chaghatay included almost the entire Turkic population. Later, during the fighting between the Timurids and the Shibanids, the word Chaghatay designated the entire population of Mā Warā' al-Nahr, including both Turks and Tajiks.⁴⁵ Prior to the influx of

⁴¹ Karmysheva, “Naselenie,” 21; Noelle, *State and Tribe*, 64.

⁴² Wolfgang Holzwarth, “The Uzbek State as Reflected in Eighteenth Century Bukharan Sources,” *Mitteilungen des SFB 586 “Differenz und Integration”* 4, no. 2 (2004): 96, particularly footnote 7 on the same page.

⁴³ Bregel, “Turko-Mongol Influences,” 62–63. The research of Soviet ethnographers shows that until the early twentieth century, the number of Tajiks in the Bukharan Khanate was much higher than previously estimated (*ibid.*, 63).

⁴⁴ Manz, “Historical Background,” 5. Most of the Turko-Mongol tribes (primarily Moghūl and a part of the Qarluq), which were not assimilated by the sedentary population, called themselves Turk or Turki (Karmysheva, “Naselenie,” 19; Shanijazov, “Nekotorye voprosy,” 84).

⁴⁵ Belqis Kh. Karmysheva, “On the History of Population Formation in the Southern Areas of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan,” *Trudy VII Mezhdunarodnogo kongressa antropologicheskikh i etnograficheskikh nauk* [VII International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences] (Moscow, 1970), 62; see also Shanijazov,

the Uzbeks, as well as in the tribal following of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī, we find a number of Turkic tribes like Kḥiṭā'ī, Ūyghūr, Qarluq and Qipchāq already living in Transoxania. In the course of time, the newcomers assimilated a considerable part of the local native population⁴⁶ and became to a certain extent receptive to the influence of the sedentary culture. But nevertheless, many Uzbek tribes maintained the nomadic and semi-nomadic traditions as well as their own dialects for a long time.⁴⁷

The primary sources give the number of Uzbek tribes serving the Shibanids, the Tuḡay-Timurids and the early Manghits as a military elite as ninety-two and thirty-two groups.⁴⁸ In some secondary accounts we are informed of altogether ninety-seven Uzbek tribes.⁴⁹ Robert McChesney argues that the “Uzbek tribal groupings in Central Asia were somewhat comparable to the Qizilbash” in Safawid Iran.⁵⁰ Regarding the ethnogenesis of the Uzbeks, he disagrees with the popular etymology tracing a link to Uzbek Khān (r. 1313–41), a famous ruler of the Golden Horde, whose name is associated with the conversion of many Turko-Mongolian tribes to Islam.⁵¹ Shanijazov argues that the tribes of the White Horde used the

“Nekotorye voprosy,” 85. For a more nuanced picture of the change of Chaghatay identity, see Beatrice F. Manz, “The Development and Meaning of Chaghatay Identity,” in *Muslims in Central Asia. Expressions of Identity and Change*, ed. Jo-Ann Gross (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1992), 27–45.

⁴⁶ Manz, “Chaghatay Identity,” 37.

⁴⁷ Karmysheva, “Naselenie,” 18, 21.

⁴⁸ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fol. 257a; Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fols., 493a, 498a; Holzwarth, “Uzbek State,” 118.

⁴⁹ A. D. Grebenkin, “Uzbeki,” in *Russkie Turkestan: Sbornik izdaniĭ po povodu politekhnicheskoi vystavki* II, no. 1–3 (Moscow, 1872): 58; Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 74–76; Karmysheva, “Naselenie,” 19.

⁵⁰ McChesney, *Waqf*, 57.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 49; Martin B. Dickson, “Uzbek Dynastic Theory in the Sixteenth Century,” *Trudy dvadzat' p'jatogo mezhdunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov* 3 (1963): 209. Regarding the Uzbek etymology, see Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 177–78; Hambly, “Goldene Horde,” 133; Hermann Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen* (1885; repr., Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1970), 347; Robert McChesney, “Özbek, 1. Historical Aspects,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., VIII, 232–33; Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, 87; Weiers, “Goldene Horde,” 360–61; Sarkisyanz, *Geschichte*, 182; DeWeese, *Islamization*, 102–03. According to DeWeese, Uzbek Khan’s conversion did not usher in the transition of the Golden Horde to a Muslim khanate (DeWeese, *Islamization*, 95).

umbrella term Uzbek as a self-designation.⁵² From the Transoxanian perspective, the name Uzbek applied to all Turkic tribes north of the Sir Daryā and had been a political or social denomination but not an ethnic category. Apart from this, the etymology understands the meaning of the word as “true ruler/chief” or “self-ruler” derived from the two components *uz* for essence or excellent, and the term *beg* that designates a princely ruler or tribal chief.⁵³ Vambéry views the Uzbeks as a distinct group resembling a heterogeneous conglomerate composed of various tribes of Turko-Mongolian origin,⁵⁴ involving not only larger groupings but also individuals under the command of the Shibanid-Chingizid royal clan.⁵⁵ Friedrich von Hellwald says that the term Uzbek was not an ethnonym but a political designation for a heterogeneous population consisting of different Central Asian peoples.⁵⁶ Central Asian historians used the word Uzbek to refer to non-Chingizid Turko-Mongol groups serving one of the Juchid houses as military forces. In labeling tribes of Turko-Mongolian origin, Iranian authors did not properly distinguish between Chingizid and non-Chingizid Mongols and Turks.⁵⁷

In the seventeenth century, the Uzbeks migrated further to the south and arrived at the left banks of the Āmū Daryā. According to Vambéry, the majority of the Uzbeks had become town dwellers and semi-nomads by the end of the nineteenth century. Along the Zarafshān and Qashqa Rivers, most of them were settled, whereas the Uzbeks on the left bank of the Oxus retained their nomadic way of life.⁵⁸ Yet a closer look at sources from

⁵² Shanijazov, “Nekotorye voprosy,” 87.

⁵³ Grebenkin, “Uzbeki,” 54; McChesney, *Waqf*, 49; McChesney, “Özbek,” 232; Vambéry, *Türkenvolk*, 347–48; Adsheed, *Central Asia*, 152.

⁵⁴ Vambéry, *Türkenvolk*, 348–49; Shanijazov, “Nekotorye voprosy,” 87; Sarkisyanz, *Geschichte*, 182.

⁵⁵ Dickson, “Uzbek Dynastic Theory,” 209; Akiner, *Islamic Peoples*, 367; Ira Lapidus, “Tribes and State Formations in Islamic History,” in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, ed. Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostner (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 34.

⁵⁶ Friedrich Anton Heller von Hellwald, *Centralasien – Landschaften und Völker von Kaschgar, Turkestan, Kaschmir und Tibet. Unter Berücksichtigung der jüngsten Ereignisse in Afghanistan und von Rußlands Bestrebungen und Kulturberuf*, 2. Aufl. (Leipzig: Verlag von Otto Spamer, 1880), 346.

⁵⁷ McChesney, *Waqf*, 50–51; Robert McChesney, “Shibanids,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., IX, 428.

⁵⁸ Vambéry, *Türkenvolk*, 353, 356–57.

eighteenth-century Bukhara suggests a higher degree of mobility, seasonal migrations and a pastoral way of life for parts of the Uzbek population living on the northern banks of the Oxus, especially in the regions east of Ūrgūt as well as in Bāysūn, southern Khuzār and parts of the Zarafshān Valley. Thus the adaptation to a sedentary society was a very slow process characterized by varying speeds in different parts of the Āmū Daryā region.⁵⁹

The Establishment of Uzbek Hegemony: A Chronology

The military campaigns of Abū'l-Khair Khān b. Daulat Sheikh Ughlān (r. 1428–68), who traced his roots back to Shībān, laid the foundation for the Uzbek expansion in Central Asia.⁶⁰ His sphere of authority extended from the Sir Daryā to the forests of Siberia.⁶¹ Placing emphasis on territorial and spatial notions, Shanijazov designates Abū'l-Khair Khān's *Herrschaftsverband* as an "Uzbek state" (*gosudarstvo uzbekov*).⁶² Abū'l-Khair's successors were hence known under their dynastic name, the Shibanids.⁶³ In the following, I will briefly recapitulate the most important phases of the military enterprise that set the stage for approximately four hundred years of Uzbek dominance in the region.

- Around 1428 Abū'l-Khair Khān united the tribes north of the Sir Daryā who came to recognize his suzerainty. In 1430 he occupied parts of Khwārazm on the southern

⁵⁹ Muḥammad Wafā, the chronicler of the first Manghit ruler Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān, informs in great detail about the movements and the nomadic life typical of large segments of the Uzbek population in the provinces of eighteenth-century Bukhara (Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fols. 55b, 133a, 148b, 200b, 215a–b, 240b–241a passim). See also Holzwarth, "Uzbek State," 100.

⁶⁰ Audrey Burton, *The Bukharans. A Dynastic, Diplomatic and Commercial History 1550–1702* (Richmond: Curzon, 1997), 2; Shanijazov, "Nekotorye voprosy," 86; Akiner, *Islamic Peoples*, 270; Adshad, *Central Asia*, 152. There is conflicting information about the genealogical depth as regards Abū'l-Khair Khān. According to Ṣadr-i Ziyā and Muḥammad Sharīf, Abū'l-Khair Khān traced himself back in direct line over twelve generations to Chingīz Khān (Mīrzā Muḥammad Sharīf Ṣadr, *Tārīkh*, in Institute of Manuscripts and Written Heritage Dushanbe, FVRANRT No. 230/II), fols. 44a–b; Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fols. 68a–b). Historians suggest a lesser genealogical depth of eight generations between Abū'l-Khair and Jūchī (Dickson, "Uzbek Dynastic Theory," 214).

⁶¹ Lemerrier-Quellejey, "Kasachen und Kirgisen," 153.

⁶² Shanijazov, "Nekotorye voprosy," 86–87.

⁶³ Lemerrier-Quellejey, "Kasachen und Kirgisen," 152; McChesney, "Özbek," 232; Sarkizyanz, *Geschichte*, 182; Adshad, *Central Asia*, 152; Fragner, "Zentralasien," 27.

shore of the Aral Sea. He also took control over Ūrganch (1430–31) and established himself in the territories north of the Sir Daryā. By 1447 he exercised control over the steppe region north of the river.⁶⁴ In 1451 he allied with the Timurid pretender Abū Sa'īd (r. 1451–68) and helped him take Samarqand from the descendants of Ulugh Bēg. Later, however, Abū'l-Khair Khān sided with other Timurid pretenders and rendered assistance against Abū Sa'īd.⁶⁵

- In 1456/57 troops of the Uirāt dealt a resounding defeat to Abū'l-Khair Khān. In the aftermath, Jānī Bēg and Qarā'ī turned away from him together with their supporting tribes, which were called Qazāq (Kazakh) after this split. In 1468 Abū'l-Khair Khān suffered defeat in a battle against the Qazāq. His death shortly thereafter marked the end of the first Uzbek dominion.⁶⁶ Afterward the region between Sir Daryā and Āmū Daryā became subject to a power struggle between the Mīrānshāhī-Timurids, Uzbeks, Qazāq and the last Chaghatay rulers.⁶⁷
- At the end of the fifteenth century, Transoxania's political scene was dominated by several Timurid factions: 'Umar Sheikh ruled in Ferghana and Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrṣā (d. 899/1494) held a grip on the rest of Transoxania from Samarqand. After the death of 'Umar Sheikh in 899/1494, Timurid pretenders from the Mīrānshāhī line, Chaghatay-Chingizids, Qazāq and Uzbeks continued jockeying for power.⁶⁸ In the same year, Muḥammad Shībānī (1451–1510), a grandson of Abū'l-Khair Khān,

⁶⁴ P. P. Ivanov, *Ocherki po istorii Srednej Azii* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoj Literury, 1958), 33; Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 230; Shanijazov, "Nekotorye voprosy," 86; Akiner, *Islamic Peoples*, 270; Lemerrier-Quellejey, "Kasachen und Kirgisen," 15; Adshad, *Central Asia*, 152.

⁶⁵ Roemer, *Persien*, 136, 140; Hans-Robert Roemer, "The Successors of Tīmūr," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge/London/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 112, 115; Beatrice F. Manz, "Tīmūrīds," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., X, 514.

⁶⁶ Robert McChesney, "Shibani Khān," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., IX, 426; Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 36–39; Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 235; Shanijazov, "Nekotorye voprosy," 87; Lemerrier-Quellejey, "Kasachen und Kirgisen," 153; Roemer, "Successors," 119; Manz, "Historical Background," 7. Writing at the beginning of the 1930s, Ṣadr-i Zīyā depicts the Uzbek campaigns as an unbroken chain beginning with the reign of Abū'l-Khair. He says that the tribes of the Uzbeks and Qazāq (*il wa ulūs-i Uzbek wa Qazāq*) supported Muḥammad Khān Shībānī after Abū'l-Khair's death (Sharīf Ṣadr, *Tārīkh*, fol. 44b).

⁶⁷ McChesney, "Shibani Khan," 426.

⁶⁸ Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 48; Roemer, "Successors," 120; McChesney, "Shibani Khan," 426; McChesney, "Central Asia," 178.

who acted as a mercenary in the service of the Chaghatay ruler Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān b. Yūnus (d. 1509), became governor of Tashkent.⁶⁹

- In 905–06/1500 Muḥammad Khān Shībānī captured Samarqand on behalf of his overlord.⁷⁰ After a short interregnum by Sulṭān Zāhir al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur (1483–1530), a Timurid prince and son of ‘Umar Sheikh who retook the city in the same year, he again occupied Samarqand in 907/1501. Bābur then fled to Kabul.
- Between 1501 and 1505, Muḥammad Khān expanded his authority over all territories of the Oxus region (Tashkent and Turkistān 1502; Ūrganĉ and Khiwa 1504–05; Balkh 1505). Slightly later, he warded off his patron Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān and strengthened his hold on the Ferghana Valley. He also spread his activities to other areas and established a firm hold in Dabūsīya, Qarākūl and Bukhara.⁷¹
- In 913/1507 Muḥammad Khān took control of Herat because the two rival sons of the Timurid ruler Sulṭān Muḥammad Ḥusain Bāyqarā (d. 1506) were struggling for power and unable to organize a proper defense. Expected to assist the Timurids against the advancing Uzbeks, Bābur learned on his way to Herat about the death of the ruler but continued traveling. Arriving at Herat, he witnessed the circumstances caused by the power struggle among the princes and returned later to Kabul.⁷²
- On Sha‘bān 20, 916/December 2, 1510, Muḥammad Khān Shībānī was defeated and killed by Safawid troops under the command of Shāh Ismā‘īl (r. 1501–24) at Marw. With their military success, the Qizilbāsh paved the way for a short Timurid interlude.⁷³

⁶⁹ McChesney, “Central Asia,” 178; Roemer, “Successors,” 119–20; Adshead, *Central Asia*, 153; Mahin Hajianpur, “Das Timuridenreich und die Eroberung von Mawaraanahr durch die Usbeken,” in *Fischer Weltgeschichte*, vol. 16: *Zentralasien*, ed. Gavin Hambly (Frankfurt a. Main: Fischer, 1966), 169–70.

⁷⁰ See Ulrich Haarmann, “Staat und Religion in Transoxanien im frühen 16. Jahrhundert,” *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 124 (1974): 332–33.

⁷¹ Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 51–52; McChesney, “Shibani Khan,” 427; McChesney, “Central Asia,” 178; Hajianpur, “Timuridenreich,” 170; Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 59–60.

⁷² McChesney, “Central Asia,” 178; Hajianpur, “Timuridenreich,” 170; Roemer, *Persien*, 254; Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 45. Bābur was able to take possession of Samarqand and Qarshī later on, but his attempts to expel the Uzbeks from Bukhara failed. He was not able to establish lasting control over his new positions. Muḥammad Khān Shībānī attacked Bābur at Sar-i Pul and regained Samarqand and Qarshī. Bābur again escaped to Kabul. Afterward Muḥammad Khān strengthened his grip on the newly conquered territories and became the most powerful military force in the region until 1510 (Hajianpur, “Timuridenreich,” 170).

⁷³ Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 53; Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 235; Haarmann, “Staat und Religion,” 333; Hajianpur, “Timuridenreich,” 171; McChesney, “Shibani Khan,” 427; Burton,

- In winter 917/1512 Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's uncle Suyūnjuk b. Ab'ī-Khair mounted a campaign against Tashkent, while his nephew 'Ubaidullah b. Maḥmūd (1476–1540) marched against Bukhara. In spring 1512, Bābur suffered a heavy defeat at Kūl-i Malik and withdrew to Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān from where he returned to Kabul. In winter 1512 the Qizilbāsh were annihilated near Ghijduwān by Uzbek forces. Subsequently, the rule of the Abu'l-Khairid-Shibanid dynasty was re-established in Transoxania. In Khwārazm the 'Arabshahid-Shibanids came to power.⁷⁴

The Uzbek incursions had one lasting result: the Uzbeks and their Chingizid overlords replaced the Timurids, first in Transoxania and later in the Cis-Oxus region.⁷⁵ Subsequently the political configurations in the wider region were characterized by a relatively stable equilibrium between the new regional powers: the Safawids in Persia, the Mughals in India and the Abu'l-Khairid-Shibanids in southern Central Asia. This equilibrium remained more or less unaffected by the transition of authority in Bukhara from the Abu'l-Khairid-Shibanid dynasty to the Tuqay-Timurids in 1599 and lasted until the fall of the Safawids in the early eighteenth century.⁷⁶

As a military spearhead facilitating a Chingizid movement, the Uzbeks established themselves between Ferghana in the west and Bukhara in the east. In the following period, Bukhara, Samarqand, Balkh and Taskent developed as focal points of Abu'l-Khairid-Shibanid authority.⁷⁷ Simultaneously, some regions like Badakhshān or Marw became subject to overlapping territorial claims of the three competing regional powers.⁷⁸

Bukharans, 3. Roger M. Savory, *Iran under the Safawids* (Cambridge/London: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 35–36. Subsequent to Muḥammad Shībānī's defeat at Marw, his realm vanished. *Amīrs* acting in the interest of the Chaghatay *khāns* of Moghūlistān occupied the Ferghana Valley (McChesney, "Central Asia," 180).

⁷⁴ Hambly, "Schaibaniden," 176; Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 53; Haarmann, "Staat und Religion," 338; Hajianpur, "Timuridenreich," 172–73; Roger Savory, *Iran under the Safawids*, 36–38; McChesney, "Central Asia," 180; Yuri Bregel, "Bukhara, iii. After the Mongol Invasion," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, IV, 517. Making inroads from Kabul into northwestern India, Bābur (r. 1501–30) finally established Timurid rule on the sub-continent and founded the Mughal Dynasty (Savory, *Iran under the Safawids*, 45).

⁷⁵ McChesney, "Central Asia," 176.

⁷⁶ Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 45–46; see also Hambly, "Schaibaniden," 181. Regarding events at the beginning of the Tuqay-Timurid reign and the military conflicts with the Safawid ruler Shāh 'Abbās, see Roemer, *Persien*, 316; Burton, *Bukharans*, 116–17.

⁷⁷ McChesney, "Shibanids," 428; McChesney, "Central Asia," 180; Hambly, "Schaibaniden," 181.

⁷⁸ Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 49.

Whereas the lower Āmū Daryā served as a line dividing Shibanid and Safawid spheres of interest, Khurāsān suffered most from Uzbek activities; particularly Herat and Mashhad became targets of raids under the command of ‘Ubaidullah Khān, who gained khanship in 1533.⁷⁹ Likewise, Kandahār several times shifted between the Safawids and the Mughals.⁸⁰ In 1526 the Uzbeks and their Chingizid overlords took possession of Balkh and the territories between the Āmū Daryā and the Hindu Kush.⁸¹ Here, the oases of Maimana, Chīchaktū and Balkh intersecting the trade route south of the Oxus served as summer quarters for the Uzbek forces. Located further south, Gharjistān constituted a Shibanid glacis until the final incorporation of this area into the Safawid realm in 1548.⁸² Far in the southeast, the remote mountain area of Badakhshān formed a bone of contention between the Mughals and the Uzbeks.⁸³ Finally, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Shibanid domains were wholly enclosed by their regional antagonists limiting further Uzbek military expansion: the Safawids in the west and southwest, the Mughals in the south and the remnants of the Chaghatay-Chingizids in the east. On the northern flank, the Qazāq likewise created new threats to Shibanid rule in Transoxania.⁸⁴

SOCIAL ORDER IN THE TURKO-MONGOL WORLD

Since the Uzbeks and their Chingizid masters acted within the framework of Turko-Mongolian traditions, the following section is concerned with institutions of authority characteristic of the Mongol social order. The

⁷⁹ In his attempt to reconquer Herat and its hinterland, ‘Ubaidullah Khān had launched numerous campaigns to Khurāsān. He besieged Herat several times in 1521, in winter 1525–26, and in 1528/29. After his second expedition in the year 1528/29, the Uzbek occupation of Herat lasted until August 1530. In 1533, the Uzbeks conquered large parts of Khurāsān. ‘Ubaidullah Khān’s final occupation of the city of Herat lasted five months from August 1536 until January 1537 (Savory, *Iran*, 57; Roemer, *Persien*, 277–82; Hambly, “Schaibaniden,” 178–80; Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 49, 57–58, especially footnote no. 77 on page 57).

⁸⁰ Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 55; Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 49.

⁸¹ Savory, *Iran under the Safawids*, 45; McChesney, “Shibanids,” 428.

⁸² Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 50–51, 57.

⁸³ Jan-Heeren Grevemeyer, *Herrschaft, Raub und Gegenseitigkeit. Die politische Geschichte Badakhshans, 1500–1883*, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982) 31, 36–38.

⁸⁴ McChesney, “Shibanids,” 428; Hambly, “Schaibaniden,” 181; Roemer, *Persien*, 338, 351–53.

investigation revolves around two central questions: Which norms and institutions can be discerned as structural principles shaping behavior and action? Is it possible to draw conclusions about worldviews and power structures on the basis of the results provided by secondary works?

The Impact of Kinship

There is a wide range of anthropological literature on Inner Asian nomads. Having conducted research in the 1960s and 1980s, evolutionist social theorists (e.g., Krader, Lindholm, Bacon, Barfield) pay particular attention to kinship and segmentary principles of social organization. Yet with a re-evaluation of historical materials, Sneath claims that the scale and degree of political centralization was determined by the political relations of aristocrats rather than by descent and kinship. The latter were only deployed as “technologies of power” by the ruling elites of more or less centralized polities.⁸⁵

The theory of the conical clan, which Thomas Barfield defines as “an extensive patrilineal kinship organization in which members of a common descent group were ranked and segmented along genealogical lines,”⁸⁶ was particularly the subject of Sneath’s critique. According to the advocates of evolutionist social theory, Mongol tribal genealogy displayed a strong patrilineal bias with tribes (*harīn*) splitting up into smaller kin groups (*oboq*) that branched off from the stem during the course of generational changes. Descent was traced through males, and often mothers were not named in the tribal genealogy charter.⁸⁷ Taking these theories as idealized models of

⁸⁵ Sneath, *Headless State*, 3. According to Sneath, models of tribal and kin-organized society were uncritically applied to the indigenous stateless societies of Inner Asia. This led to consistent misinterpretation of historical sources and ethnographic material. Particularly the genealogies of aristocratic houses were misleadingly understood as evidence of a segmentary society (*ibid.*, 2).

⁸⁶ Thomas Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier. Nomadic Empires and China* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1989), 26. See also Lawrence Krader, *The Peoples of Central Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), 322–25; Charles Lindholm, “Kinship Structure and Political Authority: The Middle East and Central Asia,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28 (1986): 340–41.

⁸⁷ Elizabeth Bacon, *Obok: A Study of Social Structure in Eurasia* (New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, 1958), 48–51, 57–58. See also Krader, *Peoples*, 339.

Turko-Mongol social organization,⁸⁸ Sneath postulates that particularly the pattern of the conical clan resembled a Neo-Confucian kind of social organization instituted in the Qing period to guarantee order and governance. Furthermore, he points to genealogies as an elite strategy “for constructing descent groups and forming them into corporate ‘building blocks’ of society in a way they had not been before.”⁸⁹ Providing an administrative idiom that was misunderstood by later scholarship as evidence of an autochthonous kin organization, these blocks did not operate in the way assumed by theories on kinship societies.⁹⁰

Though he might be right in his critique of “simplistic construction of kinship-based clan > tribe > state,” Sneath’s argument regarding an overestimation of kinship and “colonial-era notions of tribalism” does not bear up against critical reviews.⁹¹ In fact, anthropologists sometimes relativize the importance of kinship and agree on the fuzziness of the notion of tribe. According to Joseph Fletcher, larger tribal units (*īl*) were open to absorbing new un-submitted groups (*bulgha*); the latter could be incorporated into the empire as a component tribe headed by its own chief.⁹² Following from this, in Inner Asia a tribe was not a static unit, the membership of which rested exclusively on ancestry and blood relations. It was an open and fluid structure depending more on political interests than on pure kinship, which was only one of various principles of organization.⁹³ In Central Asia tribes very seldom functioned as a uniform actor in segmentary opposition to other groups; the case of the Nuer as described by Evans-Pritchard is not common. Factions opposed to each other frequently chose different partners or supported different candidates for chieftaincy or khanship.⁹⁴ This fluidity is mirrored by a wide variety of terms for tribal

⁸⁸ Although the *Secret History* provides genealogical data, these genealogies are not segmentary! Instead of a purely segmentary, conical clan system, the source refers to “sets of ruling lineages/houses with a large number of subjects” (Sneath, *Headless State*, 62).

⁸⁹ Sneath, *Headless State*, 102.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3. More recent research shows that in early twentieth-century Mongolia, the pastoral encampment was a fluid residential group, consisting of about one to eight yurts. Instead of patrilineal kinship, unequal wealth was the basis of co-residence (*ibid.*, 97).

⁹¹ For a critical review of Sneath’s work, see Peter B. Golden, “The Headless State: Aristocratic Orders, Kinship Society, and Misinterpretations of Nomadic Inner Asia by David Sneath,” *Asian Studies* 68, no. 1 (2009): 293–96.

⁹² Fletcher, “Mongols,” 19.

⁹³ Morgan, *Mongols*, 37; Barfield, *Perilous Frontier*, 26–27; Adshad, *Central Asia*, 80.

⁹⁴ Kim, “The early history,” 303.

groups, for example *qaum*, *ta'ifa* (*tāyifa*), *uymāq*, *qabīla*, *batn*, *bulūk*, *īl*, *ūlūs* and *ahl*. But even in the later Uzbek period, these terms were devoid of distinct or technical connotation.⁹⁵ According to McChesney, “[t]o attempt a precise English translation of these terms would be to impose a formality where no formality was intended.”⁹⁶

According to structuralist thinking, Mongol tribal structures were hierarchic and even in times of peace were based on guarantees of protection following a top-down principle. But political authority exercised from the top was reinforced by allegiances formed on all echelons and by loyalties channeled from the bottom to the top of the social and political hierarchy. In times of war, military units and chains of command corresponded with those hierarchies and loyalties.⁹⁷ Although structuralist notions scarcely reflect social realities with regular breaks of alliances, rearrangements and shifts of tribal loyalties, we should not deny the structuring effect and importance of kinship. Hence in their impact on actors and worldviews, kinship and descent should neither be completely ignored nor overestimated. Taking kinship as a given ingredient of human sociation, I see it as one of various structuring principles of social order. Furthermore, I view the Uzbek tribes as figurations and coated by a varnish of common ancestry.

Patron-Client Relations and Notions of Nobility

Many aspects of social life were regulated and shaped by patron-client relations. Clan leaders and notables (*noyon*) usually maintained a large clientele of wards and supporters who were called *nöker*. Those associates were recruited from pools of diverse origin: nomadic, sedentary, other aristocrats, commoners and slaves.⁹⁸ To become a *nöker*, one had to cut the ties to one's old clan and swear fealty to the new master. The attachment to a tribal leader was often more a matter of voluntary choice or survival strategy than of kinship. An insignificant warrior could gather a clientage if he acted

⁹⁵ McChesney, *Waqf*, 57.

⁹⁶ Robert D. McChesney, “The Amirs of Muslim Central Asia in the XVIIth Century,” *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 26 (1983): 34, footnote no. 5.

⁹⁷ Bert G. Fagner, “Die Mongolen und ihr Imperium,” in *Zentralasien 13. bis 20. Jahrhundert. Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, ed. Bert G. Fagner and Andreas Kappeler (Wien: Promedia, 2006), 108.

⁹⁸ Fletcher, “Mongols,” 18, 20; Barfield, *Perilous Frontier*, 26; Pflücke, *Beiträge*, 19.

as a qualified leader with the charisma to attract others to his banners.⁹⁹ The *nöker* were responsible for errands, guard duties, espionage, and military services. Provided that they had not been slaves, these associates were commoners and free subjects who often belonged to a noble family themselves. Furthermore, they were allowed to break off a patron-client relationship any time. In light of the periodic wars and feuds, a *nöker* could choose his new patron as it suited his interests and his quest for the means of survival. In most cases, however, clientship was de facto hereditary, and anyone who constantly changed his patrons ran the risk of losing face.¹⁰⁰

Membership of social classes (noble, commoner or slave) was subject to reshuffling processes in times of war and upheaval. The classes as such remained a fact implying some basic imperatives of social distance.¹⁰¹ Generosity was regarded as another important personal characteristic serving as a means to bind followers. Military skills and qualities as a warrior and hero were of similar importance.¹⁰² Often, leaders of subordinate tribes anticipated subsidies or spoils of war in the form of luxury goods that were then redistributed among their followers.¹⁰³ Jürgen Paul points out that in tribal contexts the leaders often enjoyed little more than the first pick, while in more regularized contexts the distribution of booty took a variety of forms such as gifts, banquets and largesse.¹⁰⁴ Booty of all kinds, including cattle and humans, was distributed among the participants of campaigns. The opportunities for royal munificence were large-scale feasts and drinking parties, but also occasions of gift giving and distribution:

“According to the *Secret History*, Chinggis Khan regularly shared out defeated peoples and prisoners of war among his family and chief officers. In narrating these divisions, the Mongolian text consistently uses the noun *qubi* and verbs such as *qubiyaju*. Indeed, such divisions were so central to their political culture that in the *Secret History* the foundation

⁹⁹ Morgan, *Mongols*, 37–38; Barfield, *Perilous Frontier*, 26.

¹⁰⁰ Pflücke, *Beiträge*, 19–20.

¹⁰¹ Adsheed, *Central Asia*, 17–18. See also Bacon, *Obok*, 53.

¹⁰² Fletcher, “Mongols,” 23; Thomas Barfield, “Tribe and State Relations: The Inner Asian Perspective,” in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, ed. Ph. S. Khoury and J. Kostiner (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 173.

¹⁰³ Barfield, “Tribe and State Relations,” 160, 174.

¹⁰⁴ Jürgen Paul, “The State and the Military—A Nomadic Perspective,” in *Militär und Staatlichkeit. Beiträge des Kolloquiums am 29. und 30. 04. 2002*, ed. Irene Schneider (Halle: *Orientwissenschaftliche Texte 12; Mitteilungen des SFB 586 “Differenz und Integration” 5* (2003)): 35–36.

of the Mongols' administrative apparatus is directly linked to the need to keep full records of this continuous sharing out of subject peoples in a 'blue register (*kökö debter*).'"¹⁰⁵

One of the prime qualities required of a tribal leader was hospitality and the ability "to feed and entertain large numbers of followers."¹⁰⁶ If a tribal leader failed to consider the needs of his associates, often directed toward a share of plunder, his authority was soon put in jeopardy. Consequently, chieftaincy seemed to be an ad hoc status depending on the subjects' consent to being ruled. Likewise, the status of a chief was owed to victory in battle or to his success in struggles for authority.¹⁰⁷

Mongol Succession Rules

In Mongol society tribal chiefs were responsible for leadership, also in cases of war and conflict. They organized the distribution of pastures and springs, and determined seasonal migration routes.¹⁰⁸ Chiefs or *khāns* were appointed by the nobles (*noyon*), lords and families in possession of pedigrees and large herds.¹⁰⁹ Fletcher describes concepts of seniority and tanistry¹¹⁰ rather than pure primogeniture as principles determining the election of chiefs. Tanistry means that the most qualified member of the aristocratic lineage should lead the tribal group. On a tribal leader's death, chieftaincy passed to the next senior male of the ruling house, usually the chief's eldest living brother, "and so on down to the youngest brother before passing to the next

¹⁰⁵ Thomas T. Allsen, "Sharing out the Empire: Apportioned Lands under the Mongols," in *Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. Anatoly M. Khazanov and André Wink (Richmond: Curzon, 2001), 183.

¹⁰⁶ Paul, "The State and the Military," 36.

¹⁰⁷ Fletcher, "Mongols," 22, 38–39; Lapidus, "Tribes and State Formation," 33. Morris Rossabi, "The Legacy of the Mongols," in *Central Asia in Historical Perspective*, ed. Beatrice F. Manz (Boulder/San Francisco: Westview Press, 1994), 31.

¹⁰⁸ Fletcher, "Mongols," 17.

¹⁰⁹ Adshead, *Central Asia*, 17.

¹¹⁰ Literally meaning "second in excellence," the term "tanistry" is derived from tanist and is used as a denomination for the heir apparent to a Celtic chief, typically the most vigorous adult of his kin, elected by family heads in full assembly during the chief's lifetime. The tanist was not necessarily a chief's eldest son, but in general the worthiest and wisest of his male relatives ("Tanistry," Encyclopaedia Britannica Online. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2001. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/582575/tanistry>).

generation.”¹¹¹ In contrast, the personal property of a father including the *yūrt* passed according to the patrilineal concept of ultimogeniture to his youngest son by his principal wife. This institutional cleavage created an arena of inherent tension because it justified any choice among the tribal aristocracy and resulted in immense uncertainty regarding the succession, a fact that frequently led to violent succession struggles.¹¹²

The position of women among the Mongols was expressed in the regency following a ruler’s death; for this interregnum political authority and leadership lay in the hands of the principal wife of the former *khān*.¹¹³ At household level, a woman retained considerable influence either through her sons, or if they were too young she acted as head of the group. Daughters often served as important links to cement a reciprocal alliance between two groups.¹¹⁴

The factions in support of a certain candidate negotiated the succession issue at an assembly, the *qūriltāy*,¹¹⁵ which also served to declare rival factions to be rebels or to plan military campaigns. Grounded on a consultative basis, the *qūriltāy* was the stage to announce the new ruler. Although a reign officially began when an eligible candidate was acclaimed at the council, in reality a ruler’s reign dated from the decisive defeat he inflicted on the last of his relevant rivals.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Fletcher, “Mongols,” 17; Krader, *Peoples*, 322–23.

¹¹² Fletcher, “Mongols,” 17, 24–25; Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 163; Rossabi, “Legacy,” 32.

¹¹³ Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 184; Fletcher, “Mongols,” 26; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, II, 64; Barfield, *Perilous Frontier*, 26. After the death of Ögedei Khān in 1241, his widow Töregene Khātūn intervened in favor of her son Güyük. Her regency lasted approximately five years until Güyük was finally declared *khāqān* in 1246. Güyük’s reign ended in 1248; his widow Oghul Ghaimish then acted as regent until the succession of Möngke Khān in 1251 (Weiers, “Goldene Horde,” 198–99, 204–05).

¹¹⁴ Bacon, *Obok*, 51, 61; Krader, *Peoples*, 97; Lindholm “Kinship Structure,” 338–39; Barfield, *Perilous Frontier*, 26. For the social position and status of Mongol women, see also Robert Bleichsteiner, “Zeremonielle Trinksitten und Raumordnung bei den turkomongolischen Nomaden,” *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 6 & 7 (1952), 202–03.

¹¹⁵ Doerfer gives, among others, the following alternative spellings for this term: *quriltay* (قريلتای), *quriltāy* (قرولتای), *quriltāy* (قروطای), *quriltāy* (قرلتای), *qūriltāy* (قوريلتای), *qūriltā* (قوريلتا) (Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1963–75), I, 435).

¹¹⁶ Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, II, 112; Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 184; Fletcher, “Mongols,” 25–26; Morgan, *Mongols*, 39–40.

Descent from the royal house, the “Golden Lineage” (*altān ūrūgh*) formed the ultimate principle of legitimacy. The choice of the emperor (*qā'ān*, *khāqān*) from all eligible candidates was justified by the opposing succession rules, either patrilineal or lateral.¹¹⁷ In some cases, a chief or military leader who did not belong to the royal lineage could seize power and exert authority in the name of a shadow *khān*. Often military commanders (*amīrs*) established a kind of “double authority” and slipped into the role of a protector of the puppet *khān* on whose behalf they governed the empire.¹¹⁸ In other cases a chief could be chosen by consent to rule over the other tribes, thus pushing another than the royal lineage to dominance, or a freebooter from outside brought enough tribes under his command to usurp the throne, as we have seen in the case of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī. As Fletcher points out, in most cases the succession choice was guided either by consent and compromise or by a fierce succession struggle among the eligible parties. Very often the old ruler declared one of his sons successor to the throne, as Chingīz Khān did.¹¹⁹ Since the Mongols owed their loyalty much more to a particular person than to an office or position, their leaders faced difficulties in transferring authority.¹²⁰ Even the decision of an old chief or *khān* was not binding and the succession struggle began soon after the old ruler’s death.

Military Organization of Turko-Mongol Empires

Remarkably, we observe a continuity of tribal empires of Turko-Mongol origin in spite of the recurrent dissolutions and the relative weakness of the regency as an integrative element during the succession period. Prolonged wars of succession guaranteed the continuance of steppe empires and served as the structural medium for continued cohesion.¹²¹ In a steppe empire, immense authority was concentrated in the hands of key figures. The integrity of the polity was based entirely on tight personal bonds between the emperor and the tribal leadership supporting him. As a result, the whole polity soon dissolved upon an emperor’s death, unless one of his successors

¹¹⁷ Fletcher, “Mongols,” 19; Kim, “The early history,” 304.

¹¹⁸ Hambly, “Goldene Horde,” 132–33; Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, 64–67, 73.

¹¹⁹ Fletcher, “Mongols,” 36.

¹²⁰ Rossabi, “Legacy,” 32.

¹²¹ Fletcher, “Mongols,” 27.

acted as re-founder and built a new *Herrschaftsverband* with the help of his entourage. The dynamic element of nomadic pastoralism formed the basis of large empires because it demanded leadership and constant readiness to move and to cope with economic uncertainty. It promoted coordinated action and the formation of large armies. In the Mongol world, military and society were not divided. The army encompassed the whole society and almost everyone was involved when violent conflicts with enemies occurred.¹²² As the modes of production and reproduction were extremely limited, territorial expansion through military campaigns formed a stable basis for generating a livelihood in the early Mongol Empire.

Many scholars describe the establishment of the decimal system of military organization as the attempt of Chingīz Khān to break up some of the enemy tribes,¹²³ but this system existed before and formed the organizational backbone of steppe empires of Turkic origin.¹²⁴ The decimal division reaching from ten to ten thousand was by no means a pure military invention. According to a Sung envoy at the Mongol court, the single divisions were civilian households. Each military unit included the households and family members of the commanders, not only the warriors. Yet the original tribes continued to exist, and even Chingīz Khān was not able to replace them.¹²⁵ Hence the new military order was the means to direct obedience and allegiance toward the Chingizid clan.¹²⁶ Turko-Mongol armies were divided into center (*qūl*), left wing (*ju'un ghār*) and right wing (*bara'un ghār*), each of them headed by its own commander.¹²⁷

¹²² Ibid., 14, 23.

¹²³ Nagel, *Timur*, 47; Sneath, *Headless State*, 115. The organization of the Mongol military according to the decimal system took place between 1203 and 1206 (Fletcher, "Mongols," 30; Morgan, *Mongols*, 89).

¹²⁴ Morgan, *Mongols*, 49, 89.

¹²⁵ Fletcher, "Mongols," 37; Nagel, *Timur*, 47.

¹²⁶ Morgan, *Mongols*, 90; Weiers, "Goldene Horde," 33–35, 103.

¹²⁷ Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, 380; Weiers, *Geschichte*, 97. For a detailed study of the military organization under Chingīz Khān and his successors, see Mansura Haidar, *Medieval Central Asia. Polity, Economy and Military Organization (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)* (Aligarh: Manohar, 2004), 233–94. Another detailed account is given by Doerfer who, referring to Verdansky, distinguishes five major contingents: center, right and left wing, rear guard and vanguard (Doerfer, *Elemente*, IV, 88–89).

