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Christine Noelle-Karimi

The Pearl in its Midst

Herat and the Mapping of Khurasan (15th–19th Centuries)

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CHRISTINE NOELLE-KARIMI

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(15th–19th Centuries)

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سفری کردم وقتی به هری

به هری وقتی کردم سفری[1]

To all my fellow travelers…

Acknowledgements

In a famous anecdote, the twelfth-century author Niẓāmī ʿArūżī describes how the Samanid king Abū Naṣr b. Aḥmad became so enthralled by the pleasant climate, delightful landscape and, above all, delicious fruits of Herat that only a potent *qaṣīda* by the famous poet Rūdakī persuaded him to depart and return to his capital, Bukhārā. This experience is not limited to Samanid times, and certainly not to royal circles. When I visited Herat for the first time in 1979, I was likewise captivated by this lively city, despite the first, noticeable ravages of communist rule. Little did I know that I would eventually dedicate a book to this region and to the rich historical past I merely caught a whiff of at the time. The present work has grown out of a Habilitationsschrift submitted at the University of Bamberg in 2008. I am grateful to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for its generous support of my research, which took me to the India Office Library in London, the Kitābkhāna-yi Āstān-i Quds in Mashhad, and the libraries of the Bunyād-i Īrānshināsī, Dā'irat al-Maʿārif-e Buzurg-i Islāmī, Kitābkhāna-yi Dānishgāh-i Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-yi Īrān, and the Sāzmān-i Asnād-i Millī in Tehran.

At first sight, the endeavor to produce the history of a city from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries may seem like a linear undertaking, conjoining local fortunes to the ebb and flow of empires. Yet, I soon realized that the fate of Herat could only be understood in relation to neighboring and encompassing regional entities. What began as the tale of a city ended as an attempt to capture notions of space by tracing reflections of its ecological, political, sacred and sensual dimensions in the contemporaneous Persian sources. With these ingredients in place, the process of maturation took place in two congenial scientific environments, the Institutes of Iranian Studies at the University of Bamberg and at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna.

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---

[1] Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Asās al-iqtibās*.

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Abbreviations

ARCHIVAL RECORDS

IOL	India Office Library, London
NAI	National Archives of India, Delhi
KA	Letter from Kabul Agent
KD	Kabul Diary
KM	Letter from the Kabul Munshi
MA	Letter from Mashhad Agent

PERSIAN SOURCES

ʿAbbāsnāma	Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīd Qazvīnī, *ʿAbbasnāma, yā sharḥ-i zindagānī-yi 22 sāla-yi Shāh ʿAbbās-i thānī (1052-1073/1642-1663)*, ed. Ibrāhīm Dihgān. Arak 1329/1951.
Abīvardī	Ḥusain Abīvardī Faiżī, fl. late 9th/15th century, "Chār takht," ed. Īraj Afshār, *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn* 15 (1347/1968): 5–160.
Aḥmad Shāh, *Nāma*	Aḥmad Shāh Durrāni, *Nāma-yi Aḥmad Shāh Bābā ba-nām-i Sulṭān Muṣṭafā thālith-i ʿuthmānī*, ed. Ghulām Jīlānī Jalālī, Kabul 1346/1967.
AM	Amīr Maḥmūd b. Khvānd Amīr, *Shāh Ismāʿīl-i avval va Shāh Ṭahmāsp-i avval,* 957/1550, ed. Ghulām Riżā Ṭabāṭabāʾī Majd, *Īrān dar rūzgār-i Shāh Ismāʿīl-i avval va Shāh Ṭahmāsb-i ṣafavī*, Tehran 1370/1991.
Ashraf al-tavārīkh	Muḥammad Taqī Khān Nūrī, *Ashraf al-tavārīkh,* 1231/1816, Vol I, ed. Sūsan Aṣīlī, Tehran 1386/2007.
AT	Ḥasan Bēg Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 985/1577, ed. C. N. Seddon, *A Chronicle of the Early Safawis Being the Ahsanu't-tawarikh of Hasan-e Rumlu*, Baroda 1931.
Barnābādī	Muḥammad Riżā Barnābādī, *Tadhkira*, 1815, ed., transl., annot. Nataliya N. Tumanovich, *Tazkire (Pamyatnie zapiski). Faksimile rukopisi, iszdanie teksta, perevod c persidskovo, vvedenie i primechaniya*, Moscow 1983.
Bayān-i vāqiʿ	ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿĀqibat Maḥmūd Kashmīrī, *Bayān-i vāqiʿ*, 1156/1743–44, ed. K. B. Nasīm, Lahore 1970.
Boukhary	Mir Abdoul Kerim Boukhary, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale: Afghanistan, Boukhara, Khiva, Khoqand depuis les dernières années du règne de Nadir Chah, 1153 jusqu'en 1233 de l'hégire, 1740–1818 A.D.*, transl. and ed. Charles Schefer, repr. Amsterdam 1970 [Paris 1876].

Chahār maqāla	Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī Niẓāmī ʿArūżī Samarqandī, *Chahār maqāla*, first half of 6th/12th century, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, Muḥammad Muʿīn, Tehran 1385/2006.
Dhū al-qarnain	Fażlullāh Shīrāzī (Khāvarī), *Tārīkh-i dhū al-qarnain*, 1249/1834–35, ed. Nāṣir Afshārfar, 2 vols., Tehran 2001.
DS	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm b. Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Naṣīrī, *Dastūr-i shahriyārān sālahā-yi 1105 tā 1110 h.q.; pādshāhī-yi Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain Ṣafavī*, 1105–1110/1694–1698), ed. Muḥammad Nādir Naṣīrī Muqaddam, Tehran 1373/1994.
Durra-yi nādira	Muḥammad Mihdī Astarābādī, *Durra-yi nādira*, ed. Sayyid Jaʿfar Shahīdī, Tehran 1366/1987 [1341/1962].
Dunbulī	ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Najaf Qulī Dunbulī, *Maʾāthir-i sulṭānīya*, 1241/1825–26, ed. Fīrūz Manṣūrī, Tehran1383/2004.
Fāmī	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Fāmī Haravī (d. 546/1151–52), *Tārīkh-i Harāt*, facsimile ed., Tehran 1387/2008.
FN	Ḥasan Ḥusainī Fasāʾī, *Fārsnāma-yi nāṣirī*, 1314/1896, ed. Manṣūr Rastgār Fasāʾī, 2 vols., Tehran 1367/1988.
Futūḥāt-i shāhī	Ibrāhīm Amīnī Haravī (d. 1535), *Futūḥāt-i shāhī* (*Tārīkh-i ṣafavī az āghāz tā sāl-i 920 h.q. [1514–15]*), written ca. 937/1531, ed. Muḥammad Riżā Naṣīrī, Tehran 1383/2004.
Ganj-i dānish	Muḥammad Taqī Khān Ḥakīm, *Ganj-i dānish*, 1305/1887–88, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī Ṣūtī, Tehran 1366/1987.
Gītīgushā	Muḥammad Ṣādiq Mūsavī Iṣfahānī "Nāmī", *Tārīkh-i gītīgushā*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, repr., Tehran 1366/1987 [1317/1938].
Glory of the Shia World	Nūrullāh b. Muḥammad Ḥusain Iṣfahānī, *The Glory of the Shia World. The Tale of a Pilgrimage*, transl., ed. P. Sykes & Khan Bahadur Ahmad Khan, London 1910.
Gulshan-i imārat	Nūr Muḥammad Nūrī, *Gulshan-i imārat*, ca. 1870, ed. Aḥmad ʿAlī Kuhzād, Kabul 1956.
Gulshan-i murād	Abū al-Ḥasan Ghaffārī Kāshānī, *Gulshan-i murād* (*Tārīkh-i zandīya*), 1206–07/1791–93, addenda up to 1210/1796 by his son Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir Kāshānī, ed. Ghulām Riżā Ṭabāṭabāʾī Majd, n.p. 1369/1990.
Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Cinq opuscules*	Tauer, Felix, *Cinq opuscules de Hafiz-i Abru concernant l'histoire de l'Iran au temps de Tamerlan*, Prague 1959.
Ḥayāt-i afghānī	Muḥammad Ḥayāt Khān, *Ḥayāt-i afghānī,* Lahore 1867.

HS	Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Ḥusainī Khvānd Amīr, *Tārīkh ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār afrād al-bashar*. 1524, 4 vols., Tehran 1333/1954.
Ḥudūd	*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, 'The Regions of the World'. A Persian Geography 372 A.H.—982 A.D.*, transl. V. Minorsky, repr. Cambridge 1982 [1937].
Iḥyāʾ al-mulūk	Malik Shāh Ḥusain b. Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shāh Maḥmūd Sīstānī, *Iḥyāʾ al-mulūk*, 1028 or 1031/1618–19 or 1621–22, ed. Manūchihr Sutūda, Tehran 1344/1966.
IM	Iskandar Bēg, Munshī, *Tārīkh-iʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī* (1616, 1628–29), ed. Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Riżvānī, 3 vols., Tehran 1377/1998.
IM (Savory)	*History of Shah 'Abbas the Great*, transl. Roger M. Savory, 2 vols., Boulder 1978; Vol. 3: Index, comp. Renée Bernhard, New York 1986.
IM, *Dhail*	Iskandar Bēg, Munshī, *Dhail-i Tārīkh-iʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, ca. 1634, ed. Suhailī Khvānsārī, Tehran 1317/1938.
Irshād al-zirāʿa	Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī Haravī, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 921/1515, ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī, repr., Tehran 2536/1977 [1346/1967–68].
Isfizārī	Muʿīn al-Dīn Muḥammad Zamchī Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt fī auṣāf madīnat Harāt*, 897–899/1491–93, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām, 2 vols., Tehran 1338–9/1959–60.
IT	ʿAlī Qulī Mīrzā Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana, *Iksīr al-tavārīkh (Tārīkh-i qājārīya az āghāz tā 1259 h.q. [1843]*, ed. Jamshīd Kiyānfar, Tehran 1370/1991.
JN	Muḥammad Mihdī Astarābādī, *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi nādirī*, 1171/1757–58, ed. Tehran 1368/1989.
Junābadī	Mīrzā Bēg b. Ḥasan Ḥusainī Junābadī, *Raużat al-ṣafavīya*, 1036/1627, ed. Ghulām Riżā Ṭabāṭabāʾī Majd, Tehran 1378/1999.
Kāẓim	Muḥammad Kāẓim Marvī, *Nāma-yi ʿālamārā-yi nādirī*, 1166/1752–53, ed. Muḥammad Amīn Riyāḥī, 3 vols., Tehran 1364/1985, 1369/1990.
Khulāṣat al-akhbār (Iʿtimādī)	Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Ḥusainī Khvānd Amīr (d. 942/1535–36), *Khulāṣat al-akhbār fī bayān aḥvāl al-akhyār*, 905/1499, partial ed. Gūyā Iʿtimādī, *Faṣlī az Khulāṣat al-akhbār*, Kabul 1345/1966.
Khuld-i barīn	Muḥammad Yūsuf Vāla Iṣfahānī, *Khuld-i barīn*, 1078/1667–68, ed. Muḥammad Riżā Naṣīrī, Tehran 1382/2003.

Khūrmūjī	Muḥammad Jaʿfar Khūrmūjī, *Tārīkh-i qājār*. *Ḥaqāyiq al-akhbār-i nāṣirī*, 1284/1867–68, ed. Ḥusain Khadīvjam, repr., Tehran 1363/1984 [1344/1965].
KR	Muḥammad Yūsuf Riyāżī, *Kulliyāt-i riyāżī* (*Baḥr al-favāyid*), Mashhad 1906.
Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh	Muḥammad Khalīl Marʿashī, *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh dar tārīkh-i inqirāż-i ṣafavīya va vaqāyiʿ-i baʿd tā sāl-i 1207 hijrī qamarī*, 1207/1792, ed. ʿAbbās Iqbāl, repr., Tehran 1362/1983 [1328/1949].
Mazārāt-i Harāt	Saljūqī, Fikrī (ed.), *Risāla-yi mazārāt-i Harāt*. Ḥiṣṣa-yi avval: Amīr Sayyid ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥusainī Aṣīl al-Dīn Vāʿiẓ-i Haravī, *Maqṣad al-iqbāl sulṭānīya va marṣad al-āmāl khāqānīya*, 864/1459–60, pp. 1–105; Ḥiṣṣa-yi duvvum taʾlīf-i Maulānā ʿUbaidullāh b. Abū Saʿīd Haravī, 1198/1783–84, pp. 106–47; Ḥiṣṣa-yi sivvum taʾlīf-i Ākhundzāda Mullā Muḥammad Ṣadīq-i Haravī, 1350/1931–32, pp. 148–92; Part IV: Appendix by Fikrī Saljūqī, pp. 1–196. Kabul 1967.
MB	Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Mirʾāt al-buldān,* 1294–97/1877–80, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Navāʾī, Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddith, 4 vols., Tehran 1367/1988.
Mihmānnāma	Fażlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī Iṣfahānī, *Mihmānnāma-yi Bukhārā*, 915/1509, ed. Manūchihr Sutūda, Tehran 1341/1962.
Mīr Khvānd	Muḥammad b. Khāvandshāh b. Maḥmūd Mīr Khvānd, *Tārīkh raużat al-ṣafā fī sīrat al-anbiyāʾ va al-mulūk va al-khulafāʾ*, ca. 899/1493, ed. ʿAbbās Parvīz, 8 vols., Tehran 1338/1959.
MSh	Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Maṭlaʿ al-shams,* (1301–1303/1884–1886, facsimile ed., Tehran 1976.
Muḥsin	Muḥammad Muḥsin Mustaufī, *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*, ca. 1741–42, ed. Bihrūz Gūdarzī, Tehran 1375/1996.
Mujmal-i faṣīḥī	Faṣīḥ Aḥmad b. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Khvāfī (d. 845–846/1442), *Mujmal-i faṣīḥī*, 845/1441–42, ed. Maḥmūd Farrukh, 3 vols., Tus/Mashhad 1341/1962.
Mujmal al-tavārīkh (Mann)	Abū al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amīn Gulistāna, *Mujmal al-tavārīkh pas az Nādir*, 1196/1781, partial ed. Oskar Mann, *Das Muǰmil et-târîkh-i baʿdnadâdirîje,* 2 vols., Leiden 1891, 1896.
Mujmal al-tavārīkh (Rażavī)	Abū al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amīn Gulistāna, *Mujmal al-tavārīkh pas az Nādir*, 1196/1781, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Mudarris Rażavī, Tehran 1901.

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Note on Transliteration

As this work spans five centuries and the region between Simnān and Multān, any system of transliteration is bound to contain simplifications and inconsistencies. The system adopted here follows that of the *Cambridge History of Iran* and uses an "Arabic" vocalization (*ā*, *a*, *ī*, *i*, *ū*, *u*) and the corresponding diphthongs (*ai*, *au*). The rendering of the consonants privileges the Persian pronunciation: *v* for **و**, *ż* for **ض**, *ẓ* for **ظ**. The only exceptions to this rule are the rare fricatives **ث**, **ذ** and **ژ**, which have been rendered as *th*, *dh* and *zh* respecectively. The spelling of a number of Turkish and Mongol words reflects a more elaborate vowel system. This is the case for *bēg* and its derivatives, as well as for such Turkmen tribal names as Sarïq, Teke and Yomut. In the rendering of Mongol proper names, the Persianized transliteration takes effect with the transition to Islam, e.g. Ögedei, Möngke, and Hülegü, as opposed to Ūljāitū. Mongol names en vogue in Qājār times are likewise transliterated according to Persian usage: Mangū and Hulākū. The Arabic term *khail* has been rendered as *khēl* throughout the text.

Introduction

In the early 1820s the Iranian traveler Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrvānī gave an enthusiastic description of the oasis of Herat. He praised the pleasant climate of the region, its tasty water, and the outstanding quality of its grapes and melons. In his opinion, the unique position of Herat and its relationship to the rest of the world was most adequately summed up by the following Persian poem: [1]

> To he who seeks to find the most pleasant town,
> The only truthful answer is Herat;
> Consider this world an ocean, Khurāsān a shell within,
> And the city of Herat the pearl in its midst.[2]

This poem can be traced back to the fourteenth century. With slight variations, it is recorded by a number of notable Persian authors, including the Kartid historiographer Saif al-Haravī,[3] the Ilkhanid geographer Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī,[4] the Timurid historian Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū,[5] the seventeenth-century traveler Ibn Valī,[6] and the Qājār officials Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat[7] and ʿAlī Qulī Mīrzā Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana.[8]

Herat's favorable conditions notwithstanding, Shīrvānī observes that the city has undergone a number of crises in the course of its history. Citing such authorities as Saif al-Haravī and the Timurid authors Isfizārī (d. 903/1497–98) and Khvānd Amīr (d. 942/1535–36), he singles out the Mongol invasion and the plague epidemic of 838/1434–35 as historical junctures which inflicted heavy losses on the urban population and brought it to the brink of extinction. Later on, Herat weathered periods of invasion and unrest associated with the rise and decline of the Safavid and Afsharid empires.[9] The size of Herat and its wealth thus rose and fell with the ebb and flow of events described by Shīrvānī. The latter quotes Saif al-Haravī's account of the Mongol invasion of 619/1222, in the course of which "no head retained its body" and the urban population was reduced from 1.6 million to 16.[10] By the time the Timurids came to power, the population of Herat seemed to have rebounded. Interestingly, Shīrvānī changes perspectives here and switches from historical telescoping to a more visual form of representation: Seemingly assuming a bird's eye view, he states that at the time of the onset of the plague epidemic of 838/1434, the entire valley of Herat was so densely populated that a space of 30 *farsakh* or 120 miles seemed like one large city. The plague, which is said to have cost 600,000 lives in the city, is seen as a natural outcome of the pollution and moral decay brought about by the

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[1] AT 154; HS IV: 553; AM 166. See also Röhrborn 1966: 16, 103–104, 112.

[2] *Agar kasī pursad tu-rā kaz shahrhā khushtar kudām;*
gar javāb-i rāst khvāhī guft ū-rā gū "Harī";
hamchu baḥr ast īn jahān, dar vay Khurāsān chūn ṣadaf;
dar miyān-i ān ṣadaf shahr-i Harī chūn gauharī.

[3] Saif al- Haravī 1943: 6.

[4] Le Strange 1993: 150.

[5] Krawulsky 1982: 18.

[6] Akhmedov 1977: 81.

[7] *Sifāratnāma,* Persian text, 111.

[8] *Vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ* 26.

[9] *Riyāż al-siyāḥat 427–30.*

[10] *Hīch sarī-rā bar tan va badanī-rā bā sar nagudhāshtand* (Saif al-Haravī 1943: 80–82). According to Shīrvānī, the following order was issued to the Mongol soldiers: *Hīch kas-rā sarī dar badan va bārī dar gardan nabāshad* (*Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 428).

excessive concentration of people.[11] By the time Shīrvānī visited Herat in the early nineteenth century, the city population amounted to no more than 6,000 families.[12]

Shīrvānī's overview of the history of Herat provides the framework for the historical narrative recounted in this book and sets the stage for further exploration. The tension between the enduring features of Herat and the ups and downs of its history constitute the subject of the present study. Urban spaces are best understood within and against the "broader canvas" they are situated in.[13] The poem cited above names Khurāsān as the regional frame of reference. The goal of the book is to make the history of Herat tangible against the background of the horizontal relations linking the city to other nodal points within this expanse. In what follows, I will take a closer look at the elements constitutive of the "map" of Herat and Khurāsān between the fifteenth and the nineteenth century. The urban topography, the geographical setting, the people and goods of the region will figure to the extent that contemporaneous observers consider them noteworthy. Special attention will be paid to the mode in which the terrain is perceived and represented: What local coordinates and points of gravity are identified in a given period, and do they shift over time? Which qualities are attributed to individual sites, and how are the latter fitted into the regional and imperial framework?

Such an enquiry posits that territorial conceptions are part of a larger *Weltanschauung* shaping the horizon of the political and literary actors of the time. To be sure, the physical environment and ecological conditions play a fundamental role in molding perceptions of space. The rich agricultural setting of Herat and its pleasant climate are enduring features which have been taken up by the authors throughout the period. But on a conceptual level, perceptions of space are strongly influenced by overarching patterns of authority, the local exercise of power, and prevailing modes of delegation and administration.

The following history consists of two parallel narratives. First, I will attempt to uncover the historical facts that can be gleaned from the available Persian chronicles. One important concern is to trace the larger shifts of power and their effects on the city and its environs. In this strand of the narrative, Herat figures primarily as an administrative and economic unit. Particular attention will be paid to the ways in which the city relates to the larger polities it is embedded in. Then, there is the local cast, in other words, the administrative units that are grouped around the oasis and reflect the extent ordinarily ascribed to the province by the same name. Another aspect of the political landscape may be termed "demographic". Whenever it is possible, I attempt to assess the composition of the population and to identify the prominent local actors who interacted with the powers in presence.

The second strand of the narrative focuses on the sensual aspects of space and their representation, capturing some of the local sights, sounds, and tastes reflected by the Persian chronicles and, later on, by the European accounts. By allowing the primary sources to "speak for themselves", I hope to highlight some of the ways in which the landscape was represented in the accounts of the time. The available material points to a whole range of possible perceptions. One lasting field of tension is created by the composite views emphasizing both the centrality of Herat and its strategic value as a "gateway".[14] This concept was even applied to the whole of Khurāsān by the author of the tenth-century Persian geography entitled *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, who places the region "near the centre of the Inhabited Lands of the world" but also identifies it as the "gate of Turkistān".[15]

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[11] *Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 429. Shīrvānī adduces the testimony of Khvānd Amīr for this statement. But I have not been able to locate this information in HS. For the year 838/1434, Khvānd Amīr does mention a plague epidemic in Herat which caused the death of up to 10,000 persons in the city and the suburbs (*balda va bulūkāt*) a day, but the passage does not contain any of the details Shīrvānī ascribes to this source (HS III: 625; Thackston 1994: 344). Isfizārī, by contrast, gives a detailed description of a plague epidemic lasting from 7 Rajab–15 Dhū al-Qaʿda 838/6 February–12 June 1435, which killed a total of one million persons, 600,000 in the city and 400,000 in the suburbs (Isfizārī II: 92–94). See also Allen 1983: 19.

[12] *Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 430.

[13] Horden & Purcell 2007: 91.

[14] See, for instance, TA (Humāyūn) 432.

[15] *Ḥudūd* 102.

The present study takes its departure in the early fifteenth century when Herat, as the capital of Khurāsān, was at its highest in terms of cultural and economic development. Not surprisingly, this illustrious period in the history of the region is reflected by the abundance of data concerning the local sites. They testify to the Timurid attainments in terms of wealth, military strength and religious patronage. The richness of the environment is highlighted by detailed descriptions of the economic assets and unique sensory experiences Herat has to offer. In later Safavid and Qājār accounts, the terrain recedes to the sidelines of the narrative and mostly figures as a backdrop for military action. A case in point is the narration of the Shibanid siege of Herat of 1587–88, in the course of which the city gates are only mentioned to situate the position of the influential Shibanid/Uzbek military leaders who stood in front of them.[16] This sort of description is typical of the battle scenes that dominate much of the chronicles up to the nineteenth century. They represent an altogether different but equally essential "map", in which the domain is determined by a web of allegiances crucial for the upkeep of power. The physical terrain is only interesting insofar as it fits major strategic considerations, such as river crossings, stages in the desert, and the technicalities involved in the siege or defense of cities.

Another field of enquiry lies in the tension between transmitted territorial concepts and the emergence of new polities in the course of the nineteenth century. In this context, the dimension of time, or rather the historical memory and its role in shaping current perceptions of space becomes an important issue. The poem cited above, which ascribes pearl-like qualities to Herat, continued to be quoted in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, it perpetuated the image of Herat's grandeur even at a time when not much was left of its former splendor. From the Iranian point of view, these persisting pretensions to greatness were coupled with a sense of bereavement, as it increasingly became clear that the Qājār government was unable to live up to its claim to all of the regions constitutive of the ancient Safavid domain. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the political scene changed dramatically. The consolidation of international borders brought about new ways of charting territory and defining state power. The sense of constriction that came with these changes clashed with the persistent memory of former imperial greatness and far-flung territorial possessions.

The gap between Qājār claims to authority and the actual scope of government was noted in the 1820s by the British traveler James Fraser. He felt that the difficulties in delineating the domain of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (r. 1212–1250/1797–1834) were most pronounced in the eastern territories, where "the district of Herat and the provinces of Seistan and Beloochistan blend with the mountains of Afghanistan".[17] Fraser noted that the vagueness of the boundaries of Khurāsān coincided with an inherent tension between historical claims to an immense stretch of land on the one hand and the actual confines of the Qājār province on the other:

> The limits assigned to this country were at one time magnificent; for they comprehended on the north every thing to the Oxus, including the steppe of Khaurezm [Khvārazm], Balkh, and all the intervening country to the east: on the south east not only the city and dependencies of Herāt, but those of Subzawur [Isfizār], Furrah [Farāh], Geereēsh [Girishk], and even Candahar [Qandahār] itself: on the south, it was always bounded by Kermān [Kirmān] and Seieestān [Sīstān]: on the west it included the district of Yezd [Yazd], but its salt desert was bounded in that direction by the districts of Ispahān [Iṣfahān], Cashān [Kāshān], and Rhē [Ray], somewhere near Semnaun [Simnān]; beyond the Elburz mountains, the district of Astrabad [Astarābād] and of Goorgaun [Gurgān] were also considered as dependencies of this vast territory. If Khorasān were to be considered merely as a province of Persia, and were the appellation limited to that portion of country east of Irāk, which obeys the Persian monarch, its extent would now be small indeed.[18]

At the same time, Fraser pointed out that Khurāsān as a territorial and political unit had repeatedly been subject to redefinition in the course of history. The ongoing re-creation of this conceptual space had taken place in a setting which, in Fraser's opinion, was characterized by contest rather than by actual control over the land. The competition between the imperial neighbors was matched locally by the military prowess and high mobility of the inhabitants of Khurāsān:

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[16] McChesney 1993: 84–91.
[17] Fraser 1834: 19.
[18] Fraser 1825: 242.

> Khorasān having from the earliest ages been a sort of debateable land, upon the confines of several great monarchies, and a constant object of desire to their sovereigns, was always the theatre of fierce and bloody wars; in which the wandering tribes in its vicinity were generally enlisted on one part or other.[19]

This "debateable" land, and the transformations it underwent over time, lie at the core of this book. The material is organized according to the chronological sequence while the focus of the narrative shifts according to the nature of the information yielded by the primary sources. Given the relative abundance of data dealing with Herat in the fifteenth century, Chapter 1 serves two purposes. Besides describing the position of Herat in Timurid times, it is also intended to acquaint the reader with the lay of the land. In this manner, I hope to create a regional frame of reference and to facilitate orientation in the subsequent chapters. In addition to impressions from the city of Herat, this chapter contains a complete listing of all the administrative divisions that make up its hinterland. The second chapter deals with Herat under the auspices of Safavid authority. As the primary sources yield little information on local circumstances, this chapter rather assumes a bird's eye view to locate Herat within a larger regional framework. The narrative switches to the ecological setting and highlights some of the strategic considerations that determined the movements of the court within Khurāsān. Herat is situated in relationship to the other important urban coordinates in the region, that is, Mashhad, Qandahār, and Multān. This axis was "opened" up by Nādir Shāh's sweeping conquests in the eighteenth century, which effectively put an end to the old balance of power in force between the Mughals of India, the Chingizids of Central Asia, and the Safavids in Iran. In the following chapters I adopt a polycentric approach to capture the breaking up of territorial allegiances after 1747. The third chapter describes the Afghan empire that emerged on the shattered remains left in the wake of Nādir Shāh's conquests. Given the Durrānī rulers' continued orientation towards India, the point of gravity shifted to Qandahār, and Herat became the western outpost of their realm. Chapters 4 and 5 elucidate the delineation of Iranian and Afghan spheres of influence from both sides of the emergent border. In the long run, the creation of fixed boundaries had a similar effect on the conceptualization and exercise of power in Iran and Afghanistan. The resulting linkage between government authority and a territorially defined space strengthened the government's "hold" over the land and its inhabitants. Yet for most of the nineteenth century, the circumstances in the environs of Herat and in the eastern reaches of Iranian Khurāsān were characterized by a great degree of movement, as tribal groups either sought to evade government control or faced forceful deportation and resettlement. In the sixth and final chapter I attempt to position the changing status of Herat in a wider context. The description of the political developments in northeastern Khurāsān and in Sīstān serves to juxtapose expansive early modern notions of territorial entitlement with the actual configurations of power "on the ground". The account of the events leading up to the delineation of the Irano-Russian borders in the northeast of Khurāsān and the delimitation of the Irano-Afghan boundary in Sīstān highlights the new territorial realities that took shape in the late nineteenth century.

THE SECONDARY SOURCES

My attempt to capture the historical coordinates, patterns of authority and ecological conditions determining the framework of political activity in Khurāsān draws on the established scholarship in this field. Bert Fragner's macro-historical surveys have spurred my interest in the genesis and development of regional concepts and the effects of tribalism on military organization. I owe my understanding of the constraints and opportunities delimiting the horizon of pre-modern and early modern political actors to the works by Jean Aubin. The dynamic aspects of the exercise of power are also highlighted by Charles Melville's research on the itineraries of the Ilkhanid and Safavid court.

V. V. Barto'ld's *Historical Geography of Iran* is a valuable source concerning the lay of the land. The topography of Timurid Herat has been treated in detail by Terry Allen, Lisa Golombek, Dorothea Krawulsky and Maria Szuppe. Nataliya Tumanovich combines a description of the topography of the city from Kartid times to the nineteenth century with a general historical account. Furthermore, her edition and translation of

[19] Fraser 1825: 257.

a text on the *khvājas* of Barnābād gives rare insights into the local circumstances in the vicinity of Herat and highlights one particular instance of the relationship between spiritual authority and royal patronage. Caroline Stack has provided a general overview of the events surrounding Herat from Timurid times to the end of the nineteenth century. Gisela Reindke's dissertation on the form and function of Afghan towns contains one chapter concerning the historical development of Herat, its economic conditions and population in the nineteenth century. Rafi Samizay and Abdul Wasay Najimi have produced useful architectural surveys of the Islamic monuments around Herat and the old city quarters.

As this study spans five centuries, I have relied on a number of secondary sources to gain an understanding of the main forces at work in each given period. The early Timurid era is covered by Beatrice Forbes Manz's finely grained probe into the relationship between government and society. Eva Maria Subtelny's research on Timurid agricultural policies and patterns of patronage has proven a particularly useful source for the situation of Herat in the late fifteenth century. There are a number of valuable works on the Safavid period. My understanding of the administrative system derives from the works of Klaus Röhrborn and Roger Savory. I have greatly benefited from Giorgio Rota's expertise on the role of Caucasian *ghulāms* in the Safavid administration and military. The military organization of the Safavids is treated in depth by Masashi Haneda. Maria Szuppe has devoted a detailed study to the situation in Herat at the time of the Uzbek and Safavid intervention in the early sixteenth century. My description of the "Uzbek" factor in the politics of Khurāsān and the nature of Central Asian dynastic concepts draws widely on Robert McChesney's work. Charles Melville's account of Shāh ʿAbbās I's patronage of Mashhad sheds light on the waning position of Herat in the seventeenth century.

My description of the Afsharid period is primarily based on Lockhart's landmark study of 1938 and Peter Avery's account of Nādir Shāh's military career.[20] John Perry's work on Karīm Khān Zand contributes to our knowledge on the circumstances in western Khurāsān subsequent to Nādir Shāh's death in 1747. The developments in "Afghan" Turkistān are treated in detail by Robert McChesney and Jonathan Lee. Apart from these studies, very little literature deals with the era of the Sadūzai kings. Despite a number of inaccuracies, Ganda Singh's work still represents the most important source for the reign of Aḥmad Shāh. The material compiled by ʿAzīz al-Dīn Vakīlī Fūfalzāʾī concerning the reigns of Tīmūr Shāh and Shāh Zamān documents the position of the nobility and administrative divisions in the Sadūzai Empire. However, on the whole, this domain remains largely uncharted, and a great part of my work has been devoted to the elementary task of reconstructing the essential facts of the historical narrative.

Similar difficulties are met by the study of Khurāsān in the nineteenth century. The only source dealing with Herat during this period is David Champagne's account of its position between the Qājār and Muḥammadzai fields of gravity until its incorporation into the Afghan domain in 1863. Largely based on British documents, this work illustrates the strategies adopted by the Iranian, Afghan, and British forces involved. Yet it yields little information on the circumstances prevailing in Herat or on the local configurations of power. The picture somewhat brightens when it comes to the developments in Iranian Khurāsān and the adjacent regions. There is a much greater density of sources concerning the history of this region and the geographic and political position of individual tribal groups. Sayyid ʿAlī Mīr Niyā has tackled both issues. A number of authors have investigated the local circumstances in the eastern Iranian realm. The names of Ramażān ʿAlī Shākirī and Kalīmullāh Tavaḥḥudī are associated with the history of the Khurasanian Kurds. Pirouz Mojtahed-Zadeh has documented the history of the Khuzaima Arabs of Qāyin. Ata Dshikijew, Hafez Farmayan, William Irons, Wolfgang König, Urāz Muḥammad Sārlī and William Wood have contributed works concerning the Turkmens. Manūchihr Sutūda and Asadullāh Maʿṭūfī have compiled material on the history of Astarābād. The circumstances in Sīstān have been explored by Īraj Afshār "Sīstānī" and Muḥammad Aʿẓam Sīstānī.

The administrative structure of the Qājār government and the patterns of redistribution between center and periphery are dealt with by a number of works. Colin Meredith has written about the early Qājār administration. A classic in this field is Ann K. S. Lambton's work on Qājār Iran. Aside from analyzing the

[20] For more recent works on the Afsharid era, see Axworthy 2006 and Tucker 2006.

workings of Qājār bureaucracy, A. Reza Sheikholeslami and Heinz Georg Migeod also shed light on the relationship between the central government and the entrenched tribal leadership of Khurāsān. Abbas Amanat is to be commended for his book on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and his numerous entries in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* which highlight the role of individual Qājār officials. Another valuable resource is Mihdī Bāmdād's six-volume "Who's Who" covering the period from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet provides an overview of the processes leading up to the delineation of borders between Afghanistan and Iran.

SETTING THE STAGE: KHURĀSĀN IN THE COURSE OF HISTORY

This book is concerned with the historical entity of Khurāsān and the changes it underwent over time. It begins with a description of the region in the fifteenth century and ends with its division into three modern polities: the Russian province of Transcaspia, Afghanistan, and a truncated version of the former Iranian province. In order to place these developments in context, it might be useful to trace the contours Khurāsān was endowed with over time. Beginning with the formation of Khurāsān in Sasanid times, the following overview will describe the limits of the region, its constituent parts and the cities serving as regional capitals. Certain shifts in gravity notwithstanding, one may detect some degree of stability in the perception and structuration of this space. Territorial units were typically defined on the basis of the rivers delimiting them. The entity of Iran was thought to be bounded by the Oxus (*Jaiḥūn, Āmu Daryā*) in the east and the Euphrates in the west.[21] Viewed as the divide between Iran and Transoxiana (*Tūrān*, *Turkistān*, *Mā varāʾ al-nahr*), the Oxus also played an evocative role as the northeastern border of Khurāsān. Political unification did not necessarily imply the merging of territorial concepts. Even in periods when Khurāsān and Transoxiana were under one supreme ruler, the notion of the river as separating two distinct geographical realms remained tangible. As will be seen below, large-scale military campaigns aimed at the agglomeration of known territorial entities rather than at the definition of new ones. The position and identity of Khurāsān in contradistinction to Transoxiana was thus hardly affected by shifting patterns of military control.

In his account of the genesis of Khurāsān, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū hints at the enduring bonds connecting the lands adjoining the Āmū Daryā. While adducing popular etymologies for the name of "Khurāsān", he assumes a genealogical connection between the two neighboring regions:

> Everybody has something [different] to say about the naming of Khurāsān. The genealogist Ibn Daghfal says that Khurāsān and Haiṭal were the sons of ʿĀlim b. Sām b. Nūḥ and left Zābul. Khurāsān settled here and his name became associated with this region. Hāiṭal crossed the river [Āmu Daryā] and settled over there and that region was named Haiṭala after him. Some have called [this region] *khūrsān*, 'sunlike' and some have called it *khūr āsān*, 'easily eaten'.[22]

The entities of Khurāsān and Iran owe their existence to Sasanian policies. In a deliberate attempt to legitimize their rule, the early members of the Sasanian dynasty (224–651 AD) fused the existing concept of *arya* with Zoroastrian traditions. Portraying themselves as heirs of the legendary Kayanid dynasty of Sīstān and elevating Mazdaism to a state religion, the Sasanians identified their realm as "Ērān-Shahr", thus setting it apart from their enemies in the eastern territory of "Tūrān" accross the Oxus.[23] During this period, Khurāsān – "there where the sun rises" – was defined as the easternmost region of the dominion. It comprised the regions of Hyrcania (Jurjān/Gurgān), Margiana (Marv), Areia (Herat) and later Bactria (Balkh). Within the province, Marv served as the administrative center and seat of governor general. Other

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[21] The idea of Iran as being bounded by the Oxus in the east can be traced to Abū Manṣūr Maʿmarī's introduction to the *Shāhnāma-yi Abū Manṣūrī* (346/957), which in turn represents the translation of a vanished Pahlavi original, the *Xvadāy-nāmag* (Khaleghi-Motlagh, "Abū Manṣūr Maʿmarī," *E.Ir.* I: 337). In this text, Ērān-Shahr is described as stretching "from the Amūya river to the river of Egypt (Miṣr)" (Minorsky 1956: 172).

[22] Krawulsky 1982: 12. The purport of the last etymology is not quite clear. The expression "easily eaten" may possibly be understood as an allusion to the region as an embattled zone frequently "swallowed up" in the course of military campaigns. In this case, it may be considered an equivalent of Fraser's "debateable land".

[23] Gnoli 1989: 137, 140, 156–7, 175; Morony, "Sāsānids," *E.I. 2*, IX: 71–2, 74. See also Fragner 1999: 14.

important cities were Nev-Shapur (modern Nīshāpūr) and Pūshang (later Fūshanj) on the Harī Rūd, both of which were founded by the second Sasanian ruler Shāpūr I (r. 240–270 AD).[24] Although Iran as a political denomination vanished with the demise of the Sasanian Empire only to resurface under the Ilkhanid dynasty (1256–1335) in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion,[25] the concept of Khurāsān as a territorial and political entity was to remain through time.

Its stability as a regional entity notwithstanding, the outlines of Khurāsān did not necessarily correspond to patterns of authority. The evocative idea of the Oxus as a divide between Iran and Central Asia often did not match the political realities. For the pre-Muslim and early Muslim periods, Hamilton Gibb has noted that the Murghāb river and the Sīr Daryā (Jaxartes) constituted more effective barriers against invading armies:

> The Oxus is a boundary of tradition rather than of history… [I]t has never proved a barrier to imperial armies from either side. It was not on the Oxus but on the Jaxartes that Alexander's strategic insight fixed the position of Alexander Eschate, and when the outposts of Persian dominion were thrust back by the constant pressure of the Central Asian hordes, their retreat was stayed not on the Oxus but on the Murghāb. Thus when the tide of conquest turned and the Arabs won back her ancient heritage for Persia, they, like Alexander, were compelled to carry their arms even further to the East and all unknowing re-establish the frontiers of the Achaemenid Empire.[26]

As pointed out by Gibb, the reach of government ended at the Murghāb river for most of the Sasanian period. The two administrative centers located on the river, Marv-i Shāhijān and Marv al-Rūd (present-day Bālā Murghāb) served as outposts against the Hephtalites (White Huns), who occupied Sogdia, the Oxus basin and the lands north and south of the Hindu Kush during the early sixth century. With the defeat of the Hephtalites in 563–568, the Oxus became the border between the Iranians and the Western Turks for a short period in history.[27] At the time of the Muslim conquest in the seventh and early eighth centuries, the river initially served as a boundary but eventually came to embody the core of the easternmost Arab possessions. The Arab forces crossed the Oxus for the first time in 33/653–4, and in 86–93/705–712 the great general Qutaiba b. Muslim (d. 715) conquered Bukhārā and Samarqand, thereby establishing control over the ancient Achaemenid province of Sogdia.[28] With its incorporation into the Muslim sphere, Sogdia lost its meaning as a regional designation for the expanse of land between the Oxus and the Jaxartes and was more narrowly applied to the Zarafshān valley feeding the oases of Samarqand and Bukhārā.[29]

During the Abbasid period, the concept of Khurāsān widened to include all the lands controlled by the Arab governors of Marv, which retained its erstwhile position as military and administrative center of the east.[30] Even so, there are indications that the lands beyond the Oxus continued to be perceived as a realm distinct from the former Sasanian sphere of influence. Arab geographers of the time coined terms like *Khurāsān va mā varāʾ al-nahr* ("Transoxiana"), *Khurāsān va al-mashriq* (the "East"), or simply *al-Mashriq* for the entire eastern territory.[31] In 232/846, Ibn Khurradādhbih listed Transoxiana as one of the four administrative units making up Khurāsān and described the other three parts of Khurāsān as consisting of Marv-i Shāhijān and adjacent districts, Balkh and the region of Ṭukhāristān, as well as Herat, including Fūshanj and Bādghīs.[32]

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[24] Marquart 1901: 47, 49. See also Bosworth, "Khurāsān", *E.I., 2* V: 56; Bosworth, "Marw al-Shāhidjān," *E.I., 2* VI: 620; Frye 1983: 154; Fragner 1999: 14; Fragner 2001b: 344–5; Le Strange 1905: 383; *Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 383.

[25] Fragner 1997: 121–31.

[26] Gibb 1970: 1.

[27] Gibb 1970: 1, 3; Marquart 1901: 53, 70; Shaban 1971: 479–82.

[28] Gibb 1970: 15, 31, 56.

[29] Barthold [Bosworth], "Al-Sughd", *E.I., 2* IX: 772–3.

[30] Marquart 1901: 76. See also Bosworth, "Khurāsān", *E.I., 2* V: 56–7; Bosworth, "Marw al-Shāhidjān," *E.I., 2* VI: 620. The shift of the provincial capital from Marv to Balkh during the governorship of Asad b. ʿAbdullāh in 118/736 apparently constituted an exception and was not followed by later Umayyad or Abbasid governors (Gibb 1970: 80, 88).

[31] Shaban 1971: 479–81.

[32] Marquart 1901: 70.

With the rise of the Persian dynasty of the Samanids (819–999) and the shift of the capital to Bukhārā in 279/892, the Oxus again found itself in the heartlands of the empire.[33] Based on Ibn Khurradādhbih and Iṣṭakhrī, the tenth-century Persian geography entitled *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* nevertheless distinguished between Transoxiana and Khurāsān. Seemingly a resident of Gūzgānān (present-day Jūzjān in northwestern Afghanistan), the author assigned vast proportions to Khurāsān, which he reported to be bounded by India (*Hindistān*) in the east, Gurgān in the west, and the Oxus (*Jaiḥūn*) in the north. He also pointed out that the political unity of Khurāsān and Transoxiana should be attributed to recent developments:

> The king of Khorāsān… in the days of old was distinct from the king of Transoxiana but now they are one. The *mīr* of Khorāsān resides at Bukhārā…; he is from the Sāmān family…These (princes) are called Maliks of the East and have lieutenants (*ʿummāl*) in all Khorāsān, while on the frontiers (*ḥadd-hā*) of Khorāsān there are kings (*pādhshāhān*) called 'margraves' (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*).[34]

The lasting notion of the Oxus as a borderline and the resulting competition between the regional centers of Herat and Bukhārā during the Samanid period is reflected by an anecdote describing the literary powers of the Persian poet Rūdakī (d. 940–41). The latter is said to have prompted the Samanid ruler Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad (r. 301–331/913–943) to return to Bukhārā after a prolonged stay in Herat, by means of a catchy poem. Recounted by the twelfth-century author Niẓāmī ʿArūżī, the anecdote makes it clear that, to Amīr Naṣr at least, the summer camp in Herat was so attractive that he was tempted to make it his permanent residence, had it not been for Rūdakī's intervention:

> Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, who was the most brilliant jewel of the Sámánid galaxy…, was most plenteously equipped with every means of enjoyment and material of splendor – well-filled treasuries, a far-flung army and loyal servants. In winter he used to reside at his capital, Bukhárá, while in summer he used to go to Samarqand or some other of the cities of Khurásán. Now one year it was the turn of Herát…
>
> There the army rested. The climate was charming, the breeze cool, food plentiful, fruit abundant, the air filled with fragrant scents, so that the soldiers enjoyed their life to the full during spring and summer. When Mihrgán [autumnal equinox, CNK] arrived, and the juice of the grape came into season…, they did full justice to the delights of youth… Mihrgán was protracted, for the cold did not wax severe, and the grapes ripened with exceptional sweetness…
>
> So the Amír Naṣr ibn Aḥmad saw Mihrgán and its fruits, and was mightily pleased therewith. Then the narcissus began to bloom, and the raisins were plucked and stoned… (T)hey wintered [in the vicinity of Herat, CNK], while the Mandarin oranges began to arrive from Sístán and the sweet oranges from Mázandarán; and so they passed the winter in the most agreeable manner…
>
> When [the second] spring came the Amír sent the horses to Bádghís… And when summer came and the fruits again ripened, Amír Naṣr ibn Aḥmad said, 'Where shall we go for the summer? For there is no pleasanter place of residence than this. Let us wait till Mihrgán.' And when Mihrgán came, he said, 'Let us enjoy Mihrgán at Herát and then go', and so from season to season he continued to procrastinate, until four years had passed in this way… the Amír's attendants grew weary, and desire for home arose within them, while they beheld the king quiescent, the air of Herát in his head and the love of Herát in his heart…
>
> [The courtiers solicit the help of Rūdakī and offer him a reward of five thousand *dīnārs* if he can induce the Amīr to depart for Bukhāra, CNK]
>
> (Rūdakī) composed a *qaṣída*; and, when the Amír had taken his morning cup… took up the harp, and… began this elegy:
>
> The Jú-yi-Múliyán we call to mind,
> We long for those dear friends long left behind;
> …
> The sands of Oxus toilsome though they be,
> Beneath my feet were soft as silk to me.
> …
> Long live Bukhárá! Be thou in good cheer!
> Joyous towards thee hasteth our Amír!
>
> The Moon's the Prince, Bukhárá is the sky;

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[33] Bosworth, "Sāmānids", *E.I., 2* VIII: 1026; Fragner 2001b: 345–6.

[34] *Ḥudūd* 102. See also pp. xiv, 325. Minorsky comments that the author's allusion to former kings intends the Tahirid (820–872) and Saffarid (867–903) dynasties. Writing in 988, that is, six years after the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, the Arab geographer Ibn Ḥauqal likewise distinguished Khurāsān and Transoxiana as two clearly delimited geographical entities (Kramers & Wiet 1964: 413–99).

O Sky, the Moon shall light thee by and by!

Bukhárá is the mead, the Cypress he;
Receive at last, O Mead, thy Cypress tree!

When Rúdagí reached this verse, the Amír was so much affected that he descended from his throne, all unbooted bestrode the horse which was on sentry-duty, and set off for Bukhárá so precipitately that they carried his leggings and riding-boots after him for two parasangs… nor did he draw rein anywhere till he reached Bukhárá…[35]

Under the Turkish dynasty of the Ghaznavids (977–1186), the center of gravity shifted to Ghazna (present-day Ghaznī), Panjāb and parts of Sind. During the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd (999–1030), the most powerful member of the dynasty, Ghaznavid authority extended not far beyond the right bank of the Oxus in the north, so as to include the ancient kingdom of Khvārazm, which had only nominally formed part of the Samanid Empire.[36] In May 1040, Maḥmūd's successor Masʿūd I suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the Saljūqs, who had begun to move across the Oxus a decade earlier and occupied Marv in 1036.[37] Tughril Bēg (r. 429–455/1038–1063), the founder of the Saljūq dynasty (1040–1195), gained control over the former Ghaznavid dominions in the east and the Buyid lands in western and southern Persia. Over the following century, Marv served as the center of the Saljūq administration in the eastern part of the realm. While Tughril Bēg moved his capital westward from Nīshāpūr to Ray and Iṣfahān, his relatives holding the province of Khurāsān as an appanage came on an equal footing, or nearly so, with the central rulers, at times even assuming authority in the western parts of the realm. In the Saljūq era, Marv served as the seat of government for the two most famous governors of Khurāsān, Tughril Bēg's brother Chaghrī Bēg (r. 428–452/1036–1060) and Aḥmad Sanjar b. Malik Shāh (r. 511–552/1118–1157), who assumed an almighty position in Khurāsān and northern Persia and relegated his nephews in western Persia and Iraq to an inferior position.[38]

The next profound reshuffling of regional concepts occurred in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion of 1220, the brunt of which was borne by the urban centers of Transoxiana and Khurāsān. In the course of their far-ranging and constant movements, the Mongols created territorial divisions that reflected new and expanded notions of space. The nomad populations (*ulūs*) allotted to the four sons of Chingiz Khān (d. 624/1227) and his chief wife gradually came to be associated with fixed territories,[39] and the Oxus re-emerged as a dividing line. Transoxiana and its Inner Asian neighbor Mughūlistān fell to the patrimony of Chingiz Khān's second son Chaghatai (d. 1242), and Khvārazm and the lower Sīr Daryā became part of the Golden Horde under Chingiz Khān's grandson Batu b. Jochi (d. 1255) and his descendants for the next 140 years.[40] Subsequent to the conquest of Iran, Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Caucasus by Chingiz Khān's grandson Hülegü b. Toluy (d. 1265) in 1255–59, the representation of Iran as a territorial unit regained currency. Indeed the Ilkhanid state (1256–1335) assumed proportions reminiscent of the Sasanian Empire. The center of gravity shifted to western Persia, with Tabrīz serving as capital from 1265–1305 and turning into a hub of political, economic and cultural life. Meanwhile, the regions adjoining the Oxus became an embattled zone between Iran and the Ulūs Chaghatai, and suffered further economic damage in the process.[41]

Implying territorial division on the basis of Chingizid lineages, Mongol "Ulūsism"[42] proved to be a lasting legacy. Henceforth, sovereignty was associated with Chingizid descent, and this linkage was to shape

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[35] Browne 1921: 33–36. See also *Chahār maqāla* 145–9; Browne 1951 I: 16–17; Landau 2011: 16–17.

[36] Bosworth, „Khwārazm," *E.I., 2* IV: 1063.

[37] Spuler, „Ghaznawids," *E.I., 2* II: 1050; Bosworth, „Saldjūḳids," *E.I., 2* VIII: 938; Cahen, "Čaghri-Beg," *E.I., 2* II: 4.

[38] Bosworth 1968: 49, 150–5; Bosworth, "Khurāsān," *E.I., 2* V: 58; Bosworth, "Marw al-Shāhidjān," *E.I., 2* VI: 620; Bosworth, „Saldjūḳids," *E.I., 2* VIII: 939–43.

[39] The term *ulūs* designates a coalition of tribal groups in the service of a Mongol ruler (Doerfer 1963 I: 175). According to Jackson, the awards allotted to Chingiz Khān's relatives in the early thirteenth century were by no means static. He describes the *ulūs* as an "extremely complex pattern of rights over tribal elements, colonies of enslaved subject peoples, and grazing grounds, with perhaps the addition of nearby cities and their agricultural hinterlands". In the course of the later thirteenth century, these domains consolidated into more clearly delineated possessions of fewer Chingizid princes (Jackson 1999: 27–28, 31, 35).

[40] Bosworth, "Khwārazm," *E.I., 2* IV: 1064.

[41] Bosworth, "Khurāsān", *E.I., 2* V: 58; Fragner 2001: 348–9; Gronke 2003: 56–7; Spuler, "Īl-Khāns", *E.I., 2* II: 1120–3.

[42] Fragner 2001b: 347–8.

the strategy and the mental map of the subsequent political actors well into the eighteenth century. A case in point is the famous Central Asian conqueror Tīmūr Lang, who gained legitimacy by styling himself *güregen*, "royal son-in-law" of a Chingizid family.[43] Between 1370 and 1405, Tīmūr Lang forged Transoxiana, Khvārazm and Iran into one political entity, in effect uniting the *ulūs* of Chaghatai and Hülegü.[44] At the height of its power, the Timurid empire covered the entire expanse from Transoxiana in the east to the Euphrates and the Caucasus in the west.[45] While Khvārazm remained the bone of contention between the Timurids and the Golden Horde Khāns for most of the fifteenth century, Khurāsān and Transoxiana became the heartlands of the empire and experienced a substantial economic revival. Tīmūr's son Shāh Rukh (r. 1409–1447) shifted the capital from Samarqand to Herat, leaving the administration of Transoxiana to his son Ulugh Bēg (d. 1449). This period witnessed an unparalleled flowering of architecture, literature and science.[46]

Subsequent rulers fashioned their ideas of sovereignty and entitlement according to a Chingizid and/or Timurid mold. While the Chingizid "constitution"[47] shaped ideas of legitimacy, it was the model of Tīmūr-i Lang that was invoked by the Abu al-Khairids, Safavids, and Nādir Shāh alike. This eagerness to claim Tīmūr's heritage highlights the selective nature of historical memory, which is often informed by current interests and amalgamates some historical instances into notions of continuity while ignoring others.

Timurid rule coincided with the division of Iran into an eastern and a western force field, with Herat and Tabrīz as focal points. In the west, the Turkmen Qarā Quyūnlū and Āq Quyūnlū tribal confederations used their footholds in Eastern Anatolia to expand into western Iran. Formally a vassal of Shāh Rukh, the Qarā Quyūnlū ruler Jahān Shāh (r. 843–872/1439–1467) made Tabrīz his capital. In 1467, Ūzūn Ḥasan Āq Quyūnlū (r. 861–882/1457–1478) entered the stage. Having defeated Jahān Shāh Qarā Quyūnlū and the Timurid ruler Abū Saʿīd (r. 855–873/1451–1469), he seized Tabrīz and reduced the Timurid realm to Khurāsān and Transoxiana.[48] The importance Herat and Tabrīz enjoyed in the late fifteenth century is highlighted by the Khurasanian poet Ḥusain Abīvardī Faiżī, who described them as two of the four "thrones" in the Islamic world, the other two being the Ottoman capital of Istanbul and the Arab lands under the Mamlūk capital of Cairo.[49] His statement confirms the evolution of Iran into a double-headed realm during this period.

The rise of the Safavid dynasty in the early sixteenth century coincided with the creation of two powerful political entities of Chingizid origin. Based in Agra, the Mughal rulers (1526–1858) laid claim to the eastern parts of present-day Afghanistan and opposed their Iranian neighbors over the possession of Qandahār. Of more immediate concern to the Safavids were the Abu al-Khairid (Shibanid) rulers of Transoxiana (1501–1599) and their repeated attempts to impose their authority over Khurāsān. Abu al-Khairid activity in Khurāsān peaked for the first time in the early sixteenth century. In 1510 the confrontation between Shāh Ismāʿīl I (r. 907–930/1501–1524) and Muḥammad Khān Shībānī over the possession of Marv resulted in the death of the Chingizid leader and was followed by the designation of the Oxus as borderline between the Safavid and Abu al-Khairid dominions.[50] Herat nevertheless changed hands several times until the death of the famous Abu al-Khairid general and later *khān* ʿUbaidullāh, in 1540.[51] Between 1588 and 1598 the Uzbek troops led by ʿAbdullāh Khān (r. 991–1006/1583–1598) and his son ʿAbd al-Muʾmin again made their presence felt in Khurāsān.[52]

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[43] Manz, "Tīmūr Lang," *E. I., 2* X: 511.
[44] Fragner 2001: 349.
[45] Gronke 2003: 60.
[46] Bosworth, "Khwārazm", *E.I., 2* IV: 1064; Bosworth, "Khurāsān", *E.I., 2* V: 59; Hajianpur 1991: 165–7.
[47] McChesney 1993: 74–5.
[48] Minorsky-[Bosworth], "Tabrīz," *E.I., 2* X: 43–5; Roemer 1976.
[49] Ḥusain Abīvardī Faiżī, "Chār takht," ed. Īraj Afshār, *Farhang-i Īranzamīn* 15 (1347/1968). See also Woods 1999: 134 fn. 36.
[50] Szuppe 1992: 81.
[51] Hambly 1991f: 178–9; Roemer 1986d: 217, 236–9; Szuppe 1992: 84–7, 94, 99, 108–9.
[52] Müller 1964: 46–7, 62–5, 78.

At different historical junctures, both the Safavids and the Abu al-Khairids sought to bolster their claims on Khurāsān by activating links with the Timurid dynasty, thereby adding historical depth to their current territorial interests. In 1000/1592, the Abu al-Khairid leader ʿAbd al-Muʾmin justified his invasion of Khurāsān by claiming this region as part of the Timurid legacy. Rather than turning to the past, Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 996–1038/1588–1629) emphasized the validity of the facts created by the more recent military achievements of the Safavids.[53] Later on, the Safavids' reluctance to be measured against the yardstick of territorial precedents set by the Timurids subsided. As the Safavid hold over Khurāsān became more stable and the concurring Uzbek claims receded into the background, the Iranian rulers increasingly tended to incorporate the Timurids and their former realm east of Iran into their legacy. Thus the late seventeenth-century geographer Muḥammad Mufīd portrayed Shāh Ismāʿīl as the one who conquered Iran and Tūrān, thereby wresting control from the Āq Quyūnlūs in Azerbaijan, Fārs and ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam, as well as from the Timurids in Khurāsān and Māzandarān.[54]

With the establishment of Twelver Shiism as state religion by the Safavids, the territorial competition was increasingly cast in religious terms, pitting Iran against its Sunnī neighbors. The separation between these spheres of influence became more pronounced with the decline of transcontinental trade along the Silk Road in the seventeenth century. As the regions located along its course were deprived of their former role in an extensive net of mercantile exchange, Khurāsān and Transoxiana became parts of different, reduced political orbits.[55] Within Iran, the Shiite orientation of the Safavid rulers enhanced the position of Mashhad. In the light of the fact that Najaf and Karbalāʾ, the holy cities of Iraq, fell into the Ottoman realm, Shāh ʿAbbās I encouraged Shiite pilgrimage to the shrine of the eighth Imām ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riżā (d. 203/818) in Mashhad.[56] As a result, Mashhad increasingly eclipsed Herat as the metropolis of Khurāsān and gained importance within the Iranian nexus of trade routes.[57]

The centrality of Mashhad received a further boost at the time of Nādir Shāh Afshār (r. 1148–1160/1736–1747), who used the nearby pastures as a staging ground for his extensive military campaigns. Apart from re-establishing the seventeenth-century border with the Ottoman Empire, Nādir Shāh devoted his 1737–1740 campaigns to the expansion of his authority to present-day Afghanistan, India, Transoxiana and Khvārazm. These wide-scale military movements obliterated the last vestiges of the former balance of power between the Safavids, Uzbeks and Mughals. Yet although Nādir Shāh momentarily succeeded in transcending the former Safavid boundaries in the east, he did not attempt to bring about a political union between Khurāsān and Transoxiana. Aware of advancing into "Tūrān", the seat of Chingiz Khān's descendants, he contented himself with establishing direct control over the cis-Oxus regions of Chārjūy, Marv, Balkh and Qaṭaghan, thus reinforcing the Oxus as borderline.[58] Nādir Shāh's formal confirmation of the weakened Chingizid Mughal and Tuqai-Timurid ruling houses earned him the sobriquet, "he who has placed the crowns on the heads of the kings of India and Tūrān/Turkistān" from his biographer, Muḥammad Mihdī Astarābādī.[59] At

[53] According to Iskandar Munshī, the exchange between the Abu al-Khairid prince and his Safavid counterpart proceeded as follows: Citing a historical precedent from the late fifteenth century, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin attempted to establish himself as an heir to the Timurid domain while linking the Safavids to the Āq Quyūnlū and relegating them to western Iran. In keeping with this notion, he dismissed Safavid claims to the region on the grounds that his imperial forerunner Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā (r. 1470–1506) had ruled over Balkh and Khurāsān, while the western territories of ʿIrāq and Azerbaijan formerly belonged to the realm of Ūzūn Ḥasan Āq Quyūnlū (*Ḥasan pādshāh-i turkman*). Shāh ʿAbbās, on his part, coolly informed ʿAbd al-Muʾmin that, as his family had controlled Khurāsān for the past century, there was no need to hark back to Sulṭān Ḥusain, a "Chaghatai", and Ūzūn Ḥasan, a "Turkmen", who stood in no immediate relationship to either side. If peace was to be concluded, he added, this could only be on the basis of a more recent treaty reached between his grandfather Ṭahmāsp (r. 1524–1576) and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's great uncle Kīstan Qarā of Balkh (d. 1547), whereby Khurāsān had been ceded to the Safavids (IM 707). See also Burton 1997: 71; Mitchell 2009: 187; Navāʾī 1973 I: 148, 217.

[54] *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd* I: 4–6; see also Fragner 2001b: 351.

[55] Fragner 1997: 123.

[56] Bosworth, "Khurāsān", *E.I., 2* V: 59.

[57] Perry 1979: 13

[58] Jones 1771 I: 400–2, II: 11, 16–17. See also Kāẓim 603, 797; Lockhart 1938: 189; Avery 1991: 43.

[59] Jones 1771 I: xv, 460–1, II: 16–17, 74. See also Kāẓim 749–50; 796; Malcolm 1811: 545.

the same time, this formal delegation of authority underlined Nādir Shāh's powerful position in relationship to the Chingizid line.

Aside from the initial phases of occupation, Nādir Shāh hardly interfered with the internal affairs of the Central Asian principalities he conquered. Even so, his "customary concern for collecting people"[60] – he raised a total of 24,000 soldiers in Bukhārā and Khvārazm alone[61] – had a lasting impact on the political makeup of these regions. Upon entering Nādir Shāh's service, the local leadership was able to bolster its position at home and came to form new ruling elites. The emergence of the Manghīt dynasty in Bukhārā[62] and of the Abdālīs/Durrānīs in present-day Afghanistan may be seen in this light. In Khīva, by contrast, the Manghīt leadership installed by Nādir Shāh only outlasted his withdrawal by four years.[63] A prolonged period of turmoil followed, which was eventually terminated by the rise of the Qunghrāt Khāns in 1770.[64]

Nādir Shāh's legacy was claimed by his Afghan followers who used the power vacuum caused by the demise of the Afsharid leader to assume authority over his easternmost possessions. Portraying himself as the ruler of Iran, Hind and Turkistān, Aḥmad Shāh Sadūzai Durrānī (r. 1160–1186/1747–1772) shifted his capital further east to Qandahār, more conveniently positioned for his numerous campaigns to India. Like Nādir Shāh, the Durrānī ruler glossed over his territorial gains by formally bestowing the government of India on the last representatives of the weakened Mughal dynasty, ʿĀlamgīr II (r. 1754–1759) and Shāh ʿĀlam II (r. 1759–1806).[65] On 7 Jumādā I 1170/28 January 1757 he placed a jewel encrusted crown on the head of his defeated adversary ʿĀlamgīr, formally entrusting him with the government of India. Not surprisingly, the contemporary sources credit him with attributes resembling those associated with Nādir Shāh. They describe him as the "crown-giving emperor" (*khāqān-i tājbakhsh*) or the "kingdom-bestowing king" (*shahriyār-i mamālikbakhsh*).[66]

In Khurāsān, Aḥmad Shāh paid respect to the descendants of his erstwhile overlord. In 1755 he placed the "crown of the hereditary kingdom" on the head of Nādir Shāh's blind grandson Shāh Rukh Afshār and permitted him "to assume the throne of independence".[67] Shāh Rukh ruled Mashhad as a vassal of the Afghan monarchs until the advent of the Qājārs in 1796. Yet the area under his control merely consisted of a truncated version of Khurāsān, which Perry has characterized as a "no-man's land" between the realms of the Durrānīs based in Qandahār and Kābul, and the Zand rulers based in Shīrāz.[68]

North of the Hindu Kush, Durrānī claims to sovereignty competed with those extended by the newly founded Uzbek principality of Bukhārā. This is underlined by Aḥmad Shāh's endeavor to establish the Oxus as the divide between the Afghan and Bukharan spheres of interest in 1768.[69] While Bukhārā continued to make its influence felt in Afghan Turkistān well into the nineteenth century, the Oxus was again conceived, at least on the Afghan side, as a boundary. With the Clarendon-Gorchakov Agreement of 1872, this river ultimately assumed the role of a border in the modern sense, separating the Russian sphere of influence from the nascent modern state of Afghanistan.

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[60] Avery 1991: 23.

[61] Jones 1771 II: 16, 28.

[62] While members of the Tuqai-Timurid dynasty continued to rule Bukhārā nominally until 1785, the effective power in the Khanate passed to the chiefs of the Manghīt Uzbeks. Enjoying Nadirid patronage, Muḥammad Ḥakīm Bī Manghīt (d. 1743) and his son Muḥammad Raḥīm Bī (d. 1758) were able to assert their power in Bukhārā in the 1740s. During the reign of Muḥammad Ḥakīm Bī's brother, Dāniyāl Bī (r. 1758–1785), the Manghīt administration became firmly established. Instead of styling themselves *khān*, Dāniyāl's descendants Shāh Murād (nicknamed Amīr-i Maʿṣūm, r. 1785–1800), Ḥaidar Tūra (r. 1800–1826), Naṣrullāh b. Ḥaidar Tūra (r. 1827–1860) and Muẓaffar al-Dīn (r. 1860–1885) assumed the title of *amīr al-mūʾminīn* (Boukhary 110–116; Bregel, "Mangit" *E.I., 2;* Bregel, "Bokhārā, iii", *E.Ir.* IV*;* Bregel, "Central Asia vii. In the 12th–13th/18th–19th Centuries, *E.Ir.* V: 193–4; Khanikoff 1845: 295–302; Nazarov 1963: 14–18; TRSN IX: 282).

[63] JN 458, 479–80; Kāẓim 817, 862–5.

[64] Bregel, "Central Asia, vii. In the 12th–13th/18th–19th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 194–5. See also *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): xiv.

[65] Aḥmad Shāh, *Nāma*, 43, 76–77.

[66] TA (Humāyūn) 265–7. According to Singh, this event took place on the night of 25–26 January 1757 (Singh 1981: 404).

[67] Aḥmad Shāh, *Nāma*, 36. See also T Hu 18–19.

[68] Perry 1971: 66.

[69] ST 27; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 42.

This quick ride through history – beginning with an administrative fiat in Sasanian times and ending with the creation of fixed borders in the nineteenth century – serves to illustrate the longevity of the idea of Khurāsān and the fashion in which it was constructed and reconstructed over time. The events sketched above provide a conceptual background for the narrative to follow. After this overview of the history of Khurāsān throughout the ages, it is time to explore the relationships within this territorial entity. In the following chapter, we will open the shell and take a closer look at the pearl within.

1. The Seat of Government: Herat during the Timurid Period

In the fifteenth century Khurāsān was located in the center of the vast empire conquered by Tīmūr Lang between 1366 and 1401. Tīmūr Lang's successors settled in the city of Herat, which henceforth served as the capital (*dār al-salṭana*) of the empire, while Samarqand and Shīrāz functioned as important regional centers.[1] In 1414 the Timurid ruler Shāh Rukh (r. 811–850/1409–1447) commissioned a local author to write a geographical account of the region in Persian. This author, to become known by the title of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, underlined the mighty proportions of Khurāsān, which extended from Bisṭām in the west to Ghaznī in the east, and from Sijistān [Sīstān] in the south to the Oxus [Āb-i Āmūya] in the north.[2] A native of Khvāf in Khurāsān, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū emphasized the centrality of his province and its unique location. Placed in the middle of the fourth clime and comprising both warm and cold zones, it was blessed with a uniquely balanced and healthy climate and protected from the outbreak of epidemics. Within this setting, Abrū ascribed a pivotal role to the city of Herat, the status of which was further enhanced by the benign effects of Shāh Rukh's rule: "Under the auspices of the [present] august and fortunate reign the affairs of Khurāsān, and Herat in particular, have been blessed with an utmost degree of splendor and order."[3]

The situation in Herat and its position within Khurāsān during Timurid times provides the focus of this chapter. Particular attention will be paid to the manner in which this space was structured and perceived by authors of the time. The rich material available for this period allows for a detailed account of the administrative divisions and economic setting. The administrative divisions around Herat displayed a high degree of constancy ever since they were recorded by the Kartid historiographer Saif al-Haravī in the early fourteenth century. This holds true in particular for the smaller units of administration which corresponded to segments of the irrigation system. Of course, the extent and number of requisite channels rose and fell along with political stability, or lack thereof. The irrigation system of Herat suffered massive destruction during the Mongol, Timurid and Safavid invasions but rebounded within decades. The internal makeup of the subdivisions grouped around the oasis proper was likewise characterized by great longevity. While the province of Herat expanded and shrank over time and was subject to different sets of rulers, the component subdivisions were hardly affected by these changes.[4]

Timurid authors particularly emphasized the economic activities in the region. Their descriptions of the rich ecological setting and the varieties of fine fruit it produces simultaneously suggest that this abundance is largely contingent on the benign policies of the Timurid overlords. Sensory experiences are part and parcel of this economic perspective. Statements concerning the great variety of local fruits like Herat's proverbial hundred kinds of grapes enhance the notion of a favored and temperate oasis.[5] What is more, impressions of the sights, tastes and sounds characteristic of the region conveyed by some of the sources enrich the local texture with a sense of seasonal change, adding a tangible dimension to the physical outline of the terrain. Notions of space were also shaped by landmarks. These could be military strongholds enforcing royal claims to authority or religious institutions creating fields of spiritual authority. The interaction between nomadic conquerors and oasis towns produced an intermediate space: splendid residential gardens serving as seat of

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[1] Krawulsky 1982: 14. In awarding a title to their capital, the Timurids followed well-established historical precedents. Since the later Abbasid period, Islamic metropolises were adorned with honorifics. Baghdad was known as *dār al-salām* or *dār al-khilāfa.* From the Ilkhanid period on, the term *dār al-salṭana* was associated with Tabrīz (Fragner 2006: 74–5). See also *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd* 4. Early Timurid sources referred to Herat as *dār al-mulk* (Roemer 1956: 77 (f. 103a), 92 (f. 131a), 116 (f. 161b), 123 (f. 168b).

[2] Krawulsky 1982: 11; 1984: 17.

[3] Krawulsky 1982: 14; 1984: 18.

[4] Among the dependencies of Herat (*khiṭṭa-yi maḥrūsa-yi Harāt*) Saif al-Haravī mentions Jurzivān [Gurzīvān], Farāh, Garmsīr, Darra (Jaza in Isfizārī I: 462) and Qalʿagāh in addition to the provinces listed by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, but he omits Kurūkh, Bādghīs, Murghāb, Khvāf, Bākharz, and Jām (Saifʿal-Haravī 1943: 612). See also Isfizārī I: 462.

[5] Krawulsky 1982: 18; 1984: 21; *Irshād al-zirāʿa* 113–16.

government and the pastures necessary for gathering and maintaining troops represented vital nodes on the mental map of contemporaneous observers.

SOURCES ON TIMURID KHURĀSĀN

The following discussion relies in great part on the information furnished by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū and Muʿīn al-Dīn Muḥammad Zamchī Isfizārī. These two authors represent different eras and are set apart in terms of literary temperament. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's career coincided with the reign of Shāh Rukh, and his geography mirrors the circumstances prevailing in and around Herat during the early Timurid period. The particular value of this work lies in the systematic treatment of Khurāsān and its component regions. In each entry, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū consistently pursues a number of related topics. Beginning with a few geographic generalities, he goes on to list the constituent subdivisions and their location in relation to one another. In this manner, he sketches their boundaries and lays out a rough map of the region. The geographic aspects mentioned by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū give a basic idea of the terrain and shed light on the economic setting. The mode and extent of cultivation as well as the number of settlements of a particular region are of primary concern and convey an impression of the relative wealth of the area discussed. In this context, he distinguishes between different types of cultivation – agriculture in open fields (*zirāʿat*) and intensive garden and orchard cultivation in walled plots of land (*bāghistān*),[6] which in turn foster different settlement patterns – hamlets (*mazraʿa*) and villages (*qarya*).[7] Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū also refers to other sources of wealth like iron and gold mines. The resulting picture is rounded off by information on the impact of the Mongol invasion and Timurid policies on the prosperity or decline of specific locations.

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's work begins with an outline of the basic facts concerning the province of Khurāsān: Its extent, its climatic properties, popular ideas of its genesis and etymology. He further quotes two poems which attest to the unique position of Khurāsān and enumerate its four major cities: Herat, Balkh, Nīshāpūr, and Marv.[8] Among these four coordinates, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū assigns a central role to Herat. He introduces his treatise on the constituent parts of Khurāsān with a description of this city and its dependencies (*tavābiʿ*). Taking the city of Herat as point of reference, his account moves from center to periphery. After describing the urban setting, he sketches the districts (*bulūk*) forming the oasis proper and the outlying provinces (*vilāyāt*) under the authority of Herat. The same sequence will be followed in the discussion below.

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's account of Herat is complemented by Isfizārī's *Raużāt al-jannāt fī auṣāf madīnat Harāt*. Writing at the time of Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā (r. 873–911/1469–1506), Isfizārī describes the region at a point when Timurid rule had reached the height of its grandeur. His vivid account of the delights of Herat and its environs is ornate where Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū is concise. It reads as sort of a travel guide, lavishing an abundance of details on the regions the author has visited himself. In this context he conveys a number of sensual impressions, including the taste of the locally produced melons and grapes, the beauties of the landscape, and the inaccessibility of local forts. More remote areas, by contrast, receive a more sparing treatment.

As the title suggests, Isfizārī's book is subdivided into 26 chapters entitled "gardens" (*rauża*), each of which consists of a certain number of meadows (*chaman*). The first five chapters are devoted to a detailed description of Herat and its environs. The remainder of the book is concerned with the historical events in the region since the Samanid period and pays particular attention to the circumstances in Herat during Kartid and Timurid times. In his description of Herat, Isfizārī proceeds in a similar fashion to Hāfiẓ-i Abrū. He begins

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[6] Krawulsky 1984: 12 fn. 17; Subtelny 1993: 185, 192.

[7] According to Petrushevsky, the term *qarya* stood for long-standing village communities with collective structures. The term *mazraʿa* (pl. *mazāriʿ*), by contrast, designated rural settlements devoid of such structures, which were possibly created by local rulers in order to reclaim wastelands. Krawulsky raises the possibility that the distinction between these two terms was determined by ecological factors and the agricultural setting. Villages (*qarya*) were characterized by a relatively high population density and intensive agriculture. Translated as "hamlet", the term *mazraʿa* stands for settlements grouped around the villages in regions with less fertile soil (Krawulsky 1984: 11–14). See also Schwarz 2000: 32.

[8] Krawulsky 1982: 11–13.

with the city of Herat and then offers a short overview of the districts (*bulūk*). In his subsequent discussion of the *vilāyāt* he projects an "inner" and an "outer" ring of provinces.[9]

In addition to the general data furnished by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū and Isfizārī, there exists a detailed account of the irrigation system of the oasis of Herat. Written in the early 10th/16th century, Qāsim b. Yūsuf's *Risāla-yi ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb-i qulb* is a tax register which considers the districts of Herat, their constituent villages, and the amount of water apportioned. This account shows that the division of water designed by the Timurid ruler Abū Saʿīd (r. 855–873/1451–1469) was based on a settlement made by the Kartid ruler Muʿizz al-Dīn Ḥusain (r. 732–772/1331–1370) as early as 738/1337–38. Apart from shedding light on the local patterns of settlement and irrigation, Qāsim b. Yūsuf's work thus reflects the continuity of local administrative arrangements.[10] Another important contribution by the same author is *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, a manual on agriculture.[11] The sacred space around Herat was documented by Aṣīl al-Dīn ʿAbdullāh Vāʿiẓ (d. 883/1478–79) during the reign of Abū Saʿīd. His *Maqṣad al-iqbāl sulṭānīya* commemorates 209 religious figures of the region.[12]

An important source for pre-Timurid times is Saif al-Haravī's *Tārīkhnāma-yi Harāt*. Completed in 1321, this book describes the situation in Herat subsequent to the Mongol conquest of the city and discusses the policies of the Kartid rulers (1245–1389).[13] The *Mujmal-i faṣīḥī* by Faṣīḥ-i Khvāfī (d. 1442), which consists of short entries on military campaigns, dynastic matters and saints of the region, provides useful insights into the early Timurid period.[14] Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's *Zubdat al-tavārīkh* was elaborated on by ʿAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī (d. 1482) in the late fifteenth century.[15] Two important authorities on the conditions in Herat during Timurid and early Safavid times are Mīr Khvānd (1433/34–1498) and his grandson Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khvānd Amīr (1475–1535/36). Enjoying the patronage of the famous Timurid minister ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī (844–906/1441–1501), Mīr Khvānd wrote the first six volumes of a universal history entitled *Raużat al-ṣafā*, which covers the events up to 1469. A seventh volume concerning the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā and his sons up to 1522 was later appended by Khvānd Amīr.[16] Khvānd Amīr, who witnessed the beginnings of Safavid domination in Herat and joined Mughal service in 1520, was a prolific writer. Two of his works are of particular relevance for the purposes of this chapter. Completed in 1499, his *Khulāṣat al-akhbār* provides information on the major buildings and important personages in and around town. Even more valuable is his *Tārīkh ḥabīb al-siyar*, which was written in honor of the Safavid official Karīm al-Dīn Ḥabībullāh in 1524 and deals with the events in Herat down to the early Safavid period.[17]

THE CITY OF HERAT

Timurid accounts of Herat cast the city as the focal point of a nested continuum of spheres. From this perspective, Khurāsān represents a uniquely favored spot within the seven regions of the world, known as climes (*iqlīm*). Informed by the Greek concept of "klima", this world view divided the inhabited world into seven zones, among which the fourth and central region represented "moderation in all things".[18] According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, Herat was favored by a nearly perfect balance of natural factors owing to the fact that it was

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[9] The fourth "garden" deals with Harāt-Rūd, Shāfilān, Isfizār, Fūshanj, Kūsūya, Bādghīs, and Kurūkh. The fifth "garden" enumerates a number of "more distant" *vilāyāt*: Jām and Bākharz are categorized as part of the western regions and are mentioned under the heading of Mashhad, whereas Ghūr and Gharjistān are mentioned under the heading of Quhistān and Qandahār.

[10] *Qismat-i āb* 15. See also Allen 1981: 4.

[11] Jakobi 1992; Subtelny 1993.

[12] Saljūqī 1967, "Muqaddima," pp. jīm, dāl, vāv.

[13] Paul, "Herat V. Local Histories," *E.Ir.* XII: 218.

[14] Manz 2007: 64–7. See also Naṣrābādī, "Muqaddima," *Mujmal-i faṣīḥī,* 1386/2007.

[15] Manz 2007: 57–61; Szuppe, "Historiography v. Timurid Period," *E.Ir.* XII: 358.

[16] A. Beveridge—[Beatrice Forbes Manz], "Mīr Khvānd," *E.I., 2* VII: 126–7.

[17] H. Beveridge—J. T. P. de Bruijn, "Khwandamir," *E.I., 2* IV: 1020–22; Quinn 1996: 3–6.

[18] Miquel, "Iḳlīm," *E.I. 2* III: 1076–7. For a general discussion of the concept of climes, see Naṭanzī 247–8.

located "in the middle of the fourth clime… It enjoys the best weather of all climes. In Khurāsān, cholera and plague rarely occur. It has both warm and cold regions but neither [temperature] reaches extremes. It comprises mountains and plains, but mountains predominate."[19]

Within this realm, a central position is accorded to Herat. This notion was by no means a purely Timurid phenomenon. The often-quoted poem characterizing the world as the sea, Khurāsān as a shell and Herat as the pearl in its midst dates back to Kartid times. Another popular image employed by foreign invaders and locals alike alluded to the world as a body, identifying Khurāsān as its breast, and Herat as the heart which endowed the entire being with spiritual life. When Tīmūr Lang crossed the Oxus in 1381, he referred to Khurāsān as the "breast" of the world.[20] To illustrate the high rank Herat enjoyed in their time, Isfizārī and Khvānd Amīr quoted a poem by the early Timurid author Tāj-i Salmānī:

> Heraut is the eye—the lamp, which gives light to all other cities,
> Heraut is the soul, of which this world is but the body,
> and if Khorassaun be the bosom of the world,
> Heraut is allowed to be the heart.[21]

In the construction of the local space different emphases may be discerned. Within the pull generated by the city of Herat, Isfizārī focuses on the Friday Mosques (*masjid-i jāmiʿ*) within and without the city as points of gravity. In his opinion, the greatness of the Timurid capital is embodied by these religious institutions and their beneficial impact on the spiritual knowledge and religious awareness (*ʿilm va intibāh*) of the local population. The centrality of Herat's Friday Mosque in Isfizārī's universe is reflected by the fact that he devotes an entire chapter to it at the beginning of his book. The description of this sacred building comes in the third place, following immediately upon a treatise on Herat's greatest personage, the poet Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492), and the requisite eulogy of the royal family and their entourage. In Isfizārī's opinion, Jāmī personifies the spiritual excellence fostered by the religious environment of Herat and in turn enhances its importance. Apart from extolling the insights emanating from Jāmī's rich work, he draws attention to his reputation as a Sufi master, which radiates to the remotest corners of the world and attracts to Herat disciples from distant places:

> His attainments as a saint (*vilāyatī*) even caused the rebellious within the realms of knowledge and gnosis hailing from the extreme end of India (*Hind*) to the furthest limits of Anatolia (*Rūm*) and Palestine, from the frontiers of China (*sarḥadd-i Khatā va Chīn*) and Indochina (*Māchīn*) to the territories of Bulgaria (*Bulghār*) and *Saqsīn*[22] to bow their foreheads in devotion.[23]

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, on his part, praises Shāh Rukh for the construction of a *khānaqāh* and a *madrasa* next to the citadel, which have turned the Timurid capital into "the seat of rulers, the sunrise of the knowledgeable, the

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[19] Krawulsky 1984: 17.

[20] When Tīmūr Lang reached Andkhūd, the local saint Bābā Sangū threw the breast piece of a slaughtered animal at him. Tīmūr Lang took this as an auspicious sign and exclaimed, "God will bestow Khurāsān on me, which is called the breast of the world!" (Mīr Khvānd VI: 114–15; HS III: 543; see also Algar, "Bābā Sankū," *E.Ir.* III: 295; Nagel 1993: 158; Subtelny 2007: 116). Jāmī's nephew Maulānā ʿAbdullāh Hātifī Haravī (d. 927/1520–21) has rendered this incident in the following manner:
Nakhustīn zi Sangū-yi yazdān parast kilīd-i khurāsānī āmad ba dast;
ba tuḥfa yak sīna-yi gūsfand firistādash īn wāqif-i arjumand;
shah az sīna-yi gūsht īn fāl zad ki murgh-i safar sū-yi mā bāl zad;
Khurāsān zi rū-yi zamīn sīna ast, bar ān zi āsmān nām-i dīrīna ast;
ba mā dādash īnak khudā-yi jahān, nigāranda-yi āshkār u pinhān.
(Matīn-i Andkhūy 1999: 23).

[21] *Harāt chashm u chirāgh-i jāmiʿ-i buldān ast; jahān tanī ast, ba-nisbat Harāt chūn jān ast; shuda-ast sīna-yi rū-yi zamīn Khurāsān, līk Harāt az rah-i maʿnī dil-i Khurāsān ast* (Isfizārī I: 21). I have followed Price's translation of the same verse quoted in Khvānd Amīr's *Khulāṣat al-akhbār* (1821 III: 641). Tāj-i Salmānī joined Tīmūr's court in Samarqand in 800 (24 September 1397–12 September 1398). In 1410, he was part of Shāh Rukh's entourage (Roemer 1956: 12). See alsoHinz 1936: 367–73; Storey 1953: 1275–6; Woods 1987: 88.

[22] A city located in Western Eurasia, most probably in the lower Volga basin (V.F. Büchner-[P.B. Golden], "Saḳsīn." *E.I., 2* VIII: 896–7).

[23] Isfizārī I: 26–7.

qibla of the righteous, the *kaʿba* of the noble and the learned, the halting-place of the just and the pious, the refuge of ascetics and devotees, the residence of the poles (*aqṭāb*) and the pillars (*autād*) [of sainthood]".[24] Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū and Isfizārī also pay homage to the worldly aspects of Timurid power and give detailed accounts of the defensive works and commercial quarters of the city as reflections of the strength of their Timurid overlords. In these descriptions, the Friday Mosque, the citadel, the city's fortifications and the market place constitute focal points within the urban space.[25]

THE FRIDAY MOSQUE (MASJID-I JĀMIʿ)

Isfizārī describes the Friday Mosque as a building of mighty proportions mirroring the beauty of the world. Moreover, the intense devotion of the worshippers gathered there provides a linkage with the unseen:

> Its five gates rival the seven blue skies, its four halls (*ṣuffa*) resemble the eight gardens of Paradise. The reach (lit. *kamand*, "lasso") of imagination falls short of capturing the height of the domed sanctuary (*maqṣūra*); its Saturn-approaching *īvān* gives shadow to heaven and earth alike, the humming of those withdrawing for *dhikr* in its *kaʿba*-like spaces make the pillars of heaven vibrate, the murmur of rosaries and the call to prayer uttered in its sky-high cupola (*ṭāq*) resound in the ears of the worshippers of the heavenly sphere.[26]

Isfizārī attributes the construction of the Friday Mosque to the Ghurid ruler Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (r. 558–599/1163–1203) in 597/1200–1201.[27] Yet later in his work he mentions that the original building was destroyed by an earthquake as early as Jumādā I 495/February 1102, thus acknowledging its existence in previous times.[28] Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū traces the foundation of the Masjid-i Jāmiʿ to a slightly earlier period than Isfizārī and ascribes its construction to the *vazīr* of the Khvarazmian ruler ʿAlā al-Dīn Tekish (r. 567–596/1172–1200).[29]

The fate of the Friday Mosque in subsequent times mirrors the ebb and flow of destruction and construction Herat and its environs experienced over time. After being destroyed by the Mongols, the mosque was repaired twice during the Kartid era. When Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn I (r. 707–729/1308–1328/29) set out to restore the building in 720/1320–21 for the first time since the Ghurid era,[30] no trace remained of its east and south halls (*ṣuffa*), its vaults and columns. Apart from rebuilding the mosque "better and stronger than before", Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn ordered a college, the Madrasa-yi Ghiyāthīya, to be constructed along its northern side.[31] His successor Malik Muʿizz al-Dīn Ḥusain Kart repaired the damages a severe earthquake had inflicted on the *maqṣūra* of the Friday mosque in 765/1364.[32]

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[24] Krawulsky 1982: 17; 1984: 20–1.

[25] The Chinese envoy Ch'en Ch'eng, who visited Herat in late 1414, likewise mentions the residence of the ruler, the market place, and a *madrasa* as vital points of interest in the Timurid capital (Richtsfeld 1985; Rossabi 1983). The fact that Ch'en locates a big wok-like copper vessel in the courtyard of the *madrasa* leads Hecker to conclude that his description in fact intended the Friday mosque (Hecker 1993: 90).

[26] Isfizārī I: 31. Isfizārī's fondness for images linking the grand Herati architecture, both sacred and profane, to cosmological phenomena fits into literary molds of the time. Around 1560, ʿAbdī Bēg Shīrāzī resorted to similar hyperbole in his celebration of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's palace complex of Saʿādatābād near Qazvīn (Losensky 2003: 11).

[27] Isfizārī I: 32–33; *Qismat-i āb* 7. See also Khvānd Amīr's *Khulāṣat al-akhbār* as quoted in Price 1821 III: 642.

[28] According to Isfizārī, the earthquake hit on the night from Thursday to Friday, 8 Jumādā I 495/28 February 1102. It destroyed the western section of the Friday mosque and a great part of the northern and southern sections. Fortunately, this earthquake occurred at a time of night when there were few worshippers at the mosque, otherwise it would have cost many lives. In gratitude for God's mercy, the population of Herat began to rebuild the mosque on the next day (Isfizārī II: 55). Isfizārī's description of the earthquake is probably based on the account of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Fāmī Haravī (1079–1152), who apparently witnessed this event (Fāmī 135). Fāmī also provides us with an eyewitness account of the inscription the Sīmjūrid Amīr Abū al-Ḥasan (d. 378/989) affixed to the *miḥrāb* of the Masjid-i Jāmiʿ during one of his tenures as governor of Khurāsān (345–349/956–961, 350–371/961–982, 376–378/986–989 (Fāmī 102–3). See also Allen 1981: 103; Golombek 1983: 95.

[29] Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Cinq opuscules*, 48, quoted in Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām's appendix to his edition of Isfizārī (Isfizārī II: 398–99). See also Allen 1981: 103.

[30] *Mujmal-i faṣīḥī* III: 31.

[31] Saif al-Haravī 1943: 746–7; Isfizārī I: 505; *Qismat-i āb*, 6. See also Allen 1981: 105, 131; Golombek 1983: 96.

[32] Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Cinq opuscules*, 48; *Qismat-i āb*, 11–12. See also Allen 1981: 105; Golombek 1983: 96.