Spatial Dimensions of Social Order

In this section I refer to Peter Jackson's brilliant research on the genesis of the Mongol successor realms to show the correspondence between their spatial makeup and Turko-Mongol worldviews.¹²⁸ Although the emergence of *ūlūses* is associated with a first step toward the establishment of territorial entities, those polities were by no means territorially fixed by clear-cut borders.¹²⁹ In the existing literature, the meaning of the word covers a broad spectrum from nation to tribe to a Mongol successor state.¹³⁰ Gerhard Doerfer defines the *ūlūs* as a coalition of tribal groupings seen from the vantage point of the ruler. Sometimes the term meant simply subjects of a ruler.¹³¹ Manz defines an *ūlūs* as "a community—a clustered network of interpersonal links," within which "constant political contests both required and created a definite and known set of participants."¹³²

Initially an *ūlūs* was a grant distributed by Chingīz Khān (d. 1227) among his relatives. But it was not necessarily a territorial gift. It included livestock, booty, people and grazing grounds. When the Mongols occupied lands inhabited by sedentary peoples, villages, cities and farmland formed another component part of these allowances. Some of the possessions might have been a direct part of a prince's appanage, but often they were far away from the original patrimony of their possessor.¹³³ Representatives of each Chingizid house participated in military campaigns and administered settled lands in common. Therefore an *ūlūs* can also be defined as a kind of joint property "in which all Chingizids came to have an interest, a share."¹³⁴ According to Thomas Allsen, the partitioning of the Mongol Empire and the distribution of grants was the result of a well-established nomadic social practice based on patrimonial notions of society and governance requiring

¹²⁸ Peter Jackson, "From *Ulus* to Khanate. The Making of the Mongol States, c. 1220–1290," in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2001), 12–38.

¹²⁹ Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 180; Nagel, *Timur*, 48; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, II, 36; 66.

¹³⁰ Fletcher, "Mongols," 37.

¹³¹ Doerfer, *Elemente*, I, 175.

¹³² Manz, "Chaghatay Identity," 34.

¹³³ Jackson, "From *Ulus* to Khanate," 19–21.

¹³⁴ Allsen, "Sharing out the Empire," 173.

leaders to redistribute their wealth and possession among family members, retainers and followers.¹³⁵

Habitual disagreement regarding the status of territories and fiscal policy kept warriorship alive within those areas. And even after the formation of the different *ūluses*, shifting boundaries and an exchange of parts of the population remained the order of the day.¹³⁶ The allocation of grants was by no means a single undertaking of Chingīz Khān in order to divide his realm. His successors continued to allot appanages that were subject to recurrent redistribution.¹³⁷ Jackson defines the *ūlūs* as

“more than just an assemblage of peoples and pasturelands: the ulus of a particular prince might be dispersed, in fact, over a far wider geographical area than just the territorial base [...] which he occupied at the time. [It resembled] an extremely complex pattern of rights over tribal elements, colonies or enslaved subject people, and grazing grounds, with perhaps the addition of nearby cities and their agricultural hinterlands with entitlement to urban commodities and revenues.”¹³⁸

This practice, however, does not imply any fixation of the territories once the allotment was done. We often find possessions and shares belonging to clan members in the appanages of other clan members. For instance, Chingīz Khān allotted Khiwa and Khat in Khwārazm to Chaghatay, though Khwārazm was part of Jūchī’s sphere of influence, whereas the Tuluids too had some possessions in the Golden Horde.¹³⁹ Moreover, in many cases the territorial properties of the princes considerably shifted over the years because the allowances were bestowed in different phases coinciding with the age and status of the appanage holders. With growing age, their respective properties shifted away from the center of the Mongol Empire, radiating in different directions while independently developing gravity. Jackson identifies the Irtysh and the Altai as initially the domain of Jūchī (d. 1227), Chingīz Khān’s eldest son. This *ūlūs* was removed and turned away from the center in later times and finally came to be settled in the Qipchāq Steppe far in the west.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the pastureland at the Irtysh regarded

¹³⁵ Ibid., 183.

¹³⁶ Manz, “Mongol History rewritten and relived,” 136.

¹³⁷ Jackson, “From *Ulus* to Khanate,” 25–27.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 27–28.

¹³⁹ Allsen, “Sharing out the Empire,” 177–78.

¹⁴⁰ Jackson, “From *Ulus* to Khanate,” 24–25.

as the original center of the *ūlūs* remained in the hands of the family and was transferred to Shībān, one of Jūchī's sons.¹⁴¹

As we see, the emergence of the four *ūlūses* (*arba' ūlūs*) was a gradual process that took a longer period of time.¹⁴² Within the four *ulūses* constant distribution and redistribution of territories continued because of the pressure created by the unaltered expectations and needs of younger clan members.¹⁴³ As Allsen argues, the recurrent princely conflicts centered not on borders but on the access to and control of apportioned lands.¹⁴⁴

In the fourteenth century, the *ūlūses* underwent remarkable changes. Apart from the obliteration of the *ūlūs* Ögedei and the decline of the Chaghatay domain in Central Asia, the remaining appanages were consolidated and concentrated in the hands of fewer Chingizids.¹⁴⁵ When the *ūlūses* had been spatially shaped and consolidated, old spatial concepts were revived. For instance, Transoxania, the land between Oxus and Jaxartes, was reestablished as a polity under the rule of the Chaghatay house, while Iran was revived as a distinct sphere of authority under the Īl-Khāns.¹⁴⁶ Having connected clan rights and lineage authority to the distribution of territories, people and herds, the *ūlūs* concept proved to be crucial for Central Asia's political geography. In the long term it was the decisive criterion for legitimacy and loyalty as well as for satisfying political demands arising from the expectations of clan members.¹⁴⁷

SOCIAL ORDER IN UZBEK-DOMINATED TRANSOXANIA

After discussing the most important structural characteristics of Inner Asian steppe societies, and especially that of the Mongols, we may conclude that

¹⁴¹ Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, 26; Sarkisyanz, *Geschichte*, 182.

¹⁴² Finally the Mongol Empire became divided between the four Chingizid houses: Jūchī (in the Qipchāq Steppe and lower Volga region), Chaghatay (in West Turkistan), Ögedei (in Jhungaria and later Western Mongolia) and Tului (in Eastern Mongolia) (Allsen, "Sharing out the Empire," 173; Weiers, *Geschichte*, 113–40; Fragner, "Mongolen," 110–14; Rossabi, "Legacy," 32). For the history of the single *ulūses* see also Fragner, "Regionalism," 347–50.

¹⁴³ For concrete examples see Allsen, "Sharing out the Empire," 179–81.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 173.

¹⁴⁵ Jackson, "From *Ulus* to Khanate," 31.

¹⁴⁶ Nagel, *Timur*, 54; Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 9.

¹⁴⁷ Fragner, "Mongolen," 111.

they and their nomadic contemporaries adhered to a worldview underpinned by norms such as reciprocity, generosity, seniority, tanistry and descent from Chingīz Khān, the latter defining access to the throne. The socio-political setting was dominated by patron-client relations and violent succession struggles and resulted from the institutional gap between seniority and tanistry on the one hand and the concept of patrilineal ultimogeniture on the other. In the next section I will look into the patterns of authority in Uzbek-dominated Transoxania. How was Chingizid power institutionalized? Which changes can be observed in comparison to the Mongol and Timurid orders? We will see that the Uzbek conquest of Central Asia led to no essential modifications in the socio-economic structure of the region. As Anatoly Khazanov argues, only recurrent changes in the composition of the ruling classes took place. The land was redistributed among the members of the ruling clan and its associates, so that it was concentrated in the hands of the Chingizid house and the Uzbek tribes.¹⁴⁸

Distribution of Territories, Patronage and Localism

Two *qūriltāys/kingāshs* held in 1511 and 1512 served to set the stage for a political order that lasted for the next three centuries.¹⁴⁹ After the establishment of Abu'l-Khairid rule, the Uzbek military units received pastures at the margins of the oases.¹⁵⁰ Now adherents of a nomadic worldview lived in close proximity to a sedentary population in possession of a sophisticated agricultural and commercial infrastructure.¹⁵¹ Actually the successors of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī installed a clan rather than a true dynastic rule. Following the practice rooted in steppe society worldviews, the newly conquered space was divided and appanaged to the male members of the royal clan, who belonged to four different lines: the Janibegids, the Soyunchukids, the Shahbudaqids and the Kuchkonjids.¹⁵² In later times, the

¹⁴⁸ Khazanov, *Nomads*, 260.

¹⁴⁹ McChesney, *Waqf*, 51. Regarding the events accompanying the *qūriltāys*, see also Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 69–76. For the importance of consultative assemblies among the Turko-Mongols, see Haidar, *Medieval Central Asia*, 92–117.

¹⁵⁰ “The nomadic tribes which accompanied Shaybani Khan occupied the best pastures and crowded the local semi-nomadic and partly even sedentary population in Middle Asia” (Khazanov, *Nomads*, 261).

¹⁵¹ Adshead, *Central Asia*, 154; Holzwarth, “Uzbek State,” 95.

¹⁵² McChesney, “Central Asia,” 180; McChesney, *Waqf*, 53.

pattern of allocation was connected to the steady emergence of new eponymous clans and sub-clans, which were indicators of the role of descent in shaping the political landscape.¹⁵³ Dickson defines the Uzbek principalities of the Oxus region as a “confederation or cluster of independent appanages united by neo-eponymous ties [or] as a neo-eponymous grouping of appanage states.”¹⁵⁴ The appanage order was highly decentralized. Each recipient held the right to appoint and dismiss. He was also in charge of the collection of revenues and of organizing the military forces within his sphere of authority. According to McChesney, the Chingizid system was

“neither static nor rigid. Although the boundaries of the individual territories retained a certain consistency over the two centuries in which the system held sway and devotion to the Chingizid way remained constant, the actual form in which the appanage state appeared at any given moment was a product of the political circumstances of the time.”¹⁵⁵

As a logical continuation of Chingizid ideas of governance, the emergence of a quadripartite khanate in Transoxania echoed the division of the Mongol Empire into four successor empires, just on a much smaller scale. At the same time it marked a major step in the fixation of geographical spaces through clan rights. The appanage structure appeared a “microcosm of the khanate” and remained unaltered for about half a century.¹⁵⁶ This way of spatial division and decentralization resulted from the situation after the death of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī, when there was a group of descendants of Abū'l-Khair claiming the political heritage of Shībānī Khān instead of one prominent figure who could have occupied the position of an emperor.¹⁵⁷ The political order was a direct outcome and visible expression of a steppe society worldview dictating what was politically proper. The political stability and internal balance of each principality rested on a mutual dependence between the Chingizid appanage holder and his Uzbek supporters. Whereas the former remained subject to pressure from his clan, non-Chingizid commanders (*amīrs*) bearing titles like *bēg/bīg* or *bī* furnished

¹⁵³ Dickson, “Uzbek Dynastic Theory,” 209–10; McChesney, “Central Asia,” 176.

¹⁵⁴ Dickson, “Uzbek Dynastic Theory,” 210.

¹⁵⁵ McChesney, “Central Asia,” 177.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 180.

¹⁵⁷ Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 69–76.

the Uzbek tribal aristocracy.¹⁵⁸ The latter formed a stratum of middlemen connecting the Uzbek tribes to the royal court. According to McChesney, faith in the appanage system as the appropriate form of authority foreclosed the creation of a bureaucratized empire of the Irano-Islamic type.¹⁵⁹

McChesney defines the amirid class as “composed of individuals whose positions of power were derived from status within Turko-Mongol tribal organizations.”¹⁶⁰ Although they were not entitled to rule, the *amīrs* furnished the most influential elite who derived their standing partly from the support of their own tribal groups and their ability to act as leaders, intermediaries and commanders. Their tribal clientage provided the military support each appanage *khān* could rely on. At the same time, the political influence of the Uzbek *amīrs* depended on their association with and allegiance to one of the ruling Abu’l-Khairid-Chingizid sub-clans. In return for loyalty and support, the appanage holder rewarded his amirid associates with grants of land (*iqṭā’/soyūrghāl*) and financial means.¹⁶¹ Despite being appointed to certain offices, the Uzbek *amīrs* perhaps depended more on their tribal status than on pure khanly patronage because their personal authority was more or less symbolic if lacking sufficient support from their fellow men.¹⁶² The political behavior of the amirid elite was determined more by loyalty to the Chingizid constitution embodied in the *yāsā* than by obedience to a single Chingizid line. The *amīrs* had no problems transferring their loyalty. Once a pretender assumed a dominant position in a power struggle, other *amīrs* soon shifted their support.¹⁶³

Besides the Uzbek *amīrs*, the sources mention Tajik commanders and even members of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods (e.g., Sayyid Atā’ī, Jūybārī) in charge of military and administrative affairs.¹⁶⁴ The *amīrs* fulfilled both military and administrative functions. Within each appanage, they held key

¹⁵⁸ McChesney, *Waqf*, 57.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 48–49, 78. The administrative apparatus of an imperial fisc usually did not exist (*ibid.*, 48).

¹⁶⁰ McChesney, “Amirs,” 34.

¹⁶¹ McChesney, *Waqf*, 57; McChesney, “Central Asia,” 177. Although many *amīrs* were descendants of Chingīz Khān’s ascendants or descendants of cognates, they could not lay legitimated claims to authority within the political context of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (McChesney, “Central Asia,” 177).

¹⁶² McChesney, “Amirs,” 61–65; McChesney, *Waqf*, 59.

¹⁶³ McChesney “Amirs,” 37.

¹⁶⁴ McChesney, “Central Asia,” 177.

offices like that of *atālīq* and *dīwānbēgī*. In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the *atālīq* acted as advisor and supervisor of his Chingizid overlord. Sometimes younger members of the ruling clan were brought up under the tutelage of *atālīqs*. The *dīwānbēgī* was perhaps in charge of both, military and administrative affairs.¹⁶⁵ According to McChesney, khanly control over the *atālīqs* was fairly tight even under the Tuqay-Timurids in the seventeenth century. This is also mirrored by the periodic transfer of *iqṭā'* assignments and the fact that *iqṭā'*s were not hereditary.¹⁶⁶

In the Abū'l-Khairid empire, central authority was largely restricted to the court and the center of the individual principalities. Local authorities such as village and tribal elders, the “whitebeards” (*rīshsafīds/āqsaqāls*) or *sharī'a* court members (*qāzīs, muftīs*), mosque functionaries (*imām*) and *waqf* administrators enjoyed considerable influence. The collection of revenues and the responsibility for taxation, security and recruitment of troops was delegated to local authorities and office holders.¹⁶⁷ Manz compares the Uzbek order with a kind of “superstructure” imposed on a heterogeneous subject population with its own distinct patterns of social and political organization. Influential urban elites played a major role in the city governance, a large proportion of which “lay in the hands of religious men, major landowners, and merchants who wielded power through family and patronage networks.” The latter connected the local population to the ruling class. In urban centers and rural areas, Sufi sheikhs enjoyed a great reputation because charitable endowments (*waqf*) they were in control of enabled them to provide protection, religious advice and social services.¹⁶⁸ In the time of the Chingizid dynasties, each town had its own ruling clique or nobility consisting of *khwājas*, merchants and a landed aristocracy. Every town and its quarters had its titular mayors and administrators (*āqsaqālān, mūysafīdān, īlik-bāshiyān*) backed by two assistants, a male (*pāykār*) and a female (*kaiwānī khādim*).¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ McChesney, *Waqf*, 59; Yuri Bregel, “Atālīk,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., XII, (supplement), 96–98; Doerfer, *Elemente*, III, 69–71.

¹⁶⁶ McChesney, “Amirs,” 53, 63. On the significance, meaning and function of the *iqṭā'* throughout Islamic history, see Paul, “Von 950 bis 1200,” 239–47.

¹⁶⁷ McChesney, *Waqf*, 59.

¹⁶⁸ Manz, “Historical Background,” 11.

¹⁶⁹ Mansura Haidar, “Urban Classes in the Uzbek Khanates, XVI–XVII Centuries,” in *Central Asia: Papers Presented at the 30th International Congress of Human Sciences in*

Qūriltāys, Chingizid Ancestry and the Norm of Seniority

Although McChesney designated the advent of Uzbek hegemony and the Shibanid reign as a kind of Chingizid renaissance,¹⁷⁰ there is no reason to suggest that the previously ruling Timurids adhered to a completely different worldview. Indeed, they also organized their empire in accordance with the framework of norms and institutions derived from Turko-Mongol traditions.¹⁷¹ Since he lacked Chingizid descent, Tīmūr (r. 1370–1405) exercised authority on behalf of a shadow *khān* from the line of Ögedei. Bearing the title of “son-in-law” (*güregen/kuragan*), he tried to legitimate his authority by marrying Chingizid princesses.¹⁷² As Manz notes, for Tīmūr the connections to Mongol traditions and to the family of Chingīz Khān were of importance, especially toward the end of his life. Even his successors made strong efforts to gain legitimacy through genealogical and historical ties with the Chingizids.¹⁷³ However, Tīmūr’s offspring and successors abandoned the tradition of a puppet ruler.¹⁷⁴ Beyond this, Timurid authority was—with all its advantages and weaknesses—based on the same concepts as in other Turko-Mongol contexts: corporate clan rule, including the partition of the dominion into four parts, which were assigned to Tīmūr’s offspring, corporate decision-making, seniority and patron-client relations.¹⁷⁵ The same held true for the dreadful succession struggles. The latter were due to the lack of clear succession rules. All successors were in principle entitled

Asia and North Africa, ed. Graciela de la Lama (Mexico City: El Colegio de Mexico, 1982), 25.

¹⁷⁰ McChesney equates the reestablishment of Shibanid rule after the battle of Ghijduwān to a revival of the Chingizid dispensation after a time when its most visible signs (i.e., Chingizid rulers and heirs) had disappeared (McChesney, “Amirs,” 35; McChesney, *Waqf*, 52–53).

¹⁷¹ On Turko-Mongol traditions see Manz, *Tamerlane*, 2–9.

¹⁷² Tīmūr reserved the *khān* title for the Chingizid puppet ruler, while he bore the title of *amīr-i buzurg/kalān*, “commander-in-chief” (Manz, *Tamerlane*, 14; Roemer, “Tīmūr in Iran,” 44).

¹⁷³ The several Timurid courts tried to gain legitimacy through genealogical works placing emphasis on the linkages between the Timurids and the house of Chingīz Khān. One of the most important of these works was the *Mu’izz al-ansāb*, which was compiled for Shāh Rukh (r. 1409–47) (Beatrice Manz, “Family and Ruler in Timurid Historiography,” in *Studies on Central Asian History. In Honor of Yuri Bregel*, ed. Devin DeWeese (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2001), 64–66).

¹⁷⁴ Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion*, 10.

¹⁷⁵ Haidar, *Medieval Central Asia*, 119.

to inheritance.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, McChesney's assumption of a Chingizid revival only refers to the descent of the new rulers in Mā Warā' al-Nahr.

Yet the fact that the claims of the new authorities fell on fertile ground shows the importance of Chingizid ancestry even after an interlude of more than one hundred years, at a time when it was not in force any longer. The reference to Juchid ancestry lent the arrival of the Uzbek forces under Abu'l-Khairid leadership a political power and effectiveness that reflects the vitality of descent and genealogy as ultimate bases of legitimacy and their importance in determining the worldview held by adherents of steppe society. On the other hand, Shībānī Khān bolstered his claims to sovereignty with lasting military success and reference to religious piety, and his role as a just Islamic leader is mirrored by his title *imām al-zamān* and *khalīfat al-rahīmān*.¹⁷⁷ The new rulers claimed the heritage of the Timurids and the former *ulūs* Chaghatay. This was reflected by the revival of former ulusist patterns of space and the struggle that revolved around Khurāsān between the Uzbeks and the Safawids later on.¹⁷⁸

Although Chingizid descent was important to bolster claims to authority, now these claims were further restricted to one particular lineage.¹⁷⁹ The members of the royal clan bore the title *khān* or *sultān* and formed an exclusive circle, the members of which were predestined to hold the highest positions in the hierarchy. Yet only the regnant *khān* or *khāqān* was entitled to *sikka* and *khūṭba*, having coins struck and the Friday prayers recited in his name—the ultimate signs of common recognition of a ruler's sovereignty.¹⁸⁰ Because of the relative equality of the single appanages, the ruling *khān* acted as first amongst equals,¹⁸¹ representing the entire royal clan and his own sub-clan. But often his authority was of nominal nature. More striking,

¹⁷⁶ For the power struggle after Tīmūr's death see Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion*, 16–21; Roemer, "Successors," 98–101, 111–15, 118–20.

¹⁷⁷ Elena A. Davidovich, "The Monetary Reform of Muḥammad Shībānī Khān in 913–914/1507–08," in *Studies on Central Asian History in Honor of Yuri Bregel*, ed. Devin DeWeese (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2001), 155–56; see also Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 60–63, 66–67.

¹⁷⁸ Fragner, "Regionalism," 350–51.

¹⁷⁹ Dickson, "Uzbek Dynastic Theory," 208.

¹⁸⁰ Haarmann, "Staat und Religion," 336. In Herat, the *khūṭba* was first recited in the name of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī in the middle of Muḥarrām 913/late May 1507. This act formally signaled the end of the Timurid dynasty (Davidovich, "Monetary Reform," 129).

¹⁸¹ McChesney, *Waqf*, 54–55; McChesney, "Central Asia," 176; Dickson, "Uzbek Dynastic Theory," 211–12; Burton, *Bukharans*, 3–4; Haarmann, "Staat und Religion," 336.

the principle of seniority reduced his power, which depended on his ability to launch military expeditions. Instead, he exercised a moral authority derived from his position as “dynastic elder” to unite the neo-eponymous sub-clans and to preside over the *qūriltāy/kingāsh*.¹⁸² The sub-clans were free to conduct their own foreign affairs, a fact that hampered all attempts to establish Uzbek supremacy in Khurāsān.¹⁸³

“The process of formalizing eligibility was complex and fluid. Factors such as the resources controlled by the clan, the outcome of contests ..., and the size of the royal cohort determined eligibility.”¹⁸⁴ Seniority as a regulator of access to the throne led to unpredictability regarding the succession and to increasing conflicts among the candidates. To solve this problem, it became common to appoint an heir apparent (*qa‘alkhān*), whose appointment was likewise guided by seniority. These ambiguities in combination with corporate sovereignty and clan eligibility gave the system its special color.¹⁸⁵

Although we know of the major institutions and rules legitimized by a kind of steppe society worldview, we should not think that all sub-clans and lineages belonging to the ruling clan adhered to one common cultural tradition. As Florian Schwarz indicates, individuals and clan groups were positioned on a wide spectrum ranging from adherence to a nomad culture characteristic of the Dasht-i Qipchāq to close connections with a metropolitan Islamic and court culture to be found in Transoxanian towns and cities. The process of adaptation to the preexisting local and regional corpus of traditions must have sharpened the differences between the various groups and the appanage courts respectively.¹⁸⁶ Henceforth, the new empire combined discrepant elements like royal absolutism, clan organization and hierarchical distinction according to wealth and social status, but also the *sharī‘a* and a strong Sufic influence.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² McChesney, *Waqf*, 55; Dickson, “Uzbek Dynastic Theory,” 211; Haarmann, “Staat und Religion,” 335–36.

¹⁸³ Dickson, “Uzbek Dynastic Theory,” 211.

¹⁸⁴ McChesney, “Central Asia,” 176.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 82.

¹⁸⁷ Haidar, *Medieval Central Asia*, 119.

SHIFTS OF POWER AND SOCIAL CHANGE

As a result of success in military combat, spatial expansion was the precondition for the balance of the appanage order. In consequence, Abu'l-Khairid rule became endangered as soon as the *sultāns* and their Uzbek associates reached the limits of spatial expansion. Chronic crisis was the immediate result of the failure to break the stalemate in the conflict with the Safawids over the control of Khurāsān. The death of 'Ubaidullah Khān (r. 1533–40) triggered the first period of conflict between the several Abu'l-Khairid sub-clans. During the next seventeen years the single appanages turned into virtually separate realms.¹⁸⁸ Another noteworthy change in regional constellations occurred during that time: the rise of Bukhara as capital of Transoxania and the decreasing importance of Samarqand, especially during the reigns of 'Ubaidullah Khān and his successor 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān (d. 1550).¹⁸⁹ Since the events of that time are described elsewhere, we shall just concentrate on the outcomes and the final adjustments of the appanage order.¹⁹⁰

With the military assistance of Uzbek *amīrs*, 'Abdullah Khān b. Iskandar (r. 1582–98) eradicated the rival clans and tried to establish a more centralized system of patrilineal descent to ensure predictable succession to the throne. The right to succession now became further confined to the Iskandarid sub-clan. Against this background of clan segmentation we observe the emergence of a new dominant lineage slipping off from one of the old sub-clans. But 'Abdullah's radical policy backfired; it enhanced the position of Uzbek *amīrs* to the detriment of the royal clan. After a short period of forays into Khurāsān,¹⁹¹ Abu'l-Khairid authority collapsed when 'Abdullah Khān's son and appointed heir 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1598) became

¹⁸⁸ McChesney, *Waqf*, 60–61.

¹⁸⁹ Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 75, 84–87.

¹⁹⁰ For the events during Tuqay-Timurid reign see Burton, *Bukharans*, 8–45.

¹⁹¹ In 992/1584 'Abdullah Khān conquered the territories south of the Āmū Daryā and Kulāb in a ten months' expedition against the ruler of Badakhshān, Sulaimān Mīrzā, who was allied to the Mughals at Kabul. On Rabī' II 1, 996/February 28–29, 1588, the Uzbeks took control over Herat after a nine months' siege. From there 'Abdullah's troops conquered other parts of Khurāsān. Mashhad fell in Dhū'l-Ḥijja 997/1589 and even the *maliks* of Sistān and the Safawid governors of Kandahār recognized Uzbek suzerainty. Khurāsān remained under Uzbek control until the Safawid reconquest in 1598 (McChesney, "Central Asia," 182–83; Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 65–66).

the victim of an amirid conspiracy.¹⁹² As McChesney concludes, under the surface of the ongoing inter- and intra-appanage wars, we observe institutional conflicts between the adherents of a worldview connected with ideals of conventional steppe empires and the advocates of the agrarian world. One such sign is the role the capital city played in the plans of the major protagonists at that time. Because of their political importance, Bukhara and Samarqand were regarded as possessions being crucial for everyone with aspirations to khanship.¹⁹³ However, this process may be interpreted as a sign that the different sub-clans identified their political and economic interests with certain spaces rather than as an institutional change. The modifications of the appanage system took place against this backdrop of mental mapping with fixed geographical points and centers of gravity recognized by the members of the royal clan. Moreover, the Abu'l-Khairid sub-clans and their Uzbek supporters might have realized the importance of Transoxanian cities like Samarqand right after the beginning of the conquest. Since the cities were regarded as “miraculous suppliers of all the goods required for the maintenance of sturdy armies,”¹⁹⁴ control over them was a top priority of the ruling clan from the very beginning.¹⁹⁵ In addition to the increasing importance of fixed centers of gravity, the dual and sometimes conflicting allegiances on the part of the clan members created additional dynamics and strained the cohesion of the political order.¹⁹⁶ But these conflicts were very similar to those among the Mongols. As with the Mongols, the balance of the Uzbek order depended on constant redistribution of resources that were best and preferably obtained by spatial expansion. Once their conquest came to an end, conflicts became rampant as the result of limited resources, first and foremost land. At the same time, steady

¹⁹² McChesney, *Waqf*, 64–66; Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 67; Adshead, *Central Asia*, 155. On the power struggle after the death of ‘Abdullah Khān, see McChesney, “Central Asia,” 183–84; Burton, *Bukharans*, 95–98.

¹⁹³ McChesney, *Waqf*, 63.

¹⁹⁴ Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 62.

¹⁹⁵ Many of the Uzbeks eventually settled in the urban centers of Mā Warā’ al-Nahr, but at the beginning they had plundered these towns and disrupted commercial activities that previously flowed through them (Morris Rossabi, “The ‘decline’ of the central Asian caravan trade,” in *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 360–61).

¹⁹⁶ Dickson, “Uzbek Dynastic Theory,” 211.

generational growth caused more and more pressure on the resources at the clan's disposal due to the growing needs, expectations and claims of more and more clan members.¹⁹⁷ The situation only calmed when 'Abdullah Khān launched military campaigns to Khurāsān. In the course of these campaigns, the resources, land and spoils gained by plundering expeditions were distributed among the clan members who fed them into their own networks.

The institutional changes introduced from the top by 'Abdullah Khān, who intended to eradicate rival sub-clans and to restrict authority to his own lineage, were of a mere ephemeral nature. The measures aiming at concentrating power in the hands of one sub-clan, the Iskandarids, in particular met with resistance as they thwarted established political practice and worldviews. Since 'Abd al-Mu'min's actions alienated most of the *amīrs*, it comes as no surprise that they took action against him. His assassination shows how much even a strong ruler depended on the support of his associates. After the sudden end of the Abu'l-Khairid-Shibanid dynasty, most of the "values and ideals that public opinion traced back to the early thirteenth century and ascribed to Chingīz Khān were once again revived under the aegis of the amirs."¹⁹⁸ With their active help and mutual agreement, a new royal line, the Tuqay-Timurids, also named Janids or Ashtarakhanids,¹⁹⁹ tracing themselves back to Tūqā Tīmūr, the thirteenth son of Jūchī, was installed.²⁰⁰ Thus Chingizid descent seemed sufficient to establish new ruling lines and to bolster the claim to authority.²⁰¹ The transition of authority quite apart, the appanage order including patron-client relations and the almost uninterrupted warfare continued to exist in a modified form until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

¹⁹⁷ Thomas Welsford, *Four Types of Loyalty in Early Modern Central Asia. The Tūqāy-Tīmūrid Takeover of Greater Mā Warā' al-Nahr, 1598–1605* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), 80.

¹⁹⁸ McChesney, *Waqf*, 66.

¹⁹⁹ von Kūgelgen, *Legitimierung*, 62. Thomas Welsford provides the most detailed study on the dynastic change from the Abu'l-Khairids to the Tuqay-Timurids (Welsford, *Four Types of Loyalty*; see also McChesney, *Waqf*, 72–77).

²⁰⁰ Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 67–68; McChesney, *Waqf*, 72. Regarding the genealogical discrepancies to be found in the contemporary sources, see McChesney, *Waqf*, 73, footnote no. 4.

²⁰¹ Dickson, "Uzbek Dynastic Theory," 209.

MĀ WARĀ' AL-NAHR IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the second half of the seventeenth and especially the early eighteenth century, the former appanage order gradually gave way to a fragmented political landscape dominated by the Uzbek chiefs. The latter previously acted more or less as deputies of the *khān* in the regions of sedentary settlement, and now turned into petty independent rulers. At the same time we observe significant changes in local worldviews, which were mirrored by first attempts by some *amīrs* to dispense with the Chingizid principle of succession. This process started first in Balkh during the last three decades of the seventeenth century and was paralleled by somewhat deferred developments north of the Āmū Daryā. Since the chain of events unfolding in the southern sub-appanage is fairly well explored by McChesney, Noelle and Lee, this section deals with the circumstances south of the Oxus only in a summary way. Afterward I will give an overview of the most important amirid principalities and tribal groupings coming to dominate Mā Warā' al-Nahr by the early eighteenth century.²⁰² The process that led to the establishment of those principalities will be scrutinized in the next chapter. In the following, I will devote separate sections to individual Uzbek tribes for practical reasons only. This, however, does not mean that they formed monolithic entities. In fact, the connections (created through marriage ties and other forms of social exchange) between individual tribal chiefs often crossed established group boundaries. Hence the tribal formations have to be seen as networks of interpersonal links defined and held together by supposed blood ties and notions of common ancestry. Unfortunately, the primary sources do not always provide coherent data on the region's tribal framework, nor do they give detailed information about the geographical setting. For the description of the latter, I will draw mainly on travelogues produced by foreign visitors in the nineteenth century. Wherever possible I will add pieces of data provided by eighteenth-century native authors. In addition, I will make use of works by ethno-historians like Bel'qis Karmysheva, Karim Shanijazov and others to fill the void of necessary information.

²⁰² The tribes regularly mentioned in the sources are the Ming, Yūz, Manghit, Qaṭaghān, Sarāy, Ālchīn, Khiṭā'ī-Qipchāq, Kīnakās, Qungrāt, Naymān, Dūrmān, Jalāyir, Yābū, Kirāyit, Tama, Misīt, Jīt, Qiyāt, Baḥrīn and Burqūt (see Grebenkin, "Uzbeki," 59; A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1981), 41).

THE RISE OF AMIRID PRINCIPALITIES

During the last two decades of the seventeenth century, Tuqay-Timurid authority began to diminish, while centrifugal forces were on the rise. This development made itself first felt in Balkh, where various Uzbek *amīrs* carved out their own spheres of authority, described as amirid principalities in the secondary literature.²⁰³ This process began already in the time of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān (r. 1055–92/1645–81) when both appanages, Bukhara and Balkh, ceased to act in concert, a trend that was furthered by Subhān Qulī Khān (r. 1092–1114/1681–1702) himself, who, when governing Balkh as heir-apparent, encouraged the Khwārazmian rulers Abū’l-Ghāzī Khān (r. 1646–63) and later Anūsha (r. 1663–87) to carry out raids deep into Bukharan territory.²⁰⁴ During his own reign as regnant *khān* in Bukhara, however, the growing independence of Uzbek chieftains and the corresponding emergence of Uzbek amirid principalities gained an increasing momentum of its own.

The slow erosion of Tuqay-Timurid authority started with Subhān Qulī Khān’s attempts to reduce the independence of Balkh, but this policy weakened the royal clan and decimated the number of potential heirs able to cope with the intrigues of the amirid factions. Between 1685 and 1697, the king relied exclusively on *amīrs* who challenged Bukharan rule at Balkh, showing visible signs of gaining independence.²⁰⁵ The Uzbek factions vying for control over Balkh were the Yūz, Ming and Qaṭaghān. This period was characterized by constant shifts of the governorship including the offices of *atālīq* and *dīwānbēgī* between the various tribal groupings. In 1697, the Bukharan ruler reacted to amirid requests and appointed his grandson Muḥammad Muqīm Sultān as Chingizid heir. This step put an end to all attempts to consolidate and centralize the realm.²⁰⁶ By 1702, the year of Subhān Qulī Khān’s death, the Balkh *amīrs* had succeeded in establishing a firm hold in the different regions, thus splitting the southern appanage into three distinct parts: Maimana, Shibarghān and the western marshlands

²⁰³ McChesney, “Amirs,” 52–53; McChesney, *Waqf*, 114–16, Noelle, State and Tribe, .

²⁰⁴ Abū’l-Ghāzī Khān raided Transoxania each year from 1655 to 1668. His son Anūsha continued this practice and temporarily occupied Bukhara in 1681 (Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 70; Burton, *Bukharans*, 270–74, 305, 325–26).

²⁰⁵ McChesney, *Waqf*, 153–58; Burton, *Bukharans*, 342–43, 349–53.

²⁰⁶ McChesney, *Waqf*, 157–58, footnote no. 27. The events occurring during the reign of Subhān Qulī Khān have been described in great detail by Burton (*Bukharans*, 339–57).

governed by the Ming under ʿĀdil Bī; Kunduz located in the east ruled by Maḥmūd Bī Qaṭaghān; and the area of Balkh in the center alternately controlled by the Qipchāq, the Yūz, the Ming and the Qaṭaghān.²⁰⁷

In the following decades, Transoxania's political landscape witnessed a somewhat similar fragmentation. It was already in the time of Subḥān Qulī Khān that the members of the Uzbek aristocracy became a landed elite by purchasing agricultural estates, especially in the environs of Samarqand but also in other areas.²⁰⁸ Land property was regarded as a crucial source of power. In some cases large estates were granted for service and loyalty. This process continued under his successor ʿUbaidullah Khān (r. 1702–11). Accompanied by the constant redistribution of social positions and conflicts between the different players,²⁰⁹ this development gained increasing speed under the last independent Tuqay-Timurid king, Abū'l-Faiḥ Khān (r. 1711–47). As a result, the sphere of royal authority underwent a dramatic shrinkage: Bukhara virtually turned into a nutshell in a sea of petty principalities and chiefdoms.²¹⁰ During this process, other regions and towns steadily gained political weight. It was in a short period of about thirty years that areas like Nasaf, Samarqand, Shahr-i Sabz and Karmīna became sanctuaries affording shelter to all renegades and the members of those coalitions that were out of royal favor at any given time. Whereas these towns developed as centers of gravity, the southern appanage was more or

²⁰⁷ McChesney, *Waqf*, 159–61; Noelle, *State and Tribe*, 70. On the careers of the different Uzbek *amīrs* see McChesney, “Amirs”.

²⁰⁸ The documents published by Chekhovich give evidence that many plots were purchased in the *tūmān* of Shaudār near Samarqand and also in other areas like Qarshī not only by *amīrs* and their offspring but also by members of the religious establishment (see Chekhovich, *Dokumenty*).

²⁰⁹ Adopting a Marxist perspective, Chekhovich terms it feudal division and atomism (Chekhovich, “K istorii,” 43–44, 69).

²¹⁰ Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 90. According to Chekhovich, the authority of the Bukharan ruler was limited to the districts of Wābkent, Ghijduwān, Wardānzī and Qarākūl in the immediate surroundings of the capital (Olga D. Chekhovich, “O nekotorykh voprosakh istorii Sredenj Azii XVIII–XIX vekov,” *Trudi Insituta Vostokovedenija An Uzbekskoj SSR* 3 (1954): 86.). Beisembiev goes even further, saying that *khanly* authority in fact did not reach beyond the Bukharan citadel (Timur K. Beisembiev, *Ta'rikh-i shahrukhi. Kak istochniki istochnik* (Alma Ata: Izdat. Nauka Kazakhskoj SSR, 1987), 7).

less left to its own fate, and other areas like Ferghana became virtually independent.²¹¹

The spatial and political disintegration of the northern appanage coincided with the establishment of small “tribal homelands” and principalities in the fashion described by McChesney and Noelle.²¹² Their boundaries were determined by the scope of action and movement of the Uzbek chiefs and their followers, but also by geographical conditions. Yet the individual principalities were by no means homogeneous islands. Many Uzbek tribes were dispersed throughout Transoxania.²¹³ Some of them were nomads who had their winter quarters in the plains and near the major towns, while wandering to the mountains in the south, east and southeast in summer. Hence the population of the areas I describe in the subsequent sections was mixed and extremely heterogenous. One of those regions affording the best options and resources was the Qashqa Daryā basin with its extended pasturelands dotted with fertile river oases and crossed by a number of important routes. Other areas like Miyānkāl or the environs of Samarqand also provided abundant resources for the chiefs and their hungry clients. The following sections provide an overview of Transoxania’s different regions and provinces as well as of the various tribal formations. The latter dominated the field of power until the ascent of the Manghit dynasty under Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān.

MIYĀNKĀL: THE INTERMEDIATE LAND

Known as the “bread basket” of Bukhara, the Zarafshān Valley extended over a distance of four hundred kilometers from east to west.²¹⁴ Within this valley lies the Miyānkāl proper,²¹⁵ an island approximately one hundred kilometers in length, which is encircled by the two main branches of the Zarafshān between Khaṭarchī in the west and the Chūpān Atā Hill north of

²¹¹ Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 90; Chekhovich, “K istorii,” 43; Chekhovich, “O nekotorykh,” 86; Shanijazov, “Nekotorye voprosy,” 91.

²¹² See here Noelle, *State and Tribe*, 69–74.

²¹³ Shanijazov comes up with a more static picture of clearly separated tribal territories (see Shanijazov, “Nekotorye voprosy,” 91).

²¹⁴ Henry Lansdell, *Russisch-Central-Asien nebst Kuldcha, Buchara, Chiwa und Merw*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn, 1885), III, 431.

²¹⁵ Olufsen translates the term Miyānkāl (Mian-kal; Mian-kul) as Fruit Lake or Fruit Hole (Olufsen, *Emir*, 145).