The Masjid-i Jāmiʿ apparently survived the Timurid conquest in 1381 unscathed. During the reign of Shāh Rukh, the only person to engage in repairs was the *amīr al-umarā* Jalāl al-Dīn Fīrūzshāh (d. 848/1444–45).[33] Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā's adviser ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī undertook a major restoration and decoration of the mosque. Between Ramażān 903/April–May 1498 and 14 Shaʿbān 905/15 March 1500, this famous patron actively participated in the construction of a new *maqṣūra* dome, the decoration of the vaults and arcades and the addition of a marble pulpit.[34]

Rather than standing in the center of town, the Friday mosque was constructed in its northeast quarter between the Khush and Qipchāq Gates. According to Isfizārī, this location was chosen because of the availability of flowing water (supplied by the Jūy-i Injīl canal) and its pleasant climate. Its excellence was established by a simple method: Sheep heads (*kalla*) were placed in each quarter and the center (*chahār sū*) of town in order to find out where they lasted the longest. In all other sites these heads rotted four days earlier than in the northeastern corner of town. Therefore, this area was chosen as the proper spot for the construction of the Friday mosque.[35] Isfizārī also informs us that the Masjid-i Jāmiʿ lost its unique position over time. While it had been the only mosque to fill the purpose of a Friday mosque for Herat and its environs prior to the Timurid era, the patronage extended by Shāh Rukh's wife Gauhar Shād and Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā encouraged the foundation of similarly large mosques. Thus Gauhar Shād constructed an "exceedingly pure, spacious, and elegant" Friday mosque without the city bounds in the area that subsequently became known as the Muṣallā. Later on, Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā endowed the city and its environs with as many as ten congregational mosques large enough to hold the population of "Cairo" (*Miṣr*).[36]

The Citadel of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn (Qalʿa-yi Ikhtiyār al-Dīn)

For Isfizārī, the second most important sight is the citadel of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn located in the northern section of the city of Herat. Again, he treats the reader to a lyrical description concerning the strength of this fortress and its dimensions. Such is the height of its sky-scraping turrets (*kungra-yi falak-farsā*) that the signs of the zodiac seem within reach. Thus one may conveniently pluck the constellation of the hyacinth (*sunbula*, the sign of Virgo) off the sky, and the sign of the Eagle (*nasr*) has made itself a nest in the battlements of its towers. By the same token, the soldiers manning the towers run the risk of being assaulted by the sign of Leo. The moat surrounding the fort is of equally baffling dimensions. It is so wide that not even a strong-winged eagle can pass it and so deep that the cow of the earth visible in its bed will reach for the greenery growing along its edges.[37] Assuming a more sober note in the later narrative, Isfizārī reports that the moat is about twenty *gaz* wide but is not very deep because it has not been dug out for a while.[38]

Allen identifies Ikhtiyār al-Dīn as a noble in the service of the early Kartid rulers.[39] But according to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, it was the Kartid ruler Fakhr al-Dīn (r. ca. 697–707/1298–1308) himself who erected the citadel.[40] Around 699/1299–1300, Fakhr al-Dīn also rebuilt the city wall and constructed the quarter "below

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[33] Khvānd Amīr, *Khulāṣat al-akhbār* as quoted in Price 1821 III: 642. See also Golombek 1983: 96.

[34] Khvānd Amīr, *Khulāṣat al-akhbār* as quoted in Price 1821 III: 642–5. See also Allen 1981: 106; Golombek 1983: 97–98.

[35] Isfizārī I: 79. See also Tumanovich 1989: 55. According to Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī Haravī, the part of the Masjid-i Jāmiʿ known as "Bādghīsak" was built with the help of invisible beings (*rijāl al-ghaib*) (*Qismat-i āb*, 8–9).

[36] Isfizārī I: 34–5. Apart from the Friday mosque in Ziyāratgāh (Isfizārī I: 82–3), Isfizārī does not specify the other large mosques constructed by Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā. Besides Ziyāratgāh, Allen lists four congregational mosques built in the environs of Herat in the time of Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā. Three of these, the Friday mosque of the Ikhlāṣīya complex, as well as the Masjid-i Jāmiʿ-i Pul-i Darqarāh on the Jūy-i Alanjān, and the Masjid-i Jāmiʿ-i Pul-i Kārtabār south of the city, were founded by ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī. A further congregational mosque was constructed by Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā's *vazīr* Khvāja Afżal al-Dīn Muḥammad Kirmānī (d. 910/1504–5) to the west outside the ʿIrāq Gate (Allen 1981: 94–6, 98, 112, 116).

[37] Isfizārī I 36–38.

[38] Isfizārī I: 79.

[39] Allen 1981: 34.

[40] Krawulsky 1982: 18; Krawulsky 1984: 23;

the citadel" (*pā-yi ḥiṣār*), including a square and a bazaar.[41] In 707/1308 the Ilkhanid army intervened in the affairs of Herat and terminated Fakhr al-Dīn's rule. Subsequently, his brother and successor Ghiyāth al-Dīn I rebuilt the audience hall of the citadel which had been destroyed during the Ilkhanid campaign. In addition, he extended the bazaar constructed by Fakhr al-Dīn to the center of the city and added two caravanserais.[42]

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū reports that the Timurid ruler Shāh Rukh re-erected the citadel of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn with burnt bricks in 818/1415.[43] Despite their building activity, all of Tīmūr Lang's descendants preferred palaces located in suburban gardens to the inner-city citadels as places of residence. In Herat, Samarqand and Shīrāz, court life revolved around these residential gardens, while the fortified citadels primarily served as treasury and prison.[44] In the early part of his reign, Shāh Rukh settled in the Bāgh-i Shahr built by Fakhr al-Dīn Kart at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Located within the ramparts of Herat and immediately north of the citadel, this residence was ideally suited to ward off internal and external enemies. From 814/1411 on, the suburban Kartid estate of Bāgh-i Zāghān gradually assumed a central position in the affairs of the state.[45] Eventually the court was moved there, and the Bāgh-i Shahr was only used in times of danger.[46] In Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā's time the Bāgh-i Jahānārā became a focal point of government activities. Even so, the Bāgh-i Zāghān continued to be used for important official ceremonies well into the early Safavid period.[47]

THE CITY WALLS (BĀRA) AND MARKETS (BĀZĀR)

The walls enclosing the city of Herat were already described by the tenth-century Arab geographers Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥauqal and Muqaddasī.[48] A peculiar feature was their quadrangular shape coinciding with the four points of the compass. Internally, the city was structured by two axes which intersected in the center. Immediately to the north, the mound known as Quhandiz-i M-S-R-Q and later referred to as Tall-i Bangiyān,[49] represented the most ancient part of the city.[50]

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[41] Saif al-Haravī 1943: 440. See also Allen 1981: 228; Szuppe, "Herat iv. Topography and Urbanism", *E.Ir.* XII: 212.

[42] Saif al-Haravī 1943: 747–50. See also Allen 1981: 229.

[43] Krawulsky 1982: 19; Krawulsky 1984: 23. Mīr Khvānd confirms this date and reports that Shāh Rukh employed 700,000 workmen to rebuild the fortress (Price 1821 III: 530). See also Allen 1981: 34. During his visit to Herat in late 1414, the Chinese envoy Ch'en Ch'eng observed that Shāh Rukh lived in a brick building located in the northeast of the city and noted the interior decoration: "His house is square and resembles a high platform and is without beams or tiles. There are several dozen rooms in the house, and the walls and windows are adorned and painted with golden and green glass. The doors are carved with flower patterns inlaid with bone and horns" (Rossabi 1983: 49). See also Richtsfeld 1985: 3. Hecker places the building in the northwest sector of the city and identifies it as the "great citadel of Herat" (Hecker 1993: 89).

[44] Gronke 1992: 19–20.

[45] Szuppe 1993: 279–80. According to Allen, some of the bureaucracy remained in Bāgh-i Shahr until 825/1421–22 (Allen 1981: 209, 211).

[46] Allen 1981: 209; Szuppe 1993: 279–82.

[47] In the early Safavid period, the Bāgh-i Shahr regained its former status as seat of government (*masnad-i salṭanat*) (Szuppe 1993: 279–3).

[48] Gaube 1977: 217; Hambly 1991c: 582.

[49] KR 64, 167, 226; Patterson 1988: 26; NT 682, 713. In 1845 Ferrier describes the Tall-i Bangiyān as an "artificial elevation of ground… about forty feet in height, and 650 yards in length; this is crescent-shaped, the horns inclining towards the city, while the centre sensibly recedes: from the nature of the materials mixed with the earth, it is evident that this mass was once the site of extensive buildings." (Ferrier 1857: 181).

[50] Another town to match this spatial arrangement was the pre-Islamic town of Marv. The combination of an elevated citadel adjoined on one side by a town (*shahristān*) was typical of medieval Central Asian cities. According to Chmelnizkij, the citadel (*ark, quhandiz*) represented the most ancient part of the city. As a rule, the layout of the adjacent *shahristān* was regular. In pre-Islamic times, the city of Bukhārā was rectangular in shape. The external layout was mirrored by the internal structure, that is, a number of straight roads intersecting at right angles. The main arteries led to four gates in the western wall, while each of the other walls had one gate each (Chmelnizkij 1989: 19–25). During the Samanid period (263–395/875–1005) Bukhārā consisted of the citadel, the walled city, and an inner and an outer suburb (*rabaż*) (Pugachenkova, Rtveladze, "Bukhara v. Archeology and Monuments," *E.Ir.* IV: 525). Samarqand was likewise made up of a citadel (*quhandiz*), the town proper (*shahristān, madīna*), and a suburb (*rabaż*) (Bregel 2003: 82).

The Kartid author Saif al-Haravī comments on the strength of Herat's fortifications. He quotes an eyewitness account of a siege of Herat by the Mongol commander Būjāy b. Dānishmand Bahādur in 1307: "This city cannot be taken by assault [even] after one and a half year of siege and blockade, as it is well fortified and stands firm. It has a deep moat and solid walls. It can only be conquered through the gates, particularly at harvest time."[51] Subsequently the Kartid ruler Muʿizz al-Dīn Ḥusain further strengthened the city by erecting an additional protective wall (*shahrbandī*) to defend the northern suburbs. According to Isfizārī, this outer wall was of "great extent", covering an area of one by two *farsang* (four by eight miles).[52] In 1381 Tīmūr Lang destroyed both the outer and the inner walls, and removed the city gates to his home in town of Kish (Shahr-i Sabz). While the outer wall was never rebuilt, Shāh Rukh ordered the reconstruction of the inner city walls after the death of Tīmūr Lang in 807/1405 in order to ward off rival contenders for the throne.

According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, Shāh Rukh reinforced the fortifications of Herat to such an extent that the building activity of previous rulers was negligible by comparison.[53] He describes the development of the city wall in the following manner:

> At the time of its construction the wall was 60 *gaz* wide and 30 *gaz* high. Subsequently an outer wall (*faṣīl*) and battlements (*muqātila*) were added to the glacis (*khākrīz*). Each wall is a bit more than 2,000 *gaz* long. The outer circumference comprising the moat measures one *farsang* [four miles]. Between the gates and the corners of the wall towers have been added. It has four large bastions on its four corners. Among the two bastions located in the eastern wall, the one in the north [on the northeastern corner] is called Burj-i ʿAlī Asad and the one in the south [on the southeastern corner] is called Burj-i Kh-R-Q. Among the two bastions located on the western wall, the one in the north [on the northwestern corner] is called Burj-i Shamʿāniyān and the one the south [on the southwestern corner] is called Burj-i Khākistar.[54]

In the late fifteenth century, Isfizārī specifically mentions a building (*manzil*) located on top of the Burj-i ʿAlī Asad, which offers an excellent view of the gardens and reservoirs located within and without the city.[55] He ascribes the following dimensions to the fortifications:

> The city wall consists of two separate walls (*faṣīl*) separated by a gap of ten *gaz*. At the time of writing… there are 149 towers. The circumference of the city wall measures 7,300 paces (*qadam*). The diameter of the city between the Malik and Fīrūzābād Gates and the Khush and ʿIrāq Gates respectively is 1,900 paces. The moat around the city wall is twenty *gaz* wide. But as it has not been dug out for a while, it is not very deep at present.[56]

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū and Isfizārī note the even distribution of commercial arteries within the city and their location in relation to the city gates. Thus Isfizārī states,

> In keeping with the idea of five [as a magical figure warding off the evil eye] the city wall has five gates:
>
> 1) the Malik Gate in the north[west];[57]

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[51] *Bar dar-i shahr-i Harāt qurb-i yak sāl ū nīm ba-muḥāsira va darbandān va ḥarb-i rūzgār burda īn shahr-rā ba-ḥarb natavān girift chi bas ḥaṣīn ū matīn ast, va khandaq-i zharf va bandhā-yi ustuvār dārad. Ammā ba-darbandān ba-zūdī fatḥ tavān kard khāṣṣa… hangām-i rafʿ-i ghalla va ḥaṣd-i mazrūʿāt…* (Saif al-Haravī 1943: 682). For the historical context, see Boyle 1968: 401; Potter 1994: 94.

[52] Isfizārī I: 81; Mīr Khvānd VII: 517. The northern part of this wall seems to have followed the Jūy-i Injīl but the exact location of its other components has not been established (Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Cinq Opuscules*, 40, 63–4; Allen 1981: 31; Gaube 1977: 220–1; Szuppe, "Herat iv. Topography and Urbanism", *E.Ir.* XII: 214). Such "long" walls protecting the suburbs were a regular feature in early medieval Central Asia. Famous examples are the Dīvār-i Qiyāmat and the Dīvār-i Kundalang in Samarqand and the Kampir Dīvāl in Bukhārā (Bregel 2003: 82; Chmelnizkijj 1989: 20).

[53] Krawulsky 1982: 14; Krawulsky 1984: 19.

[54] Krawulsky 1982:19; I differ slightly from Krawulsky's translation (1984: 22). According to Saif al-Haravī, the proper name of the Burj-i Khākistar was *burj-i khāk bar sar* (Saif al-Haravī 1943: 80). See also KR 226, margin. Sixteenth-century sources differ substantially on the names of the towers in question. While they confirm the name of the southwestern Burj-i Khākistar, they list the southeastern tower as Burj-i Gulshan-i Bahrām and the northwestern tower as Burj-i ʿAlī Sulṭān (McChesney 1993: 85).

[55] Isfizārī I: 80–81.

[56] Isfizārī I: 78–9. For a similar statement, see Mīr Khvānd 7: 517. See also Allen 1981: 28.

[57] According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, the Malik Gate was also known as Barāmān and Maidān Gate (Krawulsky 1982: 18; Krawulsky 1984: 21).

2) the ʿIrāq Gate in the west;
3) the Fīrūzābād Gate in the south
4) the Khush Gate in the east
5) the Qipchāq Gate in the northeast.[58]

It is not entirely clear which gates Tīmūr Lang removed during his invasion in 1381. Isfizārī reports that the invader ordered

> the ancient fortifications to be destroyed like enemies, the gates to be torn away like the fundament of the opponents, the sky-scraping turrets and towers to be thrown into the deepest depths of the moat, and the valuable iron gates ornamented with the titles of the Kart Maliks to be borne away … to Shahr-i Sabz.[59]

In Timurid times, the gates consisted of a series of entrances. According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, all city gates were reinforced by several iron gates separated by a "camel's neck" (*ushtur gardan*), a zigzag-shaped alley designed to make hostile approaches difficult.[60] Isfizārī notes that each of the city's entrances was made up of three consecutive gates. The Malik Gate, consisting of only two gates, was an exception in this respect.[61]

The five gates corresponded to a number of highroads radiating out from Herat. The Malik Gate connected the city with the western and northern trade routes, the Qipchāq Gate provided a vital link to the northeast. The road issuing from it ran to Kurūkh and onward through the eastern section of Bādghīs to Maimana. The Fīrūzābād Gate in the south led to the Pul-i Mālān and onwards to the highroad to Qandahār. The roads leaving the Khush and ʿIrāq Gates proceeded along the valley of the Harī Rūd. To the east, the highroad ran upstream to Auba and onwards to Kābul via the Hazārajāt. The road from the ʿIrāq Gate headed west and served as the main route between Herat and Ghūriyān.[62]

Isfizārī furnishes information on the main commercial arteries linked to the city gates. He grants special importance to the Malik market in the northwestern part of the city:

> Within the city wall there are four markets, with one market extending from each gate to the central bazaar (*chahār sū*) and bearing the name of the respective gate. The Qipchāq Gate is an exception, as there is no market all the way to the central bazaar.[63] The Bāzār-i Malik is built with burned brick [all the way] from Pā-yi Hiṣār to the central bazaar. It has numerous

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[58] Isfizārī I: 77–8. The tenth-century geographers Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥauqal and Muqaddasī merely describe four gates corresponding to the four city walls: the Sarāy Gate in the north, the Fīrūzābād Gate in the south, the Ziyād Gate in the west, and the Khushk Gate in the east (Le Strange 1905: 408). Nevertheless Allen supposes the existence of a fifth, northeastern gate, which was not mentioned at the time because it did not lead to one of the thoroughfares or to a major market (Allen 1981: 36). Szuppe raises the possibility that two gates were constructed on the northern wall in order to circumvent the Quhandiz located immediately north of the city (Szuppe, "Herat iv. Topography and Urbanism," *E.Ir.* XII: 211). At any rate, the Sarāy Gate was situated off center in the western section of the north wall. According to Ibn Ḥauqal, it was made of iron, whereas the other three gates were built in wood (Le Strange 1905: 408). For the Kartid period, the existence of five gates is well documented. While the available accounts point to a remarkable continuity in the names and locations of the gates leading west, south and east, the information concerning the northern gates is somewhat contradictory and possibly implies the application of new names in the Timurid era. In the context of a number of military engagements between Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn I Kart and the Chaghataid prince Yasaʾur in 719/1319, Saif al-Haravī mentions the following gates: The western ʿIrāq Gate leading to the gardens of Sainān (a village located in the Injīl district), the southern Fīrūzābād Gate leading to the Jūy-i Kārtabār (in the Alanjān district), the eastern Khush Gate leading to Bād-i Murghān (a village located in the Injīl district). On the northern side of town, he distinguishes the western Barāmān Gate leading to Pul-i Injīl and the environs of Quhandiz and the eastern Malikī Gate leading to Bāgh-i Safīd and Quhandiz (Saif al-Haravī 1943: 712–13; see also p. 440).

[59] Isfizārī I: 41. See also Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Cinq opuscules*, 65;HS III: 431; Thackston 1994: 246; Mīr Khvānd 7: 517; Nagel 1993: 159. Similar statements by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, Khvānd Amīr and Mīr Khvānd, combined with information furnished by Ibn Ḥauqal that there were no iron gates in Herat except the Sarāy/Malik Gate, lead Szuppe to conclude that this was the only gate dismantled by Tīmūr Lang (Szuppe, "Herat iv. Topography and Urbanism," *E.Ir.* XII: 214).

[60] Krawulsky 1982: 19; 1984: 21–2. For an illustration of such a "camel's neck", see Samizay 1981.

[61] Isfizārī I: 78.

[62] C. E. Yate 1885: 1164.

[63] The Qipchāq Gate led to the quarter containing administrative offices, as well as the Masjid-i Jāmiʿ and several *madāris* (Szuppe 1992: 27).

> commercial compounds (*tīm*), each of which equals a bazaar [in size]. Outside of each gate, there is a market extending to the outer limit of the suburbs, covering a distance of close to one *farsang* (four miles)…[64]

Isfizārī's account of the city of Herat revolves around the Friday mosque and the citadel as expressions of Timurid attainments in the domains of spiritual and worldly power. In addition, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū emphasizes Shāh Rukh's contribution to the development of Herat's commercial quarters in the old city core:

> In former times, the alleys in the market were not entirely covered. Traders and customers were vexed by clouds of dust whirled up… [Shāh Rukh] decreed to build up the foundations of the markets with plaster and brick and to erect high cupolas. Everywhere skylights were added for the sake of proper illumination. The shops with their high halls and chambers are arranged in a manner most pleasant to behold… The central market perfectly coincides with the proportions of a geometric square...[65]

THE IMMEDIATE ENVIRONS OF HERAT

In Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's opinion, the Harī Rūd,[66] which traverses the Herat valley from east to west until it turns north near Kūsūya, formed the artery of the oasis: "This river has a remarkable trait. No matter how much water you divert—and even if you were to irrigate the entire country with it—it will carry abundant water further downstream."[67] In the late fifteenth century, the valley of Herat was well-cultivated and -peopled. According to Isfizārī, Timurid rule had allowed the region to prosper even more than during the Kartid period despite the destruction wrought by Tīmūr Lang in 782/1381. He reports that the entire region between the Darra-yi Dū Barādarān in the north and Pul-i Mālān in the south (a distance of two *farsang* or eight miles) and from Auba in the east to Kūsūya in the west (a distance of 30 *farsang* or 120 miles) was covered by buildings, orchards, villages, and districts adjoining each other. Like Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, he attributes the wealth of the oasis to the spring inundations and the irrigation system deriving from the Harī Rūd, which was known as Rūd-i Mālān at its point of passage south of Herat.[68]

The oasis proper was divided into ten *bulūk*, "districts",[69] on the basis of the major irrigation channels branching off from the Harī Rūd. The outlines of these districts were determined by the amount of land fed by a particular channel or a part thereof and thus resembled "long strips, curving along the contours of the valley from the water sources to the east, past the walled city, to the *dasht* (unwatered land) west of the city, where the canal water gives out."[70] The number of channels in use and the amount of land cultivated were affected by the political framework. While war entailed the destruction of irrigation channels and a reduction of arable land, the patronage extended by Mongol, Kartid and Timurid rulers brought about a restoration and expansion of the irrigation system and caused agricultural production to rebound. Outward circumstances thus caused the external outlines of the districts to fluctuate. At the same time, these units retained their validity as territorial entities, as their internal structure, being constituted by the irrigation channel, was not

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[64] Isfizārī I: 78. See also Akhmedov 1977: 82; Allen 1981: 49.

[65] Krawulsky 1982: 16. My translation slightly differs from that of Krawulsky 1984: 19. The streets leading inwards from the northern gates converged at an open space in front of the citadel and opposite the main street leading to the Chahār Sū. Ch'en Ch'eng corroborates Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's description of the structural elements of the markets in Timurid Herat: "Buildings are constructed on both sides of the market place, and on the top covered awnings are placed. They are encircled by means of bricks and stones and then a hole for a sky light is bored" (Rossabi 1983: 50). See also Hecker 1993: 90; Richtsfeld 1985: 3.

[66] The name of the Harī Rūd derives from Old Iranian *harayu*, "with velocity" (Vogelsang, "Herat ii. History, Pre-Islamic Period," *E.Ir.* XII: 205).

[67] Krawulsky 1984: 24.

[68] Isfizārī I: 82. For a discussion of the general success of Timurid agricultural policies see Subtelny 1993: 186–9.

[69] The original meaning of the term *bulūk* is "group", "army contingent", or "district". On the basis of sources from the Timurid and Safavid era, Doerfer defines *bulūk* as an administrative subdivision of a province (*vilāyat*), which was awarded to high ranking officers as service grant (Doerfer 1965 II: 323–6). According to Thackston, the term signified "agricultural and pasture lands surrounding a city" in the Ilkhanid and Timurid periods (Thackston 1994: 639). See, for instance, the expression *balda va bulūkāt*, intending the city of Herat and its surrounding districts in the works of Amīr Maḥmūd (AM 357–8) and Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū (AT 264). Among the Durrānī nomads of present-day western Afghanistan, the term *bulūk* designates a subdivision of a herd (*rama*) of sheep (Personal communication from Bernt Glatzer, 14 March 2005).

[70] Allen 1981: 4.

altered even in adverse times. The oasis of Herat thus presents an interesting interplay between outer limits and space as defined from within. On the one hand, one may say that the irrigated lands formed a fairly compact island of fertility delimited by the surrounding deserts and mountain ranges. Yet the availability and distribution of water also created an internal structure, which shaped Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's and Isfizārī's perception of the oasis and its constituent parts in a fundamental manner.

Of the ten districts (*bulūk*) listed by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū,[71] seven were located north of the Harī Rūd, viz. Tūrān-Tūniyān, Ghūrvān-Pāshtān, Sabqar, Khiyābān, Injīl, Alanjān, and Parvāna-Havādashtak. With the exception of Parvāna-Havādashtak, these districts were fed by three long-established irrigation channels branching off from the Harī Rūd. These were, from east to west, the Jūy-i Nau, the Jūy-i Injīl, the Shāh Jūy, and the Jūy-i Alanjān. The district of Parvāna-Havādashtak already existed in Hāfiẓ-i Abrū's time but was greatly enhanced with the opening of the Jūy-i Sulṭānī in 1468, which derived its water from the Rūd-i Pāshtān. The most important irrigation channels south of the Harī Rūd were the Jūy-i Naṭara-yi Malik (which split into the Jūy-i Ziyāratgāh and the Jūy-i Mālān), and, further to the west, the Jūy-i Tīzān, and the Jūy-i Udvān.[72]

THE DISTRICTS NORTH OF THE HARĪ RŪD[73]

Injīl (Injīr)

This district contained the city of Herat and was of particular strategic importance. It was named after its major canal which supplied the northeastern quarter of the city with water. This part of town also contained a number of wells and thus commanded the greatest and most secure water supply. A fixed portion of the water entering the town in the northeast was in turn allotted to the quarters in the northwest, southeast and southwest.[74] Saif al-Haravī reports that the Jūy-i Injīl was repaired between 635/1237–38 and 638/1240–41 as part of the restoration of the irrigation system of Herat subsequent to the Mongol invasion.[75] Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū notes that the villages along the lower course of the Injīl canal were known as the "lower city" (*shīb-i shahr*). Because of its proximity to the city, this district boasted many buildings, palaces and orchards.[76] During the Kartid era, two residential gardens, the Bāgh-i Safīd located northeast of the city and the Bāgh-i Zāghān west of the Kūcha-yi Khiyābān, were created in this *bulūk*.[77]

Alanjān

The space to the southwest of the city of Herat and north of the Harī Rūd was taken up by the Alanjān district. The name of its most important irrigation canal is alternately recorded as Jūy-i Kārtabār or Shāh Jūy. This canal separates from the Harī Rūd southeast of Herat, passes south of the city walls and expends itself in the west.[78] Like the neighboring Injīl canal, the district of Alanjān, including the village of Shamʿān, was cultivated again in 638/1240–41.[79] According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, the Alanjān district lent itself to intensive

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[71] In the late fifteenth century, Isfizārī enumerates nine districts coinciding with those named by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū: Injīl, Alanjān, Khiyābān, Sabqar, Ghūrvān-Pāshtān, Tūrān-Tūniyān, Kamīrān (Kamburāq), Gudāra, and Udvān-Tīzān. He omits Parvāna-Havādashtak (Isfizārī I: 84). The *bulūk* listed by Ibn Valī in the early seventeenth century agree with those described by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (Akhmedov 1977: 83–4).

[72] Allen 1981: 17; *Qismat-i āb* 44.

[73] The following list of *bulūk* deviates from the sequence adopted by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, who does not distinguish between the districts north and south of the river.

[74] Najimi 1982: 38. Isfizārī reports that this quarter enjoyed "flowing water" (*āb-i ravān*) (Isfizārī I: 79).

[75] Saif al-Haravī 1943: 111, 123, 127. See also Szuppe, "Herat iv. Topography and Urbanism," *E.Ir.* XII: 212.

[76] Krawulsky 1982: 23–4; 1984: 25. See also Allen 1981: 7; 1983: 12; *Qismat-i āb* 19–29.

[77] Allen 1981: 192, 205–7, 211–15. See also Szuppe 1993: 277, 282–3; Szuppe, "Herat iv. Topography and Urbanism", *E.Ir.* XII: 214.

[78] Allen 1981: 8, 16; *Qismat-i āb* 33–9.

[79] Saif al-Haravī 1943: 127.

cultivation in walled gardens and orchards (*bāghistān*) as well as agriculture in open fields (*zirāʿat*) and contained more villages than any other district in the Herat valley. He estimates the entire district to extend to a length of five *farsang* or twenty miles.[80]

Ghūrvān-Pāshtān

This district was located east of Herat and consisted of two distinct units. The villages making up the subdivision of Ghūrvān were located along the uppermost part of the Jūy-i Nau and the northern bank of the Harī Rūd. Pāshtān was situated further north at the point where the Rūd-i Pāshtān draining the mountains north and east of Herat enters the valley.[81] According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, this district was characterized by agriculture in open fields rather than horticulture. In keeping with the hilly environment on the northern rim of the Herat basin, the irrigation in Pāshtān was based on subterranean water channels (*kārīz)*.[82]

Tūrān-Tūniyān

This easternmost district north of the Harī Rūd depended on irrigation by *kārīz*.[83]

Khiyābān

The Khiyābān district was bounded by the Jūy-i Injīl in the west and the Jūy-i Nau in the east. According to Saif al-Haravī, the Jūy-i Nau, then known as Jūy-i Sabqar, was reopened subsequent to the Mongol invasion in 637/1239–40.[84] By the early fourteenth century, it had apparently fallen again into disrepair. Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn I extended the Sabqar canal and appointed water keepers to the Pul-i Bābā Kamāl, later to become known as Pul-i Tūlakī.[85] Along this canal he designated the village of Badallū and seven water mills as endowments for the newly repaired Madrasa-yi Ghiyāthīya. The village of Taghārī was assigned to the upkeep of a *madrasa* recently built by Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn.[86]

The districts of Khiyābān and Injīl were traversed by a road known as the (Kūcha-yi) Khiyābān. It extended from the northwestern Malik Gate to the Jūy-i Nau. Immediately north of the channel, it branched into the main caravan road via Tīr Pul to Mashhad and the northern route leading to Parvāna and onward to the Kushk valley. At the confluence of the Kushk Rūd and Murghāb river, the northern route trifurcated into a western road to Sarakhs, a northern road to Yolotan and Marv, and an eastern road to Mārūchāq.

South of the Jūy-i Nau, the Khiyābān presented a stately approach to the city. According to Isfizārī, this boulevard dating back to pre-Islamic times was dotted with great shrines and resplendent edifices. Isfizārī claims that he himself witnessed a major increase of development in the Khiyābān district during his lifetime. While there had been no construction to speak of north of the Jūy-i Injīl prior to Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā's accession in 1469, the entire region between this canal and the hills bounding the Herat valley in the north was covered by costly buildings and paradise-like gardens at the time of writing in the early 1490s.[87] In fact, the development of the Khiyābān district as a residential quarter of Herat had already begun

[80] Krawulsky 1982: 25; 1984: 25.
[81] Allen 1981: 2, 6; *Qismat-i āb* 77–8.
[82] Krawulsky 1982: 25–6; 1984: 25–6.
[83] Krawulsky 1982: 26; 1984: 26. See also Allen 1981: 6; *Qismat-i āb* 73–4; KR 171.
[84] Saif al-Haravī 1943: 123.
[85] Isfizārī II: 100.
[86] *Qismat-i āb* 6, 10–11. See also Allen 1981: 7, 150. Taghārī was located near Saq Salmān (Allen 1981: 18, 83; Krawulsky 1984: 130).
[87] Isfizārī I: 85–6. See also Allen 1981: 20, 46.

in the early fifteenth century. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū notes that it served as a favorite burial ground for the notables (*buzurgān*) of Herat at the time of Shāh Rukh.[88]

A major site was the Bāgh-i Jahānārā, which Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā began to construct in 873/1469. It comprised an area of 440 *jarīb* and extended from the Jūy-i Nau so far south into the Injīl district that the Jūy-i Injīl flowed through its center.[89] In the 1530s, that is, in the early Safavid period, the former Timurid official Amīr Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Amīnī drew attention to the fact that the Bāgh-i Jahānārā owed its existence to Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā's exertions and expertise. Adhering to conventional imagery, he described it as a "pleasant garden" with meadows as fresh and buildings as high as those of the legendary garden of Iram.[90]

The Ikhlāṣīya complex built by Ḥusain Bāyqarā's chief minister Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī between 881–886/1476–82 was located on the northern bank of the Jūy-i Injīl, close to the Kūcha-yi Khiyābān.[91] Building activity also went on south of the Jūy-i Injīl, where Shāh Rukh's wife Gauhar Shād Āqā constructed a *madrasa* and mosque between 1417 and 1437. Together with the *madrasa* built by Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā in 1477–1486, this ensemble was to become known as the Muṣallā later on.[92]

Sabqar (Sabaqar)

Located east of the *bulūk* Injīl, the Sabqar district derived its water from the upper parts of the Jūy-i Nau and the Jūy-i Injīl.[93] Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū reports that the district allowed both for horticulture and agriculture in open fields.[94]

Parvāna-Havādashtak

The district of Parvāna-Havādashtak was apparently located in the foothills north of Gāzargāh. The fact that it is only mentioned by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū and does not appear in later land registers leads Allen to conclude that it may have been tax-exempt.[95] Subsequent to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's description of this district, the area was upgraded by the construction of a new canal conducting water from the Rūd-i Pāshtān along the northern rim of the Herat valley to the village of Gāzargāh and beyond. Built under the auspices of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd, this canal was completed in 872–73/1468 and came to be known as Jūy-i Sulṭānī. The construction of this canal contributed to the development of the region north of the Jūy-i Injīl mentioned by Isfizārī. While the city itself had few trees and gardens to boast of, the water provided by the Jūy-i Sulṭānī turned the northern foothills into lush orchards and meadows.[96]

Among the areas affected by this increase of irrigation and cultivation, Isfizārī specifically mentions the grave of Khvāja ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī (d. 1089) at Gāzargāh, which had already been patronized by the Kartid rulers.[97] While furnishing comparatively little information on the appearance and the state of this shrine during his own time, Isfizārī describes its origins in the historical section of his work. He reports that this

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[88] Krawulsky 1982: 27; 1984: 26. Khanikoff recounts an anecdote according to which the region between Herat and Gāzargāh was entirely covered with buildings in Ilkhanid times, so that a dog could make his way from the city to the shrine by running across house roofs (Khanikoff 1864: 362).

[89] Isfizārī II: 317–19; HS IV: 136; Thackston 1994: 421; Khvānd Amīr, *Khulāṣat al-akhbār*, as quoted in Price III. 653–4; Allen 1981: 195–8; Ball 1981; Szuppe 1993: 272–4.

[90] *Futūḥāt-i shāhī* 356. For a poetic description of the Bāgh-i Jahānāra, see Abīvardī 66–67.

[91] Allen 1981: 92–7, 113–15; 122–9; Subtelny 1988b, 1991; Szuppe, "Herat iv. Topography and Urbanism", *E.Ir.* XII: 214.

[92] Isfizārī I: 34; Fisher 1978b: 380. See also Golombek 1983: 96–99; Quade-Reutter 2003: 513–14.

[93] Allen 1981: 27.

[94] Krawulsky 1982: 27; 1984: 27.

[95] Allen 1981: 7. In 1845, the French traveler Ferrier reported Parvāna to be situated three *farsang* (twelve miles) north of the city of Herat "across the mountains; soil sometimes clayey, sometimes flinty" (Ferrier 1857: 188).

[96] Isfizārī I: 84–5.

[97] Gāzargāh was among the seven shrines where Malik Fakhr al-Dīn Kart had the Koran read and looked after the needs of the poor (Saif al-Haravī 1943: 441).

location already served as a place of pilgrimage during the eleventh century and that it was one of Anṣārī's favorite spots during his lifetime. In Isfizārī's view, the word Gāzargāh properly denoted *kārzārgāh*, the site of a violent battle which had taken place in the 3rd/9th century. The seven large pits (*haft chāh*) in which the victims were buried afterwards attracted numerous devotees and developed into a shrine, which in turn encouraged the agricultural development of its environs.[98]

The Gāzargāh experienced an unprecedented development under the Timurids. Shāh Rukh began this process by erecting an enclosure around Anṣārī's tomb in 829–30/1425–27. By the time Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā built a family memorial there in 882/1477–78, Gāzargāh had become a large complex.[99] The shrine, as well as the area between Jūy-i Nau and Jūy-i Injīl were affected by a flood in Jumādā II 898/April 1493.[100] The damage was repaired by ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī, when he held the prestigious post as "sweeper" of the shrine complex in 904/1499.[101] Furthermore, this great Timurid poet and patron is credited with having built the Bāghcha-yi Gāzargāh, a garden located on the Jūy-i Sulṭānī.[102]

THE DISTRICTS SOUTH OF THE HARĪ RŪD

Gudāra[103] *(Guzāra, Ghudhara)*[104]

Located south of the city of Herat, the district of Gudāra derived its water from two long canals known as Jūy-i Mālān and Jūy-i Ziyāratgāh.[105] Subsequent to the devastation caused by the Mongol invasion, the Jūy-i Mālān was repaired together with the Jūy-i Sabqar and Jūy-i Injīl in 637/1239–40.[106] Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū describes Gudāra as a wealthy district, the agriculture of which was partly based on *kārīz*. Its most important town was Mālān, where a "mighty" bridge originally built by the Saljūq ruler Sulṭān Sanjar (r. 511–552/1118–1157) in 505/1111–12 crossed the Harī Rūd.[107] Connecting Herat with the southeastern trade route to Isfizār, Farāh, Girishk and Qandahār, this bridge was frequently destroyed and rebuilt in the course of history.[108]

Another major town in the district of Gudāra was Ziyāratgāh.[109] Isfizārī describes it as "city-like" trade mart containing 2,000 shops of all kinds. He is even more impressed with the learning and the piety of the local population, which found its expression in the 700-fold daily reading of the Koran. On Fridays the main mosque could not accommodate all of the believers, and many had to pray in the alleys and markets outside. This state of affairs was amended when Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā erected a spacious and pleasant Friday mosque there.[110] Another village Isfizārī considers worth mentioning is Siyāvushān, which reportedly yielded a harvest of 30,000 donkey loads of grapes in good years.[111]

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[98] Isfizārī II: 49–50. See also Golombek 1969: 79. A fourteenth-century copy of the *Tārīkh-i Harāt* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Fāmī (d. 1151–52) gives two different spellings for this location: Gāzyārgāh and Gāzārgāh (Fāmī 116, 132, 152) .

[99] Allen 1981: 20, 177; Golombek 1969: 82–5; Subtelny 1993: 190–2; Subtelny 1994a: 386–9. For the dates of Shāh Rukh's building activities in Gāzargāh, see *Mujmal-i faṣīḥī* III: 260, 262.

[100] Isfizārī II 99–100. See also Golombek 1969: 86.

[101] HS IV: 240–42; Thackston 1994: 472–3; *Khulāṣat al-akhbār (*Iʿtimādī), 22–23; Golombek 1969: 88; Subtelny 1994a: 394–9.

[102] Golombek 1969: 87.

[103] Krawulsky 1982: 23; Isfizārī I: 84.

[104] *Mazārāt-i Harāt* 156.

[105] *Qismat-i āb* 43–50; Allen 1981: 9.

[106] Saif al-Haravī 1943: 123.

[107] Krawulsky 1982: 23; 1984: 24. See also Szuppe, "Herat iv. Topography and Urbanism," *E.Ir*. XII: 212.

[108] Allen 1981: 42.

[109] Allen 1981: 85; *Qismat-i āb* 50.

[110] Isfizārī I: 82–3. The Friday mosque of Ziyāratgāh is also briefly mentioned in Khvānd Amīr's *Khulāṣat al-akhbār* (Iʿtimādī) 23. See also Allen 1981: 116; Samizay 1981: 42–5.

[111] Isfizārī I: 83. See also Allen 1981: 82; *Qismat-i āb* 49.

Kamburāq (Kamīrān)

The district of Kamburāq adjoined Gudāra in the east. In Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's time, this district was mostly known for its production of grain on the basis of river water and *kārīz*.[112]

Udvān-Tīzān

This district was fed by the two westernmost canals south of the Harī Rūd.[113] According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, it derived its water both from the river and *kārīz* and lent itself to agriculture and horticulture.[114]

THE PROVINCE OF HERAT

Beyond the oasis proper, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū names a number of provinces (*vilāyāt)* which fell under the administration of Herat. The eastern part of the Harī Rūd valley was taken up by the provinces of Kurūkh and Harāt-Rūd. To the west, the provinces of Fūshanj and Kūsūya were located on the final east-west stretch of the Harī Rūd, which then headed north, cutting through two mountain ranges, passing Sarakhs, and eventually losing itself in the sands of the Qara Qum desert. To the north, the valley of Herat was bounded by a mountain range termed "Paropamisus" by European writers. The mountain spurs advancing as far west as the source of the Kushk Rūd formed the final part of the Band/Kūh-i Bāba range which extended across central Afghanistan and fanned out in a northwesterly and southwesterly fashion. A British account gave the following characterization of the geological setting and the ridges determining the landscape north of Herat:

> The Koh-i-Baba, just before entering the Herat province, breaks up into three main ranges, which trifurcate like the prongs of a pitchfork. The northern one is the Band-i-Turkistan, the southern is called Band-i-Baian [Bayān], and the central one… the Koh-i-Baba. North of Herat and to the eastward of that place, the hills of this range are of some considerable height, the peaks rising to a height of over 5,000 feet above the valley. The known roads over this part of the range are rough and somewhat difficult… Westward of the meridian of Herat the hills become lower and the passes easier, till in fact they become a series of downs. West of the Khumbao pass the range is split into two by the Chilgazi [Chihilgazī] stream, and the two spurs thus formed end abruptly on the Hari Rud after that river has taken its great bend to the north.[115]

The region between the Kushk Rūd and the northbound stretch of the Harī Rūd is taken up by a northwesterly chain of lower mountains called Kaitū or Siyāh Būbak. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū names three provinces north of these mountains. The most westerly was Bādghīs, for which he cites the popular etymology of *bādkhīz*, "a place where the wind rises", alluding to the origin of the northerly winds consistently blowing in Herat during the summer months. The predictability of this wind allowed the Heratis to equip their houses with ventilation shafts (*bādgīr*) that were uniformly oriented to the north.[116]

Accounts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries bear witness to the fact this wind could be quite violent. In Rabīʿ I 1153/May–June 1740 mighty gusts of wind prevented Nādir Shāh from erecting his spacious royal tent in the meadow of Kahdistān near Herat.[117] On the same occasion, ʿAbd al-Karīm, a member of Nādir's retinue, noted that the prevailing winds had two advantages: They allowed the use of windmills which produced flour superior to that of water mills. Furthermore, they prevented the outbreak of

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[112] Krawulsky 1982: 28; 1984: 27. See also Allen 1981: 8; Isfizārī I: 84; *Qismat-i āb* 79–83.
[113] Allen 1981: 9, 21–22.
[114] Krawulsky 1982: 28–9; 1984: 28.
[115] *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 31. The western portion of the Band-i Bayān was known as Safīd Kūh (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 45).
[116] Krawulsky 1982: 18; 1984: 21. See also Le Strange 1905: 414. Another theory concerning the origin of this wind was put forward by the nineteenth-century traveler Boukhary, who located its source in a pit in the Kaitū Mountains, which emitted such a violent air current that even mighty stones thrown into it were hurled out again (Boukhary 251, Persian text 111).
[117] Kāẓim 777. See also Lockhart 1938: 186.

epidemics during the summer months.[118] Roughly a century later Ferrier observed that the summer wind was sometimes strong enough to unroof houses and uproot trees.[119]

According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, Bādghīs embraced the entire region between Sarakhs and Jām in the west and the province of Murghāb in the east. In the south it extended all the way to Fūshanj and Herat. The vastness of the province is underlined by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's statement that it covered a territory of 100 *farsakh* (400 miles) in circumference. Bounded by the middle course of the Harī Rūd in the west, Bādghīs was characterized by a hilly country through which the Kāshān river and Kushk Rūd descended towards the Murghāb river. The neighboring province of Murghāb comprised the areas watered by the lower Murghāb river all the way down to its confluence with the Kushk Rūd. It adjoined the territory of Balkh and thus formed the northern border of Herat. The region around the upper reaches of the Murghāb river was known as "Gharjistān", which, according to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, derived from *gharsh*, "mountain". Characterized by steep mountains and deep canyons, this region was said to be impassable for camels.[120]

To the south, the Harī Rūd watershed is bounded by the Siyāh Kūh mountains, which extend from the rugged central highland of the Kūh-i Bāba almost all the way to Herat. The area beyond this mountain range is watered by three rivers descending into the Sīstān basin, viz., from east to west, the Khāsh Rūd, the Farāh Rūd and the Adraskan. The mountainous region around the sources of the Khāsh Rūd and the Farāh Rūd was known as Ghūr. This region was separated from Gharjistān by the Harī Rūd, and equally difficult of access. It was characterized by five high mountains and was known for its cold climate (*sardsīr*). Located between the upper reaches of the Farāh Rūd and Adraskan, the provinces of Sākhar-Tūlak and Azāb were likewise categorized as part of the *sardsīr*. The province of Isfizār extended further south, along the middle course of the Adraskan river. Its capital by the same name was located half-way between Herat and Farāh along the trade route to Qandahār. In the west, Isfizār was bounded by a stretch of desert reaching as far as the region of Quhistān, which comprised the oases of Ṭabas Gīlakī, Tūn, Qāyin, Bīrjand, and Ṭabas Masīnā.[121]

The western provinces of Herat were located beyond the lower course of the Harī Rūd. The southernmost among these was Khvāf, which, according to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, had formerly been a dependency of Nīshāpūr but had been incorporated into the administration of Herat for a "lengthy period". Immediately to the north, the province of Bākharz adjoined. The focal point of the northernmost province of Jām was the grave of the twelfth-century saint Aḥmad-i Jām (Turbat-i Shaikh Jām), which was located halfway along the trade route to Mashhad.[122]

KURŪKH (KURUKH)[123]

Kurūkh was located seven *farsang* from Herat beyond the northern slopes of the Davandar mountain. It formed the first stage along the highroad leading through the eastern section of Bādghīs to Maimana via Naratū and Bālā Murghāb.[124] According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, the climate of the Kurūkh valley approached the

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[118] *Bayān-i vāqi'* 60. See also Gladwin 1788: 25; Alam/Subrahmanyam 2007: 264. For a description of the horizontal windmills of western Afghanistan see Ferdinand 1963.

[119] Ferrier adds that the "climate is nevertheless one of the most delightful in Asia, the average heat in summer being about 28° of centigrade in the shade; in winter the thermometer is rarely as low as 2° above zero" (Ferrier 1857: 182).

[120] Krawulsky 1984: 28–32. See also Le Strange 1905: 415–16.

[121] Krawulsky 1982: 33–6; 1984: 31–34. See also Fischer 1967: 154.

[122] Krawulsky 1982: 37–41; 1984: 34–36. See also Meier, "Ahmad-i Djām," *E. I., 2*.

[123] Krawulsky employs the spelling of Kurūkh (1982: 29; 1984: 28–29, 101). In Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām's edition of Isfizāri both spellings occur (K-R-Kh, K-R-V-Kh) (Isfizāri I: 133, 151–52). The voweling employed in nineteenth-century Persian sources indicates that the pronunciation was Kurukh (*Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 481; KR 62).

[124] Holdich 1910: 236–7, 248; KR 62, note on margin; Samizay 1981: 50. British reports from the early twentieth century describe the valley of Kurūkh as a thinly populated valley mostly producing wheat and barley. The town of Kurukh is characterized as follows: "Elevation 4,340 feet. The principal place in the Karokh district, distant 27 miles from Herat. It consists of some eight or ten villages and hamlets, which extend from the celebrated ziarat of Khwaja Islam for about three quarters of a mile to the edge of the slope forming the north side of the hollow in which the Karokh stream flows, and down the latter, for a quarter of a mile more, to the bank of the broad shingly watercourse" *(Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 254–5. See also Holdich 1910: 236–7).

cool temperatures typical of summer pastures (*yailāq*). Yet, he primarily notes symptoms of deterioration. Without hinting at the immediate cause of the decline, he reports that the number of villages and hamlets maintaining themselves by means of irrigation by river water (drawn from the Kurūkh stream) and underground channels (*kārīz*) has dropped from 500 to 89. He further expresses the hope that the region will prosper again under Shāh Rukh's auspicious rule.[125]

In the late fifteenth century, Isfizārī describes the boroughs of Kurūkh and Pāshtān near Herat as one unit. According to his account, the region was characterized by a pleasant climate, good fruit and fine crops. A point of focal interest was the shrine of Khvāja Muḥammad ʿAbbās, which mostly attracted pilgrims from Herat.[126]

HARĀT-RŪD

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū describes Harāt-Rūd as a province well provided with water and notes *mushkān* apples, *ṭāyifī* grapes, nuts and almonds in particular among its produce. Further income derived from iron and lead mines as well as the production of antimony.[127] The most important town (*qaṣaba*) of the region was Auba, which was located south of the Davandar mountain and comprised 60 hamlets. Further up the Harī Rūd, the village of Chisht is mentioned as the shrine of Khvāja Quṭb al-Dīn Maudūd Chishtī (d. 527/1132–33) and the seat of his descendants.[128]

Isfizārī adds that the fruit harvested in Harāt-Rūd was for the most part sent to Herat for sale. The local apples in particular were appreciated for their extended harvest and availability. Other local products were grape syrup (*dūshāb*), thin-skinned walnuts with large kernels (*jauz-i pur maghz-i tang-pūst*) as well as almonds (*bādāmhā-yi dastmāl*). Isfizārī further notes a nearby mountain yielding white, marble-like stone used for the manufacture of pillars, grave stones and tombs. This material was also employed for the plate adorning the grave of Khvāja ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī at Gāzargāh.[129] Of particular attraction was a hot spring located at the foot of the mountain (Chashma-yi Kūbān), which was regularly visited by the Timurid rulers Abū Saʿīd and Ḥusain Bāyqarā, as well as the population from all over the region, for salutary purposes. Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā enlarged the small building his predecessor Abū Saʿīd had erected over the spring and added gardens in its vicinity. The favorite season for excursions to the hot spring was harvest time in fall, which allowed the visitors to enjoy the fine water, pleasant climate and local fruit simultaneously.[130]

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125 Krawulsky 1982: 29–30; 1984: 28.

126 Isfizārī I: 151. In the early nineteenth century, Kurukh figured in the Persian literature as the seat of the Naqshbandī *pīr* Ṣūfī Islām, who reportedly drew a large following from all over Khurāsān until he met with a violent death in battle during a confrontation between Herati and Qājār forces in 1222/1807. These developments will be discussed in Chapter 5.

127 In 1833, Lal reported that this region was "celebrated for numerous mines of different metals, namely, sulphur, iron, copper, lead," which were worked until the early nineteenth century. The iron was used in Herat for the production of cooking utensils (Lal 1977: 167).

128 Krawulsky 1982: 30–31; Krawulsky 1984: 28–9; Samizay 1981: 50. Chisht is already mentioned as a place of pilgrimage by the Kartid chronicler Saif al-Haravī (Saif al-Haravī 1943: 680). The *khānaqāh* was established by Abū Isḥāq Shāmī (d. 329/941), who is said to have made a local Sufi, Abu Aḥmad Abdāl (d. 355/966), his successor (Böwering, "Češtīya," *E.Ir.* V: 333; Potter 1994: 86). For a description of the shrine complex of Chisht in the late eighteenth century, see T Hu 424–30, 447–55.

129 Isfizārī I: 103. See also Ferrier 1857: 178. In 1858 Khanikoff visited a quarry located near Auba on the left bank of the Harī Rūd. He describes the local marble deposit as inexhaustible and praises the perfect whiteness and the fine grain of the huge slabs extracted there. Local villagers informed him that grey marble of inferior quality could be found throughout the mountain ridges south of the Harī Rūd, which also yielded iron, lead, vitriol, and sulphur. The range to the north of the river, by contrast, only contained copper mines (Khanikoff 1864: 370–2).

130 Isfizārī I: 101–4. For descriptions of the thermal springs see also Khanikoff 1864: 373, Lal 1977: 165.

BĀDGHĪS

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū notes the ample pastures of Bādghīs ready to feed a mighty confederacy (*ulūs*) and its numerous cattle. The region was replete with springs, rivers and irrigation channels.[131] While Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū lists a number of villages in Bādghīs, including Langar-i Amīr Ghiyāth, Chihil Dukhtarān and Mārūchāq, he also points out that the Mongol invasion spelled disaster for the region. Alleging that Chingiz Khān's troops eradicated several towns numbering 20,000 to 30,000 inhabitants, he concludes his entry with the remark that Bādghīs has in part regained its former prosperity under the auspicious rule of his overlord Shāh Rukh.[132]

In his usual ornate style, Isfizārī extolls Bādghīs for its beauty and fertility. Its rich soil yielded a hundredfold return even in regions lending themselves only to dry farming (*daimcha*). The yearly revenue assessment in grain amounted to 40,000 *kharvār*, in addition to other taxes in kind. Bādghīs served as the breadbasket of Herat and provided the entire city with a seemingly endless supply of wood for construction and heating purposes. Local cypresses (*āvars*) provided a light and durable variety of wood ideal for the production of beams. The pistachio tree was primarily used as fire wood, while its delicate pistachios (*pista-yi nuqlī*) were a coveted item of consumption among the city population.[133]

Among the towns of Bādghīs, Isfizārī notes Langar-i Amīr Ghiyāth, which was founded by the Herati saint and confectioner (*ḥalvā-furūsh*) Amīr Ghiyāth (d. 1421).[134] In Isfizārī's time the town contained two flourishing bazaars (*chahār sū*) with a total of 300 shops, which generated a revenue of 50,000 *kapakī dīnārs* annually. The local melons (*kharbuza-yi bābā shaikhī*) were highly esteemed for their sweetness and delicacy (*nāzukī*). Their great value can be estimated from the fact that they served as special gifts (*tuḥfa va tabarruk*) to the notables (*akābir*) of Herat.[135] The second town mentioned by Isfizārī was likewise connected with a shrine founded or expanded upon in the Timurid period. Located on the left bank of the Kushk Rūd, the shrine of Chihil Dukhtarān attracted visitors from all over "that desert" (*ān bādiya*). As the spring floods made it dangerous to cross the river, Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā erected a bridge of burnt bricks to ease the passage.[136]

Closer to Herat, Isfizārī describes the fort of Naratū located at the Zarmast Pass on the trade route from Herat to Marv via Bālā Murghāb as an important strategic position and the most secure fort in Khurāsān:

> This fortress made of burnt bricks has been erected on a mountain peak of granite. A narrow path leads up to it, allowing no more than one passenger at a time. Apart from this path of half a *farsakh* (two miles) from the bottom of the mountain, there is no other

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131 *Dar Bādghīs marāʿī bisyār ast chinānchi ulūsī muʿtabar bā chahārpāy-i bisyār dar-anjā tavānad būd va chashmasār va rūdkhāna va qanavāt-i bisyār dārad* (Krawulsky 1982: 31; Krawulsky 1984: 29). The fertility of the region and its ability to maintain a large army was already commented upon by Niẓāmī ʿArūżī in the early twelfth century: "Bādghīs is the most lush pasture ground of Khurāsān and ʿIrāq. There are about one thousand brooks yielding water and pasture, any one of which would suffice for an army." (*Bādghīs khurramtarīn-i chirā-khvārhā-yi Khurāsān va ʿIrāq ast. Qarīb hazār nāv hast pur āb u ʿalaf ki har yak lashkarī-rā tamām bāshad*) (*Chahār maqāla* 145; see also Browne 1921: 33).

132 Krawulsky 1982: 31–2.

133 Isfizārī I: 133–6.

134 The exact location of Langar-i Amīr Ghiyāth is not certain (Krawulsky 1984: 104). It possibly corresponds to the present-day village of Langar (34° 52' N 63°29' E). Bābur passed through Langar-i Amīr Ghiyāth after leaving Herat for Bādghīs in December 1506 (Thackston 1996: 239–40). This location is also mentioned in accounts of the early Safavid period (AM 186). Holdich depicts "Langar" as a settlement along the trade route from Herat to Marv via Kurūkh, Naratū, Bālā Murghāb and Mārūchāq (Holdich 1910: 248).

135 Isfizārī I: 136–44.

136 Isfizārī I: 145. See also Krawulsky 1984: 78–9; Yate 1900: 23. In December 1839, Abbott gave the following description of Chihil Dukhtarān,"A couple of mud huts near the left border of the valley were shewn me as the residence of forty Oozbeg virgins, and a little rude altar or tomb under the hills, as the place of worship to which they had resorted, when surprised by a force of some neighbouring tribes. In this extremity the virgins prayed for death, and were instantly translated" (Abbott 1843 I: 13–14).

access to the fort across the granite slopes. Located at a convenient distance of 1,000 yards (*gaz*), its battlement is situated comfortably beyond the harmful reach of arrows and catapults.[137]

Isfizārī further illustrates the inaccessibility of the fort of Naratū by pointing to a siege which lasted for seven years despite the fact that all the inhabitants of the fort had succumbed to some illness at an early stage: A single cock crowing on the ramparts was sufficient to keep the entire enemy party at bay. The altitude and cool temperatures of Naratū are underlined by the fact that this region continued to supply the Timurid court with flowers well into summer, when the flowering season was long past in the lower regions.[138]

While later authors briefly mention the strategic importance of the summer pastures (*yailāq*) in Bādghīs,[139] Isfizārī devotes ample place to the description of the favorite destinations of the Timurid court. Among them were the Yailāq-i Bābā Khākī, a meadow "rivalling the gardens of Paradise in freshness", and Yailāq-i Hazār Mīsh, which turned into a "garden of tulips" in spring. Another area of recreation was located in Takht-i Malik, a pleasing meadow surrounded by snow-clad mountains. Isfizārī, who accompanied the royal camp to this pasture one summer, reports that one donkey load (*kharvār*) of snow, "untainted by the impurities of the world," sold for five *dāng* or even less among the retinue.[140]

MURGHĀB

According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, the province of Murghāb owed its prosperity in great part to Tīmūr Lang, who ordered numerous irrigation channels to be dug in the area after his conquest of Khurāsān. Panjdih and Mārūchāq on the Murghāb river are listed as the most important towns of the province. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū also mentions the flourishing market and gardens located at the Pul-i Tābān, which spanned the river south of Bālā Murghāb. The local agriculture was based on the cultivation of grain and on cattle breeding.[141]

Isfizārī's description of the province of "Murghāb and Mārūchāq" is likewise concise: While the cattle, grain and sesame produced locally supplied the markets of Herat, the rice of Murghāb was appreciated all over Khurāsān for its whiteness and cleanness.[142]

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[137] Isfizārī I: 146. British observers described Nārātū as a flat-topped hill "crowned by an ancient fortress, with a scarp all round like the Mahratta forts on the trap hills of Deccan. The entire circuit of the top has been surrounded by lofty walls and towers, of which considerable remains are still standing. Looking from below… they appear to be of burnt brick, but a great part of them are of stone" (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 317).

[138] Isfizārī I: 147.

[139] HS III: 565, 579; Thackston 1994: 313, 321.

[140] Isfizārī I: 148–9. Takht-i Malik is a mountain located 15 miles north of the Harī Rūd (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 421; Krawulsky 1984: 130).

[141] Krawulsky 1982: 32; Krawulsky 1984: 30–1.

[142] Isfizārī I: 172. See also Krawulsky 1984: 109–10. In Nādir Shāh's time, Mārūchāq is mentioned as a well peopled town, considering the poor quality of the water obtained in its environs (*Bayān-i vāqi'* 64; Gladwin 1788: 29). In the 1820s, the British traveler Stirling was impressed by the fertility of the Murghāb valley: "The general appearance of the valley watered by the Moorgab[Murghāb river] is that of well cultivated but unenclosed fields, the soil being very prolific, and where the ground is not cultivated (which very seldom arises except from natural obstacles) it is covered by good grass which, from the vicinity of water, remains verdant for the whole year. The plain of the valley is studded by clusters of tents, and flocks of camels, sheep, goats, cows and oxen, feed on the pastures of the plains or ascend the clay hills where a scanty, but perhaps a sweet, herbage is found. Horses and ponies are also frequently seen pasturing. Winding irregularly through this fertile valley is seen the swift Moorgab which carries along a muddy stream which, however, in the higher parts of the valley, becomes somewhat clearer. This river washes or runs near the only places which show that man had made something like a permanent habitation in the erecting of walls from external offence. These are Bala Moorgab [Bālā Murghāb], Marchagah [Mārūchāq] and Panjdeh [Panjdih]…" (Stirling 1991: 248) Furthermore, Stirling reports that the Murghāb valley was avoided in summer, as the hot and humid climate there gave rise to fever and ague (Stirling 1991: 253–4). In January 1840 Abbott described the confluence of Murghāb] and Kushk Rūd north of Panjdih in the following manner: "My route lay along the left bank of the Moorghaub, and I crossed by a bridge the dry channel of the Khooshk, at its junction with the former river… The Moorghaub is here a deep stream of very pure water, about sixty feet in breadth, and flowing in a channel, mined to the depth of thirty feet in the clay soil of the valley. The banks are very precipitous, and fringed with tamarisk and a few reeds. The valley itself is, at Punj Deeh [Panjdih], about nine miles in breadth, but narrow[s] as we advance. Here it is about three-fourths of a mile in breadth. On the east bank are sloping sandy hills, about 600 feet higher than the valley. On the west is the desert, a high, sandy plain overrun with low bushes and

GHŪR

According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, the first settlers in this mountainous region were the descendants of the mythical tyrant Żaḥḥāk and gave rise to the Ghurid dynasty. While Ghūr contained no major town, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū points to the existence of 100 inhabited villages, as well as 200–300 hamlets. This mountainous area did not lend itself to irrigation but was rich in springs.[143]

Isfizārī comments that Ghūr has seen better times. In the days of old, the region claimed high buildings, beautiful castles and inaccessible forts. From the vantage point of a member of the urban elite, the remote position of Ghūr had proven both advantageous and disadvantageous. On the positive side, Isfizārī cites the fact that this province was never contaminated by unlawful innovations or indecency in the course of its history. As a drawback, he notes the stupidity and ignorance of the local population, which he considers a common characteristic of mountain dwellers. Isfizārī describes two points of interest in Ghūr: a spring, which only began to flow when the call to prayer was sounded, and a popular local shrine called Masjid-i Lūpāch. This mosque was famous for two baffling features. While the building was located on perfectly level ground, the ceiling inside seemed to be higher than the roof outside. What is more, the exact number of pillars, hovering around the number of 40, could not be fixed with certainty, no matter how often they were counted.[144]

In Isfizārī's opinion, the most strategic point in Ghūr was held by the fort of Khaisār, which had proved impenetrable even to the Mongol army. He reports that Chingiz Khān's courtiers counseled their sovereign against attacking the fort, as the path leading up to it was as "narrow as the eye of a Turk" and as "tight as the critical gaze of a quibbler".[145] Fearing that a defeat might shatter his reputation of invincibility, Chingiz Khān allegedly refrained from a military confrontation and decided to award the government of Ghūr to the local ruler Rukn al-Dīn (d. 643/1245–46), the maternal grandfather of the founder of the Kartid dynasty Malik Shams al-Dīn (r. 643–675/1245–1276).[146]

From the middle of the fifteenth century on, Ghūr and the adjacent regions of Garmsīr, Farāh and Isfizār suffered repeated incursions by Hazāras and Mongol freebooters called Nikūdarī. The situation improved in 884/1479–80 when Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā appointed the military leader Amīr Shujāʿ al-Dīn Dhū al-Nūn Arghūn as governor of Ghūr and Zamīndāvar. The Arghūn leader succeeded in bringing the Hazāras and Nikūdarīs to heel and widened his sphere of authority so as to include the neighboring provinces of Qandahār, Farāh, Sākhar-Tūlak, as well as the southern territories of Shāl, Mastūng, and Sībī.[147]

In the early seventeenth century, the Safavid historian Iskandar Munshī describes Ghūr as the backdrop for the passage of the victorious army of Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 996–1038/1587–1629). One month after the conquest of Qandahār in Shaʿbān 1031/June–July 1622, the royal army set out for Herat at the height of summer. In order to avoid the intense heat of the plains, the Shāh opted to move through Ghūr instead of using the highroad via Garmsīr and Farāh. Iskandar Munshī's account of this journey conveys vivid impressions of the terrain the Safavid army had to cope with. He depicts Ghūr as a place known in the entire world for the height of its mountains, the narrowness of its paths and its heavy fortifications. He attempts to capture the remoteness and inaccessibility of this region with the following verse:

> It is a stony place with ascent following descent,

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camel thorn, and extending to the mountain barrier of Persia. The valley of Moorghaub has once been well cultivated, but is now from Punj Deeh to Yoollataun [Yolotan] utterly deserted, owing to the distractions of the country" (Abbot 1843 I: 30).

143 Krawulsky 1982: 33–4; 1984: 31–2.

144 Isfizārī I: 357.

145 *Rāhī dārad chūn chashm-i turkān tang va chūn naẓar-i khurdabīnān bārīk* (Isfizārī I: 358). Ferrier, who visited the region in 1845, reports that a fort by this name was located "a few parasangs" northeast of Taivāra. He describes the citadel as "built of burnt brick, and situated on the top of a small hill, the side of which is so steep that there would be little chance of taking it by escalade" (Ferrier 1857: 250).

146 Isfizārī I: 355–60. See also HS III: 368; Thackston 1994: 213.

147 Isfizārī I: 343–4. See also HS IV: 170–1; Thackston 1994: 438–9.

> And not even the bird of dread dares to fly there.[148]

As the narrow paths barely allowed for one rider at a time, Shāh ʿAbbās was forced to split his army into several divisions. En route, his troops reduced the forts of some Fīrūzkūhī rebels, who, trusting the strength of their position, had assumed an independent bearing towards the Safavids. The difficulty of this passage is also reflected by the fact that it took the army from 24 Shaʿbān–12 Ramażān 1031/4–21 July 1622 to cover the distance between Qandahār and Herat.[149]

Ibn Valī, who visited Herat in 1631, describes Ghūr as one of the four provinces (*vilāyāt*) of Herat. The region produced apples, figs, grapes, walnuts and almonds. It was famous for its figs, which, similar to the pistachios of Bādghīs and the pine nuts of Ghaznī, had a unique flavor and could not be found in like quality in any other country.[150]

GHARJISTĀN

Both Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū and Isfizārī comment on the difficult terrain of Gharjistān. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū reports that only the even surfaces of mountain tops allowed for the cultivation of grain in dry farming. Besides the trees planted by the local population on every other scratch of level land, there were numerous kinds of wild trees yielding pears (*amrūd*) and small apples (*dūlāna*). Moreover, the canyons of Gharjistān abounded with nut trees, while countless fig trees grew on the banks of the upper Murghāb river. This region formerly contained gold mines which were worked up to the time of the Saljūq ruler Sulṭān Sanjar.[151]

Isfizārī, who lavishes detailed descriptions on the delights of the immediate environs of Herat, only offers a sparing account of Gharjistān. He describes the region as a

> secure province with mighty mountains, as well as strong fortresses and borders. It has good fruit, such as apples, pears, figs, pomegranates and walnuts. The local population, hardy mountaineers of harsh disposition, are given to hunting.[152]

The first Mughal emperor, Bābur, noted the local pastures as an important strategic feature of Gharjistān. Furthermore, he commented on a peculiarity that this region held in common with Gurzīvān and Darra-yi Sūf further to the northeast. In all these regions, the forts were located in the valleys rather than on the mountain tops:

> The grasslands are mostly in the glens, but unlike that on other mountains, the grass is a single type—suitable for horses and sheep. There are not many trees or much juniper covering, but there is a lot of game. The mountaintops, where planting is done, are flat enough that one can run a horse on them. The ravines are valley strongholds, most precipitous and inaccessible from above. It is odd that mountain strongholds are generally located in high places, but in these mountains they are in the low-lying areas.[153]

In the early seventeenth century, when Gharjistān served as an area of withdrawal and as a source of soldiers for the Tuqai-Timurid princes vying for the control of Balkh, this region was described as a "well protected place with sturdy forts".[154]

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148 *Sanglākhī ast pur nishīb u farāz, ṭāyir-i vahm kam kunad parvāz* (IM 1619).

149 IM 1619–20. See also Tumanovich 1989: 149–50.

150 Khan 1993: 14–15. Akhmedov does not mention the figure "four" but merely describes Ghūr as "one of the districts of Herat" (Akhmedov 1977: 63).

151 Krawulsky 1982: 33–5; Krawulsky 1984: 31–2.

152 *Vilāyatī ast matīn bā kūhhā-yi muḥkam, va ḥuṣūn va thughūr-i ustuvār dārad, va mīvahā-yi khūb az sīb va amrūd va anjīr va anār, va jauz bisyār az ānjā hāṣil mīshavad Va mardum-i anjā ba-ghāyat sakht jān va kūhrau va durushtkhūy bāshand, va nakhchīr-i bisyār ṣaid mīkunand* (Isfizārī I: 365).

153 Thackston 1996: 182.

154 IM 1153–55. See also Tumanovich 1989: 144–5.

SĀKHAR-TŪLAK

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū mentions the strong fortress located in this *vilāyat*, which he considers equal to that of Khaisār in Ghūr. Like Khaisār, this fortress served as a stronghold of the Kartid dynasty. Among the dependencies of this region, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū refers to thirty to forty significant villages (*dih*) and five hundred hamlets (*mazraʿa*).[155]

ISFIZĀR (SABZAVĀR-I HARĀT, PRESENT-DAY SHINDAND)

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū describes Isfizār as a province well supplied with water drawn from the Adraskan river and conducted by *kārīz*. In addition to the main town of Isfizār (also known as Sabzavār and Sabzār later on), Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū mentions 30–40 villages and 50 hamlets. Among the products of the region he lists pomegranates and the wood and berries yielded by the ash-tree (*dirakht-i banafsh*).[156]

When Isfizārī depicts his hometown almost a century later, he notes that the entire province has undergone considerable destruction during the Nikūdarī and Hazāra incursions of 1447–1470 and a period of unrest preceding the composition of his work in the early 1490s.[157] He observes that the town of Isfizār was founded earlier than Herat and estimates it to be 3,000 years old. Prior to its decline, Isfizār reportedly boasted 1,200 shops and a citadel. Isfizārī praises the district (*bulūk*) of Zāval[158] for the abundance of irrigation water, which fed 80 *kārīz* carrying no less than one mill (*āsiyāvār*) of water each: "On every one of these *qanāts* there is a flourishing village and a guarded fort, some of which have fallen into disrepair while others are inhabited." Among the local specialties he mentions the jujube trees (*ʿunnāb*) grown all over the region, a species of winter pears (*nāshpātī-yi zimistānī*) unrivalled in its delicacy, and the thin-skinned *ṣāḥibī* grape, which split into parts if accidentally dropped to the ground.[159]

SHĀFILĀN (SHĀHFĪLĀN), AZĀB, DĀMAN-I KŪH

Combining the regions of Shāfilān, Azāb, Dāman-i Kūh and Yaḥyāābād,[160] this province was located east and south of Herat. According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, it produced apples (*sīb*) and walnuts (*jauz*).[161] Isfizārī mentions "Karūkha" as a flourishing market in this region,[162] as well as an iron mine supplying the needs of Herat. A major resort was a hot spring known as Chashma-yi Safīd, over which Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā had erected a "pleasing building". In the springtime, it attracted visitors from the entire region: "Some come to enjoy the gardens and ponds, while others seek relief from ailments. [The favorite season] is spring, when the abundance of greenery and fragrant herbs excites the jealousy of the gardens of Paradise." Another important characteristic of the region was the horticulture yielding fine fruit, such as apples (*sīb*), apricots (*zardālū*), two varieties of pears (*nāshpātī*, *amrūd*), and peaches (*shaftālū*).[163]

KHVĀF

Among the industries of Khvāf, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū lists an active iron mine. Another source of income was sericulture based on the mulberry trees (*dirakht-i tūt*) thriving in the region. The local agriculture relied mostly on *kārīz*, and the region was known for its production of cotton (*panba*) and pomegranates.[164]

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155 Krawulsky 1982: 35; 1984: 33.
156 Krawulsky 1982: 35–6; 1984: 33.
157 Isfizārī I: 118, 343–4.
158 Zāval (33° 22' N 62° 17' E) was located nine miles northeast of the town of Isfizār (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 433).
159 Isfizārī I: 115–17.
160 According to Adamec, Yaḥyāābād (34° 13' N 62° 46' O) was located six miles west of Mārva (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 429).
161 Krawulsky 1982: 36; 1984: 34.
162 According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, this town was called Karūcha (Krawulsky 1982: 36; 1984: 34, 101).
163 Isfizārī I: 104–5.
164 Krawulsky 1982: 37; 1984: 34–5.

According to Isfizārī, the pure ground of Khvāf had always brought forth great worldly and spiritual leaders: "It seems as though this noble place has given rise to the art and the rules of rhetoric."[165] Among the great *shaikhs* of Khvāf, he mentions the Naqshbandī Zain al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khvāfī (d. 838/1434–35), who counted 30,000 learned men (*dānishmand*) among his disciples.[166] Another important Timurid personage was Khvāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Aḥmad, who served as Shāh Rukh's *vazīr* from 1417–1447. Isfizārī notes Pīr Aḥmad's charitable deeds, in particular the Madrasa al-Ghiyāthīya he built in the village of Khargird[167] and the mausoleum he erected at the grave of Zain al-Dīn Tāybādī (see below).[168]

BĀKHARZ

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū and Isfizārī dwell on the natural setting of Bākharz and establish a connection between the unique environmental properties of the region and the inimitability of its products. According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, Bākharz had a pleasant climate and flourishing villages, such as Tāybād, Kārīz, and Riza. Relying on *kārīz* and river water for irrigation, its orchards yielded all sorts of fruit. One specialty was *dūshāb-i āftābī*, a grape syrup indistinguishable in taste from honey.[169] Isfizārī adds melons (*kharbuza*), walnuts (*jauz*), almonds and pears (*nāshpātī*) to the list of local products. He particularly praises a local specialty called *ḥalvā-yi nāṭif* for its delicacy and sweetness. According to Isfizārī's enthusiastic description, this sweet dish was unique to the village of Riza: Even if the local ingredients were exported to other areas any *ḥalvā* produced outside of Riza could not reach the quality of the original.[170]

Later authors likewise attest to the excellence of the local produce. In the early seventeenth century Ibn Valī of Balkh reports that the melons of the village of Kārīz were "famous all over the world" and were even exported to India. Like Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, he mentions the syrup produced locally.[171] In 1615, the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr (r. 1014–1037/1605–1627) praised the melons of Kārīz as the best in Khurāsān.[172]

The second local "product" the Timurid authors elaborate on are the great men hailing from the region. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū singles out the Saljūq *vazīr* ʿAlī b. Ḥasan Bākharzī (d. 467/1075) and the *shaikh al-mashāyikh* Saif al-Dīn Bākharzī (d. 659/1261) as exemplars of achievement.[173] Isfizārī enlarges upon Saif al-Dīn Bākharzī's saintly standing. A disciple of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 1221), he had a wide following in Transoxiana and was buried in Bukhārā.[174] Another "saint of this region"[175] was Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr

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165 Isfizārī I: 187.

166 Isfizārī I: 207–8

167 Khargird is located two miles southeast of the present-day town of Khvāf on the Mashhad-Herat road. The Madrasa al-Ghiyāthīya was built in 848/1444 (O'Kane 1976: 79).

168 Isfizārī I: 218–19. The mausoleum was finished in 848/1444 (O'Kane 1979: 94).

169 Krawulsky 1982: 38; 1984: 35.

170 Isfizārī I: 227–8.

171 Akhmedov 1977: 20.

172 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī* I: 270, quoted in Dale 1994: 14. The melons of Kārīz continued to enjoy considerable fame well into the nineteenth century. Arthur Conolly, who traveled from Mashhad to Herat in September 1830 but did not visit the village itself, reported that it was "remarkable for the excellence of melons grown there, two of which, we were assured by many persons, were not a bad load for a mule, and which, a man protested to us, were so full of juice, that if a rider galloped his horse within two miles of the ground in which they were cultivated they would burst!" (Conolly 1834 I: 415). In 1845, the French traveler Ferrier, however, observed that the once-famous variety of melons had ceased to exist: "The melons of this locality were in ancient days considered the best in Asia, and were reserved for the courts of Teheran, Kabul and Delhi: but the village having been destroyed at the close of the last century, and consequently deserted, the seed was lost, or degenerated from change of soil. Kariz has recently been repopulated by Hazarahs [Hazāras], who are taking pains to re-establish the reputation of its melons—judging by the two I ate, they have not yet succeeded (Ferrier 1857: 138)."

173 Krawulsky 1982: 38. According to Faṣīḥ-i Khvāfī, Saif al-Dīn Bākharzī was born in Shaʿbān 576/December 1180–January 1181 (*Mujmal-i faṣīḥī* II: 763).

174 Isfizārī I: 223–5.

175 *Az ahl-i vilāyat-i ān vilāyat* (Isfizari I: 225).

Tāybādī (d. 791/1389).[176] According to Isfizārī, he commanded the obedience of his contemporary Tīmūr Lang, who personally swept the threshold of his convent and professed to feel the same kind of awe in his presence other saints (*buzurg*) typically experienced when meeting him, the worldly leader.[177] Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī owed his spiritual development to his connection with another saintly family of the region, Aḥmad-i Jām (see below) and his progeny. He received instruction from Aḥmad-i Jām's descendant Khvāja Muʿīn al-Dīn Jāmī (d. 783/1381–82)[178] and attained his spiritual rank by walking barefoot from Tāybād to pray at a distance from Aḥmad-i Jām's grave for more than seven years, drawing a bit closer to the tomb with each pilgrimage.[179]

KŪSŪYA (PRESENT-DAY KUHSĀN)

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū reports that the orchards and vineyards grouped around the town (*qaṣaba*) of Kūsūya derived their water from the final part of the westerly stretch of the Harī Rūd. Depending on *kārīz* for their water supply, the more distant hamlets (*mazāriʿ*) produced grain, which was ground in the local windmills.[180]

In his description of Kūsūya, Isfizārī mentions historical and economic features. The first part of his account focuses on the heroic resistance the local population put up against the Transoxianan troops under the leadership of the Chaghatai sovereign Duʾā b. Burāq (r. 1282–1306/7) in 695/1295–96.[181] Such defiance bewildered the Mongol general, who found himself unable to take the "decrepit four walls" of the fort of Kūsūya with his army of 90,000 men. At the height of his frustration, Duʾā attempted to smoke out the inhabitants of Kūsūya by gathering all the available wood in a radius of five *farsakh* (20 miles), piling it up around the walls, and setting it on fire. When even this conflagration failed to secure the desired result, Duʾā turned his back on Kūsūya and directed his steps to Fūshanj.[182]

In the late fifteenth century Kūsūya stood out for its abundant production of melons (*kharbuza, hindivāna*). Isfizārī illustrates the unique quality and quantity of melons produced there by stating that they were exported 100 *farsang* (400 miles) in every direction and supplied the demand of the whole of Khurāsān. Another specific quality of the melons produced in this region was their impressive size, deliciousness and wholesomeness. According to Isfizārī, it was quite possible for an assembly to consume an entire donkey load of them, the sound of the ongoing cutting of the ripe fruit filling the night air:

> This piece of earth has been blessed by God in a way that defies description. For example, it produces a sufficient amount of melons to supply all of Khurāsān year after year. The next melon harvest arrives shortly afterwards so that no shortage occurs. Its *kharbuza* weigh 10 *mann* each, its watermelons (*hindivāna*) 20 *mann*. [Both kinds are] of perfect deliciousness and sweetness… The *kharbuza* is exported in every direction to a distance of 100 *farsang*. It is clear that no fruit is consumed in greater amounts than the *kharbuza*, as there is nobody who would not fancy this delicious and sweet fruit… I have heard about people who eat an entire *kharvār* of *kharbuza* a day. Those who have spent the night there say that the sound of cutting and splitting of the melons is at times so loud that it is impossible to sleep. As far as the eye can reach, the desert is covered with *kharbuza* which look like

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176 According to Faṣīḥ-i Khvāfī, Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī died on 30 Muḥarram 791/29 January 1389 (*Mujmal-i faṣīḥī* III: 131)

177 *Va amīr-i buzurg bā khavāṣṣ-i khud farmūda ki har buzurgī-rā ki kināṛ giriftam ū larzīd va maulānā Saif al-Dīn [Zain al- Dīn?] Abū Bakr-rā ki kināṛ giriftam man larzīdam* (Isfizārī I: 226).

178 For details on Khvāja Muʿīn al-Dīn Jāmī (d. 783/1381–82) see Khvānd Amīr (HS III: 386; Thackston 1994: 223).

179 Isfizārī I: 226–7. Faṣīḥ-i Khvāfī recounts an anecdote on an exchange between Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī and the last Kartid ruler Ghiyāth al-Dīn II Pīr ʿAlī (r. 772–791/1370–1389) in the year 780/1378–79, according to which the saint predicted Tīmūr Lang's conquest of Herat. When Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī learned that Ghiyāth al-Dīn II was building fortifications to ward off Tīmūr Lang, he warned him that God-sent afflictions could not be averted by means of walls (*Mujmal-i faṣīhī* III: 113).

180 Krawulsky 1982: 38–9; Krawulsky 1984: 35.

181 For these events at the beginning of Ghāzān Khān's reign (r. 694–703/1295–1304) see HS III: 146–7; Thackston 1994: 82. Khanikoff reports that Tīmūr Lang gave Kūsūya to his sixth wife (d. 844/1441), who erected a *madrasa* and mosque there (Khanikoff 1864: 358).

182 Isfizārī I: 121–30.

herds of sheep asleep on the ground. If the seeds of this melon are sown anywhere outside the region of Kūsūya and its environs… the melons do not attain the same delicious flavor and sweetness.[183]

FŪSHANJ (PRESENT-DAY ZINDAJĀN)

According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, Fūshanj was an ancient city, perhaps even older than Herat. Apart from Fūshanj, which he describes as a "big town with a market", he also mentions Qūriyān (later Ghūriyān), Barnābād and Shakībān as major settlements. Located six *farsakh* (24 miles) west of Herat, the oasis of Fūshanj drew its irrigation water from the Harī Rūd. Its numerous gardens yielded various kinds of fruits, in particular grapes which were dried to produce raisins (*kishmish*, *mavīz*). The region was also rich in pine trees (*nāzhū*) and cypresses (*ʿar-ʿar*). A peculiar attraction was a mountain near the shrine called Ribāṭ-i Pay, which produced bird-shaped stones of various sizes.[184]

Isfizārī traces the foundation and name of Fūshanj to one of the sons of the legendary Turanian king Afrāsiyāb.[185] He describes Ribāṭ-i Pay as a point of pilgrimage located on the nearby Dū Shākh mountain, which owed its existence to marks in the rock venerated as Abraham's footsteps.[186] Isfizārī confirms Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's account of the bird-shaped stones to be found there, but he also mentions two further attractions. The river skirting the Dū Shākh mountain lent a special freshness to the region. In the spring, many visitors came to enjoy the scenery created by an abundance of blooming tulips (*lāla*), poppies (*shaqāyiq*), Judas-trees (*arghavān*) and fragrant plants (*rayāḥīn*), the beauty of which conveyed the impression of a delicate Chinese painting or even the meadows of Paradise. In addition, the purgative properties of the local water invited the health-minded to indulge in a three-day internal cleansing in spring and early summer.[187]

In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Fūshanj lost its position as a local administrative center and was increasingly eclipsed by the neighboring town of Ghūriyān, located at a ten-hour ride or ten *farsang* away from Herat.[188] This shift in political gravity is discernable from the middle of the sixteenth century on. Writing in 1550, Amīr Mahmud b. Khvānd Amīr uses the term Fūshanj-u-Ghūriyān.[189] A Safavid document of 1580 designates the region as "Fūshanj-i Ghūriyān".[190] When Shāh ʿAbbās II (r. 1052–1077/1642–1666) passed through this area during his military campaign against Qandahār in the fall of 1648, Ghūriyān was mentioned as the last major station before Herat. According to the author of the *ʿAbbāsnāma*, this location was distinguished by the pleasantness of its climate, the sweetness of its water, the freshness of its meadows, and the abundance of wild animals suitable for hunting.[191]

JĀM

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū notes the pleasant climate of Jām and the great variety of fruit produced there. Its agriculture was primarily based on *kārīz* but some water was derived from the local river.[192] Of central importance was the shrine of Aḥmad-i Jām (d. 536/1141), which had already enjoyed the patronage of the Kartid rulers.[193]

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183 Isfizārī I: 131–2.

184 Krawulsky 1982: 39–40; 1984: 35–6.

185 Isfizārī I: 119. See also Mīr Khvānd VII: 507.

186 The twelth-century author ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Fāmī quotes a *hadīth* which ascribes two mosques to Abraham, viz., the *masjid-i ḥarām* in Mecca and Ribāṭ-i Pay (Fāmī 153). In the fourteenth century, Saif al-Haravī describes Ribāṭ-i Pay as a place of pilgrimage (Saif al-Haravī 1943: 172). Ribāṭ-i Pay continues to enjoy popularity as a point of pilgrimage today but is now understood to represent the footprints of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (Krawulsky 1984: 119; Samizay 1981: 36–7).

187 Isfizārī I: 119–20.

188 *Tārīkh-i ʿabbāsī* quoted in Roemer 1939:11; the distance between Herat and Ghūriyān is variously described as eight or ten *farsang* (*Dhū al-qarnain* 265; KR 62; ST 74; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 121; Taylor 1858c: 934).

189 AM 318.

190 Tumanovich 1989: 188–9. Le Strange is of the opinion that Ghūriyān was built on the ruins of Fūshanj subsequent to its destruction by Tīmūr Lang in 783/1381 (Le Strange 1905: 411).

191 *ʿAbbāsnāma* 108.

192 The Jām Rūd is a tributary of the Harī Rūd.

Isfizārī devotes ample space to a description of "Zhanda Pīl" Aḥmad-i Jām's illumination, his stature as a saint, and his spiritual connection with another famous Sufi of the region, namely Abū al-Saʿīd b. Abī al-Khair (d. 1049) of Maihana. Abū al-Saʿīd is said to have foreseen Aḥmad-i Jām's unique spiritual accomplishments and to have reserved his cloak – worn by 22 shaikhs and representing his sainthood (*vilāyat*) – for this tall and blue-eyed youth from Jām.[194] Isfizārī depicts the shrine complex around Aḥmad-i Jām's tomb as "formidable and blessed beyond comparison".[195]

Another famous person from Jām was the great Persian poet and Isfizārī's contemporary ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.[196] Isfizārī claims to have been inspired and assisted by this celebrated personage in the composition of his work. During the night following his first effort at writing, Jāmī appeared to him in his sleep and encouraged him by placing two big watermelons in his arms and feeding him with the flesh and juice of a third one. Of the agricultural produce of Jām, Isfizārī praises the local "bābā shaikhī" melon (*kharbuza-yi bābā shaikhī)*, the sweetness of which was not even matched in Paradise and inenarrable: *Tā kasī nakhurad nadānad*. Its high quality attracted the sultans and notables (*akābir*) of Herat, who traveled to Jām in camel litters at harvest time. Another local product was woollen cloth (*pashm-i kupankī*), which sold for "two hundred to three hundred *dīnār*" and was exported to other regions. One of the peculiarities of the region was a spring which froze in the summer and stayed warm in the winter.[197]

ZĀVA-MAḤVILĀT

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū sketches the extent of the westernmost province of Timurid Herat as follows: It was bounded by Jām and Bākharz in the east, by Quhistān in the west, by Nīshāpūr in the north, and Khvāf in the south. It consisted of flourishing villages (*dih*) and had numerous orchards, which produced all kinds of fruit.[198] The major town (*qaṣaba*) in this *vilāyat* was Zāva. Among its 39 dependencies, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū mentions the village at the "holy tomb of Shaikh Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaidar" (d. ca. 613/1216–17).[199]

CONCLUSION

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's and Isfizārī's descriptions of the subdivisions of Herat provide insights into a specific instant of mapping. Not only do these authors portray the basic lay of the land; they unfold a vivid tapestry combining different strands of information concerning the Timurid realm. The portrayal of the natural setting is interwoven with data reflecting royal intervention. The discussion of the climate, the local water and its

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193 Krawulsky 1982: 40; 1984: 36. Saif al-Haravī described the grave as a place of pilgrimage in Kartid times (Saif al-Haravī 1943: 172, 553, 688). For an overview of the structural history of the shrine, see Golombek 1971.

194 Isfizārī I: 231–2

195 Isfizārī I: 241. Looked after by the descendants of Aḥmad-i Jām, this grave continued to attract pilgrims well into the nineteenth century. In the summer of 1267/1851, an Iranian envoy to Herat reported that the grave was sought out for asylum by the local population to protest against depredations committed by neighboring tribes (Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 27). During his visit in September 1858, Khanikoff noted that the shrine complex was in a state of ruin but he also noted the impressive dimensions of the shrine: "A beautiful entrance portal, surmounted by a square tower of great height and flanked by two mosques, called Goumbezi Sefid and Mesjidi Kirmani respectively, leads into an elongated courtyard extending from north to south… Opposite the entrance, close to [yet another] mosque and in the shade of an immense pistachio tree, there is the resting place of the shaikh. His grave is surrounded by those of his descendants, and each of these funerary monuments is encircled by a balustrade. A large and lofty mosque adjoining the northern wall of the courtyard separates it from an enclosure of equal size, which was formerly lined with all kinds of pious establishments, such as hospices, lodgings for pilgrims, etc. But now it is no more than a heap of ruins. Outside of the first court, next to the southern wall, there is a small Khanaka [*khānaqāh*], or dervish convent, the only building which was erected in the lifetime of the shaikh… (Khanikoff 1864: 354)."

196 For a later account of Jāmī's life and attainments, see Khvānd Amīr (HS IV: 337–8; Thackston 1994: 519).

197 Isfizārī I: 235–42.

198 Krawulsky 1982: 41; 1984: 37. In the early twentieth century, Sykes described Maḥvilāt as a fertile district, "the centre of a thriving silk industry, and… famous for its melons" (Sykes 1906: 564).

199 Krawulsky 1982: 41; 1984: 37. There is conflicting information on Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaidar's date of death (Tahsin Yasici, "Qoṭb-al-Dīn Ḥaydar Zāvī," *E.Ir.*). Faṣīh-i Khvāfī reports that he died in 613/1216–17 at the age of 110 (*Mujmal-i faṣīḥī* II: 288).

properties is linked to a depiction of irrigation methods and the resulting agricultural production. In a more immediate sense, the landscape figures as backdrop for courtly activities. Water is mentioned in terms of its healthiness (hot springs, water cures), and the local produce (notably melons, grapes and flowers) is referred to in terms of gift giving and conspicuous consumption among the elite. The same process of incorporation may also be seen at work in the description of other aspects of the scenery. The local meadows are cast as strategic zones and as a verdant setting for the display of court life. While Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū primarily views the pastures in terms of military logistics, Isfizārī focuses on their delights and their suitability for royal pastimes. The concurrence of natural factors and acts of royal patronage is further exemplified by the linkage between the inherent strength of mountain fastnesses and the maintenance of equally sturdy forts. This creates the impression that Timurid rule matches, and in effect enhances, the advantageous topography of Herat and its provinces.

Isfizārī's lyrical account of the rich agricultural production as exemplified by huge ripe melons establishes a direct connection between Timurid rule and the peace and prosperity prevailing in the province of Herat. While the sheep-sized melons of Kūsūya and their abundant harvest illustrate the rich culinary tableau of the Herat region, they also provide a powerful image of the fertility of the soil and the affluence fostered by Timurid rule. As employed by Isfizārī, this agricultural crop symbolizes the wealth arising in the well-governed realm of the Timurids and thus also becomes productive in literary terms. Bursting with sweetness, the *kharbuza* itself signifies profusion and thus fits into a larger narrative scheme contrasting the destruction wrought by invading armies with the protection afforded by the established dynasty. The association of benign rule with the prolificacy of nature and a general state of harmony can also be observed in other literary settings. Losensky has interpreted ʿAbdī Bēg Shīrāzī's celebration of the fruits produced around Shāh Ṭahmāsp I's palace complex near Qazvīn as an "ideological program" to create a linkage between the symbols of worldly rule and the fecundity of the natural environment. In the light of the mapping of Herat and Khurāsān by Timurid authors, it comes as no surprise that ʿAbdī Bēg's *Jannat al-athmār* includes a 120-verse poem that describes 19 melon varieties by name and enumerates the melon-growing areas in Iran.[200]

From the perspective of the two Timurid authors, Herat represents a point of gravity within the wider setting from several points of view. Firstly, there is the relation between space and worldly power. The status of Herat province is reflected by impregnable fortifications, which physically convey dominion and reflect the military control exerted by the Timurid rulers. The most obvious symbol of royal power was the Kartid citadel of Herat, the Qalʿa-yi Ikhtiyār al-Dīn, which was reinforced by Shāh Rukh in the early fifteenth century. Isfizārī demonstrates the grand proportions of this building by placing its sky-scraping turrets in immediate vicinity of the signs of the zodiac. Yet royal authority also radiates out in a horizontal fashion and manifests itself in an outer ring of smaller but equally invincible fortresses guarding the access to Bādghīs, Ghūr and Gharjistān. Secondly, Herat is pictured as a seat of piety and learning. The spiritual repute of its great sons extends far beyond the Timurid realm and in turn develops a gravitational pull, attracting scholars from all over the world.

The nexus of royal power and space was generally articulated in terms of protection. As seen above, one recurrent theme is the security the rulers provide for the cities, whereby they enhance the economic well-being of the region. A second, related theme highlights the beneficial role of the rulers as patrons of piety and learning. Both aspects find their expression in the construction of mighty buildings: Impregnable fortifications shield the population from physical harm, while lofty mosques and *madāris* enhance contact with the divine and foster the religiosity of the population. This complex of royal protection serves to cast the ruler as God's shadow on earth: The guardianship great kings offer to their subjects fulfils a function parallel to the protection God extends to creation. The protective field produced by the beneficial activities of a just ruler was already captured in Kartid times by the term *khiṭṭa-yi maḥrūsa*, "protected region". From Safavid

[200] Losensky 2003: 1–3, 17–19.

times on, the term *mamālik-i maḥrūsa*, the "guarded domains" gained currency. This term survived well into the nineteenth century and was employed to denote the territories forming part of a royal domain.[201]

Aside from projecting the space around Herat as a function of royal power, Timurid accounts display a pronounced awareness of sacred realms. From this perspective, Herat's favorable climate derives from its proximity to Heaven, and this proximity is in turn enhanced by the religiosity of its population in general and the erudition of the religious leadership in particular. To this purpose, Isfizārī quotes a *ḥadīth* according to which Herat is closest to Heaven among the cities of Khurāsān, and consequently enjoys the most favorable natural conditions, a temperate climate with little putrefaction, pleasant fruit, wholesome water, as well as deeply-rooted and flourishing trees.[202] This type of reasoning is brought to full circle by the conclusion that Herat per se is the source of the religious sciences and attracts seekers of knowledge and truth from all over the world.[203] Contact between the sacred and worldly realms was negotiated by the Timurid rulers, who afforded military protection to the population in general, patronized local shrines and *madāris*, and gave shelter to the pious. Within this force field, the greatest pull was once again exercised by Herat. Another focal point on the Timurid "map" was Imām Riżā's shrine in Mashhad, which, according to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, was one of the "great cities" of Khurāsān and attracted pilgrims from as far as Egypt and Syria.[204]

In the countryside, a number of holy places, such as Abraham's footprint near Fūshanj and the shrine of Chihil Dukhtarān in Bādghīs, represented nodes on the map of sacred realms.[205] Of particular relevance was the authority wielded by local saints and their graves. Sufi manuals, such as the oldest Persian treatise, *Kashf al-maḥjūb* by Hujvīrī (d. 1073), described the saints as governors of God's kingdom.[206] Their spiritual authority translated into claims to territorial authority. Sainthood, denoted by the term *vilāyat*, (divine) "friendship", was associated with the term for worldly rule over a given region (*vilāyat*) and thus implied the jurisdiction over a specific territory.[207] Within the network of shrines around Herat, the graves of Khvāja ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī (d. 1089), Khvāja Maudūd Chishtī (d. 1132–33), Aḥmad-i Jām (d. 1141), and Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī (d. 1389) constituted important coordinates. The saintly map sketched by Isfizārī was informed by notions of spiritual relatedness and legacy transcending time. He explained the relationship between Abū al-Saʿīd b. Abī al-Khair (d. 1049) of Maihana, Aḥmad-i Jām and Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī in terms of spiritual succession. Nevertheless, this transmission of authority also involved a physical dimension. Aḥmad-i Jām assumed his position by traveling to Maihana and donning Abū al-Saʿīd's cloak, Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī was instructed by Aḥmad-i Jām to seek salvation on his grave.

The influence exercised by holy men was not only measured by the number of disciples they attracted; it clearly comprised a territorial component. Traveling *shaikhs* had to seek permission (*dastūr*) before entering the realm of the local saint. The language employed to describe the scope of spiritual leadership at times mirrored military usage, including a figurative change of guards or the planting of banners.[208] In Timurid times, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī highlighted the connection between saintly power and territorial authority by recounting an anecdote on Khvāja Maudūd's reaction to Aḥmad-i Jām's visit to his base in Chisht, which

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201 See, for instance, *Durra-yi nādira* 288; Kāẓim I: 195, II: 787, III: 1194; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 59; *Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* 60; Sāravī 282, 285; TA (Humāyūn) 68, 71–2, 92, 212–13, 234; TRSN X: 479.

202 *Va chūnīn gūyad ʿAbd al-Razzāq ki nazdīktarīn-i shahrhā-yi Khurāsān ba-āsmān Harāt ast va az ān sabab havā-yi ān muʿtadil ast va ʿufūnat-i ū kam. Va mīvahā-yi ū khūsh va ābhā-yi ū guvāranda va dirakhtān-i ū bīkh-āvar va bālanda* (Isfizārī I: 98).

203 *Va ḥālā sharaf va maziyat-i īn shahr… ān ast ki manbaʿ-i ʿulūm-i dīniya va maḥall-i ẓuhūr va istikshāf-i qavānīn-i yaqīniya ast. Chinānki az tamāmī-yi rū-yi zamīn ṭullāb-i ʿilm va ḥaqāyiq va ṣuyyād-i funūn va faẓāʾil rūy badīn nuqta-yi pākīza dārand* (Isfizārī I: 99–100).

204 Krawulsky 1982: 96–99.

205 Isfizārī II: 78–9.

206 Hujwírí 1911: 213.

207 Simon Digby notes that such claims were "actively and vigoriously [sic] pursued by Shaikhs in Khurasan in the eleventh and twelfth centuries" (Digby 1986: 63).

208 Meier 1976: 414.

showed that local saints or their followers resorted to the force of arms to keep rivals out of their home territory.[209]

While Timurid sources yield considerable detail concerning the economic setting and grand buildings as expressions of royal power, the local population of Herat and its hinterland tend to be reduced to a non-entity. This phenomenon is most pronounced with Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, who largely focuses on "hard facts", such as the geographical conditions, the number of villages and the prevailing agricultural technique in a given district or province. Isfizārī is less concerned with minute data although he also furnishes some insights into the economic setting. His lavish description of court life and of the acts of patronage extended by Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā conveys impressions of elite pastimes and the favored items of consumption. Information concerning the inhabitants of the province tends to be merely incidental. Thus we learn from Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū that the locals of Khvāf are devout Sunnīs (*sunnī va pāk madhhab*) and that the mountain dwellers of Gharjistān, Ghūr and Sākhar-Tūlak are hardy villagers (*rūstāʾī ṣifat*).[210] Isfizārī seconds the view that the Ghurid population is religious but stupid. Furthermore, he endows the inhabitants of some other regions with specific characteristics. He cites the religiosity of the inhabitants of Ziyāratgāh, the braveness of the people of Kūsūya, the high moral standing of the Khvāfis, and the harsh disposition of the Gharjistānis, as well as their fondness for hunting.[211]

[209] This rivalry unfolded as Aḥmad-i Jām arrived in Herat and began to attract followers in what Khvāja Maudūd considered his domain. The conflict came to a head when Aḥmad-i Jām set out for Chisht and performed miracles along the way, for instance by transporting his disciples across the swollen Harī Rūd. Khvāja Maudūd, on his part, initially assembled 2,000 disciples and prepared for an armed confrontation but eventually recognized Aḥmad-i Jām's spiritual superiority. Aḥmad-i Jām used this confrontation to illustrate the different meanings of *vilāyat*: 'If [the term] *vilāyat* signifies these villages, they are the property (*mulk*) of the people, and neither belong to me nor to him [Khvāja Maudūd]. If [the term] *vilāyat* signifies these people, they are the subjects (*raʿāyā*) of [Sulṭān] Sanjar. In that case Sanjar would be the greatest *shaikh* (*shaikh al-shuyūkh*). If [the term] *vilāyat* reflects my understanding and that of the friends of God (*auliyā-yi khudā*), I will show him [Khvāja Maudūd] tomorrow what constitutes and characterizes it' (*Nafaḥāt al-uns* 326–9). See also Golombek 1969: 81; Potter 1994: 87.

[210] Krawulsky 1982: 33, 37; 1984: 31, 34.

[211] Isfizārī I: 82–3, 121–30, 188, 356, 365.

2. The Guarded Domains: Khurāsān under Safavid and Afsharid Auspices

HERAT IN THE SAFAVID ERA

Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā's reign exemplified the height of Timurid cultural and political achievement. Yet his death in 1506 was followed by a period of wholesale destruction. The disintegration of the Timurid domain heralded a new political order and a changing territorial framework. These developments also affected the position of Herat, which was eventually incorporated into the nascent Safavid state after being exposed to a prolonged tug-of-war between the Iranians and the Uzbeks. A third force in the region were the Mughal rulers. Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur (r. 910–936/1504–1530), the founder of the Mughal dynasty, conquered the former Timurid domain of Kābul in 1504 and established himself in Delhi and Agra after defeating Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lōdī (r. 923–932/1517–1526) at Pānīpat on 20 April 1526.[1]

Bābur was the first protagonist to make his entry in Herat. Summoned by Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā from Kābul, he learned en route about the death of the Timurid ruler on 11 Dhū al-Ḥijja 911/9 May 1506 but continued on his way to Herat.[2] A native of Farghāna and a member of the Timurid ruling house,[3] Bābur was expected to aid Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā's descendants in combating the Uzbeks under the Abu al-Khairid leader Muḥammad Khān Shībānī, who had recently become a powerful political force in Transoxiana.[4] Bābur was a likely ally against the Uzbeks, as he had been driven out of Transoxiana by Muḥammad Khān Shībānī in 1501.

During his stay in Herat until Rajab 911/November-December 1506, Bābur watched the Timurid realm disintegrate as two of Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā's sons quarrelled over the succession rather than attend to the threat emanating from the Uzbeks. Deprived of the opportunity of forming an effective alliance against Muḥammad Khān Shībānī, Bābur returned to Kābul and enhanced his hold over present-day eastern Afghanistan parallel to the mounting Uzbek incursions into Khurāsān. When Herat fell to the Uzbeks on 7 Muḥarram 913/19 May 1507, Bābur briefly extended his sovereignty as far as Qandahār.[5] With the battle of Marv on 1 Ramażān 916/2 December 1510,[6] the Safavids entered the fray, and the balance of power temporarily shifted to the detriment of the Uzbeks. Shāh Ismāʿīl I (r. 1501–1524) defeated and killed Muḥammad Khān Shībānī, thus enabling Bābur to occupy Samarqand in the name of the Safavids in Rajab 917/October 1511. Yet this state of affairs only lasted until the battle of Ghijduvān on 3 Ramażān 918/12 November 1512, when the Uzbeks dealt a sounding defeat to the combined forces of Bābur and the Iranian general Najm-i Thānī.[7]

Subsequently, a fluid but long-lived equilibrium developed among the three powers. Having established his hold over Qandahār in 1522, Bābur conquered northern India between 1526 and 1529 and laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire.[8] In Transoxiana, the four major Abu al-Khairid sub-clans enforced their authority over Tāshkand, Farghāna, Samarqand, and Bukhārā. Among them, Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's

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[1] Burton-Page, "Lōdīs," *E.I., 2* V: 784.

[2] HS IV: 319, 369–72; Thackston 1994: 510, 534–6.

[3] On his father's side, Bābur was descended in the fifth generation from Tīmūr; on his mother's side, he was related in the fifteenth degree to Chingiz Khān (HS IV: 225; Thackston 1994: 465; Hajianpur 1991: 169; Harrison & Hardy, "Bābur", *E.I., 2* I: 847).

[4] The Uzbeks emerged as a military force under Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's grandfather Abū al-Khair (r. 1428–1468), who made inroads into the Timurid dominions and established himself in the Sīr Daryā region. The groups which had coalesced around Abū al-Khair migrated south from the lower Sīr Daryā in the late fifteenth century. Muḥammad Khān Shībānī began his career as governor of Tāshkand under the auspices of the Chaghatai ruler of Tāshkand and Mughūlistān, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, in 899/1494. In the following years he gained control over Samarqand (in 907/1501, at first on behalf of Sulṭān Maḥmūd), Farghāna, Turkistān, and Tāshkand (907–8/1502), Ūrganj and Khīva (910–11/1504–05), and Balkh (911/1505) (McChesney, "Central Asia vi. In the 10th–12th/16th–18th Centuries," *E.Ir*. V: 178).

[5] Ott 1974: 190, 196–7. See also Hajianpur 1991: 170–1.

[6] Sarwar 1975: 60–63; Savory 1978: 61.

[7] AM 148–51; Haarmann 1974: 333–9; Sarwar 1975: 66–9; Savory 1960: 95–6; Savory 1978: 66.

[8] AM 243–6; Sarwar 1975: 93.

nephew ʿUbaidullāh b. Maḥmūd (1476–1540) played a leading role in conducting military campaigns to Khurāsān and Khvārazm and eventually assumed the supreme office of *khān* in 1533.[9] In Iran, the far-reaching campaigns of Shāh Ismāʿīl I targeted the entire area between the Euphrates and the Āmū Daryā until his military expansion was checked by a decisive reversal during the battle of Chāldirān on the Ottoman front in 1514.[10]

This chapter explores the status of Herat within the Safavid domain. The spatial framework determining the outlines of Khurāsān and the administrative arrangements within the province constitute one field of investigation. In this connection, the concepts of statehood projected and enacted by the Safavids play an important role. Thus Herat may be seen as part of the "guarded domains" (*mamālik-i maḥrūsa*) or as one segment of the "Qizilbāsh kingdom" (*mamlakat/daulat-i Qizilbāsh*). Another strand of inquiry addresses the logistic and dynamic aspects of empire, in particular the need to gain and maintain a large mounted followership in an environment of limited ecological resources. The resulting mapping of Khurāsān is based on composite considerations revolving around the notion of oasis towns as prizes, a network of pastures as the basis of sustenance, and a field of dynastic relationships and obligations as a source of legitimacy. This representation induces conceptual linkages between the Safavids and other early modern polities.[11] Drawing on additional sources covering the period from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, the final part of this chapter is devoted to an investigation of the changing demographic patterns around Herat, the emergence of new elites, and a concomitant shift in spatial concepts.

THE SOURCES

In the sixteenth century, Herat and Qazvīn stand out as centers of historiographical production. The events surrounding the transition of power from the Timurids to the Uzbeks and Safavids are treated in a detailed fashion by three Herati authors. In 927/1520–21, Shāh Ismāʿīl I ordered Ibrāhīm Amīnī Haravī (d. 941/1535) to compose a chronicle of his conquests. Entitled *Futūḥāt-i shāhī*, the resultant work was presented to the Safavid court in 937/1531.[12] Khvānd Amīr (d. 942/1536) is the most celebrated author of the transitional period from the Timurids to the Safavids. His *Tārīkh ḥabīb al-siyar* covered the events up to 930/1524, the date of its completion.[13] Around 957/1550, Khvānd Amīr's son Amīr Maḥmūd produced a continuation of his father's work, detailing the events from 1524 to the time of writing.[14]

The first work commissioned in Qazvīn by a Safavid patron was Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Qazvīnī's *Kitāb-i Lubb al-tavārīkh*, which was completed in 1542. Qāżī Aḥmad Ghaffārī's *Nusakh-i jahānārā* (1564–65) and ʿAbdī Bēg Shīrāzī's *Takmilat al-akhbār* (1570) were likewise produced during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (1524–1576). Būdāq Munshī Qazvīnī's *Javāhir al-akhbār* and the second extant volume of Ḥasan Bēg Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* record the events in Iran down to the short reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl II (1576–1577).[15]

The Uzbek perspective is reflected by Fażlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī Iṣfahānī (1455–1521), who joined the entourage of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī in 1508 and recorded the exploits of the Abu al-Khairid leader in his *Mihmānnāma-yi Bukhārā*.[16] Zain al-Dīn Maḥmūd Vāṣifī left his native town of Herat in 1512 and died between 1551 and 1566 in Central Asia. Entitled *Badāyiʿ al-vaqāyiʿ*, his autobiography focuses on the literary life of Herat, to which he actively contributed until his departure. Addressed to members of the Abu

[9] McChesney, "Shibanids". *E.I., 2* IX: 428–9; Noelle 1997: 64–7.
[10] Sarwar 1975: 78–82.
[11] For an earlier, summary treatment of these questions, see Noelle-Karimi 2008a.
[12] Aubin 1995: 249–50; Quinn, "Historiography vi. Safavid Period," *E.Ir*. XII: 363; Szuppe 1992: 54–5.
[13] Aubin 1995: 248–9; Szuppe 1992: 556.
[14] Quinn, "Historiography vi. Safavid Period," *E.Ir.* XII: 363; Szuppe 1992: 57–8.
[15] Navāʾī, "Aḥsan al-Tawārīḵ," *E.Ir.* I: 680–1; Quinn, "Historiography vi. Safavid Period," *E.Ir.* XII: 363.
[16] Haarmann 1974: 341–52.

al-Khairid dynasty in Bukhārā and Tāshkand, his work may be seen as an introduction to Timurid cultural traditions.[17]

Historiography during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I is associated with a shift in focus from universal history to emphasis on a "distinctly Safavid past".[18] Writing in 1629, Iskandar Bēg (1560–1632) described the Safavid realm at a time when Iṣfahān had been established as the seat of power. His *Tārīkh-iʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī* records the events from Shāh Ismāʿīl I's advent in Khurāsān to Shāh ʿAbbās I's successful conquest of Qandahār. Mīrzā Bēg b. Ḥasan Ḥusainī Junābadī's *Raużat al-Ṣafavīya*, which was composed two years earlier, likewise covers the period from Shāh Ismāʿīl I's coronation to the fortieth year of Shāh ʿAbbās I's reign. Of a more limited focus is Maḥmūd b. Hidāyatullāh Afūshta-yi Naṭanzī's *Nuqāvat al-āthār fī dhikr al-akhyār*, which covers the period from the last days of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I to the eleventh year of Shāh ʿAbbās I's reign.[19] Under Shāh Ṣafī (r. 1038–1052/1629–1642), Iskandar Munshī wrote a sequel (*dhail*) to his *Tārīkh-iʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, which depicted the events up to 1634. In 1638, the court official Muḥammad Maʿṣūm b. Khvājagī Iṣfahānī began to engage in historiography. Originally intended as a universal history, his *Khulāṣat al-siyar* furnishes a complete account of Shāh Ṣafī's reign.[20]

For the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās II (r. 1052–1077/1642–1666), two chronicles deserve mention. Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīd Qazvīnī's ornate *ʿAbbāsnāma* deals with the developments from 1642–1663 and details Shāh ʿAbbās II's campaign to Qandahār in 1648–1649. Written around 1666, Valī Qulī Shāmlū's, *Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī* starts out as a general history of the Safavids and culminates in a description of the events in Qandahār until 1060/1650. Born in Herat in 1035/1625–26, the author was associated with the provincial administration of Qandahār from 1652 on. He embellishes his work by quoting the poetry of Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīd Qazvīnī and other authors. At the beginning of Shāh Sulaimān's reign (r. 1077–1105/1666–1694), Muḥammad Yūsuf Vāla Iṣfahānī produced a five-volume history entitled *Khuld-i barīn*. The last two volumes of this universal history are devoted to the Safavid dynasty to 1071/1660–61 and draw on the *Tārīkh-iʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī* and the *ʿAbbāsnāma* for the depiction of the reigns of Shāhs ʿAbbās I and II.[21] The *Dastūr-i shahriyārān* by Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Naṣīrī provides some impressions of the circumstances in Herat and its hinterland under the last Safavid ruler Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain (r. 1105–1135/1694–1722) during the years 1105–1110/1694–1698.

Three Iranian authors based in India deserve mention. Muḥammad Shafīʿ "Vārid" was born in India in 1087/1677 as the son of a Tehrani *ʿālim* who migrated to Hyderabad. Completed in 1142/1730, Vārid's history of the Safavid dynasty is embedded into a larger biographical work entitled *Mirʾāt-i vāridāt.* Based on eyewitness reports by more recent emigrés, his account of the downfall of the Safavids offers valuable insights into the developments in Khurāsān. The *Mirʾāt-i vāridāt* is complemented by Vārid's *Tārīkh-i nādirshāhī*, which picks up the historical narrative where the former leaves off.[22] Two further authors sought refuge in Murshidābād in Bengal during the second half of the eighteenth century. Abū al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amīn Gulistāna left Iran in the 1750s. His *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* contains interesting details on the time after the death of Nādir Shāh in 1747. Muḥammad Khalīl Marʿashī arrived in Murshidābād in 1192/1778. A native of Mashhad, he was the grandson of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad alias "Shāh Sulaimān II", who briefly entered the political stage there during the disturbances unfolding after Nādir Shāh's death in 1747. Entitled *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh dar tārīkh-i inqirāż-i ṣafavīya va vaqāyiʿ-i baʿd*, his work offers interesting details on the rise of the Abdālī confederacy as a political force.[23]

The general accounts devoted to the apex of Safavid power in Khurāsān pay little attention to local circumstances. The three known Persian sources on administrative matters stem from the period after the

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[17] Rota 1996. See also Subtelny 1983.

[18] Newman 2006: 67. See also Tilmann Trausch (forthcoming), *Formen höfischer Historiographie im 16. Jahrhundert: Geschichtsschreibung unter den frühen Safaviden: 1501–1578*, p. 42.

[19] Naṭanzī xxi–xxiv.

[20] Rettelbach 1978: xi–xxxvi.

[21] Browne 1917: 666–7; Röhrborn 1966: 142; Rota 1998: 173; Soudavar 1999: 55 fn. 84.

[22] Ṣifatgul, "Muqaddima-yi muṣaḥḥiḥ," Vārid, *Mirʾāt*, 20–57.

[23] Noelle-Karimi, "Historiography xi. Afghanistan," *E.Ir.* XII: 391.

downfall of the Safavid Empire. Mīrzā Rafīʿā's *Dastūr al-mulūk* and Mīrzā Samīʿā's *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* were produced to equip the Ghilzai ruler Ashraf Khān Hūtak (r. 1725–29) with insights into the Safavid mode of administration. While based on a common source, these two works reflect recent developments and complement each other.[24] The third text, ʿAlī Naqī Naṣīrī's *Alqāb va mavājib-i daura-yi salāṭīn-i ṣafavīya*, was composed in 1730–31. Like *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, this work lists the emoluments and retainers at the disposal of the governors-general of Herat, Mashhad, Marv and Qandahār and the officials in charge of the component districts.[25]

The historiography of the Afsharid period largely relies on four sources. One important contemporaneous source for the decline of the Safavids and Nādir Shāh's early career is *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*. The author, Nādir Shāh's treasurer Muḥammad Muḥsin, composed this work in 1154/1741–42 on the order of the king, who intended it for the use of his eldest son Riżā Qulī Mīrzā.[26] Nādir Shāh Afshār's official historiographer Mīrzā Muḥammad Mihdī Khān Astarābādī completed the *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi nādirī* in the 1750s. This book was translated into French and English by Sir William Jones in the 1770s. Entitled *Durra-yi nādira*, Astarābādī's second work contains a poetic rendering of the events described in the *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi nādirī*.[27] Nādir Shāh's third biographer, Muḥammad Kāẓim Marvī, likewise finished his work entitled *Tārīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi nādirī* after 1747. This account of the Nadirid period is of particular interest because the author repeatedly assumes a critical stance towards Nādir Shāh and his policies. A native of Marv, he moved to Mashhad during his childhood, and his work includes eyewitness accounts of some of the events that unfolded from 1726 on.[28] Another eyewitness report is furnished by the Kashmirian ʿAbd al-Karīm, who joined Nādir Shāh's entourage in Delhi in Ṣafar 1152/May 1739 and accompanied him to Transoxiana, Khurāsān and Māzandarān. After reaching Qazvīn in Rabīʿ I 1154/June 1741, ʿAbd al-Karīm took leave of Nādir Shāh and traveled on to Medina and Mecca. Upon his return to Delhi in Jumādā II 1156/August 1743, he composed his travelogue entitled *Bayān-i vāqiʿ*, which he complemented with details on Nādir Shāh's rise and fall.[29]

Given the focus on Safavid chronicles, the following account of Herat in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries adopts an Iranian perspective and mirrors a discourse of Iranian dominance. Local events are structured in accordance with the imperial time frame of Safavid rule, and Herat is primarily depicted as a province embedded within the Safavid polity. This approach pays little attention to the effects of the repeated and sustained efforts of the Central Asian Shibanids to establish themselves in the region. The impact of the Uzbek presence in Khurāsān and Herat and the altercations between the Shibanid leadership and the Safavids in the course of the sixteenth century have been treated in a detailed fashion by Maria Szuppe and Robert McChesney.[30]

Shifting Regional Alignments

As early as 917/1511, Shāh Ismāʿīl I fixed the Āmū Daryā as the border between the Safavid and Uzbek spheres of interest,[31] in effect claiming Herat, Marv and Balkh as his easternmost domain. The space thus

[24] Floor/Faghfoory 2007; TM.
[25] Floor 2008: 104–12, 128–30.
[26] Lockhart 1938: 299–300.
[27] Tucker, "Historiography vii. Afsharid and Zand Periods," *E.Ir.* XII: 367–8.
[28] In late 1139/early 1140, Kāẓim, then a boy of five years, witnessed Tātār depredations in Marv. His family was resettled in Khurāsān by Nādir's brother Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān (Kāẓim 68–71). In the summer of 1141/1729, Kāẓim's father accompanied Nādir on his second campaign against Herat (Kāẓim 93–9). One year later, Kāẓim watched a battle between Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān and an invading Abdālī force from the ramparts of Mashhad (Kāẓim 156). In 1145/1732–33, Nādir sent Kāẓim's father to Bīrjand to rebuild a Shiite shrine (Kāẓim 206–8). Later on, Kāẓim himself entered Nādir Shāh's service and became secretary of his arsenal (Kāẓim 1085).
[29] Alam/Subrahmanyam 2007: 248–95.
[30] Szuppe 1992; McChesney 1993.
[31] AM 139. See also Aubin 1984: 15, 19; Sarwar 1975: 64–5; Szuppe 1992: 81.

defined as Iranian was not necessarily filled with instances of immediate or lasting control. Nonetheless the notions of territoriality projected by Shāh Ismāʿīl lived on, shaping the mental map of his Safavid successors and creating an enduring sense of entitlement that survived into the nineteenth century and beyond.[32] On a practical level, Shāh Ismāʿīl's projection of his domain as extending to the Āmū Daryā signalled a departure from the Timurid framework and reflected a new balance of power, which henceforth developed between the Mughal, Safavid and Uzbek realms and remained fairly stable until the eighteenth century.

One concurrent phenomenon of the evolving setup were regions subject to overlapping territorial claims. Thus Qandahār was contested between the Safavids and the Mughals until it eventually fell to the control of Shāh ʿAbbās II in 1649.[33] During the early Safavid period the position of Herat was equally uncertain, and it suffered a series of Uzbek incursions until 1537.[34] Uzbek activity in Khurāsān reached another climax between 1588 and 1598 under the last two Abu al-Khairid leaders ʿAbdullāh Khān (r. 991–1006/1583–1598) and his son ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 1006/1598).[35] The subsequent rise of the Tuqai-Timurid line in Transoxiana likewise had repercussions for the province of Herat. In 1598, the Tuqai-Timurid leader Dīn Muḥammad (972–1007/1564–1598) occupied the region of Herat but was defeated by the troops of Shāh ʿAbbās I shortly after.[36]

Two years later Shāh ʿAbbās I successfully incorporated Marv into the Safavid domain. Yet his attempt to impose direct control over Balkh in 1602 met with no success.[37] Conflicts between the Safavids and the Tuqai-Timurids continued to simmer during the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the scope of military action diminished over time. During their two peaks of activity at the beginning and the end of the sixteenth century, the Abu al-Khairid rulers of Transoxiana had targeted the entire region of Khurāsān. From Shāh ʿAbbās I's time on, by contrast, the disputes between the Safavids and the Tuqai-Timurids were more localized and focused on the region north and northeast of Herat.

After his setback at Balkh, Shāh ʿAbbās I adopted a new strategy. Instead of intervening directly, he fostered rival Abu al-Khairid and Tuqai-Timurid contenders for power in Balkh. This policy was not without

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[32] Aubin 1988: 27–8.

[33] Until the early sixteenth century Qandahār was held by the Arghūn rulers in vassalage with the Timurids of Herat. In 913/1507–08, Bābur occupied the city, but it subsequently passed back to the Arghūn princes, who ruled it in the name of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī from that point on. In 928/1522, Bābur was able to regain possession of Qandahār and made his second son Kāmrān Mīrzā governor there. In 1537, Qandahār passed to Safavid control but Kāmrān Mīrzā won it back shortly after. In September 1545, Kāmrān Mīrzā's half brother Humāyūn turned the city over to the Safavid prince Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā b. Ṭahmāsp I as part of his effort to regain his throne in India. After the death of Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā, Humāyūn was able to retake Qandahār in October 1545. In 965/1558, a Safavid army sent by Shāh Ṭahmāsp I established control there after a six-month siege. In 1003/1594–95, the Safavid governor Muẓaffar Ḥusain b. Sulṭān Ḥusain surrendered Qandahār to the Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605). Shāh ʿAbbās I occupied the city in 1031/1622 and held it until his death in 1629. Subsequently, the Uzbeks were able to take possession of Qandahār for a short period. In 1638, the Safavid governor of Qandahār, ʿAlī Mardān Khān, voluntarily gave up the city to the Mughal ruler Shāh Jahān (r. 1628–1658). In early 1059/1649, it finally fell to Shāh ʿAbbās II (r. 1642–1666). Shāh Jahān made three vain attempts at retrieving Qandahār in 1649, 1652 and 1653. (AM 340–2; *ʿAbbāsnāma* 128–9, 132–6; Bosworth, "Ḳandahār," *E.I., 2* IV: 537; Dasti 1998: 143–9; Ray 1948: 51–7; Davies, "Akbar," *E.I.,* I: 316; Rettelbach 1978: 242–4; Riazul Islam 1970: 2–3, 15–18, 23–6, 41–8, 60, 82, 104, 111–112; Riazul Islam, "Mughals, 2. External Relations," *E.I.,* 2 VII: 317; Röhrborn 1966: 13–14, 42,; Roemer 1986d: 239, 267; Sarkar 1973: 72–3; Savory 1978: 153–4; Szuppe 1992: 113).

[34] McChesney, "Central Asia, vi. In the 10th–12th/16–18th centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 185.

[35] Herat fell to the Uzbeks in March 1588 after a ten-month siege. Mashhad was conquered by ʿAbdullāhʿs son ʿAbd al-Muʾmin in September 1589 after a five-month siege and was subjected to wholesale massacre and devastation. The other regions experiencing Uzbek occupation were Sarakhs, Isfarāyin, Sabzavār, Turshīz, Khvāf, Turbat-i Shaikh Jām, Ghūriyān, Tūn and Ṭabas (Burton 1997: 58, 63–4, 69, 76, 101; Hambly 1991b: 181; McChesney, "Shibanids", *E.I., 2* IX: 429; Müller 1964: 46–7, 62–5, 78; Riazul Islam 1970: 51; Vambéry 1990: 283–94). For a detailed account of ʿAbdullāh's conquest of Herat in February 1588, see McChesney 1993 and Müller 1964: 42–44.

[36] Dīn Muḥammad managed to flee but was killed near Mārūchāq by the local population (IM 913–21). See also McChesney, "Central Asia, vi. In the 10th–12th/16th–18th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 183.

[37] In August 1602, forty thousand Safavid troops arrived before Balkh but had to give up their siege of the Tuqai-Timurid leader Valī Muḥammad owing to lack of provisions and water, as well as rampant illness (IM 997–1013, 1019; Burton 1997: 116–17; Riazul Islam 1970: 87; Roemer 1986d: 267; Tumanovich 1989: 143–44).

repercussions for the northeastern fringes of the Herat province in the early seventeenth century. As a rule, the attacks carried out by Shah ʿAbbās I's allies from their bases in Gharjistān elicited violent reactions from the ruler of Balkh, Nadhr Muḥammad Khān (r. 1015–1051/1606–1642, 1055–1061/1645–1651) and his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Three sets of altercations are reported for the early seventeenth century:

- In mid-1016/late 1607, the Shāmlū contingents of Herat and troops from Gharjistān supported Yār Muḥammad, the deposed *dīvānbēgī* of Balkh, and the Abu al-Khairid princes Jahāngīr and Muḥammad Salīm in their unsuccessful attempt to regain authority. [38]
- From 1611 on, the power struggle between two factions identified as "Valid" (the supporters of the great *khān* Valī Muḥammad Khān (r. 1014–1020/1606–1612) and his son Rustam Muhammad) and "Dinid" (the supporters of Dīn Muḥammad's sons Imām Qulī and Nadhr Muḥammad)[39] provided the opportunity for Safavid intervention. When Imām Qulī and Nadhr Muḥammad gained the upper hand in Bukhārā and Balkh in 1612, Rustam Muḥammad took position in Gharjistān, wherefrom he launched a total of seven offensives against the Balkh region until 1623. While most of these campaigns amounted to no more than skirmishes, Rustam Muḥammad was able to lay siege to Balkh with the help of Safavid troops in 1023/1614, devastating the surroundings of the city in the process. Three years later, a campaign by Imām Qulī and 30,000 Bukharan soldiers was beaten back by the Safavid governor Miḥrāb Khān Qājār at Marv. In 1618, the interests of local Uzbek leaders and the Shāmlū governors of Herat collided at Chīchaktū and Maimana. In 1032/1622, Bālā Murghāb temporarily fell to Uzbek control until Shāh ʿAbbās I gave in to the demand to remove Rustam Muḥammad from Gharjistān.[40]
- After Shāh ʿAbbās I's death in 1629, the frontier region was engulfed in unrest. Rustam Muḥammad resurfaced at Auba and Shāfilān. Military confrontations between the Qizilbāsh and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz for the possession of Bālā Murghāb and Mārūchāq ensued in the spring of 1631.[41] In early 1634, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz advanced to Kūsūya and Farāh with 20,000 troops.[42]

The ongoing confrontations with the rulers of Balkh underlined the sense that Herat and its northeastern hinterland formed a frontier in relationship to Uzbek interests. The city retained its title of *dār al-salṭana*, "seat of government". This longevity of imperial terminology notwithstanding, its status changed radically, as it was reduced from the heart of the mighty Timurid Empire to a provincial town in an embattled zone. With the rise of the Safavids, the center of gravity moved westward. Following the precedent set by the Qarā Quyūnlū and Āq Quyūnlū dynasties, Shāh Ismāʿīl I originally designated Tabrīz as his capital. Owing to Ottoman pressure, Shāh Ṭahmāsp I shifted his headquarters to Qazvīn in the 1540s. In 1006/1597–98, Shāh ʿAbbās I established Iṣfahān as seat of government. These three towns likewise came to be known as *dār al-salṭana*, whereas the King's actual residence of the time carried the denomination of *maqarr al-salṭana*. [43]

Herat was designated as the capital of Khurāsān, a province of immense proportions adjoining the provinces of Marv and Balkh in the north and east. As a rule, Safavid authority extended in the northeast as far as Mārūchāq.[44] Located further east along the trade route to Balkh, Maimana and Chīchaktū formed part

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[38] IM 1153–5. See also McChesney, "Central Asia, vi. In the 10th–12th/16th–18th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 185; Tumanovich 1989: 144–5.

[39] Dīn Muḥammad (d. 1598) and Valī Muḥammad were brothers.

[40] IM 1591.

[41] IM 1532, 1556, 1591, 1593–4, 1628, 1637–8; Rettelbach 1978: 96–7; McChesney, "Central Asia, vi. In the 10th–12th/16th–18th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 187; Tumanovich 1989: 145, 147. In the spring of 1632, 20,000 Uzbek troops under the leadership of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Yālangtūsh Khān assembled in the vicinity of Mārūchāq but retreated soon after (Rettelbach 1978: 118–19).

[42] Rettelbach 1978: 164. According to McChesney, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz set out from Maimana with 3,000 cavalry and marched towards Mashhad on this occasion (McChesney, "Central Asia, vi. In the 10th–12th/16th–18th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 187).

[43] Haneda/Matthee, "Isfahan vii. Safavid Period," *E.Ir.* XIII: 651; McChesney 1988: 109. The transferral of capitals seems to have been a gradual process. Echraqi has pointed out that the preparations for the shift from Tabrīz to Qazvīn began in 951/1544, but that it was only in 965/1557 that Shāh Ṭahmāsp I set up his royal palace (*daulatkhāna*) there (Echraqi 1996: 105, 110–11). As for the move to Iṣfahān, Roemer raises the possibility that Qazvīn and Iṣfahān simultaneously functioned as capitals for a number of years before the final transition to Iṣfahān was made. In autumn 1598, the Sherley brothers paid their respects to Shāh ʿAbbās I at Qazvīn, which Iskandar Munshī describes as *maqarr-i salṭanat-i abad-bunyān.* Subsequently, the Safavid king moved on to the *dār al-salṭana* of Iṣfahān as part of the ongoing pattern of warfare and migration (Roemer 1974: 316–20; see also TM 162; Glassen 1970: 212; Gronke 1992: 20–1). The contemporaneous Persian sources show that Iṣfahān was merely one of several destinations of the itinerant court (McChesney 1988: 106–114).

[44] IM 972, 1015, 1021, 1475; DS 158–9.

of the Uzbek domain, serving as summer quarter for the Uzbek "followers and tribes" (*ulūs va ūymāq-i uzbakīya*).[45] In the north and northwest, the authority of the governor of Marv reached as far as Abīvard and Khabūshān. Throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Khurāsān was described as covering the entire expanse between Qazvīn/Simnān in the west to the border of Qandahār in the east and the Oxus in the northeast.[46]

The early eighteenth-century manual *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* views Khurāsān as an even larger geographical unit encompassing not only Herat, Mashhad and Marv but also Qandahār and Sīstān. According to this account, Herat comprised Bālā Murghāb, Mārūchāq, Panjdih, and Bādghīs in the north, Kurukh and Ghūr in the east, Farāh in the south, and Turbat-i Shaikh Jām, Khvāf and Tūn (present-day Firdaus) in the west.[47] The

[45] IM 998. See also Sarwar 1975: 65.

[46] The prevailing perceptions of Khurāsān and its dimensions are reflected in some of the contemporaneous Persian works. Writing in the middle of the sixteenth century, Amīr Maḥmūd b. Khvānd Amīr describes Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's conquests between 1507–1510 as comprising all the cities and regions of Khurāsān from the border of Simnān to the banks of the Oxus: *Tamāmī-yi bilād va vilāyāt-i Khurāsān az sarḥadd-i Simnān tā kinār-i Āb-i Āmūya (Āmū Daryā)* (AM 129). According to a number of historical accounts, Shāh Ismāʿīl I awarded the government of Khurāsān from the border (*sarḥadd*) of Simnān to the bank of the Oxus to his son Ṭahmāsp in 1515 (AM 166; AT 154; HS IV: 553; Thackston 1994: 607–8 Röhrborn 1966: 16). In the late sixteenth century, the jurisdiction of the *vazīr* of Khurāsān (*vizārat-i kull-i Khurāsān*) was described in the following terms: "from the border of Qandahār and Transoxania to Simnān" (*az sarḥadd-i Qandahār va Mā varāʾ al-nahr tā Simnān*") (Röhrborn 1966: 112 fn 83). In 1605–06, Shāh ʿAbbās I appointed Khvāja Muḥammad Ṣafī as minister of Khurāsān and described the area under his command as extending from Qazvīn to the border of Qandahār and the Oxus (*az dār al-salṭana-yi Qazvīn tā sarḥadd-i Qandahār va Āb-i Āmūya)* (Röhrborn 1966: 103–4 fn 35).
The administrative divisions of Khurāsān during Safavid times are apparent from different rounds of gubernatorial appointments. In 1522, the Herati governor Dūrmīsh Khān Shāmlū appointed local governors to the following administrative units: Zainal Khān Shāmlū to Jurjān (Astarābād), Zain al-Dīn Sulṭān to Isfarāyin and Nīshāpūr; Būrūn Sulṭān Tekelū to Mashhad and Ṭūs, Ṣūfiyān Khalīfa Rūmlū to Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya, Chakūrka Sulṭān to Sabzavār, Aḥmad Sulṭān Afshār to Harāt-Rūd, Langar-i Amīr Ghiyāth, Farāh and Isfizār (Sarwar 1975: 93). When Herat fell to Uzbek control in February 1588, a contemporary source described Mashhad, Nīshāpūr, Sabzavār, Isfarāyin, Qāyin, Zāva-Maḥvilāt, Tūn, Ṭabas, Turshīz, Jām, Astarābād and Dāmghān as the remaining administrative units of Khurāsān (Müller 1964: 55–6, Persian text 41).

[47] TM 102–3. The above information is largely confirmed by Naṣīrī. As both authors list the emoluments of the governors and the number of retainers they had at their disposal, it is worthwhile summing up the particulars furnished by them.

Region	**Title**	**Emoluments**	**Retainers**
Herat	*bēglerbēgī*	15,277 *tūmāns,* 6,034 *dīnārs* (TM 102) 15,412 and odd *tūmāns* (Floor 2008: 103)	2,682 (TM 102) 2,696 (Floor 2008: 103)
Mārūchāq	*sulṭān*	3,267 *tūmāns*, 5,531 *dīnārs* (TM 102) 3,419 *tūmāns*, 8,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 104)	97 (TM 102) 737 (Floor 2008: 104)
Farāh	*sulṭān*	4,989 *tūmāns*, 6,873 *dīnārs* (TM: 102) 4,645 *tūmāns*, 2,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 105)	603 (TM 102) 603 (Floor 2008: 105)
Khvāf	*sulṭān*	1,434 *tūmāns*, 2,624 *dīnārs* (TM 102) 1,000 *tūmāns*, 4,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 104	271 (TM 102) 200 (Floor 2008: 104)
Jām		..1,682 *tūmāns*, 220 *dīnārs* (TM 102)	500 (TM 102)
Bālā Murghāb	*sulṭān*	883 *tūmāns*, 3,466 *dīnārs* (TM 102) 868 *tūmāns*, 3,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 106)	100 (TM 102) 160 (Floor 2008: 106)
Panjdih	*sulṭān*	958 *tūmāns*, 4,673 *dīnārs* (TM 102) 958 *tūmāns*, 4,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 106)	150 (TM 102) 161 (Floor 2008: 106)
Bādghīs	*sulṭān*	109 *tūmāns*, 6,151 *dīnārs* (TM 102) 30 *tūmāns*, 3,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 107)	30 (TM 102) 30 (Floor 2008: 107)
Kurukh (and Jamshīdī)	*sulṭān*	442 *tūmāns*, 3,737 *dīnārs* (TM 102) 442 *tūmāns*, 6,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 106)	199 (TM 102) 194 (Floor 2008: 106)
Dūrmī Zūrī	*sulṭān*	450 *tūmāns*, 7091 *dīnārs* (TM 102) …..177 *tūmāns*, 6,000 *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 106)	500 (TM 102) 500 (Floor 2008: 106)
Ghūr Ghūrī	*sulṭān*	103 *tūmāns*, 1,600 *dīnārs* (TM 102) 103 *tūmāns*, 1,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 105)	30 (TM 102) 48 (Floor 2008: 105)
Tūn		1,290 *tūmāns*, 3,100 *dīnārs* (TM 102)	300 (TM 102)
Nahababad	*sulṭān*	109 *tūmāns*, 6,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 104)	30 (Floor 2008: 104)

subdivision of Mashhad was likewise of impressive proportions. It consisted of Sarakhs, Abīvard, Nasā and Durūn in the north, Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya and Turshīz in the south, Nīshāpūr and Sabzavār in the west, and Isfarāyin and Āzādvār in the northwest.[48] Qandahār is described as embracing the regions of Zamīndāvar, Ghūriyān (?) and Kushk.[49] The inclusion of Qandahār in the Safavid administrative system reflects facts created in 1649. Prior to this time, Qandahār had mostly formed the frontier (*sarḥadd*) between Safavid and Mughal interests, falling into the Iranian orbit only during two distinct periods (1558–1595, 1622–1638). The late eighteenth-century chronicle *Majmaʿal-tavārīkh* assigns more generous proportions to the province of Qandahār under the last Safavid governor Gurgīn Khān, including Qalāt-i Ghilzai in the northeast, Shāl (present-day Quetta), Mastūng, Pishīn and Qalāt-i Balūch in the south, as well as Zamīndāvar, Bust and Girishk up to the border of Farāh and Isfizār in the west.[50]

Assuming the title of *bēglerbēgī*, the governor of Herat enjoyed a position superior to the other local governors of Khurāsān. In the early sixteenth century, he was in charge of appointing the governors of Mashhad, Isfarāyin and Astarābād. The first religious supervisor (*ṣadr*) assigned to Khurāsān in 1515 had his seat in Herat, and his jurisdiction over religious affairs covered the entire area from the borders of Persian Iraq and Azerbaijan to Ṭukhāristān, i.e. the region bounded by the upper and middle course of the Oxus.[51] In the 1690s, the governor of Herat still carried the prestigious title of "governor general of all of Khurāsān"

Qipchāq	*sulṭān*	49 *tūmāns*, 3,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 105)	unknown (Floor 2008: 104)
Harāt-Rūd, Shāfilān		1,405 *tūmāns*, 4,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 107)	440 (Floor 2008: 107)

[48] The two authors apportion Jām and Tūn to different beglerbegiships. According to Mīrzā Samīʿā, these two *vilāyat* form part of Herat (TM 102), whereas Naṣīrī lists them under the heading of Mashhad (Floor 2008: 108, 112).

Region	**Title**	**Emoluments**	**Retainers**
Mashhad	*bēglerbēgī*	7,443 *tūmāns,* 9,195 *dīnārs* (TM 102) 6,041 *tūmāns*, 4,000 an odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 108)	670 (TM 102) 2,696 (Floor 2008: 103)
Sarakhs (and Zūrābād)	*sulṭān*	2,099 *tūmāns*, 3,024 *dīnārs* (TM 102) 1,795 *tūmāns*, 4,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 111)	437 (TM 102) 561 (Floor 2008: 111)
Nīshāpūr	*khān*	2,170 *tūmāns*, 8,300 *dīnārs* (TM: 102) 2,213 *tūmāns*, 1,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 110)	719 (TM 102) 500 (Floor 2008: 110)
Turshīz		994 *tūmāns*, 2,972 *dīnārs* (TM 103)	616 (TM 103)
Abīvard	*khān*	3,588 *tūmāns*, 7828 *dīnārs* (TM 103) 3,805 *tūmāns*, 5,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 109)	550 (TM 103) 613 (Floor 2008: 109)
Āzādvār (and Faryūmad)	*sulṭān*	139 *tūmāns*, 3,533 *dīnārs* (TM 103) 176 *tūmāns*, 5,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 110)	21 (TM 103) 21 (Floor 2008: 110)
Nasā	*sulṭān*	2,812 *tūmāns*, 337 *dīnārs* (TM 103) 3,228 *tūmāns*,7,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 112)	555 (TM 103) 161 (Floor 2008: 106)
Sabzavār	*khān*	1,302 *tūmāns*, 1,151 *dīnārs* (TM 103) 1,843 *tūmāns*, 3,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 111)	272 (TM 103) 277 (Floor 2008: 111)
Isfarāyin	*sulṭān*	918 *tūmāns*, 7,208 *dīnārs* (TM 103) 858 *tūmāns*, 8,048 *dīnārs*, ½ *dāng* (Floor 2008: 109)	130 (TM 103) 131 (Floor 2008: 109)
Ḥvrūz-va y.sākū [sic] Pasākū	*sulṭān*	216 *tūmāns*, 7,353 *dīnārs* (TM 103) 216 *tūmāns*, 7,353 *dīnārs*, 2 *dāng* (Floor 2008: 110)	45 (TM 103) 45 (Floor 2008: 110)
Durūn (Khabūshān)	*khān*	2,923 *tūmāns*, 3,329 *dīnārs* (TM 103) 3,738 *tūmāns*, 9,000 *tabrīzī dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 111)	1,320 (TM 103) 844 (Floor 2008: 105)
Turbat Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya	*sulṭān*	379 *tūmāns*, 4,701 *dīnārs* (TM 103) 362 *tūmāns*, 2,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 108)	55 (TM 103) 67 (Floor 2008: 108)
B.zāvandaq Bazandavandaqan	*sulṭān*	117 *tūmāns*, 1,287 *dīnārs* (TM 103) 117 *tūmāns*, 2,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 109)	50 (TM 103) 55 (Floor 2008: 109)
Jām	*sulṭān*	1,547 *tūmāns*, 2,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 108)	570 (Floor 2008: 108)
Tūn and Ṭabas	*sulṭān*	290 *tūmāns*, 6,000 and odd *dīnārs* (Floor 2008: 112)	300 (Floor 2008: 112)

[49] TM 103, 168.

[50] *Majmaʿal-tavārīkh* 4. See also Röhrborn 1966: 13.

[51] Röhrborn 1966: 16–17.

(*bēglerbēgī-yi kull-i Khurāsān*) despite the fact that Herat was far removed from the concerns of the central government during the time of the last Safavid ruler Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain.[52]

Its change of status notwithstanding, Herat continued to enjoy a special position within the framework of the Safavid government and served as the seat of the crown princes for most of the sixteenth century. These princes were often extremely young at the time of their appointment. Real power, therefore, rested with the Qizilbāsh *amīrs* assigned as their tutors (*lala*). The first Safavid prince appointed governor of Herat was Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā, who arrived in Rabīʿ I 922/April 1516 at the age of two and held his position under the tutorship of Amīr Khān Mauṣillū until 1521.[53] The last crown prince to hold Herat was ʿAbbās Mīrzā, who was barely one year old at the time of his appointment in 980/1572–73, which lasted for eight years. In the course of his own reign, Shāh ʿAbbās I abolished the practice of appointing royal princes to provincial governorships as part of his endeavor to enhance his control over the provinces and to break the power of the Qizilbāsh aristocracy.[54]

Over time, Herat gradually lost its privileged position within Khurāsān. From the late sixteenth century on, the area administrated by the *dār al-salṭana* began to shrink, while Mashhad in western Khurāsān steadily gained gravity in political and economic terms. This development is reflected by the official terminology employed. Under Shāh Ismāʿīl II (r. 984–985/1576–1577), the governor of Mashhad assumed authority over "half of Khurāsān", implying a partition of this immense province.[55] Mashhad owed its name and growing importance to the fact that it housed the grave of the eighth Imām ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riżā, who had died here on his way from Marv in 818. During the Timurid period, Mashhad began to outgrow the former metropolis of Ṭūs, which had suffered irreparable damage during a punitive expedition by Mīrān Shāh b. Tīmūr in 1388.[56] In the early fifteenth century, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū described Mashhad as one of the "great cities" (*shahrhā-yi muʿaẓẓam*) of Khurāsān and reported that it attracted pilgrims from as far as Egypt and Syria. One of the most important Timurid patrons of the shrine during this period was Gauhar Shād, who endowed a *masjid-i jāmiʿ* in 821/1418–19.[57] Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's otherwise terse account grows lyrical when he describes the size and artistic quality of the mosque containing the tomb of Imām Riżā, avowing that its "sky-high arch and *īvān*-hall" are unrivalled even in Paradise.[58]

Like Herat, Mashhad was affected by the Uzbek incursions at the beginning and the end of the sixteenth century.[59] Following the Uzbek occupation of 1589–1598, the town received a considerable boost under

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[52] DS 80, 119.

[53] HS IV: 553–4; Thackston 1994: 607–8; AM 165–67; Sarwar 1975: 86; Savory 1978: 75; Szuppe 1992: 87–93; Szuppe 1993: 280.

[54] Haneda 1984: 54–7; Savory 1986: 366; Savory, "ʿAbbās I," *E.I., 2* I: 7; Savory, "Safavids," *E.I., 2* VIII: 769–70. The other princes appointed to Herat were Sām Mīrzā b. ʿIsmāʿīl I under the tutelage of Dūrmīsh Khān Shāmlū and his brother Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū (1521–1528/29), Bahrām Mīrzā b. Ismāʿīl I under the tutelage of Ghāzī Khān Tekelū (1530–1533), Sām Mīrzā under the tutelage of Āghzīvār Khān Shāmlū (1533–1535), Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā b. Ṭahmāsp I under the tutelage of Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Tekelū (1537–1556), his son Qazāq Sulṭān Tekelū (1556–1564/65) and Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Chāvushlū Ustājlū (up to 1571–72) (AM 218, 269, 277–8, 327–8; Röhrborn 1966: 42–3, 100–101; Roemer 1986b: 234, 237–9; Savory 1978: 108, 155, 189–90; Szuppe 1992: 93, 99–100; Szuppe 1993: 280–1).

[55] *Ḥākim-i Mashhad-i muqaddas va amīr al-umarā-yi niṣf-i Khurāsān* (IM 224). See also Röhrborn 1966: 15.

[56] Aubin 1963: 116.

[57] For the date of completion, see *Mujmal-i faṣīḥī* III: 234. The "Masjid-i Gauharshād", as it later became known, was located to the south of Imam Riżā's grave and measured 53 by 48 yards (*dharʿ*). In the late nineteenth century, Iʿtimād al-Salṭana described this mosque as "unique in terms of architectural attainment, firmness and elegance". The northern of its four *īvāns* led to the Imam's grave. The southern *īvān* had a high cupola topped by two minarets (*guldasta*) (MSh II: 138–9). For the anecdote concerning the origin of the adjacent "Mosque of the Old Woman," see *Glory of the Shia World: 261–2.*

[58] Krawulsky 1982: 96–99. Shāh Rukh added a golden candelabrum to the shrine and built a palace to the east of the town (*Mujmal-i faṣīḥī* III: 234; *Glory of the Shia World*: 239; C. E. Yate 1900: 317–18). Another generous benefactor to the shrine was Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā's chief minister Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī, who built an *īvān* and a minaret on the northern side of the complex. According to Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī also started building the northern courtyard later completed by ʿAbbās I (MSh II: 129).

[59] In 1507, Mashhad was conquered by the troops of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī; in 1525, Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's nephew ʿUbaidullāh besieged and occupied Mashhad. Ṭahmāsp I made several efforts to establish authority over Mashhad. After an

Shāh ʿAbbās I, who paid numerous visits to the shrine and, in 1601, even demonstrated his reverence by walking from Iṣfahān to Mashhad.[60] Under his auspices, a large and beautifully ornamented courtyard (*ṣaḥn*) lined with pilgrims' lodgings and jeweled doors were added to the northern portion of the shrine.[61] The attention Shāh ʿAbbās I lavished on the shrine was understood by the traveler Tavernier and the missionary Sanson as an attempt at redirecting the stream of pilgrims—as well as the funds spent on road tolls, accommodation and donations—from the Hedjaz to Khurāsān. Shāh ʿAbbās I's acts of devotion and his building activity at the shrine were emulated by his entourage, and effectively contributed to the rising fame of the grave and the belief in its miraculous powers.[62] On the occasion of his visit in 1601, Shāh ʿAbbās I also constructed the main thoroughfare (*Khiyābān*) of Mashhad, and the canal flowing in its center.[63] In 1621, he built or rebuilt the shrine of ʿAlī's contemporary Khvāja Rabīʿ (d. ca. 63/682–83) four miles north of the city.[64]

Herat's role within the administrational setup of Khurāsān was also affected by the incorporation of Qandahār into the Safavid domain in the middle of the seventeenth century. Qandahār's key position in the trade with India implied an eastern shift of Safavid commercial interests. In the early eighteenth century, the Polish Jesuit Father Krusinski described the wealth this region generated for the Safavid kingdom until it broke away in 1709:

> It was a Place of the more Importance to this [the Safavid] Kingdom, because it cover'd the Frontiers towards the *Indies*; and there was none so strong in all of *Persia*, it having been fortified by *European* Ingineers [sic], whom Chah-Gehan [Shāh Jahān] the great Mogul employed there, while he was a master of it [1638–1649]. As 'tis the great Thorow-Fare of the Caravans that go from *Persia* to the *Indies*, or that return thither from thence, it has enrich'd it self by the Stay which the Caravans make there, and which the Governors had the Art of protracting. One may form a Judgment of its Wealth, by the Tribute it paid to the King, which was twelve Pound Weight of Gold for every Day in the Year, exclusive of many other Duties, Fines, and Forfeitures.[65]

The governor of Qandahār initially communicated with the court of Iṣfahān via Herat.[66] Later on, the province of Qandahār was placed on the same footing as Herat. In 1725, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* reported that

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initial conquest in 1528, Mashhad had to be given up again because the fortifications were too weak to hold out against Uzbek pressure. In 1530, Mashhad passed to Safavid control and, thanks to improved walls and bastions, withstood a siege by ʿUbaidullāh in 1535. In 1589, Mashhad fell to the Abu al-Khairid leaders ʿAbdullāh and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. Their Uzbek troops plundered the shrine of its gold, silver, and jeweled candlesticks, as well as its lamps, carpets, china, and books. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin removed a gold pillar that had been erected by Shāh Ṭahmāsp I over the dome of the shrine and a diamond of the size of a fowl's egg originally presented to the shrine by Quṭb Shāh (r. 1580–1612) of Golkonda. This diamond was later on returned to Shāh ʿAbbās I, who sold it in Turkey and placed the proceeds gained at the disposal of the administrators of the shrine (*Glory of the Shia World*: 239; C. E. Yate 1900: 318–19).

60 C. E. Yate 1900: 319; McChesney 1981b; Melville 1996.

61 In the nineteenth century, the court endowed by Shāh ʿAbbās I was designated as the "Old Court" (*ṣaḥn-i ʿatīq*) to distinguish it from the new one built by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1818. At the time, this courtyard had four porches, two of which framed the gates leading west and east to the upper and lower boulevard (*khiyābān-i bālā, khiyābān-i pāyīn*). The northern *īvān* built by Shāh ʿAbbās I was ornamented with exquisite tilework and was known as *īvān-i ʿabbāsī*. The *īvān* on the southern wall of the courtyard originally endowed by ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī was repaired by Nādir Shāh in 1732 and was henceforth called "The Golden Iwan of Nādir" (*īvān-i ṭalā-yi nādirī)*. The other three gates led to the great bazaar, the cloth market (*bāzār-i bazzāzān*), and the execution grounds (*qatlgāh*) respectively (MSh II: 129; see also C. E. Yate 1900: 319; Ferrier 1857: 125). In the late nineteenth century, the Iranian pilgrim Nūrallah b. Muḥammad Ḥusain Iṣfahānī described the "Old Court" in the following manner: "[I]f I tell you that the court was some ninety by sixty metres, with four great porches, and that it was covered with tiles of many colours which not only cannot be made except by Persians, but require the sapphire blue of the sky of Iran to show them in their perfection, you may faintly imagine its beauty. It is paved with hewn stones, and underneath lies the dust of thousands of pious Mussulmans. The court is two-storied, the upper row of chambers being occupied by the high officials of the Shrine. The lesser officials, such as the carpenter, the goldsmith, and the repairers of the holy Korans, occupy the lower chambers, some of which have even been converted into tombs" (Sykes, P/Khan Bahadur Ahmad Khan (1910), *The Glory of the Shia World*: 243–44).

62 Tavernier 1679 I: 588–9. See also Sanson 1694: 171–3.

63 C. E. Yate 1900: 319; Streck, "Mashhad," *E.I., 2* VI: 713–16.

64 Ḥusainī 2008. In 1652, Shāh ʿAbbās II reportedly adorned the façade of the shrine with glazed tiles (C. E. Yate 1900: 319).

65 Krusinski's account of Qandahār is in part based on Tavernier (Krusinski 1973 I: 144–5).

66 Tumanovich 1989: 154.

Herat, Marv, Mashhad and Qandahār enjoyed an equal status and were governed by *bēglerbēgīs*.[67] This division into four administrative centers was also retained by Nādir Shāh later in the eighteenth century.[68] We thus see a shift in points of gravity during Safavid times. While Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū had assigned a central role to Herat, Balkh, Nīshāpūr, and Marv,[69] Qandahār and Mashhad assumed a central position on the mental map of the Safavids from Shah ʿAbbās I's time on. This process coincided with the diminishing status of Herat within the province of Khurāsān.

THE SAFAVID ADMINISTRATION

The Qizilbāsh tribes (*ūymāq*) represented an essential component of the "new order" introduced by Shāh Ismāʿīl I. Drawn from the Turkmen tribes of eastern Anatolia and Syria, they were bound to the Safavid rulers as adherents of a supreme spiritual leader (*murshid-i kāmil*). Given their proximity to the ruling house, the Qizilbāsh played a formative role in the maintenance of power within the newly founded state. Their impact in shaping the concept of the Safavid domain is reflected by the terminology employed well into the seventeenth century. Thus Iskandar Munshī alternately referred to the Safavid territory as the Qizilbāsh "realm" (*qalamrau-yi Qizilbāsh*), "state" (*daulat-i Qizilbāsh*), and "kingdom" (*mamlakat-i Qizilbāsh*).[70] During Shāh Ismāʿīl I's rise to power, the Ustājlū, Shāmlū, Rūmlū, Tekelū, Dhū al-Qadr, Qarāmānlū, Afshār and Qājār confederacies figured most prominently in the military forces.[71] Of special importance were the *ahl-i ikhtiṣāṣ*, a small group of trusted adherents who had accompanied and protected the future king during his early career.[72]

Over time, the relationship between the Qizilbāsh elite and their Safavid masters changed from one of unquestioning loyalty to the tenuous bond that typically united the interests of the local aristocrats with those of the royal family.[73] Loosely tied into a system of service grants, the Qizilbāsh soon became an entrenched elite with hereditary claims to the revenues of certain districts (*ulkā*) as a source of income. The Safavid rulers, on their part, tried to curtail their power by assigning them to regions distant from their original grazing grounds and playing off the various Qizilbāsh subdivisions against one another.

The first round of gubernatorial appointments in Khurāsān reflects such a shift of power, in this case to the detriment of Shāh Ismāʿīl I's original entourage. The men dispatched to the Safavid outposts of Marv, Balkh and Herat in 1510 had previously held much more prestigious offices in the core regions of the empire. The first Safavid governor of Marv, ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Bēg, had earlier served as *qūrchībāshī* (commander of the royal guard)[74] and governor of Hamadān and central Kurdistān. The appointee to the government of Balkh, Bairām Bēg Qarāmānlū, looked back on an illustrious career as master of the royal stables (*amīr ākhūrbāshī*). Most significant was the fall of Shāh Ismāʿīl I's erstwhile tutor, Ḥusain "Lala" Bēg Shāmlū, who had recently been deprived of his posts of viceregent *(vakīl*) and commander-in-chief (*amīr al-umarā*) and now became governor of Herat.[75]

The division of power at this time also indicates some of the concepts of space the early Safavids entertained in their administration of Khurāsān. Ḥusain Bēg Shāmlū's control over the province was by no means absolute, as its important western districts were apportioned to rival Qizilbāsh confederacies. Thus

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[67] TM 44.
[68] Ferrier 1857: 120.
[69] Krawulsky 1982: 11–13.
[70] IM 152, 206, 523 quoted in Savory, "Ḳizil-Bāsh", *E.I., 2* V: 244.
[71] Aubin 1984: 7; Braun 1969: 183; Haneda 1987: 31–44; Roemer 1985: 230–1; Savory 2002: 5.
[72] Aubin 1984: 3–4. Savory has also referred to this inner circle of the power elite as the Safavid "Politburo" (Savory 1980a: 21–22, 32, 268).
[73] Savory 1960: 91.
[74] For the evolution of the *qurchī* corps in the Safavid polity, see Haneda 1984/1989.
[75] Aubin 1984: 4–5, 15, 19, 22. According to Savory, Ḥusain Bēg's tenure as *vakīl* and *amīr al-umarā* lasted until 1508 and 1509–10 respectively (Savory 1960: 94, 100; Savory 1986: 359). Aubin is of the opinion that Ḥusain Bēg lost both posts in 1508 (Aubin 1984: 12).

Sarakhs, located at the border of the "two Khurāsāns", and Nīshāpūr were awarded to prominent Afshār leaders.[76] Mashhad formed the domain of the Ustājlū leadership.[77] This state of affairs lasted, roughly speaking, up to the battle of Ghijduvān in November 1512, which was followed by a period of Uzbek advancement in Khurāsān.[78] During Shāh Ismāʿīl I's second campaign to Khurāsān in spring 1513, a reshuffling of local governorships took place. Balkh and the northeastern territories were awarded to Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū. Herat was administered by Zainal Khān Shāmlū, while Zāva was held by his relative Dūrmīsh Khān Shāmlū. Astarābād fell to the control of the Tālish confederacy.[79]

In the course of the sixteenth century, some of the Qizilbāsh groups gained a lasting foothold in the regions assigned to them. Thus the Ustājlū successfully enforced their claims to Mashhad until the beginning of Shāh ʿAbbās I's reign.[80] The Afshārs, who had previously held *tuyūls* in Isfizār and Farāh,[81] gained the governorships of Astarābād and Bisṭām at this time.[82] The control of Sabzavār rested with Qājār leaders.[83] In 1011/1602, the major governorships of Khurāsān were distributed among the Shāmlū, Ustājlū, Qājār and Alplū leadership.[84]

As part of the endeavor to cut back the influence of the Qizilbāsh aristocracy, Shāh ʿAbbās I created a new standing army drawn from the ranks of Georgian and Circassian slaves.[85] Many of these *ghulāms* gained administrative posts and effectively displaced the Qizilbāsh elite. A case in point is Astarābād, which was governed by men of Circassian, Georgian and Armenian background during the first half of the seventeenth century.[86] Another important element in the policy of Shāh ʿAbbās I was his effort at "cossackization" of the northeastern frontier of Khurāsān,[87] which caused Khabūshān to become a Kurdish domain under the leadership of Yūsuf Sulṭān Chamishgazak.[88]

In practical terms, the first thirty years of Safavid rule proved pernicious for Herat and its environs. After the battle of Chāldirān, Shāh Ismāʿīl I left Khurāsān more or less to its own fate. Aubin has characterized the situation of the region in this period as one of "demi-autonomie, ou [...] demi-abandon".[89] Until 1537, Herat was exposed to Qizilbāsh misgovernment on the one hand and ongoing military pressure exerted by the Uzbeks on the other. This combination of war, neglect and abuse caused the region to suffer a scale of destruction reminiscent of the earlier Mongol and Timurid invasions. Preoccupied with the necessity of providing the means of survival for themselves and their troops, the conquerors focused on the short-term exploitation of local resources. While the control over the proceeds from caravan trade formed an immediate concern, the agricultural lands were neglected and destroyed.[90] This state of affairs is summed up by Khvānd Amīr's dramatic description of the devastating two-year famine that broke out in early 1514 "due to the

[76] Aubin 1984: 19; Aubin 1988: 84; Junābadī 335.
[77] Aubin 1984: 19; Szuppe 1992: 81–2.
[78] Sarwar 1975: 68–9; Ḥusain Bēg Shāmlū was already deprived of the government of Herat in 1512, prior to the battle of Ghijduvān (Aubin 1984: 21).
[79] Junābadī 279; AM 166, 172; Aubin 1984: 22; Aubin 1988: 70.
[80] Falsafī 1990: 155; Müller 1964: 51, 117; Röhrborn 1966: 31.
[81] IM 372, 376.
[82] Müller 1964: 49–50, 115; Savory 1986: 361.
[83] Müller 1964: 27, 117.
[84] Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū was based in Herat, Najaf Qulī Shāmlū in Qāyin, Biktash Khān Ustājlū in Marv, Miḥrāb Khān Qājār in Khvāf and Bākharz, Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān b. Būdāq Khān in Mashhad (IM 999). Subsequent to his campain to Balkh in 1602, Shāh ʿAbbās I appointed Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān b. Būdāq Khān and his brother Bairām ʿAlī Khān to Mārūchāq. Miḥrāb Khān received the vacant governorship of Mashhad (IM 1015). According to Savory, Miḥrāb Khān Qājār successively held the governorships of Ṭabas (1002/1593–94), Khvāf and Bākharz (1007/1598–99), Mashhad (1011/1602–3) and Marv (1017–18/1608–10) (Savory 2002: 25). See also IM 1324–5; Junābadī 830; Tumanovich 1989: 146–7.
[85] Savory 1986: 364–5.
[86] The governorships of Astarābād from 1606 to 1661 can be fairly well reconstructed from Persian sources. They are listed in the section on Astarābād in Chapter 6, footnote 67.
[87] Perry 1975.
[88] IM 973, 1812; Rettelbach 1978: 236, 500; TM 17.
[89] Aubin 1988: 120.
[90] Aubin 1988: 81–2.

passage of armies, constant strife, inattention to agriculture, dispersal of the peasantry, and the lack of both divine grace and royal attention".[91]

During this period, the oasis of Herat as well as the surrounding country suffered extensive damage. It was in this context that Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī Haravī composed his detailed works on the agriculture of Herat and its irrigation system. It indeed seems as though this Herati author attempted "to fix in writing the agricultural traditions of the Herat region that were in danger of being lost" in the upheaval that accompanied the advent of the Safavids.[92] Other regions struggling with lacking resources at the time were Ghūr and Gharjistān. The recipients of land grants in these two regions reported that they yielded no revenues to speak of, let alone provisions for their troops. At the same time, some pockets were less affected by destruction. The regions around Nīshāpūr, Zāva, Qāyin, and Bākharz continued to flourish even in early Safavid times.[93]

In the early Safavid era, the governors of Herat operated from an extremely limited base of power. This is reflected by their inability to establish a lasting foothold in Gharjistān, which continued to be controlled by Timurid and Uzbek leaders until 1548. Between 1514 and 1518, Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā's grandson Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā b. Badīʿ al-Zamān held the region.[94] Qizilbāsh authority in Gharjistān remained ephemeral up to the middle of the sixteenth century. From the 1520s on, the Uzbek leader Bairām Ughlān governed the region on behalf of the Abu al-Khairid ruler of Balkh, Kīstan Qarā b. Jānī Bēg (r. 932–ca. 954/1526–1547). The relative weakness of the Qizilbāsh administration outside Herat allowed the chiefs of Gharjistān to extend their raids as far as Harāt-Rūd east of Herat.[95] In 941/1535, Bairām Ughlān invaded Harāt-Rūd and advanced as far as Tūniyān, deporting the local herds and tribes (*amvāl va aḥshām va ūymāqāt*) and denuding the population (*raʿāyā va ʿajaza*) of its possessions. In the summer of 955/1548, he renewed his attacks on the local tribes who, according to Amīr Maḥmūd, had been revenue-paying subjects of Herat since ancient times.[96] He was beaten back by the Safavid governor of Herat, Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Tekelū, who advanced into Gharjistān.[97] In 1551, Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn dispatched another military expedition to the region under his son Qazāq Sulṭān.[98]

The relatively insecure position of the Safavids in Herat in the early sixteenth century is also reflected by a rapid succession of governors following Ḥusain Bēg Shāmlū's tenure in 1510–1512, many of whom also belonged to the Shāmlū confederacy.[99] These governorships were punctuated by the frequent campaigns the Abu al-Khairid leader ʿUbaidullāh conducted against Herat until shortly before his death in 1540.[100] The Uzbek incursions had a grave impact on the pasture grounds and fields around Herat. The city itself suffered

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[91] Thackston 1994: 607–8. See also AT 150.

[92] Subtelny 1993: 205–7.

[93] Aubin 1988: 30, 88.

[94] Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā spread his activities as far as Shibarghān and Balkh in 1516. Around 1518, he was taken prisoner by the Mughal governor of the region but was reinstated as governor of Balkh after marrying a daughter of Bābur (AM 165, 172–6, 185; Sarwar 1975: 90). Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā in turn re-appointed the former Timurid governor of Gharjistān, Saif al-Mulūk, who was displaced by the Safavid army in 1519 (AM 175, 185; Sarwar 1975: 90).

[95] In the early sixteenth century, both Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā and Saif al-Mulūk engaged in incursions into this province (AM 171, 185).

[96] *Bisyārī az ūymāq va aḥshām ki az qadīm al-ayyām dar ʿidād-i raʿāyā-yi ān vilāyat būda va ba-dīvān-i ḥukkām-i dār al-salṭana-yi Harāt bāj va kharāj mīdādand īshān-rā girifta ba-jānib-i Gharjistān kūchānīd (*AM 411).

[97] AM 291–2, 410–14. See also Junābadī 524–5.

[98] Tumanovich 1989: 119–20.

[99] The governors of Herat up to 1537 were Zainal Khān Shāmlū (1513–1516), Amīr Khān Mauṣillū (1516–1521), Dūrmīsh Khān Shāmlū (1522–1526), Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū (1526–1528/29), Ghāzī Khān Tekelū (1530–1533), Āghzīvār Khān Shāmlū (1533–1535), Khalīfa Sulṭān Shāmlū (1535), Ṣūfiyān Khalīfa Rūmlū and Khiżr Chilibī Rūmlū (1535–1536).

[100] After the battle of Ghijduvān, the Uzbeks under Jānī Bēg (d. 935/1529) besieged Herat for two months from January to March 1513. Subsequently, Muḥammad Tīmūr b. Muḥammad Shībānī (d. 920/1514) and ʿUbaidullāh occupied Ṭūs and Mashhad and forced the Qizilbāsh officials to abandon Herat. The following Uzbek campaigns against Herat were led by ʿUbaidullāh Khān, who besieged Herat from 28 May to 11 June 1521, in the winter of 1525–26, and in 1528. The Uzbek troops occupied Herat from the winter of 1528–29 until August 1530. In 1533, the Uzbek forces conquered large parts of Khurāsān. ʿUbaidullāh's final occupation of Herat lasted from August 1536–January 1537 (AM 153–4, 189–203, 228–33, 249–76, 279, 310–23; Junābadī 334–7; Roemer 1986b: 217, 236–9; Sarwar 1975: 69–70, 92; Szuppe 1992: 84–7, 94, 99, 108–9, 115).

most during ʿUbaidullāh Khān's final occupation from August 1536 until January 1537, during which he destroyed the central bazaar and removed the treasury from the citadel of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn.[101] The subsequent return of Herat to the fold of Safavid administration ushered in a period of stability, which is reflected by the twenty-year tenure of the appointed governor, Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Tekelū (1537–1557).[102] Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Tekelū's governorship inaugurated a switch from the previous Safavid policy of depletion to one of urban development.

Unfortunately, the sources offer hardly any details on the routine aspects of urban life. One kind of event found to be repeatedly mentioned is that of "illumination" (*āʾīn bastan*) on this or that festive occasion. After the battle of Marv, the population of Herat greeted the victorious Shāh Ismāʿīl I by decorating their city.[103] In 1516, Amīr Khān Mauṣillū's brother Ibrāhīm Sulṭān Mauṣillū ordered the markets within and without the city to be illuminated on the occasion of the arrival of Prince Ṭahmāsp. This earned him the appreciation of his contemporary Amīr Maḥmūd b. Khvānd Amīr, who flatteringly observed that the Mauṣillū leader had infused the city with new life and had changed "each shop into a mine… replete with jewels of all kinds" and "each market into a rose garden surpassing the garden of Iram in pleasantness and quietude".[104] In 1537, Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Tekelū celebrated Shāh Ṭahmāsp I's conquest of Qandahār by decorating the markets with "colored fabrics and fine cloth from Yazd and Europe" to a similar effect. The population of Herat lit so many candles and torches that "the darkness [of night] was swallowed up as if it were high noon".[105] The resources of the Safavid administration in Herat are also highlighted by the instructions Shāh Tahmāsp sent to Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn with regard to the entertainment of the deposed Mughal ruler Humāyūn b. Bābur (r. 937–950/1530–1543, 962–963/1555–1556), who passed through Khurāsān on his way to Qazvīn in 1544.[106]

Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Tekelū was to become known for his attention to the wellbeing of his subjects (*raʿīyat parvarī*). What is more, he undertook lasting efforts at rebuilding. In the 1540s, he restored the deteriorated mosques, *madāris* and charitable buildings to a state of perfection.[107] During the same period, the square north of the Bāgh-i Shahr built by Dūrmīsh Khān was widened and equipped with shops. The markets held there on Fridays served as a focal trading point for artisans and merchants from the city and its environs (*balda va bulūkāt*).[108]

Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Tekelū's governorship signalled a phase of territorial consolidation. In 944/1537–38, Shāh Ṭahmāsp I briefly expanded his realm as far as Qandahār. Another campaign in that direction followed in 952/1545, on behalf of Humāyūn. By 958/1551, Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Tekelū had incorporated Gharjistān into his domain.[109]

Another powerful Herati governor was the *bēglerbēg* Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū (1598–1619), who revived Safavid authority in Khurāsān subsequent to the ten-year intervention by the last Abu al-Khairid and the first Tuqai-Timurid rulers of Transoxiana.[110] He was succeeded by his son Ḥasan Khān Shāmlū (1619–

[101] Szuppe 1992: 115.
[102] Savory 1978: 108; Szuppe 1996a: 81–3.
[103] AM 138.
[104] AM 168–9.
[105] AM 345–8.
[106] Floor 2008: 96–103; Ray 1948: 68–74. Humāyūn, the eldest son of Bābur, assumed kingship in 1530. In 1539–1540, he was repeatedly defeated by Shīr Khān Sūr, an Afghan commander based in eastern India. After withdrawing to Sind, Humāyūn set out for Qandahār in July 1543 and traveled onward to Herat and Iran, where he solicited the assistance of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. In 1545, he gained control over Qandahār and spent the next nine years reestablishing his authority in the regions west of the Indus. In the summer of 1555, Humāyūn brought the Sūrī interregnum to an end and regained the throne. His second reign lasted until his death in January 1556 (Digby, "Humāyūn," *E.I., 2* III: 575–7; Ray 1948).
[107] Junābadī 502–3. See also Szuppe 1992: 115–16, 139; Szuppe, "Herat iv. Topography and Urbanism", *E.Ir.* XII: 214–15.
[108] AM 357–8.
[109] AM 410–14; Junābadī 524–5.
[110] IM 922, 1155, 1475, 1556.

1638/1641),[111] whose name is linked with the erection of a large domed cistern immediately southeast of the Chahār Sū.[112] In 1845, Ferrier recounted the folklore surrounding the construction of this building which commemorated the conflict between Ḥasan Khān Shāmlū and his architect, contrasting the Safavid governor's impetuousness and impatience with the architect's concern for the construction of a stable and durable edifice.[113]

The establishment of the Safavid mode of administration in Herat was accompanied by the influx of western and central Iranian concepts. On their arrival in Herat, the Qizilbāsh acted as bearers of *ithnā-ʿasharī* Shiism and brought along their own administrative personnel. This shift of power occurred in an environment that had been predominantly Sunnī so far. Even so, the clash of interests between the local elite and the new masters should not strictly be seen in doctrinal terms. At this point in time, Qizilbāsh religious practice primarily consisted of an amalgam of Turkmen tribal customs and beliefs that had evolved in eastern Anatolia.[114] Moreover, the doctrinal differentiation between the realms of Sunnism and Shiism had not assumed a clear profile yet. Therefore, Szuppe argues that the introduction of Shiism as state religion did not foster religious delineations so much as it added contours to political divides. Thus the strategic alignments emerging within the field of Safavid-Uzbek competition generally coincided with religious affiliations. While the allies of the Safavids were apt to identify themselves as Shīʿī, the proponents of Uzbek rule emphasized their Sunnī leanings. The concurrence of political and religious identities is also reflected by the fact that soldiers deserting to either side readily took on the religion of their new overlords.[115] In the context of the frequent shifts of power between Safavids and Uzbeks up to 1537, the denunciation of Herati citizens as either Sunnī or Shīʿī became a favorite ploy for settling personal scores or availing oneself of the property of wealthy families. Amīr Maḥmūd b. Khvānd Amīr recounts the case of a man who was blackmailed during ʿUbaidullāh Khān's occupation of Herat from August 1536 to January 1537. Accused of Shīʿī leanings, he was forced to take refuge in Fūshanj-Ghūriyān and to leave his family and his house at the mercy of the local bandit who had cooked up this allegation in collusion with the men of one of ʿUbaidullāh Khān's *amīrs*. As a result, the remaining members of the poor man's family were abducted, their possessions seized, and the house deprived of its most valuable components, namely its wooden door and window frames.[116] The sad

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[111] IM 1556. See also Riazul Islam 1979: 95; Rettelbach 1978: 96–7, 163, 249, 413; Rota 2009: 166–8, 249–50, 384–5, 418; Tumanovich 1989: 147–8. After Ḥasan Khān Shāmlū's death in 1050/1641, Shāh Ṣafī appointed his eldest son ʿAbbās Qulī Khān as governor of Herat (Rota 2009: 249–50, 418).

[112] Najimi 1982.

[113] "This dome, according to tradition, was constructed by command of Shah Abbas the Great, and after it was partially built the governor of the town, a violent, overbearing man, commanded the architect to finish it within a very brief space of time. In vain the artist expostulated and informed him that it was impossible to do this in the time specified; the despot would listen to no reason or explanation, and the unfortunate man, to avert the consequences that might be perhaps fatal to his life, took the first opportunity of leaving Herat. A year elapsed, the building remained unfinished, for no other person could be found who had the talent to complete the work; at length the architect reappeared, and the governor, finding himself in a difficulty and anxious to have the edifice finished, consented, though unwillingly, to remit the sentence of death, but ordered him to be bastinadoed. Before, however, the punishment was inflicted, the governor, at his earnest request, accompanied him to the reservoir, and the architect, directing his attention to the walls, which were a considerable height above the earth, said, 'Do you not see that the foundations of this building have sunk at least a foot in the ground since I left the city? If at that period I had refused to erect the cupola you would have cut my head off, or the same fate would have probably awaited me had it fallen down after it was finished. You refused to hear me, and I ran away to save my life. The time has arrived when I can successfully terminate my labours, and I have returned to do so.' A free pardon followed this explanation, and the architect, filling the reservoir with chopped straw pressed into sacks, and heaping them up to the requisite height and form to make his centre, constructed over them one of the most elegant cupolas ever built" (Ferrier 1857: 174). This contrast between imperial ambition and the prudence of builders is a recurrent theme. Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī, for example, recounts a parallel anecdote in connection with Aḥmad Shāh's construction of a new capital in Qandahār. The Indian engineer in charge of the magnificent dome to be erected over the central market square (*chahār sūq*) fled to Nīshāpūr for six months in order to allow the supporting walls to settle (T Su 143–4; see also Singh 1981: 271).

[114] For a characterization of Qizilbāsh Shiism, see Aubin 1970b: 237–8.

[115] Szuppe 1992: 122–3, 131–2, 161–2.

[116] AM 318–19.

fate of this family highlights a moment in the history of Herat when the establishment of Safavid authority was by no means certain yet. It also bears testimony to the introduction of religio-political denominations that henceforth played an increasing role in shaping local identities.

A Glimpse of the Seventeenth Century: The Travelogue of Ibn Valī

Aside from the chronicles and the imperial framework they reflect, there are few alternative voices reporting on the circumstances in Herat. A notable exception is Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī, who visited Herat in July 1631 on his way from Bust and Farāh and onwards to his native city of Balkh. With his return to Balkh in August of the same year, he concluded a journey of six years, which had taken him as far as Orissa, Hyderabad, and Ceylon. By the order of the local Tuqai-Timurid ruler Nadhr Muḥammad, Ibn Valī described his adventures and the geographical knowledge he accumulated in a work entitled *Baḥr al-asrār*.[117] This book provides some snippets of information on Herat during the reign of Shāh Ṣafī. At that point in time, Safavid rule still profited from the territorial gains made by Shāh ʿAbbās I. Qandahār, which had been conquered by Shāh ʿAbbās I in 1622, was still under Safavid control and did not pass to Mughal authority before 1638.

The northeastern reaches of Khurāsān, by contrast, had been subject to rivalries between Herat and Balkh throughout the early seventeenth century. While only a short period had passed since the conclusion of Shāh ʿAbbās I's powerful reign, Ibn Valī detected various signs of deterioration in the eastern dominions of the Safavid realm. In his view, Qandahār had suffered depopulation and economic decline since the Safavid conquest. Gharjistān fell within the orbit of the Tuqai-Timurid rulers of Balkh. The adjacent region of Bādghīs had experienced large-scale destruction owing to Nadhr Muḥammad Khān's frequent military campaigns to the region. None of the twelve irrigation channels which had sustained the province of Murghāb in Timurid times was in use any longer. The only sizeable settlements were Mārūchāq and Panjdih, whereas all the other villages had deteriorated. In Kurukh, the number of productive villages had been reduced from eighty in Timurid times to the current figure of forty.[118]

Pastures and Trade routes: Patterns of Movement and Control

During the Safavid period, Herat witnessed the introduction of new administrative cadres from western and central Iran that were tied to the Qizilbāsh military elite in a dynamic of dependence and rivalry. However, certain continuities in the mode of organization stand out. While the new overlords were strangers to Khurāsān, the ecological and economic constraints determining the patterns of military action and local control did not change radically. As in earlier times, the interaction between tribal conquerors and oasis towns produced a specific force field. In their ambition to "open up" the inhabited quarter of the world (*rubʿ-i maskūn*),[119] the early modern conquerors focused on urban centers as reservoirs of wealth and seats of worldly power. Meanwhile, the need to provide for an army heavily dependent on cavalry provided a constant impetus for onward movement. Like their Timurid predecessors and their Abu al-Khairid contemporaries, the early Safavids drew their military force from tribal elements and had to maintain a network of loyalties crucial for the exercise of power. The resulting arrangements were largely dictated by

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[117] Akhmedov 1977: 83; Riazul Islam 1979b: 87–8, 95, 115, 119.

[118] Akhmedov 1977: 20, 84–5; Khān 1993: 16.