Samarqand in the east.²¹⁶ Native authors often designate the Zarafshān the Kohik or Kohak.²¹⁷ This toponym goes back to the Hill of Kohak and the fact that near Samarqand the river flows north of this hill.²¹⁸

Running parallel to the Zarafshān River (the “Gold Spreader”),²¹⁹ the “Royal Road” (*shāh-rāh*) was always important because it connected the two great cities Bukhara and Samarqand.²²⁰ The main advantage of the Miyānkāl over many of the other regions of Transoxania lies in the constant water supply. East of Samarqand the Zarafshān branches out into two main channels,

“the one on the north called the Ak-daria, and the one on the south the Kara-daria. After separating from each other to a distance of 10 to 12 miles, these branches re-unite near Khatyrchi [...] Thus the Zarafshan forms an island which is divided into the two districts of Afarinken and Peishambé [Panjshanba?], the richest and most populous part of the entire valley. The excellent quality of the soil and the abundance of water make this island strikingly productive. But, though it lies between the branches of the river, the water supply of this island is only derived from one side, that is the Kara-daria, the Ak-daria serving to irrigate the land extending on the northern side.”²²¹

As a major supplier of agricultural products, the valley was especially vulnerable to wars, military campaigns and corresponding neglect of the irrigation system. After a series of upheavals and wars in the first half of the eighteenth century, for instance, many parts of the Miyānkāl had turned into swamps and grazing grounds.²²² But because of the constant water supply,

²¹⁶ Lansdell, *Russisch-Central-Asien*, 433; Olufsen, *Emir*, 145.

²¹⁷ See for example Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 12a, 15a, 16a, 42b, 75b, 105a. This toponym was also encountered by Mir Izzetullah and other travelers (Mir Izzet Ullah, “Travels,” 328–29; von Hellwald, *Centralasien*, 366).

²¹⁸ Zahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *The Baburnama. Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor*, trans. and ed. Wheeler M. Thackston (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 82.

²¹⁹ In ancient times, this river was known as the Sughd River running parallel to the east-west-lying Turkistan Range, which separates it from the middle Sir Daryā. It was not until the eighteenth century that the designation Zarafshān appeared in the sources (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 64; C. E. Bosworth, “Zarafshān,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., XI, 458).

²²⁰ The route was 37 to 39 *farsakh* in length (ca. 167 miles/222 km), and a six or seven days’ journey (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 96).

²²¹ A. Fedchenko, “Topographical Sketch of the Zarafshan Valley,” *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 40 (1870): 453–54; Lansdell, *Russisch-Central-Asien*, III, 433–34; Chekhovich, “O nekotorykh,” 90.

²²² Holzwarth, “Relations,” 208–09.

the region had a great capacity to recover sooner than other areas. According to Chekhovich, after the havoc wreaked on the irrigation system during the previous decades, in the second half of the eighteenth century the irrigation network expanded as many canals were repaired.²²³ The high number of forts and settlements in the central and western parts of Miyānkāl mentioned by Wafā suggests that in spite of the destruction of the 1720s, the region was already densely populated and prospered in the middle of the eighteenth century. Thus the economic recovery already set in during the 1740s and was not much disturbed by the Khiṭā'ī revolt in 1745–47.²²⁴

In the nineteenth century, foreign travelers often noticed the sophisticated irrigation system, the dense network of small and large canals and the resulting fertility of Miyānkāl. According to Nikolai Khanikov, Miyānkāl was the most fertile part of Bukhara because it not only supplied the populace with cereals and other products, but especially rice was considered one of the most important crops for export to Russia and Mashhad.²²⁵ Besides, he points out the sharp contrast between the irrigated area and the surrounding barren tracts of steppe land:

“From Samarkand, the right bank of the Zer-Affshan presents an easier slope, whilst abrupt cliffs, 10 versts distant from the bed of the river, form a barrier to the overflowing of its waters on the left. The eye of the traveler is here agreeably relieved by the luxuriant carpet of verdure which is spread over the strip of land between the banks and the natural barrier; for the natives, taking advantage of their low position, which is so favorable for the purposes of irrigation, sow their fields almost exclusively with rice and jaūghar. The aspect of the country continues the same down to Katta-Kurghan, where the before-mentioned ridges unite with other hillocks, called Katta-Kurghan-taú. From this spot the Zer-Affshan widens very considerably; the hills on its left receding in the direction of Kermine, 15 and 30 versts from the banks of the river, while the Ak-taú chain is 50 or 60 versts distant from them. Through the greater part of its lower course the Zer-Affshan assumes the aspect of a river of the steppes, for the plain of Mehik, that approaches its northern banks, is bounded by the Karpan-taú hills, which are hardly perceptible in the distant horizon. But even here the cultivated strip of land does not forsake its banks, and it

²²³ Chekhovich, “K istorii,” 45.

²²⁴ In the 1820s, the region was again affected by the rebellions of the Khiṭā'ī-Qipchāq tribe (P. P. Ivanov, *Vosstanie Kitay-Kipchakov v Bukharskom Khanstve 1821–1825* gg. (Moscow/Leningrad: Tipografija [Izdatel'stvo] Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1937).

²²⁵ Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 190.

may truly be said that the river flows along a row of uninterrupted gardens, which spread out 30 and 40 versts in breadth until they attain the heights of Bustan.”²²⁶

Wilhelm Radloff remarks that in this region, the people and their settlements stand in relation to the water; the population density in the valley is therefore regulated by the water available for irrigation.²²⁷ Remarking that at the time he visited the area, there was “not an atom of land in the insular district” that was not used for agriculture, Fedchenko says

“[i]t is all under the most careful cultivation. The landscape presented by each island is a multiplicity of fields sown with cotton, wheat, barley, rice, millet and lucern, divided by hedge-rows of trees. These fields are sprinkled over with villages surrounded by gardens, and are irrigated by means of numerous ‘aryks’ of large and small dimensions. [Paragraph] [...] The insular district, for instance, in the valley of the Zarafshan is irrigated by means of water conduits leading from the Kara-daria. The valley slopes considerably, though smoothly towards the west, rendering the process of irrigation easy. A canal is simply dug, and one side of it is made to project into the bed of the river from which the water is to be drawn. When a great body of water is required then a large weir is constructed.”²²⁸

At the end of the nineteenth century, the entire valley looked like an elongated cluster of settlements, arable plots and orchards, which sharply contrasted with the arid steppes in the vicinity. This uninterrupted garden was used for the cultivation of tobacco, wheat, melons, rice, cotton and fruits.²²⁹ Alexander Lehmann reports that some of the arable plots of the Miyānkāl were also used for the cultivation of poppies (*Papaver somniferum*). The capsules were used to prepare an intoxicating drink.²³⁰

Many towns formed a line on a west-east axis along the several branches of the Zarafshān, of which the following are the most important settlements

²²⁶ Ibid., 36–37. For a brief description see also Eugene Schuyler, *Turkistan: Notes of a Journey to Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara and Kuldja*, 2 vols. (London: Sampson Low et al., 1876), I, 286–87.

²²⁷ Wilhelm Radloff, “Das mittlere Serafschanthal,” *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 6, nos. 5 & 6 (1871): 408.

²²⁸ Fedchenko, “Topographical Sketch,” 456–57.

²²⁹ Wilhelm Radloff, *Aus Sibirien: Lose Blätter aus dem Tagebuch eines reisenden Linguisten*, 2 vols. (1884; repr., Berlin: Schletzer, 2010), II, 424–25, 429–30; Radloff, “Serafschanthal,” 409, 413–14; von Hellwald, *Centralasien*, 368.

²³⁰ Alexander Lehmann, *Reise nach Buchara und Samarkand in den Jahren 1841 und 1842*, ed. Gregor von Heltmersen (1852; repr., Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1969), 218–19. On the production of this “opium drink” see Schuyler, *Turkistan*, I, 127.

from west to east.²³¹ In the west, Karmīna marked the gateway to the region. But in fact Miyānkāl proper commenced at the town of Khaṭarchī located north of the confluence of the two main branches of the Zarafshān. The fields west of Khaṭarchī were entirely watered by the Āq Daryā, whereas the Qarā Daryā supplied the water for the territory east of Khaṭarchī up to Samarqand.²³² The next important town was Panjshanba, located two *farsakhs* (twelve kilometers) east of Khaṭarchī south of the Āq Daryā. Besides the Āq Daryā and the Qarā Daryā, there was the large Wābkent Daryā that was the natural branch of the main river, the Ankhōr (also called Dargham) east of Samarqand, and the Nahr-i pay Canal. The latter passed the town of Katta Qūrhān on its northern side and served to irrigate the area of Żiyā al-Dīn (Dabūsi).²³³ Both towns marked the southern and southwestern edge of Miyānkāl proper. Between the Qarā Daryā and the Āq Daryā, a number of smaller canals served to irrigate the intermediate tracts of land: the Kilich Awat—Panjshanba; the Mīng Arīq—the region around Jum‘a Bāzār;²³⁴ the Khwāja Arīq—Ishtīkhān and other villages; and the Āfarinkent Canal—Yangī Qūrhān.²³⁵

Writing in the early nineteenth century, Mīr ‘Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī reports about large groups of nomads living in this region up to Ūrā Tippa further in the east.²³⁶ Eighteenth-century Bukharan sources suggest a very heterogeneous tribal population composed of a large variety of local tribes such as the Baḥrīn, Jalāyir, Naymān, Yābū, Tama, Jīt and Misīt—some of them united under the name Yetī Ūrūgh—but also Khiṭā’ī-Qipchāq, Qarāqalpāq, and other tribes. The mountain valleys and steppes on the northern and northwestern fringes of Miyānkāl were inhabited by Burqūt

²³¹ See here Map 2 in Appendix D.

²³² Radloff, “Serafschanthal,” 411.

²³³ Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 40–42; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, I, 286–87; Olufsen, *Emir*, 145. For detailed information on the Zarafshān Valley, see Radloff, “Das mittlere Serafschanthal,” 401–39/497–525.

²³⁴ Not to be confused with the prominent settlement of the same name located southeast of Samarqand in the direction of Ūrgūt.

²³⁵ Radloff, “Serafschanthal,” 411–12.

²³⁶ “One can say that in the region of Miyānkālāt and towards Samarqand the number of tent dwellers is equal to [that of] the town dwellers. From Bukhara up to Samarqand, Jizakh and Ūrā Tippa there are villages, towns and nomads side by side” (Mīr ‘Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī, *Histoire*, 77 (French text, 171–72)). English translation partly taken from Holzwarth, “Uzbek State,” 97.

Uzbeks, Qazāq (Kazakh), Turkomān Yūzī—one of the three sub-sections of the Yūz—and a large number of sedentary Persian-speakers.²³⁷

THE KHIṬĀ'Ī-QIPCHĀQ

A great part of the population of Miyānkāl belonged to the Khiṭā'ī-Qipchāq, one of the strongest and most influential Uzbek groups.²³⁸ Pavel Ivanov stresses their extraordinary numerical strength, clearly outnumbering their immediate neighbors. He quotes several authors according to whom the number of Khiṭā'ī-Qipchāq tribesmen varied between seventy thousand and one hundred twenty thousand in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.²³⁹ The *Tārīkh-i qipchāq-khānī* gives a number of one hundred thousand (*yak lak*) Khiṭā'ī-Qipchāq households in Miyānkāl and the environs of Samarqand in the 1710s.²⁴⁰ It was however not until the second half of the seventeenth century that the Khiṭā'ī-Qipchāq appeared in the narrative sources of Mā Warā' al-Nahr.²⁴¹ Like many other Turkic tribes, they were part of the Turko-Mongol tribal melange that emerged in the course of the sweeping Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century. Prior to this time, the Khiṭā'ī formed an independent force, which in the eleventh and twelfth centuries conquered the western portion of China and extended their dominion over large parts of Central Asia. At the beginning of the thirteenth century they knocked on the door of the Khwārazm Shāhs.²⁴²

²³⁷ In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Uzbeks of the Zarafshān Valley by no means lived in distinctly separate pockets but were closely intermingled. This can be seen in the tribal names of many villages situated side by side; for instance, *qishlāqs* like Ming, Qungrāt and Jalāyir were to be found among the Qipchāq (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, II, 466).

²³⁸ There are differences in the spelling of the tribal names Khiṭā'ī (Ktay, Kytay, Khytay, Khtay) and even more pronounced in the case of the Qipchāq (Kypchak, Koman, Polovin/Polovci) (Ivanov, *Vosstanie*, 27–28).

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 29–30; see also Holzwarth, “Uzbek State,” 110.

²⁴⁰ Balkhī, *Tārīkh*, fol. 292a.

²⁴¹ Ivanov, *Vosstanie*, 29.

²⁴² In the Orkhon inscriptions of Outer Mongolia, the Khiṭā'ī are mentioned as enemies of the Turks living east of the Turkish heartland on the Orkhon and Selenga Rivers. They were probably of Mongol origin and spoke their own language, though they were considerably influenced by the Uyghūr Turkish. After the fall of the Chinese T'ang dynasty in 907, they established themselves in northern China where they became superficially sinicized in spite of their steppe ethos, and were consequently known as a native Chinese dynasty. Subsequent to the fall of the first Khiṭā'ī dynasty between 1116 and 1123, a part of them

Similarly, the Qipchāq were known as one of the powerful tribes roaming the Eurasian steppes during the Middle Ages. The origin of the Qipchāq (more accurately *qipchāq* or *qipchaq*) still raises questions. According to Uyghūr inscriptions, in the eighth century they settled at a considerable distance from the Uyghūr territories in Mongolia. A century later, they were described as subjects of the Kimek union and lived between the “northern uninhabited lands” (Siberia?) and the Volga-Ural region.²⁴³ Later on, the name Dasht-i Qipchāq was applied to Southern Russia, a fact that shows the growing influence of Turkic tribes, which appeared under this name in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The term Qipchāq survived the Mongol period and was transferred to the territories of the Golden Horde.²⁴⁴ Subsequently, a number of prominent Qipchāq *amīrs* also appeared in Timūr’s army.²⁴⁵

When exactly both groups, the Khitā’ī and the Qipchāq, began to merge and to form one distinct political unit cannot be said.²⁴⁶ The alliance between them was of a purely political nature: the two tribes remained distinct and independent of one another, although they were politically unified. As a consequence, most authors mention them as one unit called Khitā’ī-Qipchāq or Khitā’ī wa Qipchāq.²⁴⁷ While a Bukharan writer states that in the early eighteenth century this tribe was scattered over Miyānkāl, Qarshī and the surroundings of Samarqand,²⁴⁸ the information provided by travelers is at

remained in China and later successfully restored their realm under Mongol auspices. Muslim sources report a Khitā’ī westward expansion in the twelfth century. In 536/1141, as Qarā Khitā’ī they conquered the whole of Transoxania including Samarqand and Bukhara (for further details on the history of the Qarā Khitā’ī, see C. E. Bosworth, “Qarā Khitā’ī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., IV, 580–83; Ivanov, *Vosstanie*, 28–29).

²⁴³ Peter Golden, “The Qipčaq̄s of Medieval Eurasia: An Example of Stateless Adaptation in the Steppes,” in *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery*, ed. G. Seaman and D. Marks (Los Angeles: Ethnographics Press, 1991), 133.

²⁴⁴ G. Hazai, “Qipchāq,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., V, 125–26.

²⁴⁵ Manz, *Tamerlane*, 163.

²⁴⁶ The nineteenth-century Khiwan author Mūnis refers to particular links existing between certain pairs of tribes with common ancestry. These tribal pairs were also related through marriage because their members usually married women from the other part of the pair. Examples are Uyghūr wa Naymān, Qiyāt wa Qungrāt, Manghit wa Nokuz, or Khitā’ī-Qipchāq (Shir Muhammad Mirab Yunis and Muhammad Riza Mirab Agahi, *Firdaws al-Iqbāl* [*History of Khorezm by Shir Muhammad Mirab Munis and Muhammad Riza Mirab Agahi*], trans. Yuri Bregel (Leiden, Boston & Köln: Brill, 1999), Notes, 548, footnote no. 107).

²⁴⁷ Ivanov, *Vosstanie*, 27–29.

²⁴⁸ Amīn Bukhārī, *‘Ubaidullah Nāma*, 132a; Semenov trans., 151.

best contradictory. Khanikov indicates that in the nineteenth century, the Kھیṭā'ī encamped between Bukhara and Karmīna, whereas their Qipchāq colleagues migrated in the east between Katta Qūrghān and Samarqand.²⁴⁹ But according to Wilhelm Radloff, the tribe inhabited Miyānkāl between Khaṭarchī and Samarqand up to Chilak in the north. Yet some of the Kھیṭā'ī also settled in the region of Samarqand, especially around Yangī Qūrghān, one of the strongholds of the noble Ūtārchī clan.²⁵⁰ Further in the east, the Qipchāq played a crucial role as one of the most powerful tribes of Khoqand.²⁵¹

According to Grebenkin, the Kھیṭā'ī split into the following sub-clans: Kinjaghālī-Kھیṭā'ī (Kanjīghālī-Kھیṭā'ī), Kushtamghālī-Kھیṭā'ī and Ūtārchī, each of which further divided into a larger number of sub-groups. For the Qipchāq, he gives the Parcha-Qipchāq and the Toguspai-Qipchāq as sub-divisions.²⁵²

In the nineteenth century, many people, especially north of Samarqand and in the area of Chilak, lived as semi-nomads in the intermediate zone between the surrounding steppes and the agricultural tracts:

“The tract of land under cultivation diminishes greatly to the west of Chalek, where, in the same proportion the zone of virgin steppe country opens out wider; and here also is a corresponding change in the form of life and in the nature of the occupations of the inhabitants. In the purely agricultural districts the population is a fully settled one, but towards the steppes it is semi-nomadic, cattle-breeding, on a large scale, being allied with agricultural pursuits. [...] Here the people live in villages only during the winter; in the summer-time they are away with their tents, camping in the trackless steppes. In some cases a portion of these villagers remain in their permanent dwellings; in most, however, they all leave for the plains. It is sometimes difficult to say, on lighting on an abandoned ‘ulus,’ whether the place is a ruin or serves yet for habitation. In most cases, even when in

²⁴⁹ Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 77; Holzwarth, “Uzbek State,” 110, footnote no. 48.

²⁵⁰ Ivanov identifies the Ūtārchī/Ūtāchī as the noble or aristocratic sub-clan (*bekskii rod*) of the Kھیṭā'ī (Ivanov, *Vosstanie*, 63, footnote no. 2, 78). Amīn Bukhārī spells it Ūtārchī (Amīn Bukhārī, *Ubaidullah Nāma*, fols. 42a, 100a, 118b passim).

²⁵¹ Hazai, “Qipchak,” 126; Togan, *Türkili*, 47; W. Barthold [C.E. Bosworth], “Khoqand,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., V, 30.

²⁵² Each of these sub-sections further divided into a number of clans (see Grebenkin, “Uzbeki,” 100). Radloff lists the following sub-divisions of the Kھیṭā'ī: “Sary Kytai, Otarchy, Kandshygal, Kosch-Tamgaly, Tarakly and Balgaly,” while the Qipchāq split up into three sub-sections: “Tort Tamgaly, Sary Kypchak and Tagus Bai.” He also states that the Zarafshān Valley was almost exclusively inhabited by the Kھیṭā'ī, whereas the Qipchāq dwelled in Ferghana further to the east (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 225).

'residence,' these semi-nomads live in their tents in the court-yards, while their mud houses are reserved for the shelter of their beasts.²⁵³

THE YETĪ ŪRŪGH

A variety of Mongol and Turko-Mongol groups lived in Mā Warā' al-Nahr long before the Uzbek incursion. Some of them were Turkic groups with a long history in the region like the Qarlūq, Khalach, Uyghūr and Kanglī, who were already mentioned in the *Bābur Nāma*. The Mongol and Timurid periods witnessed the influx of other Mongol and Turko-Mongol groups. Nomadic tribes like the Barlās, Jalāyir, Qauchīn and Arlāt came from the upper reaches of the Ili and Lake Balkhash and settled in different areas south of the Sir Daryā, especially in the Ferghana Valley.²⁵⁴ Some of these tribes later moved westward and trickled into the Miyānkāl.²⁵⁵

The data provided by Bukharan sources from the first half of the eighteenth century suggests that some of these tribes were part of the Yetī Ūrūgh. The name Yetī Ūrūgh—literally “Seven Tribes”—appears to be an umbrella term for heterogeneous tribal groups forming a relatively loose federation rather than a firm alliance. The Yetī Ūrūgh probably consisted of seven or even more sub-groups living in the western and central parts of the Miyānkāl region. Unfortunately, the primary sources and secondary works give only sparse information about the exact composition of the Yetī Ūrūgh, who appear in the texts for the first time in the early 1710s.²⁵⁶ In eighteenth-century Bukharan chronicles the Baḥrīn figure prominently among them,²⁵⁷ and often joined forces with the Burqūt to further their own ends. According to Karmysheva, the Baḥrīn had already been resident in Transoxania before

²⁵³ Fedchenko, “Topographical Sketch,” 455. For further information about Chilak, see *ibid.*, 454–56.

²⁵⁴ The Barlās settled in Shahr-i Sabz, the Jalāyir in Angren and Khojand, the Qauchīn in Ferghana and the southern parts of the Qashqa Daryā Valley, and the Arlāt further in the south and even south of the Oxus (Shanijazov, “Nekotorye voprosy,” 84).

²⁵⁵ Schwarz refers to sedentary, Turkic-speaking tribal groups in the Miyānkāl in the sixteenth century (Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 57).

²⁵⁶ Ṭāli', *Tārīkh*, fols. 34b, 41a; Semenov trans., 38, 43; see also Holzwarth, “Relations,” 188. The term Yetī Ūrūgh does not appear in the *ʿUbaidullah Nāma*.

²⁵⁷ The Baḥrīn occupied quite a large tract of land in the central and western parts of the Zarafshān Valley between Karmina, Khaṭarchī and Panjshanba (see Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fols. 57a, 131b–138a), while the Burqūt inhabited the tiny principality of Nūr at the northwestern fringe of Miyānkāl (*ibid.*, fols. 57a, 131b, 139b–145b).

the arrival of the Uzbeks.²⁵⁸ At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, they belonged to those Turko-Mongol tribes who actively supported the Timurids and were not part of Shībānī Khān's following.²⁵⁹ In the eighteenth century, we find the Baḥrīn among the Yetī Ūrūgh, dwelling between Katta Qūrghān and Khaṭarchī in the east and Karmīna in the west. A century later, they did not inhabit a compact territory but small pockets west and northwest of Katta Qūrghān, where they lived among other tribes.²⁶⁰

As already mentioned, the Baḥrīn occasionally closely cooperated with the Burqūt living north of Karmīna in the hilly region of Nūr. Sometimes we read about the troops of the Yetī Ūrūgh led by the Baḥrīn, or the Yetī Ūrūgh and the Baḥrīn joined by the Burqūt,²⁶¹ or simply about the Baḥrīn-Burqūt army (*sipāh-i Baḥrīn wa Burqūt*).²⁶² Holzwarth hence concludes that the Burqūt were part of this heterogeneous tribal cluster.²⁶³ But in many cases the two tribes did not act in concert and were to be found in opposite camps.²⁶⁴ Listing these tribes separately, Khanikov does not mention the term Yetī Ūrūgh but says that the Baḥrīn (here Byagrin) encamped in Miyānkāl and mixed with other tribes.²⁶⁵

Further groups mentioned by the sources, albeit figuring less prominently, are the Jalāyir, Yābū, Tama, Misīt, Jīt and others.²⁶⁶ According to Ivanov, the Yetī Ūrūgh were composed of the Mītan, Qiyāt, Jalāyir and

²⁵⁸ According to the secondary literature, some Baḥrīn sub-divisions also lived in the Ferghana Valley (Togan, *Türkili*, 44), especially in Marghīlān. Later some of them migrated to Miyānkāl, Khuzār and even Qarshī (Greibenkin, "Uzbeki," 90).

²⁵⁹ Karmysheva, "Naselenie," 20–21. See also Grebenkin, "Uzbeki," 90. Schwarz also mentions sedentary, Turkic-speaking tribal groups in the Miyānkāl in the sixteenth century (Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 57).

²⁶⁰ Grebenkin, "Uzbeki," 90, 91.

²⁶¹ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fols. 57a, 131b.

²⁶² Ibid., fol. 57b; Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fols. 295a, 296a.

²⁶³ Holzwarth, "Relations," 188–89, footnote no. 50.

²⁶⁴ Often the Yetī Ūrūgh/Baḥrīn tribes of Miyānkāl and the Burqūt of Nūr are mentioned as separate units, though they performed military duties side by side (Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fols. 57a, 135b–136a, 322a; Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fols. 228b, 295a, 296a).

²⁶⁵ Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 74–78. Grebenkin also spells it Bagrin (Greibenkin, "Uzbeki," 59).

²⁶⁶ Wafā mentions smaller tribal splinters in one breath with the Yābū, such as the Qarghur, Jīt, Tama and Misīt, the latter dwelling in Āq Buriyā (?), Kadan (?) and the *qal'a* of Dabūsī east of Karmīna.²⁶⁶

Naymān.²⁶⁷ Of particular importance were the Jalāyir. Similar to the Baḥrīn, they did not belong to the Uzbek conquerors but lived in Transoxania before the arrival of Shībānī Khān.²⁶⁸ The Jalāyir had a prominent place in the *ulūs* Chaghatay prior to Tīmūr's ascent. Their habitat was at Khojand and they were said to have maintained good relations with the rulers of Moghūlistān. After Tīmūr's death in 1404 the tribe was centered in Utrar.²⁶⁹ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Jalāyir inhabited the northwestern part of Katta Qūrhān, where they dwelled on both sides of the Āq Daryā. Near Khaṭarchī their habitat extended up to the right bank of the Qarā Daryā.²⁷⁰ Wafā mentions the fortress of Amanjaka (?) as one of their primary settlements.²⁷¹

Qāzī Wafā informs us that among the Yetī Ūrūgh the Yābū wielded considerable influence over other tribes and nomads (*qabā'il wa 'ashāyir*) at the end of the 1740s. According to him, they pastured their herds between Dābūsiya and Karmīna. This suggests that the Yābū were either sedentary or may have engaged in a transhumant economy with short-distance migration on an east-west axis. In the nineteenth century, part of the Yābū led a settled life in the southern parts of the Bukharan oasis, while others nomadized together with the Naymān who mainly lived near the town of Żiyā al-Dīn further in the east. One branch of the latter, the Khīṭā'ī-Naymān, were famous for possessing large herds of horses.²⁷²

In the nineteenth century, the Yābū, Tama and Misīt together formed the Ūch Rū or Ūch Ūrūgh (the "Three Tribes"),²⁷³ which also appear in a letter issued by Amīr Ḥaidar as one of numerous tribal formations in the province of Karmīna.²⁷⁴ In the *Ẓafarnāma-yi khusrawī*, the Ūch Ūrūgh are named as one of the tribal formations that in 1256/1840–41 accompanied Naṣrullah Khān on his campaign to Khoqand.²⁷⁵ On this occasion, together with the

²⁶⁷ Ivanov, *Vosstanie*, 71, 116, endnote no. 13. In his appendix, Ivanov also names the Mīr Shikār as a component tribe of the Yetī Ūrūgh.

²⁶⁸ Karmysheva, "Naseleennie," 20–21; Shanijazov, "Nekotorye voprosy," 84.

²⁶⁹ Manz, *Tamerlane*, 158; Karmysheva, "On the History," 62.

²⁷⁰ Grebenkin, "Uzbeki," 108. According to Grebenkin, the Jalāyir divided into two sub-clans, the Kalchilī and the Bolgalī (ibid.).

²⁷¹ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fols. 134b, 338b, 339b–340a.

²⁷² Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 83.

²⁷³ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 227; Radloff, "Serafschanthal," 505.

²⁷⁴ Abduraimov, *Voprosy*, 55–56.

²⁷⁵ A tribal group of the same name lived among the Manghit (Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh*, fol. 33b).

Baḥrīn, Qirghiz and Zūrābādī troops they formed one distinct contingent of warriors.²⁷⁶

I surmise that the designation Yetī Ūrūgh was generally applied to heterogeneous tribal formations, whose component parts could change depending on time, political circumstances, the figurations of power and the interests of the individual tribal leaders. Some of the elements of the Yetī Ūrūgh originally did not belong to the Uzbeks, but lived in the region long before 1500. By the nineteenth century, the Baḥrīn and their colleagues were more or less wholly absorbed by the Uzbeks and did not use the term “Turk/Turki” as a self-designation.²⁷⁷

THE QATĀGHĀN

Forming the third influential group in western Miyānkāl, the Qatāghān appear as the rivals of the Yetī Ūrūgh at the beginning of the eighteenth century, vying with them for control over Karmīna and certain positions in the social and governmental hierarchy. According to Kushkakī, the Qatāghān originated from Dabḥīd, a holy place and focal point of Sufi activities at the easternmost end of Miyānkāl, just ten kilometers north of Samarqand.²⁷⁸ Under the leadership of Bēg Murād Bī, they settled in the area east of Balkh when they fell out with Subḥān Qulī Khān for unspecified reasons.²⁷⁹ A considerable part of the tribe settled north of the Oxus in the region of Qūrghān Tippa and Kulāb,²⁸⁰ but also in the lower part of the Wakhsh Valley on the right side of the Oxus and in the Yakh Sū Valley.²⁸¹

²⁷⁶ *Zafarnāma-yi khusrawī*, 117.

²⁷⁷ Karmysheva, “Naselenie,” 21.

²⁷⁸ Dabḥīd was the center of one branch of the Naqshbandīya originating from Aḥmad Kāsānī, also known under the epithet Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam (Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 9, 39–49, 170). Mir Izzetullah describes the small town as a pleasant place with many gardens (Mir Izzetullah, “Travels,” 329). For a brief description of Dabḥīd in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Fedchenko, “Topographical Sketch,” 458; Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, II, 432; Radloff, “Serafschanthal,” 414. On the Naqshbandīs in Dabḥīd see Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 170.

²⁷⁹ Burḥān al-Dīn Kushkakī, *Rāhnāmā-yi Qatāghan wa Badakhshān* (comp. in 1922), ed. Manūchīhr Sutūda (Tehran: Maihan, 1989), 11. According to Grebenkin, the Qatāghān settled in Kunduz in the time of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān (Grebenkin, “Uzbeki,” 85–86).

²⁸⁰ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 294a–b, 309a–312a.

²⁸¹ Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 103.

The Qaṭaghān figure as the descendants of Qatā, who had sixteen sons; each emerged as the ancestor of one sub-division. While the individual clans are grouped around two major segments, the Bīsh Bula and the Chigūna, the whole tribe was headed by an aristocratic lineage, the Kessamir, who are settled between Kunduz and Khānābād at present. Ludwig Adamec gives a detailed list with all major sub-divisions of the Qaṭaghān Uzbeks. The most important in terms of numbers are the Lukhan (5,000), Tas (5,000), Musas (7,300), Kessamir (2,000), Jaung (Jang) Qaṭaghān (2,000) and Simiz (5,000). These figures date from the year 1882. By far the biggest Qaṭaghān sub-tribe, the Musas, falls into seven major clans: the Chuchagur, Chechka, Yughul, Sirugh, Temuz, Burka and Berja.²⁸² As a tribal group inhabiting territories on both sides of the Oxus, the Qaṭaghān were particularly influential among the Uzbeks. But in spite of this, it seems the tribe was far from being a united force. In Amīn Bukhārī's work they are described as the Qaṭaghān of Balkh and Qaṭaghān of Bukhara, to be found in opposite political camps.²⁸³ Qāzī Wafā also mentions Qaṭaghān dominating the region of Qūrghān Tippa just south of Dūshanba, where they furnished the local governor.²⁸⁴ In the late nineteenth century, the Qaṭaghān were known to be a "warlike tribe" occupying the plain of Kulāb. The governor of the town of Kulāb was also a Qaṭaghān notable.²⁸⁵

NŪR AND THE NORTHERN MOUNTAINS OF MIYĀNKĀL

Located in the hilly tracts at the northwestern fringes of Miyānkāl, Nūr—also called Nūr-i Aṭā (Nūr Aṭā)—was a strategic post marking one of the approaches to Bukhara from the Dasht-i Qipchāq to the north. The nineteenth-century Bukharan author Mīrẓā 'Abd al-'Aẓīm Sāmī writes that every king of Bukhara paid particular attention to this place and carefully watched Nūr because it was regarded as the gateway to Turan (*darwāza-yi*

²⁸² Ludwig Adamec, *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan*, vol. 1: *Badakshan Province and Qataghan* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1972), 95. For an alternative list of Qaṭaghān sub-divisions, see Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 105. She lists the Kessamir and Simiz separately (*ibid.*, 102–03).

²⁸³ Amīn Bukhārī, *Ubaiddullah Nāma*, fols. 108a–b, 110b; Semenov trans., 123–24.

²⁸⁴ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 294a, 308b, 309b, 310a.

²⁸⁵ N. Maev, "Hissar and Kulab," *The Geographical Magazine* 3 (1876): 329.

mulk-i Tūrān).²⁸⁶ Barthold concludes that “being situated on the frontier between the cultivated region and the steppe, the village must have been very important strategically; it is mentioned as a fortress in the history of the struggle of Muntaṣir, the last Samanid monarch, against his enemies.”²⁸⁷ Qāzī Wafā’s descriptions of the *qaṣaba-yi Nūr* suggest that the town was well protected by a strong and formidable fort and surrounded by a ring of orchards and small villages with fertile, artificially irrigated arable plots to the east.²⁸⁸ The settlement had a cathedral mosque and many *rabāṭs*, and it was especially famous for its numerous tombs and holy shrines, attracting many visitors from the immediate environs as well as from Bukhara.²⁸⁹ In the *Tuḥfat* Nūr gives the impression of being a remote Bukharan outpost characterized by harsh and hostile environmental conditions that protected the town against attempts at conquest from the south:

“[T]here was no extensive field suitable as a battleground. The majority of the glorious warriors could not extend the steps of gravity from the place of rest and residence, and there was [nothing] in that area but masses of sand and dust. [Not even] a drop of water from moist, expectant and [mirage] imagining eyes awaited the wise people, and truly nothing came to the eyes of the experienced and honorable men but thorns and heaps of thistles as many as the arm can embrace.”²⁹⁰

Nūr guarded the access to the lower mountain ranges of the Nūra Tāgh (also Nūra-tau) and the Qarā Tāgh, which are—in the *Tuḥfat*—designated Jabal Jūsh and Kūhsār-i Santāb.²⁹¹ “This mountain ridge extends over a distance of a two or three days’ journey from east to west and hosts a number of *qal‘as* like Jūsh, Akhjāb, Ayaḥ [?], Ukhum, Mājaram and others.”²⁹² Running

²⁸⁶ Mīrzā ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Būstānī [Sāmī], *Tuḥfa-yi shāhī*, ed. Manṣūra Jalāl (Tehran: Anjuman-i āthār-i mafākhir-i farhangī, 1388/2010), 44, 47.

²⁸⁷ Barthold, *Turkestan*, 119.

²⁸⁸ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 129b–130a, 142a, 143a.

²⁸⁹ Especially the shrines and tombs erected for the *ahl al-bayt*—the descendants of the Prophet—attracted pilgrims from near and far. For example, the Prophet’s son-in-law ‘Alī was alleged to have been buried there. Besides, the holy district contains the supposed mausoleums of Ḥasan, Ḥusain and Muḥammad b. Al-Ḥanafīya as well as the tomb of Muḥammad al-Jarrāh, the barber of Muḥammad (Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 17, 21).

²⁹⁰ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 144b.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, fols. 157a, 160a, 246a. The terms Jabal Jūsh and Santāb seem to have been indigenous toponyms corresponding to the Nūr-i atā Tāgh (Nūra Tāgh, Nūratau), Āq Tāgh and Qāra Tāgh mountains that form the westernmost part of the Turkistan Range north of the Zarafshān Valley.

²⁹² Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 246a.

parallel to the Zarafshān River, this mountain chain forms a barrier toward the Qazāq Steppe to the north:

“All these mountains, with the exception of the Nura-taú and the Ak-taú [...] may be said with a certain degree of probability, not to exceed one thousand feet in height. The nature of the intervening valleys is uniformly the same, consisting of a clayey soil, covered by more or less dense strata of movable sand, in some places rendered firm by the saksaul, the tamarisk, and suchlike shrubs. In other places, there are deserts of moving sands, as, for example, Yaman-Kizil-kúm.”²⁹³

The main settlement in this remote mountain wilderness was the fortress (*gal'a*) of Santāb, which was “unique in its firmness and fortification, situated in the midst of a valley surrounded by high mountains. The path leading to it is so narrow that no more than one rider could pass it at a time.”²⁹⁴ Parallel to the Nūra Tāgh and the Qarā Tāgh runs the Āq Tāgh (also Āq Tau) forming an obstacle toward the Zarafshān Valley further in the south.

In the nineteenth century, most of the inhabitants of this region lived from rain-fed agriculture (*lalm*), but the plots were only thinly covered with grain. According to Radloff, the number of livestock was insignificant.²⁹⁵ The most important settlements Akhjāb, Jūsh and Pshat were located in a wide valley between the two major mountain chains of the Nūra-tau. Only Ukhum, Mājarām and Santāb were situated on the northern slopes of the Turkistan Range in the direction of the Sir Daryā and the open steppe.

THE BURQŪT AND THE TURKOMĀN YŪZĪ

According to Sāmī, since old times the region of Nūr had been the seat (*nishīman*) of the Burqūt community, a Mongol tribe that had received the pasture rights as a pension. He further says that the Burqūt were a wealthy

²⁹³ Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 13.

²⁹⁴ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 246a.

²⁹⁵ According to Schwarz, in the early modern period, the low mountain ridges and the intervening valleys were used as pastureland (Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 26). Radloff states that in the second half of the nineteenth century the area was so dry that the local population lived from rain-fed agriculture on non-irrigated plots at the top of the hills. The numbers of livestock were very low in that time because of the exorbitant price of grass and hay. The following were the most important settlements in the region: “Chua, Bagajat, Akchap, Koshrawat, Jush and Pshat” consisting of fifty to one hundred and fifty granges (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, II, 460; Radloff, “Serafschanthal,” 31–32, 498).

tribe (*īl-i māldār wa mutawwal*),²⁹⁶ a description that contrasts with the information provided by the *Tuhfat*, where they are depicted as a poor tribe.²⁹⁷ As has been illustrated before, they often acted in alliance with the Bahrīn of Karmīna and other Yetī Ūrūgh sub-divisions.

Qāzī Wafā reports that the settlements in the Jabal Jūsh and Kūhistān-i Santāb had long been inhabited by the Turkomān Yūzī who, enjoying a great degree of autonomy, ruled independently over the Persian-speaking mountain dwellers (*ghalcha*) and the other subjects in the towns and villages. He also says that the Turkomān Yūzī in this region numbered five to six thousand households. Engaged in animal husbandry, they used the extensive grazing grounds in the mountains as winter pastures (*qishlāq*), while their chiefs resided in the above-mentioned fortified settlements that formed focal points of their authority.²⁹⁸ The areas adjoining the banks of the Sir Daryā probably served as the summer quarters of these tribes.

The Turkomān Yūz, or Yūzī, are often mistaken for Turkmen, but in fact formed one of the sub-sections of the Yūz (see below).²⁹⁹ This error may be attributed to the fact that in the past Nūr-i Aṭā was also inhabited by Turkmen of Ghuz origin. Having settled in parts of Mā Warā' al-Nahr since the period of the Selchuq intrusion in the tenth and eleventh centuries, some of the latter remained in the mountains and steppes of Nūr. In Shanijazov's opinion, these Turkmen retrospectively grouped and organized themselves like the Uzbek tribes of Dasht-i Qipchāq origin. Some of their sub-divisions and clans bore the same names, such as Kazayaklī, Bogajilī or Aytamghalī.³⁰⁰ Yet it is also possible that the Turkomān Yūz and the Ghuz Turkmen mixed. Many local Turkomān Yūz chieftains are mentioned only under the tribal name Turkomān.³⁰¹

²⁹⁶ Sāmī, *Tuhfa*, 44, 47.

²⁹⁷ Qāzī Wafā attributes the poverty and difficult living conditions in Nūr to the siege by Bukharan troops in 1162–63/1749–50 (Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fol. 165a).

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 246a.

²⁹⁹ Bel'qis Karmysheva has variously written on the Turkomān Yūz (see Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 224–27).

³⁰⁰ These names can also be found among many Uzbek tribal groups who entered Mā Warā' al-Nahr much later (Shanijazov, "Nekotorye voprosy," 92).

³⁰¹ There are two explanations: first, the Turkomān Yūz of Nūr-i Aṭā probably dropped the Yūz/Yūzī from their tribal name, a fact that may have contributed to the tendency to view them as Turkmen; or second, the chiefs mentioned under the tribal name Turkomān were leaders of the Ghuz Turkmen and not of the Turkomān Yūzī. Karmyshva postulates a close relationship between a group of Turkomān Uzbeks of Nūr and the Turkomān Yūzī

The chronicles and the secondary literature mention two groups of Turkomān Yūz, the first living in the Surkhān Valley, and the second leading a nomadic way of life in the steppes near the Sir Daryā. The first group migrated relatively early to the Surkhān region, where they absorbed parts of the Turko-Mongol population settled there since the time of the Mongol conquest. Referring to oral traditions, Karmysheva nevertheless argues that the Turkomān Yūz in all likelihood originated from the area of Nūr-i Aṭā and Ūrā Tippa.³⁰² Qāzī Wafā also refers to Turkomān Yūzī groups living at Kadan, a small fortress located directly on the banks of the Zarafshān opposite Dabūsī at the southwestern edge of Miyānkāl proper.³⁰³ The Turkomān Yūz divided into two main clans, the Jīlān Tamghalī and Wakhtamghalī, each of which further split into several sub-divisions.³⁰⁴

ḤIṢĀR-I SHĀDMĀN

During the time of the Arab conquest in the early eighth century, the plains adjacent to the Surkhān and Kāfirnihān Valleys north of the Oxus were called Shūmān and Āqarūn.³⁰⁵ With the beginning of the fourteenth century, the name changed from Shūmān to Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān (“Ḥiṣār the Joyous”; “the Joyous Castle”), or simply Ḥiṣār—“Castle.”³⁰⁶ Former writers generally distinguished between Lower Ḥiṣār (*Ḥiṣār-i pāyān*) made up of the Surkhān River Valley with the important towns of Rīgar and Dehnau in its center, and Upper Ḥiṣār (*Ḥiṣār-i bālā*) which corresponded to Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān.³⁰⁷ The

of Ḥiṣār, and underlines her argument by pointing out similarities in the designations of the sub-sections (Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 226).

³⁰² She also mentions a legend about the ancestors of the Turkomān Yūz, who had allegedly migrated from Ūrā Tippa and Nūr-i Aṭā to Ḥiṣār already in the time of Tīmūr (ibid., 224).

³⁰³ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 130b.

³⁰⁴ Jīlāntamghalī: Pātās, Bāl, Ākhur, Qargha, Iyarchi, Tarāqli, Kūsa and Parcha Yūz; Wakhtamghalī: Kesaulī, Aliplī, Kūshamghalī, Tariqbāsh, Qāzī Āyāqlī, Qāzāq, Būghajilī and Būlak Kesau (Kh. Doniyorov, *Uzbek khalqining shajara va shevarali* (Tashkent: Fan, 1968), 84–85). In Radloff’s list the Parcha Yūz figure as an individual branch of the Yūz showing the highest degree of internal segmentation, while the Kūshamghalī appear as a sub-division of the Bīsh Yūz (see Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 226–27).

³⁰⁵ Barthold, *Turkestan*, 74. See also E. Davidovich and A. Mukhtarov, *Stranitsy istorii Gissara* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1969), 20.

³⁰⁶ Bertold Spuler, “Ḥiṣār,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., III, 483; Yuri Bregel, “Ḥeṣār,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, XII, 303; Davidovich and Mukhtarov, *Stranitsy*, 23.

³⁰⁷ Maev, “Hissar and Kulab,” 327.

toponyms *Ḥiṣār* and *Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān* are already mentioned by Tīmūr's chronicler Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, according to whom the region served as one of the major arsenals for the recruitment of warriors.³⁰⁸ Under the Shibanids and Tuqay-Timurids, the eastern region of *Ḥiṣār* together with the neighboring provinces of *Qabādiyān* and *Kulāb* formed the northernmost dependencies of the appanage of *Balkh*.³⁰⁹ Sometimes, *Ḥiṣār* is considered to have been different from and not part of *Mā Warā' al-Nahr*.³¹⁰ Kāzīm, who in 1747 accompanied the Qizilbāsh troops on their march to Iran, traversed *Qabādiyān* and gives the following description:

“[Traveling] stage by stage, we entered *Qabādiyān*. This is a prospering town like paradise on earth, an example of the pleasant and agreeable heaven because of all kinds of trees, plentiful grapes and many rice paddies, [so beautiful] that the human mind will be astonished at it.”³¹¹

In the *'Ubaidullah Nāma*, *Ḥiṣār* is depicted as a strategically important gateway (*darwāza*) to *Mā Warā' al-Nahr*.³¹² *Wafā* describes the region as a five days' journey in length and between one and two days' journey in width, dotted with fortified towns and surrounded by imposing mountain ranges. The river valleys of the *Kāfirnihān* and the *Surkhāb* (*Waksh*) form the most important communication and transport arteries of this region.³¹³ The fertile *Kāfirnihān* Valley extending over 110–120 kilometers in a latitudinal direction to the south of the *Ḥiṣār* Range forms the core of the area.³¹⁴

³⁰⁸ Davidovich and Mukhtarov, *Stranitzky*, 20–21. In Tīmūr's time, *Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān* and *Chaghāniyān* were occupied by the *Suldus* and *Barlas* tribes (Manz, *Tamerlane*, 79, 133).

³⁰⁹ Bregel, “*Ḥesār*,” 303. *Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān* was probably part of one of the sub-appanages of *Balkh*, including *Khuṭlān* and *Badakhshān*. In the Tuqay-Timurid period, this appanage was first given to 'Abd al-'Azīz Sulṭān. In 1642 it was ceded to Qutluq Muḥammad Sulṭān, a son of Nadhr Muḥammad Khān (r. 1642–45). In 1654 Qāsim Sulṭān b. Qutluq Muḥammad appears as the appanage holder of *Ḥiṣār* (for details see McChesney, *Waqf*, 106, 113, 128–29; McChesney, “Central Asia,” 186–88).

³¹⁰ Davidovich describes *Transoxania* and *Ḥiṣār* as different spatial entities but also calls the latter a sub-region of *Mā Warā' al-Nahr* (Davidovich, “The Monetary Reform,” 149–50).

³¹¹ Kāzīm, *'Ālamārā*, III, 1129.

³¹² Amīn Bukhārī, *'Ubaidullah Nāma*, fols. 44b–45a; Semenov trans., 60.

³¹³ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fols. 279b–280a.

³¹⁴ Bregel, “*Ḥesār*,” 303. There are five important towns in the *Kāfirnihān* Valley: *Faiżābād*, *Kāfirnihān*, *Dūshanba*, *Ḥiṣār* and *Qabādiyān* (Maev, “Hissar and Kulab,” 327).

“The Hissar chain whose length is about 300 kilometres, counting from the Matsha pass, has throughout its whole extension the character of an immense imposing chain whose crests are never below the regions of the perpetual snow, the average height of the highest top being between 5 and 6000 metres. [...] The River Kafirnihan whose name means the residence of the infidels has its beginning in the Hissar range from several sources. [...] Having left the narrow mountain valley at the town of Kafirnihan, which it traverses, the river runs south-west and west-southwest to the town of Hissar (Castle) through a broad and fertile valley. There are everywhere well watered fields with rice and cotton, gardens and melon plantations, mulberry, fig, apricot and peach trees which thrive exceedingly well together with many other kinds of fruit-trees, but the region is very unhealthy, and fever often rages among the natives and forces them to wander up into the mountains in summer; there they lead a nomadic life with their cattle in Ailaks.”³¹⁵

This description shows a geographic division into two distinct zones: first, high mountains partitioning the area off from adjacent regions and separating the different river valleys, and second, the alluvial swampy plains of the Wakhsh, Kāfirnihān and Surkhān Rivers, including the hilly tracts of land characteristic of the promontory of the Ḥiṣār Mountains.³¹⁶ Due to its outstanding fertility, the region produced abundant crops, such as corn, flax, and cotton. But it also exported sheep, which were brought to Bukhara from the entire region, even from Kulāb, Baljuwān and Afghanistan. In addition, it exported the famous Khuzār rock salt from Pāshkhūrd (Bash-khurd), and wood (especially *archa*, a kind of juniper).³¹⁷ Besides the Yūz Uzbeks, the region is inhabited by a heterogenous population. Maev gives the following description of the situation prevailing in the second half of the nineteenth century:

“The population of the districts of Hissar and Kulab consists principally of Uzbeks and Tajiks, the former predominating. The Uzbeks, as in the valleys of the Syr and Zerafshan are gradually pushing the aboriginal Tajiks into the hills, and in the mountain-*kishlaks* of Hissar these latter have maintained themselves in greater purity than elsewhere. [...] The population of the large towns in the valleys of Surkhan and Kafir-nahan is mixed, as everywhere else in Central Asia. Uzbeks and Tajiks have mingled in these towns, and it is impossible to draw the line between them. At the same time there cannot be a doubt that the Tajiks are the dominant race to the east of Dushambe. The mountain kishlaks of Varsob and Roumit Tau, the towns of Faizabad and Kafir-nahan and their environs are inhabited by Tajiks. But on the grassy slopes of the Sebestan Tau and in the valley of the Vakhsh, that is in the very midst of the Tajiks, we meet again with the *Yailan* [*yailāqs*] (summer villages) of the Lakai and Khulmuk Uzbeks. These tribes hardly acknowledge

³¹⁵ Olufsen, *Emir*, 47, 52.

³¹⁶ Karmysheva, “On the History,” 61.

³¹⁷ Maev, “Hissar and Kulab,” 329.

the authority of Bukhara. They cultivate the whole of the Valley of Baljuan. The Lower Vakhsh is occupied by the *auls* and poverty-stricken kishlaks of the Durmen and Sary-Katagan Uzbeks. [...] A considerable fraction of the population consists of Lyuli (gipsies), Jugut (Jews), Hindu and Afghans. These latter are met with particularly in Shirabad and Kabadian, where there are many houses of Afghan type, with cupola-shaped roofs. Augana, a kishlak near Kulab, is likewise inhabited by Afghan migrants. The Uzbeks are numerically the strongest amongst these various tribes, and their influence is so great, that the whole of Hissar is known at Bukhara as Uzbekistan, the Land of the Uzbeks.”³¹⁸

According to the ethnographers, the region had a mixed economy: the Tajiks were engaged in agriculture, horticulture, viticulture and cattle-breeding with indoor maintenance in winter. Inhabiting the sedgy flood-plains of the rivers at their middle and lower course as well as the Bābā Tāgh, many Uzbeks still led a nomadic or semi-nomadic life.³¹⁹ While the dominant tribe, the Yūz, dwelled in the central sections of the Surkhān and Kāfirnihān Valleys, the fringes of the region were inhabited by other Uzbek groups: for instance, the Dūrmān lived in Qabādiyān and the Qaṭaghān in Kulāb and Qūrghān Tippa.

In the past, the political fate of Ḥiṣār was closely connected to the neighboring Chaghāniyān (also called Ṣaghāniyān), the geographical center of which was the Surkhān Valley:

“The towns of Karatagh, Regar, Sary-jui, Sary-osio, Yur-chi and Dehinau (Denau) lie in the broad valley of the Surkhan, which is capitally suited for agriculture. When Hissar was independent from Bukhara, this valley constituted its political center, and tradition tells us that a cat might have run then along the roofs of houses from Dehinau to the banks of the Amu. The population now [in the second half of the nineteenth century] is far from dense. The principal settlements are met with in the northern portion of the valley, where the great volume of the tributary rivers renders irrigation easy.”³²⁰

ŪRĀ TIPPA AND OTHER TOWNS IN THE SIR DARYĀ REGION

Like Ḥiṣār, Ūrā Tippa was an important seat of the Yūz from which they spread their authority in different directions. In the second half of the

³¹⁸ Ibid., 328–29. Apart from Uzbeks and Tajiks, the region was inhabited by a number of minorities: Turkmen, Qazāq, Qirghiz, Qaraqalpāq, Arabs, Hazāras and Balūchī. Karmysheva lists a number of smaller groups like Chinākī, Larkhābī, Shaunarni, Sujānī, Utubulākī, Ābsarīna, Kawālī etc. (Karmysheva, “On the History,” 62).

³¹⁹ Karmysheva, “On the History,” 63–64.

³²⁰ Maev, “Hissar and Kulab,” 327.

seventeenth century, the entire region had come under their sway. According to Mukhtarov, even one of the city quarters of Tashkent paid tribute to the rulers of Ūrā Tippa. In comparison to other regions, Ūrā Tippa stood out because of its favorable geographic position and the extension of its hinterland, which was crisscrossed by trade routes connecting a number of important commercial centers.³²¹ Gregor von Helmersen describes this city as an important center of trade, located a nine days' journey northeast of Samarqand:

“The hill Ura Tippa (Ora Tübe), after which the city is named, is only some hundred feet high and has a citadel defended by cannons; within its walls are the residence of the governor built of bricks and the houses of many private persons. The town itself is situated at the foot of the hill; it is surrounded by a wall and its size is not smaller than that of Samarqand; between the town and the hill there is a spacious square, the bazaar, where the caravans passing through usually stay several days, and which is traversed by a small stream rising on the top of the hill; another creek, which absorbs the former, runs through the town and sufficiently supplies it with good, fresh water; for this the people did not have to construct any basins. The streets are broad but not straight, and they never become very muddy because the ground near the hill is rocky. The houses are built of mud but they do not stand close together like in Bukhara and have spacious courtyards. The town counts ten mosques, but one looks in vain for buildings and monuments dating back to former times. The air is clean and healthy, and there is abundant grass in the surroundings of the town.”³²²

Having visited Ūrā Tippa in the 1870s, Eugene Schuyler says that

“at the bottom of the hill is a little stream, now narrowed, and dammed, and spanned by bridges, hemmed in on each side by walls and houses, now flowing through many channels over a wide gravelly bed. Above it the flat roofs rise terrace-like on the hill side, broken occasionally by a dome or cupola and surmounted by the long decorated façade of the college of Rustam Bek, which was built some thirty years ago in imitation of the Shir-dar at Samarkand. The town is full of gardens, and tall trees rise up everywhere between the houses, thus taking off that dead grey colour of dirt which so wears the eyes in all Asiatic towns. Gardens and green fields stretch far up the hill side, and beyond these are the ridges of other low hills, and finally the two chains of the Turkistan and Zarafshan mountains with their many snow-capped peaks. [...] I wandered for a long time through

³²¹ Mukhtarov, *Materialy*, 4. According to Barthold, the villages of Zāmin, Šābāt, Khāwas (Khawāš), Rukund, Kurkath and Gālūk-Andāz have preserved their names until the present. In former times the center of the principality was located in Ushrūsana, the ruins of which lie sixteen miles southwest of Ūrā Tippa (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 166).

³²² Gregor von Helmersen, *Nachrichten über Chiwa, Buchara, Chokand und den nordwestlichen Theil des chinesischen Staates* (St. Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1839), 73, own translation.

the curious winding bazaar of Ura-tepé, particularly attracted by the green riding boots studded with silver nails, and the large wooden *sabots*, each on three stout wooden feet, into the ends of which were driven nails. These are worn by the Galtchas from the mountains and from Karategin, who frequently come to this bazaar.³²³

According to Khoqandian sources, in the early nineteenth century the population of the town numbered twelve thousand inhabitants.³²⁴ Ūrā Tippa was predominantly inhabited by Uzbeks and a large number of Tajiks and Jews besides.³²⁵ Pointing to the fertility of the nearby dependency (*tūmān*) of Zāmin, Qāzī Wafā tells us that in the middle of the eighteenth century it consisted of altogether seventeen small and big fortified villages (*qal'as*), which all yielded a good harvest.³²⁶ Schuyler describes it as a

“well-cultivated region partly irrigated from the mountain streams, but chiefly composed of rain-lands on the hill slopes. The path of the moisture was visible in the steppe by the profusion of flowers, and even the drier portions were covered with capers, yellow larkspurs, and clumps of yucca. Far up on the mountain-sides we could see *yailaks*, or summer encampments of Uzbeks, and flocks and herds.”³²⁷

Besides Zāmin, we find other important settlements in this region such as Jizakh, Yām, Khawāsh and Pishāghar.

THE YŪZ AND MING TRIBES

The Yūz inhabited a very large part of Mā Warā' al-Nahr that extended along the Sir Daryā riverine zone on a west-east axis up to the western part of the Ferghana Valley.³²⁸ During the eighteenth century, the *bīs* of the Yūz tribe, who often acted in concert with the Yūz of Ḥiṣār, governed Ūrā Tippa. Since most of the habitat of this tribe (Jizakh, Ūrā Tippa and Khojand) was situated between the Manghit in the west and the Ming in the east, the chiefs of the Yūz were often engaged on either side. Sometimes they launched

³²³ Schuyler, *Turkistan*, I, 310–11.

³²⁴ Beisembiev, *Ta'rikh*, 95–96.

³²⁵ von Helmersen, *Nachrichten*, 74.

³²⁶ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fol. 228b.

³²⁷ Schuyler, *Turkistan*, I, 309.

³²⁸ The Yūz also dominated the area of Khojand at the western end of the Ferghana Valley. Here their immediate neighbors to the east were the Ming furnishing the rulers of the khanate of Khoqand (Bregel, “The new Uzbek states,” 400).

attacks and raids on Bukharan soil,³²⁹ but similar to their neighbors, the Ming, at times also sought Bukharan support to cope with their local enemies.

Mu'īn describes the region of Āq Masjid on the Sir Daryā as the original home of the Yūz.³³⁰ Around the middle of the seventeenth century, the Yūz received *iqṭā's* and governorships in a relatively large region. They established themselves in western Ferghana and the middle Sir Daryā Valley where they managed to carve out a number of small principalities like Ūrā Tīppa, Zāmīn, Panjīkent, Jizakh, Yām and Khojand. Here, they probably established close relations with the *khwājas*, influential religious dignitaries and merchants holding a prominent position in the local bazaar economy.³³¹ While other tribes like the Khīṭā'ī-Qīpchāq were largely dispersed throughout Transoxania and had not yet begun to establish their principalities, the Yūz profited from the cohesiveness of their possessions. Furthermore, they were in control of the Sir Daryā towns, important commercial centers,³³² linking the Great Steppe with its nomadic economy to the urban-sedentary economy of Transoxania.³³³

Referring to their pivotal role in the Ferghana Valley, Timur Beisembiev remarks that the Yūz maintained close relations with their neighbors, the Ming. According to his results, the Ming were known as the “owners of the white camel” (*Āq buqra*) and the Yūz as the “white one-year-old camels” (*Āq taylaq*). This distinction mirrors the position of the two groups within the tribal hierarchy.³³⁴ Kāzīm informs us that in the middle of the eighteenth century

“a group of Yūz and Ming Uzbeks lived in the mountains and on the banks of the Sir Daryā. Having raised the banner of rebellion, they had retreated into fortified places of refuge where they got ready for war and contention.”³³⁵

The local historiography often puts the Yūz under the umbrella term Qirq-Yūz or Qirq-Ming-Yūz, suggesting close genealogical ties between these

³²⁹ Beisembiev, *Ta'rikh*, 8.

³³⁰ Mu'īn, *Tārīkh*, fol. 60b.

³³¹ See here Holzwarth, “Relations,” 185–86.

³³² Mukhtarov, *Materialy*, 4.

³³³ Holzwarth, “Relations,” 184–86.

³³⁴ Beisembiev, *Ta'rikh*, 10.

³³⁵ Muḥammad Kāzīm, *Ālamārā*, II, 819. See also Holzwarth, “Relations,” 188, footnote no. 48.

tribes. In the present, the term Ming is only known in the region south of Jizakh, while the name Qirq-Ming-Yüz served as a designation for the coalition or tribal confederation composed of Qirq, Ming and Yüz in Nau, Ūrā Tippa, Zāmīn and Jizakh.³³⁶

Depending on the source and the informant, the data given by the secondary literature about the composition of the Yüz greatly varies. A preliminary survey conducted in 1924 in Ḥiṣār lists the Marqa, the Kḥiṭā'ī Yüz and the Qarabchī as the major sub-sections, but completely ignores the Turkomān Yüz (see above).³³⁷ According to Doniyorov, the Yüz divide up into three branches: the Marqa Yüz or Marqa Bolasi, in the *Tuḥfat* simply called Yūzīya-yi Marqa, the Qarabchi, and the Rajab Bolasi.³³⁸ Karmysheva differentiates between two main groups, the Yüz of Ḥiṣār and the Surkhān Valley, and the Yüz roaming the extended steppes between Ūrā Tippa, the middle course of the Sir Daryā and the Zarafshān. The close relationship between them is underlined by the fact that the *amīrs* of Ūrā Tippa and those of Ḥiṣār belonged to the same clan.³³⁹ According to her, the Yüz further divided into three major sub-sections: the Marqa,³⁴⁰ the Karabchi (Qarabchi) and the Turkomān Yüz. Maev provides the following piece of information on the Marqa:

“[t]he Marka Kichi-yuz (i.e., Marka of the Little Horde) who are also Uzbeks, nomadise in the valley of the Upper Kafir-nahan, to which they emigrated in 1866, after the Russians had captured the towns of Ura-tube and Jizakh. The auls of this tribe are met with everywhere, between Hissar and Dushambe. Uzbeks of the tribes of Lakai and

³³⁶ Grebenkin, “Uzbeki,” 58–59, 73. According to Kāzīm, the Yüz lived in proximity to the Ming (Kāzīm, *Ālamārā*, II, 819).

³³⁷ On other lists of sub-divisions of the Yüz, see Grebenkin, “Uzbeki,” 93; Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 96–97. Radloff’s list of the Yüz and their sub-divisions differs considerably. He counts eight sub-sections: I. Parcha Yüz (here Pärtshā Jus), II. Kḥiṭā'ī Yüz (Kytai Jus), III. Sālīn (Salin), IV. Uyas (Ujas), V. Qarapcha (Karaptscha), VI. Naymān Irkanalī (Naiman Ergänäkli), VII. Bīsh Yüz (Bäsch Jus), and VIII. Sulaklī (Solakly), but does not mention the Marqa at all (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 226–27).

³³⁸ Doniyorov, *Uzbek khalqining*, 82–83.

³³⁹ Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 222–23. The offspring of the first prominent Yüz leader Qulīka Bī maintained their rule over Ūrā Tippa well into the nineteenth century (Beisembiev, *Ta'rikh*, 24).

³⁴⁰ According to Grebenkin, the Marqa reckoned themselves as part of the Ming Uzbeks (Grebenkin, “Uzbeki,” 58).

Durban [Dürmān] nomadise further south in the valley of Kafir-nahan and their neighboring mountains.”³⁴¹

Karmysheva doubts the information given by Maev, according to whom the Marqa migrated to the Kāfirnihān Valley around 1866.³⁴² Writing in the early eighteenth century, Amīn Bukhārī, for instance, mentions the Marqa as a prominent sub-clan of the Yūz in that region.³⁴³ Doniyorov states that the Marqa divide into two major sub-divisions, the Uyas-Sālin and Khitā'ī Yūz, both of which further split up into a large number of sub-clans.³⁴⁴ He lists the Turkomān Yūz as a separate group inhabiting the mountain valleys east of Nūr-i Aṭā, pockets in the vicinity of Khaṭarchī and large tracts in the upper and middle Surkhān Valley, there particularly in Dehnau, Sar-i Āsyā, Shūrchī and other areas.³⁴⁵

Qāzī Wafā remarks that in the past Ḥiṣār was governed by the *amīrs* of the Yūz tribe, who loyally served the Chingizid rulers of Bukhara and Balkh and regularly submitted the taxes on land, harvests and livestock. In addition, they rendered military assistance during campaigns of the Bukharan rulers.³⁴⁶ The nineteenth-century author Mu'īn, in particular, furnishes more detailed data on the history of Ḥiṣār and the rise to paramountcy of the Yūz chieftains. It is, however, not clear why he paid so much attention to them retrospectively. In many instances his account is imprecise and does not match the information provided by earlier writers. Moreover, he neither mentions his sources nor does he give the date of these appointments. He also refrains from providing dates when listing the tenures of the individual Yūz governors. These inaccuracies are probably due to the fact that he relied on local informants giving oral information without remembering dates.³⁴⁷ In his opinion, it was in the time of Imām Qulī Khān

³⁴¹ Maev, “Hissar and Kulab,” 329. Muḥammad Wafā reports the presence of Marqa nomads in the upper Zarafshān Valley between Ūrgūt, Panjīkent and Gshtut, but also in Ḥiṣār (Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 215a–b, 219b, 220a–b, 271a).

³⁴² Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 223.

³⁴³ Amīn Bukhārī, *ʿUbaidullah Nāma*, fol. 45a. In Semenov’s translation only the Yūz (*plemeni yuz*) are mentioned (see Semenov trans., 61).

³⁴⁴ Doniyorov, *Uzbek khalqining*, 82–83. According to Karmysheva, the Marqa divide into sixteen sub-clans (Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 96).

³⁴⁵ Doniyorov, *Uzbek khalqining*, 84.

³⁴⁶ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 280a. See also Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 102.

³⁴⁷ Anke von Kügelgen attributes the inaccuracies to the “floating gap” (von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 225, see also footnote no. 171 on the same page).

(r. 1612–42) that the tribal leadership of the Yūz gained a predominant position as *atālīqs* and governors of Ḥiṣār. Once, the king visited the region of Āq Masjid and went out hawking. When his falcon (*qūsh*) escaped, it was Qulīka Bī Yūz (here spelled Khalūka Bī) who brought the bird back to the ruler and was allegedly rewarded with the governorship of Ḥiṣār and the position of *atālīq*.³⁴⁸ This was the beginning of Yūz dominance in Ḥiṣār according to Muʿīn, who counts five tenures of several *amīrs* leading to an uninterrupted chain of Yūz authority in this region.³⁴⁹ Expressing doubts about the accuracy of Muʿīn's *Tārīkh-i awā'il wa awākhir*, Mukhtarov is of the opinion that the author confused the reigns of Imām Qulī Khān and Subhān Qulī Khān and that Qulīka Bī lived in the second half of the seventeenth century.³⁵⁰ This is very much in line with Amīn Bukhārī, who mentions Khūshīka Bī b. Qulīka Bī as a loyal supporter of Subhān Qulī Khān.³⁵¹ This chronicler does not allude to any other of the chiefs named by Muʿīn, but this does not mean that none of them existed. If they did exist and act as governors and *atālīqs*, their tenure must have been relatively short.³⁵² But Beisembiev, in agreement with Muʿīn, says that Qulīka Bī lived in the first half of the seventeenth century and that his descendants customarily held the governorship of Ūrā Tippa.³⁵³

There are many indicators that the Yūz, in accordance with Turko-Mongol customs, shared out their habitat among several members of the tribal aristocracy, and it even seems that the governorships repeatedly rotated within the dominant clan. This would also explain the successive tenure of many Yūz *amīrs* within a relatively short period of time as described by

³⁴⁸ Muʿīn, *Tārīkh*, fol. 60b. In other sources Khalūka Bī is mentioned as Qūlika or Qulika Bī (Muḥammad Ḥakīm Khān, *Muntakhab*, I, 353; Amīn Bukhārī, *ʿUbaidullah Nāma*, fol. 20b; Semenov trans., 35).

³⁴⁹ Muʿīn, *Tārīkh*, fols. 60b–61b.

³⁵⁰ Akhror Mukhtarov, *Hākīmān-i Ḥiṣār* [Hokimon-i Hisor] (Dushanbe: 1996), 12.

³⁵¹ Amīn Bukhārī, *ʿUbaidullah Nāma*, fol. 20b; Semenov trans., 35. Khūshīka Bī Yūz also rendered vital assistance to Subhān Qulī Bī by fighting against the Khiwan forces on several occasions. In 1688 Khūshīka Bī led a campaign to Bīshkent in the east. In October 1690 he also engaged in expeditions to Marw (Burton, *Bukharans*, 342, 346–47).

³⁵² If Muʿīn's information is right, after Khūshīka Bī's death Ḥiṣār was governed by three *amīrs* belonging to one generation of his sons and nephews (Yābuka Bī, Sayyid Nadir Bī, Ṣadr Bī). The inconsistencies in his account, the lack of dates and further information on the several *amīrs* may be due to the blurring of fixed points in the distant past in the memory of the chronicler's informants.

³⁵³ Beisembiev, *Ta'rikh*, 24.

Mu'īn. The next influential Yūz *amīr* mentioned by all the sources was Qulīka's son Khūshīka Bī Atālīq, who appears to have ruled as governor of Ḥiṣār for a time.³⁵⁴ Mu'īn tells us that he was succeeded by his son Yābuka Bī, after whose death it was the turn of Sayyid Nadir Bī and a certain Ṣadr Bī, the latter being a paternal cousin of Yābuka. The next governor of Ḥiṣār was Qurbān Bī Atālīq, who was followed by a certain Raḥīm Khān (Bī?).³⁵⁵

QARSHĪ (NASAF/NAKSHAB)

In the eighteenth century, the city of Qarshī, the ancient Nasaf, was known as the home of the powerful Manghit tribe that came to furnish the rulers of Bukhara from 1747/1785 onward. According to Barthold, Nasaf is apparently the corrupted Arab form of Nakshab or Nakhshab.³⁵⁶ In the center of the area were two large villages, Kasba (eighteenth-century Kasbī) and Bazda. Endowed with a cathedral mosque and located at a distance of four *farsakhs* from Nasaf on the road to Kilif, Kasba was even larger than the district center.³⁵⁷

Subsequent to the Mongol conquest, the city was renamed Qarshī after the palace that was erected by a certain Kabak Khān.³⁵⁸ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the town was always of secondary importance, a state that continued until the rise of the Manghit dynasty. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Qarshī marked the first stage and served as a resting

³⁵⁴ Amīn Bukhārī, *ʿUbaidullah Nāma*, fol. 20b; Semenov trans., 35; Muḥammad Ḥakīm Khān, *Muntakhab*, I, 353. In Mu'īn's work Khūshīka is simply spelled Khushika (خشكە) (Mu'īn, *Tārīkh*, 61a).

³⁵⁵ Since Mu'īn mentions him as *khān*, at first glance he appears to be referring to the short interregnum of the Manghits, lasting only one and a half years after the formal establishment of Bukharan control. The author, however, often confuses the titles *bī* and *khān*, perhaps because the proper distinction was not important anymore in the context of the nineteenth century. On the next folio we read about a certain Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān (Bī?) who was the predecessor of Ṣādiq Khān as governor of ʿUrā Tippa. Moreover, Mu'īn does not make any mention of Muḥammad Amīn Bī as ruler or governor of Ḥiṣār but gives his (unnamed) brother as governor after Raḥīm Khān (Bī?) (Mu'īn, *Tārīkh*, fol. 61a–b).

³⁵⁶ Barthold, *Turkestan*, 136.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 136–37.

³⁵⁸ The Mongol word Qarshī means palace (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 136; Le Strange, *Lands*, 470). According to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* article, the word *qarshī* is of Uyghūr origin (Bertold Spuler, "Karshī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., IV, 671).

place for the Uzbek army on its way to Bāysūn, Shīrābād and Balkh in the south.³⁵⁹ On their return from a campaign to Ḥiṣār in 1758, for instance, Muḥammad Raḥīm Bī Manghit and his troops halted there and took a rest for two days to receive numerous gifts like sheep, horses and camels.³⁶⁰

From the primary sources we gain a fairly good picture of Qarshī, though the data is largely scattered throughout the texts. Several authors mention the broad ring of gardens and villages (*kūcha-yi bāgh*) in the vicinity of the *qal‘a*,³⁶¹ an ideal refuge and hiding place, from where ambushes were carried out in times of war.³⁶² Muḥammad Amīn alludes to a hill within sight, the Tel-i Makhzan, also known as Kāfir Tippa.³⁶³ The next larger town near Qarshī was Kasbī on the road to Kilif.³⁶⁴ One writer describes this place as the residence of the Ḥaidarī Khwājas.³⁶⁵ Other settlements and fortified places mentioned in the sources are Shulluk,³⁶⁶ Qal‘a-yi Kāt south of Qarshī,³⁶⁷ Bīshkent,³⁶⁸ Khwāja Qarlīq,³⁶⁹ Mīr-i Mīrān,³⁷⁰ Kāsān,³⁷¹ Chāh-i Dārū,³⁷² Mā‘murg³⁷³ and Qamashī.³⁷⁴

³⁵⁹ See Amīn Bukhārī, *‘Ubaidullah Nāma*, fols. 32b–33a, 68a, 131b, 178a passim; Semenov trans., 48–49, 81, 150, 199 passim; Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 179a, 242b, 266b, 285b.

³⁶⁰ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 285b.

³⁶¹ For a description of the fortress of Qarshī in the early nineteenth century, see Vjatkin, “Karshinskij okrug,” 13.

³⁶² Muḥammad Amīn, *Maḥzar*, fols. 52a–b; Kāzīm, *‘Ālamārā*, II, 587, 594.

³⁶³ Muḥammad Amīn, *Maḥzar*, fol. 52b. Qāzī Wafā refers to a hill (*tippa*) located opposite the eastern gate of Qarshī in the midst of the gardens of the *qarīya* Gulshan (Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 367b).

³⁶⁴ See Amīn Bukhārī, *‘Ubaidullah Nāma*, fol. 32b; Semenov trans., 48; Ṭāli‘, *Tārīkh*, fol. 41a; Semenov trans., 43; Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 348a, 361b, 365a, 366a.

³⁶⁵ Amīn Bukhārī, *‘Ubaidullah Nāma*, fol. 32b; Semenov trans., 48.

³⁶⁶ The spelling of Shulluk varies in the sources. Muḥammad Amīn spells it Shallūk (*Maḥzar*, fols. 51b, 57b); Qāzī Wafā—Shalluk (*Tuḥfat*, fols. 26a, 30b, 319a, 348a, 350a–b, 366a–b passim); Ya‘qūb—Shaldūk (*Tārīkh*, fol. 3a). Muḥammad Sharīf says that in his time Nakhshab was known as Shalduk (Mūḥammad Sharīf, *Tāj*, fol. 222b). See also von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 240, footnote no. 228. For further information see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 136, footnote no. 8.

³⁶⁷ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 367b.

³⁶⁸ Amīn Bukhārī, *‘Ubaidullah Nāma*, fol. 32b; Semenov, trans., 48.

³⁶⁹ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 318b.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 348a–b, 349b, 351b, 352a–b passim.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, fols. 348a–b, 353a, 366b. Kāsān is located northwest of Qarshī.

³⁷² Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 348b, 349b, 353a–b.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, fols. 348a, 365a.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 361b, 365a.

The *Tuḥfat al-khānī* reports about the construction of a new citadel (*qal'a-yi arg*) including defense facilities in Qarshī ordered by Muḥammad Raḥīm Bī in late summer 1165/August–September 1752. By his command, “from all the dependencies of this province appeared numerous people bought off the skirt of efforts with the waist of alacrity” to erect the citadel within one month.³⁷⁵ Materials from the nineteenth century say that the city was surrounded by a ring of forts that was particularly strong in the east to protect the town against the Kīnakās of Shahr-i Sabz.³⁷⁶

In the early nineteenth century, the province (*wilāyat*) of Qarshī bordered on the Āmū Daryā in the west, included the steppes up to Qarākūl in the north, and adjoined the provinces of Khuzār in the east and Shīrābād in the south.³⁷⁷ According to Alexander Burnes, who passed through Qarshī in 1831, it was located in an extended oasis of about twenty-two miles in breadth. The town itself was about one mile in length with a straggling bazaar and ten thousand inhabitants, all of them protected by a mud fort.³⁷⁸ The fields in its vicinity were irrigated by wells, but rain-fed agriculture (*lalm*) predominated.³⁷⁹ Qarshī was especially famous for the cultivation of tobacco and the production of *alaja*, a kind of cotton fabric.³⁸⁰ Mentioning raw silk and dried fruits as export articles, Baron von Meyendorff describes Qarshī as a major entrepôt of furs from martens, foxes and unborn lambs.³⁸¹ Having visited the town in the 1830s, Burnes gives a graphic impression of the landscape in its environs:

“In the afternoon of the 20th, as we approached the town of Kurshee, we descried at sunset, far to the eastward of us, a stupendous range of mountains covered with snow. As this was in the middle of summer, their elevation must be greater than is assigned to any

³⁷⁵ Ibid., fol. 202a.

³⁷⁶ In the early nineteenth century, the populous places in this region were protected by forts and high mud walls. Every fortress was further endowed with a citadel housing the governor (*dārūgha*), other government officials and the garrison. Of particular importance were the forts of Yangīkent, Mājar, Kamishī, Qūrghāshīm and Qum (Vjatkin, “Karshinskij okrug,” 13–14, 21–22).

³⁷⁷ Located outside the *wilāyat* of Qarshī, the region of Bāysūn marked the southern boundary (ibid., 13).

³⁷⁸ Burnes, *Travels*, I, 261. For a description of the fortress of Qarshī in the early nineteenth century, see Vjatkin, “Karshinskij okrug,” 13.

³⁷⁹ Schuyler, *Turkistan*, II, 77; see also Barthold, *Turkestan*, 137.

³⁸⁰ Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 141.

³⁸¹ Georg von Meyendorff, *Reise von Orenburg nach Buchara im Jahre 1820*, revised by Chevalier Amadée Jaubert, in *Ethnografisches Archiv* 30 (Jena, 1826): 246.

range north of Hindoo Koosh. They were at a distance of perhaps 150 miles, and we could distinguish them but faintly on the following morning, and never saw them again. At daylight we came to the oasis of Kurshee, a cheering scene, after having marched from the Oxus, a distance of eighty-five miles, without seeing a tree. On nearing this town, we entered a flat and champaign country, which was entirely desolate, till within the limits of the river: tortoises, lizards, and ants, appeared to be its only inhabitants. [...] Never were the blessings of water more apparent than in this spot, which must otherwise have been a barren waste. On the banks of the rivulet and its branches, every thing is verdant and beautiful; away from them, all is sandy and sterile.”³⁸²

Thanks to Qarshī’s position as the second town after Bukhara, we have many descriptions in travelogues dating back to the nineteenth century. Although Qarshī’s importance as Transoxania’s second town became apparent only after the occupation of Samarqand in 1868, it was always strategically important because of its location along the trade route between Bukhara and Balkh. In addition, it supplied Transoxania with grain and a variety of cash crops,³⁸³ while the surrounding steppes provided ample grazing grounds for Uzbek nomads with their herds. Visiting the town in 1825, Moorcroft for instance notes that

“Karshi is a town that is considered second in importance only to Bokhara. It is situated in an oasis, in the midst of the arid tract that separates the city from the Oxus [...] Karshi did not appear, however, to be of great extent. The houses were generally of mud, and flat-roofed, standing in the midst of orchards, except in the case of the shops in the bazar. The population is fluctuating, as the nomadic tribes come in with their families during winter, and go out again in summer. The resident population, consisting in the largest proportion of Tajiks, amounts to about twenty thousand families: in the winter the number may be doubled, when the Uzbeks predominate. The plain around Karshi is irrigated by cuts from the river, the water of which is expended a little further to the westward. Besides the orchards, which are numerous and highly productive, wheat and barley are cultivated, and the bread made from the former is remarkably light and well tasted.”³⁸⁴

³⁸² Burnes, *Travels*, II, 257–58, 261–62.

³⁸³ Schuyler noted that the fields around Qarshī were full of poppies, planted for the seed and the capsules, and of tobacco. According to him, in the late nineteenth century, the town was a great center of the Bukharan grain trade. Most of the local produce was brought there from all points of the fertile valley of the Qashka Daryā, and even from Hīshār. Near Karshi too were the mines of the rose-colored rock-salt, which was known for its excellent quality and widely sold throughout Central Asia. It was obtained in the mountains about ten miles to the south of Qarshī (Schuyler, *Turkistan*, II, 79).

³⁸⁴ William Moorcroft and George Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalyan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1841), II, 502–03.