[119] This concept can also be found in the historiography of the early Islamic period. According to Daniel, the Buyid historian Ḥamza b. Ḥasan Iṣfahānī (d. 360/970) produced a "comparative calendrical history" of the seven great regions making up the inhabited world (*al-maskūn min rubʿ al-ʿarż*): China, India, the Sudan, the Berbers, the Romans, the Turks, and the Aryans (Daniel, "Historiography iii. Early Islamic Period," *E.Ir.* XII: 336). The early Safavid historian Khvānd Amīr informs us that the idea of a "quarter" is to be taken literally. While half of the earth is covered by a great sea, only half of the other half protruding from the sea is cultivated: *Ḥukamā-yi daqīqa-shināsva fużalā-yi khirad-iqtibās bar īn maʿnā ittifāq dārand ki niṣfī az kurra-yi zamīn dar baḥr-i aʿẓam ki ān-rā ūqiyānūs khvānand mastūr ast va niṣfī dīgar dar ʿālam nimāyish va ẓuhūr ba-ṣūrat-i baiża-ī ki dar āb afkanand. Va az īn niṣf ke makshūf ast niṣfī ki dar jānib-i janūb uftāda vīrān ast. Pas az chahār bakhsh-i zamīn yak bakhsh ʿimārat dārad ki ān-rā rubʿ-i maskūn khvānand* (HS IV: 619).

the necessity to feed the available troops in an environment where agricultural resources were limited and subject to seasonal fluctuations. The dynamic of movement involved suggests that the invasions giving rise to the great empires of the time were not so much an end in themselves as the by-product of the imperative to gain and maintain a growing retinue. While forming a routine aspect of the early modern mode of government, military campaigns followed cyclical and seasonal patterns resembling nomadic migrations.[120]

The sieges of the great oasis towns provided the opportunity to siphon off mobile property as well as agricultural resources. The far-flung possessions acquired in this process could only be controlled by repeated exertion of military pressure, which in effect required further movement. This phenomenon is captured by Khunjī's account of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's exploits in the early sixteenth century. About to claim the future territory of the Abu al-Khairid dominion against the Timurids in the south and the Qazāqs in the north, Muḥammad Khān Shībānī reacted to the exhaustive list (apparently offered by Khunjī) of all capitals recorded in history with the following words:

> It is the divine will that the inhabited quarter in its entirety shall be placed under my command, that my world-traversing steed shall extend its conquering hooves over all cultivated tracts of land, and that no spot should remain unvisited by the high-tempered horse of my world-embracing ambitions. In order to establish control over the face of the earth, I must settle in the saddle and treat the mount of my ambition as a throne of repose and tranquility. Hence, my saddle shall serve as my capital.[121]

Interestingly, the need to establish a hold over the oasis towns simultaneously served to confirm the nomad ethos and glorified the restless life in the saddle it engendered. The orientation towards the cities as the most desirable assets of conquest was held in common by all pre-modern and early modern generals. Aubin has demonstrated that the primary goal of Tīmūr's far-reaching campaigns in the 1380s and 1390s was to collect the available urban resources, if possible in the form of ransom. Typically, the arrival of Timurid troops before the target-city was followed by negotiations with the local elite. One way to avoid a prolonged siege and the threat of wholesale massacre was to submit an impost termed "protection fee" (*māl-i amān)* or "hoof money" (*naʿl bahā)*, which consisted of all portable property and slaves. In the meantime, the besieging army denuded the countryside surrounding its encampment in search of provisions. These requisitions targeted not only the agricultural wealth of the villagers but also the livestock of the local nomads, in particular sheep and beasts of burden as means of transportation for the acquired goods. As a rule, the depletion of agricultural resources accompanying troop movements spelled famine for the local population. This is reflected by Ẓāhir al-Dīn Marʿashī's statement that after the passage of Tīmūr's army through Māzandarān, not a single cock survived to crow, nor a hen to lay eggs.[122] In the early sixteenth century, the prolonged tug of war between Uzbeks and Qizilbāsh had a desastrous effect on the population of Herat. The Uzbek siege of the city in 1587–88 once again depleted the food stocks in a dramatic manner and caused a scarcity of grain.[123]

While the cities bore the brunt of the waves of conquest, the major lines of communication linking them were quickly restored to order. In contrast to his vindictive attitude towards the towns, Tīmūr immediately installed a functional postal system and saw to the security of the highroads. To this end, he stipulated that any merchandise stolen en route be returned twofold to its erstwhile owner, while five times its value had to be submitted to the royal treasury by the district concerned. In order to illustrate the protection Tīmūr afforded to trading activities, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū resorts to a standard story projecting an ideal state of security, even for women. He recounts the case of a Qandahārī merchant's widow who travelled unmolested from Simnān to Diyārbakr, where she sold twenty-seven bales of precious cloth.[124] The Safavids were likewise

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120 For the seasonal movement among the early Mongols, see Andrews 1999 II: 1291–7.

121 *Mihmānnāma* 54; Ott 1974: 74–5. See also Gronke 1992: 20; Roemer 1974: 318.

122 Ẓāhir al-Dīn Marʿashī, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, quoted in Aubin 1963: 103. See also pp. 97, 99–105, 121. Herat weathered the first Timurid invasion in April 1381 unscathed thanks to the decision of the local population not to attempt a defence. An uprising in 1383 was followed by the imposition of *māl-i amān*, which involved the destruction of the bazaar and the deportation of a great part of the male population (Aubin 1963: 95, 113).

123 McChesney 1993: 101.

124 Aubin 1963: 91.

concerned with the need to safeguard traffic along the commercial arteries. As early as 1505, Shāh Ismāʿīl I effectively cleared the trade route linking Shīrāz, Yazd, Ṭabas Gīlakī and Herat from brigandage. On the road between Shīrāz and Iṣfahān, by contrast, problems continued to persist. Towards the northeast, traffic along the trade route to Transoxiana did not cease despite the ongoing conflicts with ʿUbaidullāh Khān in the early sixteenth century. In 1522, merchants on their way across the Oxus received tax exemptions.[125] The long distance trade routes and the proceeds to be gained from the circulation of goods thus formed an integral part of the mental map of the Timurids and Safavids alike.

During the transition to a more established state of empire, the cities once subject to a ruthless extraction of wealth were allowed to recover, and some of them assumed a central position as seats of government. In 1370, Tīmūr chose Samarqand as his capital and began to construct a second metropolis in his birth place of Kish in 1373–74. Despite the focus on urban embellishment, government activity was centered in the royal camp (*urdū-yi humāyūn*) and did not shift to the citadel. In Tīmūr's time, the camp was moved on a weekly basis and was frequently pitched in one of the royal gardens in the outskirts of Samarqand. Under Shāh Rukh, Herat was designated capital of the Timurid Empire and likewise experienced a considerable revival. Nonetheless, Shāh Rukh adhered to a seasonal pattern of movement, preferably spending his summers in Bādghīs and winters in Māzandarān.[126] Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā likewise chose his summer quarters at Bādghīs. His contemporary Isfizārī identified Marv as the winter camp of the Khurasanian rulers.[127] In the meantime however, the aforementioned account of Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā's favorite springs near Harāt-Rūd and Fūshanj suggests a shrinking radius of movement. Within this scheme of migration, the great residential gardens on the outskirts of Herat constituted focal points of attraction. This dual existence of camp and palace continued under the Safavids until the time of Shāh ʿAbbās II, with the difference that their migrations gravitated towards locations in western Iran.[128] It was in this region that Tabrīz, Qazvīn and Iṣfahān successively figured as capitals. The fact that the choice of this or that city as capital only receives cursory treatment in the contemporaneous sources attests to the continuing centrality of the mobile court as factual seat of government.[129]

The forceful extraction of urban resources typical of the early periods of domination receives a romantic gloss in later accounts and is transformed into a portrayal of the city as a miraculous supplier of all the goods required for the maintenance of sturdy armies. At the height of the Timurid empire, Isfizārī illustrated the wealth of Herat by pointing out that the prices for bread and slaves, the two main indicators of economic welfare, remained stable even at times when large numbers of soldiers had to be entertained: "If an army of 200,000 to 300,000 men were to enter and leave it, this would result neither in surplus nor deficiency."[130] The image of the city as a generous host ready to shelter and feed hungry armies is also invoked by Khunjī in his description of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's winter camp at Bukhārā in 1508–09:

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125 Aubin 1988: 81–4.

126 Thackston 1994: 313, 321, 326.

127 Isfizārī I: 173–5.

128 Shāh ʿAbbās I stayed in Iṣfahān less than two months a year on average, and Shāh Ṣafī did not visit the capital at all between 1631 and 1636. The presence of the royal camp in Iṣfahān caused great demographic fluctuations. In the later seventeenth century, Dutch observers noted that the population increased by 60,000 when the king arrived in the city. In times of scarcity, the arrival of the king and his entourage could exacerbate economic problems. This was the case in 1668 when the newly crownd Shāh Sulaimān returned to Iṣfahān without securing the requisite provisions beforehand (Haneda/Matthee, "Isfahan vii. Safavid Period," *E.Ir.* XIII: 651, 654).

129 Roemer 1974: 317–19. See also Gronke 1992: 20–1.

130 Isfizārī I: 23–4: *Har sāl qarīb ba bīst hazār barda az Turkistān va Hindūstān va ghairu humā badīn madīna-yi dīn-panāh mīyāvarand va hama ba-bahā-yi tamām furūkhta mīshavad ki na qīmat-i barda arzān mīshavad va na nirkh-i nān girān. Va agar lashkarī divīst u sīṣad hazār mardum dar vay darāyand va bīrūn ravand na ziyādatī paidā va na nuqṣān* [*paidā mīshavad*]." This statement was understood by Subtelny to refer to population figures: "Determining the population of Herat at the end of the 15th century seems an almost impossible task… Isfizārī who states, for example, that if an army of 320,000 [sic] were to enter the town and then come out again, 'neither an increase or a loss would be detected' (Subtelny 1993: 182)." My interpretation is that the expression "increase or loss" refers to the supplies available and not to the population figures.

> On Saturday, 22 Shaʿbān (914/16 December 1508) they made camp in the glorious city of Bukhārā and remained there until the end of Ramażān (24 December 1508–22 January 1509)… During these days many strange and wonderful things occurred… Ten famous *sulṭāns* and powerful rulers, each with a retinue of 10,000 cavalry besides *amīrs* and young heroes, converged on one city. Even though winter was not over yet and provisions tended to be expensive and scarce, there was an abundance of grain available in all markets. Not a single person was heard to complain about scarcity or price increases, and no animals suffered damage due to lack of fodder.[131]

The need to provide for large bodies of cavalry also determined the rhythm and direction of military campaigns. Aubin has noted that Timurid and Safavid armies alike adhered to logistic patterns reminiscent of nomadic movement. Major campaigns typically started in late spring and proceeded along the summer pastures located in the high mountain valleys rather than following the trade routes in the plains.[132] Thus it was the northern mountain ranges that served as the main military conduit between Khurāsān and Azerbaijan. One important assembly point for armies heading west were the pasture grounds (*ulang, chaman*) around Rādkān northwest of Mashhad.[133] The meadows of Kālpūsh, Kharqān (close to Bisṭām), Sulṭān Maidān (near Dāmghān), Fīrūzkūh, and Ray served as major stations on the way to Azerbaijan.[134]

In reverse order, this also was the favorite route the Safavid kings adopted on their eastern campaigns. When Shāh Ismāʿīl I left his winter quarters in Iṣfahān in spring 1513 to expel the Uzbeks from Mashhad, Ṭūs and Herat, he moved via Sāva, Fīrūzkūh, Sulṭān Maidān, Kālpūsh, Ulang-i Rādkān into the heartlands of Khurāsān.[135] Shāh Ṭahmāsp I "always skirted the great desert by first going north from Isfahan towards Firuzkuh enjoying a beautiful view of the snow-covered top of Mt. Demavand, then east along the well-established Simnan-Damghan route."[136] The route via Ṭabas Gīlakī to Yazd, by contrast, was far less attractive. Passing for the most part through barren deserts devoid of any natural streams of water, it was, moreover, subject to violent gales of wind from May to October.[137] Shāh Ṭahmāsp I followed this route only upon his return from Khurāsān to Iṣfahān in 937/1530.[138] Shāh ʿAbbās I also approached Khurāsān by the southern route from Iṣfahān not more than once. During his campaign to Qandahār in 1031/1621–22 he entered the region via Ṭabas. After holding winter camp in the environs of Mashhad, Nīshāpūr and Turshīz, the Safavid troops continued on their way to Farāh and Qandahār in spring.[139]

North of Herat, the extensive grazing areas of Bādghīs alternatively functioned as mustering grounds and resting areas. Junābadī specifically mentions Shāh Ismāʿīl I's stay at Ulang-i Bābā Khākī during his campaign to Herat in 1513 and extols its meadows for their "freshness, verdure and pleasantness".[140] In 1011/1602, Shāh ʿAbbās I spent two months in Bādghīs while assembling his army for a pending campaign against Balkh.[141] Towards Qandahār, the region of Ghūr provided summer pastures.[142] For the immediate vicinity of Herat, Szuppe enumerates five pasturages ready to accommodate large bodies of men approaching the city or leaving it. To the east and northwest of the city, the meadows of Kahdistān and Saq Salmān were

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131 Ott 1974: 196–7.

132 Aubin 1971: 107, 117; Aubin 1988: 29. See also Junābadī 278.

133 AT 138; Seddon 1934: 65; Junābadī 277; *ʿAbbāsnāma* 138; *Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī* I: 515. See also Boyle 1968: 338; Manz 2007: 23.

134 Aubin 1971: 118–19; Aubin 1988: 70. See also HS 4: 534; Thackston 1994: 601; *Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī* I: 515. In his description of Muhammad Khān Shībānī's campaign to Astarābād and Khurāsān in 914/1508, Khunjī specifically mentions the "meadow" (*ulang*) of Bisṭām (*Mihmānnāma* 189; Ott 1974: 196). See also Smith 1999: 52–4.

135 *Futūḥāt-i shāhī* 396; AM 158; Sarwar 1975: 70. Shāh Ismāʿīl I spent the spring of 1520 at *ulang-i Rādkān* (Sarwar 1975: 90). For a detailed description of Kālpūsh and its role in history, see MSh I: 99–108. Kālpūsh is mentioned in connection with Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's campaign to Sabzavār in 1214–15/1800 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 138; TRSN IX: 364). In 1218/1803, the first Qājār governor of Mashhad, Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā, entered Khurāsān via the meadows (*marghzār*) of Sulṭān Maidān and the *yailāqs* of Bām and Jahān-Arghiyān (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 82).

136 Mazzaoui 1977: 521–2.

137 For a description of the trade route between Yazd and Herat in 1839, see Forrest 1906: 3–17.

138 Junābadī 409.

139 Junābadī 879.See also Mazzoui 1977: 521;

140 Junābadī 278. See also AM 411; Sarwar 1975: 70; Szuppe 1992: 37–8; Thackston 1994: 313, 321.

141 IM 999.

142 HS IV: 237; Thackston 1994: 470.

both fed by the Jūy-i Nau. Other prominent gathering places were Ṣūfiyān to the west and the meadows of Hazār Jarīb and Nishīn south of the Harī Rūd.[143]

Part and parcel of the seasonal nature of troop movements was the need to provide for the soldiers and their animals in winter. Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's campaigns in the early sixteenth century were cast in contemporaneous sources as a cyclical movement between summer camp (*yailāq*) in Herat and winter camp (*qishlāq*) in Marv and Bukhārā.[144] During roughly the same period, Shāh Ismāʿīl I relied on a mobile court and solved his logistic concerns by allowing his troops to disperse to their respective *ulūs* at the conclusion of each major military campaign.[145] As the northern arch of Khurasanian mountains became impassable during the cold season, the low regions along the Caspian gained crucial importance both as winter camps and strategic link to Azerbaijan. Other important winter quarters were located in Darra Gaz and Abīvard on the northeastern slopes of the Kopet Dagh Mountains and the plains beyond.[146]

The problem of feeding the troops in times of military inactivity was solved by means of service grants, assignments of land made to the military leaders in exchange for the maintenance of a stipulated number of soldiers. During the Timurid period, such assignments were commonly known as *suyūrghāl*. These land grants of varying sizes were hereditary and inevitably enhanced the political independence of their holders vis-à-vis the court. Initially a prerogative of the military elite, this sort of grant also became accessible to religious personages, such as ulama and Sufi dignitaries, as the fifteenth century wore on.[147] The Safavids likewise relied on a system of land grants. In the early sixteenth century, the Qizilbāsh leadership received control over the revenues of certain districts (*ulkā*) in exchange for supplying a fixed number of soldiers. Known as *tuyūl*, these awards were designed to be temporary, in effect allowing for a greater amount of government control. One such award was the fertile district of Bākharz, which was expected to sustain 700 soldiers.[148]

In addition to the obvious obstacles posed by cold temperatures, snow and lack of resources, the early modern armies had to contend with further natural factors. Aside from deserts, the major rivers in the region constituted a seasonal impediment to the movements of troops and merchants alike. With the thaw in spring, the Hilmand (Hīrmand), the Adraskan, Farāh Rūd, Harī Rūd, and Murghāb river typically rose to such an extent that they became impassable.[149] This circumstance added to the strategic importance of solid bridges. The two most important bridges in the Herat region were the Pul-i Mālān and the Pul-i Sālār. The former provided a vital connection via the Harī Rūd to the south and the trade route to Qandahār. The Pul-i Sālār afforded a crossing of the Jūy-i Kārtabār on the road leading west to Mashhad.[150]

Another much-frequented crossing over the Harī Rūd was the Pul-i Khātūn located at its confluence with the Kashaf Rūd. This stone bridge spans the river at a point where it is about to leave the hills and enter the plain of Sarakhs. This crossing was of critical importance in the spring when the lower reaches of the Harī Rūd tended to be flooded.[151] The Kushk Rūd could be crossed at Chihil Dukhtarān, where Sulṭān Ḥusain

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[143] Szuppe 1992: 39–40. See also Allen 1981: 77, 80, 83, 88; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Cinq opuscules*, 65; Isfizārī II: 41; HS III: 431, Thackston 1994: 246; AM 346, 411; Junābadī 335; IM 1475; Thackston 1996: 237; Kāẓim 776; *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 400; Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 30. In the nineteenth century, Saq Salmān was guarded by a fort (T Su 111).

[144] Ott 1974: 190–200.

[145] Aubin 1988: 29.

[146] Aubin 1971: 117.

[147] Fragner 2005: 149–50; Subtelny 1988b.

[148] Aubin 1988: 29–30. During the governorship of Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Tekelū in Herat, Bākharz was controlled by his eldest son Qazāq Sulṭān (AM 415). Junābadī 527 describes this grant as *iqṭāʿ*. See also Szuppe 1992: 37; Szuppe 1996a: 83.

[149] In his account of ʿAbbās II's campaign to Qandahār in December 1648, Valī Qulī Shāmlū describes the difficulties the Safavid troops encountered in carrying the artillery across the Hilmand. He compares the river to the Oxus in terms of width and the amount of water it carries: *Rūd-i jaiḥūn-namūd-i Hīrmand ki az anhār-i ʿaẓīm va dar bisyārī-yi āb mashhūr-i rūzgār ast* (*Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī* I: 343–4). See also Ferrier 1857: 261; Lal 1977: 170, 174, Lessar 1883: 3–4.

[150] Junābadī 337. See also Isfizārī II: 335; Allen 1981: 43.

[151] According to popular belief, Pul-i Khātūn was built by "Khātūn", the sister of Shāh Rukh's wife Gauhar Shād Āqā (*Safarnāma-yi Rukn al-Daula* 71). In the first half of the sixteenth century, Pul-i Khātūn formed the southernmost extension of the district of Sarakhs (Junābadī 527; see also Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 430–1). The bridge consisted of twelve arches. By 1260/1844, the formerly firm

Bāyqarā had erected a bridge of burnt bricks. It was at these vital points of passage and in the infertile stretches of desert that trade routes and military itineraries coincided.

The most famous river in the region, the Āmū Daryā, represented a formidable physical barrier during the warm season. Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo (d. 1412), the ambassador of Henry III of Castile, passed this river near Tirmidh in August 1404. He reported that it varied in width, reaching its furthest extent during the spring flood:

> It is a league in width, and flows through a very flat country, with great and wonderful force, and it is very muddy. It is lowest in winter, because the waters are frozen in the mountains, and the snow does not melt: but in the month of April it begins to increase, and goes on increasing continually for four months; and this is because the summer melts the ice and snow. Last summer they said that it had swollen much more than usual; for it increased so much that the water reached a village, near the banks, and destroyed many houses, doing great damage.[152]

At other times of the year, the stream was reduced to an inner bank or formed a series of separate channels. The great amount of seasonal variation precluded the erection of permanent bridges over the middle course of the river. This was the case in Chārjūy (present-day Türkmenabat), the name of which reflected the fact that the Āmū Daryā separated into several streams there. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū reports that this town, known as Āmūya since Samanid times, constituted the most important crossing and hence, caused the river Jaiḥūn to be named after it.[153] Located three miles from the left bank of the river at the intersection of the highroads connecting Herat and Mashhad with Bukhārā and Khīva, Chārjūy was an important strategic and commercial outpost in early modern times.[154]

ʿAbd al-Karīm passed through Chārjūy in Nādir Shāh's retinue on the way to and from Khīva in Shaʿbān and Shavvāl 1153/October and December 1740. He observed that the river's depth decreased along its course to Khvārazm:

> The Jaiḥūn flows from south to north. At Chahārjūy, the amount of water appears much reduced in comparison with the region of Balkh. Near Khvārazm, its quantity is [again] reduced by more than half and it becomes quite shallow in the winter. The reason for the reduction and dearth of water is that it is diverted by large canals en route. Thus, it is entirely expended in watering the fields in the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Qarā Qalpāq. If, in certain seasons, the volume of water increases it flows a little further before being absorbed by the sand… My contention in writing these words is that the [other] great rivers I have seen, [namely] those of Sind and Hindūstān, the Euphrates and Tigris, debouch into salty seas. Contrary to the other rivers, all the water of the Jaiḥūn and Saiḥūn is used up for agriculture.[155]

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construction of the bridge had fallen into disrepair. The author of the *Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* predicted that it would be entirely ruined unless major repairs were undertaken within the next two years (*Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* 29; see also *Gaz. Iran* II: 548–9). In 1299/1882, Muḥammad ʿAlī Munshī reported that the bridge consisted of five big and a number of small arches. According to his account, the bridge was 60 *dharʿ* long, 5 *dharʿ* wide and twelve *dharʿ* high. At this time, the bridge had further deteriorated. The central and largest arch had fallen down and could not be crossed (*Safarnāma-yi Rukn al-Daula* 70–1).

152 De Clavijo 1859: 118. See also De Clavijo 1993: 96; Nagel 1993: 395.

153 Krawulsky 1982: 11; 1984: 17. The medieval geographers also referred to this town as Āmul Zamm, Āmul Jaiḥūn, or Āmul al-Shaṭṭ (Streck, "Āmūl," *E.I., 2*, I: 459).

154 ʿAbd al-Karīm Kashmīrī reported that Balkh was located at a distance of twelve stages to the south of Chārjūy and that Uzbek caravans took eight days to reach the border (*sarḥadd*) of Khvārazm from there (*Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 81). Until the nineteenth century, travelers crossed the river by means of ferries at this point. In the summer of 1844, a Persian envoy to Bukhārā reported that the fort of Chārjūy was formidable but dilapidated. The same author gives impressive figures concerning the dimensions of the Āmū Daryā and the oasis of Chārjūy. In his opinion, the Āmū Daryā was one *farsang* (four miles) wide at this point. The oasis took up a stretch of land along the river which was sixteen *farsang* (64 miles) long and two *farsang* (eight miles) wide (*Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* 30–1). In the early twentieth century, the ferry at Chārjūy was "nearly 700 yards across low water, with several branches formed by sand banks". Further ferries across the river were available at Kilīf, Kirkī and Khvāja Ṣāliḥ (Hamilton 1906: 108–9). Today, the traffic across the river is conducted by means of a pontoon bridge, and the railway bridge spanning it since the late nineteenth century is of enormous dimensions.

155 *Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 81–2. See also Gladwin 1788: 54–5; Alam/Subrahmanyam 2007: 266. For a contemporaneous description of the source of the Āmū Daryā as well as its course and tributaries, see Kāẓim 1132. The observation that the volume of water decreased along the course of the river continued to hold true in the early twentieth century. In the summer, many segments of the river were not deep enough for the steamer flotilla operating between Chārjūy and Petro-Alexandrovsk, which required a depth of four feet. The journey to Petro-Alexandrovsk on the border of the khanate of Khīva took seven days and was "spent in

The available accounts create the impression that large armies easily traversed the Oxus. There are numerous instances of boats being tied together to form floating bridges.[156] For the crossing at Tirmidh, Clavijo reports that Tīmūr used a pontoon bridge to enter Khurāsān:

> The lord Timour Beg, as soon as he had gained the government of Samarcand [Samarqand], desired to pass over this great river, to conquer the land of Khorassan. He therefore caused a great bridge of timber to be made, supported by boats; and when his army had crossed, the bridge was destroyed, but, on his return to Samarcand, he ordered it to be made again, for the passage of himself and his host… and they said that the lord had given an order to destroy the bridge, as soon as all his host had passed over.[157]

The transitory nature of the bridges spanning the river highlights the fact that the Āmū Daryā presented a physical obstacle and a geographical divide throughout early modern times. Campaigns in either direction required the creation of the necessary infrastructure for conveying large groups of people across. Interestingly, the Persian sources of the time hardly dwell on the manner in which the river was traversed. This also holds true for most accounts of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's invasions of Khurāsān. The sixteenth-century author Khvānd Amīr briefly mentions Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's first passage across the Oxus at Kirkī in the fall of 909/1503.[158] In his description of the events leading up to the decisive Abu al-Khairid victory over the last Timurid ruler, Badīʿ al-Zamān b. Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā, on 7 Muḥarram 913/19 May 1507, the same author establishes a link between Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's movements and the paths of celestial bodies. He likens the *khān* ferrying across the Āmū Daryā to the progress of the crescent of Muḥarram across the green sea of heaven.[159] In a similar vein, Khvānd Amīr's contemporary Fażlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī Iṣfahānī compares the Uzbek army on its way across the Oxus to Marv in late 913/spring 1508 to the bright star of Sirius (*shiʿrā*) passing through the Milky Way (*majarra*).[160] While adhering to conventional cosmological imagery, Khunjī offers some practical insights into Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's passage across the Āmū Daryā in the same direction in 915/1509. He reports that the Khan requisitioned all boats available "up and down" the river (*javānib-i baḥr-i Jaiḥūn ṭaraf-i ʿulyā va suflā*). Furthermore he conveys a sense of the natural setting by contrasting the swift passage over the river at Burdaliq (Burdalyk) with the arduous crossing of the desert adjoining its western bank. In his portrayal, the boats ferrying the army across the Āmū Daryā seemed to fly across the waves effortlessly, their billowing sails resembling the wings of a phoenix.[161] Yet, after reaching the other bank of the river, Muḥammad Khān Shībānī and his men had to traverse the seemingly endless desert extending towards Marv. Khunjī devotes ample space to the hardships brought about by the six-day march at the height of summer (*tammūz*): The fire-like breath of the desert was so intense as to cause the constellation of Pisces to die of thirst in the green sea of heaven.[162]

The comparative facility of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's entry into Khurāsān notwithstanding, there was a clear sense of stepping across a physical border and penetrating into a geographically distinct realm. Khunjī describes the Āmū Daryā as the eastern limit of Iran and the regions making up Khurāsān:

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running off one sandbank onto another". Traditional sailboats negotiating the river upstream took two months to convey freight from Petro-Alexandrovsk to Chārjūy (Pahlen 1964: 162–5).

156 This was the case when the Saljūq ruler Alp Arslān b. Chaghrī Bēg (r. 455–465/1063–1072) crossed the river on a campaign against the Qarakhanids of Sogdia, which ended with his death in 1072 (Bosworth 1968: 65). After carrying his conquests up to the Indus in 1221, Chingiz Khān passed the eastern section of the Oxus on a bridge of boats on his way back to Mongolia in October 1222. In 1255, his grandson Hülegü (d. 1265) employed the same method to cross the river on his way from Central Asia to Iran (Boyle 1968: 341). As late as 1740, Nādir Shāh had 1,100 boats built by Indian craftsmen to ease the passage of his army at Chārjūy (JN 454–5; see also Gladwin 1788: 34–5; Lockhart 1938: 187).

157 De Clavijo 1859: 119; see also De Clavijo 1993: 96–97.

158 HS IV: 296. See also *Mihmānnāma* 167; Ott 1974: 171.

159 *Chūn hilāl-i Muḥarram al-ḥarām… bar baḥr-i akhżar-i sipihr ʿubūr farmūd khabar-i gudhashtan-i Muḥammad Khān Shībānī az maʿbar-i Kirkī va tavajjuh ba-ṭaraf-i Khurāsān mutavātir gasht* (HS IV: 374). See also Thackston 1994: 537;*Mihmānnāma* 174; Ott 1974: 190).

160 *Mihmānnāma* 187; Ott 1974: 194.

161 *Har yak gūyī… ʿanqā-st ki bā bāl-i bādbān bar-farāz-i Qāf-i amvāj parvāz girifta (Mihmānnāma* 322).

162 *Ḥūt-i falak bā vujūd-i istighrāq dar baḥr-i akhżar-i āsmān az tishnigī mīmurd* (*Mihmānnāma* 324).

> On Wednesday, 13 Muḥarram 915[/2 May 1509], his exalted Excellency the Khān boarded a boat and, conjoined with everlasting power and glory, passed the Jaiḥūn safely. Once again the country of Iran and the regions of Khurāsān which adjoin the Jaiḥūn in the west were honored by the footsteps of the leader of the time and were thus purified and blessed beyond bounds.[163]

The Turkish Admiral Sīdī ʿAlī Raʾīs, who crossed the Āmū Daryā at Chārjūy in early August 1556, likewise emphasized the fact that he was entering a separate domain. Having traversed the river by boat, he reported that he "touched Iranian soil, namely Khorasan".[164] As mentioned above, the Safavids invoked the river as a political border as early as 1511. On the basis of his observations in 1740, ʿAbd al-Karīm viewed the Oxus as a geographical and political border: "To the east of the Jaiḥūn is the country (*mulk*) of Mā varāʾ al-nahr, which consists of Bukhārā, Samarqand, Tāshkand, Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān, Kish (Shahr-i Sabz), and Nakhshab (present-day Qarshī)… To the west of the aforementioned river is the boundary (*sarḥadd*) of Khurāsān, because Balkh belongs to Khurāsān."[165]

The distinction between Khurāsān and Transoxiana remained tangible even when the two units were politically united. Timur's conquests obliterated the division between the Ilkhanid dominion and the Ulūs Chaghatai and might therefore be seen to have reduced the importance of the Oxus as border between Iran and Tūrān.[166] Even so, there are indications that the Āmū Daryā continued to be perceived and to function as a political boundary in Timurid times. Clavijo noted that travelers leaving Transoxiana for Khurāsān were subject to strict controls. In his opinion, Tīmūr's stringent measures were primarily occasioned by the need to prevent the numerous deportees to Samarqand from returning to their homelands:

> The custom which the lord causes to be observed at this great river is, that when he has passed from one side to the other, the people have to break the bridge, and afterwards no one can cross over; but there are boats in this river, which convey people from one side to the other, and no one is permitted to pass over in these boats, without showing a letter stating whence he comes, and whither he goes, even when he is a native of the land. When, however, any one wishes to enter the land of Samarcand, this letter is not required. The lord has a great guard placed at these boats, who take heavy tolls from those who use them. This guard is also placed, because the lord has brought many captives into Samarcand, from the countries which he has conquered, to people the land, and enrich and ennoble it; so as to prevent them from escaping, and returning to their own land.[167]

There is also evidence that individuals faced restrictions in their movement across the Āmū Daryā in the late Timurid period. The letters Khvāja Aḥrār (d. 1490) and his associates in Samarqand directed to the Timurid court at Herat bear witness to the fact that travel between Khurāsān and Transoxiana was no easy matter. Seeking for the return of family members in the service of the court at Herat, a number of petitions highlight constraints in the mobility across provincial boundaries in general, and across the Āmū Daryā in particular.[168]

But let us return to the patterns of military movement as highlighted by the Persian chronicles. Unless they had to hurry through inhospitable stretches of desert like the Qara Qum, the armies usually assumed a more leisurely pace, grazing their way from one point of conquest to another. This phenomenon is highlighted by ʿAbbās II's campaign to Qandahār in the late summer–winter of 1648. The timing of this expedition in fall and winter was unusual and motivated by the idea of attacking Qandahār during the cold season when it was cut off from its Mughal hinterland by snow. Even so, the route taken and the relatively slow progress coincide with earlier precedents. After assembling his troops in Bisṭām, Shāh ʿAbbās II gradually moved through Khurāsān, gathering an increasing followership and beasts of burden along the way. The movements of the royal camp were interrupted by prolonged periods of rest devoted to hunting

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[163] *Rūz-i chahārshanba sīzdahum-i māh-i muḥarram sana-yi khamsa ashrata va tisʿi miʾatin hażrat-i khalīfat al-raḥmān khān-i ʿālī-makān ba-kishtī rākib gashta va ʿizz-i sarmadī va daulat-i abadī-rā muṣāḥib shuda dar ʿain-i ṣiḥḥat u salāmat az āb-i Jaiḥūn ʿubūr u murūr farmūdand va mujaddidan bilād-i Īrānzamīn va Khurāsānāt ki ʿibārat az nāhiya-yi gharbī-yi Jaiḥūn ast ba-ʿizz qudūm-i hażrat-i khalīfa-yi zamān va imām-i ayyām ṣafāʾī tāza va barakatī bī-andāza yāft* (*Mihmānnāma* 323). See also Ott 1974: 296.

[164] Vámbéry 1899: 78.

[165] *Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 82. See also Gladwin 1788: 55–6. In his description of the events of 1747, ʿAbd al-Karīm's contemporary Kāẓim Marvī also conveys the notion of the Āmū Daryā as the divide between Turkistān and Khurāsān (Kāẓim 1133).

[166] Nagel 1993: 187.

[167] DeClavijo 1859: 120. See also De Clavijo 1993: 97; Nagel 1993: 395.

[168] Gross/Urunbaev 2002: 43–5.

expeditions. An important stop on the way was Imām Riżā's shrine in Mashhad, to which Shāh ʿAbbās II paid his respect both on his way to and from Qandahār. At Herat, the king encamped in the garden of Ḥasan Khān (Shāmlū?) for eight days and visited the shrine at Gāzargāh. Another three days were spent hunting in the reeds along the Harī Rūd near Pul-i Mālān. The available dates convey an impression of the moderate pace adopted by the king and his troops. After leaving Iṣfahān on 4 Rabīʿ I 1057/4 April 1648, Shāh ʿAbbās reached Bisṭām on 9 Jumādā I 1058/1 June 1648. The king made camp at Kālpūsh on 3 Rajab1058/24 July 1648 and performed his pilgrimage to the shrine of Imām Riżā around 7 Shaʿbān 1058/27 August 1648. On 2 Ramażān 1058/20 September 1648, he continued on his way to Qandahār via Herat and Farāh, and laid siege to the city on 12 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1058/28 December 1748. Thus the entire march from Iṣfahān to Qandahār took up nine lunar months.[169]

One important aspect of the rhythm of movement was its ceremonial character. The hunting expeditions, visits to holy graves and court rituals served to reenact and to confirm a vital web of patronage and allegiance. It is in this setting that the chronicles capture and project an ideal state of cohesion. The royal movements recorded in the *ʿAbbāsnāma* present a case in point. This work lavishes great detail on the pleasures of hunting and on the delights the pastures have to offer, the purity of the air and water, and the abundance of flowers. Yet if we take a closer look at the young king's recreational pursuits we notice that they serve to conduct important business. While in camp, he organizes provisions for his army, negotiates with Central Asian and Ottoman envoys, and, most importantly, receives a steady flow of military leaders who join his court to furnish troops. Shāh ʿAbbās's gradual approach on Qandahār served to gather all major military leaders of his realm for a major military undertaking. The author of the *ʿAbbāsnāma* captures the ongoing arrival of army contingents in the royal camp by using the image of "brooks and streams joining the endless sea."[170]

This image of a natural and effortless union is complemented by the portrayal of highly formalized court procedures which seemingly "freeze" the elastic relationship between the ruler and the military elite into set arrangements reflecting rank and proximity. Contemporaneous accounts devote much space to lists of all the officers present during a particular military campaign and their exact position in the battle order. The importance of this sort of map is reflected by the fact that the positioning of the leadership in warfare corresponded to the ceremonial configurations at court. Among the fifteenth-century Āq Quyūnlūs of western Iran, the sitting arrangements at the banquet table replicated the deployment of military units in the army.[171] As depicted by the chronicles, the comings and goings at court and the ups and downs of battle unfold like a choreography. What is more, they mirror the ability of the early modern leader to activate and maintain a following requisite for the upkeep of power. Immediate strategic considerations apart, these accounts serve to map the king's realm, which is brought into relief by the presence of all major tribal leaders and their commitment to engage in military action on his behalf.[172]

The above examples of military campaigns illustrate the complex field early modern leaders had to negotiate on an ongoing basis. On the physical level, their field of vision was determined by the terrain and its ecological constraints. In the commercial domain, the trade routes and cities formed vital assets. In the political realm, their success hinged on their ability to maintain a web of personal loyalties, the vitality of which was immediately related to the income generated on the basis of the first two factors. In the chronicles, mobility and its ceremonial aspects take on added meaning and serve to represent royal authority. The emphasis is on the court in motion, with the lands of Iran and Tūrān mainly figuring as a backdrop for

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169 *ʿAbbāsnāma* 92–115. See also Tumanovich 1989: 153–4; Melville 1996: 218.

170 *ʿAbbāsnāma* 96–7, 102, 108–9.

171 Woods 1999: 57–9.

172 Further examples for Qizilbāsh battle orders are furnished by Haneda 1987: 31–44, 55–60. McChesney's analysis of ʿAbdullāh Khān's siege of Herat from June 1587–March 1588 highlights the importance the chroniclers accorded to the positions the prominent military officers took up around the city. These accounts were subject to revision. Thus Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī modified earlier accounts of this siege in a manner to enhance the authority enjoyed by ʿAbdullāh and his son ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (McChesney 1993: 84–91). In Mongol times, all major Chingizid lines were represented during military expeditions (Aubin 1969; Jackson 1999: 22–3).

its pageantry. In these accounts, mobility is detached from immediate ecological exigencies and nomadism is stylized in such a way as to turn it into an "artform".[173] The sources depict different scopes of movement, ranging from the shuttling between residential gardens and other recreational settings to full-fledged military campaigns. In sum, the Persian sources reinforce the notion of a spatial division between the nomadic and sedentary spheres. In this setting, the image of the tent symbolizes the royal camp and alludes to the superiority of the nomad ethos.[174]

THE LOCAL POPULATION

There is little information concerning the local population of the Herat oasis and the surrounding provinces during the Safavid period. The Persian sources offer insights into the dynamic between the rulers of Herat as military employers and the influx of tribal groups, as well as changing local textures. But we learn little about the settled inhabitants. In Kartid times, there is passing mention of the "subjects" (*raʿāyā*) living in the villages and dependencies in the vicinity of the city of Herat.[175] Another generalizing term applied to the inhabitants of the region was "*tājīk*", which intended the sedentary Persian-speaking population, both urban and rural, as opposed to the tribally organized and warlike Mongols. Saif al-Haravī reports that Toluy b. Chingiz Khān (d. ca. 1240) instructed his troops not to let any Tājīk escape alive during his first campaign against Herat in 1221.[176] Recounting an anecdote on the religious policies of the Great Khān Ögedei (r. 1229–1241), the same author equates Tājīks with Muslims.[177] The formula *Turk u Tājīk* came to capture the distinction between the military aristocracy (*ahl-i saif*) on the one hand, and the urban tradesmen and bureaucrats (*ahl-i qalam*) on the other hand.[178] As the term Tājīk embodied the antithesis of martial pursuits, it was often used in a derogatory sense. In battle, it was a favorite ploy to denigrate the opposing army as *tājīk*, implying that victory should be an easy matter.[179] At the same time, this group was praised as skilful and intelligent. In 636/1238–39, a Mongol official described them in the following manner: "The Tājīks are shrewd craftsmen; they know how to overcome difficulties and doubts; in particular the Tājīks of Herat show great resolve and vigilance in their undertakings, and they are accomplished at war and banquet alike."[180]

Mongol rule triggered the emergence of new ethnic configurations. The military organization devised by Chingiz Khān entailed the breaking up of existing tribal alignments and the coalescence of new ones. The troop contingents created on the basis of decimal units from ten to ten thousand were composed of soldiers of various tribal extractions. This setup also implied that the commanders had no common background with their soldiers. They were of a different origin, *az nasl-i dīgar*, as the Mongol historian Rashīd al-Dīn puts it.[181] The arrival of the Mongol troops in eastern Khurāsān set a layered process of ethnogenesis into motion: The initial merging of Mongols and Central Asian Turks was followed by the amalgamation of local elements, such as the Indo-Mongols, Khalaj, Afghāns etc. This process of ethnic admixture also resulted in the creation of new entities. The Mughūlbāsh, literally "Mongol heads", who will be mentioned below, may have been the outcome of such a process.[182]

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173 Paul 2002: 42, 51.

174 This sort of mapping is illustrated by Khvānd Amīr's account of Bābur's decision to pitch his tent "high enough to touch sun and moon", on the roof of Ulugh Bēg's *madrasa* in the center of Samarqand, while his followers occupied the cells below (HS IV: 290; see also Paul 2002: 42).

175 Saif al-Haravī 1943: 696.

176 Saif al-Haravī 1943: 66–7.

177 Saif al-Haravī 1943: 95–99.

178 Fragner, "Tādjīk," *E.I., 2* X: 63. The expressions "Turk u Tājīk" and "Turk u Tāt" were used until the nineteenth century to denote the population in its entirety. See, for instance, ʿAlī Qulī Iʿtižād al-Salṭana's description of Aḥmad Shāh's siege of Herat in 1750, which caused hardship for "Turk u Tāt" (*Vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ* 38).

179 Saif al-Haravī 1943: 705.

180 Saif al-Haravī 1943: 117.

181 Rashīd al-Dīn I, edited by Alizade, 151; quoted in Aubin 1969: 75.

182 Aubin 1969: 69.

Saif al-Haravī's description of the army of Herat during the Kartid period bears witness to its heterogeneous composition. According to his portrayal, Malik Fakhr al-Dīn made the following comment on the chequered nature of his military outfit at the beginning of his reign in 697/1298: "Some Sanjarī, the Balūch tribe (*ṭāyifa*), a clan (*qaum*) of Khalaj, a group (*gurūh*) of Mughūlbāsh, and a faction (*firqa*) of Abīvardīs and Sarakhsīs."[183] Towards the end of his reign in 707/1308, "Ghurid stalwarts" (*dilīrān-i ghūrī*), "Herati fighters" (*mubārizān-i haravī*), "Sajzī vagabonds" (*ʿayyārān-i sajzī*), as well as Balūch and Khalaj were employed for the defence of the city.[184] In subsequent years, the Nikūdarīs formed an additional component of the Kartid army. For the year 719/1319 the employment of Afghān troops for the defense of Herat is also mentioned.[185]

Designations such as "Abīvardī", "Sarakhsī", "Herati" and "Ghurid" are clearly of a geographical nature and do not readily lend themselves to further exploration. The origin of the Sajzī has not been examined so far. The history of some of the other groups, by contrast, displays a certain spatial dynamic that can be traced over time. In the following, I will take a short look at the groups known as Khalaj, Balūch, and Nikūdarī.

The Khalaj were a tribe of Turkic origin which nomadized in Zābulistān and Zamīndāvar and parts of Khurāsān in the ninth and tenth centuries.[186] The tenth-century authors Iṣṭakhrī and Masʿūdī place them on the middle course of the Hilmand. The Ghaznavid historian Abū Naṣr ʿUṭbī (d. ca. 1036) and the Mongol author ʿĀlā al-Dīn Juvainī (d. 1283) mention the Khalaj alongside the Afghāns. This combined evidence leads Minorsky to conclude that the southern branch of the Khalaj gradually expanded from the Hilmand river to Ghaznī and Pishāvar.[187] The assimilation of the Khalaj Turks into the Afghān environment is possibly linked to the ethnogenesis of the Pashtu-speaking Ghilzai.[188]

The available sources yield a few more details concerning the Balūch. This group lived in the area southeast of Kirmān at the time of the Muslim conquest and was pushed eastwards subsequent to the arrival of the Saljūqs in Kirmān in the fifth/eleventh century.[189] According to Saif al-Haravī, the Balūch were flockholders in Qahdistān (probably Kahdistān), a village and important grazing area east of Herat.[190] In 721/1321–22, the Balūch were also present among the population of Farāh.[191]

The Nikūdarīs (Negüderi) became a significant factor in terms of number, dispersion and military clout in the late thirteenth century and made their influence felt throughout Timurid times. The emergence of this group as a noticeable entity coincided with the competition between different Mongol factions for the control of Khurāsān's eastern frontier with India. The 1240s–1250s were characterized by intense military activity in the region comprising Ghaznī, the Salt Range, Multān, Lahore and Kashmīr. These campaigns were conducted by military leaders dispatched there on behalf of the Great Khān, the Chaghataids, and the Golden Horde. Around 1260, the representatives of the Golden Horde and Ilkhanid Iran vied for influence in this region and sought to strengthen their diplomatic ties with the Sultans of Delhi. The rivalry between the first Ilkhanid ruler Hülegü b. Toluy (r. 654–663/1256–1265) and Berke b. Jochi (r. 1256–1267), *khān* of the Golden Horde, also affected some of the old Mongol hands active in eastern Khurāsān. Among them was

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183 Saif al-Haravī 1943: 424.

184 Saif al-Haravī 1943: 506.

185 Saif al-Haravī 1943: 643, 692–3, 695–7, 783–4. For the most part, Saif al-Haravī's account of the "Afghāns" and "Afghānistān" concerns military activities in the easternmost portion of the Kartid realm around Mastūng and Dūkī (Saif al-Haravī 1943: 205, 212, 221, 267). Dūkī and Mastūng were located southeast of Qandahār, on the trade routes to Bhakkar and Multān respectively (Habib 1982: 2 A–B).

186 The region designated as Zābulistān in early Muslim times roughly coincides with the modern provinces of Ghaznī and Zābul in eastern Afghanistan. (Bosworth, "Zābul, Zābulistān," *E.I., 2* XI: 371). Zamīndāvar comprised the region of the upper reaches of the Hilmand and Arghandāb rivers north of their confluence at Bust (Bosworth, "Zamīndāwar," *E.I., 2* XI: 439).

187 Minorsky 1978: 430–2.

188 Bosworth, "Khaladj, 1. History," *E. I., 2* IV: 917–18; Doerfer 1987: 413–18; Minorsky 1978: 433. See also Aubin 1969: 68; Raverty 1876: 88–9.

189 Bosworth 1968: 86; Spooner, "Balūchistān, i. Geography, History, Ethnography," *E.Ir*. III: 599.

190 Saif al-Haravī 1943: 695–6. See also Aubin 1969: 89; Krawulsky 1984: 26, 98.

191 Saif al-Haravī 1943: 695–6, 783–4. Without indicating a time frame, Isfizārī reports that the finely worked pulpit of the Friday mosque of Farmakān in his home *vilāyat* of Isfizār was burnt by a group of Balūch as firewood (Isfizārī I: 117).

Nikūdar (Negüder), a military leader of the Golden Horde, who had taken part in a campaign to Kashmīr in 1253 and was subsequently appointed commander of Shibarghān. Nikūdar's removal from the Murghāb region by Ilkhanid troops in 1261, combined with subsequent events in Iran, triggered the genesis of a new entity that soon came to be identified with his name, as the following details will show.[192]

In 1262, Ilkhanid Iran witnessed a rebellion of Jochid contingents, which had entered Iran together with Hülegü. While some of the mutinous troops managed to return to their original *ulūs* by crossing the Caucasus, others made their way across Khurāsān to the region of Ghaznī. On the basis of Rashīd al-Dīn's account of these events, Boyle reaches the conclusion that the Mongol soldiers who opted to move eastward did so under the leaderhsip of Nikūdar.[193] Aubin, on the other hand, provides conclusive evidence that Nikūdar had already moved to Ghaznī after his removal from Murghāb and was joined by the Jochid troops there.[194] It is an established fact that the new arrivals and local groups coalesced around the person of Nikūdar. While Ilkhanid sources alternatively identify these groups as Nikūdarī or Qarāʾunās, the Nikūdarīs in fact were one section of the latter. The Ilkhanid authors placed them in "Sīstān", an expansive territorial designation which in medieval times covered a space extending far beyond the modern entity known by that name. According to these accounts, Sīstān comprised the entire Hilmand basin, Qandahār and Ghaznī in addition to the southern coastal regions. Rashīd al-Dīn's contemporary Vaṣṣāf even included Ghūr within its scope. The Nikūdarīs continued to adhere to their nomadic way of life. At the turn of the fourteenth century, they reportedly spent the summers in Ghūr and Gharjistān, and the winters in the region of Ghaznī. At this time, they furnished the Chaghatai leader Qutlugh Khvāja with 50,000 troops. Qutlugh Khvāja's sphere of influence included Badakhshān, Ṭāliqān, Darra-yi Sūf, Fīrūzkūh, Balkh, Shibarghān, Jūzjān, Andkhūd, Fāryāb, Mārūchāq, Panjdih, and Marv.[195]

The scope of Nikūdarī forays extended beyond the area of present-day Afghanistan into India and Iran. This high degree of mobility enhanced their reputation for ferocity but also opened up opportunities for employment. During the 1270s and 1280s, the Nikūdarī winter raids reached as far as Kirmān and Fārs. In 1272, Marco Polo (1254–1324) narrowly escaped capture during a Nikūdarī assault on Rūdbār south of Kirmān. In 1282, the Nikūdarīs moved into Fārs, depriving the local Turkmens of their sheep and the sedentary population of their children. During this period, the population of Fārs came to look upon winter as the season of Nikūdarī attacks.

In the meanwhile, some bands of Nikūdarīs entered the military service of the Ilkhans and gained fame for their exceptional courage as the "most daring among the Mongols", as Vaṣṣāf puts it. The second Ilkhanid ruler Abaqa b. Hülegü (r. 663–680/1265–1282) employed a *tūmān* of Qarāʾunās troops (*lashkar-i qarāʾunās*), who wintered in the vicinity of Baghdad and migrated to Siyāh Kūh in Azerbaijan in summer. In 1295, Ghāzān (r. 694–703/1295–1304) installed loyal Nikūdarī segments in Sarakhs.[196] Four years later, however, Ghāzān's endeavor to tie the Nikūdarīs into a system of service grants and to ensure their obedience backfired. Isfizārī reports that 3,000 of the Nikūdarīs affected by Ghāzān Khān's policy moved to Quhistān and onwards to Herat, where they took refuge with Malik Fakhr al-Dīn Kart. After their arrival in Herat, the Nikūdarīs continued to raid Quhistān, Farāh, Sijistān and Khurzuvān (?).[197] Other groups, such as the Sajzīs and Ghūrīs likewise contributed to the insecurity of eastern Khurāsān. For this reason, Ghāzān dispatched an army against Herat in 699/1299–1300. On this occasion, the Heratis were able to resolve the dispute about the Nikūdarīs by submitting 30,000 *dīnārs*.[198] In 1308, Ūljāitū (r. 703–716/1304–1316) mounted another campaign against Herat, citing Malik Fakhr al-Dīn's disrespectful attitude and his

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192 Aubin 1969: 70, 73–4, 81.
193 Boyle 1968: 362.
194 Aubin 1969: 80–1.
195 Aubin 1969: 84–7.
196 Aubin 1969: 87–8.
197 Kh-R-Z-V-Ā-N/J-Z-R-V-Ā-N (Isfizārī I: 435).
198 Isfizārī I: 435–7. According to Khvānd Amīr, the sum paid by the Heratis amounted to one hundred thousand *kapakī dīnārs* (HS III: 150–1; Thackston 1994: 84–5).

continued support of the Nikūdarīs.[199] Five years later, he annexed their territories in present-day southern Afghanistan.[200]

During the Timurid period, the Nikūdarīs continued to figure on the eastern and southeastern fringes of the Herat province. Tīmūr encountered them in the Garmsīr-i Hirman, that is, at the river Hilmand.[201] Later Timurid historians mention them along with another ethnic entity, the Hazāras. Ghūr, Garmsīr, Isfizār, Farāh and Zamīndāvar in particular were subject to repeated incursions by these two groups. The power balance shifted in 884/1479–80 when Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā appointed the military leader Amīr Shujāʿ al-Dīn Dhū al-Nūn Arghūn as governor of Ghūr and Zamīndāvar. The Arghūn leader successfully imposed his authority on the Hazāras and Nikūdarīs and extracted revenue payments from them. In the subsequent years, he widened his sphere of authority in such a way as to include the neighboring provinces of Qandahār, Farāh, Sākhar-Tūlak, as well as the southern territories of Shāl, Mastūng, and Sībī. Simultaneously, he assumed an increasingly independent bearing towards the capital of Herat. Aside from apportioning Qandahār, Ghūr and Sākhar-Tūlak to his own sons without any reference to the court, he also began to skip revenue payments to the center. When Badīʿ al-Zamān b. Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā rebelled in 1498, Dhū al-Nūn supported him and made a brief attempt to take Herat while Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā was away campaigning in Astarābād. Among his troops were Hazāras, Nikūdarīs and Qipchāqs.[202]

In Safavid times, new groups appear on the ethnic tableau around Herat. This is apparent from two meetings of local representatives arranged by the Shāmlū governors in the late sixteenth century. Around 1580, ʿAlī Qulī Khān Shāmlū held a "great assembly" (*majlis-i ʿālī*) to which he summoned the "general population, both soldiers and subjects" (*sipāhī va raʿīyat*), as well as the "commanders of the tribes" (*amīrān-i ūymāq*) and the "leaders of Balūch and Qipchāq and the like" (*sarkhēlān-i balūch va qipchāq va ghairuhum*).[203] At the end of the Uzbek interregnum of 1588–1598 a number of local groups entered the fold of Shāh ʿAbbās I's government: "The people of Herat, the tribal commanders (*mīrān-i qabāyil*) and the contingents (*hazārajāt*) of the Qipchāqs, Tīmūrīs, Ṭāhirīs, and Jamshīdīs received the honor of joining the noble service and gaining royal benevolence."[204]

However, certain continuities may be detected. Following the Mongol precedent, the Safavid sources use the term *hazāra* or *hazārajāt* to designate tribal contingents of one thousand.[205] In combination with the Nikūdarīs, the Hazāras as a distinct social entity continue to appear in Uzbek and Safavid military contexts well into the sixteenth century. In 1509–10, Muḥammad Khān Shībānī enumerated Nikūdarī and Hazāra contingents among the troops poised to extend Uzbek influence in Khurāsān.[206] In 1544, the Nikūdarīs and Hazāras are mentioned among the troops at the disposal of the Safavid administration of Herat.[207]

The groups that figure most prominently in the Safavid sources concerning Herat and Khurāsān are the Qipchāqs, Jamshīdīs, Tīmūrīs and Fīrūzkūhīs. The Qipchāqs were located in a field of overlapping Safavid and Uzbek interests. From the 1520s to the 1540s, this group is mentioned among the followers of the Uzbek governor of Gharjistān, Bairām Ughlān.[208] At the end of the Uzbek interlude in 1598, the Qipchāqs reportedly supported the reemergent Safavid government of Herat. As the wounded Tuqai-Timurid leader Dīn Muḥammad tried to make his way back to Transoxiana after his defeat before Herat, he was cut down by

199 Isfizārī I: 442–52.
200 Boyle 1968: 401, 405, 489.
201 Weiers 1972: 23.
202 Isfizārī I: 118, 343–4; HS IV: 170–1, 235, 237, 247–8; Thackston 1994: 438–9, 470–1, 475–6; Thackston 1996: 169, 216. In Bābur's time, there were also Hazāras and Nikūdarīs in the mountains of Ghaznī (Thackston 1996: 172).
203 IM 376.
204 IM 921. See also Singer 1972: 152.
205 Aubin 1969: 78, 88; IM 913, 921. See also Paul 2002: 45.
206 Sarwar 1975: 58–9.
207 Floor 2008: 99.
208 AM 410–11, Junābadī 525.

the leader of the Qipchāq population of Bādghīs.[209] During Shāh ʿAbbās I's campaign to Balkh in 1602, the Qipchāqs of Chīchaktū and Maimana, by contrast, sided with the Uzbeks.[210]

Closer to Herat, the Jamshīdīs and Tīmūrīs represented a sizeable segment of the local population. Between the 1520s and 1540s, they figured mainly as victims of Bairām Ughlān's raids on Harāt-Rūd. Both Amīr Maḥmūd b. Khvānd Amīr and Junābadī give graphic descriptions of such an incursion in 955/1548, when a great number of Uzbeks and Qipchāqs descended on the local population of Jamshīdīs, Mīshmast (Arabs), and Tīmūrīs. These groups, which had belonged to the revenue-paying population of Herat "since ancient times", were forcefully removed to Gharjistān.[211] Concerning the events of 1014/1605–06, Iskandar Munshī reports that the Jamshīdīs held *ulkās* and forts in Gharjistān.[212] About a decade later, the Jamshīdī fighters defended their fort at Kurukh against Uzbek intruders.[213] In 1030/1621, a number of Jamshīdī "hypocrites" reportedly aided the Uzbeks of Balkh in an attack on Bālā Murghāb.[214]

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Jamshīdīs and Fīrūzkūhīs appear as military actors in the region northeast of Herat. Around 1107/1695–96, Jānī Khān, the *bēglerbēgī* of Herat, brought over "a great number" of Jamshīdīs and Fīrūzkūhīs of Chīchaktū and Maimana to the Safavid domain of Khurāsān. By settling them in Takht-i Khātūn east of Bālā Murghāb,[215] Jānī Khān hoped to protect Bādghīs against Uzbek incursions. In 1110/1698–99, he ordered these "newly obedient" (*tāza īmān*) Fīrūzkūhī and Jamshīdī groups to assist Naurūz ʿAlī Jamshīdī, then governor of Kurukh, in a campaign against the Uzbeks.[216] During the same period, Jānī Khān stationed Urūmī, Mīshmast, Tīmūrī, and Ṭāhirī troops in Farāh and Sīstān in order to protect these regions from Balūch incursions.[217]

While the Persian sources contain no data on the whereabouts of groups labeled as Urūmī, Mīshmast or Ṭāhirī, the presence of the Jamshīdīs in Kurukh is fairly well established for most of the seventeenth century. This group also seems to have controlled a great part of the lands along the highroad to Maimana, which passed by Kurukh and continued on to Naratū, Bālā Murghāb and Mārūchāq.[218] Yet a snippet of information concerning the early eighteenth century indicates a much wider dispersion. The author of the *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* mentions that the environs of Qandahār were inhabited by steppe dwellers (*saḥrā nishīn*) belonging to the "factions" (*fīrqa*) of the Ṭāhirīs, Jamshīdīs, Khusravīs, and Tīmūrīs until the rise of the Ghilzai leader Mīr Vais Khān in 1709.[219]

The available evidence concerning the Fīrūzkūhīs is less conclusive. Their name associates them with the ancient Ghurid capital of Fīrūzkūh.[220] This assumption is borne out by the fact that Shāh ʿAbbās I's troops had to contend with Fīrūzkūhīs while traversing Ghūr in the summer of 1622.[221] In 1638, we hear about Uzbek attacks on the Fīrūzkūhīs, which would possibly place them further north and within easier reach of the Uzbeks.[222] This would also help to explain the existence of Fīrūzkūhīs in the province of Balkh as indicated by the aforementioned attempt by the *bēglerbēgī* of Herat to resettle them within his realm in the late seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, the Jamshīdīs, Fīrūzkūhīs, Tīmūrīs, Ṭāhirīs, and Qipchāqs were to become part of a military and administrative arrangement known as *chahār ūymāq*, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

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[209] The motivation for Dīn Muḥammad's murder apparently derived not solely from political considerations. The Qipchāq chief in question reportedly also desired to avail himself of his horse and accoutrements (Junābadī 745).
[210] IM 998.
[211] Junābadī 525. See also AM 410–11.
[212] IM 1154.
[213] IM 1475.
[214] IM 1591.
[215] Ball 1982: 265; *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 421.
[216] DS 158–9, 280–1.
[217] DS 85.
[218] Holdich 1910: 236–7.
[219] *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 17.
[220] Aubin 1969: 92 fn 4; Frye, "Fīrūzkūh," *E.I., 2* II: 928.
[221] IM 1618–20.
[222] Rettelbach 1978: 249.

THE MULTĀN CONNECTION: THE ABDĀLĪ AFGHĀNS BETWEEN MUGHAL AND SAFAVID INTERESTS

In the seventeenth century, European authors noted that certain groups around Qandahār rendered doubtful allegiance to the Safavid overlords. The French traveller Thevenot, who visited India in 1666, briefly mentioned Qandahār in his travel memoirs and indicated that the overlapping Mughal and Safavid interests opened a wide field of political and military opportunities for the local elite: "There are some small Rajas in the Mountains, who are suffered to live in liberty, paying some easie Tributes; And these Gentlemen have always stuck to the strongest side, when the Country came to change its Master."[223] In the 1690s, Sanson identified these groups as "Afghan" and indicated that they interacted both with the Mughals and the Safavids:

> The [Safavid] King maintains a large garrison in the Province of Kandahar for fear of an attack by the Baluch and the Afghans inhabiting the mountains. These people live in tents (pavillons) in the manner of the first human beings. They are bellicose and skilled in the use of bow and arrow, but they [also] are bad thieves and have no mercy on caravans. They inhabit Scythia and are subjects of the Mughal emperor (Mogol). He is not really their master, and they only serve whoever offers them most. Persia treats them with caution and grants them such great privileges and advantages that even if she cannot attach them fully to her cause, she at least reduces their inclination for doing harm. They make the sign of the cross. They like Christians and harbor aversions to Muslims. They are Armenians from Torkmenia and the environs of the Caspian Sea, who were removed from their homeland and resettled in Scythia by Tamerlane. They have forgotten the Christian religion…[224]

In this section, I will trace the fortunes of the Abdālī Afghāns from the sixteenth century on. On the basis of the information gleaned from the available Persian sources, I will attempt to show how the strategic linkages with the Mughal and Safavid overlords translated into social and spatial mobility for the tribal elite. The following account will demonstrate that the Abdālī leadership positioned itself in a network comprising the cities of Herat, Qandahār and Multān. Before proceeding to the narrative of events, I will briefly assess the merits of the Persian sources and discuss the commercial importance of Qandahār and Multān.

In the imperial Safavid narrative, the Afghāns, also known as Pashtūn or Patān/Paṭhān, are mainly mentioned in the context of Mughal India. In the *Khulāṣat al-siyar*, they figure as the unruly subjects of Bābur during his early days in Kābul.[225] Iskandar Munshī refers to them as the rebellious troops who expelled the Mughal ruler Humāyūn to Persia in 950/1543,[226] and as the "unfortunate" (*tīrabakht*) elements in the power struggle that followed Emperor Akbar's death in 1605.[227] Qazvīnī reports that the citadel of Qandahār was manned by Afghāns in Mughal service when ʿAbbās II besieged the city in the winter of 1648–49.[228] For the year 1107/1695–97, the author of *Dastūr-i shahriyārān* refers to the Mughal army as a combination of "Balūch, Afghān, Rājpūt, and Patān".[229] Within the Safavid realm, Zamān Khān Afghān and Ghāzī Khān Balūch are identified as the most powerful tribal leaders in the environs of Qandahār at the time.[230]

For the Safavid chroniclers, Zamān Khān "Afghān" only figures as one of several local actors, and his fellow Abdālī tribesmen appear as a strictly localized and politically marginal phenomenon. In the Afghan historiography, however, Zamān Khān Sadūzai and his ancestors are cast as key political players who prepared the way for the foundation of the Abdālī/Durrānī kingdom in 1747. The history of the Abdālīs, therefore, needs to be pieced together and projected against the uneven coverage this group has received in

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223 Sen 1949: 80.

224 Sanson 1694: 164–5. Father Krusinski, whose twenty-year residence in Iran coincided with the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain, traces the origin of the Afghāns to a region between the Caspian Sea and "Mount Caucasus". He also adheres to the notion that they were Armenians forcefully settled in Qandahār by Tīmūr, who hoped that "when they were once out of Sight of their own Country, they would at the same time lose that Love of Liberty and Independence which had engaged him in so many Rebellions, and which had given him so much Trouble and Fatigue" (Krusinski 1973 I: 137–8).

225 AM 244.

226 IM 150.

227 IM 1161.

228 *ʿAbbāsnāma* 117.

229 DS 105.

230 DS 120.

the Persian sources, ranging from the geographical and conceptual distance enunciated by the Safavid chronicles to the construction of a "royal" Sadūzai lineage and its entitlement to power by the nineteenth-century Afghan authors. As seen above, Qazvīnī's *ʿAbbāsnāma* mentions the circumstances in the eastern part of the empire only in connection with the military campaign of 1648–49. Valī Qulī Shāmlū's *Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī* displays a similar slant. Their contemporary Muḥammad Mufīd includes the city of Qandahār in his geographical dictionary, but, adhering to the customary geographers' focus on urban topography, tells us little about the actual inhabitants of the region.[231] In the late eighteenth century, Muḥammad Khalīl Marʿashī describes the Abdālī Afghāns from the perspective of his erstwhile hometown of Mashhad and produces a more differentiated account.

The histories produced by Afghan authors in the nineteenth century credit the Abdālīs with a clear political profile and emphasize their central role in the imperial setting. Correlating the establishment of the Afghan state with the progression of genealogy, two authors of Abdālī descent seek to identify early historical precedents heralding the ascent of the Sadūzai lineage. Based in Multān, ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān Khudakka Sadūzai produced a detailed account of the Abdālīs in Safavid/Mughal times and traced the fortunes of various Sadūzai lineages in Khurāsān and India. Entitled *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn*, this source provides a narrative grid for the local events that took place between the late sixteenth and the late seventeenth centuries. It also gives some insights into the career of the Sadūzai Abdālīs as a military elite both under Mughal and Safavid auspices.[232] Of equal value is Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Mūsā Durrānī's *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, which was composed in 1865 and covers the history of the Afghāns from their genealogical beginnings to the incorporation of Herat into the Muḥammadzai state in 1279/1863. Both sources focus on Sadū (Asadullāh I, 1558–1627), the forefather of this illustrious lineage, and delineate a logical progression beginning with Sadū's political career, continuing with the fortunes of his descendants in Qandahār, Multān and Herat, and culminating in the successful Sadūzai bid for royal power in 1747. Combined with the imperial Safavid narrative, these sources allow us to place the subsequent rise and political dominance of the Abdālīs in a wider context. From the perspective of Afghan historiography, the Abdālīs did not evolve in the periphery, or at the interstices of overarching patterns of authority; instead, they were embedded within them. The emigration to Mughal India from the middle of the seventeeth century on allowed the Sadūzais to position themselves strategically within a wider cosmopolitan network linking Multān, Qandahār and Herat.

Writing in the late eighteenth century, Marʿashī casts the Afghāns as an integral component of the Mughal and Safavid states and emphasizes their long-standing relationship of service with both sides:

> The Afghāns (*firqa-yi afāghina*) are a people inhabiting the lands between Khurāsān and Hindūstān. Their land extends from the Rūd-i Nīlāb… [upper Indus] in the east to the dependencies of Herat in the west. In the north it comprises the surroundings of Bājaur and the Hindu Kush adjoining the border of Ghūrband and Kahmard, which belong to the dependencies of Badakhshān and Balkh; in the south it includes the towns of Sīvī [Sībī] and Dahādhar [?], which belong to the dependencies of Bhakkar and Sīvistān in Sind. In recent times, the majority [of the Afghāns] have been obedient to Kābul and Multān, which are a part of Hindūstān. A minority are obedient to Qandahār and Herat, which are a part of Iran. Among the two foremost Afghān tribes, the Abdālīs dwelling around Herat are the greatest. The second strongest group are the Ghilzais residing in the environs of Qandahār. One of the leaders (*sardārān*) of these two tribes has always served the government of the King of Iran and has been addressed as *sulṭān*. This was also the case at the time of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain.[233]

The state of affairs described by Marʿashī indicates that the Afghān territories extended far beyond the region between Ghaznī and the Indus characterized as "Afghānistān" during Kartid/Ilkhanid times.[234]

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231 *Mukhtaṣar-i mufīd* 284.

232 The *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn* was completed on 7 Muḥarram 1251/5 May 1835. Unfortunately, I have not been able to peruse this work in its original but had to rely on the information reproduced by Kamal Khan 1999 in English, and Durrānī 1999 in Urdu.

233 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 2–3.

234 The eastward movement of Afghān groups engaging in war, trade and animal husbandry can be traced even further back into history. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, groups from the Sulaimān Mountains east of Ghaznī interacted with the Ghaznavids (977–1186) and their Hindū Shāhī antagonists based in the region between Laghmān, Multān, and the southern foothills of Kashmīr (Bosworth, "Hindū-Shāhīs." *E.I., 2* III: 460). A subdivision of Ghilzais, who entered the service of the Hindū Shāhīs

Of special concern for the developments in Herat is the Sadūzai subdivision of the Abdālīs and the ties it forged with the Mughal governors of Qandahār and Multān in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From the imperial Safavid perspective, individual Sadūzai leaders, and their Multān connection, only figure immediately after Shāh ʿAbbās II's conquest of Qandahār in 1649. The authors of the *ʿAbbāsnāma* and the *Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī* mention the precipitous departure of the local Abdālī leader Shāh Ḥusain Sulṭān from Qandahār and adduce religious arguments for his rebellion. In his description of the new administrative arrangements under Safavid auspices, Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīd Qazvīnī tersely remarks that Shāh Ḥusain Sulṭān Abdālī fled to India on account of his "absurd Sunni fanaticism" (*taʿaṣṣub-i madhhab-i bāṭil-i tasannun*) and the unwillingness of the newly appointed Georgian *bēglerbēgī* Miḥrāb Khān Charkhchībāshī (d. 1649) to deal with this troublemaker. Subsequently, the Abdālī leader indeed lived up to Safavid apprehensions by instigating Shāh Jahān (r. 1037–1068/1628–1658) to undertake the first of a rapid succession of military campaigns against Qandahār.[235] Valī Qulī Shāmlū reverses the sequence of events. According to his account, Shāh Ḥusain was recognized as chief of the Abdālīs after the Safavid conquest,[236] and only decided to join the Mughals when he heard that 400,000 Indian troops were approaching Qandahār. In a pun on the name of the Safavid governor, Shāmlū accuses the Abdālī leader of turning away from the "prayer niche" (*miḥrāb*) of Shiism.[237]

The orientation of the Sadūzai Abdālīs towards Multān can be attributed to strategic and commercial factors. Besides serving as an outpost for the Mughal thrust towards Qandahār, the city constituted a vital coordinate in the overland trade with India and thus presented a natural next link in the chain of Abdālī activities. Located four miles from the left bank of the Chināb (Chenab), Multān was the eastern entry point to the trade route crossing the Sulaimān range and continuing on to Qandahār via Dūkī and Pishīn.[238] Given its central position within the riverine system of Panjāb, it also served as a conduit for merchandise shipped down on the Indus past the island of Bhakkar and onwards to the Arabian Sea ports of Ṭhaṭṭa and Lāhūrī Bandar. In the 1620s, the Dutch East India agent Pelsaert gave the following account of the city and its trade relations:

> Multan is the capital of the province by that name… The province is exceedingly productive, and commands the route to Persia, which runs by way of Kandahar. The Persian trade is extensive, because the city is conveniently served by three great rivers, the Ravi …, the Behat [Jhelum] and the Sind [Indus]… Very much sugar is produced, which is carried by water to Tatta in large quantities, and also to Lahore; gallnuts[239] and opium are also produced; sulphur is obtained in large quantities, as well as the best camels in India; the finest and most famous bows are made here, also large quantities of white cotton goods and napkins, which are exported to Kandahar. All these goods come by way of Lahore to Agra, and are thence distributed in all directions. From Agra or Lahore, Multan receives large quantities of cotton, coarse yarn, Bengal cotton goods, turbans, prints, red *salu* from Burhanpur, and small quantities of spices.[240]

In 1666, Thevenot observed that the Indus had ceased to function as a commercial thoroughfare due to shifts in its course and silting.[241] This disadvantage notwithstanding, he noted that the city of Multān and the

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and established themselves in the region extending from Laghmān to Multān, eventually gave rise to the Lōdī dynasty in the middle of the fifteenth century. Another sizeable influx of Afghān soldiery into India occurred when Ghaznī passed to a branch of the Ghurid dynasty under Shihāb al-Dīn (later Muʿizz al-Dīn) Muḥammad (r. 1173–1206), who emulated the Ghaznavid policy of expansion into India (Bosworth, "Ghūrids," *E.I., 2* II: 1101).

235 *ʿAbbāsnāma* 132–3; *Khuld-i barīn* 481.

236 *Imārat-i īl-i afghān-i Abdālī ba-Shāh Ḥusain nām shakhṣī ki az jumla-yi malikān-i jamāʿat-i madhḳūr [būd]… mufavvaż va marjūʿ shud* (*Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī* I: 424–5).

237 *Rū-yi niyāz az miḥrāb-i madhhab-i tashayyuʿ bartāft va rāh-i farār pīsh girifta ba-istiqbāl-i urdū-yi mukhālif shitāft* (*Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī* I: 436–7).

238 Bābur describes the mountains around Dūkī as "very low, with little grass and scanty water—treeless and ugly" (Thackston 1996: 182–3). In the early seventeenth century, Dūkī was guarded by a Mughal citadel (Wheeler 1975: 64).

239 The galls of the *farash* tree (Tamarix orientalis) were used for dyeing and produced various shades of khaki, or greyish brown (*Gazetteer of the Mooltan District*, 1883–84: 10).

240 Pelsaert 1925: 31.

241 See also Levi 2002: 113; Singh 1991: 188–9, 230–1.

extensive province linked to it still enjoyed an important role in the overland trade. This trade was largely operated by Hindu merchants:

> The Commanders and Officers of these Towns [of the province of Multān] are Mahometans and by consequence, it may be said, that most of the Inhabitants are of the same Religion: But it contains a great many Banians also, for Multan is their chief Rendezvous for Trading into Persia, where they do what the Jews do in other places…[242]

Based on locally grown cotton and raw silk imported from Bukhārā, Multān's textile industry flourished well into the nineteenth century.[243] A great part of the cotton produced in Panjāb and Sind was exported by the overland route to Iran.[244] Another important Indian export item was indigo.[245] During Mughal times, the indigo exported to Iran and Central Asia mostly originated in Bengal, Agra, Gujarat, and Lahore.[246] In Multān, it only became a cash crop under the auspices of the local Sadūzai Abdālīs in the course of the eighteenth century.[247]

The following observations by Forster concerning the trading community in Qandahār in the 1780s convey an impression of the patterns of exchange and Qandahār's position as the next link in the chain along the trade routes towards Kābul and Bukhārā on the one hand, and Herat on the other:

> At Kandahar, are established many Hindoo families, chiefly of Moultaun and the Rajepoot districts, who by their industry and mercantile knowledge, have essentially augmented its trade and wealth. The Turcoman merchants of Bochara and Samarkand, also frequent this mart, whence they transport into their own country a considerable quantity of indigo, with which commodity Kandahar is annually supplied from various parts of upper India. This city is more abundantly supplied with provisions and at a cheaper rate, than any place I have seen on the west side of the Indus.[248]

The influx of Indian trade items into Iran and Central Asia was counterbalanced by the steady need for war horses in India. This demand was met by a regular supply of horses bred on the pastures of Central Asia and Iran. Popular for its strength and stamina, the Turki breed brought in from the region north of the Hindu Kush made up the backbone of the Mughal army. Before reaching their destination, these horses passed through several stages. They were purchased at Bukhārā, Balkh and Herat and then fattened in the pastures around Kābul and Qandahār before embarking on their journey to India.[249] Forster mentions them as one of the primary export items of Kābul:

> This quarter of Afghanistan, possessing but few Indian productions, receive [sic] sugars and cotton cloths, chiefly from Peshour [Pishāvar], whither it sends iron, leather and tobacco. To Kandahar it exports iron, leather and lamp oil, whence there turns are made in sundry manufactures of Persia and Europe, with a large supply of melons of an excellent sort. The Tartars of Bochara, bring to Kabul the horses of Turkistan, furs and hides,… the amount of which is applied to the purchase of Indigo, and other commodities of India.[250]

The Iranian horses bred in Dāghistān, Kāzarūn and Shīrāz were brought to India either along the overland route through Qandahār or across the Arabian Sea to Surat.[251] Along the highroad to India, the rich grazing areas in the vicinity of the town of Qaṣūr in Panjāb were an important entrepôt for the horse trade. The local Khvīshgī Afghāns brought in horses from present-day Afghanistan and Iraq and sold them in Agra, Gujarat and Deccan.[252] Estimates of the horses arriving in India on a yearly basis vary, yet they indicate impressive proportions. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Bernier calculated that at least 25,000 horses of the

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242 Sen 1949: 77.
243 Dasti 1990: 251; Dasti 1998: 294–5; Pandey 1992: 17; Raza 1980: 90, 92, 94, 108–9.
244 Singh 1991: 216–17.
245 Steensgaard 1999: 68–9.
246 Pelsaert 1925: 13–15. See also Levi 2002: 49–51; Singh 1991: 105, 217–18.
247 *Gazetteer of the Mooltan District*, 1883–84: 165, 167. See also Ross 1970: 98.
248 Forster 1798 II: 103.
249 Gommans 1995: 79, 87; Levi 2002: 57.
250 Forster 1798 II: 72.
251 Savary 1723: 1111. In 1802, Waring noted that the "most advantageous trade for the [Persian] merchants is probably in horses; of which numbers are sent by every vessel to the different ports in India" (Waring 1807: 77).
252 Shafi 1929: 452–5. Qaṣūr was located 34 miles southeast of Lahore on the right bank of the middle course of the Satlij (Sutlej).

Turki breed entered the country, not counting the horses originating in Iran and Africa.[253] In the 1770s, the French visitor Comte de Modave estimated the total annual influx of Central Asian and Iranian horses at 45,000 to 50,000.[254] Owing to the warfare accompanying the decline of the Mughal Empire and the emergence of regional courts in the early eighteenth century, the horse trade to India reached a final peak before being rendered obsolete by the British colonial order.[255]

Another trade item entering India on a continuous basis were precious metals, in particular gold and silver.[256] Comte de Modave observed that Multān formed a nodal point in the web of trade routes linking India with the west throughout the eighteenth century, despite the turbulences accompanying the decline of the Mughals and the advent of Nādir Shāh:

> The Multanis handle almost all of the Indian trade with Persia. Their city is the meeting point for the caravans coming from Persia to India and going from India to Persia… The trading connection between Persia and India is both ancient and natural. At times of disruption, [as after the death of Nādir Shāh] Persia would suffer a shortage in the fabrics provided by the Indians. As soon as communication was reestablished, the Persian merchants would return to Multan in droves and great numbers of Multanis would go to Isfahan, the Persians carrying gold and silver, the Multanis loaded with fabrics.[257]

It is difficult to determine the volume of trade between Multān and Iran. Certainly the frequentation of the trade routes fluctuated along with the ebb and flow of peace and conflict in the wider region. Yet the data furnished by European observers are too scattered to allow the delineation of clear patterns. In 1615, the English traveller Richard Steel reported that 12–14,000 laden camels passed along the trade route from Multān via Dūkī, Pishīn and Qandahār every year. However, this figure reflects only a short-lived phenomenon related to the 1613 war between the Mughal Empire and the Portuguese and the Iranian pressure on Hurmūz in 1614, which rendered sea travel difficult. Under ordinary circumstances, a yearly traffic of 3,000 camel loads seems to have been the norm. In 1639, representatives of the Dutch East India Company estimated that 20–25,000 camel loads arrived in Iṣfahān each year, most of them conveying cotton of Indian provenance. But in 1644, the Indian imports to the Safavid capital only reached a total of 6,000 camel loads.[258]

The Safavid takeover of Qandahār in 1649 was followed by a number of Mughal campaigns. Shāh Jahān's third son Aurangzīb, who governed Multān from 1648–1652, was deputed to Qandahār in 1649 and 1652. A third, equally fruitless siege was conducted by Shāh Jahān's eldest son Dārā Shukūh (d. 1069/1659) in 1653.[259] As a result of the conflict over Qandahār in the early 1650s, the Mughal government encouraged the export trade by way of Surat.[260] Even so, there is evidence that the trade to Qandahār continued. Parallel with his military endeavors, Aurangzīb attempted to enhance the security along the highroad between Multān and Qandahār and to establish a postal system.[261] These efforts notwithstanding, Tavernier reported around 1661 that the route from Qandahār to Multān was much less frequented than the highroad leading into India via Kābul.[262]

Locally, the Mughal-Safavid competition produced a field of shifting alliances, opening up strategic opportunities to the Abdālī elite and preparing the road to Multān. The first person to figure in the historical

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253 Levi 2002: 57.

254 De Modave 1971: 326–7.

255 Gommans 1995: 85, 87; Levi 2002: 57–9. See also Dasti 1990: 248–9. As late as 1863, Vámbéry observed the fine quality and comparatively low price of the horses sold at Maimana. Many of the horses for sale continued to be exported to India via Herat, Qandahār, and Kābul at the time (Vámbéry 1864: 251).

256 Levi 2002: 47–8.

257 De Modave 1971: 336–7.

258 Steensgaard 1999: 62–72. See also Dasti 1998: 297; Sarkar 1973: 72; Steensgaard 1974: 410.

259 The three Mughal sieges of Qandahār took place in the summer months when the passes to India were open. Aurangzīb's first and second sieges of Qandahār lasted from 16 May–5 September 1649 and from 2 May–9 July 1652. Dārā Shukūh encamped before Qandahār from 28 April–27 September 1653 (Sarkar 1973: 77–95).

260 Steensgaard 1999: 71.

261 Dasti 1998: 145.

262 Tavernier quoted in Raza 1988: 79; Steensgaard 1999: 71.

narrative presented by the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn* is "Sadū" (Asadullāh I, 1558–1627), the forefather of the Sadūzai branch of the Abdālī Afghāns.[263] According to their own accounts, the Abdālīs had inhabited the region near Qandahār since the time of Shāh Rukh and were locked into power struggles with the neighboring Ghilzai Afghāns and Hazāras in the sixteenth century.[264] Sadū's achievement lay in the fact that he enhanced the position of the Abdālīs with respect to the other local groups and assured a leading position for his own family within the Abdālī confederacy. The early part of his career coincided with the weakening of Safavid power in the aftermath of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I's death in 1576 and the Uzbek interregnum in Khurāsān from 1588–1598. When the Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 963–1014/1556–1605) incorporated Qandahār into his domain in 1595, Sadū entered Mughal service as tax collector. In 1598, the reestablishment of Safavid authority in Khurāsān allowed the Abdālī leader to widen his political options. It is said that he visited ʿAbbās I in Herat and impressed him with his accomplishments in archery.[265] In 1622, Sadū rendered material assistance to the Safavid king in the conquest of Qandahār. In exchange for his services, he received the title of *sulṭān* and control over the citadel at Shahr-i Ṣafā, as well as the revenues of the surrounding country. Located in the lower Tarnak valley seventy miles northeast of Qandahār, Shahr-i Ṣafā was conveniently situated along the trade route to Kābul.[266] Sadū's close interaction with the imperial powers affected local relationships of power. The Abdālī confederacy became stronger with respect to the neighboring Ghilzais. In addition, the fact that Sadū stood as a Mughal or Safavid representative granted his own family a leading position within the Abdālī confederacy.

Over the next generation, Qandahār reverted to Mughal rule, while the local leadership stayed in place. Shāh ʿAbbās I's appointee ʿAlī Mardān Khān b. Ganj ʿAlī Khān governed Qandahār well into the reign of Shāh Ṣafī until charges of embezzlement put an end to his relationship with Iṣfahān. Encouraged by the governor of Multān, he handed the citadel of Qandahār over to the Mughals on 21 Shavvāl 1047/8 March 1638.[267] For this period, the Safavid sources mention the Abdālīs briefly in connection with the rebellion of the Afghān governor of Pishīn, Shīr Khān Tarīnī, against ʿAlī Mardān Khān in 1038–1040/1628–1631. Iskandar Munshī reports that Shīr Khān Tarīnī disrupted the trade between Multān and Qandahār and raised trouble with the Afghān tribes obedient to Safavid government, in particular the Abdālīs.[268] ʿAlī Mardān Khān, still loyal to the Safavid court at the time, defeated Shīr Khān Tarīnī twice, conquered Pishīn, and restored order to the vital commercial artery between Qandahār and Multān in 1040/1630–1631.[269] While the Safavid sources do not name any Abdālī actors, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn* emphasizes the close

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263 According to *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn*, the dates of Sadū's birth and death are 18 Dhū al-Ḥijja 965–1 Rajab 1036/1 October 1558–18 March 1627 (Kamal Khan 1999: 44, 58). The author of *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* claims that he reached the age of 75 (T Su 59).

264 Kamal Khan 1999: 47, 87.

265 Kamal Khan 1999: 52–5.

266 Kamal Khan 1999: 55–8. The *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* differs from the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn* in terms of Sadūzai genealogy, the scope of action of the Sadūzai leaders, and the sequence of events. The two sources do concur concerning the list of Sadū's sons: Four sons from a Ḥabībzai mother, Khvāja Khiżr (Ramażān 990—Muḥarram 1037/September-October 1582—September-October 1627), Maudūd (b. 15 Shavvāl 992/20 October 1584), Kāmrān (b. Rajab 994/June—July 1586), Bahādur (b. 998/1589–90); one son from a concubine, Zaʿfarān (b. 1010/1601–02) (Durrānī 1990: 10; Kamal Khan 1999:58–9; T Su 59). Yet the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* makes no mention of Sadū's interaction with the imperial powers and merely describes his efforts to enforce authority among the Bārakzai and Alakūzai Abdālīs and to reconcile the Ghilzais in the environs of the Arghastān valley (T Su 59).

267 *Khuld-i barīn* 260–5; Rota 2009: 220–8, 408–10.

268 *Bā sāyir-i afghānān ki muṭīʿ va munqād-i īn daulat va ṭābiʿ-i ḥākim-i Qandahār khuṣūṣan ṭāyifa-yi Abdālī ki mīr-i ʿashīrat va sarkhēl-i ʿalāḥidda dārand sulūk-i nāhanjār mīkard* (IM, Dhail 73–4). Muḥammad Yūsuf Vāla Iṣfahānī, whose account largely coincides with that of Iskandar Munshī, also seems to imply that Shīr Khān Tarīnī assumed a hostile attitude to the Abdālīs and the other Afghān tribes in the service of the Safavid government*: Ba īn khiyāl-i dūr az kār sāyir-i afāghina ba takhṣīṣ ṭāyifa-yi Abdālī-rā dar ḥayyiz-i gumān-i ʿiṭāʿat va inqiyād kashīda bā īshān nīz sālik-i ṭarīq-i bad sulūkī gardīd* (*Khuld-i barīn* 89).

269 IM, Dhail 73–6; *Khuld-i barīn* 89–92. Bījan places ʿAlī Mardān Khān's conquest of Pishīn in the year 1041/1631–32 (Rota 2009: 121–2, 366).

relationship between ʿAlī Mardān Khān and Sadū's second son Maudūd Khān Sadūzai (1584–1644), who is said to have sided with the Mughal forces after they took control of Qandahar in 1638.[270]

After Maudūd Khān Sadūzai's death, the continued conflict between the Safavids and the Mughals for the possession of Qandahār translated into – and was enhanced by – the rivalry between two of Sadū's grandsons. This internal competition expanded into an imperial conflict and opened the door for a first wave of migration to Multān. As the paternal cousins Shāh Ḥusain b. Maudūd and Khudādād ("Khudakka", "Khudakī") b. Khiżr contended for control over Shahr-i Ṣafā, each of them sought out imperial partners to bolster his cause. When Shāh Ḥusain Khān managed to evict Khudādād Khān from Shahr-i Ṣafā with the assistance of the Mughal governor of Qandahār, the latter turned to the Safavid court for help. According to *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn*, Khudādād Khān played an important role during the Safavid siege of Qandahār, which began on 16 December 1648 and ended with the capitulation of the Mughal governor on 11 February 1649. If we are to believe this account, Khudādād Khān even induced Shāh ʿAbbās II to embark on the military campaign to Qandahār and later proved his loyalty to the Safavid cause by defending the citadel of Qandahār during the Mughal sieges of 1649 and 1652. In return for his services, he gained the title of *sulṭān*, and the Georgian *bēglerbēgī* Miḥrāb Khān Charkhchībāshī placed him in charge of the entire territory outside of the gates of Qandahār. This gave him the opportunity to incorporate the neighboring Arghastān valley into his domain before his death on 22 Ṣafar 1074/25 September 1663.[271] This version of events is not borne out by the Safavid chronicles, which state that Miḥrāb Khān Charkhchībāshī died of natural causes ten days before the Mughal withdrawal on 5 September 1649.[272] Yet there are indications that Khudādād Khān enjoyed a certain prominence in the Safavid politics of Qandahār in the 1650s.[273]

Meanwhile, Khudādād Khān's rival Shāh Ḥusain Khān entered Mughal service and accompanied the princes Aurangzīb and Dārā Shukūh on their campaigns to Qandahār. Subsequently, he participated in Aurangzīb's military activities in Deccan. Shāh Jahān acknowledged his services by bestowing the title of "Vafādār Khān" on him and granting him an estate in Rangpūr (in the modern district of Muẓaffargaṛh).[274]

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[270] Kamal Khan 1999: 64–6. See also Braun 1971: 6; Dasti 1998: 127–9; Durrānī 1990: 12; de Modave 1971: 364; Riazul Islam 1979b. I: 251. Once again, the two Afghan sources disagree. While the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* portrays Khvāja Khiżr as Sadū's successor and claims that he headed the Abdālīs for seventy years, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn* shortens Khvāja Khiżr's career to several months and emphasizes the role of Maudūd Khān Sadūzai. Maudūd Khān, by contrast does not figure at all in the narrative presented by the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* (T Su 59–60; Durrānī 1990: 11–12; Kamal Khan 1999: 63). In the Mughal context, Maudūd Khān Sadūzai is mentioned as Malik Maʿdūd Abdālī (Athar Ali 1985: S4613, S5210).

[271] Durrānī 1990: 13; Kamal Khan 1999: 69–92. See also Dasti 1998: 148–9. An alternative date given for Khudādād Khān's death is 2 Safar 1076/14 August 1665 (Durrani 1981: 195). The *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* differs from the narrative given in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn* in several respects. According to the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, Sulṭān Khudādād b. Khiżr ruled over the Abdālīs without any particular connection to either the Safavids or Mughals. Among his accomplishments was a treaty of peace with the Ṭūkhī Ghilzais, whereby the valley of Garmāb was stipulated as the boundary line between the Abdālī and the Ghilzai lands. The competition between rival Sadūzai cousins and the concomitant Safavid and Mughal involvement only unfolds during the leadership of Khudādād's brother Shīr Khān Sadūzai (not mentioned in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn*), who is pitted against his cousin Shāh Ḥusain Khān (b. Maudūd). While Shāh Ḥusain Khān initially sides with the Safavids, he eventually decides to depart for India. Shīr Khān, who seeks out the support of Shāh Jahān after altercations with the Safavid governor of Qandahār in the early part of the narrative, eventually remains in the vicinity of Qandahār and cooperates with the Safavid government. In effect, the two sources only agree on the fact that Shāh Ḥusain Khān migrated to India. In the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, the timeframe remains vague. Khudādād Khān and Shīr Khān are initially described as contemporaries of Shāh ʿAbbās II (r. 1642–1666) and Aurangzīb (r. 1658–1707). Yet a few pages later, Shīr Khān seeks out the support of Shāh Jahān (r. 1628–1658) (T Su 60–5). Shīr Khān b. Khiżr Abdālī should not be confused with the aforementioned Shīr Khān Afghān b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Qādir Tarīnī, who was a contemporary of Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 1587–1629) and Shāh Ṣafī (r. 1629–1642) (IM, *Dhail* 73–77; *Khuld-i barīn* 89–92).

[272] *ʿAbbāsnāma 122*–3, 127, 132–3, 137–8; *Khuld-i barīn* 489.

[273] According to the *ʿAbbāsnāma*, Khudādād "Sulṭān" Abdalī was killed by Ūtār Khān (Dhū al-Faqār Khān), who governed Qandahār from the second Mughal invasion of 1652 until his death in 1073/1662–63 (*ʿAbbāsnāma* 151, 166, 237, 319–20). This would indicate that Khudādād figured in local politics (*ʿAbbāsnāma* 151, 166, 237, 319–20). Once again, it is difficult to reconcile vital dates. If we are to believe the Abdālī sources, Khudādād died *after* Ūtār Khān.

[274] Durrānī 1990: 13. See also *Ḥayāt-i afghānī* 139–41. The Safavid author Valī Qulī Shāmlū reports that Shāh Ḥusain Khān received the title "Vafādār Khān" when he joined Aurangzīb's troops before Qandahār in 1649 (*Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī* I: 438). Athar

When Aurangzīb became emperor (r. 1068–1118/1658–1707), he conferred further *jāgīrs* in Multān, Siyālkōṯ and Lahore on the Sadūzai noble. Shāh Ḥusain Khān's family retained a highly influential position in Multān throughout the Mughal period and eventually served as the governors (*nāʾib niẓām*) of the province from 1738 on.[275]

The migration to Multān continued among the next generation of Sadūzai Abdālīs. According to *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn*, Khudādād Khān's son Ḥayāt (d. 1728) assumed the leadership of the Abdālīs in 1667. His efforts to eliminate rival contenders for power caused a number of his relatives, foremost among them descendants of Sadū's sons Kāmrān and Bahādur Khān, to depart for Multān.[276] While Ḥayāt Sulṭān profited from the decline of Safavid power under Shāh Sulaimān during the early part of his career, he himself was forced to leave for Multān in the aftermath of a military confrontation with the Safavids. In 1091/1680–81, his repeated attacks on the towns located along the highroad between Qandahār and Herat sparked a military campaign to the region. The Abdālīs were defeated near Auba, and Ḥayāt Sulṭān decided to withdraw to Multān.[277]

In the Abdālī frame of reference, Herat initially figured in the construction of identity. Following a well-established formula for the projection of authority, the Abdālīs claimed that the founder of their confederacy owed his standing among the greater group of Pashtūns to saintly sanction. According to this view, ʿĀrif b. Tarīn sought the guidance of the Chishtī saint Abū Aḥmad of Herat (d. 355/966), who allegedly conferred his own title of "Abdāl" on him. Reflecting Abū Aḥmad's rank within the hierarchy of saints and being closely associated with the Chishtī shrine of Herat, this title was understood to have enhanced the standing of Abdāl's lineage among the Pashtūns.[278]

The Abdālīs' economic and political role in Herat is documented from the late sixteenth century on. Marʿashī reports that they extended their migrations to the region in 1000/1591–92, when "a number of incidents" (*baʿżī az ḥavādith*) caused them to leave the "Kūhistān" of Kābul. Following a nomadic way of life (*ba-ṭarīq-i saḥrā nishīn*), they moved back and forth between their summer camps (*yailāq*) in Bādghīs and their winter camps (*qishlāq*) in Shāfilān and Auba east of Herat, as well as Isfizār 80 miles to the south.[279] The *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn* reports that Ḥayāt Sulṭān's maternal ancestors belonged to the Nūrzai tribe and had moved to Auba and the Dū Shākh mountain west of Herat at some point in the past.[280]

Marʿashī confirms the account of the clash between Ḥayāt Sulṭān and the Safavid authorities but portrays it in less dramatic terms. According to this account, the Abdālīs were merely caught in a typical conflict with the Safavid administration concerning the payment of revenues:

> I have heard that in the time of Shāh Sulaimān and Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain they [the Abdālīs] amounted to approximately 60,000 families. The Safavid kings have always addressed their leaders as *sulṭān*, as was the case among the Ghilzais. Towards the end of Shāh Sulaimān's era, the leadership of the Abdālīs rested with Ḥayāt Sulṭān Sadūzai… He happened to have an argument with one of the revenue collectors (*muḥaṣṣilān*) of the governor of Herat. This dispute turned into a fight, the revenue collector was killed, and the affair dragged on with the governor of Herat. Ḥayāt Sulṭān and his brother Lashkar Khān feared punishment for the murder and the stern justice (*siyāsat*) of the Qizilbāsh governors, who tended to beat and dishonor the grand army leaders on account of the slightest offence. They fled to Multān along with 5,000–6,000 related families.[281]

Ali mentions "Malik Ḥusain Abdālī" as *manṣabdār* in 1059–1063/1649–1653 (Athar Ali S4613, S5210, S5740). According to some sources, Shāh Ḥusain Khān also received a *jāgīr* in Siyālkōṯ from Shāh Jahān (*Gazetteer of the Mooltan District*, 1883–84: 26; Kamal Khan 1999: 78).

275 Dasti 1998: 162–3. See also Nabi Khan 1983: 112.

276 Durrānī 1990: 15; Kamal Khan 1999: 102.

277 Durrānī 1990: 16–17; Kamal Khan 102–7. The *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* gives a different version of events: Ḥayāt Sulṭān acted as leader of the Abdālīs on behalf of the young Daulat Khān b. Sarmast b. Shīr Khān Sadūzai but had to give up his position after foolishly entering a marriage arrangement with the governor of Qandahār involving the exchange of seven women (T Su 65–6).

278 T Hu 5–7. See also Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 303–4.

279 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 19.

280 Kamal Khan 1999: 141.

281 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 19. According to the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn*, Ḥayāt Sulṭān Sadūzai was accompanied by 500 adherents. After Ḥayāt Sulṭān's departure, the leadership of the Abdālīs passed to his cousin Jaʿfar Khān Abdālī (d. 1106/1694–95), who made peace with the Safavids and spent the thirteen-some years of his tenure at the Abdālī stronghold of Shahr-i Ṣafā.

After his flight from the Herat region, Ḥayāt Sulṭān arrived in Multān on 14 Shavvāl 1093/16 October 1682 and was immediately confirmed as a member of the local elite. Aurangzīb granted him a large *jāgīr* in addition to a monthly cash stipend of 10,000 rupees.[282] Thus two rival Sadūzai clans, the descendants of Shāh Ḥusain and Khudādād Khān, came to play a preponderant role in the economic and political life of Multān. Both branches of the family built their own palaces and cultivated famous mango groves in the vicinity of the city.[283] Some of the Multānī Abdālīs gained a reputation as camel-traders.[284] With the decline of the Mughal Empire, the administration of Multān passed into Sadūzai hands. The first Sadūzai Abdālī to gain the governorship of Multān was Zāhid Khān, a grandnephew of Shāh Ḥusain. His governorship from 1738 to 1748 was contested by Ḥayāt Sulṭān's son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khān (b. 1107/1695–96).[285] During their tenure as governors, the Sadūzai Abdālīs were able to enhance their standing even further. Zāhid Khān preferably recruited his kinsmen into the army and distributed the fertile lands on the left bank of the Chināb River south of Multān among his relatives.[286] Around the middle of the eighteenth century, this area was upgraded by the digging of irrigation channels and the introduction of indigo as a cash crop.[287]

When Ḥayāt Sulṭān Sadūzai left for Multān in 1682, he was accompanied by his son ʿAbdullāh Khān Sadūzai and his paternal relative Zamān Khān Sadūzai. This fact is noteworthy in the light of the fact that Zamān Khān Sadūzai's son Aḥmad, who was born in Multān in the palace of Shāh Ḥusain Khān and was brought up in the house of Zāhid Khān, later went on to found the Durrānī empire.[288] The Sadūzai Abdālīs thus furnish a prime example for the formation of a military and economic elite under the auspices of Mughal rule. This was by no means a unique phenomenon.[289] Yet it was their convenient location at the outposts of the Mughal and Safavid polities which eventually allowed the Sadūzai Abdālīs to make the leap from a local aristocracy to an imperial elite. Spanning the region between Multān, Qandahār and Herat, they were in the best possible position to develop into an independent regional force parallel to the crumbling of the encompassing state structures.

There is no evidence concerning the scope of Sadūzai commercial activities. Nor do we know whether they formed trade networks similar to those of the *pūyanda* traders, Pashtūn nomads who provided the commercial linkage between the markets in northern and central India and those in Central Asia.[290] But it is certain that the Sadūzai elite maintained regular contact and exchange with their kinsmen in their homelands. Thus ʿAbdullāh Khān Sadūzai returned to Shahr-i Ṣafā in 1107/1695–96 and took over the leadership of the Abdālīs with the consent of the Safavid governor of Qandahār. In 1116/1704–05, he relocated to Multān in order to mend his ruptured relationship with his father Ḥayāt Sulṭān Sadūzai. During this time, Zamān Khān Sadūzai acted as the leader of the Abdālīs. Around 1709, ʿAbdullāh Khān Sadūzai again moved to Shahr-i Ṣafā and played an active role in the events surrounding the death of the Safavid governor Gurgīn Khān.[291]

During his time, the Abdālīs occupied the lands south of the Arghandāb and along the Hilmand river (Kamal Khan 1999: 108, 111–13).

282 Dasti 1998: 168–9; Kamal Khan 1999: 109; Nabi Khan 1983: 112.

283 Dasti 1998: 163. Ḥayāt Sulṭān Sadūzai's son Bāqir Khān (b. 1682) had a mango plantation at Ṣadrpūr, ten miles north of Multān proper. Shāh Ḥusain Khān's nephew ʿĀbid Khān planted a mango grove at Shujāʿābād, twenty miles southwest of Multān (Dasti 1998: 248).

284 Gommans 1995: 35.

285 Zāhid Khān was a grandson of Shāh Ḥusain's brother Allāhdād Khān. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khān b. Ḥayāt Sulṭān gained the governorship of Multān in 1748–1749. After that, the control over the affairs of Multān passed to Zāhid Khān's son Shākir Khān until 1751 (Dasti 1998: 187, 192, 195, 197–200). His brother Shujāʿ governed Multān under Tīmūr Shāh Sadūzai. He was succeeded by his son Muẓaffar Ṣafdar Jang, who held this post under Shāh Zamān (T Hu 376–7).

286 Dasti 1998: 187. For the landholdings of the four elite groups in Multān, the Afghāns, the Balūch, the Sayyids and the Quraishīs, see Roseberry 1987: 3.

287 *Gazetteer of the Mooltan District* 1883–84: 165, 167.

288 Dasti 1998: 197; Kamal Khan 1999: 108.

289 Another example are the Khvīshgī Afghāns, who accompanied Bābur to India and received *jāgīrs* including expansive grazing areas in Qaṣūr in exchange for their military services under the Mughals (Shafi 1929: 454–5). See also Gommans 1995: 109–10.

290 Noelle 1997: 282.

291 Kamal Khan 1999: 114–17.

This shows that the members of this family were equally at home in their eastern and western strongholds. In this context, it comes as no surprise that Aḥmad Shāh eventually carved out his kingdom around the commercial centers of Herat, Qandahār and Multān. These places had developed into fixed coordinates on the political horizon of the Sadūzai Abdālīs in the previous generations and offered the greatest scope for advancement within the shifting configurations of power. The Sadūzai elite may have been far removed from Imperial Safavid concerns, but they had clearly become a force to be reckoned with by the turn of the eighteenth century.

CONCLUSION

The Safavid period ushered in a significant change in the territorial setup of Khurāsān. Most significantly, Herat lost its previous status as imperial capital. While retaining the prestigious title of *dār al-salṭana*, it became part of an embattled domain exposed to prolonged military pressure of varied intensity exerted by the Abu al-Khairid and Tuqai-Timurid dynasties of Central Asia. During the early phase of Safavid rule, the incorporation into the newly emerging Qizilbāsh domain proved a painful transition for Herat and its environs. Locked into a military tug-of-war with the Uzbek rivals and preoccupied with their own economic survival, the Safavid rulers depleted the local resources rather than administered them and brought about a devastating famine in 1514–1516.

In the course of the sixteenth century, there developed a new sense of embeddedness. Herat became part of the "guarded domains" and assumed a privileged position as capital of Khurāsān and as the seat of the Safavid crown princes. This process coincided with the entrenchment of Qizilbāsh interests, as actual control lay with the powerful Shāmlū, Tekelū and Ustājlū tutors of the underage princes. Other supreme officers with extensive duties, like the religious supervisor (*ṣadr*) were likewise appointed to Herat.

At the same time, the fluid hierarchy of the Safavid administration circumscribed the scope of authority emanating from the provincial capital. The component regions of Khurāsān were assigned to rival Qizilbāsh leaders, who were apt to stake out separate domains for themselves and their followers. The preponderant role this group played in the maintenance of the Safavid state is reflected by the designation of Iran as "Qizilbāsh kingdom". Their great political and military clout notwithstanding, the Qizilbāsh were embedded into a larger framework of authority based on the notion of royal legitimacy. The Safavid polity derived its cohesion from the overarching notion of a ruling "house" entitled to leadership. In spite of their influential position, the Qizilbāsh were in no position to challenge the spiritual and political authority wielded by the members of the Safavid lineage. In the Central Asian setting, the Chingizid "constitution" focusing on the descendants of Chingiz Khān through his eldest son Jochi and his grandson Shībān provided a similar basis for legitimacy.[292]

In terms of representation, time-honored territorial concepts retained their validity and viability. In tune with established conventions, the sixteenth-century author Ibrāhīm Amīnī Haravī referred to the Safavid realm as "Īrān" or "Īrānzamīn" and thus employed a territorial designation which had been coined by the Sasanians, had vanished after the Muslim invasion, and was reinvented by the Ilkhanids.[293] Typically, the concepts of "Īrān" and "ʿAjam" were juxtaposed with those of "Tūrān"[294] and "Turkistān".[295] Closely linked to this delimitation was the idea of Iran as extending from the Oxus in the east to the Euphrates in the west.[296] This notion of boundedness and territorial compactness coincided with the delineation of stable internal subdivisions. One important geographic and political consideration was that of a bifurcation of Iran into a western and an eastern segment. Although the Safavids may be said to have unified western and eastern Iran, the distinction between ʿIrāq and Khurāsān as separate political units remained tangible. The

[292] McChesney 1993: 74–5.
[293] Fragner 2006: 72–3.
[294] See, for instance, *Futūḥāt-i shāhī* 242.
[295] See, for instance, HS I: 185.
[296] See, for instance, Vārid, *Nādirshāhī* 4.

divide into a western and an eastern domain is reflected in Amīnī's report that Shāh Ismāʿīl I did not content himself with the possession of the "two ʿIrāqs" and Azerbaijan but was poised to reach for Khurāsān, Iran and Tūrān and, to the extent possible, for the entire inhabited world (*rubʿ-i maskūn*).[297] Coined in Saljūq times, the dual "ʿIrāqain" stood for the combined regions of Iraq "proper" (ʿIrāq-i ʿArab, Mesopotamia) and the largely mountainous region of present-day western Iran, which corresponded to the ancient Persian region of "Media" and was referred to as "Jibāl" by the early Islamic geographers.[298]

There also existed a perceptible division within Khurāsān. In the early Safavid period, the region was thought to consist of two constituent parts, with Sarakhs on the Harī Rūd/Tejend representing the border of the "Two Khurāsāns". This echoes circumstances in the Mongol period, when there was a definite separation between Herat and the northwestern region centering in Nīshāpūr.[299] From the late sixteenth century on, this bifurcation into an eastern and a western section also manifested on the administrational level. Thus the governor of Mashhad was thought to be in charge of "half of Khurāsān". Considered one of the "great cities" of Khurāsān in Timurid times, Mashhad outgrew Herat in the early seventeenth century owing to the patronage Shāh ʿAbbās I extended to the shrine of Imām Riżā. To the east, the incorporation of Qandahār into the Safavid realm in 1649 likewise diminished the weight of Herat in administrative and economic terms.

As for Herat, we learn little about the urban population, be it the notables or the people working on the lands outside the city gates. But there is some scattered information concerning the tribal groups living at a distance from Herat. Among these *ūymāq*, the Jamshīdīs figure most prominently. Based in Harāt-Rūd and Kurukh east of Herat, this group was considered to number among the "ancient" revenue payers of Herat and controlled the lands along the first stages of the highroad to Maimana. The available sources describe a volatile setting in which depredations and forceful deportations by neighboring tribes were the order of the day. These fluctuations and insecurities notwithstanding, the Jamshīdīs and the other groups mentioned in Safavid times form part of the ethnic make-up of Herat to the present day. One new element in the tribal setting around Herat were the Abdālī Afghāns, who apparently arrived in the late sixteenth century and began to make their presence felt from the 1680s on. While the rise of the Abdālī Afghāns hastened the downfall of Safavid authority in the Herat region in the early eighteenth century, the existing administrational framework and the corresponding conception of space survived. In their quest for power, the Abdālīs adopted the territorial notions of their erstwhile overlords and sought to establish authority over the same space known as the province of Herat during the late Safavid period. The following narrative will show that their activities focused on a number of key positions and thus served to reiterate and confirm the constituent elements of the province.

THE AFSHARID PERIOD

The decline of Safavid authority fostered the rise of regional powers on the fringes of the empire. In present-day Afghanistan, the early eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of two local polities, the Hūtak Ghilzais in Qandahār and the Sadūzai Abdālīs in Herat. In 1709, the Hūtak leader Mīr Vais (d. 1715) successfully challenged Safavid rule over Qandahār by killing the Georgian governor Shāhnavāz Khān, also known as Gurgīn Khān.[300] In 1722, Mīr Vais's son Maḥmūd Hūtak (d. 1725) dealt a final blow to the Safavid

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[297] Amīnī describes the motivation for Shāh Ismāʿīl I's campaign to Ṭabas in early Sha'ban 910/January 1505 as follows: *Khvāst ba-nūk-i tīgh-i ābdār-i ātash-fishān nigāshta-yi ṣafaḥāt-i khavāṭir-i ahālī-yi Khurāsān gardānad ki dāʿiya-yi kishvar-sitānī na hamīn munḥaṣir dar ʿIrāqain va Ādharbāyjān ast, balki khing-i daulat-i jahāngushāy(-i) mutavajjih-i sair-i Īrān va Tūrān va ānchi az rubʿ-i maskūn taṣarruf-i ān dar ḥīṭa-yi imkān ast, ba-qavāyim-i ʿālamgīrī gāmzan-i sāḥat-i tang-masāḥat-i ān ast* (*Futūḥāt-i shāhī* 241–2).

[298] Bosworth, "ʿErāq-e ʿAjam(i)," *E.Ir.* VIII: 538. See also Fragner 2001b: 346.

[299] Personal communication from Beatrice Manz.

[300] One of the most detailed accounts of Mīr Vais's career is furnished by the Jesuit missionary Judas Thaddaeus Krusinski (1675–1757), who lived in Ganja and Iṣfahān between 1707 and 1726 (Tardy 1982: 318; see also Matthee, "Jesuits in Safavid Persia," *E.Ir*. 2009). In Krusinski's version of events, Mīr Vais was a tax collector (*kalāntar*) "in one of the chief Stations at Candahar"

when Gurgīn Khān took control of Qandahār in the summer of 1704 (Krusinski 1740 I: 153). Fearing Mīr Vais's influential position, Gurgīn Khān sent him to Iṣfahān, "not indeed as a Prisoner, but caused so strict an Eye to be kept on him, that he could not easily escape. At the same Time he sent Word to the King, that if he had a Mind to secure that Province, he should take not to suffer Myrr-Weis ever to return to Candahar" (Krusinski 1740 I: 154). At Iṣfahān, Mīr Vais conciliated all factions at court, including the supporters and enemies of Gurgīn Khān. He convinced the leading court circles of his loyalty and obtained permission to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Mīr Vais utilized his journey to Arabia to solicit a legal opinion on the illegitimacy of the exercise of power by Shiites and Georgian Christians over the Sunnī population of Qandahār (Krusinski 1740 I: 167, 171–2). After his return to Iṣfahān, he successfully cast doubt on Gurgīn Khān's loyalty and soon gained a reappointment to the administration of Qandahār with greater powers than before. After his arrival in Qandahār in late 1709, the Hūtak leader initially convinced Gurgīn Khān of his loyalty but assassinated him soon after (Krusinski 1740 I: 173–83; see also Tardy 1982: 322–6).

A number of Armenian and Georgian sources provide additional information on the events after Gurgīn Khān's arrival in Qandahār. Writing in 1723, Joseph Abisalamian, the Armenian secretary to the French consul in Iṣfahān, was of the opinion that Gurgīn Khān removed Mīr Vais from Qandahār immediately after his arrival there and sent him in chains to Iṣfahān (Lang 1952: 529–30; Lang 1957: 99). Two Georgian sources report that Mīr Vais initially cooperated with Gurgīn Khān and "chastized" the local Hazāra leader in his name. According to these accounts, Gurgīn Khān officially dispatched Mīr Vais on an errand to the Safavid court as late as 1706, and intimated simultaneously to Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain that the Hūtak leader should not be allowed to return to Qandahār (Prince Wakhusht in Brosset II,1 (1856): 101; Sekhnia Chkheidze in Brosset II,2 (1857): 26).

While Krusinski does not elaborate on the manner in which Gurgīn Khān was killed, the other sources offer two scenarios. The first, that of the murder of Gurgīn Khān and his entourage during a banquet organized by Mīr Vais, is advanced by Joseph Abisalamian and another French memoir based on information collected by the Turkish embassy to Persia in 1720 (Lang 1952: 528, 532). The second scenario of a surprise attack by Mīr Vais a short distance from Qandahār is corroborated by the aforementioned Georgian reports and the Persian accounts at our disposal. Sekhnia Chkheidze places the action two stages from Qandahār: Gurgīn Khān deputed his nephew Alexander against Afghān rebels and was thus left defenceless. Mir Vais used this opportunity to attack him on the break of dawn of 21 April 1709. The governor defended himself single-handedly by means of bow and arrow and a sword until he was killed by a bullet. Thereupon, Mīr Vais occupied the citadel of Qandahār, plundered Gurgīn Khān's treasury and killed his followership (Sekhnia Chkheidze in Brosset II, 2 (1857): 29–30). Prince Wakhusht places this event on Ash Wednesday, 1709, and opts for a more dramatic account. According to his version of events, Mīr Vais played off Gurgīn Khān's Abdālī guards against their master. As part of this ruse, the Hūtak leader first killed the Abdālī *sulṭān* on the pretense of acting by the order of Gurgīn Khān. He then led the Abdālīs to believe that he had killed Gurgīn Khān and induced them to plunder the governor's camp and to flee. Having isolated Gurgīn Khān in this manner, Mīr Vais and his troops closed in on him and killed him by making his tent collapse over him (Prince Wakhusht in Brosset II,1 (1856): 102–3).

The narrative of the enmity between Gurgīn Khān and Mīr Vais is enriched further in the Persian sources. Writing in 1730, Vārid paints a vivid picture of the abuses committed by the Georgian troops: They desecrated mosques and violated young boys and girls of low and high families alike. Vārid's version of events is particularly interesting in that it firmly incorporates the population of Qandahār in the Iranian, Shiite realm. In his quest for justice, Mir Vais in vain turned to the Safavid court, and eventually received assistance from Imām Riżā at Mashhad. The shrine of the eighth Imam figures both at the beginning and the end of Mir Vais's mission. As a first step, he visited Imām Riżā's shrine at the same time as Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain and obtained a *farmān* from him ordering Gurgīn Khān to restrain his followers. When this order went unheeded, Mir Vais again left Qandahār, this time to travel to Iṣfahān and Mecca. As his complaints fell on deaf ears in Iṣfahān, he decided to seek justice at the *ḥaramain*. One night at Medina, he received a revelation from the Unseen that his homeland belonged to Imam Riżā's domain. He returned to Khurāsān, and after forty days of prayers at the shrine of the eighth Imam, he was graced with tidings granting victory over the irreligious Georgians to him and his group on the condition that they kept up their veneration for the family of the Prophet. Upon his return to Qandahār, Mīr Vais staged a local rebellion to lure Gurgīn Khān and his troops out of the city. The same night he and his followers killed Gurgīn Khān and all his followers, donned Georgian uniforms and occupied the citadel (Vārid, *Mirʾāt* 108–14). Subsequently, Mīr Vais warded off two punitive Safavid campaigns under the leadership of Gurgīn Khān's nephew Khusrau and the governor of Mashhad, Manṣūr Khān Shāhseven. According to Vārid, Mīr Vais henceforth formally acknowledged Mughal sovereignty by performing *sikka* and *khuṭba* in the name of the Mughal rulers Bahādur Shāh I (r. 1707–1712) and Farrukh Siyar (r. 1713–1719) (Vārid, *Mirʾāt* 115–16).

A decade later, Muḥsin likewise attributes the conflict to the abuses perpetrated by the Georgian troops. He reports that the abduction and violation of Mīr Vais's bride by a group of drunk Georgians caused the Hūtak leader to nurture an inveterate hatred of Gurgīn Khān. Muḥsin offers a different sequence of events than Krusinski. According to his account, it was Mīr Vais who sought permission to perform the *ḥajj* two years after Gurgīn Khān's arrival in Qandahār. On his way back, he spent some time at the royal court in Iṣfahān and vainly sought redress for the oppression suffered at the hands of Gurgīn Khān and the Georgian military. When petitions from Gurgīn Khān complaining about Mīr Vais arrived in Iṣfahān, the Hūtak leader bribed the courtiers and obtained permission to depart for Qandahār. After his return, he feigned loyalty to Gurgīn Khān until the latter sent out his troops under the command of his nephew Alexander in order to quell an Afghān rebellion. Accompanied by a small group

empire by conquering Iṣfahān and obliterating the greater part of the ruling family and the Persian nobility. The nightmare of Hūtak rule over Persia came to an end in late 1729 when Ṭahmāsp Qulī (to become known as Nādir Shāh in 1736) put Maḥmūd Hūtak's cousin Ashraf Khān Hūtak to flight and reconquered Iṣfahān in the name of Ṭahmāsp II. Three years later, Herat became part of the Afsharid domain; Qandahār was incorporated after a year-long siege in March 1738.[301]

Nādir's career coincided with that of the Hūtak Ghilzais and, while later much larger in scope, also focused on the former Safavid province of Khurāsān in the beginning. The stages of his ascent are reflected by the use of different names and titles. Born among the Qirqlū Afshārs[302] in the region of Darra Gaz in 1099/1687–88,[303] he initially carried the name of Nadhr Qulī in memory of his grandfather. He began his career in the service of the Safavid governor of Abīvard. After the fall of Iṣfahān to the Hūtak Ghilzais in 1722 and Malik Maḥmūd Sīstānī's assumption of control in Mashhad in spring 1723, Nadhr Qulī initially cooperated with the Sīstānī leader and simultaneously widened his sphere of influence around Abīvard. Within a year, however, he rejected Malik Maḥmūd's claims to royal authority over Khurāsān and raided the suburbs of Mashhad for the first time. In December 1726, Nadhr Qulī wrested Mashhad from Malik Maḥmūd on behalf of Shāh Ṭahmāsp II, whose ranks he had recently entered. His formal subordination to the Safavid cause is reflected by the adoption of the title "Ṭahmāsp Qulī". Only during his coronation on 24 Shavvāl 1148/8 March 1736 did he choose the name of Nādir Shāh.[304]

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of local retainers and guards, Gurgīn Khān moved to a garden near the citadel. At this garden, Mīr Vais used the change of guards to attack and kill Gurgīn Khān and his retainers. He then entered the citadel of Qandahār, where he did away with five hundred Qizilbāsh and Georgians and availed himself of Gurgīn Khān's property (Muḥsin 167–8).

Composed in 1792, the *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* corroborates Muḥsin's account that the Georgians' "violations of the honor of men and women alike" (*dast-dirāzī bar nāmūs-i ānhā az unāth va dhukūr*) triggered Ghilzai resistance. In Marʿashī's portrayal, Mīr Vais (here "Amīr Uvais") was not immediately affected by the abuses but sought to shield his fellow tribesmen from them. When Gurgīn Khān did not listen to his complaints, the Hūtak leader turned to the court in Iṣfahān and then performed *ḥajj*. On his return to Iṣfahān, he witnessed the military weakness of the Safavid government. After his arrival in Qandahār, he secretly collected an army among his kinsmen and among other Afghān groups. The Hūtak leader brought about the final military confrontation by luring Gurgīn Khān out of Qandahār to put down a purported rebellion by the Kākars of Pishīn. At the valley of Dih-i Shaikh in the Arghastān valley, Gurgīn Khān sent his nephew Alexander Mīrzā ahead with the troops and retained the important tribal leaders, including Mīr Vais, in his camp. This provided the opportunity for Mīr Vais to summon his own troops, to have Gurgīn Khān murdered, and to occupy Qandahār in a surprise coup (*Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 3–8).

Among the Afghan sources, the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* reproduces the progression of events given by the other Persian sources, with a few minor differences. Sulṭān Muḥammad reports that Mīr Vais visited Iṣfahān three times. His first journey to the capital coincided with the early phase of cooperation with Gurgīn Khān. In this version of events, Mīr Vais went to Iṣfahān in person to tender his submission to the Safavid government and was awarded the leadership of the Ghilzais (*riyāsat-i afāghina-yi Ghiljāʾī*). After his return to Qandahār, he assisted Gurgīn Khān in collecting the taxes in the outlying regions of the province. Subsequently, Gurgīn Khān, fearing his great influence, removed Mīr Vais from office. The Hūtak leader sought redress from the Safavid court in vain, proceeded to Mecca and Medina before returning to Qandahār and defeating Gurgīn Khān at Dih-i Shaikh in Ṣafar 1121/April–May 1709 (T Su 71–2).

The *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn* accords an important role to the Abdālīs in the conflict with Gurgīn Khān. According to this version, Mīr Vais requested help from Ḥayāt Sulṭān Abdālī at Multān against Gurgīn Khān after his return from Iṣfahān. Ḥayāt Sulṭān complied and sent his son ʿAbdullāh and his twelve-year old grandson Asadullāh to Shahr-i Ṣafā. During the ensuing military confrontation, ʿAbdullāh and Mīr Vais routed Gurgīn Khān's troops in unison. In the aftermath of this battle and Gurgīn Khān's death, Mīr Vais deprived ʿAbdullāh of his share of power by assigning him to guard the highroad to Herat while taking possession of Qandahār himelf. This caused ʿAbdullāh to cooperate with the Safavid army under Gurgīn Khān's nephew Khusrau Khān against Mīr Vais at Qandahār until the Qizilbāsh troops met with a violent end at the hands of the Ghilzais in October 1711 (Kamal Khan 1999: 119–31). According to the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, ʿAbdullāh Khān and Asadullāh Khān Abdālī only left Multān to join (Kai) Khusrau Khān's siege of Qandahār. This siege lasted for a year and ended when the Georgian leader was killed by a bullet fired from the citadel (T Su 72, 98). The view that ʿAbdullāh Khān only entered the conflict to assist Khusrau Khān is seconded by Marʿashī (*Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 14–18, 19–20).

301 Minorsky 1934: 6–7, 19.

302 For Nādir's tribal affiliation, see Sümer 1972: 155.

303 Kāẓim 7, 824.

304 Lockhart 1938: 10–13; Minorsky 1934: 3–5; Perry, "Nādir Shāh Afshār." *E.I., 2* VII: 853.

NĀDIR SHĀH AND THE ABDĀLĪS

Given its proximity to his native region, Nādir chose Mashhad as logistical base from 1726 on. In the following years, the Afshār leader consistently enhanced the strategic weight of Mashhad by resettling tribes from other regions of Iran in its vicinity, a total of 56,000 families by late 1730.[305] In order to secure his Khurasanian possessions, Nādir conquered Qāyin and moved against the Abdālī Afghāns of Herat.

The Abdālīs had become a strong force around Herat by the late seventeenth century. The crumbling of Safavid authority in the early eighteenth century further strengthened their position. They evicted the last Safavid governor from Herat in 1717 and occupied a territory roughly corresponding to the Safavid province of Herat. At the same time, the rivalry between two sets of cousins brought about an internal division among the Abdālīs, in which ʿAbdullāh Khān Sadūzai and his sons Asadullāh II, Allāhyār and Muḥammad Khān Sadūzai were pitted against Zamān Khān Sadūzai and his son Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai.

Following the termination of Safavid rule over Qandahār in 1711, ʿAbdullāh Khān Sadūzai and his son Asadullāh assumed a leading position in the affairs of Herat. They became dangerous antagonists of the last two Safavid governors, ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Shāmlū and Jaʿfar Khān Ustājlū.[306] Marʿashī reports that ʿAbdullāh decided to move to the environs of Herat after assisting Gurgīn Khān's nephew Khusrau in his unsuccessful campaign against Mīr Vais at Qandahār in October 1711. The news of his arrival was greeted by the local Safavid governor with apprehension:

> ʿAbdullāh Khān and his son entered [the region of] Herat. As [ʿAbdullāh] belonged to the leading lineage of the tribe (*buzurgzāda-yi qaum*), all the Abdālī leaders (*sarkhēlān*) assembled around him. At that time, ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Shāmlū was entrusted with the government of Herat. This *khān* began to fear the great number of Abdālīs congregating around ʿAbdullāh Khān because he detected signs of rebellion and the desire to evict him in the demeanor of father and son. At any rate, the Abdālīs exceeded the Ghilzais in terms of number, troops assembled and fighting strength.[307]

In the light of subsequent events, ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Shāmlū's premonitions were certainly justified. But his attempt to remove ʿAbdullāh Khān Sadūzai and his son from the political arena proved to be of little avail. When father and son entered the city to pay their respects to the Safavid governor, he had them arrested. Shortly after, however, ʿAbbās Qulī Khān himself suffered imprisonment at the hands of rebellious Qizilbāsh leaders, who reported his "misbehavior" (*bad sulūkī*) to Iṣfahān and requested the appointment of a new governor to Herat. ʿAbdullāh Khān Sadūzai and his son used the turmoil to escape with the help of some kinsmen present in the city, and made their way to the Abdālī winter camp near the Dū Shākh mountain. With the assistence of the troops assembled there, ʿAbdullāh conquered Isfizār and gained further support among the Abdālīs of Bakvā and Farāh.[308] This allowed him to move against Herat. The Abdālī forces defeated the newly appointed Safavid governor of Herat, Jaʿfar Khān Ustājlū, outside of the city. Herat fell after a lengthy siege on 26 Ramażān 1129/3 September 1717, and was plundered by the Abdālīs.[309]

After conquering Herat, the Abdālīs routed two armies sent from Iṣfahān under the leadership of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Afshār and Ṣafī Qulī Khān Turkistān Ughlī.[310] Ṣafī Qulī Khān's defeat at Kāfir Qalʿa (present-day Islām Qalʿa) in particular left a lasting impression on the Iranian army. When the Afsharid troops prepared to fight the Abdālī Afghāns in the same region roughly a decade later, the entire area between Kāfir Qalʿa and Bād-i Ṣabā was still strewn with the pale bones of Iranian warriors which appeared like narcissus blooming

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305 Minorsky 1934: 9.

306 Kamal Khan 1999: 119–31; T Su 72, 98.

307 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 20. Vārid only mentions the arrival of "Saʿdullāh" (Asadullāh) Abdālī in Herat (Vārid, *Mirʾāt* 116–17).

308 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 20.

309 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 20–1; Kāẓim 20–22; T Su 98. See also Tumanovich 1989: 158.

310 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* places the campaigns conducted by Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Afshār and Ṣafī Qulī Khān Turkistān Ughlī in the years 1128/1715–16 and 1129/1716–17 respectively (*Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 21–8). According to *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, the battle between the Abdālīs and Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Afshār at Kūsūya took place before the battle of Dilārām in 1132/1719–20. The confrontation with Ṣafī Qulī Khān Turkistān Ughlī at Kāfir Qalʿa occurred roughly one year later (T Su 99–100). Kāẓim places both battles in the environs of Kāfir Qalʿa and reports that they took place in 1129/1716–17 and sometime between 1132–1134/1719–1722 (Kāẓim 22–3). See also Vārid, *Mirʾāt*, 117–18; Tumanovich 1989: 158–9.

in the steppe. The collective memory of the defeat suffered here, combined with the notion of the invincibility of the Abdālī Afghāns, discouraged the weakhearted among the Iranian soldiers and caused their complexion to change from ruddy (*arghavānī*) to sickly yellow (*zaʿfarānī*).[311]

Even prior to the last-ditch efforts at reasserting Safavid authority in Herat, the Abdālīs conquered all the former dependencies of this province, thus adhering to and invigorating existing conceptions of space: "Within a short time… they occupied Auba, Shāfilān, Kūsūya, Ghūriyān, Pūrīyān (?), Turbat-i Shaikh Jām, Langar, Khvāf, Bākharz, Zūzan, Maimand (Maivand) and Farāh, [that is, all the regions] to the border (*sarḥadd*) of Sīstān [in the south] and Bādghīs up to the vicinity of the Murghāb river in the north."[312]

The following events in the province of Herat were characterized by frictions with the Hūtak Ghilzais of Qandahār, the rivalry between two lineages of the Multānī Sadūzais for leadership among the Abdālīs, and Nādir's repeated efforts to establish authority between 1727 and 1732. The conflict between the Abdālīs and Hūtak Ghilzais focused on the possession of Farāh, which had fallen to the Abdālīs shortly after the conquest of Herat in September 1717.[313] Despite the fact that the Safavid administration had been eradicated in Qandahār in 1709 and in Herat in 1717, both the Hūtak Ghilzais and the Sadūzai Abdālīs sought to legitimize their quest for power by claiming to act on behalf of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain. Thus the campaign by Gurgīn Khān's nephew Khusrau Khān against Qandahār in 1711 provided ʿAbdullāh Khān Sadūzai with an opportunity to cause trouble for Mīr Vais Hūtak in Qandahār, in the name of the Safavids. Mīr Vais's son Maḥmūd Hūtak likewise kept up the pretence of representing Safavid interests despite the fact he had assumed the title of "Shāh" when he succeeded his paternal uncle ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khān Hūtak to the government of Qandahār in 1717. He portrayed the confrontation with Asadullāh Sadūzai over the possession of Farāh as part of his endeavor to defend the Safavid domain against the rebellious Abdālīs. In the ensuing battle at Dilārām in 1132/1719–20, Maḥmūd Hūtak's forces were unable to gain control over Farāh. Asadullāh Sadūzai's death in combat nevertheless provided the Hūtak leader with an opportunity to underline his loyalty to the Safavid government: He cut off Asadullāh's head and sent it to Iṣfahān.[314]

While the battle of Dilārām did not affect the scope of Abdālī power, it had an impact on the internal structure of the Abdālī leadership. Struck with grief for his deceased son, ʿAbdullāh Khān Sadūzai was no longer considered fit to command authority among his fellow tribesmen. His deposal was followed by a quick succession of leaders, among whom his son Allāhyār Khān Sadūzai, brought in from Multān in 1138/1725–26, played a central role. Allāhyār Khān Sadūzai's position was repeatedly challenged by his cousin Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai b. Zamān, the elder brother of the future Aḥmad Shāh. Dhū al-Faqār Khān enjoyed the support of his maternal uncle ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khān Alakūzai, whom Nādir was to appoint as leader of the Abdālīs subsequent to his conquest of Herat in 1732.[315] The ongoing rivalry among the leading Sadūzai clans occasioned a great amount of segmentation, with Mārūchāq, Farāh and Bākharz functioning as alternative seats of power. These events coincided with the last phase of Safavid rule in Mashhad, the subsequent reign of Malik Maḥmūd Sīstānī from spring 1723 to December 1726, and, finally, Nādir's assumption of power. Their internal rivalries and shifts of power nothwithstanding, the Abdālī leadership challenged Nādir's authority in Khurāsān and even reached for the citadel of Mashhad in 1135/1722–23 and 1143/1730. Nādir's first two efforts to occupy Herat in the summer of 1139–40/1727 and 1141/1729 hardly affected the local power structure. Only after a third and lengthy campaign lasting from Ramażān 1143 to Ramażān 1144/March 1731 to February 1732 was Nādir able to incorporate Herat into his administration. The sequence of events may be summed up as follows:

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311 Kāẓim 93–99.

312 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 21. See also Muḥsin 175; T Su 99.

313 T Su 98–9.

314 Muḥsin 169; *Jahāngushā-yi nādirī*, ed. ʿAbdullāh Anvār, Tehran 1341/1962: 11–12; *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 29; T Su 73, 99–100. Boukhary wrongly attributes the assassination of Asadullāh to Maḥmūd's brother Ḥusain, who held Qandahār from the late 1720s to 1738. According to his account, the efforts of the Hūtak leaders to ingratiate themselves with the Safavid court caused them to be derided as "dogs of the king of Iran". Thus a popular poem commented on Asadullāh's death in the following manner: *Asad-rā sag-i shāh-i Īrān darrīd* (Boukhary 11–12; Persian text 6–7).

315 T Su 100–1.

- In 1132/1719–20, Zamān Khān Sadūzai succeeded ʿAbdullāh Khān Sadūzai and imprisoned him. His tenure lasted for two years and five months.[316]
- In 1135/1722, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh Sadūzai gained the leadership of the Abdālīs. Around the time of the Hūtak conquest of Iṣfahān on 25 October 1722, Muḥammad set out for Mashhad and besieged the citadel for four months.[317]
- From 1136—1137/1723—1724/25, Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai b. Zamān held the chiefship until the Abdālīs sent him to Bākharz.
- In 1138/1725–26, the Abdālīs summoned Allāhyār b. ʿAbdullāh Sadūzai from Multān and offered the government of Herat to him. A six-month war with Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai (backed by ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khān Alakūzai) ensued. In order to defuse this conflict, the Abdālīs decided to appoint Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai to the government of Mārūchāq and Allāhyār Khān Sadūzai to the government of Farāh.[318]
- From 17 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1139—9 Ṣafar 1140/5 August 1727—26 September 1727, Nādir engaged in his first campaign against the Abdālīs of Herat. The approach of the Afsharid troops caused the Abdālīs to summon Allāhyār Khān Sadūzai to Herat and appoint Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai to the government of Farāh. Nādir occupied and destroyed the citadel of Sangān-i Khvāf. In a violent two-day battle during which "blood flowed in the battlefield like the Oxus, and hands and heads of the valiant fighters were scattered about as if in a butcher's shop," the Khurasanian troops defeated the Abdālī Afghāns and put them to flight.[319]
- From 4 Shavvāl—4 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1141/3 May—1 July 1729, Nādir undertook his second campaign to Herat in response to Abdālī raids on Turshīz and Qāyin. Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai sent reinforcements for Allāhyār Khān Sadūzai from Farāh. The Afsharid troops defeated the Abdālī Afghāns in two battles at Kāfir Qalʿa and Bād-i Ṣabā. Nādir advanced to Herat but contented himself with an indemnity of 12,000 *tūmān* because Ashraf Khān Hūtak's military pressure on Simnān required his immediate attention. Allāhyār Khān Sadūzai was reinstated as governor of Herat.[320]
- On 16 November 1729, Nādir conquered Iṣfahān from Ashraf Khān Hūtak.[321]
- On 3 Shavvāl 1142/21 April 1730, Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai assumed authority in Herat with the backing of an Abdālī faction in favor of an attack on Mashhad while Nādir was busy in western Iran. Allāhyār Khān Sadūzai was ousted, left for Mārūchāq, and subsequently joined Nādir's brother Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān in Mashhad.[322]
- On 13 Muḥarram 1143/29 July 1730, Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai defeated Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān before Mashhad and besieged the citadel for 31 days.[323]
- From 15 Ramażān 1143—1 Ramażān 1144/24 March 1731–27 February 1732, Nādir engaged in his third campaign to Herat and besieged the city from May 1731 on.[324] The Abdālīs received reinforcements from Qandahār under the command of Saidāl Khān Nāṣirī Ghilzai.[325]
- In Ṣafar 1144/August 1731, Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai gave up the governorship of Herat because Saidāl Khān had returned to Qandahār and Abdālī support dwindled in the hardships endured under Nādir's tightening siege. Herat and its environs found themselves enclosed like a "gem in a ring".[326] Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai and his younger brother Aḥmad moved to Farāh and Qandahār, where they were confined by Ḥusain b. Mīr Vais Hūtak until Nādir Shāh's conquest of Qandahār on 2 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1150/23 March 1738.[327]

316 T Su 100.
317 T Su 100.
318 T Su 101.
319 Kāẓim 81–7. See also *Durra-yi nādira* 197–202; T Su 101–2; Minorsky 1934: 5–6.
320 Muḥammad Mihdī Astarābādī, *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi nādirī,* ed. Anvār, 95; Kāẓim 93–101. See also T Su 102–6; Fraser 1742: 92–4; Lockhart 1938: 32–4; Minorsky 1934: 6.
321 Fraser 1742: 94–102; Lockhart 1938: 39–42. After his defeat, Ashraf Khān Hūtak tried to return to Qandahār but was attacked and killed by Balūch tribesmen en route.
322 Kāẓim 151–2.
323 Muḥammad Kāẓim Marvī reports that Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai left for Herat in Ṣafar 1143/August–September 1730 (Kāẓim 152–7). See also *Durra-yi nādirī* 730; TA 10; T Su 107; Lockhart 1938: 51; Minorsky 1934: 8.
324 Durrani 1981: 23; Lockhart 1938: 53.
325 Kāẓim 176; T Su 109–18.
326 Kāẓim 188. See also T Su 114.
327 Durrani 1981: 23; Lockhart 1938: 119–20.

- On 18 Ṣafar 1144/22 August 1731, Allāhyār Khān Sadūzai, who had sided with Nādir from the beginning of the campaign, assumed authority in Herat but closed the city gates on the Afsharid army. Nādir's troops seized Allāhyār Khān Sadūzai's stronghold of Mārūchāq.[328] Meanwhile in Herat, Allāhyār Khān Sadūzai withstood Nādir's siege until 1 Ramażān 1144/27 February 1732, when he obtained permission to return to Multān.[329] Farāh fell to the forces of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān. Nādir visited his new possessions on 19 Ramażān 1144/17 March 1732.[330]

NĀDIR SHĀH'S MODE OF GOVERNMENT AND ITS LOCAL EFFECTS

Between 1737 and 1740, Nādir Shāh expanded his domain to include the "countries of Iran, India and Balkh up to the banks of the river Oxus".[331] In this enterprise he relied on the assistance of his close relatives and brothers-in-arms. The most important players were Ṭahmāsp Khān Jalāyir, Nādir Shāh's brother Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, and his sons Riżā Qulī Mīrzā and Naṣrullāh Mīrzā I. Another important official was Pīr Muḥammad Khān Marvī, who was affiliated with the administration of Herat during the early Afsharid period.

Ṭahmāsp Khān Jalāyir "Vakīl al-Daula" was intimately linked with Nādir's rise to power, and his career more or less coincided with that of his Afshār master. Ṭahmāsp Khān joined Nādir's cause as early as 1137/1724–25 in response to Malik Maḥmūd Sīstānī's claims to kingship over Khurāsān. During the early phase of Nādir's career, he lent crucial support to his efforts at establishing control over northeastern Khurāsān and the Atek region, in particular the trade routes linking Mashhad with the area beyond the Kopet Dagh mountains.[332] On the night of 10–11 December 1726, Nādir gained entry to Mashhad with the help of Malik Maḥmūd's commander-in-chief Pīr Muḥammad Khān Marvī, to whom he awarded the government of Herat in 1732.[333] In September 1732, Nādir forced his Safavid protégé Ṭahmāsp II to abdicate in favor of his infant son, ʿAbbās III, and appointed Ṭahmāsp Khān Jalāyir as governor of Iṣfahān.[334] Up to his death in 1747, Ṭahmāsp Khān played a crucial role in all of Nādir's military campaigns. In 1150/1737, he accompanied Nādir Shāh's eldest son Riżā Qulī Mīrzā to Andkhūd and Balkh.[335] In February 1739, he assisted Nādir Shāh in the conquest of Delhi.[336] In the following year, he was assigned to the North Indian territories. Officially designated as "supreme commander of the revenues and warriors of all the countries of India", he was put in charge of the former Mughal province of Kābul up to the border (*sarḥadd*) of the province of Lahore and commanded 12,000 troops.[337] During a campaign to Sīstān in spring 1747, Ṭahmāsp Khān was poisoned by Nādir Shāh's rebellious nephew ʿAlī Qulī Khān Afshār b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm.[338]

From 1729 on, Nādir's brother Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān "Ẓahīr al-Daula" governed Mashhad.[339] Immediately after Nādir's coronation in March 1736, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed commander-in-chief (*sipahsālār va ṣāḥib-i ikhtiyār*) of Azerbaijan, which Kāẓim describes as the "gateway to Anatolia" (*dahana-yi mamālik-i Rūm*). On this occasion, Nādir ordered his second son Naṣrullāh Mīrzā I to accompany

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328 Lee 1996: 63.

329 *Durra-yi nādira* 288; Kāẓim 191–8; T Su 115–17. See also Elphinstone 1992 II: 280; Lockhart 1938: 53–4.

330 Minorsky 1934: 9.

331 *Mamālik-i Īrān va Hindūstān va umm al-bilād-i Balkh tā kināra-yi rūd-i Jaiḥūn* (Kāẓim 784).

332 Avery 1991: 19–23; Lockhart 1938: 22.

333 Kāẓim 66–7; Muḥsin 147. See also Avery 1991: 27; Lockhart 1938: 27.

334 *Durra-yi nādira* 734–5; Avery 1991: 31; Axworthy 2006: 122–4; Lockhart 1938: 61–2. Ṭahmāsp Khān's cousin Qāsim ʿAlī Khān Jalāyir served as governor at Nādir Shāh's stronghold in Kalāt (TA (Humāyūn) 79).

335 Avery 1991: 42; Axworthy 2006: 191–2; Lockhart 1938: 102, 163–7.

336 Vārid, *Nādirshāhī* 176, 187–8. See also Avery 1991: 40; Axworthy 2006: 198, 208; Lockhart 1938: 143–4, 146, 150.

337 Ṭahmāsp Khān's full title was *farmānravā va ṣāḥib-i ikhtiyār-i māliyāt va vujūhāt va ghāziyān-i kull-i mamālik-i Hindūstān* (Kāẓim 787). In 1742, Ṭahmāsp Khān was described as "commander of the realm [comprising] Kābul, Pishāvar, Jalālābād, and Multān up to the banks of the Indus" (*sardār-i mamlakat-i Kābul va Pīshāvar va Jalālābād va Multān ilā kināra-yi rūd-i Atek*) (Kāẓim 1018). See also Vārid, *Nādirshāhī* 187, 252–3; Gladwin 1788: 46–7; Avery 1991: 43.

338 Axworthy 2006: 276–7; Lockhart 1938: 260.

339 Kāẓim 108, 150–1, 169.

Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān with 12,000 cavalry.[340] Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān held this post until his defeat and death during a campaign against the Lazgīs in autumn 1738.[341]

Nādir's eldest son Riżā Qulī Mīrzā assumed a nearly equally important position in the affairs of state. In March 1736, immediately prior to his coronation, Nādir appointed him as governor (*vālī*) of Khurāsān and instructed him to engage in a military campaign against Andkhūd and Balkh.[342] Meanwhile, Nādir Shāh conquered Qandahār and Kābul in March and June 1738 respectively, and advanced on Jalālābād. Riżā Qulī Mīrzā joined him in his camp near Jalālābād in November of the same year. On this occasion, Nādir Shāh designated him as the viceroy of Iran (*nāʾib al-iyālagī-yi mamālik-i Īrān*).[343] Riżā Qulī Mīrzā thus occupied a position in northeast Iran which was analogous to that of his uncle Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān in the northwest, with the exception that he was not in charge of military matters, the command of which initially rested with Ṭahmāsp Khān Jalāyir.

As Nādir Shāh embarked on his campaign to Delhi, Riżā Qulī Mīrzā returned to Mashhad, where he warded off the threat of an invasion by the Khān of Khīva, Īlbārs Khān (r. 1140–1153/1728–1740), who had advanced as far as Abīvard.[344] On Nādir Shāh's return from northern India to Bādghīs in June 1740, Riżā Qulī Mīrzā was deprived of his post of viceroy and the command over his contingent of 12,000 splendidly accoutred troops. Nādir Shāh's decision to strip Riżā Qulī Mīrzā of all official functions was occasioned by his murder of Ṭahmāsp II in late 1739, and rumors that he had harbored separate claims to kingship during Nādir Shāh's prolonged absence in India. In his stead, Naṣrullāh Mīrzā I gained the position of viceroy.[345] In the autumn of 1742, Nādir Shāh had Riżā Qulī Mīrzā blinded amid suspicions that he had been involved in a failed attempt on his life in May 1741.[346]

There is relatively little information on the administration of Herat during the Afsharid period. After the conquest in 1732, Nādir appointed the aforementioned Pīr Muḥammad Khān as governor and placed the local Qizilbāsh leadership under his command.[347] In order to secure his access to Qandahār, Nādir Shāh dispatched Pīr Muḥammad Khān at the head of 12,000 soldiers against the Brāhūʾī leadership of Balūchistān in November 1736. Although this campaign was largely successful, false reports alleging an imminent rebellion by Pīr Muḥammad Khān caused Nādir Shāh to order his execution there in early 1738.[348] In 1741–42, Pīrān Khān is mentioned as the *bēglerbēgī* of Herat, and Muḥammad Qāsim Bēg Afshār was second in command. In an apparent attempt to evoke the Timurid legacy, Nādir Shāh formally assigned the province of Herat to his grandson Shāh Rukh Afshār b. Riżā Qulī Mīrzā and appointed Pīrān Khan as his viceregent (*nāʾib*).[349]

Afsharid rule had a decisive impact on the demographic composition of Herat and weakened the Abdālī hold over local affairs. Like other regions within Nādir's purview, Herat experienced a number of resettlements. Subsequent to Nādir's second campaign in 1729, the Persian-speaking population occupying the forts around Herat and the Jamshīdīs of Bādghīs were removed to Jām, Langar, and the surroundings of

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340 Kāẓim 458. See also Lockhart 1938: 104, 169.

341 Axworthy 2000: 194–5; Lockhart 1938: 172–3.

342 During Riżā Qūlī's absence, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān's eldest son ʿAlī Qulī was placed in command of the affairs of Mashhad (Kāẓim 483, 626; Lockhart 1938: 102, 163–7).

343 Kāẓim 571, 623–5. See also Avery 1991: 39.

344 *Durra-yi nādira* 750.

345 Kāẓim 785–6. See also Avery 1991: 42; Lockhart 1938: 169, 174–81.

346 Kāẓim 835; Axworthy 2006: 238–47; Lockhart 1938: 199, 207–9.

347 Kāẓim 171, 180, 189, 198. See also Vārid, *Mirʾāt* 196.

348 Kāẓim 515–16, 522–5; Lockhart 1938: 113, 117. For three edicts by Nādir Shāh concerning the affairs of Herat, see Navāʾī 1989: 456–7, 464–5, 469–71. According to British sources, Muḥammad Bābā Chāpushlū of Darra Gaz served as governor of Herat between 1736 and his death in 1737 (*Gaz. Iran* II 139). But this information is not borne out by the available Persian sources (Kāẓim 599; Lockhart 1938: 165)

349 In 1741–42, Muḥammad Qāsim Bēg Afshār acted as *vazīr* of Herat (Kāẓim 827–8, 835). In 1743, he is described as *nāʾib ishīk āqāsībāshī* and *nāʾib al-salṭana* of this province (Kāẓim 935).

Mashhad.[350] When Herat fell to the Afsharid forces in 1732, these groups were allowed to return. There is conflicting information on the local configurations of power during this period. Kāẓim reports that the Hazāra leader Mīr Khūshā Bēg was appointed *sulṭān* of the local Hazāra and Jamshīdī *ūymāq* and joined Nādir's service together with 3,000 Hazāra, Jamshīdī, Rāvatī (?) and Qipchāq troops.[351] Yet a later Jamshīdī account claims that the Jamshīdīs enjoyed a superior position in the affairs of Herat and that their principal leader Maḥmūd Khān was placed in charge of the *chahār ūymāq* of Herat during this time.[352]

A more incisive measure was the removal of the entire Abdālī population, that is, 60,000 families, to different parts of western Khurāsān.[353] Like the other groups of Khurāsān, the Abdālīs readily entered Nādir's service. From 1732 on, 12,000 Abdālī soldiers accompanied Nādir Shāh on all his military campaigns. ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khān Alakūzai was appointed as their supreme commander and rendered vital assistance in the military encounters of Baghdad in 1733, Dāghistān in 1734–35, Qandahār in 1737–1738, and Kashmīr in 1739.[354] Between 1741 and 1743, ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khān was once again active in western Iran and engaged in military campaigns to Shīrvān and Dāghistān.[355] From 1740 on, his son Ḥājjī Khān Alakūzai was in steady attendance on Nādir Shāh with 12,000 troops.[356] In 1744, Hanway estimated that there were as many as 50,000 Afghāns in Afsharid service.[357]

The composition of Nādir Shāh's army was commented on by a number of contemporaneous observers. ʿAbd al-Karīm Kashmīrī, who witnessed the campaign to Bukhārā and Khīva in 1740, noticed the preponderance of tribal contingents:

> In the periphery of Iran (*aṭrāf va javānib-i mamlakat-i Īrān*), there are an infinite number of *īlāt*.The army of Nādir Shāh was chiefly composed of *īlāt*, such as the Akrād, who comprise the Kurdish groups (*firqahā-yi kurd*), the Afshārs, the Jalāyirs, the Qarāchlūs, the Qarādāghlīs, the Shāmlūs, the Chamishgazaks, the Bakhtiyārīs, the Nakhʿīs (?), the Lūlūʾīs (?), and so forth. Most of them are in the desert (*barr u biyābānhā*). They depend on goats, sheep, horses, cows, camels, mules, and donkeys for their livelihood. Like the Arabs of the desert, these tribes dwell in black tents. It is their custom to stay wherever they find pasturages with good water and forage. After grazing [the pasture], they move on to another place that matches the same characteristics, pitch their tents and busy themselves with animal husbandry.[358]

While possibly giving inflated figures, Kāẓim's account of a royal review of troops in 1155/1742–43 conveys an impression of its regional components. The troops of Khurāsān numbered 65,000 men and included contingents of Afshār, Kurd, Bayāt, Qilīchī, Baghāyirī, ʿArab, Herati Shāmlū, Hazāra, Jamshīdī, Tāymanī, Abdālī, Ghilzai, Lazgī and Balūch troops.[359] The army raised in Iraq amounted to 45,000 men. The

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350 Muḥammad Mihdī Astarābādī, *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi nādirī,* ed. Anvār, 95. See also Semenov 1923: 166; T Su 105; Minorsky 1934: 6. Perry places this resettlement in the year 1728 and erroneously identifies the resettled groups as Abdālī (Perry 1975: 209, fn 22).

351 Kāẓim 198.

352 Semenov 1923: 166.

353 In a *fatḥnāma* sent to all provinces of Iran and a letter to Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān, the *bēglerbēgī* of Fārs, Nādir reported that he had ordered the majority of 60,000 Abdālī families to be scattered and sent to the "dominions of Khurāsān" (*mamālik-i Khurāsān*) as far as Khvār [Khār] and Shahriyār [near Tehran] (Navāʾī 1989: 198–9, 210–11; see also Malcolm 1811: 533–9). Lockhart places the Abdālīs around Mashhad, Nīshāpūr and Dāmghān (Lockhart 1938: 54). Aḥmad Shāh's chronicler Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī reports that the Abdālīs of Herat were settled in Nīshāpūr, while the Ghilzais were deported to Varāmīn, Khār and Tehran. The leadership was held hostage in Mashhad (TA (Humāyūn) 11; TA (Maulāʾī) 51. According to Minorsky, the Abdālīs were resettled in the large region between Abīvard and Simnān (Minorsky 1934: 9).

354 Kāẓim 293, 397, 486–8, 730; Lockhart 1938: 61, 114.

355 Kāẓim 837–41; Lockhart 1938: 185–6, 201, 211. After ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khān's death, the command of the Abdālī contingents passed to Nūr Muḥammad Khān ʿAlīzai (T Su 122; *Vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ* 34).

356 Kāẓim 765.

357 Hanway 1754: 171.

358 *Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 64. See also Gladwin 1788: 29–30.

359 Kāẓim enumerates the following Khurāsānī troops: the Afshār fighters (*ghāziyān*): the residents of Abīvard, Darra Jaz [Darra Gaz], Nasā, Durūn, Rāz, Qūshkhāna, Chahchaha, Mahana [Maihana], Pīsh Bulūk, the *dār al-ithbāt* of Kalāt; the soldiers of Mashhad, Marv, Sarakhs, Zūrābād, Darband, Muzdūrān; the Kurdish fighters of Khabūshān and Āla Dāgh; the Bayāt fighters of Nīshāpūr, the Qilīchīs , the Baghāyirīs; the residents of Sabzavār and Isfarāyin, Juvain, Kūmīsh [Kūh-i Mīsh]; the Arabs of

army of Fārs consisted of 50,000 men and another 60,000 men were furnished by the northwestern territories around Tabrīz. The region of Kirmānshāh and Hamadān supplied 25,000 men. The troops brought along from the various areas of Turkistān numbered 60,000 men, while the former Mughal provinces sent in 70,000 men.[360]

The Abdālīs profited in several ways from their association with Nādir Shāh. In the course of his sweeping campaigns, they became acquainted with the wider region and added to their cosmopolitan experience. This eventually allowed them to stake out their own realm in the eastern part of Nādir Shāh's dominion. Nādir Shāh also provided the Abdālīs with their future political center in Qandahār. The Afsharid leader used the conquest of this city in March 1738 to impose his own stamp on the region, located conveniently along the trade route to India. The old city was razed, and Nādir Shāh began the construction of a new one called "Nādirābād", four miles to the south.[361] Furthermore, he removed the local Ghilzai elite and apportioned their possessions to the Abdālīs, placing them in command over the western portion of the former Mughal province of Qandahār. ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khān Alakūzai was appointed to the government and supreme command over the regions of Qandahār, Zamīndāvar and Garmsīr. According to Kāẓim, ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khān Alakūzai controlled the fate of 200,000–300,000 families of Abdālīs, Ghilzais and other Afghāns.[362] A land settlement instituted by Nādir Shāh at the time allowed the greater group of Abdālī Afghāns to move from their exile in western Khurāsān to the Qandahār region.[363] The choice lands around the city were designated as service grants (*tuyūl*) and apportioned to the various Abdālī tribes in exchange for the supply of 6,000 cavalry. In addition, they received lands known as *khushkāba* (dependent on an uncertain supply of water) in the valleys of the Tarnak, Arghastān, Kadanai and Dūrī rivers. These lands were assessed at one-tenth of their produce and independent of military service.[364]

Impressions of Khurāsān in the Eighteenth Century

Aside from Astarābādī's *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi nādirī*, two important voices on the situation in Khurāsān during the Afsharid period are provided by ʿAbd al-Karīm and Muḥammad Kāẓim Marvī. These two authors view the space at stake from different angles. ʿAbd al-Karīm, a native of Kashmīr, joined the Iranian army in Delhi, accompanied it on its return to Qandahār and Herat, and witnessed the ensuing campaign to Turkistān. A foreigner to the region, he records immediate impressions concerning the economic situation of the towns along his itinerary, and his account bears witness to shifts in economic and political gravity. Kāẓim, who spent his childhood in Marv and Mashhad and joined Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān's service at the age of sixteen, by contrast, was intimately acquainted with the territory in question.[365] Yet, while he offers graphic and detailed accounts of the political events and military encounters, his description of the terrain around Herat at times assumes fantastic dimensions and tends to project a mythical and timeless Iranian space.

Bīchāra (?), Miyān Dasht, and Pasākūh; the Shāmlū soldiers of Herat, the Hazāras (*hazārajāt*), Jamshīdīs, Tāymanīs and all *ūymāq*; the Abdālī, Ghilzai and Lazgī [?] fighters of Farāh and Qandahār (Kāẓim 887).

360 Kāẓim 887–8.

361 The relative importance of Qandahār in Nādir Shāh's scheme is reflected by the fact that the artisans who accompanied him on his departure from Delhi in May 1739 were to be employed in the construction of Nādirābād for three years (Fraser 1742: 221).

362 In his account of the events in 1738, Kāẓim describes ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khān as in charge of the *ḥukūmat va farmānravāʾī-yi dār al-qarār-i Qandahār* (Kāẓim 552). In May 1740, he reportedly acted as *ḥākim-i ba al-infirād va ṣāḥib-i ikhtiyār-i divīst sīṣad hazār khānavār-i jamāʿat-i Abdālī va Qalījī [Ghilzai] va ghaira Afghāniyān* (Kāẓim 765). After ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khān's death, Nādir Shāh appointed Nūr Muḥammad Khān ʿAlīzai as the governor of Qandahār and as the chief of the Abdālī/Durrānī confederacy (*sardār-i īl-i jalīl-i Durrānī va ṣāḥib-i ikhtiyār-i mulk-i Qandahār*). Nūr Muḥammad Khān was executed in 1747 after an aborted rebellion against Aḥmad Shāh (TA (Humāyūn): 16–17, 22–25; TA (Maulāʾī) 57–58, 63–66). See also Singh 1981: 24, 81.

363 T Su 121.

364 Rawlinson 1871: 823–4. According to the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, it was ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khān who distributed the environs of Qandahār among his fellow tribesmen "in a brotherly fashion" (T Su 121).

365 Kāẓim 68, 152–7.

ʿAbd al-Karīm: The Centers of Afsharid Power

ʿAbd al-Karīm passed through Qandahār and Herat in May–June 1740, was present during the conquests of Bukhārā and Khīva in September and November of the same year, and visited Marv and Mashhad in early 1741. In his portrayal, the region around Herat was in the clutches of decline, and this state of degradation was highlighted by the abundant evidence of former greatness. It is perhaps not without irony that the incomparable taste of the local melons represents the only continuity between the present situation of the region and its more glorious past:

> [After leaving Qandahār, Nādir Shāh and his troops] forded the Arghandāb and crossed the Girishk river [Hilmand] by boat and on foot. Here, a small part of the wealth accumulated in India was lost in the water. By continuous marches, they reached the city of Farāh… Farāh itself is in ruins; but the adjacent country is delightful. On the 5th of Rabīʿ al-Avval [1153/31 May 1740], they arrived in Herat and made camp below the Gāzargāh. From Qandahār to Herat, most of the villages (*dīhāt*) and towns (*qaṣabajāt*) are utterly ruined. You will meet with some that resemble cities (*bilād*); but only at a distance of five to seven *farsakh* [20 to 28 miles]. To be fair, Herat was truly a fine city; but, because of the extreme oppression exercised by ill-fated governors, it is now in such a state of desolation that the [former] courtyards of the houses are used for agriculture. The other affairs are in a similar state. Even so, it is proverbial for its fine fruits. The melons (*kharbuza*) of Kārīz [near] Herat are inimitable in fragrance, sweetness, juiciness and fleshiness (*pur gushtī*). A good melon should have these characteristics. The former princes and wealthy men (*umarā va aghniyā-i salaf*) have built enormous, magnificently ornamented and lofty mosques and graves for the pious (*maqābir-i ṣulaḥā*). But the majority of these buildings are decaying because their walls and roofs have not been repaired and their attendants have been harassed. In the summer, there are strong gales of wind. Therefore, the wise men of the region have built windmills, which produce flour of higher quality and greater use than that of water mills. The windmills are like high buildings to the top of which wide sails (*bādgīr*) are attached. According to the wise men, the excessive wind is a blessing, as lack thereof would give rise to putrefaction, flies and gnats, cholera and plague.[366]

This poor state of affairs did not prevail all over Khurāsān. In the early 1740s, Mashhad was a bustling trade mart and clearly eclipsed Herat both in wealth and size. While no figures are available for Herat during this period, Mashhad was estimated to contain 60,000 houses.[367] In ʿAbd al-Karīm's opinion, the distinguishing features were the shrine of Imām Riżā embellished by Nādir[368] and the main boulevard or Khiyābān originally created by Shāh ʿAbbās I:[369]

> Mashhad is not without its curiosities. Contrary to other citadels, its walls are formed of triangular bastions. When a bastion is attacked, the men stationed in those on each side can assist in its defence. This is certainly an astonishing measure. The luminous grave and holy shrine of the Imam of both jinns and humans, Imām ʿAlī Mūsā Riżā, may God be satisfied with him, is in the center of the city. Its blessed dome is grand, lofty, and finely ornamented. The mosque, the other buildings and workshops are spacious and well contrived. The great market was formerly opposite the luminous shrine, but is now within the enclosure, and

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366 *Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 59–60. See also Gladwin 1788: 24–5; Alam & Subrahmanyam 2007: 264.

367 Malcolm 1829 II: 218n; Lockhart 1938: 197.

368 Kāẓim reports that Nādir embarked on major works subsequent to the conquest of Herat in 1732, in compliance with a vow he had made at the onset of this campaign. His repairs of the shrine followed upon acts of plunder committed by the two Safavid generals sent against the Abdālī Afghāns in Herat between 1715 and 1722 (see footnote 310). Both Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān and Ṣafī Qulī Khān Turkistān Ughlī had declared their campaigns as a *jihād* and deprived the shrine of its gold and silver chandeliers, candlesticks, aloe wood censers (*ʿūd sūzhā*), and chafing dishes (*manqal*), melted them down and minted them so as to pay their troops (*Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 26–7). In 1732, Nādir embellished the southern porch (*īvān*) in the courtyard originally endowed by ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī by panelling it with white marble and covering the walls with tiles cased in gold (*Glory of the Shia World*: 244–5). This *īvān* was henceforth called "The Golden Porch of Nādir" (*īvān-i ṭalā-yi nādirī*) (MSh II: 129). Furthermore, Nādir replaced the existing reservoir (*ḥauż*) with a new one brought along from Herat, erected a pavilion with a gilded roof, and secured its water supply by means of a canal. In Kāẓim's view, it was at this time that Nādir decided to add a second gilded minaret which was referred to as *guldasta-yi nādirī* (Kāẓim 201–3). The reservoir installed by Nādir later became known as 'Fountain of Nādir' (*saqqā khāna-yi ṭalā-yi nādirī*) (MSh II: 129). In the late nineteenth century, the Iranian pilgrim Nūrullāh b. Muḥammad Ḥusain Iṣfahānī reported that it "is formed from a single block of white marble decorated with exquisitely chiselled flowers; it is octagonal in shape, three feet in height, and eighteen feet in circumference. The top is hollowed out, and copper cups are suspended for drinkers; above is a gilded cover (*Glory of the Shia World* 247)." Lockhart dates the first round of improvements undertaken by Nādir Shāh between 1726 and 1730 (Lockhart 1938: 27. See also Ferrier 1857: 125). In January 1741, Nādir Shāh endowed the shrine with a jeweled lock, embroidered curtains, fourteen chandeliers of pure gold, and silk carpets (Kāẓim 826–7). See also Lockhart 1938: 197.

369 Streck, "Mashhad," *E.I., 2* VI: 713–16.

has two large gates. The market on the west, where the royal palace is situated, is called *Khiyābān-i Bālā*, and the road through the eastern market is called the *Khiyābān-i Pāʾīn*. As a water canal runs along the street through the great market, it also passes through the enclosure of the holy shrine. The luminous shrine of this great leader and protector of religion is surrounded by three screens… The story told in many countries that the dome is constructed of gold bricks is without foundation. The [seemingly] golden bricks consist of gilt copper *tangas* which have been affixed to the dome… Nādir Shāh has repaired many of the old buildings, and built some new ones.[370]

The third important element in the layout of the city was the mausoleum Nādir Shāh erected for himself in the Khiyābān-i Bālā.[371] ʿAbd al-Karīm reports that, immediately after the completion of the building, a witty person adorned one of its walls with a poem lamenting the empty state of the grave:

There is not a song without your tune,
The world is full of you, but your [own] place is empty.

At first, those who read it had a good laugh, but then [perceiving the force of the satire] they feared that, if it came to the ears of the Shāh, he would have many people killed; and therefore effaced it quickly.[372]

As part of his effort to project his native region as the new center of empire, Nādir Shāh constructed a second magnificent mausoleum at the mountain stronghold of Kalāt. Located between Darra Gaz and Sarakhs, this inaccessible valley had fired the imagination of earlier conquerors as well.[373] ʿAbd al-Karīm reports that the Afsharid leader used the fort he had constructed there to store some of the riches he had accumulated in India, Turkistān, and Khurāsān:

Kalāt is a town surrounded by high mountains. [It appears] like a fortress, the outer walls of which skillful masons have constructed with the help of God in such a manner that not even birds, let alone animals or human beings can set foot on them. On the road to Marv a large gate has been erected, and reliable guardians have been assigned to monitor the comings and goings of good and bad people, day and night. Like the citadel, the valley outside this gate is one of the wonders of the time. The high mountains on both sides meet at the top in a way most puzzling to the onlooker. The horsemen have to move cautiously and in a single line through this valley:

[The mountains] obscure the circle of the sun,
The path is so narrow that an ant will lose its skin.[374]

…The canal feeding the settlement follows the same route, entering [the town] along the road from Mashhad and leaving it through the valley leading to Marv… In this strong fortress, [Nādir Shāh] deposited the treasury and jewelry which he did not need immediately, and set out for holy Mashhad by way of Maulūdgāh.[375]

Situated between Kalāt and Abīvard, "Maulūdgāh" enjoyed prominence as Nādir Shāh's birthplace, and witnessed considerable building activities as long as his reign lasted. Formerly an insignificant village, the spot now served to commemorate and glorify the beginnings of Afsharid rule and thus represented a counterpart to the mausolea in Kalāt and Mashhad. There, Nādir erected a mosque but, noting the stark contrast between his humble beginnings and the richly ornamented building, refrained from inscribing his date of birth on it:

On the spot were [Nādir Shāh] was born a magnificent dome (*gunbad*) has been erected, on which three golden vessels (*kūza*) are placed on top of each other, as is usual. Above the vessels, he affixed a golden sword, implying that the sword issued from there. When the vessels and the golden sword were completed, [Ḥasan ʿAlī Bēg Bisṭāmī] Muʿayyir al-Mamālik[376] hesitated whether to inscribe the date of [Nādir Shāh's] birth or the present date. Finally he addressed the question to the fortunate son (*maulūd*) [of the village] himself. The *sulṭān* smiled and said, 'Oh Muʿayyir! At the time of my birth, there was not so much gold in Abīvard

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370 *Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 97–8. See also Gladwin 1788: 74–5; Alam & Subrahmanyam 2007: 269–71.

371 According to Kāẓim, the mausoleum, built of "bricks and plaster" (*khisht va gach*) was completed in 1145/1732–33 (Kāẓim 204).

372 *Dar hīch parda nīst nabāshad navā-yi tū, ʿālam pur ast az tu vu khālīst jā-yi tū* (*Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 100–101). My translation closely follows Gladwin 1788: 75–6.

373 For a description of Kalāt during Muḥammad Khān Shībānī's conquest in 1509, see Ott 1974: 266–7.

374 *Natābīda-and rūy az charkh-i hūr, zi tangī-yi rah-ash pūst kanda zi mūr*.

375 *Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 94–5 (Gladwin 1788: 70–1). See also Kāẓim 824, 826–7.

376 Ḥasan ʿAlī Bēg Bisṭāmī, who held the title of "chief assayer", was one of Nādir Shāh's close associates (Ernest Tucker, "Ḥasan ʿAlī Bēg Besṭāmī," *E.Ir.*).

and Kalāt together, what then must have been the state of my family? Why don't you write the present date, which is closest to truth and honesty?'[377]

In this location, Nādir Shāh built a city on the same plan as Shāh Jahānābād (Delhi) but a quarter of its size. It later came to be known as Khīvaqābād, reflecting the fact that it was peopled with seven thousand prisoners taken in Khīva.[378]

Kāẓim Marvī: Herat and Its Periphery

While Kāẓim Marvī briefly mentions the newly constructed town of Maulūdgāh/Khīvaqābād,[379] he devotes more detailed descriptions to the outlying districts of the Herat province, in particular Mārūchāq and Gharjistān. His account of these regions projects a wild and open space endowed with a magical quality. In connection with Nādir's attempt to repopulate Bādghīs in 1145/1732–33, Kāẓim describes not only the devastation wreaked by wild boars (*gurāz*) but also, in an obvious pun on Mārūchāq, the terror inspired by a man-devouring snake (*mār-i chāq*). He reports that in order to secure the "gateway of Balkh" (*dahana-yi Balkh*), Nādir ordered tax officials to assemble the former inhabitants of Mārūchāq scattered among the local tribes and around Herat, Jām, Khvāf and Bākharz, and to resettle them in their original homeland. Nādir's officials duly collected 1,500 families from the region among the *ūymāqāt* of Herat and moved them to the fort of Mārūchāq. Another group dispersed in the region of Sarakhs and Zūrābād was induced to proceed to Panjdih. In addition, agriculturists (*zāriʿīn*) and 500 pairs of oxen were sent from Herat to cultivate Mārūchāq and its surroundings. The efforts to develop the region were stifled by an abundance of wild boars which imposed a literal state of siege on the local colony: The settlers could only venture out of the fort of Mārūchāq to collect firewood if protected by an armed escort.

In Kāẓim's view, this state of affairs called for the exertion of a true Iranian hero. When Nādir's first choice, Ismāʿīl I Khuzaima, procrastinated, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān Sīstānī of ancient Kayanid descent stepped forward and volunteered to free the Muslims of Mārūchāq from the onslaught of these wild animals. Nādir's reaction was enthusiastic: "Verily you are made of the same dust (*khāk*) as the legendary Rustam and Sām, and are a worthy recipient of Bīzhan's heritage." The allusion to Bīzhan's epic boar hunt and the resulting romance with Manīzha allows Kāẓim to elevate the events at Mārūchāq to the same plane as the exploits detailed in the *Shāhnāma*. Fitting this scheme, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān Sīstānī fully lives up to the precedents set by his mythical ancestors: Mounting wind-like steeds and wielding rock-shattering clubs, he and his men eradicate all wild boars haunting the region within a month. Luṭf ʿAlī Khān Sīstānī then proceedes to annihilate the man-devouring snake hiding in the vicinity: Parrying its initial charge, he effortlessly chops it in two like a fresh cucumber.[380] After the successful conclusion of this momentous task, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān Sīstānī descends into the real world, and rejoins Nādir in Mashhad, to gain the appointment to the government of Sīstān as a reward for his services.[381]

In his account of Nādir Shāh's confrontation with the Tāymanī leader Dilāvar Khān, Kāẓim transports the reader into the mountain fastnesses of Gharjistān and once again invents a mythical yet deeply Iranian space.

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377 *Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 95–6. See also Gladwin 1788: 71–2.

378 *Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 89, 96. See also Gladwin 1788: 64, 72; Lockhart 1938: 194–6, 277.

379 Kāẓim refers to Maulūdgāh as *maulūdkhāna-yi nādirī* (Kāẓim 16, 824–5).

380 In a different context, Faẓlullāh Shīrāzī also uses the image of slicing cucumbers to underline the superior military skills of the protagonist (*Dhū al-qarnain* 446).

381 Kāẓim 204–5. Kāẓim turns the order of events around to suit the purposes of his anecdote. In fact, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān already held the government of Sīstān when he set out for Mārūchāq in 1732. The efforts to repopulate Mārūchāq seem to have continued after Luṭf ʿAlī Khān's activities there. In 1734, Nādir ordered part of the population of Garmsīrāt to be resettled in Mārūchāq (Kāẓim 356). ʿAbd al-Karīm also reports that the woods around Mārūchāq abounded with wild beasts. When Nādir Shāh's army encamped there on its way to Turkistān, Ṭahmāsp Khān Jalāyir was attacked by a wild boar. Alluding to the short and stout stature of his general, Nādir Shāh jokingly referred to the aggressive boar as Ṭahmāsp Khān's little brother: *Barādar-i kūchik nisbat ba-barādar-i buzurg shūkhī balki bī-adabī karda-ast* (*Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 65–6; Gladwin 1788: 30–1; see also Lockhart 1938: 274).

Dilāvar Khān Tāymanī is first mentioned in connection with Nādir's efforts to summon the support of the *ūymāqāt* of the region for his third campaign against Herat. While all tribal representatives readily professed their allegiance to the Afsharid leader, Dilāvar Khān, who represented a greater group than the other tribes combined, remained aloof and ignored his letters. Fearing that Dilāvar Khān might side with the Abdālīs, Nādir decided to woo him by sending him a royal robe of honor, a jeweled dagger, an accoutred horse and a letter full of compassion (*raqam-i marḥamat-āmīz*). This lavish show of benevolence indeed induced the Tāymanī chief to submit along with all local leaders and elders.[382] After the conquest of Herat in February 1732, Nādir ordered Dilāvar Khān to furnish 2,000 royal attendants (*mulāzim-i dīvānī*).[383]

The loyalty enforced from the Tāymanī leader apparently dissolved soon after. By 1147/1734–35, Nādir dispatched Ṭahmāsp Khān Jalāyir and 4,000 Kūhgīlū troops on a punitive expedition against the Tāymanīs, who had "turned away from the path of obedience". At Herat, Ṭahmāsp Khān received a reinforcement of 7,000 Khurāsāni soldiers and was joined by the local Hazāra, Jamshīdī and Qipchāq leadership. Meanwhile, Dilāvar Khān sent his fellow tribesmen (*īlāt va aḥshāmāt-i khud*) into the inaccessible heartlands of Gharjistān, while he and a number of foot soldiers and riflemen took control of the strategic points of passage. Upon their arrival in Gharjistān, the Afsharid troops stumbled around in the valleys and mountains for ten days without finding a trace of the Tāymanī leader. Finally, Ṭahmāsp Khān Jalāyir was informed by his vanguard that they had detected a group of men reciting the quatrains of ʿUmar Khayyām on the pinnacle of a formidable mountain.

Ṭahmāsp Khān's efforts to displace Dilāvar Khān from these heights were to no avail. Most of the Bakhtiyārī riflemen sent up to the mountains were picked off by Tāymanī fire and toppled down the precipice like rocks and clods of earth. Subsequently, Dilāvar Khān and his men withdrew to an even more forbidding snow-encrusted mountain high enough to touch the Milky Way. In the ensuing battle, 10,000–12,000 Qizilbāsh were killed. Yet eventually, the Abdālī troops and a contingent from Marv were able to displace Dilāvar Khān and to pursue him further into the wilderness. After a month of continuous altercations, the Tāymanī leader went to Qandahār to solicit the aid of the local ruler, Ḥusain b. Mīr Vais Hūtak. Reinforced by 12,000 Qandahārī troops under the command of Saidāl Khān, Dilāvar Khān dared to engage in a confrontation with Ṭahmāsp Khān Jalāyir in the open field. In combat, the blood of the valiant fighters was shed so copiously that the battlefield turned crimson like the blossoms of tulips and the *arghavān* tree, and even the bloodthirsty planet Mars applauded in the indigo sky. In the end, the Qizilbāsh troops prevailed and forced Saidāl Khān to return to Qandahār. Dilāvar Khān first sought shelter in the firm mountains of Gharjistān but then fled to Bangash in the Mughal province of Kābul. His sons Shīrīn Bēg and Āqā Mīrzā joined Nādir's service and formed part of his retinue during the failed attempt on the king's life in May 1741, in which one of Dilāvar Khān's former servants was implicated.[384]

Kāẓim Marvī's account of the events in Gharjistān conveys the difficulties the Iranian army contended with in a terrain characterized by maze of mountain ridges surpassing one another in elevation and inaccessibility. The confusion and bewilderment of the Qizilbāsh troops in this alien environment is contrasted with the effortless and swift movements of the mountain dwellers, who were at ease to spend their time reciting classical Persian poetry on the mountain tops while the Iranian troops stumbled around below. The allusion to ʿUmar Khayyām's quatrains again allows Kāẓim to invent a space impenetrable and yet deeply embedded in the Iranian experience. In the attempt to explain the adeptness of the Tāymanīs in negotiating the terrain, Kāẓim enters a more fantastic realm:

> They ride on donkey-like animals whose shoes are made from deer antlers. As soon as they are mounted and given the spur, these beasts start up swift as the cold wind (*bād-i ṣarṣar*), a panther or a dragon and descend from the top of the mountain to the bottom within a minute or so. There their riders dismount, fire two or three shots, remount, and fly back to the top of that

[382] Kāẓim 185. Kāẓim identifies Nādir Shāh's emissary as Muḥammad Riżā Bēg Jilaudārbāshī. According to other accounts, Nādir Shāh sent his general Jaʿfar Qulī against Dilāvar Khān Tāymanī. Dilāvar Khān initially defeated Jaʿfar Qulī and took him prisoner but eventually agreed to submit to Nādir Shāh (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 398).

[383] Kāẓim 198.

[384] Kāẓim 436–40, 835, 1020.

mountain like the golden-winged bird of the sun with a celerity that is beyond human comprehension. While neither fast infantry crawling on all fours nor Syrian, Iraqi and Arabian horses are able to ascend these heights at all, the native mounts negotiate the environment with great agility and nimbleness. But as soon as they leave the mountains they are indistinguishable from [regular] donkeys and are no different in their behavior or the burdens they carry.[385]

CONCLUSION

The events around Herat immediately before und during the Afsharid period point to the stability of regional concepts of space. By occupying the regions of Bākharz, Turbat-i Shaikh Jām, Ghūriyān, Bādghīs, Mārūchāq and Farāh, the Abdālīs followed a firmly established notion of the extent of the Herat province and its vital components. On a larger scale, however, Nādir Shāh's policies pointed to a profound reshuffling of territorial configurations. Designating Mashhad and, by extension, Khurāsān as political center, Nādir Shāh not only departed from the recent Safavid order of things; he also challenged a more deeply rooted concept of Iran and its internal force fields, which dated back to the thirteenth century. Aside from reviving the idea of Iran as a political and territorial unit, the Ilkhanids (1256–1335) had chosen Tabrīz as its constitutive element.[386] Tabrīz also served as the seat of government for the following dynasties of the Jalayirids (ca.. 1330–1380), the Qarā Quyūnlūs (1380–1469) and Āq Quyūnlūs (1396–1508), and may therefore be described as Iran's most stable capital in pre-modern times. In the late fifteenth century, it was considered to be one of the four "thrones"of the Islamic world, along with the Mamlūk capital Cairo, the Ottoman capital Istanbul and the Timurid capital Herat.[387] Nādir Shāh's endeavor to create a new center of gravity in Khurāsān thus signaled a decisive break with the past.