According to Khanikov, the town itself was intersected by several walls: the first wall separated the citadel from the town, the second from the district of the old city, and the third wall divided the new town from the villages in its neighborhood. He also notes that the citadel of Qarshī was bigger than that of Bukhara and that it was separate from the seat of the local governor.³⁸⁵ During autumn and winter, it became the center for trade in cattle and the Turkmen brought a large number of carpets and horse rugs for sale.³⁸⁶

THE MANGHIT

Referring to Qāzī Wafā, Mullā Sharīf complains that the author of the *Tuhfat al-khānī* traced the Manghit genealogy only to Jāwush Bāy in spite of his keen interest in reading historical accounts. He attributes these shortcomings to the ups and downs of history and states that previous generations of historians may have recorded the entire genealogy and the tribal history, but all the material was probably lost due to the vicissitudes of time.³⁸⁷

Mullā Sharīf's complaints notwithstanding, later historians provide additional information on the history and advent of the Manghit in Transoxania, their ancestors and genealogy. Since they played a crucial role in the history of the Golden Horde, they were the subject of broader scholarly interest. In Rashīd al-Dīn's account and the *Secret History*, the Manghit figure as one of the tribal formations belonging to the Nirun branch of the Mongols. Their ancestor was Jāqsū, the first son of Tūmbīne Khān.³⁸⁸ According to Vladim Trepavlov, the ancestor of the Manghit was Nachīn Bahādur, a descendant of the Mongol progenitor Alanquwā in the fifth generation. The Manghit tribe originally inhabited the area between the Onon Valley and the middle course of the Amur River.³⁸⁹ The Manghit are

³⁸⁵ Khanikov, *Bokhara*, 130–40.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 141.

³⁸⁷ Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fol. 202b.

³⁸⁸ Yuri Bregel, "Mangit," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., VI, 417. Following Rashīd al-Dīn, Mullā Sharīf confirms this fact. He notes that although the Manghit were not close relatives of Chingīz Khān, they had a connection to him because they were the descendants of Jāqsū, the son of Tūmanāy [Tūmbīne] Khān, the great-great-great-grandfather (*jadd-i chahārum*) of Chingīz Khān (Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fol. 199b). See also von Kūgelgen, *Legitimierung*, 218–19.

³⁸⁹ Vladim V. Trepavlov, *The Formation and Early History of the Manghit Yurt* (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2001), 4.

said to have played some role during Chingīz Khān's rise. They were subjugated together with the Taychi'ut and furnished warriors for both wings of the imperial army.³⁹⁰

Depending on the sources, the designation of the tribe varies between Mangkit, Manghūt, Mānghīt and Manghīt.³⁹¹ Russian sources often associate them with the Nogay Horde,³⁹² but there is no evidence that both tribes were identical and the connection between them remains unclear.³⁹³ Between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the tribe was intimately involved in the history of the Juchid *ulūs* centered in the Dasht-i Qipchāq. The Manghit were either among the formations directly allotted to Jūchī by his father or they migrated later to the Qipchāq Steppe to join the Golden Horde. Their pastoral habitat was located between the Yayiq and Emba Rivers.³⁹⁴ The homeland of the tribe encompassed all the lands north of the Caspian Sea, forming the basis for the westward migrations up to the Crimean peninsula that followed in the sixteenth century.³⁹⁵ By the end of the fourteenth century, the decline of the Golden Horde offered the leader of the Āq Manghit, Edigü (d. 1419?), the opportunity to enhance his position within the *ulūs*. He successfully managed to exploit the rivalry between the *khān* of the Horde Toqtamish (d. 1399?) and Tīmūr. After the defeat of the former by Tīmūr in 1395, Edigü emerged as one of the key figures within the Juchid *ulūs*. Edigü's rise continued well after Tīmūr's death, leading to his unquestioned authority in the Dasht-i Qipchāq.³⁹⁶ With the collapse of the Golden Horde, the Manghit leader became the main guardian of the new horde. Placing Chingizid puppet rulers on the throne, he acted as a key player and influential commander-in-chief (*bēglerbēgī*) with a great number of tribal followers.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁰ Trepavlov, *Formation*, 4; Bregel, "Mangit," 417.

³⁹¹ See von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 68, footnote 73; Bregel, "Mangit," 417. In this study I make use of the version "Manghit," which is close to the spoken language.

³⁹² See Shanijazov, "Nekotorye voprosy," 97.

³⁹³ Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 25; Bregel, "Mangit," 417.

³⁹⁴ Trepavlov, *Formation*, 6–7, 10, 15. According to Shanijazov, the Manghit inhabited the steppes between the Volga and the Ural (Shanijazov, "Nekotorye voprosy," 87). The Turkification of the Manghit probably took place in an early stage of the history of the Golden Horde (Bregel, "Mangit," 417).

³⁹⁵ DeWeese, *Islamization*, 343.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 336–38. See also Bregel, "Mangit," 417.

³⁹⁷ Trepavlov, *Formation*, 12–14.

After Edigü's death, his sons and grandsons managed to keep the position of the *bēglerbēgī* in their hands by effectively establishing themselves as supporters of Chingizid-Juchid suzerains within the remnants of the Golden Horde. However, they were not independent and needed a Juchid protégé to maintain authority.³⁹⁸ The Chingizid courts dispersed throughout the Dasht-i Qipchāq offered service and career opportunities but simultaneously formed objects of protection for the Manghit, who could legitimize their position only as guardians of Juchid figures. Hence, their relationship with the courts and the various pretenders was a patron-client relationship very similar to that between the later *atālīq* Muḥammad Ḥakīm Bī Manghit and his relatives on the one hand and the Tuqay-Timurid king on the other.

The next important Manghit figure was Waqqās Bī, one of Edigü's grandsons, who supported Abū'l-Khair Khān during his campaigns in Mā Warā' al-Nahr from 1430 onward. But not all of the Manghit clans backed Abū'l-Khair, whose Uzbek confederation included perhaps many but not all of them. It is likewise not clear to what extent the terms Manghit and Uzbek were used synonymously.³⁹⁹ Obviously, Abū'l-Khair was too strong to be content with the role of a puppet, so Waqqās Bī's son Mūsā Bī (d. 1502?) preferred to abandon his support for him and shifted his loyalty to Yādgar Khān, another Chingizid who was crowned in 862/1457–58. During the time of the supremacy of the Qazāq, Mūsā Bī favored Muḥammad Khān Shībānī because he and other Manghit leaders did not want the new dynasty to become strong enough to put an end to their autonomy.⁴⁰⁰ As their support for other Chingizid figures during the last half of the fifteenth century shows, the loyalty of the Manghit was by no means stable but shifted according to current requirements and changing political circumstances. Every time their protégés became too strong, Mūsā Bī and his followers broke with them and started looking for somebody else.⁴⁰¹

With the decline of the Great Horde, the Golden Horde's successor in the lower Volga basin in the late fifteenth century, the Manghit migrated in different directions. One branch left for the Crimea, another part joined

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 29.

³⁹⁹ DeWeese, *Islamization*, 346. Waqqās Bī's death probably dates back to the late 1440s (Trepavlov, *Formation*, 32–33).

⁴⁰⁰ Trepavlov, *Formation*, 34–38.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 43.

Muḥammad Khān Shībānī and participated in his conquests.⁴⁰² Nevertheless, a large portion of the tribe remained in the Great Steppe, from which they were expelled by the Qalmāq in the 1620s.⁴⁰³ It is still not clear to which of the migration waves the Manghit of southern Central Asia really belonged. One branch of them migrated to Khwārazm, where they contended with the Qungrāt in the first half of the eighteenth century. In Transoxania they settled in the Qashqa Daryā basin, but substantial numbers of them lived and still live in the oasis of Bukhara as well as near Samarqand and Katta Qūrghān.⁴⁰⁴ Yet it is doubtful whether the Manghit of Transoxania originally belonged to the Āq Manghit of Edigü and his successors.

Whereas Qāzī Wafā only reckons five generations of the Manghit genealogy up to Jāwush Bī,⁴⁰⁵ Muʿīn and Yaʿqūb further count seven generations in the past up to Nūyān Bī.⁴⁰⁶ According to the data given by Muʿīn, Nūyān Bī was the leader of a Manghit group in the Dasht-i Qipchāq where they inhabited the area of the Ulūgh Tāgh (*wilāyat-i Ulūgh Tākh*).⁴⁰⁷ Muʿīn only names Nūyān Bī's son 'Abd al-Qutluq and grandson Mūsā Bī as other notables (*kasān-i buzurg*).⁴⁰⁸ His contemporary tells us that the Manghit initially supported Muḥammad Khān Shībānī but retreated to the Dasht-i Qipchāq after his death in 1510. Two years later, the Manghit led by Nūyān Bī were among the Uzbek forces backing 'Ubaidullah Khān upon his

⁴⁰² Referring to Semenov, Shanijazov postulates that the Manghit tribe played a leading role in the Uzbek expansion in the fifteenth century (Shanijazov, "Nekotorye voprosy," 86).

⁴⁰³ Until the end of the sixteenth century, the bulk of the Manghit still lived between the rivers Emba and Volga; they were driven out by the Qalmāq in the 1620s. A large part of the confederacy then moved to the plains north of the Caucasus where they were known as the Nogay (Bregel, "Mangit," 418).

⁴⁰⁴ Bregel, "Mangit," 418; Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 76–77. In the *Tāj al-tawārīkh*, the valley of Qarshī up to the town of Chirāghchī is described as the original homeland (*yūrt-i ašlī*) and winter quarters (*qishlāq*) of the Manghit tribe (Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fol. 195a).

⁴⁰⁵ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fol. 7a.

⁴⁰⁶ Muʿīn, *Tārīkh*, fols. 26b–27a; Yaʿqūb, *Tārīkh*, 34a. Anke von Kügelgen gives an exact genealogy of the Manghit over twelve generations as can be gleaned from the different sources (von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 220–21).

⁴⁰⁷ Muʿīn, *Tārīkh*, fol. 27a; von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 221. Yaʿqūb only tells us that Nūyān Bī was the leader (*kalān*) of the Manghit in the Dasht-i Qipchāq, he does not mention the habitat of the *yūrt* in the Ulūgh Tāgh (see Yaʿqūb, *Tārīkh*, fol. 34a).

⁴⁰⁸ Mūsā Bī is not identical to Edigü's great-grandson Mūsā Bī, who belonged to the Āq Manghit and probably died at the beginning of the fifteenth century (see von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 221).

return to Transoxania. Later the tribe was headed by his son 'Abd al-Qutluq and his grandson Mūsā Bī.⁴⁰⁹ Unfortunately, we lack the biographical data for these personages.

According to Mu'īn's version, a certain Jānī Bī led the Manghit and Kīnakās in the time of 'Ubaidullah Khān I (r. 940–46/1533–40) to the region of Samarqand where they settled at Qurūq-i Kān-i Kūl. But the author also admits that according to others, it was not Jānī Bī who led these tribes to Samarqand but his two sons Qurbān Mīrzā and Daulat Mīrzā.⁴¹⁰ Ya'qūb confirms this version and says that under Daulat Mīrzā the Manghit came and settled in Transoxania, while Jānī Bī is reported not to have been in Mā Warā' al-Nahr at all. He adds that the descendants of Qurbān Mīrzā still inhabited the Ulugh Tāgh region at the time when he wrote his work. According to him, the Manghit came with their leader (*kalān*) and whitebeard (*āqsaqāl-i kull*) Daulat Mīrzā and settled together with the Kīnakās, the Juyūt (Chuyūt) and some Qurama groups at Qurūq-i Kān-i Kūl.⁴¹¹ In early eighteenth-century accounts, these groups, including the Manghit, appear under the name *ūng wa sūl* (see below). However, the chroniclers give no dates for their arrival and just explain that Daulat Mīrzā's sons Khwājam Bīrdī Bī and Shaidullah Bī were disciples (*murīd*) of Sheikh Mīrīm [Mīrim], an 'Azīzān sheikh.⁴¹²

Mu'īn reports that Khwājam Bīrdī Bī and Shaidullah Bī led their tribes to the Qashqa Daryā Valley because of their connection with and affection for Sheikh Mīrīm.⁴¹³ Ya'qūb further informs that both brothers left Qurūq-i Kān-i Kūl at the wish of the sheikh.⁴¹⁴ Anke von Kügelgen says that Mīrī—another chronicler writing more in the hagiographic tradition—states that this sheikh was a member of the 'Ishqīya with its center in Shahr-i Sabz.⁴¹⁵

⁴⁰⁹ The leaders of the Manghit were also designated *kalān-i īl* (Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh*, fol. 34a).

⁴¹⁰ Mu'īn, *Tārīkh*, fol. 27a. Von Kügelgen, who used another manuscript of Mu'īn's work (*Dhikr-i ta'dād-i pādishāhān-i Uzbek*; MS Tashkent: Institute of Oriental Studies, IVANRUZ No. 4468/IV), spells the place where the Manghit settled Qurūq-i Kān-i Gīl (von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 222).

⁴¹¹ Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh*, fol. 34a.

⁴¹² Mu'īn, *Tārīkh*, fol. 27b; Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh*, fol. 34a.

⁴¹³ Mu'īn, *Tārīkh*, fol. 27b.

⁴¹⁴ Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh*, fols. 34a–b.

⁴¹⁵ von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 222. On the 'Ishqīya see Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 97–101. Our authors describe Sheikh Mīrīm as a member of the 'Azīzān, a sub-group of the Yasāwīya with its center in Karmīna. Khādīm Sheikh, one of the most influential

Both Ya‘qūb and Mu‘īn say that Daulat Mīrzā was the ancestor of the aristocratic lineage of the Tūq Manghit that further split into two sub-sections: the Bēg with their ancestor Khwājam Bīrdī Bī—this lineage furnished the later Manghit rulers—and the Bāy who were the descendants of Shaidullah Bī.⁴¹⁶ The authors do not give any details about Khwājam Bīrdī Bī’s son Bēg Bīrdī Bī, the father of Jāwush Bāy.

Although the grid of data provided by the sources becomes more closely meshed from Jāwush Bāy’s time onward, the status of this actor and the Tūq Manghit is less clear than suggested by Mu‘īn and Ya‘qūb. According to the *Tuhfat al-khānī*,

“Jāwūsh Bāy was a herd owner and a rich person. [...] His cattle and flocks were numerous and he had abundant horses and herds on the pastures and in the valleys. Although in previous times he did not possess the status of an *amīr*, but [...] assuring his favor and esteem, the entire Manghit tribe (*īl wa ulūs-i Manghit*) walked down the path of consultation with him in all major and minor affairs.”⁴¹⁷

In this account, Jāwush Bāy is in no way styled an *amīr*. The honorific title of *bī*, the ultimate indicator of an aristocratic background, is missing. Instead, he bears the title of *bāy*, signifying a respected and wealthy man. But in the nineteenth-century accounts, he is named Jawush Bī, the son of Bēg Bīrdī Bī and descendant of influential *āqsaqāls* and founders of the Tūq Manghit line. Since neither chronicler gives the names of his sources or informants, we cannot verify the validity of the data provided by them. It is also possible that they constructed the genealogy in retrospect or took their information from written sources that Qāzī Wafā and Mullā Sharīf had no access to.⁴¹⁸

According to Mu‘īn, Jawush Bī [Jaushan Bī/Jāwush Bāy?] lived in the time of Subhān Qulī Khān, and it was toward the end of his life that the Manghit and the Kīnakās joined forces and freed Shahr-i Sabz from Tughma

dignitaries of the ‘Azīzān in the first half of the fifteenth century, lived in Shahr-i Sabz (Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 109).

⁴¹⁶ Mu‘īn, *Tārīkh*, fol. 27b; Ya‘qūb, *Tārīkh*, fol. 34b. Grebenkin counts seventeen sub-divisions of the Manghit (for further details see Grebenkin, “Uzbeki,” 87).

⁴¹⁷ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fols. 7a–b. The term *māl* (pl. *amwāl*) indicates wealth and material property. In many cases it simply means livestock, while *mawāshī* means quadrupeds, especially camels, sheep, cows and so on.

⁴¹⁸ Qāzī Wafā most likely relied on oral accounts circulating among the inhabitants of Nasaf in his time. But it is also possible that his informants were wrong in stating that Jāwush Bāy did not belong to the tribal nobility.

Bī Yābū. But Jawush Bī declined the governorship because of his great age. Since his son was a humble man (*mard-i bīchāra*) and his grandson was too young, the governorship was granted to Rustam Bī Kīnakās.⁴¹⁹ In Ya'qūb's opinion, the Kīnakās and Manghit were close allies in the time of Jawush Bī's grandson Khudāy Qulī Bī and conquered Shahr-i Sabz from Tughma Bī. Later Khudāy Qulī Bī was appointed to the post of *tūqsāba* and became governor of Shahr-i Sabz.⁴²⁰ He seems to have fulfilled many duties and had a fine intellect.⁴²¹ In Qāzī Wafā's account, Jāwush Bāy once acted as a generous host to the ruler 'Abdullah Khān in the late sixteenth century. When the ruler and his entourage were faced with a thunderstorm during one of their expeditions, Jāwush Bāy arranged an opulent feast for him and his troops.⁴²² Ya'qūb confirms this fact and notes that the ruler afterward took Jāwush Bāy's son, Kildiyār Bī, into his service.⁴²³

Whatever version matches historical facts, the differences and inconsistencies in the accounts show that even sixty years after the Manghit takeover, the chroniclers were very concerned with tracing the line of the Manghit rulers as far back into the distant past as possible. The differences in the information may be due either to the varying content of the sources to which the authors had access, or to inventions and supplements added by them. Some of the narratives contain a number of inadequacies. For example, the *Tārīkh-i awā'il wa awākhir* tells us that Khudāy Qulī Bī acted for ten years as governor of Shahr-i Sabz and died in the time of Abū'l-Faiż Khān,⁴²⁴ but the chronicle dedicated to this ruler only makes mention of Khudāyār Bī Dīwānbēgī Manghit (d. 1128/1716).

The Composition of the Manghit Tribe

Ya'qūb furnishes very detailed information on component elements of the Manghit. According to him, the Manghit community (*jamā'a*) comprised twelve thousand households and was divided into four main branches (*firqa*),

⁴¹⁹ Mu'īn, *Tārīkh*, fol. 27b; von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 224.

⁴²⁰ Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh*, fol. 34b; von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 224.

⁴²¹ Mu'īn, *Tārīkh*, 63b.

⁴²² Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 7a–b.

⁴²³ In Mu'īn's text 'Abdullah Khān is erroneously mentioned as 'Abdullah Bī (see Mu'īn, *Tārīkh*, fols. 63a–b).

⁴²⁴ Mu'īn, *Tārīkh*, fol. 28a.

but in the end he counts eight major sub-divisions.⁴²⁵ In the secondary literature, however, the number of sub-clans of the Manghit varies considerably.⁴²⁶

List of Sub-divisions of the Manghit Tribe According to Ya'qūb (IVANRUz No. 2726/II)

Manghit Clans (jamā'a)

Tūq Manghit (300 households)

Qūzī Qūjqār (350 h.)

Kūkaldarī (100 h.)

Qarā Pīr (50 h.)

Tīmūr Khwāja and Āq Manghit (2,000 h.)

Bāwardāq Manghit (1,000 h.)

Ūch Ūrūq (3,000 h.)

Qarā Manghit (5,000 h.)

Sub-Divisions (firqa/jamā'a)

Bēg Jam'ī (200 h.), the dominant lineage furnishing the rulers (*pādishāhān*)

Bāy Jam'ī (100 h.), the tribal aristocracy (*akābirān-i Manghit*)

Īsar Bāy, Kūlik, Bāy Ghundī

Chūqī furnishing the leaders and representatives (*akābirān*) of the Qarā Manghit

Ūn Īkī, Kūsa, Bāqarchī, Qūla Tughmālī, Burja, Qarā, Tāz and Bīsh Kal

⁴²⁵ Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh*, fols. 33a–b. The manuscript I made use of lists altogether eight sub-clans one after another: the Tūq Manghit, Qūzī Qūjqār, Kūkaldarī and Qarā Pīr, the Tīmūr Khwāja and Āq Manghit, the Bāwardāgh Manghit, the Ūch Ūrūq, and the Qarā Manghit.

⁴²⁶ Grebenkin distinguishes between two major Manghit groups, the Manghit of Qarshī dividing into seventeen sub-clans: “Timur-Khoja, Baurdaq, Isabai, Gualjaq, Kusja, Taz, Kara-Bair, Parcha-Kara, Toq, Bakyrchi, Mangit-Kazaq, Kulja-Tamghaly, Un-Eki, Chukai, Galibatyr, Bishkaly and Baqal-Chaq” (the Tūq Manghit are not mentioned here), and the Manghit of Samarqand and Katta Qūrghān splitting into the “Uwalai, Ach, Toq, Aq, Issabai, Baurdaq and Kara-Manghit” (Grebenkin, “Uzbeki,” 87). Vjatkin counts five sub-clans of the Manghit tribe (*roda Mangyt*): “Tok-Mangyt, Bajgundi, Ak-Mangyt, Chala-Mangyt and Kara-Mangyt” (Vjatkin, “Karshinskij okrug,” 22). Using a manuscript of the *Risāla* housed in the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg (MS No. C–1141), Holzwarth counts three major sub-groups of the Manghit: the tribal elite, the Tūq Manghit (consisting of the Yarlı Tūq, the Qūzī Qūjqār and the Kūkaldarī); common tribespeople (Tīmūr Khwāja, Ūch Ūrūq and Qarā Manghit) and clients (Qūrama) (Holzwarth, “Community Elders,” 332–33).

In addition to the four sub-clans, Ya'qūb mentions the Qūrama, client tribes who lived under the protection of the Tūq Manghit. "They consisted of approximately one hundred sub-divisions, who from the very beginning maintained a tribute relationship (*sālūq-dāsht mībāshand*) with the Tūq Manghit."⁴²⁷ Despite the different name for each and every of these sub-groups, they were, according to Ya'qūb, commonly known as Tūq Manghit after the tribal name of their protectors. The Qūrama of Qarshī consisted of one thousand families and split into a great variety of small tribes such as the Batāsh, Qauchīn, Khwāja Khairān, Kīyikchī, Nīk Kūz, Ālchīn, Yāmchī, Khudāy Dād, Jahān Dād, and Bullī, the latter being a sub-division (*jamā'a*) of the Khiṭā'ī-Qipchāq, Maid, Īrānchī, Tawāsh, Hardurī, Ūz, Qarā Qunqrāt, Mīr Shikār and others.⁴²⁸

In addition to the Manghit and their clients, Qarshī was also inhabited by some other Uzbek tribes such as the Baḥrīn, Qarluq, Khiṭā'ī, Dūrmān, Yūz, Qaṭaghān and others.⁴²⁹ Small non-Uzbek groups like Qazāq, Arabs and Qirghiz also lived in Qarshī.⁴³⁰

KHUZĀR

Leading over to the mountains of Bāysūn, Khuzār is located at the southeastern edge of the sandy plains and deserts of western Bukhara, including Qarshī. Looking at the primary sources, the historian gains the

⁴²⁷ *Mardum az Ūzbek-i qūrama qarīb šad firqa mīshawand az awwal ba Tūq Manghit sālūq-dāsht mībāshand* (see Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh*, fol. 33b). Holzwarth reads it as *sālūgh dāshūand* and translates it as tribute relationship (Holzwarth, "Community Elders," 233). The slight differences in spelling may be due to different versions of the texts in the manuscripts. In other secondary works, the *sālūq/sālūq* is described as a kind of levy (W. W. Barthold, *Gesammelte Werke 1: Das kulturelle Leben in Turkistan*, trans. and ed. Reinhold Schletzer (Berlin: Schletzer, 2009), 109; von Kūgelgen, *Legitimierung*, 272, footnote no. 73).

⁴²⁸ Ya'qūb devotes an entire chapter to "the Qurama living amongst the Manghit and having been related to the Tūq Manghit" (*Dhikr-i jamā'a-yi Qūrama ki dar bayn-i Manghit nishastaand wa ba Tūq Manghit mansūb gashtaand*) (Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh*, fols. 33b–34a; Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 237). Muḥammad Amīn also refers to the Qūrama living side by side with the Manghit in Shulluk (Muḥammad Amīn, *Mazhar*, fols. 51b, 57b). Wolfgang Holzwarth's manuscript also mentions Persians and administrative servitors (see Holzwarth, "Community Elders," 233, footnote no. 69).

⁴²⁹ Vjatkin, "Karshinskij okrug," 22.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*

impression of it being a remote outpost of Bukhara that did not attract the attention of travelers. Most of them did not pause here but headed toward other places like Qarshī, Shahr-i Sabz or Samarqand. Apart from the *Tuhfat al-khānī*, it seems to be a side scene in other sources. Using his typical ornate language, Qāzī Wafā depicts Khuzār as a valley full of green herbage and endowed with rich arable plots (*mazāra'āt*). Over this picturesque scene presided the magnificent citadel,⁴³¹ which is

“a fortress, whose high battlements extend the hand of equality to the verge of the clouds and stretch the neck of exaltation to the revolving sky like a burning flame. After the verse ‘and the mountains are fixed firmly’ its solid and patient foundation clung to the mountainside.”⁴³²

Maev describes Khuzār as an important area watered by the Khuzār Daryā, a considerable river “formed by two mountain streams, Katta-uru Darya and Kichi-uru Darya.”⁴³³ The sources give the picture of a remote region with wide valleys and excellent mountain pastures frequented by nomads with their herds.⁴³⁴ The steppes extending north and northeast of Khuzār over the middle part of the Qashqa Daryā Valley up to the southern edge of Miyānkāl and Samarqand were also classic nomad country. After the Uzbek conquest at the beginning of the sixteenth century, for example, Muḥammad Khān Shībānī put large herds of horses out to graze in the steppes between Qarshī and the upper Qashqa Daryā.⁴³⁵ Barren dry land stretched north and northwest of Qarshī and Khuzār.⁴³⁶ The sandy plain was dotted with a number of wells with brackish water. In Holzwarth’s view, this arid steppe

⁴³¹ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fol. 181a, 182a.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, fol. 180b.

⁴³³ Maev, “Hissar and Kulab,” 326.

⁴³⁴ According to Wafā, the Qungrāt and other nomads pastured their herds (sheep and horses) in the valley near Khuzār and lived together in harmony (Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fols. 240b–241a; see also the section on the Qungrāt below). In the late nineteenth century, the inhabitants of the two wealthy mountain districts of Kalta-minār and Qarā Khowal used the pastures around the river sources as summer quarters (Maev, “Hissar and Kulab,” 326).

⁴³⁵ Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 26. The pastures of horses near Qarshī are also mentioned in Fażlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī’s *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā* (see Ott, *Transoxanien und Turkestan*, 293).

⁴³⁶ Arminius Vāmbéry, *Travels in Central Asia. Being the Account of a Journey from Teheran across the Turkoman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1865), 263. See also Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 138–39.

zone represented an ecological niche. Around 1800, these steppes were used by “stationary nomads,” mostly shepherds of Arab origin, who hardly moved more than fifty to eighty kilometers each year. Most of them moved within a smaller circle circumscribed by the wells.⁴³⁷

THE SARĀY

Although Khuzār and the adjacent steppes to the north and northeast were roamed by various Uzbek tribes, the Sarāy appear to have been one of the larger groups. In earlier times, they dwelled in Balkh, but it is not known how they came to settle there. Later, they crossed the Oxus and migrated from Balkh to the north, where they settled in the steppes between Qarshī, Khuzār and Jām. Until the early 1870s, a part of the Sarāy crossed the passages of the Shahr-i Sabz mountains and, moving further north via Jām, went as far as the plain of Katta Qūrghān.⁴³⁸ According to Karmysheva, some of the Sarāy also settled in Kulāb, especially in Qurbānshait at the confluence of the Qizil Sū and the Yakh Sū.⁴³⁹ Some nineteenth-century travelers furnish vivid accounts of aspects of their pastoral life and their habitat:

“We followed the skirts of hills along the plain, passing through Uzbek settlements of the Sarāi tribe. [Paragraph] After a march of thirty-eight or forty versts, we reached at midnight the small inhabited place of Jam, situated on the banks of a stream which bears the same name. [Paragraph] [...] The remaining part of the route took us over an even plain, which brought us, after a march of ten versts to eighteen or twenty wells, called Shūr Kúdúk, not less than ten fathoms in depth; a fact which we could easily ascertain, from the traces imprinted on the soil by a rope suspended by a pulley, and used for drawing water. The shepherds, in watering their herds, are in the habit of remaining on horseback, or on donkeys, while they let down or draw up the rope, which has formed a rut on the surface of the soil; the length of which is equal to the depth of the well.”⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁷ Wolfgang Holzwarth, “Mittelasiatische Schafe und russische Eisenbahnen: Raumgreifende eurasische Lammfell- und Fleischmärkte in der Kolonialzeit,” in *Nomaden in unserer Welt*, ed. Jörg Gertel and Sandra Calkins (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2012), 93.

⁴³⁸ Out of altogether nine sub-sections of the Sarāy, only two—the Jaman As and the Toq Bāy—arrived at the desert (*chūl*) of Katta Qūrghān (Greibenkin, “Uzbeki,” 89). On the individual sub-divisions of the Sarāy Uzbeks, see Doniyorov, *Uzbek khalqining*, 89.

⁴³⁹ Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 109.

⁴⁴⁰ Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 138–39.

SHAHR-I SABZ: THE “GREEN CITY”

In the Middle Ages, this area was known under its old name Kish.⁴⁴¹ In the pre-Mongol period, the entire administrative unit of Kish consisted of altogether sixteen districts, stretching from the river up to the mountains.⁴⁴² Immediately prior to the Mongol invasion, Kish was only of secondary importance. In the post-Mongol period, its old name was replaced by Shahr-i Sabz.⁴⁴³ Since the thirteenth century, the region had been the habitat of the Barlās tribe and later became famous as the hometown of Tīmūr.⁴⁴⁴ In 781/1380 he made it his summer residence and second capital after Samarqand. Here he ordered the construction of a huge white-walled palace, the Āq Sarāy,⁴⁴⁵ which later became its most prominent symbol and is repeatedly mentioned in the sources.⁴⁴⁶

Shahr-i Sabz—“the Green City”—is located on the upper course of the Qashqa Daryā, a two days’ journey on the highroad leading from Samarqand to Tirmidh.⁴⁴⁷ Many small streams following a southwestern course provided the best opportunity for irrigation. The lands along these canals were called *mawādī*, farmland owned by townspeople who had their summer houses there.⁴⁴⁸ The principality was bound by Samarqand to the north, Ḥiṣār and Kulāb to the east and Qarshī to the west.⁴⁴⁹ Shahr-i Sabz is accessible from

⁴⁴¹ Barthold, *Turkestan*, 134.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 135; C. E. Bosworth, “Kish,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., V, 181.

⁴⁴³ “[I]n spring the walls and terraces of the houses at Kesh are always green and cheerful. Timour and Baber both mention Kesh as Sheher Subz, or the ‘verdant city’” (Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403–6*, trans. Clements R. Markham (1859; repr., New York: Burt Franklin Publisher, 1970), 123, footnote no. 1).

⁴⁴⁴ On the Barulas/Barlās tribe see Manz, *Tamerlane*, 1, 156–57.

⁴⁴⁵ Bosworth, “Kish,” 182. The Āq Sarāy (lit. “White Palace”) was known for its monumentality. Its entrance portal spans 50.93 m, and the vault of the *iwān* 22.30 m. According to Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, its “monumental building and its *iwān* is visible 7 *farsakhs* (42 km) away” (Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber, *Timurid Architecture in Iran and Turan*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), I, 188, 205–06).

⁴⁴⁶ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fols. 169b, 197a, 217a, 274b; Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fols. 116a, 375a, 379a.

⁴⁴⁷ Bosworth, “Kish,” 181.

⁴⁴⁸ Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture*, I, 23–24.

⁴⁴⁹ M. Galkin, “O Shegri-Sebzkoj oblasti Bukharskogo khanstva,” *Izvestija imperatorskogo russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva* tom I (St. Petersburg, 1865): 132.

Samarqand via the Takhta Qaracha Pass at a height of 5,180 feet.⁴⁵⁰ From there many foreign travelers like Schuyler were impressed by a panoramic view over

“the valley of Shahrīsabz, and of the serrated outlines of the snowy Hissar range beyond. Kitāb, Shaar, and even Yakobak and Tchiraktchi, with their surrounding villages, were plainly seen; although they looked like forests rather than cities from the numbers of gardens and orchards. Indeed, Shahrīsabz means the ‘green city’.”⁴⁵¹

This emphasis on the scenic beauty notwithstanding, earlier authors often mentioned the unhealthy, hot climate causing epidemics in the region,⁴⁵² though some nineteenth-century travelers noted the mild climate.⁴⁵³ Located at the heart of the valley, Shahr-i Sabz—often simply called Shahr (in many travelogues spelled Shaar)—together with Kitāb and the settlements along the Qashqa Daryā and its affluent streams formed the population centers.⁴⁵⁴ Besides the Qashqa Daryā crossing the principality on its southern side, the area is watered by the Nahr Asrūd and Jāy Rūd (the present-day Uizel) in the north, and the Khashk and Khuzār Rivers in the south.⁴⁵⁵ In the southwest, the principality is bounded by the Qizil Sū passing the town of Yakka Bāgh and irrigating the fields and orchards of Chim Qūrghān, a large village on the road from Yakka Bāgh to Shahr.⁴⁵⁶

The mountains to the north and the east, as well as the desert toward the west provided protective barriers against attacks from Samarqand and

⁴⁵⁰ Maev, “Hissar and Kulab,” 326; Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture*, I, 23. For other descriptions of the Takhta Qaracha Pass see Olufsen, *Emir*, 65; Lansdell, *Russisch Zentral-Asien*, III, 544–49; Ivan L. Jaworskij, *Reise der russischen Gesandtschaft in Afghanistan und Buchara in den Jahren 1878–79*, 2 vols. (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1885), II, 31–33. The Takhta Qaracha Pass is also mentioned in a letter from Amīr Ḥaidar (r. 1800–26) to the governor of Qarshī (Amīr Ḥaidar, *Maktūbāt* (MS Tashkent: Institute of Oriental Studies, IVANRUz No. 5412), makt. no. 131, fols. 59a–b).

⁴⁵¹ Schuyler, *Turkistan*, II, 62.

⁴⁵² Barthold, *Turkestan*, 135; Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture*, I, 23.

⁴⁵³ Galkin, “Shegri-Sebzkoj oblasti,” 133. See also next page.

⁴⁵⁴ Fedchenko, “Topographical Sketch,” 460. There were approximately thirty settlements besides the three central forts of Kitāb, Shamatan and Ūrata (Urta) Qūrghān (for a proper list of settlements see Galkin, “Shegri-Sebzkoj oblasti,” 132).

⁴⁵⁵ Barthold, *Turkestan*, 134.

⁴⁵⁶ Maev, “Hissar and Kulab,” 326. Besides Yakka Bāgh, Dū-Āba and Chirāghchī were other important settlements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Galkin, “Shegri-Sebzkoj oblasti,” 132).

Bukhara.⁴⁵⁷ Wafā compared the mountains of Yasā Kūh (?) near Yakka Bāgh with the ramparts of Yājūj because of their extraordinary height.⁴⁵⁸ The center of the principality was formed by a valley, which

“[i]s bounded on the north by the Shahr-i Subz mountains; on the east by a chain of mountains stretching from Maghian, at first directly to the south, and then turning westward. This chain is much higher than that forming the northern boundary, and is covered with perpetual snow.”⁴⁵⁹

Since the climate is very mild, most of the fruit trees already blossom in February and begin to be covered with the green foliage that gives the region its characteristic ambience.⁴⁶⁰ Admiring the dense vegetation of the province, Galkin mentions different kinds of trees like mahogany, mulberry, elms and purple willows.⁴⁶¹ In the nineteenth century, Shahr-i Sabz was known for its fertility and abundance of trees and crops, such as mulberries, apricots and walnuts,⁴⁶² it was especially famous for its pomegranates and almonds.⁴⁶³ The local peasants also cultivated wheat, barley, cannabis, sesame, tobacco and cotton.⁴⁶⁴

THE ŪNG WA SŪL ALLIANCE AND THE KĪNAKĀS

The beginning of Kīnakās dominance in Shahr-i Sabz is well documented by the sources.⁴⁶⁵ Before the early 1690s, the region was ruled by changing governors. The sources also report about a revolt instigated by Shāh Khwāja and Khwājam Yār Bī Ming in early 1693. To end this first revolt, Subhān

⁴⁵⁷ Bosworth, “Kish,” 182.

⁴⁵⁸ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 77b. Yājūj wa Mājūj—Gog and Magog—were apocalyptic peoples known from biblical and Koranic eschatology. The Koran (XXI/91) refers to a barrier built by Dhū’l-Qarnayn against them. This rampart will be razed by God Himself at the end of time (see E. van Donzel and Claudia Ott, “Yājūj wa Mājūj,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., XI, 231).

⁴⁵⁹ Fedchenko, “Topographical Sketch,” 460. For another description see Olufsen, *Emir*, 51.

⁴⁶⁰ Jaworskij, *Reise*, II, 45.

⁴⁶¹ Galkin, “Shegri-Sebzkoj oblasti,” 133.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ According to Khanikov, Shahr-i Sabz produced a special kind of pomegranates known as *bī-dāna* (Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 161–62, 171).

⁴⁶⁴ Galkin, “Shegri-Sebzkoj oblasti,” 133; von Hellwald, *Centralasien*, 365.

⁴⁶⁵ There are different spellings in the primary sources ranging from Kanikas/Kanigas to Kīnakas/Kīnakās/Kīnagas (کینکاس/کینکس/کنکس/کنکاس). In the following the version Kīnakās will be used.

Qulī Bī had sent a certain Tughma Bī Yābū to subjugate the rebels.⁴⁶⁶ Two chronicles from the nineteenth century mention the prestigious conquest of Shahr-i Sabz by the Manghit and Kīnakās and the liberation of the region from the hands of Tughma Bī,⁴⁶⁷ who in June 1694 together with some other *amīrs* rebelled against Subhān Qulī Khān in Samarqand.⁴⁶⁸ According to Ya'qūb, however, the presence of the Kīnakās and Manghit in the Qashqa Daryā Valley goes back to an earlier point in time, perhaps the second half of the sixteenth century when these tribes came from the environs of Samarqand.⁴⁶⁹

After the conquest of Shahr-i Sabz and its release from the grip of Tughma Bī Yābū, the governorship passed immediately to Rustam Bī Kīnakās, who must have played a decisive role during the campaign. Subsequently, the representatives of the two tribes went to Bukhara where they received offices from Subhān Qulī Khān.⁴⁷⁰ According to Mu'īn, the Kīnakās inhabited the crescent between Chirāghchī and Takht-i Kūh in the north, while the Manghit settled between Chirāghchī and Hīlāl (?).⁴⁷¹

In the '*Ubaidullah Nāma*, the tribes of the Qashqa Daryā Valley are often designated "*ūng wa sūl*," the coalition of the right and the left wing.⁴⁷² As McChesney puts it, this term does not appear as a name for certain tribal groups in Transoxanian written accounts until the early eighteenth century.

⁴⁶⁶ Burton, *Bukharans*, 349–51; Teufel, "Quellenstudien," 241–42, footnote no. 3.

⁴⁶⁷ Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh*, fol. 34b; Mu'īn, *Tārīkh*, fol. 27b.

⁴⁶⁸ According to Burton, the rebels withdrew to the regions near Samarqand after an unsuccessful attempt to side with Raḥīm Bī, the governor of Ūrā Tippa. From their headquarters they harassed the outskirts of Samarqand but were defeated after a while (Burton, *Bukharans*, 350, 352). But Burton does not mention the conquest of Shahr-i Sabz by the Kīnakās and Manghit.

⁴⁶⁹ Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh*, fol. 34a.

⁴⁷⁰ Having acted in concert during the conquest of Shahr-i Sabz, the Manghit and Kīnakās leaders received several *manṣabs* (e.g., that of *tūqsāba*) (Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh*, fol. 34b) and were probably confirmed as governors of Shahr-i Sabz. In Mu'īn's version, the governorship passed immediately to Khudāy Quli Bī b. Kildīyār Bī Manghit (Mu'īn, *Tārīkh*, fol. 28a).

⁴⁷¹ Mu'īn, *Tārīkh*, fol. 63b.

⁴⁷² Amīn Bukhārī, '*Ubaidullah Nāma*, fols. 33b, 35a, 37b, 73b, 76a passim; Semenov trans., 49, 51, 53, 87, 90 passim. Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fol. 115a. The designation *ūng wa sūl* (right and left wing) corresponded to military formations in battle (Doerfer, *Elemente*, II, 165–66; III, 302–03; Semenov, *Ubaidulla-name*, 49, footnote no. 2).