Nādir Shah's military campaigns were characterized by an "eastward pull" that also became a central element in the Durrānī effort at state building. According to Kāẓim's portrayal, Nādir Shāh's decision to invade India took shape after the conquest of Qandahār, which, "in this era, represents the limit of Khurāsān and the beginning of the region of Hindūstān".[388] Citing the unruliness of the Afghāns of Kābul and Ghaznī and the "indolence" and "negligence" of the Mughal court in responding to his diplomatic missions, Nādir Shāh resolved to attack the Mughal domain. In a speech addressing his military leaders, he made it known that his endeavor to enforce obedience among rebels and idolaters placed him on an equal footing with Alexander and Amīr Tīmūr.[389]

It may indeed be argued that Nādir Shāh's thrust towards India was inspired by historical precedents. The progression of campaigns and the course of action adopted may well have been modeled on Tīmūr. Kāẓim Marvī reports that the Afsharid leader repeatedly claimed Tīmūr's legacy. Thus he was said to have obtained the financial wherewithal and the inspiration for his early career from Tīmūr himself, who had deposited a vast treasure of gold coins for him in a cave near Kalāt, along with a message engraved on a white slab of stone advising him to engage in similarly sweeping conquests.[390] Nādir Shāh's decision to destroy Delhi and to spare Bukhārā would seem to fit the historical precedent set by Tīmūr. After obtaining the submission of the Bukharan ruler Abū al-Faiż Khān (d. 1160/1747) in the summer of 1740, he refrained from occupying the city and contented himself with large-scale requisitions in grain, fodder and soldiers. While *sikka* and *khuṭba* were performed in his name, he subsequently entrusted Abū al-Faiż Khān with the government of Transoxiana (*mamālik-i Mā varāʾ al-nahr*). On the symbolic level, Nādir Shāh's supremacy was underlined by the gifts he received from the Tuqai-Timurid *khān*: the sword (*shamshīr*) and breastplate (*chahārāyina*) of

385 Kāẓim 438.
386 Fragner 2006: 72–5.
387 Ḥusain Abīvardī Faiżī, "Chār takht," ed. Īraj Afshār, *Farhang-i Īranzamīn* 15 (1347/1968).
388 *…ki dar īn ʿahd u zamān intihā-yi mamālik-i Khurāsān va ibtidā-yi iqlīm-i Hindūstān ast* (Kāẓim 552).
389 *Iskandar-i Dhū al-Qarnain va Amīr Tīmūr-i Gūrkān hīch yak az navvāb-i humāyūn-i mā afżaltar va bihtar nabūdand ki jamīʿ-i mamālik-i maḥrūsa-rā ba-ḥauza-yi taṣarruf-i khud darāvardand* (Kāẓim 553). For further examples of the comparison between Alexander, Amīr Tīmūr and Nādir Shāh, see also Kāẓim 556, 558.
390 Kāẓim 14–16.

Tīmūr, as well as the helmet (*mighfar*) and coat of mail (*zira*) of Chingiz Khān.[391] To make his victory complete, Nādir Shāh ordered Tīmūr's tombstone and the bronze gates of the *madrasa* of Samarqand to be removed to Mashhad. However, he subsequently changed his mind and returned these trophies to their original location.[392]

As narrated by Kāẓim Marvī, the history of Nādir Shāh combines two fateful strands. On the one hand, the career of the Afsharid leader seems to unfold effortlessly and to follow a certain logic. Nādir Shāh fulfills his destiny as a great conqueror by following in Tīmūr's footsteps. On the other hand, the dramaturgy of Marvī's account rests on the projection of impending doom. Halfway through his chronicle of Nādir Shāh's exploits, Kāẓim hints at the possibility that the recently accumulated power may be ephemeral. Recounting the precautions Nādir Shāh took to secure his camp on one of the first stages of his campaign to Transoxiana in June 1740, Kāẓim conveys a deep sense of threat:

> On our departure from the Chahārbāgh of Chaman-i Bīd, which is located two or three stages away from Herat, I noticed a fort that had been erected around [the camp of] the victorious troops on the previous evening. It was five yards high and had many towers, ramparts and sturdy gates. I posed the following question to one of the trusted servants of the lofty court: 'The countries of Iran, Hindūstān and Balkh, the Mother of Cities, [that is, all the territories] up to the Oxus have been incorporated into Nādir Shāh's realm, what then is the reason for erecting such massive fortifications around the army and placing guards on the banks of the Murghāb river?' He answered, 'Whenever [Nādir Shāh] moves into hostile regions (*vilāyat-i mukhālif*)… he does not show any apprehension. [But] as soon as he enters his own realm (*vilāyat-i khud*) he devotes much more attention to military questions and employs greater caution than in hostile regions, for internal enemies are more dangerous than external ones.[393]

As Kāẓim completed his work in 1166/1752–53, his alleged premonitions concerning the fragile internal balance of Nādir Shāh's kingdom gained additional meaning in the light of the cataclysmic end of the Afsharid Empire, which collapsed with the death of its founder in 1747. A powerful image of the disintegration which befell the Afsharid realm is furnished by the fate of the royal tent Nādir had made up in Herat while he was away campaigning in Turkistān. After lavishing a detailed description on its enormous size and its many-faceted and precious ornamentation, ʿAbd al-Karīm tersely remarks that this unique emblem of the extensive Afsharid domain did not survive its creator. Pressed for money, Nādir Shāh's successors, his nephew ʿAlī Qulī Afshār b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān "ʿĀdil Shāh" and his grandson Shāh Rukh Afshār, cut up the priceless cloth to secure their immediate political survival.[394]

In the long run, however, Nādir Shāh's sweeping conquests had profound implications for the wider region, as they obliterated the old balance of power between the Safavids and Chingizids of Central Asia and India. The military machinery he created in the course of his ceaseless campaigns gave rise to new elites, such as the Manghīts of Bukhārā and the Abdālīs of Herat. The incorporation of the local leadership into Nādir Shāh's army had far-reaching consequences. In the case of the Pashtūns, one effect was their wide dispersion as military actors. By assimilating them in his military establishment, Nādir Shāh enlarged their regional orientation and introduced them to Iranian administrative techniques and court culture. This development is exemplified by Āzād Khān Ghilzai, who joined Nādir Shāh after the conquest of Kābul in 1738 and rose to rank of Second in Command of Azerbaijan. After Nādir Shāh's death, Āzād Khān Ghilzai carved out a realm for himself in Tabrīz and Urmīya, which lasted until 1757.[395] Under Nādir Shāh's auspices, the Abdālī Pashtūns likewise widened their regional horizon to include western Khurāsān. For all their avowed respect for Nādir Shāh's descendants, they considered Mashhad an integral part of their realm. Another important factor in creating the new framework of action were Nādir Shāh's schemes of

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391 Kāẓim 794, 796.

392 Gladwin 1788: 44–5, 74; Lockhart 1938: 188–9, 198.

393 Kāẓim 784. See also Lockhart 1938: 186–7.

394 *Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 60–3. See also Gladwin 1788: 26–8. According to Kāẓim Marvī, the first version of this tent, presented to Nādir Shāh at the time of his arrival in Herat in May 1740, was 25 yards (*dharʿ*) high, twelve yards wide and 200 yards long. It had 14 supporting beams (*dīrak*) and 440 half-beams (*nīm dīrak*). It was fastened to the ground with 14,000 pegs (*mīkh*). The jeweled domes on top of each beam were two and a half yards high. 4,000 workers as well as 4,000 assistants were required to pitch it (Kāẓim 777).

395 Perry 1979: 48–50, 58, 61, 64, 66–78, 82–3; Perry, "Āzād Khān," *E.Ir.* III: 173–4.

resettlement and land grants. While his attempts to people the region of Mashhad proved short-lived, the service grants he awarded to the Abdālī Pashtūns in Qandahār served as a stepping stone for the subsequent creation of the Sadūzai Empire.

3. Herat as an Afghan Dominion

On the night of 10–11 Jumādā II 1160/19–20 June 1747, Nādir Shāh met a violent death at the hands of a group of Persian, Afshār and Qājār officers in Fatḥābād near Khabūshān. This assassination occurred against the backdrop of political and military disintegration. Caught in a vicious circle of rebellion and retaliation, Nādir Shāh had employed increasingly cruel means to raise funds and command obedience. Apart from his exorbitant tax demands, his general distrust and ferocious manner towards his subjects indicated that his mind was unravelling along with his bid at state building. The spiral of violence was halted by the mutiny of Fatḥābād. The participating officers decided to move against Nādir Shāh to forestall their impending arrest and execution at the hands of his Afghān guards under the leadership of Aḥmad Khān Sadūzai Abdālī.[1] Immediately after Nādir Shāh's death his camp was reduced to tumult: The Qizilbāsh troops plundered the royal arsenal; others denuded each other of their possessions; the various army contingents mounted the "steed of disobedience" and took off to their respective homelands. By the fourth hour of the next morning not a trace was left of Nādir Shāh's royal camp.[2]

Nādir Shāh's military campaigns had covered a vast territory extending from the Caucasus and Ottoman Mesopotamia in the west to the remains of the Mughal Empire in the east. After his death, this immense space was claimed by a number of emergent dynasties. Bereft of their former patron, the Afghān troops departed for Qandahār, where Nādir Shāh had assigned liberal service grants to them. Here they elected Aḥmad Khān Sadūzai as their leader and crowned him shortly afterwards.[3] Qandahār thus became the heartland of the nascent Durrānī Empire, while Khurāsān turned into an embattled zone. Further to the west, Karīm Khān Zand (r. 1751–1779) established himself in Shīrāz and gained control over the area between the Caspian coast and Azerbaijan in the north and Kirmān and Lār in the south.[4]

Aḥmad Shāh Sadūzai (r. 1747–1772) claimed Nādir Shāh's legacy by adopting the Iranian system of administration and delineating the territory of his kingdom along precedents set in the Afsharid era. Lasting until the turn of the nineteenth century, the Sadūzai empire proved to be of greater stability than the realm opened up by Nādir Shāh's decade-long fervent military activity. Until his natural death in 1772, Aḥmad Shāh maintained his authority by successfully channelling the material demands of his fellow tribesmen into an ongoing endeavor at territorial expansion.

Most of Aḥmad Shāh's military campaigns were directed against northern India, and his territorial gains there provided him with the bulk of his revenues. Parallel to the British occupation of Bengal, the Sadūzai ruler conquered Delhi on 8 Jumādā I 1170/29 January 1757. The following territorial concessions on the part of the Mughal ruler even exceeded those gained by Nādir Shāh. After his victory at Karnāl on 15 Dhū al-Qaʿda 1151/24 February 1739, Nādir Shāh had established control over the territories west of the Indus as well as the province of Sind in exchange for reinstating Muḥammad Shāh Mughal (r. 1719–1748) as king of India.[5] Following this precedent, Aḥmad Shāh entered a contract with ʿĀlamgīr II (r. 1754–1759) on 17 Jumādā I 1170/7 February 1757, whereby he gained possession of Sirhind, Lahore, Multān, and Kashmīr, in addition to the lands previously ceded to Nādir Shāh.[6]

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[1] Aḥmad Khān Sadūzai was Nādir Shāh's personal attendant (*yasāvul-i ḥużūr-i nādirī*) at that time (*Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 21). ʿAlī Qulī Mīrzā Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana depicts him as Nādir Shāh's deputy chamberlain (*nāʾib īshīk āqāsī bāshī*) or *yasāvul-i suḥbat* (*Vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ* 31). Sulṭān Muḥammad merely describes him as a *yasāvul* (T Su 122).

[2] *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 19–21. See also Lockhart 1938: 257–63.

[3] Singh is of the opinion that Aḥmad Shāh assumed kingship as early as July 1747 (Singh 1981: 31). According to the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, Aḥmad Shāh was crowned in 1161/1748 (T Su 124).

[4] Perry, "Zand," *E.I., 2* XI: 443–4.

[5] Fraser 1742: 223–6; Jones 1771 I: 461–2, II: 31; Kāẓim 752. See also Dasti 1998: 189–90; Perry, "Nādir Shāh Afshār," *E.I., 2* VII: 854.

[6] TA (Humāyūn): 269–71; TA (Maulāʾī): 327; Mann 1898: 349.

Considering the Oxus as the northern border of his dominions, Aḥmad Shāh in essence adhered to the treaty Nādir Shāh had imposed on the Bukharan ruler Abū al-Faiż Khān on 15 Rajab 1153/6 October 1740.[7] In Khurāsān, he found a modus vivendi with Nādir Shāh's grandson Shāh Rukh Afshār b. Riżā Qulī Mīrzā, who had regained control of Mashhad on 11 Rabīʿ II 1163/20 March 1750, after a prolonged power struggle involving various strands of Nādir Shāh's family, as well as the *mutavallī* of Imām Riżā's shrine, the Khuzaima Arabs of Qāyin, and the Zaʿfarānlū Kurds of Khabūshān. After incorporating the city into his realm in late 1754, Aḥmad Shāh reinstated Shāh Rukh Afshār as governor of Khurāsān and formally bestowed the kingship of Iran (*pādshāhī-yi vilāyat-i Īrān*) on him in Rajab 1168/May 1755.[8]

In this chapter I will examine Aḥmad Shāh's effort at state building. Particular attention will be paid to the ideological underpinnings of the Sadūzai state, the scope of Aḥmad Shāh's military campaigns and their implications for the position of Herat and Mashhad. Of notable interest are the resources he tapped and the forces he negotiated in order to create sufficient momentum for his military ventures. Apart from the pecuniary incentives he had to offer, one important factor for his success were "soft skills", such as generosity, kindness and an egalitarian attitude towards his fellow fighters (*ghāzīs*), which enhanced his standing among his followers. Another legitimizing factor was the narrative surrounding his appointment as supreme leader, which already gained currency during his lifetime and was expanded upon in later historiography.

THE SOURCES

The density of information concerning the situation in Khurāsān during the Sadūzai era is uneven at best. The available Persian chronicles focus on the person of Aḥmad Shāh and yield few data on the circumstances in the late eighteenth century. Furthermore, there are notable regional disparities in the coverage of the events in Khurāsān. While the events in Mashhad and the western reaches of Khurāsān receive a fairly detailed treatment, the circumstances in Herat are only touched upon in the context of gubernatorial appointments and local rebellions.

A major source for the Sadūzai period is Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī's *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī*. As seen in the previous chapter, Aḥmad Shāh Sadūzai's perceptions of space were shaped early on by his family's mobility between Multān, Qandahār, and Herat. In the course of his military service under Nādir Shāh from 1738 on, his scope of movement increased considerably, and there is anecdotal evidence that he accompanied the Afshār king during his campaigns to Delhi, the Central Asian khanates, Khurāsān, and Māzandarān.[9] Apart from the territorial notions acquired on the basis of military motion, the future Afghān ruler was also influenced by Nādir Shāh's ideas concerning the administration and representation of the conquered realm. Thus, he consciously emulated Nādir Shāh's efforts at commemorating his bid at state building. After the conquest of Mashhad in 1167/1754, he entrusted Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī with the task of producing a chronicle of his career equal to Muḥammad Mihdī Astarābādī's *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi nādirī* in terms of lucidity, simplicity, and liveliness. According to his own words, Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī enthusiastically commenced his work and diligently recorded the events of Aḥmad Shāh's entire reign up to the king's death in 1186/1772 on the basis of his own observations, information gathered from trustworthy court officials, and written documents.[10] Quite contrary to his avowed abstinence from exaggerations, the author followed the literary conventions of his time. His *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī* brims with ornate descriptions highlighting Aḥmad Shāh's personal attainments and his glorious political and military exploits. Given his former residence in Mashhad,

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[7] Jones 1771 II: 16–17. See also Lee 1996: 80; Lockhart 1938: 189.

[8] TA (Humāyūn): 197–9; Mann 1898: 328. See also Perry 1971: 66; Perry 1979: 2–9, 126.

[9] Aḥmad Khān Sadūzai joined Nādir Shāh's service as personal attendant (*yasāvul*) after the conquest of Qandahār in March 1738 (*Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 73, (Rażavī) 59). At the conclusion of Nādir Shāh's Indian campaign in 1153/1740–41, Aḥmad Khān was assigned the post of commander (*sar-ʿaskar*) over the Afghān troops and moved to Mashhad and Māzandarān (Fūfalzāʾī 1967 26–7). Aḥmad Khān's elder brother Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai was entrusted with the government of Māzandarān (Singh 1981: 18; see also Lockhart 1938: 120).

[10] TA (Humāyūn) 4–8, 231. See also Mann 1898: 102, 104, 339–40; Saidmuradov 1974: 79–83; Singh 1981: 416–17.

the author provides first-hand information on the circumstance in Khurāsān after Nādir Shāh's death and maps the most important tribal groups and their respective spheres of influence.

Another important source on the developments in the region around Mashhad is the *Mujmal al-tavārīkh pas az Nādir*, which Abū al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amīn Gulistāna completed in Murshidābād in Bengal in 1195–96/1780–82. Before fleeing to India in late 1169/1756, Gulistāna had assisted his paternal uncle Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī, an Afsharid appointee, in maintaining authority in Kirmānshāh.[11] The first part of *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* relies heavily on the final chapters of Astarābādī's *Jahāngushā-yi nādirī*. The remainder of this work reflects Gulistāna's personal involvement with the affairs in Kirmānshāh, and contains a lively account of the developments in Iran until the time of his departure. The provenance of the material for the chapters on Shāh Rukh Afshār's reign and Aḥmad Shāh's military activities in Khurāsān is not quite clear. This part bears great resemblance to Marʿashī's *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh*, which was likewise produced in Murshidābād eleven years later and was possibly based on the same primary sources.[12] Contrary to Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī, Gulistāna and Marʿashī assume a highly critical attitude to the policies implemented by Shāh Rukh Afshār and Aḥmad Shāh.

Abū al-Ḥasan Ghaffārī Kāshānī, who served as secretary and administrator at the Zand court in Shīrāz, produced a voluminous history of his Zand overlords around 1206–07/1791–93. Entitled *Gulshan-i murād*, this work sheds light on the events in Khurāsān from a western perspective.[13]

Imām al-Dīn Ḥusainī witnessed the events at the Sadūzai court during the final decade of the eighteenth century. He joined Shāh Zamān (r. 1793–1800/01) in Lahore in 1211/1796–97, accompanied him to Pishāvar, and composed the *Tārīkh-i ḥusainshāhī*, a history of the Durrānīs until Shāh Zamān's reign, in Lucknow in 1213/1798.[14] Given his affiliation with the Chishtī order, Imām al-Dīn Ḥusainī pays special attention to the shrine complex located in Chisht.[15] Another work to be discussed below are the the memoirs of Muḥammad Riżā Barnābādī. Although they do not fit into the framework of official historiography, the reminiscences of the member of a saintly lineage based west of Herat provide some interesting insights into the situation of Herat in the late eighteenth century.

Two further sources relevant for the understanding of the Sadūzai period were produced in the nineteenth century. In 1246/1830–31, Mīr ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Mīr Ismāʿīl "Boukhary", the head scribe of a Bukharan mission to Istanbul, produced a work about the developments in Central Asia after the death of Nādir Shāh. Based on material collected in 1233/1817–18, the first part of this book is devoted to the Sadūzai sphere of influence and the political developments under Aḥmad Shāh and his successors up to the final years of Shāh Maḥmūd's second reign (1809–1818). The second part includes a description of the most important sites of Herat. Translated into French by Charles Schefer in 1876, it became known as *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale*.

The *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* was begun in 1280/1865 and was published in Bombay in 1298/1880. Its author, Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Mūsā Durrānī Bārakzai, aimed at providing a comprehensive history of the Afghāns and the events surrounding their leadership. This endeavor reflected new notions of territoriality which began to take hold in the nineteenth century. By reconstructing the early history the Afghān tribes, the author endowed them with historical depth and located them in a clearly defined territory. Sulṭān Muḥammad was

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[11] Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī had been appointed governor of Kirmānshāh by Nādir Shāh but managed to hold on to this position under Nādir Shāh's nephews ʿĀdil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Shāh, as well as under the Afghān commander Āzād Khān Ghilzai (Mann 1891: 6–8; Perry 1979: 305).

[12] Mann 1891: 10–20; Mann 1898: 106–7; Mudarris Rażavī, Introduction to *Mujmal al-tavārīkh*.

[13] John R. Perry, "Golšan-e Morād," *E.Ir.* XI: 108–9.

[14] Imām al-Dīn Ḥusainī states that he completed the *Tarikh-i Husainshahi* in Lucknow on 10 Jumādā I 1213/20 October 1798 (T Hu 472; see also T Hu 19, 353, 386–7, 440). The mention of the year 1215 (25 May 1800–14 May 1801) may be attributed to the fact that copies of Durrānī correspondence were appended later on (T Hu 359, 476). The author devoted the book to his *pīr* Khvāja Abū Muḥsin Husain Chishti, after whom it is named (T Hu 430–5, 447, 472). See also Singh 1981: 417; Noelle-Karimi, "Historiography XI. Afghanistan," *E.Ir*. XII: 390. Parts of this work have been reproduced by Fūfalzāʾī in his account of Tīmūr Shāh's reign (Fūfalzāʾī 1967). See also "Chand safḥa az Tārīkh-i ḥusainshāhī," in: *Āryānā* 25 (4) (1346/1967): 26–33. I am grateful to Andreas Wilde for sharing his copy of the *Tārīkh-i ḥusainshāhī* with me.

[15] T Hu 424–30, 447–55.

the first Afghan author to employ the term "Afghānistān" for the modern polity evolving at the time. Fittingly, his book begins with a description of the boundaries of Afghanistan, its geographical features, agricultural products, army and major cities. While he attributes the introduction of the term "Afghānistān" to the Sadūzai dynasty, he projects the existence of this political entity into a distant political past, and traces the history of the Afghāns to their mythical origins in preislamic times. The *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* ends with a summary description of the political circumstances in Herat between 1818 and 1863.[16]

While written at different times and from different perspectives, the sources named above contain a number of crucial elements informing the narrative of the formation of the Sadūzai Empire. One important element is the legitimation of Aḥmad Shāh's rise to power and the construction of the Durrānī Afghāns as state supporting elite. Aḥmad Shāh's tribal pedigree and his impromptu coronation on the impulse of a Sufi *shaikh* became key themes in the historiography of Afghanistan and continue to form cornerstones of Afghan historical identity at the present time.

THE FORMATION OF THE SADŪZAI STATE

IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

Oriented towards the northern Indian resources, the Afghan state operated within a new territorial framework which had been opened up by Nādir Shāh's conquests and reflected the horizon of the Sadūzai leadership. At the same time, certain concepts underpinning this effort at state building were informed by Safavid and Afsharid precepts. As in Safavid times, the territorial components making up the realm were cast as *mamālik-i maḥrūsa*, implying that they were blessed with royal protection.[17] In keeping with this notion, the foundation of Qandahār as the Sadūzai capital exemplified the security Aḥmad Shāh provided for his subjects. Like his Safavid and Afsharid forebears, Aḥmad Shāh had to negotiate a complex tribal environment. His relationship with the new state supporting elite of the Durrānīs found its spatial expression in the new capital, the layout of which mirrored the genealogical relationships within the confederacy.

What is more, Aḥmad Shāh sought to legitimize his rule and to endow the new state with a distinct identity. He achieved the requisite degree of internal cohesion by turning his fellow Abdālī tribesmen into the state supporting elite in charge of all major military and administrative positions. This process of incorporation was enhanced by the coinage of new tribal designations. Having assumed the title of *durr-i durrān*, "pearl of pearls", Aḥmad Shāh designated his followers as "Durrānī".[18] This renaming apparently did not entail any changes of internal organization but signified a change of political identity. The term *durr*, while not a common indicator of royal legitimacy, symbolized a leap from tribal to imperial politics. Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī endowed Aḥmad Shāh's followers with the additional attribute of *ghāzī*, (religious) "warrior", and thus enhanced their profile as a military elite set apart from the remaining soldiery.[19] The creation of the Durrānīs as the backbone of Aḥmad Shāh's empire was accompanied by the invention of other overarching tribal units among the Pashtūns. Thus, Aḥmad Shāh subsumed the eastern Pashtūns under the term *bardurrānī*, "upper Durrānī".[20] The Ghilzai confederacy and its powerful Hūtak and Ṭūkhī subdivisions that had played a leading role in the events of the early eighteenth century, by contrast, hardly figure in the historical narrative produced at the time.

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[16] T Su 2–15. Written in 1835, ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān Khudakka Sadūzai *Taẕkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālishaʾn* is more limited in scope. It begins with the origin of the Afghāns and ends with Aḥmad Shāh's coronation (Kamal Khan 1999).

[17] TA (Humāyūn) 92, 137, 234, 456.

[18] TA (Humāyūn) 9; T Hu 23–4.

[19] TA (Humāyūn) 17, 105, 199, 206.

[20] TA (Humāyūn) 92. According to Elphinstone, the Bardurrānīs comprised the Yūsufzais, Utman Khēl, Tarklanrīs, Khaṭaks, Bangash, as well as the tribes of Pishāvar and the Khyber Pass (Elphinstone 1992 II: 2). Burnes is of the opinion that the Bardurrānīs were removed from eastern Afghanistan to Herat by Nādir Shāh upon his return from India in 1740 (Forrest 1906: 35).

The portrayal of Aḥmad Shāh's imperial role in the Persian chronicles rests on the assumption that his rise to power was preordained. His leadership qualities are attributed to a unique conjunction of genealogical predisposition, divine will, and laudable personal characteristics. Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī emphasizes genealogical precedents. By pointing to the political careers of Aḥmad Shāh's father Zamān Khān Sadūzai and his brother Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai prior to Nādir Shāh's rise, he constructs a seamless sequence of Sadūzai control over Herat.[21] In keeping with this notion, the kingship eventually assumed by Aḥmad Shāh is described as "hereditary". A second ingredient Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī identifies in Aḥmad Shāh's career is divine predestination communicated by saints. Even prior to Nādir Shāh's death, a religious mendicant by the name of Darvīsh Ṣābir (Ṣābir Shāh) predicted Aḥmad Khān Sadūzai's future role as king.[22] Abū al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amin Gulistāna's *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* likewise informs us that a *darvīsh* with a woollen cap approached Aḥmad Khān near Khabūshān and informed him that he had detected signs of kingship in his countenance. He requested a piece of linen and proceeded to sew ten miniature tents and a royal pavilion while constantly repeating prayers. Three days later, Nādir Shāh was assassinated.[23] Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī reports that the same saint expedited Aḥmad Khān's election as king. When the Sadūzai leader hesitated to accept the kingship offered to him by his fellow tribesmen, Darvīsh Ṣābir intervened, plucked a green plant (*giyāh-i sabzī*), approached Aḥmad Shāh and affixed it at the corner of his turban in lieu of the customary royal ornament (*jīgha*). Then he proceeded to recite the *fātiḥa* on behalf of the victoriousness and longevity of Aḥmad Shāh's kingdom.[24]

Almost all accounts of Aḥmad Shāh's nomination mention Ṣābir Shāh's intervention and the impromptu coronation by means of a plant picked from the wayside.[25] Moreover, they assign a passive role to Aḥmad Khān Sadūzai in the election process. Yet there are some variations concerning the parts Ṣābir Shāh and the other nobles played during the council leading to Aḥmad Shāh's selection. Interestingly, the later versions dealing with this event devote much greater detail to the proceedings and insert a number of dramatic elements. According to Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī, it was the seasoned Durrānī fighters themselves who insisted on Aḥmad Shāh's leadership. "How can it be that the victorious Durrānī *ghāzīs*, who by the force of their swords… have endowed the Afsharid kingdom with splendor and order will bow [in obedience] to someone other [than Aḥmad Shāh]?"[26] Gulistāna reports that the Afghān leaders held a council (*mashvarat*) three stages from Khabūshān and decided that they needed a leader to protect them from the hostile Qizilbāsh troops and to ensure their safe arrival in Qandahār. The ballot (*qurʿa*) for Aḥmad Shāh was unanimous: All of the leaders accepted the *khān* as their leader (*sardār)*, affixed a handful of grass (*dasta-yi ʿalafī*) to his turban and awarded the title of Aḥmad Shāh to him. In this version of events, Ṣābir Shāh is accorded no role in the decision making process.[27]

Writing in the 1860s, Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī elaborates on the process leading to Aḥmad Shāh's election and adds an element of tension to it. We learn about the major political players present, the stalemate created by their rivalry for the supreme leadership, and its resolution thanks to Ṣābir Shāh's dramatic intervention. The author also alerts us to the fact that Aḥmad Shāh's accession signals the departure from the Afsharid frame of power. In the first phase after Nādir Shāh's death we find the Uzbek and Afghān

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[21] TA (Humāyūn) 9–10.

[22] TA (Humāyūn) 18.

[23] *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 74, (Ražavī) 59. See also T Hu 22–3. The *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* contains a different version of this anecdote, according to which Darvīsh Ṣābir set the stage for Aḥmad Shāh's conquest of Lahore. After his arrival in Lahore, he constructed small linen tents to prepare the scene for Aḥmad Shāh's assumption of power. Angered by these open acts of defiance, the local Mughal governor Shāh Navāz b. Zakariyā Khān put Ṣābir Shāh to death (T Su 123).

[24] TA (Humāyūn) 18.

[25] The only exception to this rule is Yūsuf Riyāżī, who limits his description of the beginnings of the Sadūzai state to the following terse account: "After Nādir Shāh['s death], the late Aḥmad Shāh attained the Abdālī kingdom. Much of Hindūstān, Afghānistān, Zābulistān, and Balūchistān belonged to his dominion. He made Qandahār his capital and built a new city there." KR 60–1 (Patterson 1988: 14). For a slightly more detailed statement, see KR 80 (Patterson 1988: 78–9).

[26] TA (Humāyūn) 17.

[27] *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann 74–5), (Ražavī) 60.

troops under the command of Nūr Muḥammad Khān ʿAlīzai, who had gained the appointment as *sardār* of the Abdālīs after the death of ʿAbd al-Ghanī Alakūzai. At the time of their arrival near Qandahār, the Abdālī nobles decided to elect a new commander: "From now on the kingdom of Iran no longer furnishes the livelihood (*maʿāsh*) of our tribe. Therefore we had better select a man from among our own ranks who is worthy of leadership and entitled to high rank." Nūr Muḥammad Khān was not considered fit for this position and deposed.[28] A protracted council (*majlis-i mushāvirat*) ensued at the shrine of Shīr-i Surkh Bābā at Nādirābād. As none of the representatives of the major Abdālī subdivisions (Ḥājjī Jamāl Khān Bārakzai, Maḥabbat Khān Fūfalzai (Pūpalzai), Mūsā Khān Isḥāqzai, Nūr Muḥammad Khān ʿAlīzai, Naṣrullāh Khān Nūrzai) was ready to acknowledge the supremacy of any of the other leaders present, the negotiations dragged on for several days. Aḥmad Khān Sadūzai quietly listened to the ongoing disputes without advancing any claims of his own. Finally, Ṣābir Shāh intervened and said, "Why do you indulge in vain discussions? The [only] one worthy of and entitled to kingship is Aḥmad Khān Sadūzai." After that he brought forth an ear of wheat (*khūsha-yi gandum*) and affixed it to Aḥmad's head by way of a crown.[29]

The power and splendor of the Durrānī Empire is generally viewed as a reflection and extension of Aḥmad Shāh's flawless personality. Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī repeatedly refers to his "innate high-mindedness" (*muruvvat-i jibillī*) and his "compassionate nature" (*raḥm-i fiṭrī*) that cause him to treat enemies and rebellious governors with leniency and to close his eyes on the shortcomings and machinations of his officials.[30] Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī also adduces these qualities to explain Aḥmad Shāh's conduct during the first siege of Nīshāpūr in the winter of 1750–51. The author acknowledges that the decision to withdraw was in great part caused by physical factors like intense cold and lack of provisions. At the same time, he attributes the course of events to Aḥmad Shāh's generous and kind character. Rather than punishing the Nīshāpūrīs for past instances of rebellion and deception, the king decided to desist from further bloodshed at a moment when the city population was about to submit. When approached by a delegation of Nīshāpūrīs asking for a ceasefire, Aḥmad Shāh forgave their (reprehensible) actions (*raqam-i ṣafḥ bar jarāyid-i aʿmāl-i ānhā kashīda)* and ordered his troops to refrain from all military action. This act of benevolence thus becomes a central ingredient in the plot of Aḥmad Shāh's departure, while the logistic problems afflicting the Durrānī army recede to the sidelines and form the backdrop of the narrative.[31]

Later accounts also point to the hardships experienced during the siege of Nīshāpūr to illustrate Aḥmad Shāh's magnanimity. The *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* uses this event to emphasize the shah's mild disposition and modesty that caused him to place his soldiers on an equal footing with himself. According to this account, the Durrānī soldiers were driven by destitution to plunder the royal treasury. When the treasurer attempted to beat them back Aḥmad Shāh severely rebuked him with the following words:

> Oh you ignorant fool, [don't you know that] I am one of them. It is by their assistance and the force of their swords that I have gained this kingdom. How could I deny [their role as] partakers of this wealth? If I refuse their demand for a share of my property, which in reality is the result their efforts, I will be disgraced both before God and His creation.

Among Aḥmad Shāh's accomplishments as ruler, the author of the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* cites the law *(yāsā)* he issued, which gave widows the right to inherit and rejected the divorce of lawfully married wives (*mankūḥa*). Aḥmad Shāh's emphasis on egalitarian values and his piety are once again highlighted by the advice he reportedly gave to his sons. He enjoined them not to allow their courtiers to greet them with a salutation

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[28] The Abdālī leaders deposed Nūr Muḥammad Khān because of his decreasing mental faculties (*khushkī-yi dimāgh*) (T Su 122).

[29] T Su 122–3. See also Ferrier 1858: 68–9; Singh 1981: 25–6. According to the *Tārīkh-i ḥusainshāhī*, an eyewitness underlined the great influence Ṣābir Shāh exerted over Aḥmad Shāh prior to his violent death in Lahore later in the same year: "One day I went to the royal court... [There] I saw Aḥmad Shāh sitting on the throne and a *darvīsh*, naked from head to foot, with his body covered with dust, had stretched out next to him. He continuously touched Aḥmad Shāh's ear and nose and, pulling them towards himself, said, 'O Afghan, are you aware that I have made you a king?' And Aḥmad Shāh, assuming a respectful demeanor, talked to him with his head bowed. When I asked the courtiers about the name and background of the *darvīsh*, they told me that his name was Ṣābir Shāh" (T Hu 26). See also Singh 1981: 28; T Su 123.

[30] TA (Humāyūn) 16, 90, 456, 460.

[31] TA (Humāyūn) 126.

(*kūrnish*) resembling a prostration (*sijda*). Furthermore, they were to seek the company of ulama and religious mendicants, to entertain religious dignitaries on Thursday nights, to participate in the Friday prayers, and to observe divine law in all their policies. Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī ends his account of Aḥmad Shāh's accomplishments with the observation that the king adhered to these precepts throughout his life.[32]

Apart from dwelling on Aḥmad Shāh's unique leadership qualities, the available sources also point to pragmatic reasons for his choice as supreme commander. Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī reports that the Abdālī chiefs approved of Aḥmad Shāh's election on the grounds that the Sadūzais represented a comparatively small faction among their confederacy, which meant that Aḥmad Shāh would have to comply with their wishes in order to stay in power: "They knew that he would take the *amīrs*' ideas into account. If, on the contrary, he chose to rule according to his own obstinate mind it would be an easy matter for the Durrānī tribes to destroy his kingdom."[33] Indeed, Aḥmad Shāh maintained a close relationship with the chiefs of the leading Durrānī lineages and heard their opinions in all political and military matters.

QANDAHĀR AS DURRĀNĪ CAPITAL

The complex nature of Aḥmad Shāh's relationship with his fellow tribesmen is also highlighted by the narratives concerning his decision to erect his capital in Qandahār. Once again the events are communicated from different angles. Thus, Aḥmad Shāh's chronicler and eulogist Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī characterizes the construction of the new city called *ashraf al-bilād aḥmadshāhī* as the apex of his patron's achievements in state building. Writing one century later, Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī focuses on the opposition Aḥmad Shāh encountered among the Alakūzai and Bārakzai Durrānīs during his negotiations over the choice of a proper site for the new city.

Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī draws a parallel between the protection God extends to creation and the guardianship great kings offer to their subjects as God's shadow on earth. Just as this world may be likened to a sky-high fortress, the rulers of the time function as a stronghold guaranteeing the safety and repose of the population. The protective field extended by a king finds its physical manifestation in mighty fortifications affording shelter to the inhabitants of the region. Within this framework, the erection of a central citadel in the heartlands of the empire is essential for the maintenance of royal authority. In Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī's opinion, the dynamic aspects of kingship and the imperative of far-ranging movement call for the construction of a well guarded capital ensuring the requisite degree of security at the center of the kingdom. By conforming to this pattern, Aḥmad Shāh follows time-honored and well-proven precedents:

> [While] the founders of empires keep moving across the expanse of their kingdom and are always driven on by the resolve to subjugate other countries, they have to ensure the safety of the original parts of their dominion… Otherwise there is the danger that if the king is away campaigning in a distant quarter… and a powerful enemy rears his head from a certain direction, the honor of the subjects will be plundered before the king is informed and can return to render assistance. Therefore, the farsighted rulers and the experienced emperors have secured the edifice of their government by erecting solid forts and impregnable castles… so that during such times [of crisis] the inhabitants (*sakana*) and subjects (*raʿāyā*) will be protected from calamities, while the ruler himself is at ease to concern himself with the subjugation of territories (*vilāyāt*)… Driven by high ambitions and the desire for conquest, the victorious ruler [Aḥmad Shāh] has always aimed at gaining regions and districts (*aqālīm va vilāyāt*) and is more accustomed to travelling than to settled life. [Simultaneously,] the intention to construct a strong fortification and to lay a lasting foundation in Qandahār (*sarzamīn-i dār al-qarār*) formed and became ingrained in his penetrating and radiant mind.[34]

Aḥmad Shāh's choice of a new capital fell on Qandahār, which was the encampment (*yūrt*) and dwelling (*maskan*) of the "glorious Durrānīs". Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī attributes Aḥmad Shāh's decision to construct a new city to recent military upheavals and their impact on the urban layout. Thus Nādir Shāh had destroyed the ancient citadel of Qandahār which had been "situated in the midst of a lofty mountain" and had erected a

[32] T Su 147. See also Ferrier 1858: 93.
[33] T Su 123.
[34] TA (Humāyūn) 212–13.

"contemptible fort" instead, which merely took up one-fourth of the space of the former citadel. A forceful resettlement of the urban population from their accustomed quarters to the new fort called "Nādirābād" had followed. For the first years of Aḥmad Shāh's ascendancy this fort served as a scarcely adequate residence for the king. During this time, abundant rains and spring floods caused the weak fortifications to crumble further. Aḥmad Shāh began to construct a new city in the tenth year of his reign. As there was dissension among the nobles whether it was better to restore the ancient citadel or to construct an entirely new town, the king and his entourage inspected all possible sites. The idea of rebuilding the ancient citadel was soon rejected for the lack of water which afflicted the inhabitants in the summer. Instead, Aḥmad Shāh settled on the village of Dih-i Khvāja, which was watered by the Pātāb (Patāb), a canal from the Arghandāb, throughout the year.[35] After the outline of the new fortifications, including towers, gates and walls had been marked by banners, the *munshī bāshī* Saʿādat Khān and the court astrologers fixed Sunday 1 Rabīʿ II 1169/4 January 1756 as an auspicious date for the official beginning of construction.[36] Upon its completion, the new city contained royal buildings, spacious gardens, mosques, baths, and caravanserais. The four main roads converging in the central market (*chār sūq*) were each half a *farsakh* (two miles) long and were lined by tree-shaded water channels (*jūy*) carrying clear water.[37]

Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī likewise praises the magnificent proportions of the newly constructed capital, which covered a space of twelve *qulbas*. Apart from the citadel, the dome spanning the central market square was a major attraction.[38] These splendorous results notwithstanding, Aḥmad Shāh had to overcome a number of obstacles before implementing his plans. The *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* informs us that obtaining the required space for the future capital was not an easy matter. Indeed, the major Durrānī tribes were unwilling to give up their land and objected to the idea of a new city being constructed in their immediate neighborhood. Aḥmad Shāh's initial plan to secure the water supply of the new capital by conducting a canal from the western bank of the Arghandāb river met with the opposition of the Alakūzais, in particular the kinsmen of his maternal uncle ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khān.[39] Aḥmad Shāh's next attempt to use the water of the Tarnak river for a site west of the village of Mard Qalʿa was forestalled by Sulṭān Muḥammad's Bārakzai relatives. A man of gentle disposition (*mard-i ḥalīm*), Aḥmad Shāh did not force the issue but was greatly relieved when his fellow Pūpalzai tribesmen offered him free choice of their lands. Thus the selection of the site for the new capital was not solely guided by logistic or strategic considerations but also reflected the importance of genealogical maps. The decision of the Pūpalzais to cooperate with the king was based on notions of tribal proximity (*rag-i hamqaumī*) and affinity (*ṣila-yi raḥim*). The spatial arrangement within the new capital likewise reflected tribal considerations. According to Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī, the city was divided in a "brotherly fashion" among the Durrānī tribes (*aqvām-i durrānī*).[40] The creation of the new capital furthered the reputation of Qandahār as the heartland of the Durrānī Empire. The transferral of the *khirqa-yi mutabarrika* from Badakhshān in 1768 served to bestow legitimacy on Aḥmad Shāh's reign and added gravity to Qandahār as his seat of government.[41] Yet this state of affairs only lasted until the death of the first Durrānī king. Tīmūr Shāh's removal of the royal capital to Kābul in 1775 bore testimony to the strength of the Durrānī elite but also showed his desire to place his relationship with this group on a new footing.

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[35] The village of Dih-i Khvāja was located just outside the Kābul Gate of Qandahār in the nineteenth century (*Gaz. Afghanistan* V: 132, 382). In addition to the Pātāb, Aḥmad Shāh ordered a large irrigation channel to be dug from the Arghandāb River over a distance of four *farsang* (16 miles) (TA (Humāyūn) 214–16).

[36] TA (Humāyūn) 213–15. Nineteenth-century authors place the actual foundation of the new city in the year 1761. According to Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī, Aḥmad Shāh devoted himself to the construction of Aḥmadshāhī after his return from his fifth Indian campaign, which lasted from October 1759—April 1761 (T Su 135–42). *Sirāj al-tavārīkh* mentions 1174 (13 August 1760–1 August 1761) as the date of its foundation (ST 25–6; McChesney/Khorrami I: 39. See also Singh 1981: 270–1).

[37] TA (Humāyūn) 216.

[38] This dome measured thirty by thirty *dharʿ* (T Su 143).

[39] The only building activity the Alakūzais agreed to was the construction of a shrine (*rauża*) for Aḥmad Shāh's deceased Alakūzai mother (T Su 142–3).

[40] T Su 143.

[41] TA (Humāyūn) 487; T Su 144.

AḤMAD SHĀH'S SPHERE OF INFLUENCE

Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī styles Aḥmad Shāh as the ruler of Iran, Turkistān and Hindūstān.[42] Aḥmad Shāh's campaigns indeed covered large portions of these territorial entities. Yet the frequency of military activity in each of these regions varied greatly. The western part of Khurāsān was formally incorporated into the Durrānī kingdom under Shāh Rukh Afshār, who held Mashhad as a vassal of Aḥmad Shāh and was pretty much left to his own resources. To the north, the cis-Oxus regions formed a field of overlapping Durrānī and Bukharan interests. Meanwhile, the focus of Aḥmad Shāh's military thrust lay on the revenue-rich Indian provinces. As the control over these resources had to be reestablished on an ongoing basis, most of his energies were spent on campaigns to the North Indian plains.

The Events in Western Khurāsān

After Nādir Shāh's death, Mashhad became the scene of a fierce power struggle that involved a number of Afsharid contenders and a puppet propped up by a faction of the tribal leadership. First of all, Nādir Shāh's rebellious nephew ʿAlī Qulī Khān Afshār b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān gained the upper hand. He was crowned on 27 Jumādā II 1160/6 July 1747 and assumed the royal title of Sulṭān ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh.[43] Less than a year later, in Jumādā II 1161/June 1748, he was defeated and blinded by his younger brother Muḥammad ʿAlī Bēg, whom he had appointed as military governor (*sardār*) of Iṣfahān. Muḥammad ʿAlī Bēg, alias Ibrāhīm Shāh, successfully extended his authority in western Iran to include Tabrīz, but his claims to kingship were challenged by Nādir Shāh's grandson Shāh Rukh Afshār b. Riżā Qulī Mīrzā in Mashhad. When Ibrāhīm ascended to the throne in Tabrīz in early December 1748, Shāh Rukh Afshār had already been king in Mashhad for two months. The following spring, he was defeated by Shāh Rukh Afshār's troops, and was executed along with his brother.[44]

Apart from brief interludes in 1750 and 1778–79,[45] Shāh Rukh Afshār (1734–1796)[46] was officially in charge of the affairs in Khurāsān from his coronation on 8 Shavvāl 1161/1 October 1748[47] until the Qājār takeover in 1796. This seeming stability was occasioned by his relative weakness with regard to the powerful tribal factions, the foremost players among which were the Bayāts of Nīshāpūr, the Mīshmast Arabs of Turshīz, the Khuzaima Arabs of Qāyin, the Chamishgazak Zaʿfarānlū Kurds of Chinārān, and the Jalāyirs of Kalāt-i Nādirī. In January 1750, Mīr ʿAlam Khān Khuzaima and Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū replaced Shāh Rukh Afshār with Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, a grandson of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain Safavī and superintendent of Imām Riżā's shrine, who assumed the title of Shāh Sulaimān II.[48] Although the Khuzaima leader attempted to cement this state of affairs by blinding Shāh Rukh Afshār, a rival group led by Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān Jalāyir successfully returned Shāh Rukh Afshār to the throne on the eve of Naurūz 1163/1750.[49]

Shāh Rukh Afshār's ascension in October 1748 occasioned a revival of his family's ties with Aḥmad Shāh and enabled the Afghān king to gain a foothold in Herat. In order to secure his eastern front, Shāh Rukh Afshār allowed Aḥmad Shāh's family, who had been held in Mashhad since Nādir Shāh's death, to return home.[50] One of Aḥmad Shāh's wives, the mother of his eldest son Tīmūr Mīrzā, moved to the citadel of

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[42] TA (Humāyūn) 8.

[43] *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 85. According to the *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī*, ʿAlī Qulī Khān Afshār was crowned on 10 Rajab 1160/18 July 1747 (TA (Humāyūn) 61).

[44] Lockhart 1938: 264–5; Perry, "Afsharids," *E.Ir.* I: 588.

[45] Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 263–6.

[46] Lockhart 1938: 80; Perry, "Afsharids," *E.Ir.* I: 588.

[47] TA (Humāyūn) 66. See also Mann 1898: 350; Perry 1979: 5.

[48] Shāh SulaimānII seized power on 20 Muḥarram 1163/30 December 1749 and was crowned on 5 Ṣafar 1163/14 Januar 1750 (*Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 114; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 56–7 (Rażavī) 46). See also Mann 1898: 350–1.

[49] Perry, "Afsharids," *E.Ir.* II: 587–8. See also TA (Humāyūn) 76–81.

[50] TA (Humāyūn) 66. According to the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, Tīmūr Mīrzā was given up to Aḥmad Shāh at the time of the first siege of Mashhad in late 1163/autumn 1750 (T Su 129).

Ikhtiyār al-Dīn and assumed the government of Herat in the name of Tīmūr Mīrzā, who still was an infant.[51] After his coronation in Mashhad in January 1750, Shāh Sulaimān II challenged the Sadūzai hold over Herat. In a condescending letter to Aḥmad Shāh, he flaunted his Safavid ties and reminded the Sadūzai ruler of the loyalty traditionally due to Iranian kings.[52] Aḥmad Shāh, on his part, showed no inclination to comply with Shāh Sulaimān II's order to vacate Herat. Shortly after, Sulaimān II forcefully displaced the Afghān forces from Herat and installed Bihbūd Khān Tātār as *bēglerbēgī* there.[53]

Shāh Sulaimān II's deposal and blinding in March 1750 tilted the scales in Aḥmad Shāh's favor again. Later in the same year, he conquered Herat after a prolonged siege.[54] He then directed his attention to Mashhad, where he lingered until *ʿīd al-aẓḥā* 1163/10 November 1750 before moving on to Nīshāpūr.[55] This first siege of Nīshāpūr in the winter of 1750–51 spelled disaster for the Afghān troops. They sustained great losses during the military encounters with the governor Jaʿfar Khān Bayāt and his son ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Bayāt and were further decimated while struggling back to Herat in intense cold.[56]

Aḥmad Shāh's second campaign to Khurāsān began in Rajab 1167/May 1754.[57] Subsequent to the conquest of Tūn in Ramażān 1167/June–July 1754,[58] the Durrānī king took position before Mashhad on 2 Shavvāl 1167/23 July 1754. More than four months later, on 16 Ṣafar 1168/1 December 1754, Shāh Rukh Afshār submitted. Three days later, the Friday sermon was read in Aḥmad Shāh's name. Before marching against Nīshāpūr in the following spring, the Durrānī ruler formally installed Shāh Rukh Afshār as the "king of the province/region of Iran" (*pādshāh-i vilāyat-i Īrān*).[59]

When the Afghān army arrived before Nīshāpūr on 7 Ramażān 1168/17 June 1755, ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Bayāt "saw the boat of his life endangered by four waves of annihilation". He quickly submitted to Aḥmad Shāh and sought pardon for the resistance he and his townsmen had put up against the Afghān army during the previous siege. Shortly after, however, the news of the defeat of an Afghān contingent at the hands of Qājār troops near Sabzavār encouraged the Nīshāpūrīs to rebel and to close the gates on Aḥmad Shāh's

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[51] According to Fūfalzāʾī, Tīmūr Shāh was born in 1160/1747–48 and stayed in Mashhad until 1162 (22 December 1748–10 December 1749 (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 25–8). See also ʿIṣmatī 1986: 12.

[52] *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 123; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 58–9; (Ražavī) 47–8. See also Perry 1971: 65, 1979: 7.

[53] *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 124–8; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 59–61; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Ražavī) 48–9. See also Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 62–4.

[54] There is contradictory information concerning the length of the siege. The *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī*, Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana's *Tārīkh-i vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ-i Afghānistān*, and the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* speak of four months, Boukhary of six months, and the *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* of nine months. According to Ferrier, the siege lasted for fourteen months. *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* posits that the *bēglerbēgī* Bihbūd Khān Tātār and the *tūpchībāshī* Amīr Khān Mīshmast submitted to Aḥmad Shāh voluntarily and accompanied him in his onward journey to Mashhad. According to Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana, Amīr Khān died during the final battle leading to the Afghān conquest of Herat (TA (Humāyūn) 104; *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 138; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 77, (Ražavī) 61; Boukhary 16 (Persian text 9); *Vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ* 38; T Su 128; Ferrier 1858: 74).

[55] TA (Humāyūn): 114–19. According to the *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī*, Aḥmad Shāh gave up the siege of Mashhad after Imām Riżā had appeared to him in a dream and instructed him to return three years later (TA (Humāyūn) 119–21). Ferrier is of the opinion that the siege of Mashhad continued for four months and was raised when Shāh Rukh Afshār handed over Aḥmad Shāh's youngest son Sanjar Mīrzā, who had remained in Mashhad until then (Ferrier 1858: 76). Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana also reports that the siege of Mashhad lasted for four months, but he claims that it was on this occasion that Aḥmad Shāh's son Tīmūr Mīrzā was allowed to leave for Herat (*Vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ* 38–9). *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* does not mention this siege of Mashhad at all (*Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 85, (Ražavī) 67–8.

[56] *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 86–90, (Ražavī) 68–71; TA (Humāyūn) 124–6; see also Perry 1979: 8. Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana reports that some of the officers survived the intense cold at Kāfir Qalʿa by disembowling camels and huddling in their bellies. Others froze to death while attempting to cross the Harī Rūd (*Vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ* 39). This account was taken up by *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* and *Sirāj al-tavārīkh* (T Su 129; ST 15; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 21–2; see also Ferrier 1858: 77–8).

[57] According to the *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī*, Aḥmad Shāh left Qandahār for Farāh on 8 Rajab 1167/1 May 1754 (TA (Humāyūn) 171) Given the density of data corroborating the presence of the Afghān troops before Mashhad in July–August 1754, this information seems more trustworthy than the accounts furnished by the *Tārīkh-i vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ* and the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, which place the second campaign to Khurāsān in the year 1165/1751–52 (*Vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ-i Afghānistān* 40, T Su 130). Singh follows the events as described in the two latter sources (Singh 1981: 93–5).

[58] TA (Humāyūn) 172, 178.

[59] Shāh Rukh Afshār was installed on 27 Rajab 1168/9 May 1755 (TA (Humāyūn) 182, 190–3, 197). See also Mann 1898: 325–8; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 90–1, (Ražavī) 71–2; NT 18; Perry 1979: 9; Shahshahānī 1958.

army. A violent seven-day siege followed, in the course of which the constant onslaught of artillery and mines perforated the citadel like a "wasp's nest", as Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī puts it. The final submission of Nīshāpūr on 14 Ramażān 1168/24 June 1755 was followed by wholesale destruction. Aḥmad Shāh ordered the citadel to be leveled, the eminent buildings to be burned, and the major irrigation channels to be blocked.[60] With this conquest, Aḥmad Shāh's activities in the western reaches of Khurāsān ceased for the next fifteen years. The only tangible effect of the formal incorporation of Mashhad into the Durrānī Empire was the stationing of a Durrānī chief assisted by 2,000 to 3,000 *ghāzīs*.[61]

Aḥmad Shāh's Military Activities in India

Most of Aḥmad Shāh's military enterprises focused on the eastern domains. Between 1747 and 1767, he mounted a total of nine campaigns to India:

- During the first campaign, from October 1747—March 1748, Aḥmad Shāh conquered Kābul,[62] Lahore,[63] and Sirhind[64]. After being defeated by the Mughal troops at Mānūpūr near Sirhind on 17 March 1748, Aḥmad Shāh retreated to Qandahār, and the control of Panjāb and its capital Lahore reverted to the Mughals.[65]
- At the end of 1161/Nov.–Dec 1748, Aḥmad Shāh returned to Panjāb and consolidated his claims to the territories and revenues previously controlled by Nādir Shāh. The local Mughal governor, Muʿīn al-Mulk, popularly known as Mīr Mannū, undertook to submit the revenues of the Chahār Maḥāll of Gujrāt, Aurangābād, Siyālkōṭ, and Pasrūr to him.[66]
- The third Indian expedition, from November 1751—April 1752, was triggered by Mīr Mannū's failure to pay the revenues of the Chahār Maḥāll. After a four-month siege, Aḥmad Shāh conquered Lahore on 4 March 1752. On this occasion, he incorporated the Mughal provinces of Lahore and Multān into his empire.[67] In addition, he obtained Kashmīr as pawn for the payment of one *kurūr* rupees.[68] Mīr Mannū was reinstated as governor of Lahore, Navvāb ʿAlī Khān Khūgiyānī was appointed governor of Multān.[69]
- The fourth Indian campaign, from December 1756—March 1757, was occasioned by Mughal efforts to reclaim control over Panjāb after Mīr Mannū's death in November 1753. Aḥmad Shāh reached Lahore in late December and displaced the Mughal appointee Ādīna Bēg. On 28 January 1757, he entered Delhi and plundered the city. The towns of Mathura, Brindaban and Agra were likewise pillaged. Sirhind, Lahore, Multān, and Kashmīr were formally annexed to the

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[60] TA (Humāyūn) 200–3. See also *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 92–3, (Rażavī) 73–4. The *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* once again follows Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana's account, which reverses the sequence of events during the second campaign to Khurāsān. According to the *Tārīkh-i vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ*, Aḥmad Shāh's primary goal was to wreak revenge on Nīshāpūr. For this purpose, he ordered each of his cavalrymen to carry one *mann* of cast metal (*chūdan*) to Nīshāpūr. Upon their arrival before Nīshāpūr, Indian artisans used this metal to cast a cannon of magnificent proportions, the projectiles of which weighed forty *mann* each. The first shot fired by this cannon traversed the entire city like an arrow through dough, pierced the opposite wall, and finally hit the ground another quarter *farsang* (*one mile*) further. This demonstration of firing strength caused the Nīshāpūrīs to surrender (*Vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ* 40; see also T Su 130; Singh 1981: 93–4). Aḥmad Shāh returned to Herat on 21 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1168/19 September 1755 and departed for Farāh on 1 Muḥarram 1169/7 October 1755 (Mann 1898: 334).

[61] TA (Humāyūn) 199.

[62] Kābul fell to the Durrānī troops in October 1747 (Singh 1981: 54).

[63] Lahore was occupied by Aḥmad Shāh on 12 January 1748 (Singh 1981: 51). See also T Hu 31–3.

[64] Sirhind was conquered on 13 Rabīʿ I 1161/13 March 1748 (Singh 1981: 58).

[65] Sarkar 1988: 114; Singh 1981 (59–71). See also TA (Humāyūn) 46–53, 55; T Su 127.

[66] TA (Humāyūn) 55–6. See also C. Collin Davies, "Aḥmad Shāh Durrani," *E.I., 2* I: 295; Sarkar 1988: 208–9; Singh 1981: 101. On the contradictory information concerning the dates of Aḥmad Shāh's second Indian campaign, see Singh 1981: 73 fn 4. Aḥmad Shāh returned to Kābul and Qandahār in the spring of 1162/1749 (TA (Humāyūn) 56).

[67] Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī characterizes the incorporation of Multān into Aḥmad Shāh's domain as the payment of "hoof money to the victorious [Durrānī] warriors: *Ṣūba-yi Multān ba-ṭarīq-i naʿl bahā-yi ghāziyān-i nuṣrat-nishān az mamālik-i Hindūstān vażʿ va ba-mamālik-i maḥrūsa-yi barakat-maʾnūsa inżimām [yābad]* (TA (Humāyūn) 137; TA (Maulāʾī) 186).

[68] *Va sabīl-i īṣāl-i vajh ān ki tā adā-yi īn zar khiṭṭa-i Kashmīr-i bihisht-naẓīr taʿalluq ba-umanā-yi daulat-i khadīv-i āfāq-gīr dāshta bāshad. Va baʿd az vuṣūl-i zar-i qarārdād bāz muvāfiq-i dastūr-i sābiq ṣūba-yi Kashmīr ba-daulat-i bahīya-yi kūrgānīya vāgudhāschta shavad* (TA (Humāyūn) 137; TA (Maulāʾī) 186–7). In the Indian context, one *kurūr* was equivalent to 100 *lak* (100,000), that is, 10 million. According to Maḥmūd al-Husainī, this sum corresponded to 500,000 Tabrīzī *tūmān* (TA (Humāyūn) 136).

[69] TA (Humāyūn) 126–38; Dasti 1998: 200–1; Davies, "Aḥmad Shāh Durrani," *E.I., 2* I: 296; Sarkar 1988: 217; Singh 1981: 126.

Durrānī Empire.[70] Before his departure in March 1757, Aḥmad Shāh entered a dual marriage arrangement with the ruling Mughal family. He married his son Tīmūr Mīrzā to ʿĀlamgīr II's daughter Zuhra Bēgum and took Muḥammad Shāh's daughter Ḥażrat Bēgum for himself. Tīmūr Mīrzā was appointed as viceroy of Panjāb.[71]

- From October 1759—April 1761, Aḥmad Shāh engaged in his fifth campaign to India to re-establish his authority against Ādīna Bēg and the Marāṭhās, who had expelled the Afghāns from Panjāb in 1758 and had advanced as far as Pishāvar. On his way to India, Aḥmad Shāh marched through Balūchistān to regain the loyalty of Naṣīr Khān Balūch. During the battle of Pānīpat on 7 Jumādā II 1174/14 January 1761, the Durrānī troops dealt a decisive defeat to the Marāṭhās.[72]
- Aḥmad Shāh's sixth expedition to India, from February—December 1762, aimed at curtailing the growing strength of the Sikhs. On 11 Rajab 1175/5 February 1762, the Durrānī troops defeated the Sikhs near Gūjarvāl (Gujrānvāla) and inflicted heavy losses on them.[73] In 1763–64, the Sikhs scored a number of military successes against Aḥmad Shāh's officials and occupied Lahore.[74] The next three military campaigns between 1764 and 1769 had only a short-lived impact and in effect highlighted the growing Sikh presence.
- In the course of his seventh campaign, from October 1764—March 1765, Aḥmad Shāh tried to reinforce his hold over Lahore and made vain attempts to suppress the Sikh forces.[75]
- The eighth campaign to India, from November 1766—May 1767, again served to raise revenues and to re-establish control over Lahore. While the Durrānī troops occupied the city on 21 December 1766, they were unable to maintain a steady presence there.[76]
- In late 1768/early 1769, Aḥmad Shāh mounted a final and short-lived expedition to India, which had little effect on Sikh dominance.[77]

The quick succession of Aḥmad Shāh's campaigns to northern India fits into the early modern mold of military organization. The wide ranging military movements primarily served to maintain his troops and to invigorate his alliances with the Pashtūn leadership that formed the backbone of his empire. Aḥmad Shāh's administrative hold over the Indian provinces was tenuous and mediated by the local elites. Lahore was controlled by Mughal governors until 1756.[78] Tīmūr Mīrzā's tenure there only lasted from May 1757–April 1758.[79] Subsequent to the Marāṭhā incursions in 1758–1761, the Sikhs became the dominant force in Panjāb, rendering Lahore a precarious island of Durrānī authority.[80] Kashmīr likewise experienced a number of upheavals until 1762, when it passed to a Bāmīzai Durrānī governor.[81] Despite this low degree of

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[70] Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī again categorizes the submission of these fertile regions to Aḥmad Shāh as "hoof money" (*naʿl bahā-yi multazimān-i maukib-i vālā*) (TA (Humāyūn) 269; TA (Maulāʾī) 328).

[71] Davies, "Aḥmad Shāh Durrani," *E.I., 2* I: 296; Sarkar 1991: 36–8, 47–76; Singh 1981: 187. See also TA (Humāyūn) 244–82; T Su 131–3.

[72] Davies, "Aḥmad Shāh Durrani," *E.I., 2* I: 296; Sarkar 1991: 192–218. See also TA (Humāyūn) 307–413; T Su 133–42.

[73] Sarkar 1991: 289; Singh 1981: 276–82, 288; see also TA (Humāyūn) 419–29.

[74] In November 1763, the Sikhs defeated the Durrānī general Sardār Jahān Khān near Siyālkōṭ. On 14 January 1764, the Sikhs conquered Sirhind from the Afghān governor Zain Khān. Lahore fell to them in February 1764 (TA (Humāyūn) 445, 460; Singh 1981: 290–5, 409).

[75] Sarkar 1991: 295–6; Singh 1981: 297–307. See also Aḥmad TA (Humāyūn) 462–9.

[76] Singh 1981: 311–18. On 17 January 1767, Aḥmad Shāh's general Sardār Jahān Khān was defeated by the Sikhs near Amritsar. Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī devotes little space to this confrontation and portrays Sardār Jahān Khān's troops as victorious (TA (Humāyūn 475–8)).

[77] During this campaign, Aḥmad Shāh advanced as far as the Jhilam (Jhelum) river. Shortly after, the Sikhs displaced the Durrānī troops from the fort of Ruhtās (Rohtas) (TA (Humāyūn) 488–90; Gupta 1991: 222–3; Singh 1981: 320).

[78] Mīr Mannū's death in November 1753 was followed by a power struggle between his wife Mughlānī Bēgum and her maternal uncle Khvāja ʿUbaid Khān (d. 1764). Khvāja ʿUbaid Khān held the governorship of Lahore for short periods in 1755, 1756, and 1761 (Singh 1981: 143–4, 150, 190, 267, 294).

[79] Sarkar 1991: 39.

[80] From 1762 on, Lahore was governed by a Hindu known as Kābulī Mall (Singh 1981: 288, 294, 309, 340, 346).

[81] At the time of Aḥmad Shāh's first expedition to India, Kashmīr was governed by the Mughal *nāʾib* Afrāsiyāb Bēg Khān, whose death in 1751 was followed by political turmoil. In May 1752, Ishīk Āqāsī ʿAbdullāh Khān annexed Kashmīr in the name of Aḥmad Shāh, but stayed there only for six months. At the time of his departure, he assigned the management of the province to Sukh Jīvan, a Hindu official in Aḥmad Shāh's services. Shortly after, Sukh Jīvan expelled his deputy Khvāja Kichak from

administrative penetration, the Indian venture was a financial success for Aḥmad Shāh. The prospect of the booty to be gained in the rich provinces east of the Khyber caused large armies to assemble around him. The opportunities for plunder reached their apex during the occupation of Delhi in early 1757. Contemporaneous sources estimate the value of the goods carried away by the Afghāns to reach 30, 40, 90 or even 120 million rupees.[82] One report of the time highlights the dimensions of the transfer of mobile resources:

> The Abdali's own goods were loaded on 28,000 camels, elephants, mules, bullocks and carts, while two hundred camel loads of property were taken by Muhammad Shah's widows who accompanied him, and these too belonged to him. Eighty thousand horse and foot followed him, each man carrying away spoils. His cavalry returned on foot, loading their booty on their chargers. For securing transport, the Afghan king left no horse or camel in any one's house, not even a donkey. The guns he had brought for taking the Jat forts he abandoned because their draught cattle had to be loaded with his plunder…. In Delhi not a sword was left with anybody.[83]

The Indian provinces yielded the bulk of the Sadūzai revenues. Kashmīr, Pishāvar, Ḏēra Ghāzī Khān, Ḏēra Ismāʿīl Khān submitted a much greater total amount of revenues than the western provinces of the Durrānī empire. Moreover, a greater percentage of the taxes collected locally found their way into the royal coffers.[84] According to Boukhary, the provinces east of the Khyber Pass yielded a total of 9.3 million rupees as compared with the 2.1 million rupees furnished by the western provinces.[85]

In the course of his Indian campaigns, Aḥmad Shāh traversed the Indus and penetrated deeply into the northern Indian territories known as Hindūstān. As seen above, his claims to overlordship, no matter how tenuous on the ground, embraced the Mughal provinces of Kashmīr, Lahore, and Multān, and even included Sirhind, which formed the northwestern subdivision of the Delhi province. At the same time, the repeated forays into Indian territory did not affect the view of the Indus as a natural border between Khurāsān and Hindūstān, an idea which had also been invoked by the Pashtūn poet Khushḥāl Khān Khaṭṭak (d. 1689) a century earlier.[86] While Aḥmad Shāh claimed both regions as his own, there remained the notion of a division between the Pashtūn homeland and the regions beyond the Indus as alien territory.

The Position of Turkistān

Given his preoccupation with Northern India, Aḥmad Shāh developed few ambitions in Central Asia. In comparison with the riches of India, the Uzbek principalities of Turkistān apparently had little wealth to offer, and Aḥmad Shāh is said to have described them as a "hive without honey".[87] The regions south of the Āmū Daryā, often referred to as "Lesser Turkistān" (*Turkistān-i ṣaghīr*), were loosely incorporated into Aḥmad Shāh's domain from 1750 on. The *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī* reports that this process was initiated by the local leadership at the time of Aḥmad Shāh's siege and impending conquest of Herat. At that time, Ḥājjī Bī

Kashmīr and had coins struck in the name of the Mughal emperor ʿĀlamgīr II (r. 1754–1759). In 1762, Sukh Jīvan was defeated by Aḥmad Shāh's general Nūr al-Dīn Khān Bāmīzai, who held the government of Kashmīr for three times during the next seven years (1762 (three months), 1765–1766, 1768–1769). Further governors were Buland Khān Bāmīzai (1763–1765), Khurram Khān (1766–1767, 1770), and the Qizilbāsh leader Amīr Khān Javānshīr (1770–1772). At the beginning of Tīmūr Shāh's reign, Sardār Ḥājjī Karīmdād Khān Bāmīzai Pūpalzai ʿArżbēgī was in charge of Kashmīr. He was succeeded by his rebellious son Āzād Khān. After Āzād Khān's execution, the government of Kashmīr was awarded to Mīr Hazār Khān Alakūzai, who held this post until Tīmūr Shāh's death in 1793 (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 253–60; Mann 1898: 171–2, 342; Parmu 1969: 348–9, 353–63; Singh 1981: 101, 103, 283–5, 334, 350, 356; TA (Humāyūn) 237–8, 433–5; T Su 157–9).

[82] Sarkar 1991: 74–5.

[83] Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar ii 71 quoted in Sarkar 1991: 76.

[84] Gankovsky 1981.

[85] Boukhary 6–7.

[86] See, for instance, a poem by Khushḥāl Khān as translated by Caroe & Howell 1963: 45,
"Who fares on the royal highway, the road from Hindustan,
Must come to the Father of Rivers, ere to win to Khorassan
Must cross by the Attock ferry, trembling the while with fear,
For Indus takes his tribute from pauper, prince and peer."

[87] Elphinstone 1992 II: 247.

Mīng, the "governor" (*ḥākim*) of Maimana, and a number of elders (*āq saqālān*) and nobles (*aʿyān*) joined Aḥmad Shāh's court and sought protection from the oppressive policies of the *atālīq* Raḥīm Bī Manghīt (r. 1747–1758), who had initially ruled Bukhārā in the name of a Chingizid puppet but had assumed sole control of the government after Nādir Shāh's death. Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī portrays Turkistān as a territory in need of royal protection and makes it clear that Raḥīm Bī's claims to the region are not legitimate. According to his version of events, one of the greatest grievances of the Turkistani nobles against Raḥīm Bī was his usurpation of the throne of Bukhārā. While his ancestors had risen in the service of the Chingizid *khāns*, Raḥīm Bī had forgotten all bonds of loyalty and had killed two members of the Tuqai-Timurid dynasty, Abū al-Faiż and his son ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. Aḥmad Shāh, by contrast, is depicted as the just ruler ensuring the prosperity of the regions within his domain.

Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī constructs the notion of a concrete boundary in the north. In his account, the Turkistani nobles allegedly asked for the appointment of a military governor (*sardār*) who would guard the border (*sarḥadd*) of Turkistān. Given his natural inclination for dispensing justice (*maʿdalat gustarī*), Aḥmad Shāh promised to attend to the affairs of Turkistān after the successful conquest of Herat. This promise was fulfilled in due course. The king awarded the title of *khān* to Ḥājjī Bī Mīng, appointed him governor (*vālī*) of Balkh and placed him in charge of the revenue collection (*ṣāḥib ikhtiyārī-yi māliyāt-i Turkistān*). This generous assignment in part reflected the existing political balance in western Turkistān: Ḥājjī Bī Mīng was confirmed in the leading position he had assumed previously. At the same time, Aḥmad Shāh's intervention served to strengthen Ḥājjī Bī Mīng's hand against his Qaṭaghan rivals in Qunduz. The Durrānī representatives accompanying Ḥājjī Bī Mīng on his homeward journey consisted of a *sardār*, a commander-in-chief (*sipahsālār*), and a number of Afghān, Kābulī and Qizilbāsh troops. These formally established control over the cis-Oxus regions of Chīchaktū, Maimana, Andkhūd, Balkh, Khulm, Qunduz, and "Qipchāq".[88]

The thin presence of Durrānī troops proved particularly problematic in the northeastern region of Qunduz, where repeated rebellions called for additional military assistance from the center. For the year 1755, Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī reports that Suhrāb Bī (d. 1756), the Qaṭaghan leader of Qunduz, "plugged the ears of wisdom with the cotton of ignorance" and refused to submit revenues. The following summer, Aḥmad Shāh sent his general Sardār Jahān Khān from Kābul to Qunduz. Accompanied by Afghān and Qizilbāsh troops, Sardār Jahān Khān entered the Qaṭaghan plain along the course of the Surkhāb river. On 25 Shavvāl 1169/23 July 1756, he dealt a sounding defeat to Suhrāb's son and successor Miżrāb Bī and re-established Durrānī authority in Qunduz and Ṭāliqān.[89]

During the following years, the political landscape of Turkistān was characterized by rivalries between Ḥājjī Bī Mīng and local Durrānī appointees. Ḥājjī Bī Mīng, who had gained the appointment as *sardār* of Turkistān during a visit to Kābul in 1757, soon found his powers curtailed by the designation of a Durrānī *dārūgha* (Sayyid ʿAṭāʾullāh Khān) and another *sardār* (Navvāb Khān Alakūzai). As part of this rivalry, separate spheres of influence emerged, with Ḥājjī Bī Mīng residing in Maimana and the Durrānī officials being based in Balkh. The weakness of the Durrānī hold over local affairs was highlighted by a rebellion in Shibarghān which the Afghān troops were unable to subdue, while Ḥājjī Bī Mīng's allegiance was uncertain.[90] This environment of insecurity allowed Bukhārā to intervene militarily in the regions south of the Āmū Daryā. In the Year of the Snake/1761, a Bukharan general by the name of Khvāja Mūsā occupied the town of Āqcha located west of Balkh and temporarily joined forces with the rebels of Shibarghān.[91]

Aḥmad Shāh's efforts to establish control over the cis-Oxus regions continued throughout the 1760s. According to the *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī*, Sardār Jahān Khān engaged in a renewed military campaign "to

[88] TA (Humāyūn) 107–10, 140, 165. See also Lee 1996: 44, 72–4, 79–82, 85; McChesney 1991: 220–1. In 1750, Aḥmad Shāh appointed ʿAṭāʾullāh Khān Turkmān (d. 1175/1761–62) as *sipahsālār* and Mukhliṣ Khān Fūfalzāʾī Durrānī as *sardār*. After Mukhliṣ Khān's death in 1165/1751–52, Aḥmad Shāh designated Mīr Hazār Khān Alakūzai as *sardār* of Turkistān.

[89] TA (Humāyūn) 226–7, 236–7.

[90] TA (Humāyūn) 289–92; TA (Maulāʾī) 349–50. See also Lee 1996: 86–7; McChesney 1991: 221.

[91] TA (Humāyūn) 414–16. See also Lee 1996: 87–9; McChesney 1991: 222.

collect the revenues and the troops of Qunduz, Imām [Imām Ṣāḥib], Baghlān, Balkh, and Badakhshān and to suppress the mischief-makers and abject (leaders) of Turkistān" in 1766.[92] Two years later, in Muḥarram 1182/May 1768, Aḥmad Shāh despatched his *vazīr* Shāh Valī Khān Bāmīzai from Chārīkār to Badakhshān with the order "to punish Sulṭān Shāh, the *vālī* of Badakhshān, and the other ignorant [leaders] of Turkistān." The successful establishment of Durrānī authority in the region north of the Hindu Kush was symbolized by the transferral of the *khirqa-yi mutabarrika* (*mubāraka*), a piece of Prophet Muḥammad's cloak, from Badakhshān to Qandahār.[93]

This campaign is embellished and enlarged upon in later historiography. The *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* and *Sirāj al-tavārīkh* dwell in great detail on Aḥmad Shāh's military activities and emphasize that they served to fix the Āmū Daryā as the border between the Bukharan and Afghān spheres of influence. In this context, the acquisition of the *khirqa-yi mutabarrika* is recounted to illustrate Aḥmad Shāh's superiority vis-à-vis the Bukharan rulers. Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī reports that the Durrānī *vazīr* Shāh Valī Khān Bāmīzai was ordered to proceed against Balkh and Badakhshān with 6,000 troops. Shortly after, Aḥmad Shāh received word from Shāh Valī Khān that Shāh Murād Bī, the son of the Bukharan ruler Dāniyāl Bī (r. 1758–1785),[94] was actively backing the population of Balkh against the Durrānī forces. Therefore the king assembled another army and proceeded to Turkistān himself. After setting out from Herat, he crossed the Marv Rūd (Murghāb river) and occupied Maimana, Andkhūd and Shibarghān. Meanwhile, Shāh Valī Khān headed the military operations in Qunduz and Badakhshān. When Aḥmad Shāh advanced towards Balkh, Shāh Murād Bī assembled his troops at Qarshī, located two hundred miles north of the Āmū Daryā. Aḥmad Shāh is said to have deliberately desisted from a military confrontation. Instead, he contented himself with a peace agreement whereby the Āmū Daryā was designated as border (*ḥadd*) between the two powers and the Prophet's mantle passed to the Durrānīs. In Sulṭān Muḥammad's version of the events, at the time, the *khirqa* was in the possession of Uzbek guardians in Bukhārā who, resenting the transferral of this precious relic to Aḥmad Shāh's domain, secretly removed the part of the garment thought to have covered the Prophet's shoulders. Aḥmad Shāh transported the *khirqa* to Kābul, where he displayed it to the local population, and eventually deposited it in the old Friday mosque of Qandahār located south of the Bardurrānī quarter. After Aḥmad Shāh's death, Tīmūr Shāh transferred the mantle to a newly constructed building adjacent to his father's grave, its present location.[95] Faiż Muḥammad follows the account given in the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* and places these events in the year 1182/1768–69.[96]

Thus the limits of the realm claimed by Aḥmad Shāh may be described in the following manner: In the east, Panjāb and Kashmīr were reckoned as part of the Durrānī sphere of influence. Towards the south, the principality of Qalāt-i Balūch was loosely associated with the Durrānī kingdom.[97] In the north, the Oxus was projected as the border of the Durrānī Empire. Towards the west, Pul-i Abrīshum, located seventy miles west of Sabzavār on the trade route between Mashhad and Tehran, was considered the limit of the Durrānī Empire.[98] In the early 1780s, Ṭabas was described as the border (*sarḥadd*) between Khurāsān and the Zand

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[92] TA (Humāyūn) 475.

[93] TA (Humāyūn) 487; TB 46–8. See also Fūfalzāʾī for the transferral of the cloak to Qandahār and the endowment created by the Sadūzai kings (1967: 164–5, 277, 294–301).

[94] Dāniyāl Bī formally acted as the *atālīq* of the Janid prince Abū al-Ghāzī (Bregel, "Central Asia vii. In the 12th–13th/18th–19th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 195).

[95] T Su 144–5. According to Fūfalzāʾī, this shift took place in Ramażān 1190/October 1776 (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 297); Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī reports that Aḥmad Shāh was buried next to the building housing the *khirqa-yi mutabarrika* (TA (Humāyūn) 518).

[96] ST 27; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 42.

[97] Singh 1981: 214–15.

[98] Sykes 1930 II: 277. See also Elphinstone 1992 II: 287. Pul-i Abrīshum was a bridge over the Abrīshum/Kāl-i Shūr-i Jājarm river. The Kāl-i Shūr-i Jājarm is fed by several streams draining the plains of Isfarāyin and Juvain and then turns south. After passing under the Pul-i Abrīshum, it expends itself in the Dasht-i Kavīr. Spooner characterizes it as "for the most part of the year sluggish, meagre and highly saline" (Spooner 1965: 98). The Pul-i Abrīshum divided Khurāsān from Qūmis in medieval times and was referred to by Isfizārī in the late fifteenth century (Isfizārī II: 142, 145, 353). There is mention of construction/repairs undertaken by Shāh ʿAbbās I, Nādir Shāh, and the Qājārs. Qājār sources refer to the Pul-i Abrīshum as entry point to Khurāsān (*Dhū al-Qarnain* 112; TRSN IX: 354; TRSN X: 327). In the 1870s, the Kāl-i Shūr-i Jājarm stream and the Pul-i Abrīshum were

sphere of influence in ʿIrāq.[99] Aḥmad Shāh's successors Tīmūr Shāh and Shāh Zamān found it increasingly difficult to maintain even nominal authority over this vast expanse. During the final years of the eighteenth century, the eastern dominions were incorporated into the nascent Sikh state headed by Ranjit Singh. Simultaneously, the newly established Qājār dynasty was making its influence felt in the west.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

There is conflicting information concerning the exact number and the status of the provinces which made up the Sadūzai Empire. For Aḥmad Shāh's period, Singh enumerates a total of 23 subdivisions, eight of which he characterizes as "provinces" (*vilāyat*).[100] The other fifteen units fall into the category of *ḥukūmat-i aʿlā* ("supreme government").[101] In the early nineteenth century, Elphinstone produced a list of Sadūzai provinces that differs somewhat from Singh's account. Possibly reflecting the shrinking scope of the Sadūzai rulers, Elphinstone omits a number of subdivisions, such as Maimana, Mazār-i Sharīf, Khurāsān, Badakhshān, Panjāb, and Balūchistān. He further subsumes both the categories of *vilāyat* and *ḥukūmat-i aʿlā* under the heading of "most important provinces," of which he enumerates a total of eighteen.[102] What is more, he mentions a further administrational category consisting of nine tribal regions located at the core of the Durrānī Empire, the revenues of which were assigned to Durrānī leaders (*sardārs*).[103]

Contemporaneous sources indicate that both Aḥmad Shāh and Tīmūr Shāh accorded special importance to the four central provinces of their empire and distributed them among their sons. Gulistāna reports that Aḥmad Shāh divided his realm among his four principal sons two years prior to his death. Thus Herat was awarded to Tīmūr Mīrzā, Qandahār to Sulaimān Mīrzā, Kābul to Parvīz Mīrzā, and Panjāb to Iskandar Mīrzā.[104] Tīmūr Shāh likewise reserved the four provinces of Qandahār, Herat, Kābul, and Pishāvar for his immediate family.[105] Among these provinces, Qandahār and Herat were subdivided into four *bulūk* each, an arrangement that was apparently inherited from Safavid times.[106] Sadūzai decrees describe the province of Herat as the "four western *bulūk* of Khurāsān".[107] This designation raises the possibility that Qandahār was understood to represent the four eastern subdivisions of Khurāsān. These administrative arrangements seem

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regarded as the provincial boundary between Khurāsān and Shāhrūd-Bisṭām (*Gaz. Iran* II: 548). For a photo of the bridge taken in the winter of 1889–90, see Curzon 1966 I: 279.

99 *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 139.

100 According to Singh, the *vilāyat* comprised a larger area and was of greater political importance than the *ḥukūmat-i aʿlā*. He lists the *vilāyāt* of Qandahār, Herat, Kābul, Mazār-i Sharīf, Khurāsān, Badakhshān, Panjāb (Lahore), and Kashmīr (Singh 1981: 353–4).

101 The subdivisions of Farāh, Maimana, Balūchistān, Ghaznī, Laghmān, Pishāvar, Ḏēra Ismāʿīl Khān, Ḏēra Ghāzī Khān, Shikārpūr, Sībī, Sind, Chhachh Hazāra, Layya, Multān, and Sirhind are categorized as *ḥukūmat-i aʿlā* (Singh 1981: 353–4).

102 According to Elphinstone, Herat, Farāh, Qandahār, Ghaznī, Kābul, Bāmiyān & Ghūrband, Jalālābād, Laghmān, Pishāvar, Ḏēra Ismāʿīl Khān, Ḏēra Ghāzī Khān, Shikārpūr, Sībī, Sind, Kashmīr, Chhachh Hazāra, Layya, and Multān fall under the category of "most important provinces". Reflecting in part the shrinking scope of authority of the last Sadūzais, this list does not contain several *vilāyat* (Mazār-i Sharīf, Khurāsān, Badakhshān, Panjāb) and *ḥukūmat-i aʿlā* (Maimana, Balūchistān, Sirhind) (Elphinstone 1992 II: 255–7).

103 Elphinstone lists the following subdivisions: Ghilzai (including the Afghān parts of Laghmān and Jalālābād), Ṣāfī and Tagāb, Bangashāt (including the Jājīs and Tūrīs), Dāman (up to Bannū and Davar), Chakhānsūr, Ghūrāt (the Hazāras), Siyāhband (the Ūymāq), Isfizār, Anār Darra and Pusht-i Kūh (Elphinstone 1992: II: 255–7).

104 *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 147–8.

105 There is conflicting information on the mode of distribution. According to *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, Tīmūr Shāh assigned his eldest son Ayūb [Humāyūn Mīrzā?] to the government of Qandahār, his second son Maḥmūd Mīrzā to Herat, his third and favorite son Zamān Mīrzā to Kābul and reserved the government of Pishāvar for himself (T Su 160). Ferrier lists the following governorships: Humāyūn Mīrzā was in charge of Qandahār, Maḥmūd Mīrzā of Herat, ʿAbbās Mīrzā of Pishāvar, Zamān Mīrzā of Kābul, Shujāʿ al-Mulk of Ghaznī and Kuhandil Mīrzā of Kashmīr (Ferrier 1858: 108; see also T Hu 251; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 398–400).

106 Brentjes 1983: 209. The Safavid province of Qandahār consisted of the following districts: Bālā Bulūk, Miyān Bulūk, Pāyīn Bulūk and Julga (Rawlinson 1871: 866) See also Qaiṣar Mīrzā's letter to the *khāns* of the Chahār Bulūk in 1208/1793–94 and Shāh Zamān's letter to his son Sulṭān Ḥaidar in Ṣafar 1209/August–September 1794 (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 35, 300).

107 Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 65, 111, 521.

to have survived until the nineteenth century. Thus British observers referred to the "Chahār Vilāyat" (rather than *bulūk*) grouped around Herat, which consisted of the districts of Kurukh, Auba, Isfizār and Ghūriyān.[108]

The creation of administrative units made up of four subdivisions was by no means a unique phenomenon. Among the most celebrated precedents was the division of the Sasanian Empire into four parts, the easternmost of which was Khurāsān.[109] During the Arab period Khurāsān was divided into four quarters (*rubʿ*) named after the four great cities of Nīshāpūr, Marv, Herat, and Balkh.[110] This territorial concept proved to be of great longevity and was quoted, among others, by the seventeenth-century traveller Ibn Valī.[111] Besides Herat and Qandahār, there are further examples of administrative units organized on the basis of four constituent parts in Sadūzai times. The region between the Murghāb river and Balkh was known as the Chahār Vilāyat and comprised the towns of Maimana, Andkhūd, Shibarghān and Sar-i Pul. This administrative division possibly harked back to the Tuqai-Timurid era.[112] Similar units are reported for the eastern part of Aḥmad Shāh's domain. Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī repeatedly mentions the Indian subdivision of Chahār Maḥāll in the province of Lahore, which consisted of the districts of Gujrāt, Aurangābād, Siyālkōṯ, and Pasrūr.[113]

During the early Sadūzai period, the spatial concept of "Khurāsān" assumed several overlapping meanings. In broad terms, it stood for the westernmost part of Aḥmad Shāh's dominion. In the administrational context, however, new entities evolved under this heading. As seen above, the province of Herat was conceptualized as consisting of the four western *bulūk* of Khurāsān. At the same time, both the terms of "Khurāsān" and "Iran" continued to be applied to the region controlled by Shāh Rukh Afshār until the establishment of Qājār authority in 1796. Like in Safavid times, Khurāsān was split up between Herat and Mashhad, with the difference that Aḥmad Shāh's policies worked to the detriment of Mashhad. When the Sadūzai ruler formally reinstated Shāh Rukh Afshār as ruler of "Iran" in Rajab 1168/May 1755, he separated the districts of Turshīz, Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya, Turbat-i Shaikh Jām, Bākharz, and Khvāf from his jurisdiction and incorporated them into the province of Herat.[114] Shāh Rukh Afshār's sphere of authority was bounded by the deserts of Dasht-i Kavīr and Dasht-i Lūt in the southwest, and the Qājār domain of Astarābād in the northwest. It included the towns of Bīrjand and Ṭabas in Quhistān, the Bayāt stronghold of Nīshāpūr, as well as the Kurdish domains of Khabūshān and Bujnūrd. The regions further west fell to Karīm Khān Zand, who occupied Iṣfahān in 1750 and made Shīrāz his capital in 1765.[115]

HERAT AS A SADŪZAI PROVINCE

In eighteenth-century accounts, the province of Herat figured among the "dominions situated in Khurāsān" (*mamālik-i maużūʿa-yi Khurāsān*). Within this realm, the city of Herat was considered to possess great strategic importance: It formed the gateway to Khurāsān and ʿIrāq (*dahana-yi ʿIrāq va Khurāsān*) and was conveniently situated at the border of Turkistān (*sarḥadd-i mamlakat-i Turkistān*).[116] As mentioned above,

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[108] Daud Khān 1873: 7; *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 253; Forrest 1906: 36; Lal 1834: 10; Takki Khān 1885: 1241–52; Todd, October 1839, LPS/20/G10/3 No. 4 pp. 7–8. See also Kakar 1979:77.

[109] Frye 1983: 154; Morony, "Sasanids," *E.I., 2* IX: 77.

[110] Le Strange 1905: 382–3.

[111] Akhmedov 1977: 40.

[112] Lee 1996: 44. Another famous example of the creation of four administrative entities is Chingiz Khān's distribution of his realm among the four sons by his principal wife. According to Jackson's critical assessment, however, the division of the Mongol empire into four units was not the result of administrative arrangements made by Chingiz Khān but rather a retrospective justification of the political realities that had come about by the early fourteenth century (Jackson 1999: 12–17, 35). Even so, this precedent was followed by Tīmūr, who divided his realm into four sections (Manz 2000: 141).

[113] TA (Humāyūn): 52, 55–6, 212, 221. See also T Su 133–4; Singh 1981: 101; Davies, "Aḥmad Shāh Durrani," *E.I., 2* I: 295.

[114] Ferrier 1858: 81; T Su 131. See also Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 319. Bākharz formed part of Tīmūr Shāh's domain in 1199/1785. In 1204/1790, Tīmūr Shāh incorporated Tūn and Ṭabas in his jurisdiction by placing them under the government of Muḥammad Khān Hazāra, the *bēglerbēgī* of Herat (Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 332–3; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 712–13).

[115] Perry 1979: 205–7. See also *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann): 139.

[116] TA (Humāyūn) 432.

Turshīz, Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya, Turbat-i Shaikh Jām, Bākharz, and Khvāf constituted the westernmost districts of the province. In the east, it was bounded by the river Hilmand.[117]

The province of Herat was formally assigned to Aḥmad Shāh's eldest son Tīmūr Mīrzā in 1749. Tīmūr Mīrzā, who was two years old at the time of his appointment, seems to have spent a great part of his childhood and young adulthood in Herat. In 1750, he was temporarily displaced by the troops of Shāh Sulaimān II but was reinstalled later the same year when Aḥmad Shāh regained control of the city. Tīmūr Mīrzā's second tenure as governor of Herat apparently lasted until Aḥmad Shāh's fourth campaign to India from December 1756 to March 1757, during which he gained the government of Panjāb for a year.[118] In Rabīʿ I 1173/October–November 1759, Tīmūr Mīrzā was reappointed to Herat.[119] He continued to govern this province until Aḥmad Shāh's death on 2 Rabīʿ I 1186/3 June 1772.[120] In spring 1184/1770, he joined his father on a military campaign against Shāh Rukh Afshār and his rebellious son Naṣrullāh Mīrzā II.[121] The government of Herat seems to have been endowed with a special prestige within the Durrānī Empire, and all sources agree that Tīmūr Shāh was groomed to become Aḥmad Shāh's successor.[122] While the available sources contain little information about the routine aspects of government, they allow certain conclusions concerning the tribal texture around Herat and the role the local leadership assumed in the military affairs of the province. One noteworthy phenomenon is that of the *chahār ūymāq* as a unit of military administration. Another important aspect is the great amount of social and spatial mobility displayed by a number of tribal leaders. The career of Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān Hazāra under Aḥmad Shāh and the rise of Qilich Khān Tīmūrī under Shāh Zamān are cases in point.

The Chahār Ūymāq

The division of Herat province into four *vilāyat/bulūk* apparently generated matching military units. Brentjes notes that the Safavid rulers had designated the pasture lands northeast of Herat as one of four military districts.[123] In Sadūzai times, the military contingents raised around Herat and Mashhad were labelled as *chahār ūymāq*. These troops were made up of 12,000 soldiers of different tribal backgrounds. According to Fūfalzāʾī, the *chahār ūymāq* were a standing army in charge of the protection of Herat. They included a mixture of local tribes, such as Qizilbāsh, Hazāra, Fīrūzkūhī, Tāymanī, as well as another group generically

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117 TA (Humāyūn) 417. Nineteenth-century sources describe the Khāsh Rūd as the border between the provinces of Qandahār and Herat (Forrest 1906: 36).

118 Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 62–6, 72, 98.

119 Barnābādī f. 48a; see also Tumanovich 1989: 175–6. According to Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī, Tīmūr Mīrzā's reappointment to the government of Herat took place in the Year of the Snake/1761–62 (TA (Humāyūn) 417).

120 TA (Humāyūn) 515. This date is confirmed by records quoted by Fūfalzāʾī, which indicate that Sulaimān Mīrzā b. Aḥmad Shāh assumed power on 23 Rabīʿ I 1186/24 June 1772 and was deposed by Tīmūr on 19 Jumādā I 1186/18 August 1772. On the basis of *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, Singh fixes Aḥmad Shāh's death on 20 Rajab 1186/17 October 1772 (T Su 147; Singh 1981: 326). See also Mann 1898: 172.

121 Elphinstone 1992 II: 297–8; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 111–12; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 133–47. This campaign took place during the 24th year of Aḥmad Shāh's reign, which corresponds to 1184/27 April 1770–15 April 1771. Aḥmad Shāh left Qandahār on 1 Muḥarram/17 April 1770 and went on to Herat, where he was lavishly entertained by Tīmūr Mīrzā. The siege of Mashhad lasted for 120 days. On 5 Jumādā I 1184/27 August 1770 a Durrānī contingent under the command of Sardār Jahān Khān and Naṣīr Khān Balūch gained a decisive victory over Shāh Rukh Afshār's ally ʿAlī Mardān Khān Zangūʾī at Turshīz. After re-establishing Sadūzai authority in Mashhad, Aḥmad Shāh retreated quickly to Herat and Qandahār because of the approaching winter (TA (Humāyūn) 493–502). Gulistāna confirms that Aḥmad Shāh's campaign to Mashhad was concluded shortly before the onset of winter (*Mujmal al-tavārīkh* 143). *Gulshan-i murād* and *Maṭlaʿ al-shams*, by contrast, report that Aḥmad Shāh left Mashhad for Qandahār at the height of summer, that is, on 8 Ṣafar 1184/3 June 1770 (*Gulshan-i murād* 638; MSh II: 343–5; see also Mann 1898: 355; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 126, 131; Rażavī 1999: 190; Singh 1981: 323).

122 It is difficult to identify the exact date of Tīmūr Mīrzā's appointment as heir apparent. A chapter heading in the *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī* suggests that he gained this position as early as 1754 (TA 170). Fūfalzāʾī is of the opinion that Aḥmad Shāh nominated Tīmūr Mīrzā as heir apparent subsequent to his last campaign to Mashhad in 1184/1770 (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 112, 126).

123 Brentjes 1983: 209.

labelled as *ūymāq*.[124] This lack of specificity points to different usages of the term *ūymāq*. Originally signifying 'a group of people, a tribe', it had also come to denote territorial and administrative subdivisions in the sense of "district". The above information indicates that this dual connotation still carried weight in the Sadūzai era and that the term *ūymāq* served both as a tribal and a military denomination.[125]

The available evidence of the organization of the *chahār ūymāq* is inconclusive. The eighteenth-century historian Imām al-Dīn Ḥusainī mentions the fact that Shāh Zamān incorporated the *chār aʿmāq* into his tribal militia (*īlāt-i khāṣṣa*) in 1797.[126] The modern historian Fūfalzāʾī informs us that they were under the command of Durrānī *sardārs* carrying the title of *qullarāqāsī*, which indicates their military character.[127] Yet a number of sources identify the military subdivisions with distinct tribal groups. Imām al-Dīn Ḥusainī describes the Fīrūzkūhī, Tāymanī and Jamshīdī leaders as the *sardārs* of Khurāsān and as the representatives of the *chār aʿmāq*.[128] Writing in the 1860s, Muḥammad Ḥayāt Khān names four original constituent groups:

> Āymāq is a Tātār word meaning part of a tribe (*qaum*), lineage (*khēl*), or branch (*shākh*)… The *āymāq* are generally also called *chār āymāq*… Originally they were made up of as many parts. But now there are a lot of branches among them. The original constituent groups (*qaum*) are the Tāymanīs, Hazāras, Tīmūrīs, and Zūrīs.[129]

British accounts of the time likewise attempt to reconstitute the "original" elements of the *chahār ūymāq* and often point to the Jamshīdīs, Fīrūzkūhīs, Tāymanīs and Sunnī Hazāras of Qalʿa-yi Nau as the essential "four tribes".[130] Other accounts include groups like the Tīmūrīs, Zūrīs, Qipchāqs, Chingizīs, and Ṭāhirīs. This reveals the arbitrary nature of the endeavor to fit the complex population patterns of the region around Herat into a supposed framework of four distinct entities. Instead, it is more appropriate to view these four units as an administrative grid imposed by the government in order to absorb and organize heterogeneous tribal groups for military purposes.

Among the *ūymāq* of Herat, the Sunnī Hazāras of Qalʿa-yi Nau played a preponderant role during the early Sadūzai period. Their most prominent leader was Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān, whose career sheds some light on the circumstances prevailing around Herat during Aḥmad Shāh's reign.

Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān Hazāra

During the interval between Nādir Shāh's death in 1747 and Aḥmad Shāh's assumption of authority in 1750, the environs of Herat drifted into anarchy. Although Afsharid officials formally maintained the administration of Herat, they were mostly left to their own limited resources. The power struggle that engulfed the former capital of Mashhad precluded any sustained military assistance for Herat. The resulting political and military vacuum gave free rein to local *ūymāq* chiefs. Immediately after Nādir Shāh's death, marauding Jamshīdī and Hazāra contingents roamed the countryside west of the city in search of mobile resources.[131] At the time of Shāh Rukh Afshār's assumption of power in Mashhad in Shavvāl 1161/October 1748, Ghulām ʿAlī Khān, the Afsharid military governor of Herat, found himself threatened by Tāymanī forces.[132]

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[124] Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 300.

[125] Centlivres 1979: 33; Doerfer I: 182, 185; Janata 1962–63: 149.

[126] T Hu 351.

[127] Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 300; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 412. According to Fūfalzāʾī, the tribal contingents of the army of Khurāsān were recruited among the leaders of the Shāmlūs, Tīmūrīs, Tāymanīs, Chahār Ūymāq-i Fīrūzkūhī, Qarāʾīs, Jamshīdīs, Surkh Kamāns, Qipchāqs, Qarācha Dāgh, Qarā Bayāts, and Qarā Tātārs (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 65).

[128] T Hu 310, 315. The leaders mentioned are Bahrām Khān Fīrūzkūhī, Muḥammad Khān Tāymanī, ʿAṭā Muḥammad Khān Tāymanī, and Yalangtūsh I Jamshīdī. See also Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 78–9.

[129] *Ḥayāt-i afghānī* 457.

[130] Janata 1962–63: 141; Mihrabān 1983: 34; Schurmann 1962: 50–5.

[131] Barnābādī ff. 42a–b.

[132] Amīr Khān Mīshmast, who was sent to Ghulām ʿAlī Khān's succour, acted as military governor of Herat until the town was conquered by Aḥmad Shāh in 1750. Amīr Khān's valiant efforts to defend the city notwithstanding, he finally had to submit to the Durrānī leader because military assistance from Mashhad was not forthcoming (TA (Humāyūn) 71–2, 95–106).

During the early Sadūzai period, Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān Hazāra became a central figure in the administration of Herat. Relatively little is known about his previous career except that he initially defied Nādir Shāh's authority when he occupied Herat in 1732.[133] In early 1750, Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān apparently cooperated with the Qizilbāsh troops that conquered Herat under the orders of Shāh Sulaimān II.[134] When Aḥmad Shāh regained control of Herat later in the same year, he placed the fiscal affairs and administration of Herat (*żabṭ u rabṭ-i māliyāt va iyālat-i Harāt*) in Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān's hands. This position seems to have corresponded to that of governor, as Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān Hazāra is subsequently described as *bēglerbēgī* of Herat.[135] The military command rested with one of Aḥmad Shāh's trusted generals, Anzala Khān Fūfalzai Durrānī.[136] Although Tīmūr Mīrzā was formally in charge of Herat, these two men actually controlled all fiscal and military matters and looked towards Aḥmad Shāh rather than the young prince for orders.[137] Aḥmad Shāh may have intended the appointment of a local leader as governor and a fellow Durrānī tribesman as military governor (*sardār)* as a system of checks and balances. At any rate, the relationship between the two men was characterized by a fierce rivalry which culminated in Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān's rebellion in the early 1760s.[138]

Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī takes a dim view of Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān's character and accuses him of an innate proclivity towards oppression, which caused him to "close the doors of compassion and generosity" (*abvāb-i raḥm va muruvvat*) on his helpless subjects as soon as Aḥmad Shāh turned his back. He attributes the estrangement between the Hazāra *bēglerbēgī* and the Durrānī *sardār* to the latter's vain attempts to restrain Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān's violent ways. In the Year of the Snake/1761–62, Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān decided to "scratch the face of loyalty with the fingernails of rebellion" (*chihra-yi ikhlāṣ-rā ba nākhun-i ʿiṣyān kharāshīd*). He left Herat for his stronghold in Qalʿa-yi Nau, collected numerous followers among his fellow Hazāras and (other) *ūymāq*, and took position at Kurukh near Herat. In the spring of 1762, in an effort to evade a punitive expedition led by the Durrānī vanguard general (*charkhchībāshī*) Shāh Pasand Khān Isḥāqzai Durrānī, Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān left Aḥmad Shāh's dominions in a northerly direction with the intent to settle in Marv. Yet this quest for independence was cut short by his followers, who soon became homesick and demanded to return to their homelands (*yūrt-i qadīm*). Given his enmity with Anzala Khān Fūfalzai, Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān decided to enter direct negotiations with Aḥmad Shāh and his *vazīr* Shāh Valī Khān. The minister sided with Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān and convinced Aḥmad Shāh to remove Anzala Khān Fūfalzai from the government of Herat and to allow the Hazāra leader to resume his position as *bēglerbēgī* of Herat.[139]

After his return from Marv, Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān initially cooperated with the new Durrānī *sardār* of Herat, Shāh Bēg Khān Fūfalzai. Eventually, however, he returned to his old ways and assumed an arrogant bearing towards the Sardār. Tīmūr Mīrzā also detected signs of rebellion in Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān's demeanor and decided to imprison him in the fort Ikhtiyār al-Dīn.[140] The conflict between Tīmūr Mīrzā and Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān dragged on for several years. In the Year of the Monkey/1764–65, after a renewed rebellion, Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān submitted to Aḥmad Shāh in Qandahār.[141] During Aḥmad Shāh's campaign to Khurāsān in 1770, Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān was kept under guard in Aḥmad Shāh's army and then returned to Tīmūr Mīrzā's safekeeping.[142] In the spring of 1771, Tīmūr Mīrzā's troops defeated a Hazāra-Jamshīdī confederacy under the leadership of Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān's sons Islām Khān Hazāra and Anzala Khān Hazāra, both of whom were

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133 Kāẓim 197. See also Singer 1972: 152.

134 *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 60; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 48.

135 TA (Humāyūn) 114, 140. See also Singh 1981: 86. According to Faiż Muḥammad, Aḥmad Shāh appointed Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān after the conquest of Herat in 1750 but dismissed him shortly afterwards on his return from his campaign to Nīshāpūr in the winter of 1750–51 (ST 14–15; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 21–2).

136 TA (Humāyūn) 430.

137 Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 66.

138 Possibly on the basis of Ferrier, Sulṭān Muḥammad places Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān's deposal in the year 1751. On his return from his first campaign to Khurāsān, Aḥmad Shāh detected "signs of rebelliousness" on Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān's forehead, deposed him and replaced him with Tīmūr Mīrzā (T Su 130; see also Ferrier 1858: 78; Singh 1981: 92).

139 TA (Humāyūn) 429–431.

140 TA (Humāyūn) 432.

141 TA (Humāyūn) 451–4.

142 Barnābādī 46b–47b; TA (Humāyūn) 502–3.

killed in battle.[143] In 1772, when Tīmūr Mīrzā departed for Qandahār to claim the Durrānī throne with the support of his Afghān troops, he imprisoned Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān in the citadel of Herat and put him to death.[144] Apart from the career of Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān, relatively little is known of the configurations of power in the region around Herat during the Sadūzai period. The circumstances in Mashhad, by contrast, are covered in much greater detail by a number of sources, some of which view the events there from the perspective of the Zand court.

The Circumstances in Shāh Rukh Afshār's Realm

In the western reaches of Khurāsān, the relative weakness of Shāh Rukh Afshār encouraged the formation of a number of powerful factions which were locked into an ongoing power struggle accompanied by repeated rounds of coalition making and breaking. These machinations reached their climax with the deposal and blinding of Shāh Rukh Afshār in January 1750. The events and the political alignments that triggered them have received varying interpretations in the available eighteenth-century accounts. Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī identifies major tribal confederacies like the Khurāsānian Arabs, Kurds and Turks as the main political actors. Gulistāna and Muḥammad Khalīl Marʿashī, by contrast, view the power struggle between Shāh Rukh Afshār and Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, the influential guardian of Imām Riżā's shrine, as the root cause of the conflict. These two authors adopt a dynastic argument: As both protagonists traced their maternal descent to Safavid forebears, their claims to royal authority enjoyed the same degree of legitimacy. Shāh Rukh Afshār's mother Fāṭima Sulṭān Bēgum was the daughter of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain (r. 1694–1722).[145] Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad's mother Shahrbānū Bēgum was a daughter of Shāh Sulaimān (r. 1666–1694) and the sister of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain.[146]

Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī's characterization of the affairs of Khurāsān on the eve of the conquest of Mashhad in late 1754 bears the message that the imposition of Durrānī authority would bring about a more equitable government and rescue the population from the state of insecurity and impoverishment caused by the shifting dominance of various tribal leaders. Thus, Aḥmad Shāh observed that Mashhad had been subject to constant warfare during the seven years which had elapsed since Nādir Shāh's death:

> The entire population, nobles and subjects alike, as well as the attendants of the holy shrine, cannot breathe freely due to oppression exercised by evil elements and bandits. Every year one of the powerful tribal leaders abuses the agricultural land around this holy city to secure pasture for his tyrannical troops. During the past two years, Mīr ʿAlam Khān [Khuzaima], pursuing the path of enmity and war with the Chamishgazak [Zaʿfarānlū] *khāns*, has raised the banner of oppression and has subjected all men of wealth to extortions beyond comparison.[147]

In a message to the local leadership, the Durrānī ruler promised to bring Mashhad within the fold of royal protection and to undo the evil caused by corrupt local leaders:

> Since Mīr ʿAlam Khān's [recent] flight, this area [has become even more fragmented]: Everyone has availed himself of a district (*bulūkī az bulūkāt*) or a city quarter (*maḥallaʾī az maḥallāt*) and has assumed royal authority. As the population cannot endure these impositions any longer, my justice-spreading troops have entered the region (*ulkā*) of Khurāsān in order to ease the burden borne by the subjects and to extend patronage to the attendants of the exalted tomb.[148]

Aside from advertising the beneficial effects of Aḥmad Shāh's government, Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī's account also contains some important information on the balance of power in and around Mashhad. According to his

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143 TA (Humāyūn) 502–3. See also Tumanovich 1989: 175–6.

144 Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān was killed by Āqāʾī (Āqāsī) Khān, the son of his paternal cousin Muḥammad Shāh Khān (TA (Humāyūn) 507–8; see also Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 712; Ferrier 1858: 97).

145 *Gulshan-i murād* 632; *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 86. See also Lockhart 1938: 335; Perry 1971: 65; ST 13; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 20.

146 *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 45; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 37; *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 91–2. See also ST 13; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 20.

147 TA (Humāyūn) 176.

148 TA (Humāyūn) 177.

portrayal, Shāh Rukh Afshār was at the mercy of a number of powerful tribal leaders who represented different categories within the ethnic make up of Khurāsān. The ruler of Mashhad was confronted with three powerful factions: the Persian-speaking Arabs and Tājīks (*īlāt-i aʿrāb-i fārsīzabān va jamāʿat-i tāzīkīya*), the "brave" Kurds (*akrād-i jalādat nizhād*), and the "intrepid" Turks (*atrāk-i bībāk*).[149] These three groups enhanced their control over the affairs of Mashhad and the remnants of Nādir Shāh's treasure by securing Shāh Rukh Afshār's coronation there and forestalling any political or military activity directed towards the western parts of Iran. According to Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī, they dissuaded the Afshār ruler from his plans to travel to ʿIrāq and Azerbaijan by pointing to the dangers lurking on the eastern borders of his dominion:

> The Kurds and Turks of Khurāsān are caught between two turbulent flood waves, that is, the Uzbeks and the Afghāns of Qandahār. These two valiant groups will continue to bring about war, enmity, and insecurity. If we embark on a long and distant journey [to ʿIrāq], these two powerful enemies will avail themselves of the opportunity to swiftly attack Khurāsān, to plunder the pastures and cattle of the local population, to destroy their property, and to occupy the region (*mamlakat*).[150]

Shortly after, Mīr ʿAlam Khān Khuzaima convinced Shāh Rukh Afshār to nominate leaders for the three major ethnic categories. Painting a gory picture of the unruliness of the Kurds, he reasoned that the appointment of paramount chiefs would allow the king to establish greater control over them and the other tribal groups:

> The Kurds are a numerous tribe, and they constantly move about within and without the city. They are accustomed to robbery and murder. As they have no singular leader of sound judgment, they continuously imbibe the drink of impudence and unrestraint and do not bow to any authority. The appointment of a supreme leader who will always be present at the threshold of the royal palace will enable [you] to identify, summon, and punish any Kurd who has committed a crime. [This leader] will also represent tribal concerns at the royal court. In the same manner, it is necessary to elect for the Turks and Arabs distinguished leaders (*sardārān*) who are well enough acquainted with the internal affairs of their tribes to administer punishment and to look after their concerns. Jaʿfar Khān [Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū] should be placed in charge of the affairs of the Kurds; Yūsufʿ Alī Khān Jalāyir should attend to all matters concerning the Turks; and I, this servant of the royal court, should be entrusted with the administration of the Arabs and the Tājīk community (*jamāʿat*).[151]

While reflecting the prevailing configurations of power, this seemingly harmonious agreement did not create the sort of stability Mīr ʿAlam Khān had projected. During the late 1740s and early 1750s, the three prominent tribal leaders jockeyed for influence and repeatedly called Shāh Rukh Afshār's authority into question. The information contained in the *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī* allows us to profile the prominent men involved and to reconstruct their political strategies. The Khuzaima Arabs of Qāyin rose to preeminence under Nādir Shāh, who awarded the government of Qāyin and Farāh to Ismāʿīl Khān Khuzaima in 1731. After Ismāʿīl Khān's death, his young son Mīr ʿAlam Khān continued to enjoy Nādir Shāh's patronage and accompanied him on all military campaigns.[152] At the time of Shāh Rukh Afshār's coronation in Shavvāl 1161/October 1748, Mīr ʿAlam Khān began to reside in Mashhad with six to seven hundred followers and soon gained the support of a sizeable faction at court. Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī reports that Shāh Rukh Afshār fostered the young Khuzaima leader because they were both fifteen years of age and because he hoped to employ him as a counterweight to the powerful Turkish and Kurdish leaders. To this end, he awarded the military governorship of Khurāsān (*sardārī-yi mamlakat-i Khurāsān*) to him.[153] Mīr ʿAlam Khān's standing at court rose to such a degree that he eclipsed the other tribal leaders: When the entire population, "provincial governors and officials, people from near and far, including Kurds, Arabs, Turks and Tājīks, became aware that Mīr ʿAlam Khān alone held the key to the king's mind and that the lock of their claims could only be opened by his mediation, they all turned to him."[154] Mīr ʿAlam Khān's Kurdish counterpart Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū "Vakīl al-Daula" of Chinārān was a veteran of the Afsharid period and had served in the

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149 TA (Humāyūn) 69.
150 TA (Humāyūn) 68.
151 TA (Humāyūn) 72–3; TA (Maulāʾī 118).
152 *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 81; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Ražavī) 64.
153 TA (Humāyūn) 68–9.
154 TA (Humāyūn) 71.

campaign to Andkhūd and Balkh in 1737–38.[155] At the time of Shāh Rukh Afshār's coronation he was appointed as viceregent (*vakīl*).[156] The third protagonist, Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān Jalāyir of Kalāt-i Nādirī, was a cousin (*banī aʿmām*) of Nādir Shāh's trusted general Ṭahmāsp Khān Vakīl al-Daula.[157]

Mīr ʿAlam Khān's influence at court tempted him to dispose of Shāh Rukh Afshār's authority altogether. To this end, he entered a plot with Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū Kurd, which was carried out in the early morning hours of 1 Ṣafar 1163/10 January 1750. Shāh Rukh Afshār was forced to abdicate, and his emblems of royal authority (*tāj va kulāh-i farmāndihī*) were passed over to Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, who assumed the title of Shāh Sulaimān II. While the conspirators initially intended to keep Shāh Rukh Afshār well and alive as a pawn for future political exigencies, they changed their mind in the face of continued support for the Afsharid king and blinded him.[158]

According to Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī, Shāh Sulaimān II's reign lasted a total of two months and was put to an end by Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān Jalāyir, who assembled his troops in Mashhad under the pretext of calling the roll. When Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū and his Kurdish troops departed for their home territories, Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān Jalāyir attacked the royal residence at Chahār Bāgh, swooped down on Shāh Sulaimān II like "a falcon on a finch" and blinded him. He then replaced Shāh Rukh Afshār on the throne and assumed a central position at court. As Shāh Rukh Afshār's representative (*vakīl al-salṭana*), Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān took care of all government affairs and did his best to obscure Shāh Rukh Afshār's blindness. By informing the king of all external details of his visitors, such as their bearing, their dress, and their adornments, he enabled him to react in a manner which conveyed the impression that he was able to see after all. To cement this impression, Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān spread the rumor that the surgeon in charge of blinding Shāh Rukh Afshār had spared one of his eyes.[159]

While Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī hardly mentions Shāh Sulaimān II's qualities as a ruler, Gulistāna and Marʿashī clearly prefer him over Shāh Rukh Afshār and portray his rise to power as occasioned by general sentiment. According to Marʿashī, the tribal leaders who assembled at Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad's residence on 20 Muḥarram 1163/30 December 1749 had little positive to say about the Afsharid leader:

> We have only raised Shāh Rukh to the throne of the kingdom of Iran because his mother belongs to the noble Safavid lineage. If the Iranian people had any confidence in or affection for Nādir Shāh's descendants we would have girded our loins in the service of anyone of his sons or nephews. The sole reason for our [erstwhile] loyalty to Shāh Rukh was his noble [Safavid] descent. [But] now there is no one in the Safavid lineage who is more qualified in terms of ability, distinction and genius to assume kingship and control over the kingdom of Iran (*mulk-i Īrān*) than you. Compared with a person of your standing, [Shāh Rukh Afshār] seems like an undiscerning child, and you are like a father in relation to him.[160]

Marʿashī, who was a grandson of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, alias Shāh Sulaimān II, provides us with more detailed information concerning his grandfather's background and his early career. Mīr Sayyid was born into an illustrious line of government officials in 1114/1702–03. His father, Mīrzā Muḥammad Dāvud, served as trustee at Imām Riżā's shrine in Mashhad. After the death of his father in 1121/1709–10, he was brought up in the royal household of his maternal uncle Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain. During the Hūtak Ghilzai invasion of Iṣfahān in 1722–29, he joined Ṭahmāsp II's cause and later married one of his sisters. In 1156/1743–44, Nādir Shāh appointed him as trustee to the shrine of Imām Riżā (*Sulṭān-i Khurāsān*). At the time of Nādir Shāh's assassination in June 1747, he also was in charge of the citadel of Mashhad. Later on, he entered the service of the Afsharid rulers ʿĀdil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Shāh.[161]

The narrative of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad's rise after the death of Ibrāhīm Shāh b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān in spring 1749, as reproduced by Gulistāna and Marʿashī, is largely identical and focuses on two

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155 Kāẓim 483.
156 TA (Humāyūn) 66, 68, 73.
157 TA (Humāyūn) 79.
158 TA (Humāyūn) 74–8.
159 TA (Humāyūn) 78–82.
160 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 111. See also *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 54–5; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Ražavī): 44.
161 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 91–6; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 45–6; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Ražavī) 37. See also Perry 1971: 65.

elements. Both authors emphasize the fact that the Sayyid enjoyed a great degree of influence in the western regions of Iran as well. The second element concerns his reluctance to assume paramount leadership. Despite his previous political involvement, he consistently postured as a religious leader who shunned all worldly aspirations. This attitude is exemplified by his reaction to the offer of the governors of ʿIrāq, Fārs and Azerbaijan to elevate him to the throne after Ibrāhīm Shāh's death. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, who resided in Qum at the time, allegedly answered: "I do not desire kingship. I consider being a sweeper at the holy threshold [of Imām Riżā's tomb] superior to the kingship of both worlds."[162] Subsequently, he demonstrated his loyalty to Shāh Rukh Afshār by transporting Ibrāhīm Shāh's baggage-train from Qum to Mashhad.[163] Instead of rewarding Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad for this service, Shāh Rukh Afshār feared him as a powerful rival and undertook several unsuccessful attempts on his life. The pressure Shāh Rukh Afshār exerted on his courtiers to rid him of the Sayyid eventually led to the aforementioned mutiny of 20 Muḥarram 1163/30 December 1749. Mīr ʿAlam Khān and fifteen other nobles entered Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad's residence, ignored his plea to withdraw to the Shiite shrine cities of ʿIrāq (*ʿatabāt*), and escorted him to the royal palace. According to Marʿashī, Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad's assumption of power was not backed only by the tribal leadership but by the entire population: Turks, Tājīks, Arabs, Kurds, Nakhī (?), Lālū, Tāymanī, as well as the urban population, amounting to a total of 80,000 persons, accompanied his entry at the Chahār Bāgh.[164] Alerted by the sound of military music and volleys of cannon and musket fire, Shāh Rukh Afshār hurried to the harem and strangled Ibrāhīm Khān Afshār's remaining five sons for fear that the ongoing coup aimed at elevating them to the throne.[165]

Gulistāna's and Marʿashī's account of the events subsequent to the crowning of Shāh Sulaimān II on 5 Ṣafar 1163/14 Januar 1750[166] again differs strongly from the interpretation offered by Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī. According to the *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī*, it was Shāh Sulaimān II who instigated Shāh Rukh Afshār's blinding by threatening to resign.[167] In Gulistāna's and Marʿashī's portrayal, however, the newly crowned king was most solicitous for Shāh Rukh Afshār's well-being from the beginning of his reign.[168] In their opinion, Mīr ʿAlam Khān Khuzaima is to blame for the blinding of Shāh Rukh Afshār, which he undertook on his own account while Shāh Sulaimān II was away on a hunting expedition to Rādkān.[169] Shāh Rukh Afshār's subsequent comeback was engineered by his Jalāyir wife,[170] who managed to convince a number of tribal leaders, foremost among them Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān Jalāyir, that the news of his blinding had been fabricated. Subsequent to their successful plot against Shāh Sulaimān II, the conspirators were dismayed to find out that the Afsharid ruler was indeed blind.[171]

The parallel fates suffered by Shāh Rukh Afshār and Shāh Sulaimān II make it clear that they were relatively weak elements within a force field that was determined by the interests of a number of powerful tribal leaders. Even so, the above pattern of king-making and breaking was influenced by long-standing dynastic considerations. While both men were reduced to pawns in the political game, their kingship was formally legitimized by their Safavid descent. After his return to power, Shāh Rukh Afshār remained a

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162 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 87. See also *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 46; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 38.

163 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 88, 104–5; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 48; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 39.

164 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 106–12. See also *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 50–5; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 40–5; Perry, "Afsharids", *E.Ir*. I: 588.

165 Due to Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad's intervention, two of Nādir Shāh's young nephews survived. Their names are variously given as Ḥasan Mīrzā and Raḥīm Mīrzā (*Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 113) or Ḥasan Mīrzā and Ḥusain Mīrzā (*Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 57; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 45).

166 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 114. The lunar year given by Gulistāna (5 Ṣafar 1162/25 January 1749) is certainly not correct. The author also mentions the Year of the Horse, which refers to the solar year of 1750–51 (*Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 57; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 46.

167 TA (Humāyūn) 77.

168 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 113; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 56; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 45.

169 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 128–9; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 62–4; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 50–51.

170 Shāh Rukh Afshār's wife was the daughter of Mīrzā Khān Sulṭān Jalāyir (*Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 133; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 66; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 53.

171 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 134–6; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 68; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī 55).

political nonentity, while the local chiefs resumed their intrigues and produced the highly segmented environment Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī describes for the year 1754.[172] The conflict between the three tribal factions of the Kurds, Arabs and Jalāyirs reached its climax in 1166/November 1752–October 1753 when Mīr ʿAlam Khān Khuzaima occupied Mashhad and had Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān Jalāyir and Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū blinded.[173] A year later, he himself suffered a similar fate. During the siege of Mashhad in autumn 1754, Aḥmad Shāh apprehended Mīr ʿAlam Khān near Sabzavār and handed him over to his former victims, who blinded and executed him.[174]

The incorporation of Mashhad into the Durrānī Empire was formalized by the appointment of Nūr Muḥammad Khān Durrānī Khavgānī as *sardār*.[175] However, the Durrānī presence in the western reaches of Khurāsān seems to have been marginal. Nūr Muḥammad Khān's successor Amīr Khān Qarāʾī was unable to establish direct control over Mashhad. Gulistāna reports that Shāh Rukh Afshār ignored Amīr Khān Qarāʾī's investiture and raised a *ghulām* by the name of Farīdūn Khān Gurjī to the office of viceregent (*nāʾib*). The Durrānī appointee Amīr Khān Qarāʾī only managed to gain access to Mashhad on the pretext of performing a pilgrimage to Imām Riżā's shrine and was expelled soon afterwards. Farīdūn Khān, on his part, was murdered by Shāh Rukh Afshār's eldest sons Naṣrullāh Mīrzā II and Nādir Mīrzā Afshār.[176] In the late 1760s, these two Afsharid princes entered center stage in the politics of the day and vied with each other for the control of Mashhad.

The most detailed and reliable report of the events in western Khurāsān during this period is furnished by Abū al-Ḥasan Ghaffārī Kāshānī, whose *Gulshan-i murād* otherwise mainly focuses on the events at the court of Karīm Khān Zand in Shīrāz. His account confirms the impression of Shāh Rukh Afshār's realm as a sort of "no-man's land" between the Sadūzai and Zand spheres of influence, in which the Afsharid rulers had to fend for themselves in an environment of competing tribal interests.[177] Kāshānī and Gulistāna agree that Shāh Rukh Afshār's eldest son Naṣrullāh Mīrzā II showed the greatest promise of promoting Afsharid interests. He was popular among the population of Mashhad, having earned himself the sobriquet of "Valī Niʿmat" by virtue of the impetuosity and bravery he had shown at a young age.[178] Yet Shāh Rukh Afshār,

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[172] Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī mentions the following developments:
- In 1164/1751, Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān Jalāyir engaged in military activities in Maihana; ʿAlī Naqī Khān Qājār, the *bēglerbēgī* of Marv entered the conflict and displaced the Jalāyirs from Mashhad; subsequently Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū and Mīr ʿAlam Khān Khuzaima assumed control over Mashhad (TA (Humāyūn) 139).
- In the spring of 1165/1752, Mīr ʿAlam Khān Khuzaima displaced Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū from Mashhad and entered a coalition with Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān Jalāyir; four months later Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū regained control of Mashhad; Mīr ʿAlam Khān withdrew to Qāyin; Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān returned to Kalāt-i Nādirī (TA (Humāyūn) 140, 164–5).
- In 1166 (November 1752–October 1753), Mīr ʿAlam Khān Khuzaima occupied Mashhad, imprisoned and blinded Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū, Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān Jalāyir and Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Qarāʾī. Amīr Khān Qarāʾī and the Kurdish leadership turned to Aḥmad Shāh for assistance (TA (Humāyūn) 164–9; for an abridged version of the events see *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 82–5; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 65–7.

[173] TA (Humāyūn) 168–9. Gulistāna is of the opinion that Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān Jalāyir was killed at this time (*Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 82; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 65).

[174] According to the *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī*, the population of Sabzavār submitted Mīr ʿAlam Khān to Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū Kurd's brother Naqd ʿAlī Khān. After depriving him of one eye, Naqd ʿAlī Khān sent Mīr ʿAlam Khān to Khabūshān, where he was executed in revenge for the earlier blinding of Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū (TA (Humāyūn) 186; see also Mann 1898: 184; Tumanovich 1989: 173–4). Gulistāna reports that Mīr ʿAlam Khān was first brought to Mashhad, where he was blinded by Shāh Rukh Afshār in revenge for his own blinding and then suffered death at the hands of Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū (*Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 85; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 67; see also Mann 1898: 184–5).

[175] According to the *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī*, Nūr Muḥammad Khān Durrānī Khavgānī retained this post until 1175 (2 August 1761–21 July 1762) (TA (Humāyūn) 199, 417). Gulistāna creates the impression that Aḥmad Shāh recalled Nūr Muḥammad Khān soon after his return to Qandahār in 1755 and replaced him with Amīr Khān Qarāʾī (*Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 114; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 89.

[176] *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 114–16; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 89–91.

[177] Perry 1971: 66.

[178] *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 117; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 91. See also *Gulshan-i murād* 632. According to Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī, Aḥmad Shāh awarded this title to Naṣrullāh Mīrzā at the conclusion of his siege of Mashhad in 1770 (TA (Humāyūn) 501).

who only interfered with administrative issues at irregular intervals, preferred Nādir Mīrzā Afshār as governor of Mashhad and sought to remove Naṣrullāh Mīrzā II from Mashhad. In the spring of 1181/1767, he sent Naṣrullāh Mīrzā to the court of Karīm Khān Zand at Shīrāz with the purported aim of soliciting aid against an impending military campaign by Aḥmad Shāh. Kāshānī reports that a member of his retinue intimated to Karīm Khān Zand that the real reason behind Naṣrullāh Mīrzā's mission was Shāh Rukh Afshār's desire to keep the young prince away from Mashhad for an indefinite period. After a pleasant six-month stay at the Zand court, Naṣrullāh Mīrzā returned to Mashhad with friendly assurances by Karīm Khān Zand concerning Shāh Rukh Afshār's authority over Khurāsān but without any tangible commitment to military assistance.[179]

Next we hear of Naṣrullāh Mīrzā II's heroic efforts to defend Mashhad during Aḥmad Shāh's last campaign to Khurāsān in the summer of 1770. Though vastly outnumbered by the Durrānī forces, Naṣrullāh Mīrzā II mounted a number of effective attacks on them, and even managed to enter Aḥmad Shāh's encampment without being caught. The result of the 120-day siege was inconclusive. From the Afghan vantage point, the Durrānī ruler "forgave" Shāh Rukh Afshār for his disobedience and confirmed him in his old position. In fact, Aḥmad Shāh's willingness to overlook Naṣrullāh Mīrzā's refusal to submit in person indicates that his position was not strong enough to dictate the terms of peace. The agreement with the Afsharid rulers was rounded off by a symbolical tribute and a marriage alliance.[180]

After Aḥmad Shāh's departure, Naṣrullāh Mīrzā II was practically left to his own, if meagre devices. The time before the advent of the Qājārs in 1796 was characterized by a continuing rivalry between Naṣrullāh Mīrzā and his brother Nādir Mīrzā Afshār, and a precarious economic base. The fragility of the Afsharid princes' position in Mashhad is reflected by the fact that both laid hands on the wealth deposited in Imām Riżā's shrine in order to pay their tribal levies. The state of the shrine thus highlights the changed political circumstances as compared to the Afsharid period. While their great-grandfather had lavished a portion of the wealth accumulated during his sweeping campaigns on the grave of Imām Riżā, Naṣrullāh Mīrzā and Nādir Mīrzā found their sphere of influence reduced to the environs of Mashhad and depended on the mobile assets of the shrine for their immediate economic survival. Kāshānī reports that Naṣrullāh Mīrzā was induced by his courtiers to requisition the precious metals stored in the shrine. They argued that the investments made by Nādir Shāh entitled him to take out certain precious items as a "loan":

> During his reign, your ancestor Nādir Shāh spent an enormous amount of gold, silver and precious jewels to restore and to embellish the lofty and pure building [containing the grave] of the Imām of all beings, ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riżā. If you, who are the heir to the crown and one of the offspring of that noble king, borrow some of those golden and jeweled items from the holy grave to maintain your troops, you can return this debt twofold as soon as the pearl of royalty has become firmly embedded in the shell of your lineage...[181]

Heeding his courtiers' advice and ignoring Shāh Rukh Afshār's protest, Naṣrullāh Mīrzā II requisitioned a number of precious lamps, vessels, and candlesticks from the shrine and used their precious metals to mint coins.[182] He also seized part of his father's possession in order to pay the salaries due to his followers. In reaction to Naṣrullāh Mīrzā's high handed manner, Shāh Rukh Afshār set up his younger brother Nādir

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179 *Gulshan-i murād* 289–91, 633.See also Perry 1979: 207.

180 TA (Humāyūn 496–501. See also Rażavī 1999: 186–90. According to Kāshānī, the lengthy siege of Mashhad implied a severe challenge to Aḥmad Shāh's authority. His soldiers were overawed by Naṣrullāh Mīrzā's military prowess. What is more, the Sadūzai ruler felt that, in the long run, the protective spiritual aura Imām Riżā extended over the city would weaken his own claims to power (*jalāl va istiqlāl*). Among the presents Aḥmad Shāh received was Naṣrullāh Mīrzā's valuable horse. The marriage arrangement foresaw that Sulaimān Mīrzā b. Aḥmad Shāh was to marry one of Shāh Rukh Afshār's daughters and Shāh Rukh Afshār's son Yazdānbakhsh was to marry one of Aḥmad Shāh's daughters in Qandahār. Kāshānī reports that Shāh Rukh Afshār undermined this agreement by sending a daughter of Farīdūn Khān Gurjī instead of his own. The marriage arrangement between Aḥmad Shāh's daughter and Yazdānbakhsh did not take place because the princess in question deceased prior to Aḥmad Shāh's return to Qandahār. Yazdānbakhsh returned to Mashhad after Aḥmad Shāh's death (*Gulshan-i murād* 637–8).

181 *Gulshan-i murād* 638–9.

182 *Gulshan-i murād* 639. According to Malcolm, Naṣrullāh Mīrzā removed the golden railing from Imam Riżā's tomb (Malcolm 1829 II: 216–17).

Mīrzā Afshār as heir apparent and thus fostered the rivalry between the two brothers. In the early phase of this conflict, Naṣrullāh Mīrzā had the upper hand. He displaced Nādir Mīrzā from Mashhad and was able to enforce his authority over the Kurds of Khabūshān. Shortly after, however, his cruel behavior towards the Qarāʾī leader of Daulatābād caused his Kurdish supporters to turn away from him.[183] Meanwhile, Shāh Rukh Afshār summoned Nādir Mīrzā from Ṭabas to Mashhad and shut out Naṣrullāh Mīrzā. In early 1775, Naṣrullāh Mīrzā again sought assistance from Karīm Khān Zand, this time against his father and his younger brother.[184]

After his arrival in Mashhad, Nādir Mīrzā Afshār adopted the same policies as his elder brother. Once again the riches of Imām Riżā's shrine fell prey to the ruler's desperate efforts to create a cash flow sufficient for the maintenance of his troops. Among the precious items seized by Nādir Mīrzā were a golden ball adorning the top of the dome, its jewel-encrusted gate, and a priceless carpet that was burnt to retrieve its gold and silk threads.[185] Nādir Mīrzā sought to bolster his rule by maintaining a friendly relationship with the Kurds of Khabūshān and the Bayāts of Nīshāpūr, but was eventually displaced by his inveterate enemy Mīr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Mardān Khān Zangūʾī of Ṭabas. In revenge for abuses Nādir Mīrzā had committed during his earlier exile in Ṭabas, Mīr Muḥammad Khān abducted him there and installed Mamish Khān Zaʿfarānlū of Chinārān as governor of Mashhad.[186]

Nādir Mīrzā Afshār's removal from Mashhad provoked two interventions by the Sadūzai army. During a first engagement, Tīmūr Shāh's general Madad Khān secured the release of Nādir Mīrzā, who joined Tīmūr Shāh's son Maḥmūd Mīrzā in Herat. In the meantime, Naṣrullāh Mīrzā II used the prevailing power vacuum to seize control of Mashhad. Shortly after, he defeated Nādir Mīrzā who sought to fight his way back in with the assistance of Sadūzai troops.[187] These events took place during the 1780s and thus fell into the reign of Tīmūr Shāh.[188] As will be seen below, the focus of Tīmūr Shāh's activities lay on the eastern territories of the Sadūzai Empire, thus rendering the western reaches of Khurāsān an unlikely target for intervention.

The Configurations of Power under Aḥmad Shāh's Successors

Before assuming power in Qandahār on 19 Jumādā I 1186/18 August 1772, Tīmūr Shāh had to break up a powerful coalition that had formed around his younger half brother Sulaimān Mīrzā and Aḥmad Shāh's influential minister Shāh Valī Khān Bāmīzai, who was also Sulaimān Mīrzā's father-in-law. After Shāh Valī Khān's execution, Tīmūr Shāh sought out new allies among the Durrānīs. Foremost among these were the Muḥammadzai Bārakzai leader Pāyanda Khān b. Ḥājjī Jamāl, who received the honorific title of "Sarfarāz Khān", and the Isḥāqzai leader Dilāvar Khān, who received the title of "Madad Khān" and was appointed as

[183] Kāshānī reports that Naṣrullāh Mīrzā first entered a marriage alliance with Amīr Khān's brother Ḥasan Khān Qarāʾī but then wrongly accused him of treason, executed him, and confiscated his property (*Gulshan-i murād* 639–40).

[184] *Gulshan-i murād* 641–2. See also Perry 1979: 207.

[185] *Gulshan-i murād* 634; Malcolm 1829 II: 216–17.

[186] *Gulshan-i murād* 639–40, 645. During his earlier stay in Ṭabas, Nādir Mīrzā had forcefully married Mīr Muḥammad Khān's sister.

[187] *Gulshan-i murād* 645–7. Rażavī 1999: 191–2. For another, more warbled account of the power struggle between Naṣrullāh Mīrzā II and Nādir Mīrzā, see *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 116–22; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 90–5.

[188] There is contradictory information concerning the dates of these events. According to *Gulshan-i murād*, Naṣrullāh Mīrzā II spent six years in Shīrāz, which leads to the conclusion that he left for Khurāsān in 1781 (*Gulshan-i murād* 644). Some sources mention that Naṣrullāh Mīrzā left Shīrāz for Iṣfahān after Karīm Khān Zand's death in 1779 and returned briefly to Shīrāz before departing for Khurāsān (Perry 1979: 207; Rażavī 1999: 191). This would suggest that the confrontation between Naṣrullāh Mīrzā and Nādir Mīrzā took place in 1780–81. According to Fūfalzāʾī, however, the Sadūzai campaign to Ṭabas, Mashhad and Nīshāpūr began on 8 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1199/12 October 1785 and lasted until 1 Jumādā I 1201/19 February 1787. Moreover, Fūfalzāʾī is of the opinion that Naṣrullāh Mīrzā returned to Mashhad only after Tīmūr Shāh's death (Shavvāl 1207/May 1793) and that Nādir Mīrzā resided in Herat from 1199/1784–85 until 1206/1791–92. (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 263–70). This assumption is backed by Malcolm and Ferrier, who furnish the information that Mamish Khān's government in Mashhad lasted for five years (Ferrier 1858: 101–2; Malcolm 1829 II: 217). According to Ferrier, Tīmūr Shāh mounted a total of three campaigns against Khurāsān. The first two were headed by Madad Khān and were directed against Mamish Khān. The third campaign to Khurāsān was commanded by Aḥmad Khān Nūrzai (Ferrier 1858: 101–2).

commander-in-chief (*sipahsālār*). Fatḥullāh Khān Sadūzai Kāmrānkhēl, who had recently arrived from Multān, became Tīmūr Shāh's confidant (*nadīm-i khāṣṣ*). In addition, Tīmūr Shāh favored a number of Persian speakers with high government positions. Thus Shaikh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Khān Vakīl, a descendant of Aḥmad-i Jām, was placed in charge of the revenue collection (*akhdh-i manāl-i dīvānī*). Mullā ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, a Hindu by origin, became the chief revenue officer (*mustaufī-yi salṭanat*).[189] The transferral of the capital from Qandahār to Kābul in 1189/1775–76 further weakened the hold of the Durrānī elite on the affairs of government, although the reasons Tīmūr Shāh officially gave for the shift to Kābul were its central position in relation to the important eastern provinces and its favorable climate.[190] In general, his court alternated between summer camp (*yailāq*) in Kābul and winter quarters (*qishlāq*) in Pishāvar.[191]

The thrust of Tīmūr Shāh's military activities followed the territorial precedents set by Aḥmad Shāh. Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī reports that Tīmūr Shāh emulated his father's policies with regard to Turkistān and declared the Āmū Daryā as the border (*ḥadd*) between the Afghān and Bukharan spheres of influence in the summer of 1204/1790.[192] Tīmūr Shāh directed most of his military campaigns at the Indian provinces. Compared with Aḥmad Shāh's reign, however, his military activities were much reduced both in terms of scope and intensity. In 1192–93/1778–80, he mounted successful campaigns against the Sikhs in Multān and the ʿAbbāsī dynasty of Bahāvalpūr.[193] In addition, Sardār Madad Khān was entrusted with all important military activities in Balūchistān and Sind (in 1193/1799–80),[194] Kashmīr,[195] and Khurāsān.

The distribution of power in and around Herat apparently did not change significantly during Tīmūr Shāh's reign. Upon his accession in 1772, Tīmūr Shāh nominated his eight-year old son Maḥmūd Mīrzā as governor of Herat.[196] Once again, the administration of the province was split up among the Hazāra leadership and Durrānī officials. The office of *bēglerbēgī* went to Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān Hazāra's paternal cousin Muḥammad Shāh Khān Hazāra, who had remained loyal to Tīmūr Shāh during Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān's rebellion and was instrumental in bringing about his death.[197] Muḥammad Shāh Khān Hazāra was succeeded by his sons Āqāʾī Khān and Muḥammad Khān.[198] In Dhū al-Ḥijja 1199/October 1785, Tīmūr Shāh awarded the government of Bākharz to Muḥammad Khān Hazāra Bēglerbēgī, who constructed its chief town Shahr-i Nau.[199] Muḥammad Khān Hazāra retained his influential position until the early nineteenth century. Under the first Qājār governor of Mashhad, Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā (1803—1816), he figured among the foremost military leaders (*amīrs*) of Khurāsān.[200] His brother Bunyād Khān was associated with the government of Bākharz and Turbat-i Shaikh Jām until the early 1830s.[201]

As in previous times, the military command of Herat rested with a Pūpalzai Durrānī, namely Sardār Islām Khān. A number of high government positions likewise were the prerogative of members of the Durrānī confederacy.[202] Apart from the Durrānīs, the Bardurrānīs and Ghilzais are recorded as distinct groups within

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189 Ferrier 1858: 98; T Hu 354–5; T Su 152.

190 T Su 154. According to Fūfalzāʾī, the construction of the new capital began in 1189/1775–76 (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 193–5).

191 Ferrier 1848: 98; T Su 155.

192 T Su 156–7. According to Fūfalzāʾī, Sardār Barkhurdār Khān conducted two military campaigns to Turkistān as early as 1186/1772–73 (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 163, 168, 270).

193 Ferrier 1858: 99; T Su 153–5. See also Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 220, 247, 263.

194 T Su 155. See also Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 233–6.

195 T Su 157–8. See also Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 257.

196 Ferrier 1858: 97.

197 TA (Humāyūn) 451, 507–8. Fūfalzāʾī is of the opinion that Muḥammad Shāh Khān was the son of Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān and died in 1203/1788–89 (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 712).

198 TA (Humāyūn): 507.

199 Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 270; Yate 1900: 136. On 18 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1204/29 August 1790, Tīmūr Shāh addressed Muḥammad Khān Hazāra as "*bēglerbēgī* of Herat and the chief (*ḥākim*) of the Hazāra tribe and bestowed the government of Tūn and Ṭabas on him (Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 332–3).

200 *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 74, 150–1, 155–6, 203, 239, 246, 432.

201 KR 63, 68 (Patterson 1988: 24, 38); NT 316, 429; Bāmdād 1992 I: 373, III: 130.

202 Sardār ʿAbd al-Shakūr Khān Fūfalzai served as *dīvānbēgī* (officer in charge of justice and finances) and Raḥmdil Khān Isḥaqzai as *amīr ākhūrbāshī* (master of the royal stables) (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 399).

the population of Herat.[203] These three groups were present in the crowd that reportedly assembled at the Gāzargāh after Aḥmad Shāh's death to vouch their support for Tīmūr Shāh.[204] Another sizeable component of the population of Herat were "migratory" tribes that had been removed by Aḥmad Shāh from the western reaches of Khurāsān. During his second campaign to Nīshāpūr in the summer of 1755, the Afghan ruler was so impressed with the courage of the local Bayāt population that he decided to take a group (*jamʿī*) of them into his service and to settle them in Kābul.[205] According to Fūfalzāʾī, some tribes of western Khurāsān, including Bayāts, Kurds, Tātārs, Afshārs, Göklen Turkmens, Hazāras and Tāymanīs arrived in Herat under Aḥmad Shāh's auspices and received land grants which they held until 1212/1797–98. In the political landscape of Herat, these groups formed a counterpoise to the Afghān groups residing there.[206]

The reign of Tīmūr Shāh's successor Shāh Zamān, from 1207–1215/1793–1800/01,[207] was characterized by increasing internal struggles. At the time of Shāh Zamān's accession, all crucial provinces of the Durrānī Empire were held by his brothers, some of whom were senior to him in age.[208] Among these, Tīmūr Shāh's eldest sons Humāyūn Mīrzā at Qandahār and Maḥmūd Mīrzā at Herat proved to be Shāh Zamān's most formidable antagonists. Maḥmūd Mīrzā consistently undermined the Shāh's efforts to maintain a military presence in the Panjāb and rebelled whenever the king entered the regions east of the Khyber Pass. Each of Shāh Zamān's four campaigns in that direction was cut short because of unrest in Herat and Qandahār. On Shāh Zamān's side, the Durrānī leaders Pāyanda Khān "Sarfarāz Khān Amīr al-Umarā" Bārakzai and Aḥmad Khān Nūrzai rendered crucial military assistance.

The first two years of Shāh Zamān's reign were taken up with the effort to displace Humāyūn Mīrzā from Qandahār.[209] The years between 1795 and 1799 were characterized by alternating efforts aiming at controlling the Sikhs in Panjāb and containing Maḥmūd Mīrzā's military activities in the provinces of Qandahār and Herat:

- Shāh Zamān's first campaign to Panjāb in 1210/1795 was cut short by the news that Maḥmūd Mīrzā had assembled troops in Herat and was about to cross the Hilmand river in order to make a bid for Qandahār. Although Shāh Zamān defeated Maḥmūd Mīrzā at Khākrīz near Maivand, his relative weakness in the core regions of the Durrānī Empire is

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[203] Mullā Muḥammad Khān and Khanjar Khān are mentioned as the representatives of the Bardurrānīs living in Herat. Maulā Dād Khān was in charge of the ʿAlīzai Durrānīs (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 399)

[204] Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 130–2.

[205] T Su 130.

[206] Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 105–6; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 121.

[207] Most sources agree that Shāh Zamān was crowned in 1793. According to Imām al-Dīn Ḥusainī and Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī, he ascended to the throne in Kābul one day after Tīmūr Shāh's death on 7 Shavvāl 1207/18 May 1793 at the age of 23 (T Hu 253, T Su 161–2). Fūfalzāʾī is of the opinion that Shāh Zamān was crowned on 11 Shavvāl 1207/22 May 1793 (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 299–300; see also Elphinstone 1992 II: 307). The Persian sources differ on the date of Shāh Zamān's deposal. The surrounding events suggest that he was blinded in the winter–spring of 1215/1800–1801. Fāżlullāh Shīrāzī reports that Maḥmūd Mīrzā deposed Shāh Zamān subsequent to Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Qājār's second campaign to Khurāsān, which lasted from 9 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1214–14 Rabīʿ II 1215/8 May–4 September 1800 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 135–6, 139, 172; see also TRSN IX: 383; Elphinstone 1992 II: 320–5). A letter addressed by Shāh Zamān to Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh on 18 Jumādā II 1215/6 November 1800, indicates that he was still in power at the time (Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 140–3). The Afghan sources place his deposal in the following year. According to Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī, Shāh Zamān was ousted in 1216 (14 May1801–3 May 1802) (T Su 170, 173; see also Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 182–3 and footnote 219 below). Faiż Muḥammad mentions 1216 and 1217 (4 May 1802–22 April 1803) as recorded dates for Shāh Zamān's blinding (ST 62; McChesney/Khorrami I: 100). Shāh Zamān died in 1260 (22 January 1844–9 January 1845) and was buried in Sirhind (Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 467; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 34).

[208] See footnote 105.

[209] In 1793, Shāh Zamān defeated Humāyūn Mīrzā near Qalāt-i Ghilzai and forced him to flee to Balūchistān. A year later, Humāyūn Mīrzā gave battle to Shāh Zamān's officials outside of Qandahār, seized the Shāh's seven-year old son Qaiṣar Mīrzā and thus forced his entry into Qandahār. Humāyūn Mīrzā's rule over Qandahār came to an end shortly afterwards, when a great part of his army defected to Pāyanda Khān Bārakzai. After fleeing to Balūchistān and Multān, he was apprehended by the governor of Layya in 1795 and thus fell into the hands of Shāh Zamān, who had him blinded (T Su 161–5. See also Boukhary 27–8 (Persian text 13–14); Elphinstone 1992 II: 311).

reflected by the fact that he refrained from an onward campaign to Herat and reinstated Maḥmūd Mīrzā as governor of Herat province including Farāh, on condition that he acknowledged his suzerainty.[210]

- In Jumādā II 1211/December 1796, Shāh Zamān embarked on his next Indian campaign.[211] A month later, in January 1797, he gave up his occupation of Lahore because of yet another attempt by Maḥmūd Mīrzā to gain control of Qandahār. On this occasion, Maḥmūd Mīrzā was less fortunate: His troops dissolved en route to Qandahār, he found himself locked out of Herat by the military governor Qilich Khān Tīmūrī, and was forced to seek asylum at the Qājār court.[212] In the autumn of 1797, Shāh Zamān arrived in Herat and appointed his son Qaiṣar Mīrzā as governor.[213] Shāh Zamān's campaign to Herat occurred at a time when Qājār presence in Khurāsān was weakened owing to Āqā Muḥammad Shāh's assassination on 21 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1211/17 June 1797. Shāh Zamān availed himself of this opportunity to re-install Shāh Rukh Afshār's son Nādir Mīrzā Afshār as governor of Mashhad.[214]
- While Shāh Zamān was busy with his third campaign to Panjāb in early 1798, Maḥmūd Mīrzā made a vain attempt to regain Herat with the help of Mīr Ḥasan Khān Zangūʾī of Ṭabas and Mīr ʿAlī Khān Khuzaima of Qāyin. Shāh Zamān once again proceeded to Herat and confirmed Qaiṣar Mīrzā as governor.[215]
- During his fourth campaign to Panjāb in November 1798–January 1799, Shāh Zamān gave up the idea of maintaining direct control over Lahore and formally appointed Ranjit Singh as governor there.[216]

Shāh Zamān's military successes against Maḥmūd Mīrzā became undone around 1800 when he decided to weaken the position of his chief ally Pāyanda "Sarfarāz Khān" Bārakzai and to replace him with Raḥmatullāh b. Fatḥullāh Sadūzai Kāmrānkhēl as chief minister.[217] Seeing his influence at court dwindle, Pāyanda Khān joined other disenchanted chiefs in a plot to depose Shāh Zamān in favor of his brother Shujāʿ al-Mulk (later Shāh Shujāʿ). The revelation of this plan gave Shāh Zamān a pretext to execute Pāyanda Khān and his fellow conspirators, thus freeing his court from a number of prominent Durrānī and Qizilbāsh leaders.[218] This measure, however, dissolved a number of long-standing loyalties and ultimately cost Shāh Zamān dearly. Pāyanda Khān's eldest son Fatḥ Khān and his brothers formed an alliance with Maḥmūd Mīrzā, and conquered Qandahār while Shāh Zamān was in Pishāvar. Maḥmūd gained control of Kābul, had Shāh Zamān blinded, and was crowned in the spring/summer of 1216/1801.[219]

During the following two decades, the Durrānī empire fell apart amid the rivalry between Shāh Shujāʿ on the one hand and Shāh Maḥmūd and his son Kāmrān Sadūzai on the other. The unfolding game of constantly changing coalitions was dominated by Fatḥ Khān Bārakzai "Shāhdūst" b. Pāyanda Khān, who was Shāh Maḥmūd's strongest ally. In 1803, a Sunnī-Shīʿa riot fanned by Fatḥ Khān's rivals in Kābul forced Shāh

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[210] T Hu 303–21; see also Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 78–9. Up to that time, Maḥmūd Mīrzā had performed the striking of coins and the Friday sermon in the name of Tīmūr Shāh (Boukhary 1876 30–31 (Persian text, 14)). See also ST 50–2; McChesney/Khorrami I: 79–82); T Su 165–6.

[211] ST 52; McChesney/Khorrami I: 83.

[212] Maḥmūd Mīrzā was accompanied by his son Kāmrān, his brother Fīrūz al-Dīn, and his nephew Malik Qāsim (Boukhary 35 (Persian text 16).

[213] T Hu 343–9; Boukhary 32–5 (Persian text 15–16); T Su 166, l73; NT 92. The dates of these events have been pieced together on the basis of several sources. Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī reports that Shāh Zamān began his second campaign to Panjāb by crossing the Indus on 12 Jumādā II 1211/13 December 1796 (T Su 166). According to Singh, he entered Lahore on 3 January 1797 (Singh 1990: 27). Elphinstone is of the opinion that Shāh Zamān left Qandahār for Herat on 8 September 1797 (Elphinstone 1992 II: 316–18). Shāh Zamān returned to Kābul in Rajab 1212/December 1797–January 1798 (T Hu 351; T Su 167; ST 55; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 88.

[214] T Hu 349–50; ST 55; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 87–8).

[215] Maḥmūd Mīrzā, his son Kāmrān and his full brother Fīrūz al-Dīn Mīrzā were once again forced to flee. Fīrūz al-Dīn and Kāmrān went directly to the Qājār court, while Maḥmūd Mīrzā briefly joined Shāh Murād Bī Manghīt (r. 1785–1800) at Bukhārā before rejoining Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Qājār (NT 105; T Su 167, 175). According to Elphinstone, these events took place in 1799 (Elphinstone 1992 II: 318–19).

[216] T Su 167–8; Singh 1990: 28–30.

[217] T Hu 354–55.

[218] Faiż Muḥammad Kātib places this event in 1214 (5 June 1799–24 May 1800) (ST 60; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 97). According to the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, Pāyanda Khān was executed in 1215 (25 May 1800–13 May 1801) (T Su 169).

[219] According to the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* Maḥmūd was crowned on 13 Rabīʿ I 1216/24 July 1801 (T Su 168–172, 176–9; see also footnote 207).

Maḥmūd to cede power to Shāh Shujāʿ.[220] Shāh Maḥmūd, who regained power in 1809, eventually undid his reign by repeating Shāh Zamān's mistake. In 1818, he executed his most important ally Fatḥ Khān, thus triggering a rebellion by Fatḥ Khān's remaining twenty brothers that eventually spelled the demise of the Sadūzai Empire. In this process, Fatḥ Khān's Muḥammadzai Bārakzai lineage established itself as new ruling dynasty in Kābul. Herat passed to the control of Shāh Maḥmūd and Kāmrān and thus became a last enclave of Sadūzai authority that increasingly drifted into the orbit of Qājār interests.

Maḥmūd's immediate association with the government of Herat began in 1772 and lasted until January 1797. For the remainder of Shāh Zamān's reign, Qaiṣar Mīrzā acted as governor of Herat and was assisted by the *nāʾibs* Zamān Khān Bāmīzai (1797–1798) and Mīr Afżal Khān b. Dilāvar Khān Isḥāqzai "Madad Khān" (1798–?).[221] Upon Shāh Maḥmūd's assumption of power in 1801, Mīr Afżal Khān Isḥāqzai expelled Qaiṣar Mīrzā and invited the king's full brother Fīrūz al-Dīn from Yazd to take control of Herat.[222] Fīrūz al-Dīn's government in Herat proved to be of a fairly stable nature. Located at a distance from the power struggles engulfing Kābul, he maintained his position in Herat throughout the reigns of Shāh Maḥmūd and Shāh Shujāʿ and was only removed by Shāh Maḥmūd's minister Fatḥ Khān in the spring of 1233/1818.[223] Shortly after, Shāh Maḥmūd himself was displaced from Kābul and took up residence in Herat, which he ruled, in name at least, until his death in 1244/1828–29 or 1245/1829–30.[224] Sadūzai authority in Herat ended with Kāmrān b. Shāh Maḥmūd's violent death in 1257/1842.[225]

Qilich Khān Tīmūrī

Maḥmūd Mīrzā Sadūzai's political career coincided with that of his tribal counterpart Qilich (Qilīch) Khān Tīmūrī. The late part of Qilich Khān's career, however, was characterized by ongoing friction with the Sadūzai prince. In 1797, he was instrumental in Maḥmūd Mīrzā's eviction from Herat and in turn suffered from his political comeback in 1800–01. These political changes implied migration and resettlement for Qilich Khān's Tīmūrī followers. Under the leadership of Qilich Khān's father Ḥājjī Khān Tīmūrī, the Tīmūrīs had formed a powerful group in Bādghīs.[226] In connection with the events of 1797, Qilich Khān is described as the head of Tīmūrī *ūymāq*, which numbered 30,000 families.[227] During the 1790s, he served as

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220 Elphinstone, who visited Pishāvar in 1809, places these events in June–July 1803 (Elphinstone 1992 II: 337). Ferrier merely mentions that Shāh Maḥmūd's government lasted for two years and six months (Ferrier 1858: 132). According to Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī and Faiż Muḥammad, Shāh Maḥmūd was overthrown in 1219 (12 April 1804–31 March 1805), in the third year of his reign (T Su 181; ST 66–7; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 107–8).

221 T Su 166–7, 172–5, 179.

222 Fīrūz al-Dīn Mīrzā accompanied Maḥmūd Mīrzā to Iran in 1797. Later on, he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and engaged in trading activities in Yazd (Boukhary 82; T Su 180–1). Ferrier is of the opinion that Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn settled in Turshīz, where he "occupied himself in the purchase and sale of horses, camels, and other beasts of burden" (Ferrier 1858: 131).

223 *Dhū al-qarnain* 802–3; NT 293. Fīrūz al-Dīn joined the court of the Qājār governor of Mashhad, Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā Shujāʿ al-Salṭana (1816–1827). He made two brief attempts at regaining control over Herat in 1822 and 1824 (Ferrier 1858: 165–9). Fīrūz al-Dīn was killed near Turshīz owing to a misunderstanding in 1247/1832 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 803–4; NT 460; see also Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 523–4). According to *Kulliyāt-i riyāżī*, Fīrūz al-Dīn was murdered at the instigation of Kāmrān. Upon Fīrūz al-Dīn's death, his son Malik Qāsim took up residence in Mashhad (KR 71 (Patterson 1988: 48)).

224 According to Fażlullāh Shīrāzī, Shāh Maḥmūd died in Farāh in 1245 (3 July 1829–22 June 1830) (*Dhū al-qarnain* 803). Sulṭān Muḥammad and Faiż Muḥammad place his death in the year 1244 (14 July 1828–2 July 1829) (T Su 208, 282; ST 113; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 187). All sources agree that he died of natural causes.

225 According to British sources, Kāmrān Sadūzai was murdered in early 1842 (Sykes 1981 II: 62; Yapp 1980: 376). This information is corroborated by Iranian sources, which indicate that Kāmrān Sadūzai was alive and well in May 1841, conducting correspondence with the Qājār court (Ittiḥādīya 1975 (125): 34). The Afghan authors Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī and Faiż Muḥammad, however, place Kāmrān's death in the year 1256 (5 March 1840–22 February 1841). They report that Kāmrān tried in vain to wrest control from Yār Muḥammad Khān at the time. After finding himself besieged in the Qalʿa-yi Ikhtiyār al-Dīn for fifty days, he surrendered to Yār Muḥammad Khān. Shortly after, he was killed by the *vazīr*'s men in Kuhsān and was buried in Rauża Bāgh (T Su 285; ST 190; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 325–6).

226 *Gaz. Iran* II: 115.

227 Boukhary 33 (Persian text, p. 15).

the commander (*qalʿa bēgī*) of the citadel of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn and thus played a crucial role in the military matters of Herat.[228] Boukhary reports that Qilich Khān commanded a fighting force of 1,000 cavalry.[229] At the time of Maḥmūd Mīrzā's first tenure as governor of Herat under Tīmūr Shāh, Qilich Khān was charged with the protection of the northwestern border from Turkmen incursions and erected a total of twelve watchtowers in the region bordering on Pul-i Khātūn.[230] In the early nineteenth century, by contrast, his followers were concentrated around the Qājār possessions of Khvāf, Bākharz and Jām.[231]

Despite his long-standing association with the government of Herat, Qilich Khān Tīmūrī opted to collaborate with Shāh Zamān in 1797.[232] According to Boukhary, this decision reflected the internal power structure of Herat. The Tīmūrī leader opposed Maḥmūd Mīrzā's close association with two "Qizilbāsh" officials, namely his *vazīr* Ḥusain ʿAlī and his chief secretary (*munshī bāshī*) Mīrzā Hāshim Khān. This resentment was shared by a number of other *ūymāq* as well as the Afghān nobles, who offered their support to Shāh Zamān after Maḥmūd Mīrzā's second campaign to Qandahār. While Maḥmūd Mīrzā assembled his troops outside of Herat to meet Shāh Zamān's approaching army, Qilich Khān occupied the citadel and opened artillery fire on the city of Herat and the governor's quarters. Unable to regain control of the citadel, Maḥmūd Mīrzā consented to Qilich Khān's demand that the two Qizilbāsh officers be handed over to him. The conflict between the different factions in Herat is summed up by the manner in which the Tīmūrī leader allegedly addressed his two prisoners, "[Look at my] low status as the leader of one thousand *ūymāq* [fighters] as compared to you who have become minister (*vazīr*) and superintendent of finances (*daftardār*) [despite the fact] that you are of a foreign religion, of no consequence, and Qizilbāsh." From Boukhary's vantage point, the lines of conflict are conceptualized on the basis of an inherent opposition between "local" tribes, Afghān and *ūymāq*, of Sunnī persuasion on the one hand and Shiite groups of Iranian descent on the other.[233] Barnābādī, however, attributes the general disenchantment with Maḥmūd Mīrzā's government to the oppressive policies of his tax officials, who imposed excessive taxes and, to make things worse, embezzled them.[234]

During Qaiṣar Mīrzā's governorship of Herat, Qilich Khān Tīmūrī retained his post as commander of the citadel of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn.[235] With the return of Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn in 1801, both Qaiṣar Mīrzā and Qilich Khān Tīmūrī found themselves expelled from Herat and left for Mashhad and Tehran.[236] Qilich Khān rendered vital military services to the first two Qājār governors of Khurāsān, Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā (1803–1816)[237] and Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā Shujāʿ al-Salṭana (1816–1827). He played a leading role in the campaigns against Herat in June 1807 and May 1817.[238] Furthermore, he participated in Muḥammad Valī's effort to suppress a rebellion of the tribal elite of Khurāsān in the summer of 1231/1816.[239] Based in the district of Khvāf, Qilich Khān constructed its chief town and provided for the security of caravans travelling between

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228 Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 89, 92. According to Imām al-Dīn Ḥusainī, Qilich Khan and his kinsmen occupied the lands adjoining the citadel during this time (T Hu 422).

229 Boukhary 33 (Persian text, p. 15).

230 Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 430–1; Lumsden, LPS/8/A53/pt. 3 pp. 11–12; Stewart 1883: 11.

231 Boukhary 82 (Persian text, p. 40).

232 T Hu 343–7.

233 Boukhary 32–5, 82 (Persian text, p. 15–16, 39). See also Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 45, 89–94. Imām al-Dīn Ḥusainī does not portray the encounter along Sunnī-Shīʿī demarcations. He merely reports that Qilich Khān requested the mediation of two important officials, Ṣādiq Khān (*sipahsālār-i lashkar*) and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Khān (*mukhtār-i kār-i sarkār*), and then imprisoned them (T Hu 346–7).

234 This revenue demand stipulated that a poll tax (*sar shumār*) of 2,000 *dīnār* was to be levied from all individuals with no exceptions (Barnābādī f. 76b).

235 T Hu 348. See also Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 96–7. According to *Kulliyāt-i riyāżī*, Qilich Khān again rebelled during Maḥmūd Mīrzā's exile in Iran and established control over the environs of Herat (KR 61; see also Patterson 1988: 15).

236 Boukhary 82 (Persian text 39–40); Ferrier 1858: 130–1.

237 *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 150, 155–6, 203, 205, 239, 246, 335.

238 *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 390–1; Boukhary 1876: 83–4 (Persian text 40); NT 162–3, 282–5, 360–1.

239 *Dhū al-qarnain* 422, 448; NT 272; Bāmdād 1992 III: 130.

Mashhad and Sarakhs.[240] He gradually widened his sphere of influence to include the districts of Zūrābād, Jām, and Bākharz.[241] In 1235/1819–20, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana awarded Bākharz and some of the dependencies of Jām to him after forcefully displacing Bunyād Khān Hazāra from the region.[242] In Ramażān 1237/May 1822, Qilich Khān was killed during a failed attempt to depose Shāh Maḥmūd and Kāmrān Sadūzai from the government of Herat and to reinstate Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn instead.[243]

Qilich Khān's Tīmūrī followers remained in the service of the Qājār government throughout the nineteenth century.[244] Between 1240/1824–25 and 1839, Qilich ʿAlī Khān's son Naṣrullāh Khān Tīmūrī was the leader of the Tīmūrīs in Iranian Khurāsān and resided in Khvāf.[245] In the early 1850s, Lady Sheil estimated the Tīmūrī population of Khvāf at four thousand tents and houses; another group of two thousand lived near Herat.[246] The number of the Tīmūrīs in Iran did not change significantly until the late nineteenth century.[247] From the1860s on, ʿAlī Mardān Khān Tīmūrī served as chief of the Tīmūrīs and as governor of the frontier districts of Turbat-i Shaikh Jām, Zūrābād, Bākharz and Khvāf. In 1867, he received the title of "Nuṣrat al-Mulk" from Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1848–1896) for services he had rendered against the Turkmens on Iran's northeastern frontier. In 1885, he was deported from Mashhad by the governor of Khurāsān, ʿAbd al-Vahhāb Khān Shīrāzī (1884–1886).[248] Subsequently, the governorship of Turbat-i Shaikh and Zūrābād passed to another Tīmūrī leader by the name of Mīr Asadullāh Khān "Shaukat al-Daula".[249]

In 1894, the British official Charles E. Yate left the following account of the modern town of Khvāf:

> The town of Khaf, consisting of the citadel, avenue, bazar, bath, &c., was said to have been built Amir Kilich Khan, Timuri, the powerful and semi-independent chief who ruled these frontier districts in the early part of the nineteenth century. It contained about eight hundred houses, and the people were all Sunnis. There were numbers of windmills, and the gardens produced all sorts of fruit, which was sold very cheap. The silk industry had almost entirely died out owing to disease, and the cultivation of opium had taken its place. Tobacco also was largely cultivated, 2000 kharwars being exported annually.[250]

The Local Perspective: Muḥammad Riżā Barnābādī

The changing fortunes affecting Herat and its environs are highlighted by the memoirs of Muḥammad Riżā Barnābādī (1751–1815). Born into a wealthy family based in the village of Barnābād, the author suffered impoverishment when his family fell from royal grace in 1793. In order to preserve the memory of his family's past grandeur, he compiled his *Tadhkira* between 1806–1811 and included copies of documents attesting to his ancestors' close relationship with the Safavid and Sadūzai rulers.[251] The leading Barnābādīs traced the beginnings of their settlement to the establishment of a convent (*khānaqāh*) in the early Timurid period. Muḥammad Riżā attributes its foundation to Maulānā Vahīd al-Dīn Muḥammad, a disciple and son-

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240 Fraser 1825: 524, 528.

241 Ferrier 1857a: 142; *Gaz. Iran* II: 309; Mīr Niyā 1990: 50; *Safarnāma-yi Rukn al-Daula* 89.

242 *Dhū al-qarnain* 516; NT 315–16; KR 68 (Patterson 1988: 38). See also Bāmdād 1992 I: 373, III: 130. This award was only temporary. In Ramażān 1236/June 1821, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana bestowed the government of Bākharz and Shahr-i Nau on Ibrāhīm Khān Hazāra (TRSN IX: 589; NT 323).

243 The battle took place on 1 Ramażān 1237/22 May 1822 (Ferrier 1858: 165–6; KR 68 (Patterson 1988: 39)).

244 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 21, 60, 112; Napier 1875: 224–5.

245 NT 360–1; Forrest 1906: 37; Lal 1977: 126; Todd, Oct 1839, IOL, L/PS/20/G10/3 No. 4 p. 9. Todd describes Naṣrullāh Khān Tīmūrī as the grandson of Qilich Khān. In 1844, Qilich Khān's other son Dūst Muḥammad Khān Tīmūrī and two hundred Tīmūrī families lived in Qūrghūn located four *farsakh*/16 miles from Mashhad (*Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* 26–7).

246 Lambton, "Īlāt," *E.I. 2* III: 1107.

247 In 1893, Yate reported that the Tīmūrīs of Iran numbered about 6,000 families. Another 2,000 families lived around Herat, Farāh and Isfizār (Yate 1900: 38).

248 According to Yate, ʿAlī Mardān Khān Tīmūrī was deported from Mashhad as late as 1895. In the light of the fact that Āṣaf al-Daula's tenure as governor of Mashhad ended in 1886, it seems more likely that ʿAlī Mardān Khān Tīmūrī's deposal occurred in 1885 (Yate 1900: 38, 45–6. See also Migeod 1990: 64).

249 Mīr Asadullāh was the head of approximately 300 Tīmūrī families who resettled in Khurāsān subsequent to Ḥusām al-Salṭana's siege of Herat in 1856 (Yate 1900: 46).

250 C. E. Yate 1900: 131.

251 Māyil Haravī 1969a: 55–70.

in-law of the local Sufi saint, Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī, who in turn was "the contemporary and spiritual preceptor (*murshid*) of the "Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction" (*ṣāḥib qirān*) Amīr Tīmūr."[252] The convent and Friday mosque built by Maulānā Vahīd al-Dīn Muḥammad constituted the nucleus of the village which would later become known as Barnābād. The origin of Muḥammad Riżā's family was also associated with the early activities at this convent and its attractiveness as a spiritual center. In the early fifteenth century, a man from Mecca by the name of Sirāj al-Dīn ʿAlī joined Maulānā Vahīd al-Dīn Muḥammad's circle. After the death of his teacher, Sirāj al-Dīn ʿAlī became the administrator of his grave, which became a nodal point in the sacred realm around Herat. Henceforth, this prestigious and lucrative post rested with Sirāj al-Dīn ʿAlī's descendants, who formed the leading lineage of Barnābād and interacted closely with the rulers of Herat.[253]

Barnābād was conveniently located. Situated close to the highroad leading to western Khurāsān, it could be reached from Herat within a day. The next large settlement in the region was Ghūriyān, at a distance of one *farsang*. Barnābād thus served as an important staging post en route to and from Mashhad where merchants and pilgrims could acquire accommodation, horses, and provisions.[254] Muḥammad Riżā makes only general mention of the patronage Timurid rulers like Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā extended to his ancestors, the *khvājas* of Barnābād. For the sixteenth century, by contrast, he adduces evidence that considerable growth occurred in this settlement. Sirāj al-Dīn ʿAlī's grandson Muḥammad Ṭāhir I (915–990/1509–1582) is credited with having enhanced the agricultural potential of Barnābād. His major contribution to the welfare of his village was the extension of an irrigation channel which had formerly passed by the village of Barnābād at a distance towards the north. Muḥammad Ṭāhir I conducted this channel towards the center of Barnābād, where most of his landed property, either inherited or recently purchased, was located. This channel became the artery of the settlement and caused later generations to consider Muḥammad Ṭāhir I as the founder of Barnābād.[255]

Among the seven contributions attributed to Muḥammad Ṭāhir I, three more were immediately linked to the increased water supply of Barnābād. Muḥammad Riżā mentions a water reservoir (*ḥauż-i Khvāja Ṭāhir*) the location and water of which were unsurpassed in pleasantness. Even more impressive was the bath (*ḥammām*) filled with "flowing water in the same way as the human body is pervaded by the soul". Muḥammad Ṭāhir I completed the Friday mosque begun by Vahīd al-Dīn Muḥammad and added a water dispensary (*siqāya*), which drew its water from the Barnābād channel. He also embellished the grave of Vahīd al-Dīn Muḥammad with an *īvān* and secured its maintenance with a generous endowment. For this purpose, he set aside a plot of seventy *jarīb* for a plantation of trees (*nihālistān*), lined it with pine trees and secured it with a wall.[256]

The privileged position of the Khvājas of Barnābād is reflected by a number of decrees the Safavid rulers issued on their behalf. In 1580, a royal document recorded the fact that Muḥammad Ṭāhir I used the occasion of the death of his son to bestow all his moveable and immoveable property[257] on his grandson ʿAlī Akbar b. Muḥammad Hāshim (987–1084/1579–1673). The lands passed on to ʿAlī Akbar were of sizeable proportions. Among nine villages located in the region of Barnābād, he received three in their entirety, two-thirds of two, and half of four settlements. The list of the properties awarded also included the village of Barnābād itself, two-thirds of which belonged to ʿAlī Akbar. All the estates given to ʿAlī Akbar were declared tax-exempt: "The counsellors, headmen and tax-collectors of this region are to consider the

[252] Barnābādī f. 4a. See also Māyil Haravī 1969a: 2; Tumanovich 1989: 179. On Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī, see Chapter 1.
[253] Tumanovich 1989: 180–3.
[254] Tumanovich 1989: 233–4.
[255] This irrigation channel has been maintained up to present times (Māyil Haravī 1969a: 2, 5).
[256] Barnābādī f. 3b–4a. See also Tumanovich 1989: 184–6.
[257] *[Z]irāʿāt va amlāk va asbāb va jamīʿ-i ashyāʾī ki ba taṣarruf dāshta* (Barnābādī f. 4b).

aforementioned quarters separate from the collective assessment and are not to raise one *mann* in kind nor one *dīnār* in cash under any heading whatsoever."[258]

There is evidence that ʿAlī Akbar b. Muḥammad Hāshim acquired more land in the *vilāyat* of Fūshanj and in the vicinity of Herat during his lifetime. A deed issued by Shāh Ṣafī (r. 1038–1052/1629–1642) during his visit to Herat in 1638 stipulated that the recently purchased property of eleven *zauj* (ploughs) was to enjoy the same tax privileges as the lands inherited from Muḥammad Ṭāhir I.[259] This acquisition seems to have enhanced ʿAlī Akbar's hold over the property of Barnābād even further: Four *zauj* of the eleven *zauj* were located in Barnābād itself.[260] Without giving a date or other particulars, Muḥammad Riżā also refers to another decree rendering 80 *zauj* of ʿAlī Akbar's landed property a tax-free assignment (*suyūrghāl*).[261]

Further decrees cited by Muḥammad Riżā reflect the fact that the Barnābādī family continued to enjoy a close relationship with their Safavid overlords up to the late seventeenth century and managed to preserve the tax-free status of their lands. ʿAlī Akbar's sons Muḥammad Ṭāhir II (1027–1099/1617–1687) and Maḥmūd Barnābādī (1030–1087/1620–1676) were mainly known for their charitable works, which included two water reservoirs. The water reservoir constructed by Muḥammad Ṭāhir was known as the "domed" reservoir (*ḥauż-i khanba*). Located four and a half *farsang* (18 miles) from Herat along the highroad to Mashhad, it served to refresh the travellers passing by. Maḥmūd Barnābādī built a reservoir near Shabash [Shāhbāsh?].[262]

In 1688, Shāh Sulaimān issued a decree on behalf of ʿAlī Akbar's grandson Abū Ṭālib "Māyil" (1051–1130/1641–1718) confirming the tax-exemptions granted by his royal ancestors to ʿAlī Akbar b. Muḥammad Hāshim and ʿAlī Akbar's grandfather Muḥammad Ṭāhir I. Shāh Sulaimān refers to Abū Ṭālib's private property and an endowment (*vaqf*) ʿAlī Akbar had made on behalf of his male descendants. The Safavid king freed Abū Ṭālib's lands from all royal impositions (*māliyāt va ʿavāriżāt va kull-i takālīf-i dīvānī*) including a fee on beasts of burden, sheep and cows known as *vajh-i chūpānbēgī*.[263]

A final glimpse of the position of the leading Barnābādī lineage under the Safavids is provided by a document of 1713. At this point in time, Abū Ṭālib decided to withdraw from worldly affairs and to settle in the so-called Chahār Bāgh of Barnābād. The subsequent division of his property among his two sons Muḥammad Arshad II (d. 1769–70) and Abū al-Fatḥ II (d. 1740) and one daughter reflects the scope of his possessions. Apart from the Chahār Bāgh, this deed concerned a combined property of 17 *jauz*. Another important category were plots of land used for intensive and specialized agriculture. These included vineyards, as well as mulberry and pine plantations (*tūtistān, nāzhūstān*). Further assets were institutions catering to the needs of travellers: a guest-house (*mihmānkhāna*), a stable (*ṭavīla*) providing horses and beasts of burden, and a bathhouse (*ḥammām*).[264]

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[258] *Arbāb va kadkhudāyān va ʿummāl-i vilāyat-i madhkūr jamʿ va bunicha-yi mahāll-i fauq-rā az kull-i jamʿ-i vilāyat-i mazbūra maużūʿ dānista yak mann bār va yak dīnār ba-hīch ism va rasm ḥavāla va iṭlāq nadārand* (Barnābādī f. 4b: See also Tumanovich 1989: 187).

[259] In his copy of this decree, Muḥammad Riżā mentions ʿAlī Akbar's grandson Abū Ṭālib (1641–1718) as the beneficiary of Shāh Ṣafī's decree. As Abū Ṭālib was not born yet when this document was issued, Tumanovich concludes that ʿAlī Akbar was more likely the addressee (Barnābādī f. 26a–b; Tumanovich 1989: 194–5).

[260] Of the remaining property, one *zauj* was located in the village of Shāda (in the *vilāyat* of Fūshanj). The present-day village of Shāda (34° 24' N 61° 39' E) is located west of Shakībān on the northern bank of the Harī Rūd (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 359). Another six *zauj* of land were purchased in Kundrau. This place is not included in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's list of settlements in Fūshanj (Krawulsky 1982: 39; 1984: 36). The closest approximation to this name is Kundur, which was located in the *bulūk* of Kamburāq (Tumanovich 1989: 195–6; see also Krawulsky 1984: 102).

[261] Barnābādī f. 6a. See also Tumanovich 1989: 188, 193–4.

[262] Barnābādī ff. 23b–24a. See also Māyil Haravī 1969a: 45–6; Tumanovich 1989: 197. Shāhbāsh (34° 29' N 61° 23' E) is located on the right bank of the Harī Rūd (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 358).

[263] Barnābādī ff. 26b–27a. See also Tumanovich 1989: 201–202.

[264] The property was distributed in the following manner: Abū Ṭālib retained the Chahār Bāgh and his possessions in the hamlets (*mazraʿa*) of Mushkarān (two *zauj*) and Kundrau (six *zauj*) for his own upkeep. Muḥammad Arshad received lands in the hamlet of Jangān (two *zauj*) and the villages of Rūj (one *zauj*) and Barnābād (one *zauj*), a portion of a farm (*muḥavvaṭa*) known as Kishmishkhāna, a portion of a mulberry plantation, half of the living quarters and guest house, and half of the living quarters in the fort, bathhouse and stables. Abū al-Fatḥ's portion included lands in the hamlet of Jangān (two *zauj*) and in the villages of Rūj

Muḥammad Riżā also provides some information about the female members of the Barnābādī family. Many of these belonged to the lineage itself. A number of marriages were concluded among cousins in order to prevent an increasing fragmentation of property over generations. A case in point is Abū Ṭālib, who married the younger daughter of his paternal uncle and teacher Muḥammad Arshad I b. ʿAlī Akbar (1025–1114/1616–1703). Among the assets she brought into the family was a watermill.[265] Endogamous marriages remained a noticeable feature during the following generations.[266] At the same time, strategic marriage alliances were formed with other leading families of the Herat region and were reinforced at intervals. One such alliance was maintained with the prominent "Shahriyārī" family that furnished the *kalāntars* of Herat under the Safavids and owned mansions in the Mazār-i Nau quarter within the city and in the fashionable Khiyābān *bulūk* north of the city walls. This relationship reached back to the early seventeenth century and was renewed in the early eighteenth century when Abū al-Fatḥ II Barnābādī married the sister of Mīrzā Jaʿfar "Shahriyārī", whose grandfather Mīrzā Manṣūr Shahriyārī had been a maternal cousin and brother-in-law of Muḥammad Arshad I.[267] Abū al-Fatḥ II's second wife also stemmed from a prominent Herati family based in the wealthy quarter adjoining the Friday mosque. Her brother Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī held the post of head scribe (*munshī*) of the *dār al-salṭana* of Herat until the decline of the Safavid government and the rise of the Abdālīs forced him to seek employment with Muḥammad Ḥasan Qājār in Astarābād.[268]

Muḥammad Riżā repeatedly mentions the artistic achievements of his ancestors in the fields of poetry and calligraphy. He provides a number of samples from the work of Muḥammad Arshad I, who wrote, among other things, a *mathnavī* entitled *Abr-i gauharbār* and corresponded with the Safavid governors of Herat, Ḥasan Khān Shāmlū (r. 1619–1638) and his son ʿAbbās Qulī Khān, as well as a number of other great personages of his time. Furthermore, he produced eight copies of the Koran, two of which included a commentary (*tafsīr*). In the early nineteenth century, Muḥammad Riżā estimated that 10,000 verses (*fard*) of Muḥammad Arshad's poetry had survived the ravages of time.[269] Muḥammad Arshad adopted the pen name of "Māyil". This precedent was followed by his nephew Abū Ṭālib, who also was his disciple and son-in-law. Despite a recent depletion of the library of Barnābād, Muḥammad Riżā had about 5,000–6,000 of Abū Ṭālib's verses at his disposal.[270]

Up to the early eighteenth century, the Barnābādīs primarily defined their position as guardians of the grave of Vahīd al-Dīn Muḥammad. Their interaction with the Safavid overlords apparently remained limited to occasional odes to the rulers-that-be and the endeavor to safeguard the tax-free status of their property. Overall, they showed little inclination to assume an active role within the Safavid administration. His friendly relationship with a number of courtiers notwithstanding, Muḥammad Arshad I turned down an offer by the *vazīr* of Khurāsān to assume a post in the administration of Herat.[271] With the decline of Safavid power and the rise of the Abdālī leadership, the relationship of the Barnābādīs with the lords of Herat changed significantly. Rather than being pampered with tax-exemptions, they found themselves subjected (probably along with other landlords of the regions) to unprecedented fiscal demands. In 1718, Asadullāh Khān Abdālī demanded a contribution of one thousand *tūmān* from Abū al-Fatḥ II b. Abū Ṭālib, who was in charge of the affairs of Barnābād at the time. This sum was exorbitant by the local standards of the time and

(two *zauj*) and Barnābād (one *zauj*), a portion of a big orchard (*bāgh-i buzurg*) along with pine and mulberry groves, half of the living quarters in Barnābād and the guest house, a portion of the farm known as Bāghcha-yi Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, half of the living quarters in the fort, bathhouse and stables, the dyer's shop (*dukān-i ṣabbāghī),* and half of a water-mill (*ṭāḥūna-yi dāyira-yi Khvāja Mihdī*). Abū Ṭālib's daughter was entitled to a unit of land (*fard*) in the village of Barnābād, and a portion of a vinyard and a mulberry plantation (Barnābādī ff 27b–28a; see also Tumanovich 1989: 202–5, 231–2). Rūj (Rūch, 34° 24' N, 61° 34 E) is located on the northern bank of the Harī Rūd (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 341).