The center of the *ūng wa sūl* tribes was Shahr-i Sabz.⁴⁷³ Thanks to the data furnished by the *‘Uбайдullah Nāma*, we have dense information about the composition of this group, consisting of the Kīnakās, some Manghit subdivisions (especially in the town of Chīrāghchī), and the Juyūt.⁴⁷⁴ Among these tribes, the Kīnakās appear to have ranked superior for a long time. In particular, Rustam Bī Atālīq’s offspring (*aulād-i Rustam*) are mentioned separately as a kind of aristocratic lineage heading the *ūng wa sūl* tribes. The chronicler lists Ibrāhīm Bī Mīrākhūr, Tughma, Sultān, ‘Abd al-Šamad and Khwājam Birdī Kīnakās as the *aulād-i Rustam*.⁴⁷⁵ Rustam’s descendants and the entire Kīnakās tribe would eventually become famous as notorious rebels and arch enemies of the future Manghit dynasty. According to Amīn Bukhārī, in 1702–03 the *ūng wa sūl* tribes were led by Khudāyār Bī Manghit, Ibrāhīm Bī Mīrākhūr Kīnakās and the rest of the *aulād-i Rustam*.⁴⁷⁶

The court chronicler of ‘Uбайдullah Khān II describes the *ūng wa sūl* tribes as furnishers of “innumerable legions” of recalcitrant troublemakers known for their extraordinary cruelty and bloodthirstiness. On several occasions they are depicted as a “bold group” (*qaum-i bī-bāk*), “community of discord” (*qaum-i fitna*) or a “bloodthirsty and blood-shedding group of people” (*qaum-i khūnkhwār wa saffāk*) almost impossible to control.⁴⁷⁷ On the occasion of the siege of Balkh in 1707, the writer says that the “*chirik* of the *ūng wa sūl* arrived there like ants and locusts.”⁴⁷⁸ On many other occasions, their leaders refused to render military assistance to ‘Uбайдullah Khān.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷³ Semenov, *Uбайдulla-name*, 49, footnote no. 1; McChesney, *Waqf*, 163, footnote no. 41.

⁴⁷⁴ According to the *Majma‘ al-arqām*, both the Manghit and the Kīnakās belonged to the right side (*ung/ūng*) of the royal court (Wolfgang Holzwarth, “Uzbek State,” 103). Yet the position of the representatives of the Juyūt is not given here, probably because they are sometimes also mentioned as a sub-division of the Kīnakās.

⁴⁷⁵ Amīn Bukhārī, *‘Uбайдullah Nāma*, fols. 34a, 77b–78a, 103b; Semenov trans., 50, 91, 118.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 34a; Russian text, 50.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, fols. 33b, 109a–110a, 113a; Russian text, 49, 124–25, 129.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 103b; Russian text, 118. Misled by their great number and ferocity, Teufel concluded that the *ūng wa sūl* were equal to the *alamān* (ordinary warriors who raided defeated towns and enemies after the siege) (Teufel, “Quellenstudien,” 264–65, footnote no. 2). But in the *‘Uбайдullah Nāma*, the *alamān/alamānān* are described as having acted independently of the *ūng wa sūl* troops (see Amīn Bukhārī, *‘Uбайдullah Nāma*, fol. 121a; Semenov trans. 137).

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fols. 35b, 76a, 81a, 115a–117a; Russian text, 51, 89, 94, 131–33.

Remarkably, the collective designation *ūng wa sūl* for the tribes of Shahr-i Sabz disappears from the accounts after 'Ubaidullah Khān's assassination on Muḥarram 28, 1123/March 17–18, 1711.⁴⁸⁰ From then on, the sources only give the proper names of the component tribes, even when the Kīnakās, Manghit and Juyūt acted jointly. According to Jaworskij, the Kīnakās split up into five sub-divisions: the Kairasali (Qaira Saldī), Tarakli (Taraklī), Acha Maili (Acha Mailī/Ācha Mailī), Chechut (Juyūt) and Ubakhli (spelled Abāqlī in the sources).⁴⁸¹ At the end of the nineteenth century, the members of the sub-clans intermingled and lived together in all the villages and towns. A part of the population (3,000 families) was still nomadic. Whereas the southern fringes of the oasis were almost exclusively inhabited by the Abāqlī, the Juyūt lived in the western and the Taraklī in the northern part of Shahr-i Sabz.⁴⁸² Muḥammad Ḥakīm Khān tells us that the *aulād-i Rustam*—also called the Rustamids (*rustamī*)—belonged to the Acha Maili sub-division.⁴⁸³

Shahr-i Sabz was of course inhabited by other tribal groups like the Barlās. Besides, there were a considerable number of Jews who lived in separate quarters in the towns and paid more taxes than the rest of the people.⁴⁸⁴

SHĪRĀBĀD, BĀYSŪN AND THE IRON GATE

In the nineteenth century, Transoxania's southern part was less known than other regions. Entering Bukharan territory from Chahār Jūy, most travelers and missions bypassed the area between Khuzār and Shīrābād, and went directly to Bukhara or Samarqand via Qarshī or Shahr-i Sabz. The most

⁴⁸⁰ Balkhī continues to describe them as “*ūng-sūl*” (*ūng wa sūl*). This may be attributed to the fact that he wrote about these events in Lahore and used the terms he knew before leaving Transoxania (see Balkhī, *Tārīkh*, fols. 292a, 294a).

⁴⁸¹ Jaworskij, *Reise*, II, 42. A. Zeki Belidi Togan also gives five sub-clans: “Qayrasali, Taraqlı, Açamaylı, Çikhut and Abaqlı” (Togan, *Türkili*, 44). Galkin counts seven sub-groups: “Abakhly, Achamajly, Kajrassally, Kyrgyz, Ming, Tarakly and Chut” (Galkin, “Shegri-Sebzkoj oblasti,” 133).

⁴⁸² Jaworskij, *Reise*, II, 42–43. For the composition of the Kīnakās see also Togan, *Türkili*, 44.

⁴⁸³ Muḥammad Ḥakīm Khān spells it Ācha Mailī (Muḥammad Ḥakīm Khān, *Muntakhab*, I, 361); Timur K. Beisembiev, “Unknown Dynasty: The Rulers of Shahr-i Sabz in the 18th and 19th Centuries,” *Journal of Central Asia* 15, no. 1 (1992): 20–21.

⁴⁸⁴ Galkin, “Shegri-Sebzkoj oblasti,” 133.

important gateway to the region was the defile of the Iron Gate, also known as Buzghāla Khāna, which is described as follows by a nineteenth-century Russian traveler.

“The dark, black cliffs of the ravine, which rise vertically over dozens of Ssaschenj, are not unsimilar to giant iron gateposts. Apart from this, the natives call that canyon ‘Busgole-Khana,’ in Persian ‘Goat House.’ [...] The wondrous rocky silhouette of the gorge allured even more through the foliage of the pistachio and almond trees emerging in many spots. Some of the trees had entrenched themselves with their strong roots in the crevices and now stretched horizontally above the heads of the travelers; betwixt and between swung garlands of ivy.”⁴⁸⁵

Forming the most important checkpoint for transport and communication between the steppes in northern and western Transoxania and the mountainous world of Bāysūn in the south, the pass was always a strategic node for both military movement and trade. Having visited Tīmūr’s court at Samarqand in 1404, Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo (d. 1412) also points out its importance and says that it yielded large revenue because all the merchants coming from India had to pass it.⁴⁸⁶

The region of Bāysūn divides into two distinct zones: the alluvial, intensely cultivated plains of the Surkhān and the Shīrābād Daryā, the valley of which forms a fertile berm up to the Oxus, and the mountains in the north.⁴⁸⁷ Guarding the northern route toward Bāysūn, the town of Shīrābād,⁴⁸⁸ which was often mistakenly described as a foundation by Imām ‘Alī, lies in the midst of the plain. North of Shīrābād, the river traverses a narrow ravine called Nana Dagana. Jaworskij, who visited this town in the late nineteenth century, was very impressed by its citadel and the view he enjoyed from the top:

“The path soon went uphill and after a few minutes we arrived at the gate of the citadel, in which the Beg resided. Beyond the gate we had to go further uphill. Finally, the path

⁴⁸⁵ Jaworskij, *Reise*, I, 82–83, 86.

⁴⁸⁶ Clavijo, *Narrative*, 121–22.

⁴⁸⁷ Pointing to the juxtaposition of mountains, irrigated lands and dry steppes, Holzwarth describes this region as a mixed agro-pastoral zone (Holzwarth, “Community Elders,” 226–27).

⁴⁸⁸ See Maeв, “Hissar and Kulab,” 326–27. According to a folk tale, the town of Shīrābād was built by ‘Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet (Jaworskij, *Reise*, I, 87), but the ‘*Uбайдullah Nāma*’ says that it was built around 1700–03 by the Uzbek *amīr* Shīr ‘Alī Qungrāt and named after him (Amīn Bukhārī, ‘*Uбайдullah Nāma*,’ fol. 55b; Semenov trans., 70).

became extremely steep, but here were steps of stone and timber. Another wall rose in front of us and in this was an additional gate. I stayed on the small terrace, from where a wide and beautiful panoramic view opened over the town, spread out with its abundant gardens at the foot of the castle on the one hand, and the mountains [...] on the other. But then the eye wanders over the vast ocean of the steppe, which, commencing at a distance of some verst outside the town, extends southwards toward the Paropamisus and passes into the great Turkmen desert to the south-west."⁴⁸⁹

With its high mountains and plateaus, the second geographical zone forms a protective barrier between the Oxus plain and the steppes and oases to the north and west where cotton was one of the major crops.⁴⁹⁰ The impressive parallel chains of the Bāysūn Tāgh served as summer quarters (*qishlāq*) for the Uzbek nomads and their herds.⁴⁹¹

THE QUNGRĀT

The Qungrāt appear already in Mongol sources. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, this tribe, or more correctly, confederacy, lived in the extreme east of Mongolia toward the Chingān Mountains, in an area called Ābjiya-Küteger.⁴⁹² But other narratives suggest several other places that served as habitats of this tribe. İsenbike Togan states that in the twelfth century, the Qungrāt nomadized in different areas. Some of them were located further south, near to centers of sedentary life.⁴⁹³ Pledging allegiance to Chingīz Khān from the very beginning, the tribe furnished his principal wife Börte Fujin,⁴⁹⁴ and also provided support in his struggle against the Ung Khān. Even later on, the Chingizid *khāns* of the Golden Horde, for example, preferably married Qungrāt women.⁴⁹⁵ Later, in the time of the Mongol

⁴⁸⁹ Jaworskij, *Reise*, I, 94, own translation.

⁴⁹⁰ Maev, "Hissar and Kulab," 329.

⁴⁹¹ Holzwarth, "Community Elders," 228.

⁴⁹² C. E. Bosworth, "Qungrāt," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., V, 391.

⁴⁹³ İsenbike Togan, "The Qungrat in History," in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia. Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 65–66, 74–78.

⁴⁹⁴ Börte, the daughter of the Qungrāt chief Dei Noyan, was Chingīz Khān's principal wife and mother of his five sons (John Andrew Boyle, trans., *The Successors of Genghis Khan* (New York/London: Columbia University Press, 1971), 97.

⁴⁹⁵ Togan, "Qungrat," 61, 71.

invasion, the Qungrāt moved westward and were gradually infiltrated by Turkic tribes.⁴⁹⁶

In the *Secret History* they appear as Wangjilate, in other sources as Qongrāt or Onggirat. In the *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushā* by Juvainī, the name is spelled Qongūrāt or Qunqūrāt (قنقورات), while in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* they figure as Qungrāt (قنقرات). According to the latter narrative, they existed long before Alanquwā, the legendary ancestress of the Chingizids.⁴⁹⁷

At the end of the thirteenth century, Qungrāt contingents served in the Mongol army that traversed the Oxus to invade Balkh and Bādghīs.⁴⁹⁸ Like many other Uzbek tribes, the Qungrāt moved southwards and in the first half of the sixteenth century entered Transoxania together with Shībānī Khān. In 1503 they formed part of an Uzbek army dispatched to Ḥiṣār. This induced Karmysheva to argue that the Qungrāt probably chose the Oxus region as their new habitat at that time. In spite of the rich data provided by the local historiography, it is not clear whether they settled there themselves or one of Shībānī Khān's successors assigned the northern banks of the river to them. Oral traditions provide contradictory information. According to some tales, the Qungrāt came to settle in the Āmū Daryā Valley relatively late, and definitely later than the arrival of first Uzbek groups in Mā Warā' al-Nahr. But other legends say that the northern banks of the Oxus were allegedly granted to them by Chingīz Khān in person. If we believe the oral traditions, the tribe first settled in the steppes near the Kū-yi Tan Mountains. Later they spread out toward the west and east, occupying the oasis of Shīrābād and the dry mountain slopes of the Bāysūn Range.⁴⁹⁹

In the Shibanid and Tuqay-Timurid period, the Qungrāt occupied one of the prestigious seats of honor to the left of the regnant *khān*.⁵⁰⁰ During this time, they primarily derived their social status from their close relationship with Chingīz Khān and the fact that they gave their daughters to the Chingizids.⁵⁰¹ However, like many tribes inhabiting the Eurasian steppes in the post-Mongol period, the Qungrāt initially consisted of a Mongolian-

⁴⁹⁶ Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 211–12; Bosworth, “Qungrāt,” 391.

⁴⁹⁷ Togan, “Qungrat,” 63, 67.

⁴⁹⁸ Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 219.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 219–21.

⁵⁰⁰ The elder of the Qungrāt sat between the representative of the Naymān and the senior *atāliq* (*atāliq-i buzurq*) (Bleichsteiner, “Trinksitten,” 182; McChesney, “Amirs,” 39).

⁵⁰¹ Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 211–12.

speaking core, which different sub-divisions of Turkic-speaking tribes adjoined. After some time, only the appellation of the tribe remained Mongolian,⁵⁰² a fact that still sufficed to maintain its repute.

According to eighteenth-century Bukharan sources, the regions of Bāysūn and Shīrābād constituted the main habitat of the Qungrāt. We read in the *Tuḥfat al-khānī* that around 1756 the Qungrāt with their large herds of sheep, horses and camels went as far as Khuzār in the north:

“The Qungrāt tribe (*ulūs-i Qungrāt*), which was a wealthy community composed of people owning provisions and goods in abundance, partly inhabited Bāysūn and its dependencies. [...] The passages and routes of this proud tribe led toward Ḥiṣār and its territories. Many of them lived in the fort of Pāshkhūrd, in Kū-yi Tan and Panjāb, whilst other tribes and sub-divisions used well-protected mountain valleys as their winter quarters (*qishlāq*). Coming from near and far they put the necklace of loyalty on the neck of observance and subjection. They obediently expressed servitude and submissiveness to this justice-spreading dynasty. Consisting of more than one thousand households of rich herd owners, one of their sub-sections together with some of its tribal chieftains like Khuram, Chahārshanba and others used the valley near Khuzār as a pasture for their sheep and other livestock. They pitched their tents in this plain and spent their lives in quiet and peace under the shade of this dominion. By royal decree obeyed by the world, they were subjected to the command of Mīrzā Bāy Tūqsāba, the governor of Khuzār, with whom they covered the path of fellowship in all government affairs by furnishing the *chirīk*, *batīk* (?) and the *zakāt* on cattle. Many Khuzārīs and the Manghit pastured their herds of sheep and horses on the grazing grounds, and, mixing together, lived in friendship and consent. Moreover, even some of the aforementioned Mīrzā Bāy’s herds found abundant grazing grounds in the expanse of their steppe.”⁵⁰³

The image evolving from this account suggests that many of the Qungrāt were rich nomads, a fact that is also confirmed by the secondary literature.⁵⁰⁴ According to Qāzī Wafā, the Qungrāt chief Chahārshanba was so wealthy in terms of cattle and other property that the obligatory one-fifth (*khums*) collected by the *dīwān* functionaries was almost limitless and it took the soldiers more than six days to carry off the spoils from the valley.⁵⁰⁵

In the mid-nineteenth century, a large part of the Qungrāt dwelled in the area of Qarshī, while others nomadized between that town and the mountains of Shahr-i Sabz.⁵⁰⁶ Analyzing the bulk of the Russian secondary literature,

⁵⁰² Khazanov, *Nomads*, 141.

⁵⁰³ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 240a–241a.

⁵⁰⁴ Holzwarth, “Community Elders,” 228.

⁵⁰⁵ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 244a–b.

⁵⁰⁶ Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 78.

Holzwarth refers to the most frequent migration routes of the Qungrāt nomads, leading them with their herds from the winter quarters in the steppe between Qarshī and Khuzār high up to the mountain pastures between Bāysūn and Yakka Bāgh.⁵⁰⁷ Describing the Qungrāt's way of living in the late nineteenth century, Maev states that

“in the upland plain of Baisun, (Baishin) to the east of Derbent, in the broad valleys of the Katta and Kichi-uru Darya, as well as in most of the districts rich in pastures, the Uzbeks predominate. The whole of the country between Baisun and the Segri-dagh and Shir-abad, as well as the banks of the Amu, and the district of Shir-abad, are occupied by Uzbeks of the tribe of Kungrad, the wealthiest of all. They occupy also the whole valley of the Middle and the Lower Surkhan. In winter the Uzbeks descend from their mountains into the steppes of Karshi.”⁵⁰⁸

The Qungrāt nomads also lived in proximity to the Turkmen. Using the river banks of the Āmū Daryā and the hilly region of Shahr-i Sabz as grazing grounds, they spread over a much greater area than the sedentary populace.⁵⁰⁹ In addition to the southern parts of Transoxania, the Qungrāt also inhabited large parts of Khwārazm and the banks of the lower Sir Daryā, where they dwelled together with the Qaraqalpāq.⁵¹⁰

The secondary literature allows for the conclusion that the Qungrāt was by far the most stratified Uzbek tribe with the highest degree of internal segmentation. The tribal designation is derived from its ancestor Qungrāt-Ata or Qungrāt Bī. The tribe splits into five sub-divisions (*qabīla*) named after his sons: Wakhtamghalī, Kushtamghalī, Konjīghalī, Torgūwālī/Tortūwālī and Āyīnlī.⁵¹¹ These sub-tribes split into clans (*ūrūghs*), which further divided into sub-clans and families.⁵¹² For example, the Kushtamghalī

⁵⁰⁷ Holzwarth, “Community Elders,” 228.

⁵⁰⁸ Maev, “Hissar and Kulab,” 328–29.

⁵⁰⁹ Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 95.

⁵¹⁰ On similarities and differences between Qungrāt and Qaraqalpāq with regard to the designation of sub-groups, language and the material culture, see Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 213–14.

⁵¹¹ Kodir Berdikulov, *O'zbeknoma: Kunghirotlar* (Tashkent), 11–18; Doniyorov, *Uzbek khalqining*, 87. Khanikov lists the “Kanjalī, Oinlī, Kushtamgālī, Yaktamgālī and Kīr (Qīr)” (Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 75–76). Karmysheva speaks of only four sons of Qungrāt Bī by his senior wife: Wakhtamgālī, Kushtamgālī, Kandzighalī and Ayinlī. The fifth son Tortuwālī was from one of the younger wives (Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 87).

⁵¹² For all clans, sub-clans and families making up the Qungrāt, see Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 75–76; Berdikulov, *Kunghirotlar*, 11–21; Doniyorov, *Uzbek khalqining*, 87–88; Togan, *Türkili*, 43.

comprised the Tūlangit/Tilowmat, Qāraqasmāq, Kal, Bārmāq, Kulābī, Saurībuzar, Zumbīrī, Kūsa, Ūtirāqī, Kūchakhār, Bandīkuchuk, Āqpichāq, Chālbacha, Maulish and Qāraqalpāq.⁵¹³

TIRMIDH

Tirmidh lies on the northern bank of the Āmū Daryā at the mouth of the Surkhān River. The importance of the city is due to the strategic island of Orta Ārāl (Middle Island) that was crucial for ferries and bridge constructions. The political fate of Tirmidh depended on the status of the Oxus as a boundary or a connecting element, determining its role as a “frontier town” or a dependency of Balkh.⁵¹⁴

In the pre-Mongol period, Tirmidh was the most important town of Chaghāniyān and the entrepôt of the trade coming from Khurāsān. Located at the junction of the Zāmil River (the present-day Surkhān), in the tenth century the town was protected by a great fortress that served as the seat of the governor and two walls, one defending the inner town of Tirmidh, and one encircling the suburb. The town was towered over by a Friday mosque of unburnt bricks, but the bazaar buildings were built of kiln-bricks.⁵¹⁵ In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, when Balkh was still in ruins, the town of Tirmidh had already recovered from the destruction inflicted during the Mongol invasion.

Although in the early eighteenth century, Tirmidh only figures as a Bukharan outpost far away from the centers of political life and contest, it was still considered one of the gateways to Transoxania (*darwāza-yi Mā Warā' al-Nahr*).⁵¹⁶ In that time, it also served as an intermediate stop for the Bukharan army on its way to Balkh. The town divided into Tirmidh proper, called the great citadel (*qal'a-yi kalān*) and encircled by the usual defense facilities, and the nearby village of Darf where the majority of the population lived.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹³ Berdikulov, *Kunghirotlar*, 12–15.

⁵¹⁴ W. Barthold, “Tirmidh,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., X, 543.

⁵¹⁵ Le Strange, *Lands*, 440–41.

⁵¹⁶ Amīn Bukhārī, *ʿUбайдullah Nāma*, fol. 58a; Semenov, trans., 73.

⁵¹⁷ Barthold, “Tirmidh,” 543.

THE NAYMĀN

The Naymān are one of the biggest and oldest Uzbek tribes.⁵¹⁸ Similar to their neighbors, the Qungrāt, in Shibanid and Tuḡay-Timurid times they enjoyed a great reputation and occupied a special place of honor on the *khān's* left side due to their Mongol origin.⁵¹⁹ Their official place at court, however, did not correspond to their real political weight.⁵²⁰ According to the *Majma' al-arqām*, an oft-quoted administrative manual dating back to the end of the eighteenth century, the Naymān were to be found among other Uzbek tribes on the left wing of the court.⁵²¹

In the early eighteenth century, the Naymān lived together with the Qungrāt in Bāysūn and the Shīrābād Plain north of the Oxus.⁵²² In 1128/1715–16, their tribes became dispersed (*il wa ulūs-i Naymān parākanda shudand*) after a conflict with the Qungrāt.⁵²³ According to oral traditions, the two tribes dwelled together in that region until the time of Nādir Shāh. The Naymān eventually left the Āmū Daryā Plain after a conflict with their Qungrāt neighbors and withdrew to Qarshī and Khuzār.⁵²⁴ Qāzī Wafā mentions a considerable number of Naymān in Qabādiyān and Ḥiṣār, where they lived in close proximity to the Dūrmān and Yūz tribes.⁵²⁵ In 1758, four thousand Naymān households were resettled from Ḥiṣār to Dabūsī in Miyānkāl.⁵²⁶

In the nineteenth century, the Naymān dwelled in large numbers west of Samarqand on the left bank of the Zarafshān, especially in the provinces of Żiyā al-Dīn and Karmīna, where they engaged in sheep and goat breeding.⁵²⁷ Some Naymān groups also lived south of Katta Qūrgḥān in the settlements

⁵¹⁸ Doniyorov, *Uzbek khalqining*, 88.

⁵¹⁹ Bleichsteiner, "Trinksitten," 182; McChesney, "Amirs," 39.

⁵²⁰ McChesney notes that the most influential *amirs* did not belong to the former Mongol tribes (McChesney, "Amirs," 41–42).

⁵²¹ Holzwarth, "Uzbek State," 103.

⁵²² Amīn Bukharī, *Ubaiddullah Nāma*, fol. 55b; Semenov trans., 70.

⁵²³ Ṭālī, *Tārīkh*, fol. 40b; Semenov trans., 43.

⁵²⁴ Grebenkin, "Uzbeki," 81.

⁵²⁵ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fols. 273a, 282b.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 282b; see also Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 77.

⁵²⁷ According to Grebenkin, it is not known how much time it took the Naymān to resettle in this region (Grebenkin, "Uzbeki," 81–82).

of Sibka, Ulūs and Jām and spread throughout the steppe up to the Shahr-i Sabz mountains.⁵²⁸

The Naymān divided into three branches: Kushtamghalī, Wakhtamghalī and Sadir Bēg.⁵²⁹ Yet ethnographic data obtained during field research in the 1960s shows some contradictions with respect to the internal structure of the tribe and its sub-divisions.⁵³⁰

SAMARQAND: THE “PARADISIACAL CITY”

As a political and commercial center, Samarqand was once the most important and richest city in Transoxania. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it functioned as the capital of the Timurid Empire and greatly benefitted from Tīmūr’s ambitious plans to improve its infrastructure. Since a detailed description of the city would go beyond the aim of this section,⁵³¹ I quote here Clavijo’s account of Samarqand around 1400:

“The city of Samarcand is situated in a plain, and surrounded by an earthen wall. It is a little larger than the city of Seville, but, outside the city, there are a great number of houses, joined together in many parts, so as to form suburbs. The city is surrounded on all its sides by many gardens and vineyards, which extend in some directions a league and a half, in others two leagues, the city being in the middle. In these houses and gardens there is a large population, and there are people selling bread, meat, and many other things; so that the suburbs are much more thickly inhabited than the city within the walls. Amongst these gardens, which are outside the city, there are great and noble houses, and here the lord has several palaces. The nobles of the city have their houses amongst these gardens, and they are so extensive that, when a man approaches the city, he sees nothing but a mass of very high trees. Many streams of water flow through the city, and through these

⁵²⁸ Radloff, “Serafschanthal,” 505; Grebenkin, “Uzbeki,” 80–81.

⁵²⁹ Grebenkin, “Uzbeki,” 81; Togan, *Türkili*, 44.

⁵³⁰ The Naymān in the surroundings of Oltiyughil near Samarqand divided into the Pūlāchī, Ulūs, Zarman, Kichkildiq, Chimbāy, Qāra Naymān and Zakhnaymān. According to other information, this tribe consisted of eight sub-divisions: Us Naymān, Āchchilī Naymān, Qaṭaghān Naymān, Waqimlī Naymān, Būyrak Naymān, Tūghrāq Naymān, Ūyghūr Naymān and Ūyshūn Naymān (Doniyorov, *Uzbek khalqining*, 88–89). Yet in the list of the *Majma‘ al-arqām*, tribes like the Ūyghūr, Ūyshūn, Chīnbāy, Us (As), Fūlādchī, etc. appear as separate groups (see Holzwarth, “Uzbek State,” 103). For further information on the Naymān see also Karmysheva, *Ocherki*, 108.

⁵³¹ For a description of Samarqand in pre-Mongol times, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 83–92; Le Strange, *Lands*, 463–66. See also the article on “Samarkand” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., VIII, 1031–38, with parts on history by H. H. Schaeder [C. E. Bosworth] (1031–34) and architecture by Yolande Crowe (1034–38).

gardens, and among these gardens there are many cotton plantations, and melon grounds, and the melons of this land are good and plentiful; and at Christmas time there is a wonderful quantity of melons and grapes. Every day so many camels come in, laden with melons, that it is a wonder how the people can eat them all.⁵³²

Writing that only few cities in the civilized world were as pleasant as Samarqand, Bābur is full of admiration for this place and praises especially its apples and *sahibī* grapes. Besides its major representative buildings and the irrigation channels, he also describes the numerous meadows in the environs of the city such as the Kān-i Gīl Meadow located one league north of it and watered by the Qarā Sū, the Khān Yūrtī, the Qulba, Lake Mughak and the Būdānā Qorughī Meadows.⁵³³

By 1700, Samarqand had lost much of its former splendor. Many of its representative imperial buildings were in a state of disrepair. This decay can be attributed to the shift of political weight to the capital Bukhara from 1500 onward. Although the city was still called the paradise-like Samarqand (*Samarqand-i firdaus-mānand*), ‘Ubaidullah Khān refused to live in its *arg* when he visited Samarqand in 1709, for it had already been reduced to ruins.⁵³⁴ A generation later, the chronicler of his successor laments about the destruction caused by the activities of the Khitā’ī-Qipchāq nomads.⁵³⁵ In the 1720s, Samarqand received a further blow during the looting campaigns of the Qazāq, and was more or less abandoned.

In 1740, Samarqand and its environs were sparsely populated. Only one thousand families lived in poor conditions below the citadel, while the hinterland was devastated by rebellious Ming and Yūz groups.⁵³⁶ It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the city began slowly to recover when it was repopulated by Murād Bēg. According to Abramov, it was only then that Samarqand recovered from the destruction and the irrigation system was repaired. In the 1860s the urban population consisted of only ten thousand inhabitants living in twenty-four city quarters.⁵³⁷ Having passed through the city in 1825, Mīr ‘Izzatullah reports that

⁵³² Clavijo, *Narrative*, 169–71.

⁵³³ Zahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *Baburnama*, 83–87.

⁵³⁴ Amīn Bukhārī, ‘*Ubaidullah Nāma*, fol. 146a; Semenov trans., 165.

⁵³⁵ Ṭālī’, *Tārīkh*, fol. 43a; Semenov, trans., 69.

⁵³⁶ Kāzīm, ‘*Ālamārā*, II, 819.

⁵³⁷ See M. M. Abramov, “Iz istorii Samarkanda kontza XVIII–nachala XIX veka,” *Uzbekistonda izhtimoi fanlar/Obshchestvennie nauki v Uzbekistane* 9 (1970): 98.

“[t]he city of Samarcand, two hours, west by south; a celebrated city and the seat of the sepulcher of Amir Timur; a lofty building with an immense cupola [...]. The attendants are in much poverty; they told me that formerly they were supported by an allowance from the Emperors of Hindustan, which ceased with Mohammed Shah; and they wished to know if there were in India any of the descendants of Timur, whom they might apprise of their condition. [...] Samarcand was in an entirely dilapidated condition and the colleges were haunted by lions and wolves.”⁵³⁸

But still, the city was an important coordinate on Transoxania's political map because it housed the *kūk tāsh*, a green or blue stone used by Tīmūr as a throne.⁵³⁹ In addition, it was conveniently located at the junction of the major trade routes from India and Persia.⁵⁴⁰

CHAHĀR JŪY

Medieval geographers called Chahār Jūy (present-day Türkmenabat) Āmul.⁵⁴¹ Other names were Āmul Jaiḥūn—Āmul on the Oxus as opposed to the Āmul in Māzandarān—or Āmul al-Shaṭṭ. Later this place became simply known as Āmūya or Āmū, a toponym from which the late medieval name of the Oxus, the Āmū Daryā, is perhaps derived.⁵⁴² Situated one *farsakh* from the banks of the river, the importance of this town lay in its location on the highway from Khurāsān to Transoxania.⁵⁴³ The Arab geographers describe it as a fertile and pleasant place with big markets and a Friday mosque, enclosed by irrigated fields and vineyards. Chahār Jūy is surrounded by extensive deserts, which here come very close to the river.⁵⁴⁴

By the seventeenth century, the town came to be known as Chahār Jūy or Chār Jūy.⁵⁴⁵ This name reflects the separation of the Āmū Daryā into several

⁵³⁸ Mir Izzetullah, “Travels,” 329.

⁵³⁹ The *kūk tāsh* was a marble stone used for inauguration ceremonies at Samarqand. It was commonly believed that this stone had fallen from heaven and possessed mystical power, thus not allowing a false pretender to sit on it (Ron Sela, *Ritual and Authority in Central Asia: The Khan's Inauguration Ceremony* (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2003), 45). For further descriptions see Radloff, “Serafschanthal,” 425.

⁵⁴⁰ Barthold, *Turkestan*, 83.

⁵⁴¹ We find different spellings in the sources: Chār Jū, Chār Jūy, Chahār Jū/Jūy.

⁵⁴² M. Streck, “Āmul,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., I, 459; Le Strange, *Lands*, 403–04.

⁵⁴³ Barthold, *Turkestan*, 81; Le Strange, *Lands*, 403.

⁵⁴⁴ Le Strange, *Lands*, 403.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 404. According to Alexander Benningsen, the name Chahār Jūy goes back to the Timurid period (A. Benningsen, “Āmul,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. edn., I, 459).

streams by large sandbanks.⁵⁴⁶ Early eighteenth-century primary sources mention the town as a major gateway (*darwāza*) to the realm of the Transoxanian rulers⁵⁴⁷ and seat of a Bukharan governor, who was usually a Qalmāq *amīr*.⁵⁴⁸ Benevini also refers to a Qalmāq garrison.⁵⁴⁹ Later in the eighteenth century, the town was governed by a certain Muḥammad Amīn Khwāja Naqīb.⁵⁵⁰ Having passed through Chahār Jūy as part of Nādir Shāh's retinue in late 1740, Khwāja 'Abd al-Karīm gives us a clearer idea of its environs:

“To the west of the town stretches the aforementioned desert, and Balkh, the Mother of the Cities, is located south of its limits at a distance of twelve stages. In the north the frontier region of Khwārazm is reached by Uzbek caravans in eight days. East of the town flows the Jaiḥūn and the region beyond it belongs to Bukhara.”⁵⁵¹

Philipp Effremov describes the Āmū Daryā as less than one verst in breadth and not very deep. He also mentions the sandbanks and the dense reed belts.⁵⁵² The passage of Chahār Jūy was protected by a strong fort affording shelter to the predatory Turkmen tribes, which until 1762 remained largely outside the sphere of Bukharan control.⁵⁵³ According to Mīrzā Shams, Chahār Jūy was a respectable town (*shahr-i mu'tabari*). A vast plain extended south of it, providing very good grazing grounds. He estimates the population at fifty thousand, which is probably an inflated figure.⁵⁵⁴ Another colorful description of this place is given by Burnes:

⁵⁴⁶ For a detailed description see Olufsen, *Emir*, 152–54.

⁵⁴⁷ Whoever wanted to enter Mā Warā' al-Nahr from the west had to pass Chahār Jūy. Nādir Shāh, for example, traversed the Oxus at this place. In order to secure his supply route, he ordered the erection of two forts on each side, where he stationed five or six thousand soldiers (Kāzim, *Ālamārā*, II, 788).

⁵⁴⁸ Amīn Bukhārī, *Ubaidullah Nāma*, fol. 248b; Semenov trans., 277; Ṭāli', *Tārīkh*, fol. 31b; Semenov trans., 36.

⁵⁴⁹ Florio Benevini, *Poslannik Petra I na Vostoke. Posol'stvo Florio Benevini v Persiju i Bukharu v 1718–1725 godakh* [Kratkoj zhurnal poslannika sekretarja Oriental'noj ekspeditsii Florija Benevini, v Bukharakh byshego] (Moscow: Glavnaja redaktsija vostochnoj literatury, 1986), 120.

⁵⁵⁰ Kāzim, *Ālamārā*, III, 1093; Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 84b, 113a.

⁵⁵¹ Khwāja 'Abd al-Karīm, *Bayān*, 81. For further details concerning Chār Jūy and the appearance of the Oxus, see Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 65–66.

⁵⁵² Philipp Effremov, *Devjatiletnee stranstvovanie*, pod redaktsiej, sovstupitel'noj stat'ej i komentarijami, ed. E. Murzaeva (Moscow: Gos. Izd. geograf. lit., 1950), 23.

⁵⁵³ Qāzī Wafā mentions the Sālūr, Sari and Tekke tribes (Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol 358a).

⁵⁵⁴ Mīrzā Shams Bukhārā'ī, *Tārīkh*, 127.

“The place is governed by a Kalmuk, and is pleasantly situated on the verge of culture and desolation, with a pretty fort that crowns a hillock, and overlooks the town. It is said to have resisted the arms of Timour; but its present condition would not impress one with any great notions of its strength, or that conqueror’s power. The people of Charjooee do not exceed 4000 or 5000 souls; [...] We halted here for four days, since it was the last inhabited spot of civilisation between Bokhara and Persia [...] There were about 2000 or 3000 people in the bazar; but there was very little bustle and confusion, though there was much both of buying and selling. [...] The streets are so narrow, that the bazar is generally held at one end of the country towns; and such was the case at Charjooee: so that fruit, grain, or any thing which requires to be displayed, is spread out on the ground.”⁵⁵⁵

Having visited Bukhara in 1844, the Persian envoy ‘Abbās Qulī Khān states that the fort of Chahār Jūy was huge but in a state of disrepair. According to him, the oasis stretched for sixteen *farsang* (64 miles) along the river and was two *farsang* (eight miles) wide.⁵⁵⁶

The areas adjoining the banks of the Amū Daryā above and below Chahār Jūy were designated Labāb, or more correctly Lab-i āb (Persian “riverside”). Although conditions for artificial irrigation were far better on the left bank of the Oxus, in the medieval period a narrow strip of cultivated land lay along the banks on both sides. Commencing in Darghān, the southernmost town of Khwārazm, this region extended along the Oxus as far as Kilif. In post-Mongol times, the irrigation system fell into decay.⁵⁵⁷ A Danish traveler who visited the region in the early twentieth century writes that

“[o]n the left bank of the river is an alluvial zone which is several kilometres broad, traversed by dry river arms and covered with reed and rushes which form a pretty even transition to Kara Kum. Hills of grey sand rising here and there above the muddy ground connect the latter genetically with the sandy desert, 300 kilometres broad, whose yellowish grey sand hills run towards the south-west over about 800 kilometres to the gate between the mountains of Great and Little Balkhan.”⁵⁵⁸

Burnes also notes that the banks of the Oxus near Chahār Jūy “were much depressed, and completely overgrown with a rank weed.”⁵⁵⁹ The region was

⁵⁵⁵ Burnes, *Travels*, II, 8–9.

⁵⁵⁶ ‘Abbās Qulī Khān, *Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* (*‘Aṣr-i Muḥammad Shāh Qājār*), 1259–1260 *h.q.*, ed. Ḥusain Zamānī (Tehran: Pazhūhishgāh-i ‘ulūm-i insānī wa muṭālī‘āt-i farhangī, 1373/1994–95), 30–31.

⁵⁵⁷ Yuri Bregel, “Labāb,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, V, 581–82.

⁵⁵⁸ Olufsen, *Emir*, 154–56.

⁵⁵⁹ Burnes, *Travels*, II, 5.

famous for a fish “of an enormous size, weighing from five to six hundred pounds,” which served as food for the local Uzbek population.⁵⁶⁰

THE QALMĀQ (JUNGHĀR, UIRĀT)

From the last quarter of the seventeenth century onward, large parts of Central Asia witnessed the military expansion of the Junghar, a powerful equestrian people adhering to Buddhism. The Junghar represented the eastern half or left wing of the Uirāt,⁵⁶¹ a Mongol tribe participating in the conquest of Iran. The Uirāt were the western Mongols and furnished soldiers for the left wing of the Mongol army engaged in the conquest of Iran, in the course of which they migrated as far as Anatolia (Diyabakir).⁵⁶² In Muslim sources the various elements of the Uirāt are merged under the Turkish term Qalmāq.⁵⁶³

In the time of Chingīz Khān, the Uirāt inhabited the forest region west of Lake Baikal.⁵⁶⁴ During the Mongol Empire, four major Mongol tribes dominated that region: the old Uirāt, the Barghud (Burqūt), the Naymān and the Kirāyit.⁵⁶⁵ In the fourteenth century, these tribes captured the greater part of Mongolia and laid the foundation for their own empire after the fall of the

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 5–6.

⁵⁶¹ Adshead, *Central Asia*, 158–59.

⁵⁶² J. A. Boyle, “Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khāns,” in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V: *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 363, 381.

⁵⁶³ Junko Miyawaki, “The Legitimacy of Khanship among the Oyrad (Kalmyk) Tribes in Relation to the Chinggisid Principle,” in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden et al.: Brill, 1999), 322; Holzwarth, “Relations,” 181. The verb *qalmāq*, meaning to remain, distinguished the Uirāt, who remained pagans, from the Islamized Dungans (J. A. Boyle, “Kalmuk,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., VI, 512).

⁵⁶⁴ Boyle, “Kalmuk,” 512. Later the Uirāt extended their habitat over a vast and relatively compact region between Siberia and the Altai in the north, Kāshghar in the south and the Ili River in the west (Olga A. Sukhareva, *Bukhara, XIX–nachalo XX v. Pozdnefeofal’nyi gorod i ego naselenie* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Nauka/Glavnaja redaktsija vostochnoj literatury, 1966), 134).

⁵⁶⁵ Miyawaki, “Legitimacy,” 326. Representing the eastern Uirāt, the Junghār were composed of four major clans (oboghs): Koshot, Derbet, Khoit and Choros (Adshead, *Central Asia*, 158–59).

Yuan dynasty in China.⁵⁶⁶ After the end of the Yuan, who were expelled by the Ming in 1368,⁵⁶⁷ the above-mentioned four tribes joined forces against the Mongols in support of the old dynasty and came to be known as the “four Uirāt,” a new Mongol confederation. When in the fifteenth century Toghon and Esen were the rulers of the first Uirāt Empire, they were joined by another Mongol tribe, the Koshut. In the course of time, the composition of the Uirāt slightly changed. Now we see the rise of the Junghar and Derbet who apparently descended from the Naymān, the Torgut who originated from the Kirāyit, and the Khoit, descendants of the old Uirāt.⁵⁶⁸

Following the collapse of their first empire in the fifteenth century, they came step by step into contact with other Central Asian peoples.⁵⁶⁹ In the fifteenth century, the Uirāt attacked the first Uzbek dominion at the Sir Daryā and defeated its leader Abū'l-Khair Khān in 1456–57.⁵⁷⁰ In the sixteenth century, the territories of the eastern Uirāt, the Junghar, were the major target of Qazāq raids conducted by Tawwakul Khān. Yet the Qazāq campaigns triggered a forceful intrusion of the Junghar deep into the western part of Central Asia.⁵⁷¹ When Junghar had invaded the territories of the Qazāq, Tawwakul Khān, a Qazāq leader, took refuge in Tashkent with Naurūz Aḥmad (d. 1556), who responded to his plea for help that his forces were no match for the Qalmāq. In 1602 they had invaded Khwārazm for the first time, though their major grazing grounds were located in the Semirechyé. Their dominance in this region remained unaffected even by the subsequent wars with the Chinese and the Qazāq.⁵⁷² At times they were also at war with their southern neighbors, who tried to stop their advance. According to Muḥammad Yūsuf, in 1021/1612–13 Imām Qulī Khān (r. 1612–42) mounted a campaign against the tribes of the Qarā Tāgh, the Qazāq, Qalmāq and Qarāqalpāq.⁵⁷³ The Qalmāq proper originated from

⁵⁶⁶ Boyle, “Kalmuk,” 512; Adshead, *Central Asia*, 159. According to Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī, the Qalmāq traced their genealogy back to Ögedei (Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī, *Tadhkira*, 78).

⁵⁶⁷ Adshead, *Central Asia*, 159.

⁵⁶⁸ Miyawaki, “Legitimacy,” 326.

⁵⁶⁹ Sukhareva, *Bukhara*, 134–35.

⁵⁷⁰ Lemerrier-Quelquejay, “Kasachen und Kirgisen,” 153.

⁵⁷¹ W. W. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, trans. V. and T. Minorsky, 3 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1956, 1958, 1962), I, 159.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, 159, 160–61; Boyle, “Kalmuk,” 512.

⁵⁷³ Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī, *Tadhkira*, 143–44.

elements furnishing the right or western wing of the Uirāt, as opposed to the Junghars from the left or eastern wing.⁵⁷⁴ During the Junghar expansion in the 1630s, members of the western wing of the Uirāt fled through the Great Steppe and finally came to settle on the lower Volga where they founded their own realm.⁵⁷⁵

From the early seventeenth century onward Junghar power had witnessed a renaissance, first under Khara Khula (d. 1634) and later under his son Bātur, who held the Chinese title of *hung-tayjī* or *hunag-t'ai-chi*.⁵⁷⁶ The Junghar expansion was closely linked to the rise to prominence of the Gelug School within Tibetan Buddhism.⁵⁷⁷ As one of the Gelugpa leaders, the third Dalai Lama, Sonam Gyatso (1543–88), converted the Mongol ruler Altān Khān and various Mongol clans to Buddhism.⁵⁷⁸ After his death, one of

⁵⁷⁴ The eastern wing of the Uirāt was furnished by the Khoshot, Derbet, Khoit and Choros clans (Adshead, *Central Asia*, 158).

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., 159. Boyle calls them Volga Qalmāq (Kalmuk) (Boyle, “Kalmuk,” 512).

⁵⁷⁶ Adshead, *Central Asia*, 159; Lemerrier-Quellejay, “Kasachen und Kirgisen,” 156. The title *hung-tayjī* was bestowed on Bātur by Gūūshī Khān, the leader of the Koshot clan of the Uirāt, on the first campaign to Lake Kokonur (Miyawaki, “Legitimacy,” 327). For the etymology of this title see Holzwarth, “Relations,” 196, footnote no. 88.

⁵⁷⁷ The Gelug or Gelugpa order, also known as the “School of the Virtuous Tradition,” was founded by Tsongkhapa (1357–1419), who came from the Amdo region in northeastern Tibet. He started as a monk of the Sakya tradition and travelled through Tibet, using the great monasteries as intermediate stops where he engaged in extensive religious and philosophical studies. Later he gathered students and disciples, practicing with them tantric meditation and deity yoga from various monastic traditions. In his thirties, Tsongkhapa aimed for a new formulation and reinterpretation of the Buddhist religious path. Having compiled his *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path* and the *Great Exposition of the Secret Mantra*, he became one of the most famous teachers by his early fifties. At that time, he enjoyed the support of the Chinese emperor Yong Le and Tibet’s ruling Pagmodru family. After Tsongkhapa’s death, his disciples were concentrated in three big monasteries, Ganden, Sera and Drepung, which became the nucleus of the newly established Gelug School. Also known as the Yellow Hat Sect, this order quickly developed an orthodoxy focused on Tsongkhapa’s writings. Forming a triumvirate of massive Gelugpa monasteries, the Gelug came to dominate Tibet’s religious and political life centered at Lhasa for the next centuries. They also furnished the Dalai Lamas and the Panchen Lamas (Sam van Schaik, *Tibet. A History* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2011), 101–45).

⁵⁷⁸ The title Dalai Lama originated from Mongolian, as the Mongols under Altān Khān attached a honorific title to Sonam Gyatso containing the phrase “Splendid Meritorious Ocean.” Since he was the third in a line of rebirths, the title Dalai was awarded

Altān Khān's grandsons⁵⁷⁹ had become the fourth Dalai Lama (d. 1617) and tied the Mongols closer to the Gelug School. After his death, the Gelugpas and their patrons suffered defeat by the ruler of Tsang, a principality near Lhasa, who supported the unreformed Karmapa School. It was only in 1642 that the Gelugpas gained the upper hand with the support of a Mongol army, mostly Gelugpa converts, among them also Junghar contingents from Semirechyé, who invaded Central Tibet.⁵⁸⁰ From now on, the fate of the Junghars, who had been converted around 1620,⁵⁸¹ was closely connected to events in Tibet and Lama Buddhism. Buddhism and particularly adherence to the Gelug School was firmly established among all branches of the former Uirāt during a *qūriltāy* in 1640.⁵⁸² Hence the Junghar were regarded as fierce enemies of Islam. It was under strong rulers like Galdan (r. 1673–97), Tsevan Rabтана (r. 1697–1727) and Galdan Tsering (r. 1727–45) that the Junghar expansion reached its peak with many areas accepting their overlordship.⁵⁸³ Meanwhile they recruited Gelugpa lamas into their administration, and, through a chain of monasteries, developed “a fixed, ranch-type pastoralism for their economy alongside nomadic pastoralism.”⁵⁸⁴

In the seventeenth century, the Junghars also maintained intense trade relations with their neighbors, especially the Russians and the Bukharans,⁵⁸⁵ whom they supplied with furs, livestock, rhubarb and slaves.⁵⁸⁶ In this period, their leader Galdan (d. 1697) promoted agriculture as well as crafts and industries. He also fostered Lama Buddhism and developed a more precise alphabet for the Mongols. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the Junghar migrated from modern Western Mongolia westward to the glacies north of the Tian Shan, and from there they targeted the territories of the

posthumously to his two predecessors (van Schaik, *Tibet*, 115; see also Miyawaki, “Legitimacy,” 322).

⁵⁷⁹ According to Miyawaki, the fourth Dalai Lama was Altān Khān's great-grandson (Miyawaki, “Legitimacy,” 323).

⁵⁸⁰ Adshead, *Central Asia*, 162–63; Schaik, *Tibet*, 116–22.

⁵⁸¹ Adshead, *Central Asia*, 163.

⁵⁸² Boyle, “Kalmuk,” 512; Barthold, *Four Studies*, I, 160.

⁵⁸³ For the Qalmāq/Junghar expansion in Eastern Turkistan, see Balkhī, *Tārīkh*, fols. 285a, 294a.

⁵⁸⁴ Adshead, *Central Asia*, 160.

⁵⁸⁵ Very often Qalmāq princes made use of Bukharan intermediaries and translators for their commercial operations (Burton, *Bukharans*, 430–31).

⁵⁸⁶ The slaves furnished by the Qalmāq were Siberians, Muscovites, Qalmāq from vanquished tribes, Mongols and Chinese (Burton, *Bukharans*, 432).

Uyghūr. In 1679, Galdan moved against Hāmī and Turfān, and also attacked Kāshghar and Yarkand. In 1696, his forces were utterly defeated by the Ch'ing Empire. After Galdan's death, his nephew Tsevan Rabтана continued the wars against the Chinese.⁵⁸⁷

After the conclusion of a peace treaty with China in 1722, the Junghar attacked Qazāq settlements in the Dasht-i Qipchāq and threatened towns like Jizakh and Tashkent.⁵⁸⁸ Prior to this, they had launched far-reaching campaigns to Tibet.⁵⁸⁹ A year later, the Qalmāq dealt a major blow to the Qazāq by capturing the towns of Sairam, Tashkent and Turkistān. At that time their ruler, the *hung-tayjī*, was able to muster one hundred thousand warriors.⁵⁹⁰ Calling them exclusively Qalmāq,⁵⁹¹ 'Ubaidullah Khān's chronicler describes the Qalmāq threat as follows:

[Riding] on horses with sheared manes and tails, the inauspicious Qalmāq infidels have fallen upon the tribes of the Qazāq community like ants and locusts to make inroads and to plunder! The majority of the tribes and nomads belonging to that community were taken prisoner by these infidel robbers of Gog and Magog (*yājūj wa mājūj*). [...] The Qazāq people and the Qarāqalpāq tribesmen have left their original homeland out of fear of the innumerable armies of the pagan Qalmāq and have taken refuge in the fortress of Tashkent. Filled with dread of these devilish legions, the inhabitants of that area are troubled like a trembling willow or quicksilver.⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁷ Morris Rossabi, "The 'decline,'" 366–67.

⁵⁸⁸ Balkhī, *Tārīkh*, fol. 294a–b. See also next chapter.

⁵⁸⁹ Holzwarth, "Relations," 187, 193. At the other end of their vast sphere of influence, Tsevan Rabтана invaded Tibet and established a presence there between 1717 and 1720. They did so to intervene in a power struggle between the Mongol ruler Lajang and the Gelug monks in support of the seventh Dalai Lama. After establishing sway over Lhasa, they conducted an inquisition into the Gelug monasteries and expelled any monk whose behavior was doubtful. The Junghar presence in Tibet finally ended with a Chinese invasion in 1720 (van Schaik, *Tibet*, 139–40).

⁵⁹⁰ Barthold, *Four Studies*, I, 163; Chekhovich, "O nekotorykh," 88; Bregel, "Bukhara," 518; Lemerrier-Quellejay, "Kasachen und Kirgisen," 158; Holzwarth, "Relations," 193. For a list of Junghar rulers see Karl-Heinz Golzio, *Regents in Central Asia since the Mongol Empire. Chronological Tables* (Köln: In Kommission bei E. J. Brill, 1985), 63.

⁵⁹¹ Benevini calls them the Black Kalmuks (Benevini, "A Russian Envoy," 88; Holzwarth, "Relations," 196).

⁵⁹² Amīn Bukhārī, *'Ubaidullah Nāma*, fols. 144a–b; Semenov trans., 163. Since Mongol times the picture of ants and locusts had often been invoked by the chroniclers for the portrayal of raiding troops (for an example see Haidar, *Medieval Central Asia*, 231; for Uzbek times see Holzwarth, "Relations," 206; Holzwarth, "Uzbek State," 115).

The Uzbek *amīrs* therefore advised the ruler to go to Samarqand, to take a seat again on the green stone, the *kūk tāsh*, and to free the subjects from the fear caused by the infidel hordes. Other tribes affected by the Qalmāq attacks in the first quarter of the eighteenth century were the Qirghiz and Qarāqalpāq. Most of the Qirghiz withdrew to the southern mountain slopes of the Tian Shan, others migrated toward the south and entered the Ferghana Valley.⁵⁹³

In that period, we see many connections between the Qalmāq and their southern neighbors, especially the Bukharans. These links developed through the slave trade in the region, but we also see diplomatic contacts. Subhān Qulī Khān especially seems to have had many Qalmāq concubines. One of his later heirs-apparent in Balkh, Abū'l-Mansūr Sultān, favored the Qalmāq over the Uzbeks because his mother was a Qalmāq.⁵⁹⁴ In the early eighteenth century, the *khān*'s bodyguard consisted mainly of Qalmāq slaves, some of whom wielded considerable influence.⁵⁹⁵

The Qalmāq (Junghar) Empire had no lasting success, although the later ruler Galdan Tsering continued his attempts to join forces with the Bukharans. After the reunification of the three Qazāq hordes between 1727 and 1730, the Qalmāq suffered defeat in the Great Steppe.⁵⁹⁶ Having been driven out of Kāshghar in the middle of the eighteenth century by Chinese military activities, they migrated southwest and entered Badakhshān in 1747.⁵⁹⁷ In 1755 the Chinese sent two huge armies against the *hung-tayjī* and practically subjugated the entire kingdom. The last ruler Amursana revolted in the same year but was soon defeated and escaped to the Qazāq. In 1758 another Chinese army put an end to all attempts to revive the Junghar Empire.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹³ For details see Balkhī, *Tārīkh*, fol. 294a. After the destruction of the Junghar Empire by the Chinese in 1756–58, a large number of Qirghiz nomads returned from the western and southern foothills of the Tian Shan to their original pastures. Others remained in the Ferghana Valley (Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 96–97; see also Timur Beisembiev, “Migration in the Qōqand Khanate in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” in *Migration Movement in the Modern World III. Migration in Central Asia: Its History and Current Problems*, ed. Hisao Komatsu, Chika Obiya and John. S. Schoeberlein (Osaka: The Japan Center of Area Studies, 2000), 36.

⁵⁹⁴ McChesney, *Waqf*, 154.

⁵⁹⁵ See next chapter, section on the Āltūn Jilau.

⁵⁹⁶ Holzwarth, “Relations,” 197.

⁵⁹⁷ McChesney, *Waqf*, 227–29.

⁵⁹⁸ Barthold, *Four Studies*, I, 165.

ŪRGŪT AND KŪHISTĀN

Within the wilderness southeast of Samarqand, known under the toponym Kūhistān, the valleys of Ūrgūt, Panjīkent, Māghiyān, Gshtut (Gashtut) und Ūrmītan are like pearls on a string lying on a west-east axis.⁵⁹⁹ In this region, the Mazār Tau (Tāgh) forms the most impressive physical obstacle.

“The Mazar-taú, a massive range, approximately 12,000 feet high, rises between the two valleys of Maghian and Kshtut. On the left side, by the Kostarach village, two snowy peaks, called the ‘Shin’ [Shing] raise their hoary heads to a great height, and beyond them, in the east, are visible the stupendous massy heights of Kshtut, with their numerous snow-clad crests. A peculiar beauty is lent to the grandeur of the scene by a confused distribution of various flowers. The foreland of undulations terminates by the Zarafshan in precipitous masses of rose-coloured clay, several hundred feet thick. Farther away in the Mazar-taú, is discernible a white streak of bare limestone; above this, like a broad, bright green ribbon, lies a zone of brushwood, then another barren streak, and over this tower the snow-capped heights of the mountains.”⁶⁰⁰

According to Qāzī Wafā, the small town of Ūrgūt was situated on a massive mountain slope and comprised roughly six thousand households protected by impressive fortifications.⁶⁰¹ Extolling the area for its scenic beauty, he states that “Ūrgūt is a very pristine and ravishing place. The abundant plots and orchards in its environs turned green through numerous springs.”⁶⁰²

Apart from the short description given in the *Tuḥfat al-khānī*, we gain the impression that the entire region with its remote mountain valleys provided rich grazing grounds for a range of nomads in possession of large herds of sheep, cattle and even horses. Above all the Mīng, Yūz and some Qurama tribes used the area as their summer quarters.⁶⁰³ In addition, Wafā also

⁵⁹⁹ Schuyler, *Turkistan*, I, 279. In the *Tuḥfat al-khānī* the four mountain principalities Ūrgūt, Gshtut, Māghiyān and Ūrmītan (Falghar) are designated “Chār pāra-yi kūhistān” (چار پاره کوهستان) (see Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 216a).

⁶⁰⁰ Fedchenko, “Topographical Sketch,” 451.

⁶⁰¹ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 211a.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, fol. 213b.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, fol. 207 b. The chronicler reports about the nomads of the Marqa, a sub-division of the Yūz Uzbeks pasturing their herds in this region. According to some travelogues, in the nineteenth century, Uzbek nomads were migrating as far as Gshtut and Falghar, while the mountains were mainly inhabited by Tajiks (Lehmann, *Reise*, 142; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, I, 278).

mentions Ghalcha who made up a large part of the peasantry and the urban population.⁶⁰⁴

THE CITY OF BUKHARA

“Few great buildings are to be seen from the exterior, but when the traveller passes its gates he winds his way among lofty and arched bazars of brick, and sees each trade in its separate quarter of the city. [...] The greatest of the public buildings is a mosque, which occupies a square of 300 feet, and has a dome that rises to about a third of that height. It is covered with enamelled tiles of an azure blue colour, and has a costly appearance. It is a place of some antiquity, since its cupola, which once was shaken by an earthquake, was repaired by the renowned Timour. Attached to this mosque is a lofty minaret, raised in the 542d year of the Hejira. It is built of bricks, which have been distributed in most ingenious patterns. [...] [T]he Registan of Bokhara [...] is the name given to a spacious area in the city, near the palace, which opens upon it. On two other sides there are massive buildings, colleges of the learned, and on the fourth side is a fountain, filled with water, and shaded with lofty trees, where idlers and newsmongers assemble [...]. In the middle of the area the fruits of the season are sold under the shade of a square piece of mat, supported by a single pole. One wonders at the never-ending employment of the fruiterers in dealing out their grapes, melons, apricots, apples, peaches, pears, and plums to a continued succession of purchasers. [...] As one withdraws in the evening from this bustling crowd to the more retired parts of the city, he winds his way through arched bazars, now empty, and passes mosques, surmounted by handsome cupolas, and adorned by all the simple ornaments which are admitted by Mahommedans. [...] Most of the domes of the city are thus adorned, and their tops are covered by nests of the ‘luglug,’ a kind of crane, and a bird of passage that frequents this country, and is considered lucky by the people.”⁶⁰⁵

In his description of Bukhara, Burnes gives us an idea of the impression foreign visitors had of the Transoxanian capital in the early nineteenth century. He paints a classical picture of an oriental metropolis reflecting the Western image of the Orient and catering to the prejudices of a European audience. The Indian traveler Mir Izzetullah, who visited the city in 1812, provides a less colorful picture and concentrates more on the conditions for caravans, the horse and karakul markets as well as on the political

⁶⁰⁴ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 219a.

⁶⁰⁵ Burnes, *Travels*, I, 272–73, 277, 278, 301, 302–03. The text quoted above has been restructured to give the reader an impression of the city as approached from outside by Burnes, and does not correspond to the sequence of pages given here in an ascending order.

situation.⁶⁰⁶ Writing in the same period, Mīr ‘Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī does not pay attention to the city and its urban infrastructure but refers to the nomads in its surroundings:

“Many tent dwellers (*ḥasham-nishīnān*) like Arabs, Turkmen, Uzbek, Qarāqalpāq and Qungrāt live in the vicinity of Bukhara. On this side of the Āmū, where Chār Jū is located, the Turkmen settle over a distance of a forty-five days’ journey along the entire river bank (*labāb-i daryā*). The following are the sub-sections of the Turkmen: Ersārī, Sāruq, Baqa, Sālūr, Tekke, Amīr ‘Alī, Chaudar, Khadrī, Manqīt. [The Arabs fall into the following sections:] the Khuzaima, Banī Tamīm, Banī Zīd and other tent dwellers who live there in countless numbers.”⁶⁰⁷

The Persian materials dating to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries contain no such amount of information. This lack of details can be attributed primarily to the knowledge of the authors and their audience. The chroniclers themselves were already acquainted with the city and probably saw no need to repeat something most people knew in any case. Unfortunately, other visitors and travelers from the region do not help fill this void.⁶⁰⁸

In spite of the rise of alternative seats of power in the eighteenth century, Bukhara was still regarded as the center of political life that had lost none of its force of attraction! Most of the Uzbek *amīrs* looked to Bukhara to seek promotion in the form of privileges and prestigious posts. In the chronicles dating to the eighteenth century, Bukhara is depicted with a range of epithets such as the “Noble City” (*balada-yi fākhira/fakhr al-bilād*) or “Seat of Government” (*dār al-salṭana, markaz-i salṭanat, markaz-i daulat, markaz-i iyālat/mustaqarr-i iyālat*). Bukhara’s centrality depended on three aspects: the city was a political, administrative and military hub, particularly when it was the capital of a larger empire. But it was also a center of the regional trade, a destination for overland caravans,⁶⁰⁹ and a center of Islamic learning.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁶ Mir Izzetullah, “Travels,” 331–33.

⁶⁰⁷ Mīr ‘Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī, *Histoire*, 77 (French text, 171–72).

⁶⁰⁸ Despite their intimate knowledge and several visits, Khwāja ‘Abd al-Karīm Kashmīrī and Muḥammad Kāzīm Marwī, who both accompanied the baggage of Nādir Shāh in the 1740s, say almost nothing about contemporary Bukhara.

⁶⁰⁹ On the topography of Bukharan bazaars and the role of the city as a commercial center, see Nekrasova, *Basare*.

⁶¹⁰ Jürgen Paul, “Buchara die Edle – Traum und Wirklichkeit einer islamischen Metropole,” *Orientalwissenschaftliche Hefte* 6 (2003): 66.

Bukhara is an “arid-zone city” depending on an intensive and extensive system of irrigation. “It lies more or less at the delta terminus of a glacier-fed river, the Kūhak or Zarafshān. The river arrives at the oasis at its northeast corner and is then subjected to a regime of canalization and distribution.”⁶¹¹ Here the Zarafshān is almost imperceptible as a river because it is dispersed into numerous canals.⁶¹² According to Schwarz, in the sixteenth century a huge belt of gardens extended south and east of the city, while in other areas large plots dominated.⁶¹³ Bukhara received its water from the Shahr-Rūd or Rūd-i Shahr (the City River) branching off from the Zarafshān only a few kilometers outside the city. Coming from the east-northeast, it entered Bukhara near the Mazār Gate and, crossing the city from east to northwest, terminated at the Talipach Gate. Inside Bukhara, the Rūd-i Shahr divided into numerous smaller channels supplying water to all parts of the city and open reservoirs, the *aḥwāz* (sing. *ḥauz*).⁶¹⁴

At the end of the nineteenth century, the city of Bukhara covered approximately 6.4 to 7 sq km.⁶¹⁵ Its territory was limited by defensive walls constructed and enlarged under the Shibanids in the sixteenth century. After that time, the boundary of the urban space did not change significantly.⁶¹⁶

“With its triangular town mass Bokhara covers an area of about 6 kilometres square, its diameter being about 2 1/2 kilometres. It is everywhere surrounded by about 7 metres high walls (tshim) whose breadth is 3 metres at the foot; they are built of loess, basis and frame consisting of bricks and timber. The crown of the wall that is crenelated is continually interrupted by half-round bastions (burdsh) rising not very much above the wall and formerly mounted with guns. The number of these burdshes is given at 131. Seen from without the town-wall looks very imposing, the yellow loess resembles sandstone at a distance, and in older time it must, indeed, have been a considerable stronghold and with

⁶¹¹ Robert McChesney, “Bukhara’s Suburban Villages: Juzmandūn in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Bukhara: The Myth and the Architecture*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Cambridge MA: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and the MIT, 2000), 94.

⁶¹² Paul, “Buchara die Edle,” 65.

⁶¹³ Schwarz, *Unser Weg*, 52–53.

⁶¹⁴ Sukhareva, *Bukhara*, 27. See also Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 42; Olufsen, *Emir*, 514–16.

⁶¹⁵ According to Sukhareva, the city had a size of four square versts (ca. 6.4 sq km) (Sukhareva, *Bukhara*, 30). Gaube and his colleagues assume a size of 7.00 sq km (Anette Gangler, Heinz Gaube and Attilio Petruccioli, *Bukhara—The Eastern Dome of Islam. Urban Development, Urban Space, Architecture and Population* (Stuttgart: Edition Axel Menges, 2004), 61.

⁶¹⁶ Sukhareva, *Bukhara*, 30–31.

a brave garrison able to keep the enemy at a distance. [...] One may follow the walk on the rampart all round the town and obtain from here an excellent view across the confusion of streets, lanes, mosques and palaces within the wall and the many villages outside the latter.”⁶¹⁷

Defense Facilities and Spatial Reflections of Social Order

Like many other Central Asian and Iranian towns, Bukhara showed the typical three-part structure consisting of the citadel (*arg*, *kuhandīzh*), the town proper (Arab. *madīna*, Pers. *shahristān*) and a ring of suburbs (*rabāṭ*).⁶¹⁸ Since the Samanid period, the citadel had been the seat of the rulers and the administration. It was accessible through two gates, the Rīgistān Gate in the west and the gate of the congregational mosque. There was an additional inner *qal‘a* serving as the residence of the rulers and governors.⁶¹⁹

Throughout history, the structure of the inner city with its many fortification facilities has reflected the need for a proper defense and protection. For instance, every new quarter added to the urban space was strongly fortified.⁶²⁰ The suburbs and the *madīna* were protected by the wall of the outer and the wall of the inner *rabāṭ* respectively.⁶²¹ The entire city was enclosed by an additional wall with eleven gates, the names of which are often given counterclockwise and changed in the course of time:

⁶¹⁷ Olufsen, *Emir*, 510–12.

⁶¹⁸ C. Edmund Bosworth, “Bukhara,” in *Historic Cities of the Islamic World* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007), 59; Haidar, “Urban Classes,” 24. See also Nekrasova, *Basare*, 20; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 100.

⁶¹⁹ The gate of the congregational mosque, which no longer exists, opened to the east (Heinz Gaube, “What Arabic and Persian Sources tell us about the Structure of Tenth-Century Bukhara,” in *Bukhara. The Myth and the Architecture*, ed. A. Petruccioli (Cambridge: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1999), 22. See also Barthold, *Turkestan*, 100.

⁶²⁰ For a description of the city and its fortifications in the eighteenth century, see Philipp Effremov, *Devjatiletnee*, 31–32.

⁶²¹ See the map provided by Aleksandr Naymark in “The Size of Samanid Bukhara: A Note on Settlement Patterns in Early Islamic Mawaraannahr,” in *Bukhara. The Myth and the Architecture*, ed. A. Petruccioli (Cambridge: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1999), 41.

1. Maidān Gate/Qarākūl Gate in the southwest, with the road leading to Qarākūl
2. Ibrāhīm Gate/Sheikh Jalāl Gate in the southwest
3. Rīw Gate/Namāzgāh Gate in the south
4. Mardukshāh Gate/Ṣallāh-khāna Gate in the south
5. Kallābādh Gate/Qawalagī/Qarshī Gate in the southeast
6. Naubahār Gate/Mazār Gate in the east, with the road leading to Balkh
7. Samarqand Gate in the northeast and beginning of the road to Samarqand
8. Faghāskūn Gate/Imām Gate in the north
9. Rāmītan Gate/Ughlān Gate in the northwest
10. Ḥadshirūn/Jadasarūn Gate/Tal-i Pāch Gate in the northwest, with the road to Khwārazm
11. Ghushaj Gate/Shīrgarān Gate in the west⁶²²

Traditionally the city was divided into twelve main sections (*jarībs*) that split into a great number of residential quarters (*gudhars*),⁶²³ which were made up of narrow winding streets (*kūcha*).⁶²⁴ Like in many other oriental cities, the arterial roads led from the city gates more or less directly to the center with the Rīgīstān Square, the Friday mosque and the nearby bazaars.⁶²⁵ Ole Olufsen, who visited Bukhara at the beginning of the twentieth century, draws a vivid picture of the city:

“To find one’s way through the town requires a very long stay. As starting points the bazar, the ponds, the burial grounds and a few mosques and medresses [...] must be kept in mind. Generally, one seems quite lost in the long meandering streets where the outer walls of the houses pass on continually like an infinite yellowish grey wall whose monotony is only broken by small doors and gates which are always properly barred.

⁶²² Barthold, *Turkestan*, 102; Sukhareva, *Bukhara*, 36–38; Gangler et al., *Bukhara*, 50; Gaube, “Arabic and Persian Sources,” 26. See also the accounts of Khanikov (Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 98) and Mir Izzetullah (“Travels,” 334).

⁶²³ For a proper list of *gudhars* see Gangler et al., *Bukhara*, 74–75.

⁶²⁴ According to Haidar, the residential area (*shahristān*) consisted of small quarters, lanes and by-lanes called *maḥalla*, *gudhar* or *kūcha* (Haidar, “Urban Classes,” 24).

⁶²⁵ This spatial principle of main roads radiating from the center to the city wall is typical of many oriental towns (Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Aleppo. Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung, zur sozialen Organisation und zur wirtschaftlichen Dynamik einer vorderasiatischen Fernhandelsmetropole* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1984), 60).

When seen from without even palaces, serais and several mosques only seem to be yellowish grey walls inside which life goes on in surroundings differing very much from what the outer shell suggests. Very few main streets have names which consequently are not of much use for finding one's way; the Bokhara man finds his way by the aid of the points mentioned above or by knowing the name of some man or some institution in the street. The town is said to have about 360 larger and smaller streets, and as many mosques and medresses are said to be found in this sworn city of Islam; the latter number is, however, no doubt only about 100. [Paragraph] Life in the town exclusively pulsates near the bazar or the bazars with their serais, round the ponds and in the larger and smaller market-places (maidan). Long caravans of camels, horses and donkeys, or endless processions of loaded arbas traverse amidst cries and hard blows on all sides the main streets which lead into these centers of commerce and industry. [...] The bustle of life is greatest in the bazars where all shades of the population of Central and Mid Asia afford an exceedingly picturesque sight in a literal sense of the word. Tadjiks and Usbegs with their many coloured silk and cotton khalats and white-, blue- or red-striped turbans are in the majority; then there are Kirghiz in fur-dresses with black fur-caps or felt-caps set with coloured ribbons or braids or in camel brown khalats, Afghans in snow-white woollen caftans, Jews in khalats of one colour with a string round their waists and a small black fur-cap, tall Turkomans with the gigantic fur-cap (chugerma), Hindoos with black silk calottes, a motley swarm of riders, pedestrians, arbas, caravans of horses, dromedaries, camels and donkeys among which at long intervals a European is seen [...].⁶²⁶

Pointing up the contrast between the wide open bazaars and the secluded residential quarters,⁶²⁷ these descriptions mirror the two different foci of Muslim social life with the public sphere (thoroughfares, markets, mosques, baths, and water basins) and the more inaccessible private sphere of the individual households. Heinz Gaube postulates here a spatial reflection of social behavior and the moral code of the society.⁶²⁸ The space in between the arterial lines was filled with winding dead-end alleys (*kūchas*):

“in the narrowest alleys two persons have difficulty passing one another, and in the broader streets two camels scrape the houses to the left and right-hand side. The houses are largely built of mud, those of the wealthy partly of bricks. They consist of one or two floors but not more. The entrance from the street consists of a small imperceptible door, so that when in the street one only sees mud walls.”⁶²⁹

Like in other Muslim cities, the *kūchas* occupied an intermediate position between the open bazaar streets and the family living quarters and

⁶²⁶ Olufsen, *Emir*, 516–18.

⁶²⁷ For a thorough investigation of the Bukharan bazaars, see Nekrasova, *Basare*.

⁶²⁸ Gaube and Wirth, *Aleppo*, 60–64; see also Noelle, *State and Tribe*, 24.

⁶²⁹ Eduard Eversmann, *Reise von Orenburg nach Buchara* (Berlin: E.H.G. Christiani, 1823), 71.

courtyards. In addition, they could be individually fortified and barricaded with wood. We see here again strong parallels with other Muslim cities. Similar to Kabul, the individual measures to fortify living quarters were called *chūp-bandī* or *kurūki*.⁶³⁰ This kind of inner fortification was undertaken because of possible revolts inside the cities, especially when the central government was weak and notables opposed the governor or several groups fought against each other.⁶³¹ Besides the buttresses, walls, city gates and the *kūchas*, prominent buildings like the minarets and the *madrasa* Mīr-i 'Arab were at times also fortified, manned with warriors and equipped with weapons.⁶³² The city of Bukhara was covered with a dense web of mosques, the most prominent of which was the great Friday mosque. Apart from their function as focal points and nuclei of residential quarters, the mosques and *madrasas* also served as fixed meeting points for a range of actors and afforded shelter in times of war.⁶³³

With this pattern of spatial and social organization in mind, the oasis of Bukhara, in the sources described as a region or province (*wilāyat*),⁶³⁴ represents an onion-like structure that consisted of a series of successive fortification facilities becoming denser toward the interior. Approaching the city from outside, enemies had first to traverse the *tūmānāt*, the tracts of agricultural and densely populated land in the vicinity interspersed with a number of likewise fortified towns (e.g., Ghijduwān, Ghishtī, Wardanzī, Wābkent) and crisscrossed by a dense network of irrigation canals.⁶³⁵ Until

⁶³⁰ Amīn Bukhārī, *'Ubadullah Nāma*, fol.153b; Semenov trans., 172–73; Ṭālī', *Tārīkh*, fol. 73a; Semenov trans., 93; Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 327a. In Kabul the fortification of the individual living quarters was just called *kūcha-bandī* (Noelle, *State and Tribe*, 24).

⁶³¹ Gaube and Wirth, *Aleppo*, 66–67; Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge-Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), 87–90. Referring to the pre-Mongol period, Paul also points to open hostility and at times fierce fighting between several factions in the cities (Paul, "Herrschaft und Gesellschaft," 177).

⁶³² Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 39b, 327a.

⁶³³ Amīn Bukhārī, *'Ubadullah Nāma*, fol. 221b; Semenov trans., 246; Ṭālī', *Tārīkh*, fols. 10b–11a, 39b, 104b, 113b; Semenov trans., 21, 42, 52, 60; Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 118b, 325b; Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj*, fols. 131b, 148b, 149b, 427b.

⁶³⁴ McChesney, "Juzmandūn," 94.

⁶³⁵ Depending on the sources, the time and the author, the number and names of *tūmāns* varies. According to McChesney, there were ten or eleven *tūmāns* in the sixteenth century (McChesney, "Juzmandūn," 94), while Schwarz counts eight *tūmāns* for the same period (Florian Schwarz, "Bukhara and its Hinterland in the 16th Century in the Light of the Juybari Codex," in *Bukhara: The Myth and the Architecture*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli

the end of the nineteenth century, the *tūmānāt* of Bukhara and other towns were not clearly delineated territorial units in the sense of districts but, similar to the *bulūk* of Herat, “determined by the amount of land fed by a particular channel or a part thereof” and thus resembled extended strips along the Zarafshān’s lower course and its respective side-canal.⁶³⁶ This is confirmed by ‘Ainī’s narrative on the *tūmān* Shāfurkām, which was once buried under shifting sand dunes (*rīgkūchī*) after a heavy sandstorm. Even the major irrigation canal had been swamped by masses of sand, causing parts of Shāfurkām to fall dry. Years later the *tūmān* was again extended by the administration through a canal digging campaign, by means of which the people wrung new arable land from the desert. Afterward Shāfurkām blossomed like a garden.⁶³⁷

Uzbek Warriors and Tajik Town Dwellers

The population of Bukhara in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is difficult to assess.⁶³⁸ Discussing several figures and statistical data given by foreign travelers, Olga Sukhareva estimates the total population of Bukhara

(Cambridge MA: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and the MIT, 2000), 82). In the early nineteenth century, the number varies from seven to eight. Khanikov counts eight *tūmāns* without giving toponyms (Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 96). Mīr ‘Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī gives seven territorial units (*haft tūmān*): Qarākūl, Laqlaqa (?), Khairābād, Wābkand (Wābkent), Ghijduwān, Kharkūs (Kharkūsh?) and Zindanī (Mīr ‘Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī, *Histoire*, 77 (French text, 171)). Mīr Izzetullah lists the following *tūmāns*: Ghijhdowan (Ghijduwān), Wanghari (Waghānzi?), Kheirkosh, Waikand (Wābkent), Ramiten (Rāmītan), Zendeni (Zindanī), Werwanzi (Wardanzī?) (Mīr Izzetullah, “Travels,” 334). At the end of the nineteenth century, Bukhara was surrounded by eleven *tūmāns*: Janūbī-yi Rūd, Kāmāt (Wābkent), Kām-i Abū Muslim (Waghānzi), Qarākūl, Pīrmast, Sāmjan (Rāmītan), Khairābād, Kharqān Rūd (Ghijduwān), Khitfar (Zindanī), Shāfurkām, Shumālī-yi Rūd (A. R. Muhammadzhanov, *Naseleennie Punkty Bukharskogo Emirata (konetz XIX–XX vv.). Materialy k istoricheskoi geografii Srednej Azii* (Tashkent: Universitet, 2001), 10). In his memoirs, Amīr ‘Ālim Khān also counts the eight *tūmāns* Ghijduwān, Pīrmast, Wābkent, Khwāja ‘Ārf (Shāfur Kām), Khitfar, Waghānza and Qarākūl (Amīr ‘Ālim Khān, *Tārīkh*, 18).

⁶³⁶ Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 24.

⁶³⁷ Šadr al-Dīn ‘Ainī, *Yaddāshthā*, ed. Sa‘īdī Shīrjānī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i āgāh, 1983), 26–31, 61–69; Sadriddin Aini, *The Sands of Oxus. Boyhood Reminiscences of Sadriddin Aini*, ed. John H. Perry and Rachel Lehr (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1998), 52–57, 87–97.

⁶³⁸ Khanikov mentions the difficulties of making correct estimates of the population of Bukhara (Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 93–94).

in the early twentieth century at 75,000 to 80,000 souls including 10,000 pupils and students of the local *madrāsas*. In the period from the late eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century, the number may have varied from 50,000 to 70,000 people.⁶³⁹ In the nineteenth century the city was predominantly inhabited by Tajiks, only one-fourth being Uzbeks.⁶⁴⁰ According to Sukhareva, whose data pertains to the early twentieth century, there was a strong mix of Turkic-speaking (Uzbek) groups. For example, the Dūrmān quarters Āq Masjid and Qaṭaghān were also inhabited by Kīnakās families who had been resettled from Shahr-i Sabz.⁶⁴¹ In the time of Muḥammad Raḥīm Bī/Khān (1747–59), resettled tribes like the Yetī Ūrūgh, Kīnakās, Sarāy and Qungrāt inhabited a large section in the eastern and northeastern parts of Bukhara between the Mazār Gate in the east, the Samarqand Gate in the north and the Chahārbāgh-i Kadūkhāna.⁶⁴² In the course of time, some tribal groups living in the southwestern sections became assimilated into the urban Tajik-speaking milieu. The quarter Qirghiz Āyim, for instance, was primarily inhabited by members of warrior tribes like the Qirq Yūz and the Manghit. Other warriors were scattered throughout the capital; they by no means lived separated from the rest of the populace, which was also partly armed. Many soldiers and their families resided in the western part of the city up to the *gudhar-i Ghāziyān*, but also in Sheikh Jalāl, Mīrakān, Ḥauz-i Nau and other quarters. The Burqūt dwelled among the urban Tajik speakers of Qāra Kamāl in the eastern part of the city, where they had become shoemakers and craftsmen similar to the Tajiks.⁶⁴³

Besides the Tajiks and Uzbeks, we find a number of groups like Arabs,⁶⁴⁴ Fārsī (Īrānī), Jews, and other minorities such as Russians, Tatars, Afghans and Hindus. The Fārsī inhabited the *gudhars* of Sarakhsiyān and Kāsagarān located south of Khiyābān, which connects the Rīgīstān with the Sheikh Jalāl Gate in the south. Similar to the Īrānī (Eroni) in Samarqand, the Fārsī of Bukhara originated from Persia and were Shiites. But in contrast to the Īrānī,

⁶³⁹ Sukhareva provides different figures for the urban population of Bukhara city based on different sources (Sukhareva, *Bukhara*, 97–111).

⁶⁴⁰ According to statistics from 1926, the composition of the urban population had changed, with 27,829 Uzbeks and only 8,649 Tajiks living in Bukhara (ibid., *Bukhara*, 121–22).

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., 145.

⁶⁴² Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat*, fol. 327b.

⁶⁴³ Sukhareva, *Bukhara*, 146.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., 149–81. According to Khanikov, the Arabs had their headquarters in Wardanzī north of Bukhara and near Samarqand (Khanikoff, *Bokhara*, 72).

who speak a Turkic idiom, they retained Persian (Tājikī) as their mother tongue.⁶⁴⁵

DESERTS AND MOUNTAINS

Transoxania was enclosed by immense deserts and steppes, mountain ranges and plateaus, and of course the rivers Āmū Daryā and Sir Daryā. Forming vast open borderlands, these landmarks and landscapes separated the great empires of the past and were often not controlled by their administrations. The rulers very seldom claimed these peripheral zones because they were simply not worth controlling. In addition, these landmarks were physical obstacles and thus conveniently protected their domains.

Making up the eastern fringe of Mā Warā' al-Nahr, the Qizil Qum Desert formed (and still forms) an elongated crescent of reddish sand dunes stretching between the upper courses of the Āmū Daryā, the Sir Daryā and the Aral Sea. Noting the extremely arid climate, Baron von Meyendorff, who traversed the Qizil Qum at its narrowest section around 1820, describes its hostility:

“The Kizil-Kum is covered by small sand hills, rising three, four and sometimes ten toises above the ground; but the Bech-tepeh, or ‘five hills,’ are approximately thirty toises high, and are located on the route taken by us. From the top of the highest, one gazes out over a boundless expanse that resembles a storm-lashed ocean suddenly turned into sand. One tries in vain to discover an object on which one could fasten one’s gaze. One does not see anything but an exceptionally desolate and monotonous desert, with only a few shrubs and some thorn bushes, in autumn no grass, and in spring such a scant vegetation that it dries up very soon and disappears in the dust. In spite of its aridity, one finds some living creatures in this desert, such as a number of lizards of all kinds, chameleons, turtles, rats, woodpeckers, vultures, and a great amount of birds of bluish color [...]. The basis of the Kizil-Qum is a clay layer of reddish color, which at some places is visible on the surface of the ground. The name of this desert is derived from it, because Kizil means red, and Qum sand. [...] Extending over eight to nine latitudes, this space separates the Bukharia from the steppe of the Kirghizes, and the Khanate of Khoqand from that of Khiva.”⁶⁴⁶

Traversing this vast transit space, the expedition faced great hardship and lost many horses because of the aridity and lack of vegetation.⁶⁴⁷ In winter,

⁶⁴⁵ Sukhareva, *Bukhara*, 152–53.

⁶⁴⁶ von Meyendorff, *Reise*, 217–18.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; see also Eversmann, *Reise*, 52–53.

the surface of the desert is at least partly covered with snow.⁶⁴⁸ The Qizil Qum was crossed by a caravan route connecting Bukhara with the Sir Daryā.⁶⁴⁹ When leaving the city of Bukhara and heading northward, von Meyendorff and his fellow travelers had to contend with sandstorms that filled their eyes, ears and noses with sand. He also refers to the sand burying arable land and canals in the area of Wardanzī.⁶⁵⁰

The Qizil Qum is often described as a boundless ocean, and many travelers who traversed it in the nineteenth century similarly describe this inhospitable “endless desert” as a sea of sand posing “a formidable obstacle to military movement.”⁶⁵¹ Burnes’ description of the stretches of sand dunes along the lower Oxus, for instance, suggests this image of an ocean.

“After journeying for ten miles, we halted in the evening at a small village, and set out at midnight for the river, under a bright moon. For a great part of the night our route led us among vast fields of soft sand, formed into ridges which exactly resembled, in colour and appearance, those on the verge of the ocean. The belt of these sand-hills, which lie between Bokhara and the Oxus, varies in breadth from twelve to fifteen miles. They were utterly destitute of vegetation. There was a remarkable uniformity in their formation; the whole of them preserved the shape and form of a horse-shoe, the outer rim presenting itself to the north, the direction from which the winds of this country blow. On this side the mounds sloped, while the interior of the figure was invariably precipitous; but loose sand will ever take its position from the prevailing winds. None of the hills exceeded the height of fifteen or twenty feet, and they all rested on a hard base. The wind was high, and the particles of sand moved from one mound to another, wheeling in the eddy or interior

⁶⁴⁸ von Meyendorff, *Reise*, 222.

⁶⁴⁹ In the early nineteenth century, this route was often used by travelers and caravans going to Orsk and Orenburg, but also by Qazāq herdsmen who drove their livestock to Bukhara. Having crossed the desert at its narrowest part, the caravans used to supply themselves with water from the famous well of Bukhan. But when von Meyendorff crossed the desert, the well could not be used because of robbers and the conflicts with Khiwa. North of the city of Bukhara, the small outpost of Aghatma, which was completely surrounded by hills, represented the first point that was under proper Bukharan control. Baron von Meyendorff mentions a fortified tower staffed with a group of soldiers and a military post on one of the hillocks near the small settlement. Aghatma served as the first meeting point where they were welcomed by Bukharan officials and foreign missions and caravans were supplied with fresh provisions. The ordinary people, however, used to go far beyond that spot to pasture their herds. Others collected scrub and wood that was brought with camels to Bukhara. The customs officials of the Manghit rulers as well as the normal subjects did not go farther than Qara Ghata [Qarā Ghata] further in the north (von Meyendorff, *Reise*, 215–16, 233; see also Holzwarth, “Relations,” 182).

⁶⁵⁰ von Meyendorff, *Reise*, 243.

⁶⁵¹ Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 245.

of the semicircle, and having now and then, particularly under the rays of the sun, much the look of water; an appearance, I imagine, which has given rise to the opinion of moving sands in a desert.⁶⁵²

In some of the accounts, the irrigated area and especially the garden land contrasts sharply with the endless deserts to the west, southwest and northwest of Bukhara.

“The desert ends at these sand hills, beyond them one is surrounded by fields, canals and avenues lined with trees; on all sides one sees houses, villages, orchards and vegetable gardens, mosques and minarets; in a word, one thinks one has been transported to a wonderland.”⁶⁵³

Enjoying a panoramic view over the Oxus from the train and the railway bridge near Chahār Jūy in the early twentieth century, Heinrich Toepfer gives a similar description of the scenery:

“[B]y daylight we caught a glimpse of the new Amu-Darja Bridge and the stretches of desert compromising the construction of the railway and its operation near Barchany left of the Amu and at Farab and Chodsha-Dawlet on the right side of the river. At that slow travel speed, the passage from the most barren wasteland to the richly cultivated land is particularly noticeable. The flood plain of the Amu-Darja, because one cannot call it a river valley, is well cultivated and shows again how the fertilizing water appears to be a blessing.”⁶⁵⁴

A seemingly endless dry steppe zone, the Great Steppe, called Dasht-i Qipchāq in Central Asian sources, extended north of the Sir Daryā River.⁶⁵⁵ Referring to varying ecological conditions ranging from steppes to semi-

⁶⁵² Burnes, *Travels*, II, 1–2. Describing the results of a sandstorm at the edge of the Shāfurkām area, Ṣadr al-Dīn ‘Ainī evokes a similar image of moving sands (*rīg-i rawān*) (‘Ainī, *Yāddāshthā*, 28; Aini, *Sands*, 54).

⁶⁵³ von Meyendorff, *Reise*, 226.

⁶⁵⁴ H. Toepfer, “Im Lande Buchara,” *Die Grenzboten* 66, no. 2 (1907): 28.

⁶⁵⁵ Mīr ‘Abd al-Karīm describes the Dasht-i Qipchāq as extending over a length of a five months’ journey between the Caspian Sea (*Bahr-i Khazar*) up to Kāshghar and Īli (here Īle), which were part of China (*Khiṭā*). On the other side it was limited by a line of small kingdoms and city states ranging from Ūrganĉh via Bukhara, Samarqand, Khojand, Tashkent and Khoqand to Andijān and Namangān. On its frontier with the kingdom of Muscovy, it was bordered by a row of settlements, fortresses and localities consisting of Hājī Tarkhān, Yīfīq, Īrūn Būrakh, Yamān Qal‘a, Tūr Sikka, Qizil Baḥr [Qiziljar?], Shamī and Samī Pūlād, Kākht and Āqsū, which is located in China (Bukhārī, *Histoire*, 97 (French text, 194)). For another description of the Dasht-i Qipchāq see Ott, *Transoxanien und Turkestan*, 144–45.

deserts and deserts, Holzwarth emphasizes the absence of any permanent settlements between the Sir Daryā riverine tract and Russian towns in southern Siberia such as Tobolsk, Tomsk and Tara.⁶⁵⁶

On its eastern fringe Mā Warā' al-Nahr was (and still is) bound by mountains and high plateaus. Covered with perpetual ice and snow, mountain ranges and uplands like the Tian Shan, the Hindu Kush and the Pamir shielded the region against the low lands and deserts in Eastern Turkistan. At the same time, valleys and passes formed bottlenecks of caravan traffic, commerce and communication, thus providing opportunities for foreign influences to trickle in. Having visited the Pamirs in the 1890s, Olufsen describes the region of the eastern Pamir as interspersed with a number of lakes and lakelets. In contrast to this lunar landscape, the western inhabited valleys like Shughnān, Darwāz or Rūshan abounded with fruit trees and formed arteries of communication and traffic.⁶⁵⁷ After riding along the northern banks of the River Panj, one of the parent streams of the Oxus, he expresses his amazement at the picturesque sight.

“North of Sashar the bank dwindles into next to nothing, the mountains become more and more gigantic, and rise like tremendous walls with steep inaccessible sides from the valley; jagged peaks with ‘firn’ snow on their tops are seen especially on the left bank, i.e. they are seen on turning one’s eyes almost towards the zenith; a more imposing crest of mountains is rarely found. Almost just opposite to Derbent some beautiful greenish blue glaciers shoot down upon the Pandsh; they rise from Kuh-i-kalan (The High Mountain) in northern Badakhshan right south of Kalai Khumb in Darvas.”⁶⁵⁸

An even more vivid account is furnished by Lord Curzon, who, on his sojourn in the Pamirs in 1894, tried to discover the source of the Oxus. His journey also took him to the shore of Lake Chakmak that lies on the roof of the world.

“Reaching the edge of the lake, whose waters glinted brightly in the sun, I followed its northern shore over ground that was alternately soft grass, spongy bog, and dry stones, towards the north-east extremity. There I found to my surprise that the main body of the lake, which is from 3½ to 4 miles in length, has an extension in its extreme easterly corner [...]. Through a channel a few hundred yards wide, the water spreads into a succession of bays or extensions, each of which looks like a separate lake, and which are relieved by promontories and islets. These protract the length of the lake proper for an additional 1½ to 2 miles. It is from the extremity of the easternmost of these bays that the Aksu river

⁶⁵⁶ Holzwarth, “Relations,” 181.

⁶⁵⁷ Olufsen, *Emir*, 7–8.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 76–77.

emerges. [...] From here the Aksu wanders down the Little Pamir, spreading out into marshy swamps and ill-defined lakelets, which on most maps appear as though they were a series of accurately determined lakes. On the other hand, there are two biggish sheets of water in the hills immediately above the easterly extension of the lake or archipelago which appear in no map, and which have no connection with the river or its swamps. From the source of the Aksu, the Little Pamir stretches away with an average breadth of from 2 to 3 miles in the direction of Aktash, a normal Pamir landscape, closed by a snowy mountain at the end of the vista. A domed Kirghiz *ziarat* stood out clearly to the north-east, but on no part of this Pamir did I observe any sign of habitation or human life.”⁶⁵⁹

THE INHABITANTS OF THE PERIPHERIES

The following section does not claim completeness but represents a brief overview of the peoples and tribes inhabiting the peripheries and neighboring regions of Mā Warā’ al-Nahr, especially the Labāb region, the Qizil Qum and Qarā Qum, the Great Steppe as well as the mountains to the east. The overview is restricted to the politically relevant groups that had a share in the fate of late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Transoxania.

The Turkmen of Labāb

When the irrigation network of the Labāb declined in the post-Mongol period, the region became inhabited by nomadic groups. From the middle of the seventeenth century onward, it was populated by Turkmen groups migrating from the western Turkmen region via Khwārazm. In the eighteenth century, Labāb was densely populated by Turkmen who became sedentarized and constructed a new network of canals.⁶⁶⁰ Around 1716–17, the Turkmen extended their habitat as far as the town of Kasbī in Nasaf.⁶⁶¹ In the *Tārīkh-i Abū’l-Faiḏ Khān*, they are characterized as a group versed in warfare. They also appear as guardians of the Āmū Daryā and as a force that often conducted forays and looting campaigns (*ghārat wa yaghmā*) deep into the domains protected by the Qizilbāsh (*mamālik-i maḥrūsa-yi Qizilbāsh*).⁶⁶² In another eighteenth-century source, the Turkmen are depicted as evildoers:

⁶⁵⁹ Curzon, *The Pamirs*, 41; marking in the original.

⁶⁶⁰ Bregel, “Labāb,” 582.

⁶⁶¹ Ṭālī’ reports that Kasbī was captured by the Turkmen leader Mīrzā Bēg Turkomān, who fought with his troops against the Kḥiṭā’ī-Qipchāq of that region (Ṭālī, *Tārīkh*, fol. 41a).

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, fols. 87a, 126a.

“Since for centuries the Turkmen inhabiting the banks of the Āmū Daryā stuck the head of desire out of the slip-knot of command and stretched the neck of obedience out of the necklace of submission to the high-standing rulers, they did not consider themselves subjects of any asylum of power. [Protected] by the Jayhūn River, they felt safe from the kings exercising authority. Those coming and going on the road of Khwārazm and Yanghī Qal‘a, the traders and caravans from Marw and Mashhad, were driven to the brink of complaint by their subjugating hands. These troublemakers deviating from the right way often robbed the women from every region they had access to in the manner of wolves. Although the sinful activities of this group had stopped with the beginning of the late Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān’s reign as they were overwhelmed by tremendous fear after the raising of the flag of authority, and although they spent some days in repose and tranquility, the deceased *khān* had no power over this group due to the Āmūya. Having prepared the means for the construction of a bridge composed of floats, boats and chains, he intended to shake the stable foundations of that people with an earthquake, but want of opportunity did not allow [for such an undertaking]. After the death of the fortunate *khān*, the obstinate of the kingdom sang the melody of rebellion. The aforementioned Turkmen also resumed their former activities, making hypocrisy and highway robbery (*rūy wa rāh-zanī*) their parole. Having openly made the fortress of Chahār Jūy and other forts in its environs their desired sanctuary and possession, the groups of the Sālūr, Sarī and Tekke stretched out their hands to appropriate the property of the subjects and traders.”⁶⁶³

Despite this unfavorable description underlining the Turkmen’s unwillingness to recognize the authority of the rulers of Mā Warā’ al-Nahr,⁶⁶⁴ they often provided the latter with contingents of soldiers.⁶⁶⁵ By far the strongest and most numerous among the different Turkmen tribes of the region, the Sālūr inhabited the area northwest of Chahār Jūy. The Saqar and Ersarī tribes dominated the southeast up to Kilif.⁶⁶⁶ The Turkmen of Labāb engaged in a mixed economy of agriculture on small patches of irrigated land, fishing and mid-range pastoralism along the Oxus in the hot summer months.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶³ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 357b–358a.

⁶⁶⁴ This image, according to which the Turkmen represented an unruly element in the wider region between Khiwa, the Caspian Sea, northeastern Iran and Transoxania, is confirmed by a variety of nineteenth-century sources (see Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 248–50).

⁶⁶⁵ Ṭāli‘, *Tārīkh*, fols. 67a, 87a–b, 126a; Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 29a, 140b, 15ab, 172a, 180a passim.

⁶⁶⁶ Bregel, “Labāb,” 582.

⁶⁶⁷ Burnes says that a large part of the population of Chahār Jūy wandered up and down the Oxus during the hot summer months (Burnes, *Travels*, II, 8).

The Qazāq

As has been shown before, the Qazāq emerged after a split in Abū'l-Khair Khān's federation in 1456/57. The seceding tribes included the Qanglī, Jalāyir and the Qungrāt. The new tribal force they formed from then on came to be known as the Qazāq, who were later joined by other groups defecting from the first Uzbek federacy after further defeats suffered by Abū'l-Khair Khān. The Turkic term *qazāq* means "independent" or "vagabond" in the sense of a free man or adventurer.⁶⁶⁸ As such they did not partake in the conquest of the Timurid kingdom in Transoxania,⁶⁶⁹ but took refuge with Esen-Buqā, the Chaghatāy Khān of Moghūlistān.⁶⁷⁰ According to the Russian tradition, the Central Asian Qazāq were also called Qazāq-Qirghiz to distinguish them from the later Cossaks.⁶⁷¹

The Qazāq nomadized in the Great Steppe between the Caspian Sea in the west and the Alai and Tian Shan mountains in the east. Here they engaged in animal husbandry and bred horses as their most important domestic animal.⁶⁷² In general, they migrated on north-south routes between summer pastures in the north toward the Ural and southwestern Sibiria, and their winter quarters located in the south of the steppe region near the shores of the Aral Sea, Semirechyé with the Chū and Ili Rivers,⁶⁷³ and the middle and upper course of the Sir Daryā.⁶⁷⁴ Khazanov describes the social

⁶⁶⁸ W. Barthold [G. Hazai], "Kazāk," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., IV, 848; Lemerrier-Quelquejay, "Kasachen und Kirgisen," 153; Adshhead, *Central Asia*, 152.

⁶⁶⁹ Barthold, *Four Studies*, I, 66.

⁶⁷⁰ Lemerrier-Quelquejay, "Kasachen und Kirgisen," 153.

⁶⁷¹ Barthold [Hazai], "Kazāk," 848. In later times, they were erroneously called Qirghiz (Barthold, *Four Studies*, I, 66, footnote no. 1 on the same page).

⁶⁷² Khazanov, *Nomads*, 47. The Qazāq as well as the Qirghiz bred Bactrian or hybrid camels as transport animals (*ibid.*, 49).

⁶⁷³ The Semirechyé, in medieval Turkish Yetī Sū—Land of the Seven Rivers—comprises the region north of Mā Warā' al-Nahr between Lake Issyk Kul and Lake Balkhash. The name is derived from seven rivers like the Chū, Ili, Qaratal, Āq Sū and others, some of which drained Lake Balkhash. With its rivers providing fresh water for agriculture and extensive pastures suitable for nomads and their herds, the region was always very attractive (C. E. Bosworth, "Yetī Sū," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., 335; for detailed information on the history of the Semirechyé, see Barthold, *Four Studies*, I, 73–171).

⁶⁷⁴ Holzwarth, "Mittelasiatische Schafe," 95. See also Virginia Martin, *Law and Custom in the Steppe. The Kazakhs of the Middle Horde and Russian Colonialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001), 19–20. For a contemporary account of the Qazāq,

organization of the Qazāq as a stratified segmentary system, which resulted from developments in the post-Mongol period when their ancestors were incorporated into different steppe empires. Called the “White Bone,” the leadership distinguished itself from other Qazāq by tracing its descent to Chingīz Khān.⁶⁷⁵ According to a source used by Barthold, the Qazāq nomads numbered two hundred thousand persons in the early 1460s. Five decades later their leader Qāsim Khān (d. 1518) ruled over the northern parts of Semirechyé.⁶⁷⁶ During the following century, the Qazāq were headed by Chingizids and enjoyed a period of stability and prosperity, though real power rested with the leaders of the various Qazāq tribes. After Qāsim Khān’s death, the Qazāq split into three major groups: the Great Horde in Semirechyé up to the middle course of the Sir Daryā; the Middle Horde that inhabited the central steppe region west of Lake Balkhash; and the Lesser Horde wandering between the regions east of the Ural and the Aral Sea.⁶⁷⁷ Although the hordes constituted relatively stable territorial-political formations, the Chingizid *khāns* were weak, “particularly as they let their control of agricultural territories and towns slip through their fingers.”⁶⁷⁸ The hordes were reunited by Ḥaqq Nazar (r. 1528–80), a son of Qāsim Khān. The second half of the sixteenth century witnessed growing conflicts with the Uzbeks of Mā Warā' al-Nahr, especially over the control of Tashkent and other cities. In 1598, Tashkent and Turkistān came under the sway of the Qazāq leader Tawwakul Khān (r. 1586–98). From then on, these two towns became the principal centers of the Qazāq.⁶⁷⁹

In the course of the seventeenth century, Qazāq prosperity was increasingly threatened by the Qalmāq expansion.⁶⁸⁰ In 1643, the Qalmāq leader Bātur conquered Semirechyé and subjected the Great Horde to his

their migration routes and summer and winter pastures, see Ott, *Transoxanien und Turkestan*, 146–47.

⁶⁷⁵ Khazanov, *Nomads*, 176. For further information on the Qazāq kinship system and the role of seniority, particularly in the Middle Horde, see Martin, *Law and Custom*, 22–24.

⁶⁷⁶ Barthold, *Four Studies*, I, 149, 153.

⁶⁷⁷ Ivanov, *Ocherki*, 94; Lemerrier-Quelquejay, “Kasachen und Kirgisen,” 155.

⁶⁷⁸ Khazanov, *Nomads*, 176.

⁶⁷⁹ Barthold, *Four Studies*, I, 157–60; Lemerrier-Quelquejay, “Kasachen und Kirgisen,” 155. According to Holzwarth, Turkistān and Tashkent were permanently controlled by the Qazāq from 1628 and 1642 respectively (Holzwarth, “Relations,” 183).

⁶⁸⁰ See section on the Qalmāq (Junghar, Uirāt) in this chapter.

rule.⁶⁸¹ During that time, the Qazāq *khāns* had their winter camp in Turkistān on the southern edge of the steppe region. One of them was Tauka Khān (r. 1680–1715), the last successful Qazāq leader, who fought against the Tuqay-Timurids and by 1696 ruled over a larger cluster of towns in the Semirechye and beyond.⁶⁸² The Qalmāq attacks on Qazāq territory intensified during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. On the one hand, this led in due consequence to a strengthening of Bukharan-Qazāq relations.⁶⁸³ On the other, however, the attacks and occupation of the Qazāq's winter pastures along the Sir Daryā in 1723 led to a wave of migration toward Mā Warā' al-Nahr.⁶⁸⁴

Expelled from their habitat by the Qalmāq in the early 1720s, some Qazāq groups conducted devastating forays deep into the Transoxanian heartland and as far as the capital. While they also acted as part of a larger Uzbek alliance against the last Tuqay-Timurid ruler, their activities in that region were only temporary.⁶⁸⁵ Another consequence of their being attacked by the Qalmāq was that the Qazāq hordes turned to Russia for help and also accepted Russian overlordship.⁶⁸⁶ The Russian authorities employed a *divide et impera* strategy to keep the Qazāq internally divided and loyal, at the same time preventing any Qazāq faction from accumulating too much power. By the end of the eighteenth century, Russian influence and overlordship “had expanded dramatically throughout the Qazāq Hordes.”⁶⁸⁷ From the standpoint of the Bukharan rulers, the Qazāq represented both an unruly element on the northern margins of Mā Warā' al-Nahr and a potential ally in internecine wars. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, the various Uzbek tribal chiefs between Samarqand and the Sir Daryā

⁶⁸¹ Lemerrier-Quelquejay, “Kasachen und Kirgisen,” 157.

⁶⁸² Holzwarth, “Relations,” 183–84.

⁶⁸³ Holzwarth refers to a hitherto unknown letter from the Bukharan ruler ‘Ubaidullah Khān to the Qazāq leader Ghāyib Khān (ibid., 187–88).

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., 187–89, 193–94.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., 194–98; see also next chapter.

⁶⁸⁶ Barthold [Hazai], “Kazāk,” 848; Adsheed, *Central Asia*, 160; Levi, “India, Russia and the Eighteenth-Century Transformation,” 535–36. Russia started to establish its lines of forts along the Irtysh between 1732 and 1757. Before that, they had already erected the forts of Omsk (1716), Semipalatinsk (1718), and Ust-Kamenogorsk (1719). Given the constant Qalmāq raids, the different Qazāq hordes, or parts of them, accepted Russian protection between 1731 and 1742 (Lemerrier-Quelquejay, “Kasachen und Kirgisen,” 159).

⁶⁸⁷ Levi, “India, Russia and the Eighteenth-Century Transformation,” 536–37.

functioned as power brokers who were able to recruit Qazāq military support from the region north of the river.⁶⁸⁸

The Qazāq traditionally herded small stock, particularly sheep. As inhabitants of flat steppe regions, they migrated horizontally on regular, linear and meridional routes that were fairly stable. The seasonal changes of pastures were in general clear-cut. While water was the major priority in summer, fodder was important in the remaining seasons. When in the second half of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Russian supremacy began to restrict the freedom of the Qazāq's pastoral migrations, they started herding large stock.⁶⁸⁹ Although nomadic pastoralism dominated the Qazāq economy through the period of imperialism, "nomadism was supplemented within the Great, Middle and Little Hordes by trade with neighboring settled communities and by irrigation agriculture."⁶⁹⁰ According to Khazanov, the crisis of the Qazāq's nomadic economy began in the nineteenth century when the Tsarist government seized a large part of their summer pastures.⁶⁹¹

A nineteenth-century Russian diplomat refers to regular contacts between the Russian authorities in Orenburg and the Qazāq chiefs of the Great Steppe.⁶⁹² Passing through one of their settlements on the banks of a river in the northern part of the steppe, he notes that

"[o]n its banks we saw for the first time a big Kirghiz [Qazāq] settlement or aoul consisting of fifty tents made of white and brown felt, which were irregularly pitched in groups of three to six. Herds of sheep, well amounting to five to six thousand animals,

⁶⁸⁸ Holzwarth, "Relations," 186, 188–89. A case in point was Tughāy Murād Bī Burqūt, the chief of Nūr-i Atā, a Bukharan outpost north of the capital at the crossroads of trade routes leading further to the north. In 1748 he concluded an alliance with the Qazāq and ravaged the Miyānkāl region between Karmīna and Samarqand (Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 130b).

⁶⁸⁹ The Qazāq predominantly bred sheep and horses. Among certain groups, the Bactrian or hybrid camel was of particular importance as a means of transport. The Adai Qazāq used camels for milking (Khazanov, *Nomads*, 49–50).

⁶⁹⁰ For example, the Little Horde was more oriented toward the Russian markets at an early date than the Middle Horde because of the proximity of their summer pastures to Russian military and trading posts but also to larger towns like Orenburg and Astrakhan. The Great Horde interacted closely with the Central Asian oasis towns and also maintained irrigation agriculture on a small basis (Martin, *Law and Custom*, 18).

⁶⁹¹ Khazanov, *Nomads*, 51.

⁶⁹² In 1820 the Qirghiz (Qazāq) chiefs had to furnish transport camels for the caravan of the Russian diplomats in return for one hundred ten rubles (von Meyendorff, *Reise*, 179).

attracted our attention first. We soon learned that this was the encampment of the aforementioned Sultan Harun-ghazi, one of the most noble Kirghiz chieftains, who was waiting for us in order to accompany us to the Sir River, and thereby to demonstrate his loyalty to the Russian Government, whose assistance he indeed much needed in his ceaseless feuds with the Khan of Khiva.⁶⁹³

Near where the Sir Daryā flows into the Aral Sea, the caravan met small groups of Qazāq who were engaged in fishing and agriculture because they had lost their livestock to the Khiwans.⁶⁹⁴ Although in the early nineteenth century, the Qazāq usually wintered on the banks of the Sir Daryā due to its very mild climate, the rich nomads were prevented from doing so by the Khiwans who conducted regular raids. Around 1820, many Qazāq families therefore migrated to the deserts and semi-deserts in the northern part of Transoxania because of the excellent pastures there.⁶⁹⁵

The Ghalcha: Persian-Speaking Mountain Dwellers

The term *ghalja/ghalcha* as used here is not to be confused with the mountain dwellers inhabiting some parts of the Pamir.⁶⁹⁶ In eighteenth-century Bukharan sources, the Ghalcha appear as part of a Persian-speaking (Tajik) population. Qāzī Wafā calls them mountaineers (*mardum-i kūhsārī*).⁶⁹⁷ Dispersed throughout Transoxania, most of them lived in mountainous regions like Ḥiṣār, Rāmīt, Ūrgūt and the Turkistān Mountains north of the Zarafshān Valley.⁶⁹⁸ Thus their habitat can be characterized as a belt of mountains at the fringes of Mā Warā' al-Nahr.

⁶⁹³ von Meyendorff, *Reise*, 187.

⁶⁹⁴ Along the Sir Daryā, the Qazāq had turned to the cultivation of wheat and barley on plots irrigated by large canals. Members of this group went to the northern Russian towns or to the Bukharan frontier towns to exchange sheep, goats or camel hair for flour (*ibid.*, 199–200).

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 202, 218. On their march through the Qizil Qum, the Russian diplomat and his colleagues met Qazāq nomads returning from Bukhara, where they had sold their sheep and bought barley, millet, tobacco, cotton fabric and clothing (*ibid.*, 219).

⁶⁹⁶ In present times, the Ghalcha are misleadingly termed Pamiri or Mountain Tajiks speaking a variety of Iranian languages. The literature subsumes the following groups under this category: Wanjī, Yazghulāmī, Bartangī, Wakhī, Shighnī, Rūshanī, Ishkashīmī, Munjī, Zibākī, Urushurī, Sanglichī, and Yidgha (Richard N. Frye, "Ghalcha," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., II, 997; Akiner, *Islamic Peoples*, 374–75, 378).

⁶⁹⁷ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fol. 298b.

⁶⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 151b, 157a, 160a, 216b, 219a, 220a *passim*.

These Ghalcha communities were far from the major urban centers and trade routes, though those living in Ūrgūt probably had regular contact with the Samarqandī population. The Ghalcha of Ḥiṣār came down the valleys to sell their produce in local bazaar centers such as Dehnau, Ḥiṣār or Sar-i Āsyā. Others may have gone as far as Qabādiyān in the south and Ūrā Tippa in the north to sell their produce.⁶⁹⁹ According to Olufsen,

“[t]he mountain Tadjiks, Galtshas, as they are often termed, live in the valleys on the river banks or on the terraces where the mountain brooks run or ooze down, they are the scattered or left remnants of the oldest Iranian people; [...] they have retired to these remote regions which only recently have been discovered. In these valleys hidden from the world which contain a good deal of mysticism, as does Pamir on the whole, and where the population separated by mighty mountain ridges lead [sic!] an almost subterranean existence, many small kingdoms or Emirates were formed in olden time, all of whose princes professed themselves descendants of Alexander the Great. Now and then one small realm subdued the other, sometimes the neighbouring great powers and rulers of the world entering here subjugated the mountain Tadjiks, but the invasions have not caused more change in the habits and conditions of life of the small realms than a short shower on a summer day.”⁷⁰⁰

While the Danish traveler refers to the Persian-speaking inhabitants as *ghalcha*, a word that was probably applied to them by foreign itinerants at the end of the nineteenth century, he also states that among the mountain Tajiks at that time no one knew this term. Although our main source gives the impression that the local Ghalcha communities, especially those in the Turkistān Mountains, resembled more self-sufficient and isolated units, many of them were probably connected to the nomadic inhabitants of the Great Steppe. Because of the remoteness of their home region, the respective governments had difficulty in establishing lasting control over the Ghalcha, a fact that gave them considerable autonomy and cultural independence.⁷⁰¹ In many cases they figure as experienced riflemen. Their guns and small firearms were produced locally in Ḥiṣār.⁷⁰² The *Tuḥfat al-khānī* reports about their outstanding bravery and the resistance they put up to the Bukharan forces. Many of their fighters had an excellent knowledge of the

⁶⁹⁹ Schuyler, *Turkistan*, I, 311.

⁷⁰⁰ Olufsen, *Emir*, 6–7.

⁷⁰¹ Manz, “Historical Background,” 9.

⁷⁰² Mary Holdsworth, *Turkestan in the Nineteenth Century. A Brief History of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva* (Oxford: Central Asian Research Centre in Association with St. Antony's College, 1959), 11.

mountainous terrain and could engage a superior enemy in the manner of guerillas. Most of them operated in small groups that were able to quickly withdraw and hide in narrow defiles and small hamlets, from where they hit their enemy hard.⁷⁰³ It was exactly because of this fighting expertise that they were preferentially recruited by the Uzbek rulers, who always needed skillful warriors and musketeers.⁷⁰⁴

CONCLUSION

From the review of the secondary literature it appears that Transoxania's social order displays striking institutional longevity. This confirms the assumption regarding the persistence of social order as outlined in the conceptual chapter. Most of the norms, values and institutions deeply ingrained in a kind of "steppe society worldview" survived for hundreds of years (from Mongol times—the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—up to the time of the Shibanids). Enriched with ideals of warriorship and religious values, it circumscribed the political horizon of that time embodied in the *yāsā*, which could mean law, ordinance or simply custom decreed by Chingiz Khān.⁷⁰⁵ The *yāsā* became the standard term applied to any kind of law irrespective of minor changes and modifications. It was a kind of matrix or umbrella term for "modes of acceptable conduct and etiquette ascribed to Turko-Mongol traditions."⁷⁰⁶ As such it encompassed norms and institutions of authority like seniority, corporate sovereignty and decision making, apportionment of lands and spoils gained through conquest, intense patronage and arbitration. McChesney's explanations perfectly fit into this argumentation: "Politicians saw the world contained within a Chingizid framework, expressed their aspirations in Chingizid terms, and had their horizons of the possible bounded by the Chingizid legacy as they knew it."⁷⁰⁷ Yet, and as suggested by Paul's results, certain practices like patronage or mediation were common in pre-Mongol Mā Warā' al-Nahr too. This implies that the worldviews of the settled population and the Uzbek newcomers were

⁷⁰³ Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfat*, fols. 295a–297b, 301a.

⁷⁰⁴ Manz, "Historical Background," 12.

⁷⁰⁵ David Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān—A Reexamination," *Studia Islamica* 33 (1971): 138. See also McChesney, *Waqf*, 54, footnote no. 22.

⁷⁰⁶ McChesney, "Amirs," 35.

⁷⁰⁷ McChesney, *Waqf*, 199.

not completely different. Rather, the Uzbeks and their Chingizid overlords successfully integrated themselves into the existing order of things but also imposed their own rules and norms.

As the historical overview illustrates, many of the institutions survived the various shifts of power and dynastic changes. The Mongols and their successors, the Timurids and the Abu'l-Khairids, adhered to one common socio-cultural tradition. The inertial force of power is once again reflected by the establishment of the Tuqay-Timurid dynasty. Although the *amīrs* could possibly have done without a Chingizid *khān*, they still adhered to conventional local worldviews and, in particular, the well-known rules of succession. There is no reason to restrict the Turko-Mongol worldview to the ruling elite that were the Abu'l-Khairid-Shibanid rulers and their amirid supporters. As the *amīrs* for their part did not act independently but relied on their own tribal following, it seems reasonable that the majority of the population including the elites (urban notables as well as tribal leaders and commanders) shared a common worldview, or at least some basic norms and values. Without a minimal consensus of the populace, the conquerors and rulers of Transoxania would not have been successful in establishing their authority. There must have been a certain acceptance on the part of the population and their representatives with respect to every new dynasty coming in.⁷⁰⁸

More interestingly, the patterns of conflict and conquest were socially constructed. Social order in the Turko-Mongol world was characterized by a deliberate absence of clear rules of succession. This related to what Thomas Welsford called the “corporate instability” of the Chingizid rule.⁷⁰⁹ Very often, candidates with aspirations had to fight their way to the throne. They had to be accomplished warriors and tacticians, able to hold command over heterogeneous tribal forces. But military strength and experience alone were not enough to smooth the path to the throne. They also needed social qualities, such as extraordinary negotiation skills as well as competence in networking and alliance building. Every succession struggle served as an ultimate test for the candidates, and only the best one endowed with the qualities of warrior and negotiator was able to establish himself as a successor to act as re-founder of the empire. The bloody succession struggles were wholly institutionalized and in spite of their destructiveness a routine

⁷⁰⁸ Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion*, 282–83.

⁷⁰⁹ Welsford, *Four Types of Loyalty*, 79.

element in social life. This is not to say that the population did not fear the succession wars, which were indeed perceived as a time of chaos and anarchy (*harj wa marj*).⁷¹⁰ Regular wars and fratricidal feuds should be seen as an essential characteristic of the social order and not as symptoms of its collapse or any power vacuum!

Although the ruling dynastic clan had of course more military, administrative and economic resources at its disposal than a small local dynasty, political maneuvering was by no means restricted to the rulers. A lot of political activities originated in society. As Manz convincingly shows for the Timurid period, a range of actors like urban notables, influential Sufi sheikhs, tribal chiefs and commanders, *dīwān* administrators, mosque functionaries and *waqf* intendants were engaged in politics.⁷¹¹ As I have shown, in the Turko-Mongol world, the dynamics arising from the interplay of structured and structuring processes constituting local worldviews foreclosed the institutionalization of a more centralized and bureaucratized empire of the Irano-Islamic type. A closer look at the appanage structure of the Abu'l-Khairid Empire shows that in principle little had changed in these conditions. The new lords and their Uzbek supporters adhered to localism. Power was distributed over a society that resembled a myriad of networks and capillaries of relationships between many actors. Likewise, the single appanages and sub-appanages were more or less “miniature replications” of the entire Uzbek kingdom, and reminiscent of the *ulūses* of the Mongol period. But we also observe slight changes in worldviews and local patterns of order and ordering. Apart from the “unquestioned conviction that ultimate temporal authority resided solely in the collateral descendants of Chingīz Khān,” the enrichment of the *yāsā* or *yūsūn* by various customary laws and rules had begun right after the death of Chingīz Khān. In the course of time, the *yāsā* became supplemented with other customs. The continued designation of the corpus of customary law as *yāsā* was owed to the

⁷¹⁰ “The Sufi shaykh Khwaja Ahrar told his disciples that his family had been preparing a feast to celebrate the shaving of his head on his first birthday, when they learned the news of Temūr’s death in 1405. They were too frightened to eat, and so emptied the cauldrons onto the ground and fled to hide in the mountains. The population’s panic was fully justified. The importance of the ruler to the system did not ensure respect to central government, the ruler’s possessions, or even to his corpse after death” (Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion*, 2).

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*, 276.

“ineluctable authority stemming from Chingīz Khān.”⁷¹² In the Shibanid and Tuqay-Timurid context of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century, the *yāsā* also referred to the hierarchical ranking of the Turko-Mongol, non-Chingizid tribes as well as to the seating order at the Bukharan court.⁷¹³ Other changes are apparent on the surface of the appanage order. Under the Tuqay-Timurids, for instance, we observe a change from a quadripartite to a bifurcate realm. Simultaneously, “Irano-Islamic ideas of kinship and succession were making inroads into the steppe tradition.” This is reflected by the lineage beginning to supersede seniority as a rule of succession.⁷¹⁴

In the last part of the current chapter, I have tried to give an overview of the major places and the tribal formations in a more encyclopedic way. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the *amīrs* were on the rise. Although I devoted separate sections to the most important groups, this does not mean that we are dealing with static or closed units. The Uzbek tribes resembled large, open, interdependent networks of people. Many of them absorbed other groups, and some were connected through sets of matrimonial alliances. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, towns like Qarshī, Shahr-i Sabz, Ūrā Tippa and Dehnau had become independent seats of amirid power. At the same time, Bukhara retained its position as the capital and seat of government, to which the petty Uzbek principalities continued to look for royal favors and patronage. The following chapter will deal with the developments in the first half of the eighteenth century from a local perspective. I will therefore transport the reader to the individual towns, chiefdoms and principalities of Mā Warā' al-Nahr. In doing so, I will attempt to delineate the changes of the worldview, however modest and intangible they might have been. These changes occurred as a consequence of the various and at times also confusing shifts in the local figurations of power. The slowly changing mental patterns, however, eventually enabled the Manghits to institutionalize their power in several phases, thus becoming the new dominant political force in the region.

⁷¹² McChesney, “Amirs,” 35.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, 39. See also von Kūgelgen, *Legitimierung*, 270.

⁷¹⁴ McChesney, *Waqf*, 84.