265 Barnābādī f. 28a.

266 For a description of the lives and accomplishments of Muḥammad Arshad's daughters, see Barnābādī f. 35a.

267 Barnābādī ff. 7a, 40a. See also Māyil Haravī 1969: 14–15; Tumanovich 1989: 212.

268 Barnābādī f. 37a. See also Māyil Haravī 1969a: 46; Tumanovich 1989: 216.

269 Barnābādī ff. 6b–22a. See also Māyil Haravī 1969a: 6–45; Tumanovich 1989: 25, 69, 194, 197, 203, 206–12.

270 Barnābādī ff. 22b, 24a–25a, 28b–33a, 34b. See also Māyil Haravī 1969a: 46–51.

271 Barnābādī f. 7a–b. See also Māyil Haravī 1969a: 13–14; Tumanovich 1989: 197.

roughly corresponded to one-fifteenth of the revenues the Safavids had raised in all of the *vilāyāt* belonging to the province of Herat. As the amount collected by Abū al-Fatḥ II fell short by 300 *tūmān*, he sent his 77-year old father Abū Ṭālib to the "godless khān" (*khān-i khudā nāshināṣ*) Asadullāh Abdālī to plead with him for a reduction of this heavy imposition. While Abū Ṭālib managed to convince Asadullāh to lower his demand to 650 *tūmān*, he found himself confronted by another member of court, who, with the "importunity of an Afghān" (*az taḥmīl-i afghānī*) insisted that Abū Ṭālib's case be investigated further. After being insulted in this manner, the elderly Barnābād leader fell ill with fever and died shortly after his return to Barnābād.[272]

Given the troubled circumstances in the province of Herat during the first interlude of Abdālī power, it comes as no surprise that the chiefs of Barnābād looked for alternatives. As soon as the future Nādir Shāh appeared on the scene in 1727, Abū al-Fatḥ II joined his ranks and accompanied him on his return to Mashhad along with ten Barnābādī families and their followers. Henceforth, he was present during most of Nādir's military campaigns. Subsequent to Nādir's conquest of Herat in 1732, Abū al-Fatḥ II was appointed as *vazīr* of Bādghīs (allegedly against his will), and was awarded a *tuyūl* of two *zauj* of water and land in the village of Sabūl in the province of Ghūriyān.[273] He held this post until his death in 1740 and was succeeded by the author's paternal uncle and namesake Muḥammad Riżā I (d. 1747). Muḥammad Riżā's loyalty to Nādir Shāh was so great that he did not hesitate to visit him in person and render accounts even during the last phase of his reign, which was characterized by increasing violence towards all courtiers.[274]

The political turmoil which engulfed Khurāsān after the death of Nādir Shāh found its local expression in repeated depredations by the *ūymāq* and Uzbek tribes which in turned caused general famine. According to Muḥammad Riżā, the population of Ghūriyān, which had formerly amounted to 70,000–80,000 families, was reduced to thirty families who had been lucky enough to find refuge in the fort of Barnābād. Muḥammad Riżā I was killed shortly after Nādir Shāh when he vainly sought to defend Barnābād against an attack by 150 Jamshīdī and Hazāra cavalry.[275]

Despite these disruptions, some members of the Barnābādī lineage could point to a continuous and lengthy career in the administration of Herat. Thus, Muḥammad Riżā reports that his father Muḥammad Kāẓim (1726–1792), Abū al-Fatḥ II's youngest son, served in the chancellery of Herat for 35 years and under a variety of kings, such as Nādir Shāh, ʿAlī Shāh (Nādir Shāh's nephew ʿAlī Qulī Khān Afshār alias ʿĀdil Shāh), Shāh Rukh Afshār (October 1748–December 1749), and Aḥmad Shāh (1750–1772).[276] Muḥammad Kāẓim's relationship with the Sadūzai court is reflected by three decrees issued in Rabīʿ I 1173/October–November 1759, Rajab 1174/March 1761, and Rajab 1184/October–November 1770. The first two decrees document the fact that Aḥmad Shāh respected and fostered the existing elite of Herat. In 1759, Aḥmad Shāh renewed a decree he had initially issued at the time of the conquest of Herat in 1750. The reason given for the renewal is that the previous decree had become worm-eaten and was about to decay. On the occasion of a visit to Kābul, Muḥammad Kāẓim presented the original decree, as well as those issued by the Safavid rulers to his ancestors in order to demonstrate the long-standing nature of his family's privileges. Aḥmad Shāh indeed acknowledged the tax-free status of the "service grants and private property" (*tuyūlāt va suyūrghāl va amlāk*) at the disposal of Mīrzā Muḥammad Kāẓim and his brother Muḥammad Bāqir in Jangān and Barnābād. Herds of up to 200 sheep and five cows were to be exempt from the imposition of the tax categories of *sar galla* and *shākh shumārī*.[277] The mulberry plantations located in Ghūriyān were likewise

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[272] Barnābādī ff. 33b–34a. See also Tumanovich 1989: 159, 214–16. Abū Ṭālib died in Ramażān 1130/August 1718 (Māyil Haravī 1969a: 47).

[273] Sabūl (34° 24' N 61° 32' E) is located on the northern bank of the Harī Rūd (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 342).

[274] Barnābādī ff. 36a–b. See also Tumanovich 1989: 205, 215–18.

[275] Barnābādī ff. 42a–b.

[276] Barnābādī f. 44a.

[277] Barnābādī f. 48b. There is little information on the tax categories of *sar galla* and *shākh shumārī*. In Qandahār, Aḥmad Shāh imposed *sar galla* as a tax on flocks on non-Durrānī and non-Farsīvān shepherds and settlers, at the rates of one *shāhī* for a sheep, four *shāhīs* for a cow, five for a mare, and six for a camel (Rawlinson 1871: 827). See also Strachey, *Memoir Chiefly on the Revenue and Trade of the Kingdom of Caubul*, Elphinstone Collection, India Office Library, F 88 13 Hn, f. 8.

freed from the tax called *māliya-yi fīlja*. The Sadūzai ruler also confirmed Muḥammad Kāẓim in his position as "secretary of the province of Herat" (*khidmat-i inshā-yi iyālat-i dār al-salṭana-yi Harāt*) and promised to render it hereditary among his descendants. Moreover, he exhorted the local officials and powerbrokers, such as the "present and future governors and tax-collectors" (*ḥukkām va ʿummāl-i ḥāl va istiqbāl*) and the "Durrānī and Bardurrānī fighters" (*ghāziyān-i durrānī va bardurrānī*) to respect Muḥammad Kāẓim's prominent and privileged status. Muḥammad Kāẓim's involvement with the chancellery of Herat had additional financial benefits. Aḥmad Shāh initially fixed his income at 15 *tūmān* in cash, 5 *kharvār* in kind, and 3 *fard* of land in 1759. In March 1761, Aḥmad Shāh's son Tīmūr Mīrzā, while still governor of Herat, enhanced Muḥammad Kāẓim's salary by adding another 20 *tūmān* in cash and 5 *kharvār* in kind.[278]

For a brief period, Muḥammad Kāẓim's standing at the court of Herat was called into question because of his close association with the controversial Hazāra leader Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān. Fondly remembering numerous instances of friendship the *bēglerbēgī* had shown to him over time, Muḥammad Kāẓim remained loyal to him throughout his rebellion in the 1760s and consistently ignored Tīmūr Mīrzā's orders to cease relations. Finally, Tīmūr Mīrzā relented in the face of Muḥammad Kāẓim's unwavering attitude and his willingness to pay substantial fines as a price for his friendship with Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān Hazāra .[279]

With the appointment as minister of crown lands (*vizārat-i khāliṣajāt*) in autumn 1770, Muḥammad Kāẓim's professional career reached its apex. He held this prestigious and lucrative position for fourteen years until he lost it amid allegations of corruption. There are indeed indications that Muḥammad Kāẓim not only sought to enhance the prosperity of the crown lands assigned to his care but also fostered the fortune of his own family.[280] Residing in the fashionable quarter adjoining the Friday mosque and the chancellery in the northeast of Herat, Muḥammad Kāẓim left the supervision of the estate in Barnābād to his brother Muḥammad Bāqir. There seems to have been a lively interchange of men and goods between the rural base of Barnābād and the urban residence at Herat. In 1180/1766–67, Muḥammad Kāẓim saw to it that his first-born son Muḥammad Riżā, the future author of the *Tadhkira*, was appointed supervisor of taxes (*vakīl*) of the province of Ghūriyān in order to remove him from the bad company he had fallen in with in Herat.[281] Muḥammad Kāẓim himself continued to engage in agricultural activities, which in turn enhanced his status at the royal court. His efforts to introduce new varieties of wheat and rice (*shālī*) met with the approval of Tīmūr Shāh, who ordered him to supply the royal court with 200 *mann* of rice annually.[282]

Muḥammad Kāẓim used the wealth he had accumulated for the restoration of public works. He ordered a second mosque to be built in Barnābād and repaired two water reservoirs in and near Herat.[283] Muḥammad Riżā's description of his father's other achievements also serves to emphasize the privileged position this most prominent member of the Barnābādī lineage enjoyed during Tīmūr Shāh's era. His discourse on Muḥammad Kāẓim's modest disposition simultaneously demonstrates that he was a man of great means: Although the *vazīr* always had seven, eight, or ten fine horses worth at least 50 *tūmān* at his disposal, he insisted on visiting the king and the governors on foot even during winter when his progress was rendered difficult by rain or cold weather.[284] Muḥammad Riżā finds his father's clement attitude towards his slaves equally noteworthy, adverting that he bought a total of 22–23 male and female slaves who were either freed or incorporated into his household. The latter group received some sort of professional training, as barber, masseur or the like, and were probably employed in the family's *ḥammām* in Barnābād.[285]

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278 Barnābādī f. 48a, 49a–b. See also Tumanovich 1989: 220–2.

279 Barnābādī 46b–48a.

280 Barnābādī f. 44a–b, 50a–b. See also Tumanovich 1989: 222–35.

281 This settlement included a *tuyūl* of two *zauj* of land in Arīz (?) and Fashān (?) (Barnābādī f. 64a; see also Tumanovich 1989: 23, 56, 223–4, 232–3).

282 Barnābādī f. 46a. See also Tumanovich 1989: 191–2, 231.

283 One of the water reservoirs Muḥammad Kāẓim repaired was the Ḥauż-i Mīr Ḥusainī in the MṢRH quarter of Herat. The other reservoir was located in the village (*qarya*) of Jibraʾīl in the *bulūk* of Injīl (Barnābādī f. 44b; see also Krawulsky 1984: 89; Tumanovich 1989: 226).

284 Barnābādī f. 44a.

285 Barnābādī f. 44b. See also Tumanovich 1989: 229–30.

The wealth of the family is illustrated by the loss of property occasioned by the power struggles among the Sadūzai princes after Tīmūr Shāh's death. At times the warring parties and their followers took up position in the orchards of Barnābād, relying on Muḥammad Riżā, his immediate relatives, and the local inhabitants to look after their material needs.[286] Another continuous grievance were successive rounds of excessive revenue assessment that targeted "men and women, people near and far, Muslims and Hindus, agriculturists and traders, artisans and travellers alike".[287] Muḥammad Riżā reports that the local governor, Maḥmūd Mīrzā, had little control over his revenue officials, who devised new tax categories like a poll tax (*sar shumār*) and consumed the proceeds locally without passing them on to the provincial government.[288] The officials appointed to the region after Maḥmūd Mīrzā's flight to Iran in 1797 imposed equally ruthless revenue demands, causing the "smoke of the sighs of the oppressed to rise to the revolving cupola [of the sky]".[289] Moreover, the weak position of the central government in Herat allowed local actors to engage in plundering and slave raids. Muḥammad Riżā reports that his family estate was subject to repeated incursions, most of which were perpetrated by the "slaver" (*asīrfurūsh*) Ibrāhīm Khān Durrānī, who held sway in Ghūriyān until 1219/1804.[290] At the time of writing in 1806–1811, Muḥammad Riżā accused Ibrāhīm Khān Durrānī of having engaged in theft, highway robbery and slavery for the past twenty years. During a final raid, Ibrāhīm Khān Durrānī's nephew Jamāl denuded the Barnābādīs of valuable vessels, books, and cash. With the connivance and assistance of Muḥammad Riżā's own servants, the last remnants of the property assembled over a period of three hundred years fell into the hands of robbers. Muḥammad Riżā's detailed list of the items lost in this process represents a last attempt to revive the vanishing grandeur associated with his illustrious ancestors. Denuded of all their possessions, the Barnābādīs and their dependants were forced to seek shelter in the city of Herat.[291]

Conclusion

The foundation of the Sadūzai Empire worked to the advantage of Herat. Once again, a reverse relationship between the twin cities of Herat and Mashhad may be noticed. Forming the capital of the Afsharid Empire, Mashhad had prospered during the 1740s. Herat, by contrast, had suffered the adverse effects of Nādir Shāh's ongoing warfare and was reduced both in terms of population and size. Under Aḥmad Shāh, the province of Herat regained its central position and was one of the four core regions of the new polity. With the incorporation of Turshīz, Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya, Turbat-i Shaikh Jām, Bākharz and Khvāf, the province expanded at the cost of the remnants of the Afsharid Empire, which were left to the tenuous control of Nādir Shāh's grandson Shāh Rukh Afshār and his sons. The relative importance of Herat is documented by the fact

286 Barnābādī f. 74b–75a.

287 Barnābādī f. 73b.

288 Barnābādī f. 76a–b.

289 Barnābādī f. 76b.

290 Barnābādī f. 77a–b. See also Barnābādī ff. 3b, 4b, 5a–b, 6a–b, 26a, 35a–b, 42b; Māyil Haravī 1969a: 55. Ibrāhīm Khān Durrānī held the government of Ghūriyān until Ramażān 1219/December 1804, when he was displaced by the Qājār governor of Mashhad, Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā, whom he had summoned to ward off military pressure exerted by Fīrūz al-Dīn Sadūzai from Herat. Ibrāhīm Khān Durrānī's son Yūsuf governed Barnābād until that time (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 155–6; 199–200, 202–3).

291 Among the property taken from Muḥammad Riżā and his relatives were forty beds (*rakht-i khvāb*), expensive clothing, carpets, porcelain and copper vessels, fourteen chests containing cash, textiles, valuable items and rare medicines, a camel-litter and blankets, seven Korans, seven hundred books and fine specimens of penmanship by Mīr and Mīr ʿAlī [Akbar?], one hundred rolls of paper from Kashmīr and Samarqand, excellent pen-cases encrusted with fine jewels, golden ink-holders, decrees issued by the Timurid and Safavid rulers, title-deeds along with the seal-rings of his ancestors, twenty yokes of oxen (*ʿavāmil*), five horses, one fine colt, five mules, and ten donkeys. The items plundered were so numerous that it took ten days for them to be transported from Barnābād to Ghūriyān by beasts of burden obtained per force in Barnābād and furnished by Ibrāhīm Khān Durrānī's men. Moreover, the mansions, the fort, the town of Barnābād and the surrounding villages were denuded of two hundred gates. Muḥammad Riżā estimated that the property taken by Ibrāhīm Khān Durrānī amounted to one thousand *tūmān* at least. In the wake of the plunderers, the population of Barnābād destroyed local buildings, reservoirs and bridges to sell the bricks and to obtain the money and copper that had been overlooked (Barnābādī f. 77b–78a).

that the members of the royal family acting as local governors stood a good chance of rising to power at the center.

If we take a closer look at the social and political fabric of the province, a number of continuities stand out. As in Safavid times, we learn relatively little about the urban setting or the pursuits and the pastimes of the local population. One notable exception is furnished by Muḥammad Riżā Barnābādī's memoirs that allow unique insights into the fortune of one elite family and the ties it entertained with the provincial and central government. The other available sources on the Sadūzai era conform to the standard format of court chronicles and display the customary preoccupation with the dynamics of warfare. From this vantage point, the tribal landscape constitutes the most definitive feature within the political framework of the province. In the case of Herat, the projected space is taken up by the so-called *ūymāq* and their leadership. In keeping with the early modern mode of organization, these tribal groups primarily assume a military profile. One important aspect of the administration of Herat is the military structure called *chahār ūymāq* which apparently corresponded to the four divisions (*bulūk/vilāyāt*) adjoining the city. This organizational framework was not a Sadūzai invention but possibly harked back to the Safavid era.

Another phenomenon reminiscent of the Safavid period is the fluidity of spatial relations. Forming the backbone of the military, the prominent tribal leaders tended to be upwardly mobile within the political hierarchy. Their standing in the provincial government translated into control of land. As a rule, shifts in the position of individual leaders implied lateral movement for the bulk of their followers. This phenomenon is exemplified by the most prominent *ūymāq* during the Sadūzai period, the Sunnī Hazāras and the Tīmūrīs. The careers of their leaders Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān Hazāra and Qilich Khān Tīmūrī demonstrate the volatile nature of tribal "homelands", fittingly described as *yūrt*. Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān's rebellion in the early 1760s led to a temporary relocation of his followers from Qalʿa-yi Nau in Bādghīs to Marv. Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān Hazāra's successors, by contrast, were associated with the administration of Bākharz. A similar case can be made for Qilich Khān Tīmūrī, who moved from Bādghīs to Khvāf as part of his endeavor to play Qājār and Sadūzai interests off against one another. Mobility, often involuntary, remained a noticeable feature well into the nineteenth century. This prompted Ferrier to point out "the difficulty of stating anything certain about the geography of Central Asia", and, somewhat overstating the issue, to assume that entire towns might be on the move:

> [A] place may to-day be the centre of a flourishing population, and in four-and-twenty hours a desert. The Afghans have become so used to sudden and enforced displacements, that they never attach themselves to the soil; their tent is their country. In two days a family will build themselves a good house of earth, roofed, with the door only made of wood; and the facility with which they do this explains… how so many towns appear and disappear without leaving a trace behind them… This mania of the chiefs for removing whole populations renders it so difficult to ascertain their numbers with accuracy… nothing there is certain; nothing is durable; everything is liable to impromptu changes, – men as well as things.[292]

The example of the Barnābādīs shows that Aḥmad Shāh and his successors recognized the existing local elites and emulated Safavid policies of patronage. At the same time, the creation of the Sadūzai Empire gave rise to a new nobility. The Abdālī/Durrānī Afghāns, whose presence in Herat had diminished during the Afsharid period, rebounded and assumed a leading position in all government affairs. It was this group that Aḥmad Shāh primarily relied on in his efforts at statebuilding. The Sadūzai state was conceived of as a web of personal loyalties generated by notions of common descent. With the royal family at its core, this system radiated outward on the basis of genealogical proximity. Being most closely related to Aḥmad Shāh, the Sadūzai and Bāmīzai subdivisions of the Pūpalzai Durrānīs occupied a preeminent position at the Sadūzai court. The leaders of the other influential Durrānī tribes likewise enjoyed high offices and the concomitant privileges. The internal cohesion of Aḥmad Shāh's new polity was thus secured by the creation of the Durrānī confederacy as state supporting elite. To this end, the Sadūzai ruler endowed this group with a common identity that somewhat resembled the one constructed for the Qizilbāsh in the early Safavid period. Part and parcel of this process was the renaming of the erstwhile Abdālī confederacy into "Durrānī" and the creation of the "Bardurrānīs" as matching entity. The royal space created by Aḥmad Shāh was mirrored and

[292] Ferrier 1857: 395.

enhanced in the historiography of the time. Following Safavid precedents, the Sadūzai chronicler Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī referred to Aḥmad Shāh's followers as *ghāzī*, "(religious) warriors," and thus cast them as principal partners in his enterprise.[293] The leading position of Aḥmad Shāh's family within this framework was in turn cemented by the notion that their lineage had occupied an exalted position within the confederacy since the time of its eponymous ancestor Sadū.[294]

The Sadūzai Empire reached the height of its expansion under Aḥmad Shāh. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the various strands making up the kingdom unravelled. Aḥmad Shāh's erstwhile realm, and with it the province of Herat, shrank dramatically. In 1233/1817–18, Boukhary observed that Khurāsān was divided into Sadūzai and Qājār spheres of influence. The Qājār rulers of Tehran, who had begun to make their influence felt in the western part of Khurāsān from 1796 on, had incorporated the former Sadūzai possessions of Turshīz, Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya and Turbat-i Shaikh Jām into their domain.[295] During the following decades, Qājār presence in the region increased steadily. Meanwhile the principality of Herat became the last enclave of Sadūzai authority and led a perilous existence. Squeezed between Qājār interests in the west and the budding Muḥammadzai state in the east, its fate was largely decided by British intervention. The following chapter will consider the political fate of Herat in the nineteenth century and its implications for regional alignments of power.

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[293] The close relationship between the king and the men fighting for his cause (*ghāzīs*) is also a topos of sixteenth-century Safavid historiography. Used as a synonym for *ʿaskar* or *lashkarī*, the term *ghāzī* connotes a collective identity, strong bonds of solidarity and military clout (Tilmann Trausch (forthcoming), "Ghazā in 16th-Century Chronicles of Safavid Iran,").

[294] Elphinstone 1992 II: 96.

[295] Boukhary lists the following regions under Qājār authority: Maḥvilāt, Turbat [-i Ḥaidarīya], Turshīz, Gūnābād [Junābad], Ṭūn [Tūn], Charakhs [Sarakhs?], Bam Rūd [located between Ghūriyān and Qāyin], Qāyin, Siqalʿa [west of Tūn], Ṭabas Masīnā, Ṭabas Gīlak, Jām, Nīshāpūr, Mashhad, Ṭūs, Sabzavār, Kūh-i Mīsh [a range of hills bounding the plain of Sabzavār to the south and west], Kirmān, Chinārān, Kiltān (?), Qūchān [Khabūshān], Bisṭām, Shahrūd [Shāhrūd], Varāmīn, Astarābād, Kalāt-i Nādir Shāh, Nasā, Abīvard, Shādbākh [?], Damghān [Dāmghān], Chahchaha, the quarters of Kūrdistān, Simnān, etc. (Boukhary 245 (Persian text, 107); see also *Gaz. Iran* II: 63, 122–3, 427, 600; Krawulsky 1982: 45–6, 49; 1984: 40–1).

4. Herat in the Nineteenth Century

In the early nineteenth century the Sadūzai Empire disintegrated into a number of small regional states. After Fatḥ Khān Muḥammadzai's execution in 1818, his remaining twenty brothers began to advance separate claims to authority, simultaneously competing against each other from their local bases in Pishāvar, Kābul and Qandahār. The region east of the Khyber Pass fell to the Sikh Empire in 1834. Between 1826 and 1837, Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān, the founder of the Muḥammadzai dynasty, carved out a power base for himself in Kābul, Bāmiyān, Jalālābād and Ghaznī. His half brothers, the Sardārs of Qandahār, controlled a principality of equal size in southern Afghanistan. These so-called "Dil" brothers Shīrdil Khān (d. 1826), Purdil Khān (d. 1830), and Kuhandil Khān (d. 1855) were able to maintain their independence from 1818 until the middle of the nineteenth century. As regional actors, they exerted pressure on the eastern borders of Herat and, like Herat, pursued a shifting policy vis-à-vis Iran, alternately seeking support from the Qājār government and challenging its claims to authority. After the First Anglo-Afghan War of 1839–1842, Dūst Muḥammad Khān widened his sphere of influence to such an extent that by 1863 he could lay claim to all the regions forming the outline of present-day Afghanistan with the exception of Maimana and Badakhshān. After gaining control of Qandahār in 1855, he advanced against Herat in the summer of 1862, which he conquered on 8 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1279/27 May 1863 after a ten-month siege.[1] The incorporation of Herat into the Muḥammadzai domain represented the culmination of Dūst Muḥammad Khān's achievements. He died two weeks later, on 9 June 1863, without having set foot into the city.[2]

West of Herat, the nascent Qājār dynasty began to make its influence felt with the conquest of Mashhad in 1803. Henceforth the Qājārs were to insist on the possession of Herat, moulding their territorial claims according to the precedents set by the Safavid Empire. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, these demands were largely theoretical. Until the early 1830s, Qājār presence in Khurāsān was too weak to allow more than occasional exactions of tribute and other expressions of fealty from the rulers of Herat. Later on, Muḥammad Shāh Qājār (r. 1834–1848) and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār (r. 1848–1896) took military action to incorporate Herat in their realm. The Persian sieges of 1837–1838 and 1856 were cut short by British intervention, which allowed the local rulers of Herat to maintain a precarious independence until the Muḥammadzai takeover in 1863. Qājār policies in Khurāsān will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. The present chapter focuses on the circumstances that prevailed in Herat and its hinterland during the period at stake. One important aspect to be discussed is the interplay between territorial claims and projection of religious realms. Thus Qājār efforts to reclaim Herat as part of the Iranian patrimony were justified by the necessity to protect the Shīʿī population in the region. By the same token, Herat's incorporation into the Afghan kingdom was followed by deliberate attempts to heighten national unity on the basis of Sunnī Islam. The fate of the nomad Sunnī *ūymāq* groups around Herat highlights the process of delineation and appropriation which accelerated from the second half of the nineteenth century on. The final section of this chapter treats the division between the Iranian and Afghan spheres of influence from different points of view. Apart from recounting the physical process of delimitation, I will also trace the reflection of emerging separate Iranian and Afghan polities in the historiography of the time.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In the interval between the demise of the Sadūzai kingdom and the incorporation of Herat into the Muḥammadzai state, Herat became a minor principality. Seemingly a Sadūzai enclave, its politics were increasingly dominated by the Alakūzai Durrānīs. This process was abetted by the rivalry between Shāh Maḥmūd and his son Kāmrān. In the summer of 1241–42/1826, Kāmrān Sadūzai evicted his father from

[1] Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān's siege of Herat began on 27 July 1862 (Champagne 1981: 443).
[2] KR 143 (Patterson 1988: 258); Champagne 1981: 449.

Herat and took control of the city with Iranian help.[3] In the judgement of foreign visitors, his court only bore "a caricature semblance" with the former splendor of Sadūzai rule.[4]

The first important Alakūzai figure in the politics of Herat was ʿAṭā Muḥammad Khān, a member of the Nāṣū section of the Alakūzais and a descendant of Sardār ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khān. ʿAṭā Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai accompanied Shāh Maḥmūd to Herat when he lost control of Kābul and Qandahār in late 1818 and served as *vazīr* of Herat until his death in 1244/1828–29. He was succeeded by his nephew Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai b. ʿAbdullāh Khān, who became known as an able and ruthless administrator. Yār Muḥammad Khān began his career by removing Shāh Maḥmūd from power, who died shortly afterwards.[5] Once Kāmrān Sadūzai was installed as ruler of Herat, Yār Muḥammad Khān gained control over all sectors of government.[6] In early 1842,[7] he had Kāmrān killed and assumed full authority until his own death on 11 Shaʿbān 1267/11 June 1851.[8] Yār Muḥammad Khān was succeeded by his son Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān,[9] who was ousted by Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn Sadūzai's grandson Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Malik Qāsim in September 1855.[10] This bid at a Sadūzai comeback was cut short by Qājār intervention in 1856. At the onset of the siege in April 1856, the Herati *vazīr* ʿĪsā Khān Bardurrānī handed over Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān to the Iranians[11] but continued to hold the city until he was forced to surrender on 25 Ṣafar 1273/25 October 1856.[12] After the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris in 1857, the Qājār Prime Minister Āqā Khān Nūrī Iʿtimād al-Daula (1851–1858) awarded the government of Herat to Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān's nephew, Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān b. Sardār Muḥammad ʿAẓīm Muḥammadzai, thereby contravening the stipulation that Herat should be independent.[13] Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān died on 6 March 1863, while Herat was besieged by Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān. Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān's son, Shāh Navāz Khān, held power until the city fell to the Muḥammadzai troops on 31 May 1863.

The territorial consolidation achieved by Dūst Muḥammad Khān was called into question soon after his death. His successor Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān, who was crowned in Herat on 24 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1279/12 June 1863, found his power contested by different sets of full and half brothers.[14] His main antagonists were his eldest

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[3] ST 110–11; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 181–2; T Su 282.

[4] Lal 1977: 143.

[5] ST 113; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 187.

[6] Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai's tenure in Herat was interrupted from Rabīʿ I 1248/August 1832 until Jumādā II 1249/October 1833. During this period he was detained by ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana, the Qājār governor of Khurāsān (1831–1833) (NT 481, 487–9, 496, 500, 504).

[7] See Chapter 3, footnote 225.

[8] Letter by Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān to Mīrzā Taqī Khān Amīr Kabīr quoted in Ādamīyat 1982: 621. According to the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* and *Sirāj al-tavārīkh*, Yār Muḥammad Khān died on 30 Shaʿbān 1267/29 June 1851(T Su 287; ST 211; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 28). On the basis of British documents Champagne reaches the conclusion that Yār Muḥammad Khān died on 7 June 1851 (Champagne 1981: 273).

[9] The latter is often referred to by Iranian authors as "Ṣaid Muḥammad" or "Sayyid Muḥammad".

[10] TRSN X: 667; Taylor 1858c: 933–6.

[11] Muḥammad Yūsuf was sent to Tehran. In Shaʿbān 1273/March 1857, he was killed by the relatives of Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai (NT 1332–4, 1473–4; TRSN X: 763–4; Khūrmūjī 1984: 229–30). See also Champagne, 1981, 375–6, 390; Taylor 1858c: 946)

[12] NT 1336. Shortly afterwards, on Friday 6 Rabīʿ II 1273/4 December 1856 Sartīp ʿĪsā Khān was assassinated while on his way to the Iranian camp (TRSN X: 705–6; NT 1347). According to British accounts, ʿĪsā Khān was put to death by order of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (Champagne, 1981, 377; Taylor 1858 c: 943–6). See also T Su 288–9.

[13] Champagne 1981: 390–1; 408; Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān arrived in Herat on 30 Ramażān 1273/24 May 1857 (KR 130 (Patterson 1988: 220).

[14] ST 252; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 100. According to Nūrī, a formal pledge of allegiance was given to Shīr ʿAlī Khān a week later on 1 Muḥarram/18 June 1863 (*Gulshan-i imārat* 46–7). By the time of his coronation, Shīr ʿAlī Khān was 40 or 41 years old. Nūrī gives 10 Muḥarram 1237/6 October 1821 (*Gulshan-i imārat* 3–5) as his date of birth. Faiż Muḥammad is of the opinion that Shīr ʿAlī Khān was born in 1238 (18 September1822–6 September 1823) (ST 251; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 98). Although he was not the eldest of Dūst Muḥammad Khān's surviving sons, he belonged to the most favored set among them. His mother Khadīja, who stemmed from an important Pūpalzai lineage, had been Dūst Muḥammad Khān's favorite wife. Before Shīr ʿAlī Khān gained this appointment, two of Khadīja's older sons, Muḥammad Akbar (d. 1847) and Ghulām Ḥaidar (d. 1858) had been designated as heir apparents.

brother Muḥammad Afżal Khān and his nephew ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān (1844–1901), who had been associated with the government of Turkistān under Dūst Muḥammad Khān. The ongoing rivalry with his brothers caused Shīr ʿAlī Khān to lose the throne between March 1866 and September 1868. Muḥammad Afżal Khān assumed kingship from 21 May 1866[15] until his death on 7 October 1867.[16] He was succeeded by his younger brother Muḥammad Aʿẓam Khān (1818–1869), who held power until 21 August 1868.[17] In the course of these events, Shīr ʿAlī Khān temporarily found his sphere of influence reduced to Herat.[18] After regaining control of Kābul on 8 September 1868,[19] he triumphed over his rivals with British backing in late Ramażān 1285/mid-January 1869.[20] During the following decade, Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān enjoyed a stable rule until he was forced to resign due to the declaration of the Second Anglo-Afghan War on 21 November 1878 and died in Mazār-i Sharīf on 29 Ṣafar 1296/22 February 1879.[21]

The only sustained opposition Shīr ʿAlī Khān encountered during his second reign emanated from his sons Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān (1849–1923) and Muḥammad Ayūb Khān (1857–1914). The two full brothers were closely associated with the affairs of Herat. Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān was appointed governor of Herat in June 1863, when he was aged 14 and, in Vámbéry's words, a "good-humoured inexperienced child."[22] He was in charge of Herat throughout the 1860s and, with the conquest of Qandahār in May 1868, decided the civil war in favor of Shīr ʿAlī Khān. Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān's two rebellions of 1870–1871 and 1874 were triggered by his frustrated hopes for the heir apparentship and the Amīr's enduring preference for his youngest son ʿAbdullāh Jān (1861–1878).[23] On 2 September 1870, Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān left Kābul in protest after being deprived of his post as civil and military administrator of the capital, which he had held since 1869.[24] On 20 October he gave up his month-long siege of Qandahār, moved westward, and temporarily took refuge in Iran in February 1871. A month later he reappeared in the region of Herat, conquered Ghūriyān during the final days of March and assumed control of Herat in early May after a violent battle in the course of which Fatḥ Muḥammad Khān, Shīr ʿAlī Khān's appointed governor, was killed. Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān's forceful takeover of Herat was successful. In September 1871 he was formally reinstated as governor of Herat.[25]

Despite financial difficulties in the administration of Herat, Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān enjoyed a relatively secure position for the two following years. Yet his relationship with Shīr ʿAlī Khān deteriorated once again when the Amīr formally designated the thirteen-year old ʿAbdullāh Jān as heir apparent on *ʿīd al-*

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[15] Wyllie 1875: 42–3; KM 12 May, 26 May 1866 (NAI, For. Pol. A. June 1866 Nos. 9, 142).

[16] Sykes 1981 II: 75. According to Tate, Muḥammad Afżal Khān died on 1 October 1867 (Tate 1973: 165–6).

[17] Lee 1996: 306, 313, 325–30; Memorandum on Sardar Muhammad Ismail Khan (NAI, For. S.I. 1869 No. 85); KD 6–10 August 1868 (NAI, For. Pol. A September 1868 Nos. 3–4).

[18] After suffering a decisive defeat near Qalāt-i Ghilzai on 9 Ramażān 1283/15 January 1867, Shīr ʿAlī Khān was forced to flee to Herat (*Gulshan-i imārat* 110; ST 293; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 179; Wyllie 1875: 97).

[19] *Gulshan-i imārat* 152.

[20] ST 305–9; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 200–9.

[21] ST 345; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 274.

[22] Vámbéry 1864: 281.

[23] ʿAbdullāh Jān's mother ʿĀʾisha belonged to the royal family both by paternal and maternal descent. Her father Mīr Afżal Khān Muḥammadzai (b. 1810) was the son of the Qandahār Sardār Purdil Khān. Her mother was the daughter of Muḥammad Aʿẓam Khān b. Dūst Muḥammad Khān. For this reason, she enjoyed a powerful position in the politics of Kābul. Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān's mother Maryam was the daughter of Saʿādat Khān Murcha Khēl Muhmand of the Jalālābād region (Adamec 1975: Tables 69–70).

[24] ST 326; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 239–40; KA 4 September 1870, NAI, For. Pol. A September 1870 No. 327; KD 9–10 October 1870, NAI, For. Pol. A December 1870 No. 351).

[25] Adamec 1975: 268; ST 326–30; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 239–48; KR 167–8; PM II: 112–19, 122–4, 131–3; KD 5–15 September (NAI, For. Pol. A. October 1870 Nos. 261–3); KD 20–25 September 1870 (NAI, For. Pol. A November 1870 No. 62); KD 4–8 October 1870, KD 8–10 November 1870 (NAI, For. Pol. A December 1870 Nos. 348, 409); Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan to Muhammad Husain Khan (governor of Kābul) 19 October 1870 (NAI, For. Pol. A. December 1870 No. 357); Sardar Muhammad Aslam to Amir Shir Ali Khan 29 November 1870, KD 20–22 December 1870 (NAI, For. Pol. A February 1871 No. 165); KD 7–10 April 1871 (NAI, For. Pol. A May 1871 No. 466); letter from Kabul agent 15 April 1861 (NAI, For. Pol. A May 1871 No. 470); MA 9, 24 June 1871 (NAI, For. Sec. October 1871 Nos. 296, 298).

fiṭr 1290/22 November 1873.[26] While this proclamation was followed by three days of festivities and fireworks in Kābul, Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān showed his opposition by ignoring the Amīr's order to illuminate Herat. Only a year later did Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān consent to join Shīr ʿAlī Khān's court in Kābul to seek his father's forgiveness. Yet a week after his arrival in Kābul on 2 November 1874, he was placed in confinement. He was detained at the Bālā Ḥiṣār until December 1878.[27]

Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān's detainment triggered a rebellion by seventeen-year-old Muḥammad Ayūb Khān in Herat in early December 1874.[28] Subsequently, Muḥammad Ayūb fled away from the Amīr's approaching army and took refuge in Iran, where he remained until the Second Anglo-Afghan War.[29] After Shīr ʿAlī Khān's death in late February 1879, he became the governor of Herat. A year later, on 27 July 1880, he was to attain fame by totally defeating the British forces stationed at Qandahār during the battle of Maivand.[30] On 22 September 1881, Muḥammad Ayūb suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the British appointee Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān and fled to Iran.[31] Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān used British backing to assert authority over all the regions making up present-day Afghanistan. This policy of internal conquest and ruthless oppression earned him the epithet of "Iron Amīr". In the course of numerous military campaigns Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān reoccupied Maimana in 1884 and conquered the Shīʿī Hazārajāt (1891–1893) as well as Kāfiristān (1896). Apart from the Amīr's reprisals against the local leadership, the Herat region was primarily affected by his effort to repopulate the Murghāb district in order to secure the northwestern frontier. This policy suffered a major setback with the Russian occupation of Panjdih (present-day Takht-i Bāzār) on 30 March 1885. Afterwards the Amīr continued his policy of resettlement but switched to Pashtūn herders from the south instead of the local *ūymāq*.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOURCES ON KHURĀSĀN

For the nineteenth century, an increasing delineation of the Afghan and Iranian spheres of influence may be observed. This process is reflected in the emergence of divergent narratives concerning the position of Herat, which mirrored the respective viewpoints of the Qājār and Muḥammadzai governments. It may be no coincidence that the production of Iranian historical works peaked around 1856–57, when Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh embarked on his final attempt to reimpose Qājār authority on Herat. Owing to the flourishing of Iranian historiography in that time, the developments of the first half of the nineteenth century are particularily well documented. The historical output diminished somewhat over later decades, and the information on local circumstances becomes more patchy. Compared with the Iranian historiographical output, Afghan historical writing began relatively late. Apart from the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, which was published in 1880, the major chronicles that shaped and reflected the Afghan viewpoint appeared in the early twentieth century. Although the Afghan authors reach different conclusions over the affairs of Herat, the preponderance of Iranian

[26] KA 9, 24 November 1873 (NAI, For. Sec. March 1874 Nos. 1, 22) According to Faiż Muḥammad, the ceremony took place on 2 Shavvāl 1288/15 December 1871 (ST 331–2; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 250).

[27] ST 333; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 252. According to Faiż Muḥammad, Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān was imprisoned on *ʿīd al-fiṭr* 1289/2 December 1872. Yet the Kabul Diaries bear clear testimony that this event took place on 8 November 1874 (KD 6–10 November 1874, IOL, L/PS/5/277 No. 73 of 7 December 1874, p. 542; KD March 1875 (IOL, L/PS/7/4 Pt. II No. 131 of 1875, p. 467).

[28] Muḥammad Ayūb Khān deposed and killed the Amīr's new appointee to the government of Ghūriyān. Around 7 December 1874 he imprisoned the Amīr's Ishīk Āqāsī Shīrdil Khān and deported him to Kuhsān (KR 171; PM II: 143–44, 130b; ST 333–4; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 253–5).

[29] Shīr ʿAlī Khān's troops took possession of Herat on 19 January 1875 (IOL, L/PS/7/2 Pt. III No. 11 of 5 March 1875, p. 1433). Until 1293/1876 *Īshīk Āqāsī* Shīrdil Khān and Mustaufī Mīrzā Ḥabībullāh Khān served as governors of Herat (ST 334; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 255). After that, Sardār Muḥammad ʿUmar b. Muḥammad ʿAẓīm Khān held this post until 1879 (KD 22–25 September 1876, NAI, For. Sec. A. November 1876 No. 12; MA 4 August 1877, NAI, For. Sec. April 1878 No. 33A).

[30] According to Faiż Muḥammad, the battle of Maivand took place on 17 Shaʿbān 1297/25 July 1880 (ST 375; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 336). Riyāżī places these events in early Shaʿbān 1297/middle of July 1880 (KR 195–7).

[31] Adamec 1975: 127.

sources is clearly discernable from their works. As will be seen below, the authors of *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, *Kulliyāt-i riyāżī* and *Sirāj al-tavārīkh* derived at least part of their information from the Iranian historical works available to them.

For the purpose of the following chapters, several sources from the early Qājār period are of great importance. The earliest available chronicle, Muḥammad Fatḥullāh b. Muḥammad Taqī Sāravī's *Tārīkh-i muḥammadī* (*Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*), was written at the behest of Bābā Khān (the future Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh). It describes the exploits of Āqā Muḥammad Shāh and ends with his death on 21 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1211/17 June 1797 and his burial in Najaf in Rajab 1212/January 1798.[32] Muḥammad Taqī b. Muḥammad Mihdī Nūrī served as the *munshī* and *vazīr* of Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā, the first Qājār governor of Mashhad (1218–1231/1803—1816). The first edited volume of his book entitled *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* covers the first five years of Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā's governorship.[33] In 1237/1821–22, Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrvānī (1193–1253/1779–1837/38) wrote an account of his spiritually motivated travels in Khurāsān, Kābul, Turkistān, Sind and India. His work combines details on the towns and districts of the Iranian kingdom with information on local dynasties and the biographies of poets and Sufis.[34] A member of an influential family from Khūy, ʿAbd al-Razzāq Dunbulī (1167–1242/1753–1827) spent his early years in Shīrāz and Iṣfahān and later joined the service of ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana in Tabrīz. His *Maʾāthir-i sulṭānīya* begins with the origins of the Qājārs and covers the events until 1229/1814. Completed in 1236/1821, this work was published in Tabrīz in 1241/1825–26.[35] Roughly a decade later, Fażlullāh Shīrāzī "Khāvarī" (1190–1266/1776–1850) composed a history entitled *Dhū al-qarnain*. Shīrāzī's description of the events from 1212–1250/1797–1834/35 was taken up by later historians like Lisān al-Mulk and Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat.[36]

In the middle of the nineteenth century, a number of historical works were produced by high-ranking Qājār officials. In 1258/1842, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's 47th son ʿAlī Qulī Mīrzā (1238–1298/1822–1880), who received the title of "Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana" in 1856, compiled *Iksīr al-tavārīkh*, a survey of Persian history from its mythical origins to the time of writing. His brief history entitled *Tārīkh-i vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ-i Afghānistān* appeared during the Herat crisis in 1856.[37] Another noteworthy work produced during this period was *Jām-i Jam* by ʿAbbās Mīrzā's 15th son, Farhād Mīrzā Muʿtamad al-Daula (1233–1305/1818–1888). A free translation of William Pinnock's *A Catechism of Geography* (London, 1826), the book was published in Tehran (1272/1855) and Bombay (1273/1856).[38] Both Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana's works and Farhād Mīrzā's geography were to become standard sources for Afghan historians.

Between 1274 and 1276/1857–1859, the court poet Muḥammad Taqī Khān Lisān al-Mulk "Sipihr" (1207–1297/1792/93–1880) published the *Tārīkh-i qājārīya*, which formed part of a ten-volume universal history entitled *Nāsikh al-tavārīkh*.[39] Shortly before that, in 1271–1274/1854–1857, the literary scholar Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat (1215–1288/1800–1871) composed a history in three volumes devoted to the history of Iran from Safavid times on. Entitled *Raużat al-ṣafā-yi nāṣirī*, this work was intended as a supplement to Mīr Khvānd's and Khvānd Amīr's seven-volume *Raużat al-ṣafā*. Hidāyat is also the author of an important travelogue. In 1267/1851, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh deputed him on a diplomatic mission to the court of Khīva. The account of this journey, which will become relevant for the treatment of the northeastern border regions in Chapter 6, was entitled *Sifāratnāma-yi Khvārazm* and published sometime after the *Raużat al-ṣafā-yi*

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[32] Sāravī 298, 312. See also Amanat, "Historiography viii. Qājār Period," *E.Ir.* XII: 369–70.

[33] *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* xxxi–xxxii.

[34] Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrvānī, *Riyāż al-siyāḥat*, 1237/1822, "Introduction".

[35] Ghulām Ḥusain Ṣadrī Afshār, [Introduction], *Maʾāthir-i sulṭānīya*, Tehran 1972, pp. 5–6; Amanat, "Historiography viii. Qājār Period," *E.Ir*. XII: 370.

[36] Fażlullāh Shīrāzī, *Tārīkh-i dhū al-qarnain*, ed. Nāṣir Afshārfar, "Introduction," xxxii–xxxv. See also Amanat, "Historiography viii. Qājār Period," *E.Ir*. XII: 370–1.

[37] Amanat, "Eʿteżād al-Salṭana," *E.Ir.* VIII: 669–72.

[38] Eslami, "Farhād Mīrzā Moʿtamad al-Daula," *E.Ir*. IX: 263.

[39] Amanat, "Historiography viii. Qājār Period," *E.Ir*. XII: 371–2; Bāmdād 1992 III: 319; KR 124 (Patterson 1988: 202).

nāṣirī.[40] Another important Central Asian travelogue was produced by ʿAbbās Qulī Khān about his mission to Bukhārā in 1260/1844. The events surrounding the 1860 Qājār campaign to Marv were documented by several eyewitnesses.[41]

During the later part of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's reign, three authors provided useful information about the circumstances in Khurāsān. Muḥammad Jaʿfar Khūrmūjī (d. 1301/1883–84), who initially gained an appointment as *ḥaqāyiq nigār* in 1277/1860–61, was ultimately unsuccessful. Completed in 1284/1867–68, his *Ḥaqāyiq al-akhbār-i nāṣirī* did not meet with royal approval and was confiscated.[42] The Qājār statesman Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Iʿtimād al-Salṭana (1259–1313/1843–1896), by contrast, enjoyed a high standing at the Qājār court, serving as minister of publications, newsreader to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, and official historian. One of the first graduates of the *Dār al-Funūn*, Iʿtimād al-Salṭana published official gazettes and compiled numerous almanacs, general histories, geographies and novels. His *Mirʾāt al-buldān* (four volumes, 1294–97/1877–80) was intended as a geographical encyclopaedia but remained incomplete.[43] Published in 1300/1883, Iʿtimād al-Salṭana's *Tārīkh-i muntaẓam-i nāṣirī* also drew on contemporaneous European sources.[44] According to Abbas Amanat, it consisted of "a comparative chronology based on headlines of the Persian gazette and similar material from European almanacs".[45] Iʿtimād al-Salṭana's *Maṭlaʿ al-shams* (three volumes, 1301–1303/1883–1886) commemorates Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's journey to Khurāsān in 1300/1883 and contains a historical and geographical account of Mashhad.[46] In 1296/1879, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh authorized Ḥasan Ḥusainī Fasāʾī (1237–1316/1821–1898) to produce a geographical and historical account. The resulting work was completed in 1304/1887 and entitled *Fārsnāma-yi nāṣirī*. Its first chapters recount the history of Persia up to the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1250/1834 in a comprehensive manner. The remainder of the book focuses on the events in the province of Fārs.[47]

Most of the Afghan historians of the late nineteenth century made use of the works of their Iranian counterparts. Writing in 1280–81/1865, Sulṭān Muḥammad cites a number of Indian, British, and Iranian authorities. Among these are Muḥammad Qāsim Hindūshāh Firishta's *Tārīkh-i Firishta*,[48] and Niʿmatullāh Haravī's *Makhzan-i afghānī* from the early seventeenth century, the works of John Malcolm, and Shāh Shujāʿs diary (*Vāqiʿat-i Shāh Shujāʿ*). The Iranian sources that he lists include Astarābādī's *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi nādirī*, Farhād Mīrzā Muʿtamad al-Daula's *Jām-i Jam*, as well as Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana's *Tārīkh-i vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ-i Afghānistān*.[49]

Other works of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are indebted to Iranian sources, to varying degrees. In 1906, Muḥammad Yūsuf Riyāżī (1290–1330/1873–1911), a native of Herat, produced a voluminous work entitled *Kulliyāt-i riyāżī* as an exile in Mashhad.[50] Entitled *ʿAin al-vaqāyiʿ*, the third and

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[40] *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): "Introduction," xvi–xxi; French text: 66–7; Persian text: 42. See also Amanat, "Historiography viii. Qājār Period," *E.Ir*. XII: 371; Granmayeh 1996: 234; Losensky, "Hedāyat, Reżāqoli Khān," *E.Ir.* XII: 119–21; Noelle-Karimi 2012.

[41] These were the army scribes Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrī (Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 75–144; Shahīdī 1971: 35–63) and Mīrzā Maḥmūd Taqī Āshtiyānī (*ʿIbratnāma*, ed. Ḥusain ʿImādī Āshtiyānī. Tehran 1382/2003). The author of the third extant report, *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* (ed. Muḥsin Raḥmatī, Tehran 1387/2008), is not known.

[42] Afshār, "Muqaddama," in Khūrmūjī 1984: xxii–xxv; Afshār 1992: 226.

[43] Amanat, "Historiography viii. Qājār Period," *E.Ir.* XII: 373; Kashani-Sabet 1997: 223.

[44] TMN 2055.

[45] Amanat, "Eʿtemād al-Salṭana," *E.Ir.* VIII: 665.

[46] Mann 1898: 116; Yate 1900: 313–14.

[47] Busse 1972: xvi–xvii; Busse, "Fārs-Nāma-yi Nāṣerī," *E.Ir*. IX: 374–6.

[48] Hambly, "Ferešta, Tarik-e," *E.Ir*. IX: 533–4.

[49] T Su 4, 8, 12–13, 15, 130.

[50] On the paternal side, Muḥammad Yūsuf Riyāżī claimed descent from the Abdālī leader Ḥayāt Sulṭān. His mother belonged to the Afshār tribe and had a Shiite background. She was the daughter of Riżā Qulī Khān and the granddaughter of Āqā Muḥammad Khān Buland Afshār, who had settled in Herat during Nādir Shāh Afshārʿs time (KR 8, 171). See also Fikrat, "Introduction," *ʿAin al-vaqāyiʿ*, 1990, p. 1; Kakar 1979: 59; Nāyil 1961; Noelle-Karimi, "Historiography xi. Afghanistan," *E.Ir.* XII: 392. Reflecting a Shīʿī orientation, the *Kulliyāt-i Riyāżī* is divided into twelve parts in devotion to the twelve *imāms*. Each of these segments is subdivided into twelve plus two sections in honor of the twelve *imāms*, the Prophet Muḥammad and his daughter Fāṭima (KR 6). I am grateful to Robert D. McChesney for sharing his copy of this work with me.

longest part of the volume begins with a brief history of the Sadūzais and continues with an account of the events between 1217–1326/1802–1906. This work not only covers the developments in Khurāsān; it also reports on the political affairs of Iran and other parts of the world and displays a clear orientation towards the existing Iranian historiography.[51] Faiż Muḥammad's *Sirāj al-tavārīkh* was written in Kābul under the supervision of the Muḥammadzai court. Printed in 1912, the first two volumes of this work are devoted to the history of Afghanistan from 1747 until the second Anglo-Afghan War of 1878–80. The third, and by far the largest volume was published in the early 1920s and dealt exclusively with the reign of Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān Muḥammadzai (r. 1880–1901). For the first two volumes of his work, Faiż Muḥammad relied on Astarābādī's *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi nādirī*, as well as on a number of the aforementionned Iranian chronicles produced from the middle of the nineteenth century on, such as Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana's *Tārīkh-i vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ-i Afghānistān*, Hidāyat's *Tārīkh-i raużat al-ṣafā-yi nāṣirī*, Lisān al-Mulk's *Nāsikh al-tavārīkh*, and Farhād Mīrzā's *Jām-i Jam*. Among the Afghan sources, Faiż Muḥammad lists *Vāqiʿāt-i Shāh Shujāʿ*, Ḥamīd Kashmīrī's *Akbarnāma*, Sulṭān Muḥammad's *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, and Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Afghānī's Arabic treatises. The second volume reproduces portions of Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān's autobiography entitled *Pandnāma-yi dunyā va dīn*.[52] The third volume of the *Sirāj al-tavārīkh*, by contrast, is based on government documents, decrees, and letters.

An additional source of information on the circumstances in Khurāsān in the nineteenth century is provided by the numerous travelogues produced by visitors from Great Britain and mainland Europe. These accounts helped to shape conceptions on the polities of Afghanistan and Iran, and also entered Persian works of the time. As early as 1782–1784, George Forster travelled from Bengal to Russia via Afghanistan and Iran.[53] In the early nineteenth century, both the East India Company (EIC) and the British Government stepped up their diplomatic activities in Iran. John Malcolm (1769–1833), the architect of the political and commercial treaties of 1801, visited Iran a total of three times, returning for brief periods in 1808 and 1810. This early phase in the diplomatic relations with the Qājār court was complexified by the ongoing competition between Calcutta and London. After his initial success in 1801, Malcolm, who acted on behalf of the EIC, found himself eclipsed by the British appointee Harford Jones Brydges (1764–1847). The latter served as the first envoy from 1809–1811 and concluded the Preliminary Treaty of Friendship and Alliance with Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1809. He was succeeded by Sir Gore Ouseley, who served as "ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary" from 1811–1814. Both Malcolm and Harford Jones actively contributed to the knowledge of Iran. After his return to London, Malcolm summed up the experience gained during his travels in a two-volume work entitled *History of Persia*. In 1833, Harford Jones translated an early version of ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Najaf Qulī Dunbulī's *Maʾāthir-i sulṭānīya*.[54]

These early diplomatic missions stimulated further exploration of Iran. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, Malcolm initiated a number of scientific missions that were to play an important role in shaping British conceptions of Iran. From Bombay, he sent Charles Christie and Henry Pottinger to explore the inland regions north of Makrān. Alternately posing as horse buyers and pilgrims, these two men travelled through Balūchistān in spring 1810 and then separated. Christie made his way through Sīstān to Herat and subsequently moved on to Iṣfahān via Yazd. Pottinger continued to explore Balūchistān before traveling to Kirmān, Shīrāz and Iṣfahān, which he reached a few days before Christie. The information gathered during their expedition was published in 1816.[55] In the meantime, Malcolm had embarked on his third mission to Iran. He was accompanied by a team of officers from the Company's Indian establishment who were in charge of collecting information. John Macdonald Kinneir, who was to serve as envoy to Iran from 1826 until his death in 1830, published the material accumulated during these missions in a book entitled *A*

[51] Patterson's partial English translation of the *ʿAin al-vaqāyiʿ* covers the events from 1212–1282/1797–1866. Unfortunately, it contains numerous reading and translation errors.
[52] ST III: 656; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 III, 2: 541–2.
[53] Forster 1798.
[54] Brydges 1973: i; Wright 2001: 4–9.
[55] Pottinger 1986; Holdich 1910: 329–43.

Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire. Another important explorer of this period was the orientalist William Ouseley (1767–1842), who arrived in Iran together with his younger brother, the ambassador Gore Ouseley, in 1811 and travelled widely in the country. [56]

Later diplomatic missions also yielded a literary harvest. Lady Sheil, the wife of Justin Sheil, who served as envoy from 1844–1853, wrote "an engaging account of her life and travels in Persia."[57] Another important authority on Afghanistan and Iran was Henry C. Rawlinson (1810–1895), who was appointed political agent in Qandahār in 1840 and served as envoy to Iran in 1859–60.[58] Edward B. Eastwick (1814–1883) left a detailed account of his work as secretary and later chargé d'affaires at the British legation in Tehran in 1859–62 and 1862–3. In September–November 1862, he visited Mashhad to gather information concerning Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān Muḥammadzai's ongoing siege of Herat.[59] Hyacinth L. Rabino (1877–1950), who served as vice–consul in Rasht from 1906–1912, furnished an important account on the circumstances in Astarābād and Māzandarān.[60]

British efforts to establish diplomatic contacts with Afghanistan likewise began in the early nineteenth century. After gaining control of the upper Ganges valley, the East India Company developed a steady eastern thrust and showed great interest in exploring the commercial pathways to Central Asia. As early as 1808–09, Mountstuart Elphinstone was sent to Pishāvar to negotiate a defensive treaty with Shāh Shujāʿ Sadūzai against Napoleon.[61] Contrary to Iran, however, British efforts to gain a foothold in Afghanistan encountered great obstacles. The difficult nature of this relationship is highlighted by the two Anglo-Afghan Wars of 1839–1842 and 1878–1880. These phases of direct military involvement alternated with a more cautious policy aiming at stabilizing the internal situation in Afghanistan. The First Anglo-Afghan War occurred against the backdrop of the early unsettled phase of the Muḥammadzai dynasty and was triggered by the ill-fated British attempt to re-impose the authority of Shāh Shujāʿ Sadūzai. After the conclusion of the war, Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān, hitherto considered an undesirable usurper in the British perception, became viewed as a friendly partner. This friendship found its expression in the 1855 and 1857 treaties, whereby Dūst Muḥammad Khān undertook to become "friend of the friends and enemy of the enemies of the Honourable East India Company". The second treaty stipulated the exchange of *vakīls*, "representatives", between Kābul and Pishāvar but also prescribed that no European officers should be stationed in Kābul. In other words, Indian Muslims only could serve at such a post. Under the Conservative Prime Minister Disraeli (1874–1880), British policy prerogatives once again shifted to a "Forward Policy" aiming at the occupation of Afghanistan. The newly appointed British Indian viceroy Lytton (1876–1880) exerted pressure on Dūst Muḥammad Khān's successor Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān (r. 1863–1866, 1869–1878) for the establishment of a permanent British mission in Kābul. In the summer of 1878, the dispatch of a Russian envoy to Kābul provided a pretext for the viceroy to force a British mission on Afghanistan. On Shīr ʿAlī Khān's refusal to allow the British envoy to enter Afghanistan, Lytton declared war on Afghanistan on 20 November 1878. This war was concluded with the ascension of Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān to power in July 1880. Under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān's auspices, Afghanistan became a British protectorate. Even so, the only British Indian representatives allowed to reside in the country were Sunnī Muslims.[62]

The ebb and flow of British engagement in Afghanistan is reflected by a succession of political and commercial missions to the region. Naturally, the opportunities to gather information peaked during the First and Second Anglo-Afghan Wars, which produced a fair density of data concerning local conditions. Alexander "Bukhara Burnes" (1805–1841) earned his sobriquet on account of his travels to Kābul, Bukhārā, Marv, Sarakhs, Mashhad and Tehran in 1832.[63] Five years later he embarked on a commercial mission to

[56] Wright 2001: 150–1.
[57] Wright 2001: 22.
[58] Champagne 1981: 428–33.
[59] Champagne 1981: 444–8; Wright 2001: 25–6.
[60] Wright 2001: 105.
[61] Balland, "Afghanistan, x. Political History," *E.Ir.* I: 549.
[62] Balland, "Afghanistan, x. Political History," *E.Ir.* I: 552–3; Kakar 2006: 161–6, 231–3.
[63] Marvin 1881: 9.

Afghanistan. Lasting from September 1837 to April 1838, Burnes's sojourn in Kābul coincided with the onset of the Persian siege of Herat. Against the backdrop of intense Persian and Russian activity, the British representative soon assumed a political role and sought to reshape local constellations of power according to his ideas. He attempted to strengthen Dūst Muḥammad Khān's positition vis-à-vis the neighboring Sikhs and to weaken Iranian influence in Qandahār. As it turned out, these goals were at variance with those of Governor-General Auckland (1836–1842), and Burnes had to yield the diplomatic field in Kābul to the Russian agent Vitkevich. A year later, Burnes returned with the invading British Indian force and served as deputy to the British envoy until he was killed in the uprising of Kābul on 2 November 1841.[64] Mohan Lal (1812–1877) accompanied Alexander Burnes on his exploratory mission of 1832, in the course of which he met the Qājār heir apparent ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana and visited Herat. Acting as political assistant, Lal also witnessed the Kābul massacre of 1841 but was able to take refuge in the house of a merchant, from where he continued to report on the events in Afghanistan.[65]

During the First Anglo-Afghan War, British military presence in Afghanistan was restricted to the areas south of the Hindū Kush and east of the Hilmand River. Even so, two Englishmen were present in Herat during this period. The first of these was Henry Pottinger's nephew Eldred (1811–1843), who happened to be in Herat at the time of the Persian siege and stayed there until July 1839. His successor D'Arcy Todd (1808–1845) was in charge of an official mission to Herat until February 1841. Pottinger is mainly known for the active role he assumed in the defence of Herat against the Persians. After the conclusion of the siege both he and Todd attempted to extend British influence in Herat but found themselves outmaneuvered by Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai. The latter exploited the flow of British subsidies purely for his own ends and played off British against Iranian interests.[66] Subsequent to the second Persian siege of Herat in 1856, Major R. L. Taylor arrived in Herat in October 1857 to monitor Iran's compliance with the Treaty of Paris.[67]

The northeastern frontier or Iran was explored, among others, by G. C. Napier, who was deputed to Mashhad in 1874 to report on the circumstances along the Perso-Afghan frontier. After negotiating with the Persian authorities in Mashhad, Napier travelled onwards to Kalāt-i Nādirī and Astarābād.[68] Three British Indian officers served as consuls of Astarābād from 1879–1883: O. St. John, C. B. Lovett, and Charles E. Stewart. Stewart used his time in Astarābād to explore the adjacent regions, posing as an Armenian horse dealer.[69] During these travels he met the war correspondent Edmund O'Donovan (1844–1883), who advanced to the Qara Qum desert to report on the military encounters between the Russian army and the Teke Turkmens for the *London Daily News*. After witnessing the Russian conquest of Gök Tepe in January 1881, O'Donovan moved on to Marv where he was detained by the local Turkmens until July of that year. George N. Curzon, who was later to become Viceroy of India (1899–1905) and Foreign Secretary (1919–1924), travelled to Central Asia and Iran in 1888–1890. After crossing the Caspian by ship from Baku to Uzun Ada on the eastern shore, he travelled 300 miles on the newly opened Transcaspian Railway to Ashkhabad (Ashgabat, ʿIshqābād) in present-day Turkmenistan. From there he proceeded across the Iranian border, visited Mashhad, and traveled far and wide in Iran by means of the *chāpār* service.[70]

From the 1870s on, the division between the evolving polities of Iran and Afghanistan was cemented by the creation and demarcation of national borders. The British commissions participating in this process surveyed the regions at stake and produced detailed accounts of the negotiations. Fredric John Goldsmid (1818–1909), who negotiated the Anglo-Persian Telegraph Convention of 1865, also served as chief British Commissioner on the Baluchistan (Makran) Boundary Commission of 1870–71 and Arbitrator on the Perso-

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[64] Holdich 1910: 398–402; Lee 1996: 145–6; Yapp 1980: 228–40; Yapp, "Burnes, Alexander," *E.Ir.* IV: 566.

[65] For Mohan Lal's role in Kābul during the First Anglo-Afghan War, see Yapp 1980: 526.

[66] Champagne 1981: 217–18, 220–8; Ferrier 1857: 171; Kaye 1857 I: 222–300; Lee 1996: 146, 189; T Su 284–5; Yapp 1980: 364–80. Todd's mission to Herat consisted of the following officers: Lieutenant R. Shakespear, Colonel Sanders, Lieutenant Conolly, Lieutenant Pottinger, Lieutenant North, Surgeon Login (Markham 1977: 480–1).

[67] Champagne 1981: 409–20; Kelly 1991: 498.

[68] Marvin 1884: 139–41, 152.

[69] O'Donovan 1970 II: 62; Wright 2001: 81.

[70] Wright 2001: 165.

Afghan (Sistan) Arbitration Commission of 1872–73.[71] Between 1884 and 1888, the northwestern Afghan frontier between the Āmū Daryā and the Harī Rūd was fixed by a joint Russian-English commission which became known as the Afghan Boundary Commission. The British component of the commission was headed by Peter S. Lumsden and J. W. Ridgeway.[72] Further members were A. C. Stephen, Charles E. Stewart, Thomas H. Holdich (1843–1929), the head of the survey party, and Charles E. Yate (1849–1940).[73]

A number of Russian explorers also deserve mention. In 1837–40, the Russian officer Blaramberg travelled to Iran. In 1837 and 1848, Baron de Bode visited the east Caspian coast.[74] The eminent orientalist M. Nicholas de Khanikoff (1819–1878) became famous for his descriptions of Central Asia and Khurāsān. In 1841, he accompanied Butenieff's mission to Bukhārā. After assuming diplomatic posts in Tabrīz and Tiflis, he led an exploratory mission to Khurāsān in 1858–1859. During his sojourn in Herat from September 1858 to February 1859, he entered negotiations with Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān concerning a preliminary trade agreement.[75] General Grodekoff (b. 1843) is mainly known for his role in the battle for Gök Tepe and his service as military governor of the Syr Darya District from 1883 on. In October 1878, he set out from Samarqand on a journey to the Caspian via Mazār-i Sharīf, Maimana, Herat, and Mashhad to Astarābād.[76]

A crucial part of the literature on Khurāsān is provided by private travellers, who visited the region on their own accord and at their own expense. One of the earliest among them was James Baillie Fraser, who left India for Tehran in 1821. In December of the same year he travelled to Mashhad but could not proceed further to Bukhārā because of the insecurity that prevailed along the trade route. He therefore turned west again and explored the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.[77] After deserting from the British Indian army in 1827, Charles Masson (alias James Lewis, 1800–1853) spent several years travelling in Afghanistan, Balūchistān, Sind and Panjāb. Based in Kābul from 1832 on, he explored the passes of the western Hindū Kush but apparently never made it to Herat. From 1835 to 1838, he served as official newswriter for the EIC at Kābul.[78] In 1828–1829, Edward Stirling travelled in Persia and Afghanistan. Arthur Conolly (1807–1842), who was to attain sad fame for his death at the hands of the Amīr of Bukhārā, journeyed overland through Iran and Afghanistan to India in 1830.[79] Henry Walter Bellew (1834–1892), surgeon and amateur orientalist, was sent on a political mission to Qandahār in 1857 and visited Mashhad in 1872. Charles MacGregor, who is mainly known as "compiler of two huge works on Central Asia and Afghanistan", travelled from Bushire (Būshihr) to Herat, Mashhad, Sarakhs and Kalāt-i Nādirī in the spring and summer of 1875. [80]

In 1845, the French officer Joseph Ferrier travelled from Baghdad to Afghanistan. His travelogue is somewhat of an exception insofar as portions of it seem to be based on hearsay rather than on personal observation.[81] In 1863, Armin Vámbéry (1832–1913) embarked on a journey to Central Asia on behalf of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Disguised as a *darvīsh*, he travelled to Khīva, Bukhārā and Samarqand and passed through Herat on his return to Iran.

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[71] Wright, "Goldsmid, Major-General Sir Frederick John," *E.Ir.* XI: 76.
[72] KR 217; Balland, "Boundaries iii. Boundaries of Afghanistan," *E.Ir*. IV: 407–408; Rastogi 1965.
[73] Rastogi 1965: 52; Wright, "Holdich, Colonel Sir Thomas Hungerford," *E.Ir*. XII: 430.
[74] Marvin 1881: 11.
[75] Champagne 1981: 425–7.
[76] Lee 1996: 378; Marvin 1884: 264–94.
[77] Fraser 1825: 326, 341, 523; Marvin 1881: 3–4; Wright 2001: 153.
[78] Hambly, "Introduction," in: Masson 1842 I: vii–xxvii; Holdich 1910: 348–410; Whitteridge 1986: 1–5; Yapp 1980: 191.
[79] Lee 1996: 145; Wright 2001: 117; Yapp 1980: 208.
[80] Marvin 1884: 152–174.
[81] In assessing Ferrier's work, Holdich comes to the conclusion that his account of the circumstances in Herat and its hinterland is accurate. Yet he claims that his descriptions of other regions, such as Balkh, Farāh and Ghūr border on the imaginary. One indication of the doubtful character of this account is that "Ferrier describes the valley of the Upper Murghab in terms of rapture which appear to be a trifle extravagant to those who know that country" (Holdich 1910: 477–98). In his introduction to the reprint of Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys and Wanderings* of 1976, Gavin Hambly notes that "the whole of Ferrier's route between Sar-i Pul and Zarni remains something of a mystery" but he declares himself inclined "to give Ferrier the benefit of the doubt" (Hambly 1976: xvi).

SUNNĪ-SHĪʿĪ DEMARCATIONS

One recurrent theme in the description of political events in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is that of competing religious realms. As we have seen in Chapter 2, political demarcations readily translated into religious affiliations in the early Safavid period. Thus the allies of the Safavids assumed a Shīʿī identity, while the proponents of Uzbek rule emphasized Sunnī leanings. By the eighteenth century, these religious denominations had solidified and were associated with distinct groups. At the same time, they retained their importance for the delineation of political factions. Typically, the distinction between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs was activated at times of conflict and implied political partisanship. A classic pattern in the politics of Herat is the identification of the Shīʿīs with the Qizilbāsh, hence with Iranian interests. In other spheres of life, religious contours were less pronounced. Thus the distinction between Shīʿīs and Sunnīs was blurred when it came to popular worship and royal patronage of shrines. In the following, I will give a short survey of the ways in which religious denominations were used to project various social and political fields of gravity.

THE POPULATION OF HERAT IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Nineteenth-century observers categorized the population of Herat on the basis of religious affiliations. In connection with the events of 1222/1807, Muḥammad Taqī Nūrī observed that the overwhelmingly Shīʿī population of Herat and its hinterland had faced the oppression of the "fanatic" Afghāns since the decline of the Safavid empire.[82] In 1237/1821–22, Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrvānī described the city in the following manner:

> After the downfall of Nādir Shāh's government, it [Herat] suffered severely from the onslaught of friendly and hostile armies until it was conquered by the Abdālīs. Until now… it is under the authority of that group [Abdālīs, i.e. Sadūzai Durrānīs]. On the whole it has been adorned with prosperity and cultivation. The city proper contains 6,000 houses, and outside of each gate living quarters have been erected. The majority of the city dwellers are Shīʿīs (*shīʿa madhhab*), while the villagers are mixed, Sunnī and Shīʿa.[83]

In 1830, the overseer (*kalāntar*) of the town stated that the city of Herat consisted of 4,000 houses. On the basis of this information, Conolly concluded that the urban population amounted to 40,000 or 45,000 persons. He was of the opinion that Herat was as large, or slightly larger than Mashhad at that time.[84] A few years later, Mohan Lal corroborated the figure of 4,000 houses and estimated the city population at 60,000. He reported that it consisted of three major components, namely Bardurrānī, Qizilbāsh, and Fārsīvān (Pārsīvān, Pārsībān), Persian speakers of Shīʿa faith. Unfortunately, Lal's information on the relative proportions of the three groups is contradictory. While he describes the Sunnī Bardurrānīs as a "major part" of the population and assumes that the local Qizilbāsh are "small in number",[85] he also claims that the Fārsīvān make up a "great part" of the inhabitants.[86] Around the same time, Masson, who apparently never visited Herat in person, perceived the Durrānī Afghāns as a minority superimposed on the urban social fabric:

> The Chief of the State is a Mahomedan of the Sunnee persuasion, but most of his subjects are Sheeahs. Moguls are very numerous at Herat, and the bulk of the peasantry are called Parsevans, a name indicating Persian origin… The genuine Dooranee (although the Chief is one, being a Suddozye) always appeared to me to consider himself a stranger in this country…[87]

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[82] *Ahālī-yi ān balda va aṭrāf aktharī imāmī madhhab va shīʿa-yi pāk mībāshand ki pas az inqirāż-i daulat-i ṣalāṭīn-i riżvān-makīn-i ṣafavī ilā yauminā hādhā* [1222/1807]*...ba-balīya-yi ẓulm u ʿudvān-i nāpākān-i mutaʿaṣṣib-i afghān… mubtalā va giriftār-i anvāʿ-i miḥan u iʿnā būdand* (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 426–7). Nūrī characterizes the Shīʿī population of Herat as comprising "Javānshīr, Fārsīzabān, and Qizilbāsh" (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 425).

[83] *Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 430.

[84] Conolly 1834 I: 264; II: 2.

[85] Lal 1977: 160.

[86] Lal 1834: 9.

[87] Forrest 1906: 124.

ENCOUNTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The following three events in 1731, 1750 and 1754 reflect the rapid succession of conquests that took place in Khurāsān until the middle of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, the case of Aḥmad Shāh's campaign to Mashhad sheds light on two contrasting modes that accompanied successful military action: destruction during invasion and patronage upon conquest. The uniting theme of these encounters is that of a Sunnī-Shīʿī dichotomy, which creates the frame of reference for the articulation of political identities. The first two examples are interesting in that they cast Herat in terms of mutually exclusive spheres. Depending on the perspective of the narrator, the central elements of the city population are either described as Shīʿī or "Afghān", i.e. Sunnī.

Nādir Shāh's chronicler Muḥammad Kāẓim portrays the final siege of Herat in 1731 as a struggle between the *ithnā ʿasharī* Qizilbāsh and the local Sunnī population. In the summer of that year, Dhū al-Faqār Khān Sadūzai Abdālī appealed to Ḥusain b. Mīr Vais Hūtak at Qandahār for assistance. According to Kāẓim, Dhū al-Faqār Khān couched his request for aid in religious terms: "How about sending a group of Ghilzai warriors (*ghāzī*) to give assistance for the sake of tribal bonds and religious unity... By the grace of God and the four rightly guided Caliphs [we] will repel the Qizilbāsh evil and gain fame in this world and the next."[88]

When Dhū al-Faqār's cousin Allāhyār Khān entered Herat with Nādir Shāh's assistance on 22 August 1731, he was reviled by the urban Afghāns for his treachery:

> 'It is a far cry from manliness and piety to relinquish one's tribe for the sake of one spoonful of putrid blood and to seek shelter with the irreligious *ithnā ʿasharīs*.' The women of that tribe added, 'You have helped in killing our husbands, you have caused our children to starve and now you want to hand us over to the Qizilbāsh warriors!'[89]

The author of *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh*, on the other hand, highlights the sentiments of the local Shīʿī population. According to his portrayal, Bihbūd Khān's siege of Herat on behalf of Sulaimān II of Mashhad in 1750 met with an enthusiastic response on the part of the Shīʿīs:

> For a long time the poor population of the city of Herat had been afflicted by the reprisals of the Afghāns and had suffered utter anguish and confusion. In particular, those who were known for their allegiance to the true religion of *ithnā ʿasharism* rejoiced at the news of the arrival of the Qizilbāsh army and the defeat of the Afghān troops. They secretly sent messengers to the [Qizilbāsh] military leaders and offered to seize and hand over Tīmūr Khān [Aḥmad Shāh's son Tīmūr Mīrzā] …. [They also suggested] that the entrenchment be removed from the Girishk [Qandahār] Gate and that the entire group (*qaum*) of Afghāns, who did not amount to over five thousand persons, be allowed to flee.[90]

Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī's account of Aḥmad Shāh Sadūzai's conquest of Mashhad in 1754 reflects several levels of incorporation. On the one hand, he equates Aḥmad Shāh's military success with an outright assertion of Sunnī supremacy:

> On Friday, 19 Ṣafar [1168/5 December 1754] … the various components of the population (*ṭavāyif-i ahālī va sakana*) assembled as usual in the Friday mosque. The royally appointed preachers mounted the pulpit and uttered the Friday sermon with loud voices and eloquent tongues; they adorned the shell of the ears of the worshippers with pearls, by mentioning the auspicious names of the rightly guided Caliphs… and of the royal defender of Islam and the Muslims. Praising the virtues and attainments of… the first four Caliphs (*chahār yār*)…they elevated the fundament of the formerly forlorn and lustreless pulpit to the zenith of the revolving firmament.[91]

On the other hand, Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī describes the generous gifts Aḥmad Shāh made to the shrine of Imām Riżā. By extending the umbrella of royal protection over local institutions, the Durrānī ruler expressed at once his devotion and his scope of control. Seen in this light, the above demonstration of Sunnī superiority by no means contradicted Aḥmad Shāh's ostentatious veneration for the shrine of Imām Riżā. After attending to the affairs of Mashhad, he performed a pilgrimage to the holy threshold (*āstāna-yi muqaddasa)* and repaired some of the damages the shrine had recently suffered. He restored the golden minaret (*guldasta*)

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[88] Kāẓim 188.
[89] Kāẓim 191.
[90] *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 126.
[91] TA (Humāyūn) 192–3.

adjoining the cupola, which had been stripped during Mīr ʿAlam I Khuzaima's reign in 1752–1753. He likewise replaced a chandelier which the military commander of Mashhad had turned into money during the Afghan siege and thus undid some of the harm caused by his own invasion.[92]

ṢŪFĪ ISLĀM

Throughout the nineteenth century, the conflict of interest between the Afghān overlords of Herat and Iranian claims to supremacy was cast in religious terms. One important protagonist of the Sunnī cause was Ṣūfī Islām (d. 1807), a Naqshbandī *pīr* who established a convent (*khānaqāh*) in Kurukh.[93] Together with his rival, Ḥājjī Mullā Mūsā, the foremost *ʿālim* of Herat, he played a leading role in mobilizing troops for a military confrontation between Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn Sadūzai and the Qājār army. During this battle, which took place at the village of Shāda near Shakībān on 22 Rabīʿ II 1222/29 June 1807,[94] both Ṣūfī Islām and Ḥājjī Mullā Mūsā were killed. These events are covered by all the available chronicles concerning this period. Shīʿī sources emphasize the nexus between spiritual and political authority and highlight Ṣūfī Islām's role in the activation of troops in the rural hinterland of Herat. The interpretation of the nature of Ṣūfī Islām's involvement varies depending on the perspective of the narrator. Thus, he is either portrayed as a victim of Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn's military ambitions or as the driving force in the confrontation with the Qājār troops.

With slight variations, all accounts agree on Ṣūfī Islām's death during the battle of Shāda and the abuse his body suffered at the hands of the Qizilbāsh troops. Most of them also concur on his Uzbek background and locate his early career in Bukhārā. Boukhary reports that,

> Shaikh al-Islām, also known as Ṣūfī al-Islām had 50,000 [French text: 150,000] disciples and was originally an Uzbek from Bukhārā. During the reign of Shāh Murād Bēg [Manghīt, r. 1785–1800], he moved to Herat and was settled in Kurukh by Tīmūr Shāh. He claimed to receive divine revelations and to perform miracles (*kashf va karāmat*).[95]

Ṣūfī Islām's Bukharan background is confirmed by Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrvānī, who apparently met the *pīr* at his convent in Kurukh shortly before his death:

> Ṣūfī Islām—an Uzbek by tribe, lived in Kurukh, a dependency of Herat. He followed the Naqshbandī path. He was a Ḥanafī by religion. He spent his early life in Bukhārā. As the local ruler disapproved of [the performance of] vocal *dhikr*,[96] he expelled [Ṣūfī Islām] from Bukhārā. He travelled around in Transoxiana for a while and assembled many disciples. Finally he came to Herat and settled in the aforementioned village. He has assumed the throne of preaching (*vaʿẓ*) and has carried the banner of guidance (*irshād*) for almost sixty years.
>
> I met him in 1222[/1807]. At that time he was over ninety years of age. In his assembly, the *mathnavī* was continuously read and he interpreted it. He had more than two hundred representatives (*khalīfas*),[97] who offered spiritual guidance to the people in the regions (*vilāyāt*) of Khurāsān and Tūrān. His followership comprised about 100,000 families. He and his adherents wore distinct khaki-colored clothes. He enjoyed great wealth. He never neglected [the duties of] hospitality and attendance to the poor for even a minute. When a Qizilbāsh army set out for Herat in that year, the governor of the region [Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn] and a number of other Afghāns impelled him to combat the Qizilbāsh army and induced him to join the battle against them. When the two armies met between Herat and Ghūriyān, a tremendous battle unfolded. The Afghān troops were defeated. Ṣūfī Islām was taken prisoner

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[92] TA (Humāyūn) 194–5; Mann 1898: 326–7.

[93] Samizay reports that this convent was believed to have been erected by Kāmrān Mīrzā in 1213/1798–99 or 1219/1804–05 (Samizay 1981: 51–2). Yet Kāmrān was not present in Herat at that time.

[94] The Persian sources alternately list the name of the battleground as Shāda (*Dhū al-qarnain* 226; Boukhary 83–4, Persian text 40) or Shāhdih (TRSN IX: 433; T Su 185; KR 62). The present-day village of Shāda (34° 24' N 61° 39' E) is located west of Shakībān on the northern bank of the Harī Rūd (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 359).

[95] Boukhary 83–4, Persian text 40.

[96] Zain al-ʿĀbidīn uses the term *dhikr-i jalī* instead of the more common designation *dhikr-i jahrīya* (See *Dhū al-qarnain* 266; NT 162). According to Riyāżī, Ṣūfī Islām was affiliated with the Surūdī and Naqshbandī orders (KR 62). On Shāh Murād's religious policies and further details on Ṣūfī Islām's early career, see Kügelgen 1998: 123–4. For brief mention of Ṣūfī Islām's teachings, see Algar 1976 and Algar 1990.

[97] Ākhundzāda Mullā Muḥammad Ṣadīq-i Haravī states that Ṣūfī Islām had 1,001 *khalīfas* (*Mazārāt-i Harāt* 157).

> and killed by the Qizilbāsh tribe on the spot. Some parts of his body were burned.[98] A great number of his disciples who had stood fast by his side were killed. Others retrieved his half-burned corpse, carried it back and buried it. A great cupola was erected over his grave and he left many descendants after him.[99]

Writing in 1350/1931–32, the Herati author to Ākhundzāda Mullā Muḥammad Ṣadīq reports that Ṣūfī Islām was of Khivan ancestry. Born near Maimana in 1138/1725–26, he joined the service of the Manghīt ruler Muḥammad Raḥīm Bī (r. 1747–1758) in Bukhārā and was promoted to high rank. Ṣūfī Islām's initiation occurred during a campaign to Marv and Ūrganj, when Khiżr appeared to him and exhorted him to turn away from the transitory world and ist futile pursuits: *Ay farzand*, *az lahv u laʿb-i dunyā dast ba-dār*. Heeding Khiżr's advice, Ṣūfī Islām gave up his military career and retired to a cave for seven years. Subsequently, his teachings attracted such a large following in Farghāna and Bukhārā that he fell out of favor with the Amīr and moved to Herat.[100]

The only source that casts doubt on Ṣūfī Islām's Uzbek origin is the Shīʿī author Riyāżī. Although he mentions Ṣūfī Islām as a Bukharan Sufi in the main body of the text, he offers some additional biographical details on the margin that indicate an Iranian background and locate Ṣūfī Islām's spiritual career exclusively in Kurukh. According to this account, Ṣūfī Islām's real name was Mullā Islām. Originally from Iṣfahān, he came to Herat in 1197/1782 and set up business as dyer (*ṣabbāgh*) in the ʿIrāq market. After going bankrupt, he became the agent (*gumāshta*) of a Herati dyer called Mullā Islām (sic) and traded in indigo at Kurukh for two to three years. Subsequently, he spent three to four years in Bukhārā and Turkistān. Upon his return to Kurukh, a great number of disciples assembled around him, named him Ṣūfī Islām, and bestowed great authority upon him.[101]

Acknowledging Ṣūfī Islam's influential position, the Iranian sources of the early nineteenth century identify him as the instigator of Fīrūz al-Dīn's military actions. The most scathing portrayal of Ṣūfī Islām's activities is offered by his contemporary Muḥammad Taqī Nūrī, who summons his entire rhetorical repertoire to demonstrate the ignorance and arrogance of the mystical leader, in effect highlighting his spiritual and military weight:

> [He is] the preceptor and chief of all the Afghāns, Ūymāq and Turkmens, [their] great leader and the second Abū Ḥanīfa…, who heads several thousand ignoble disciples from the Afghān regions and Turkistān. This impostor, who leads the ignorant astray, lives in Kurukh. Outwardly, in order to win the hearts of the common people, that is, all the Afghāns, Turks and Ūymāq, he observes the futile school of Abū Hanīfa, but inwardly, he follows no religion at all.[102]

Nūrī depicts Fīrūz al-Dīn as a gullible follower and helpless victim of Ṣūfī Islām's conceit:

> On the basis of his faulty imagination, [Ṣūfī Islām] seized upon Fīrūz Mīrzā's laughable delusions; because of his stupidity he considered himself capable of wise religious judgment. Equating the confrontation with the soldiers of Islam with jihad, he deemed it to be an easy matter. He twirled his unbecoming moustache like the whiskers of a cat, girded his loins for hostilities with the dutiful Qizilbāsh, mounted the steed of error and ignorance, set out for the distinguished city of Herat and moved

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[98] Muḥammad Taqī Nūrī states that Ṣūfī Islām's head was mounted on a spear and his body was burned in situ (A*shraf al-tavārīkh* 420). According to Boukhary's version of events, the Qizilbāsh skinned (*pūst karda*) Ṣūfī Islām's head and sent it to Tehran. His body was burned (Boukhary 83–4, Persian text 40–41). Riyāżī reports that Ṣūfī Islām's head was hit by a cannon ball (*gulūla-yi tūp*). After the battle, the Azerbaijani artillerymen placed his body on a stack of dried rape seed (*mandāb*) and burned it (KR 62).

[99] *Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 481–2.

[100] *Mazārāt-i Harāt* 154–7. See also Dupree 1977: 334; Kügelgen 1998: 124). Fūfalzāʾī is also of the opinion that Ṣūfī Islām was born in 1138/1725–26 but places him in Herat at the time of Aḥmad Shāh's death in 1772, that is, thirteen years before Shāh Murād Bī came to power in Bukhārā (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 131). See also Wood 1998: 100–1.

[101] KR 62.

[102] *Murshid va pīshvā-yi jamīʿ-i afāghina va ūymāq va turkmān, imām-i aʿẓam va Bū Ḥanīfa-yi thānī…ṣāḥib-i chandīn hazār marada-yi mardūd az mamālik-i afghān va turkistān va ān muzavvir-i ablah farīb dar Kurukh maskan namuda; ẓāhir-i ḥāl-rā ba-jihat-i jadhb-i qulūb-i ʿavāmm, balki ʿumūm-i afghāniya va atrāk va ūymāq, madhhab-i pūch-i Bū Ḥanīfa-rā riʿāyat mīkunad va līkan dar bāṭin muqallid ba-hīch madhhab nīst.* Nūrī further avers that Ṣūfī Islām used his spiritual standing to enforce his "right to the first night" with the brides of his followers (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 389).

> towards fate and jihad, accompanied by one thousand misguided Sufis..., ten of his impure and doomed representatives, and two of his degenerate and vicious sons...[103]

According to Nūrī's version of events, Fīrūz al-Dīn's enthusiasm for warfare faded when he received news of the approach of the Khurāsānī troops under the command of Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā, the governor of Mashhad. Fīrūz al-Dīn's experienced military leader Badal Khān Afghān likewise preferred submitting Ghūriyān to the option of defying the Iranian government: "This is the first manifestation of the ascendancy of this world-disturbing power, whereas the star of Afghān fortune is on its decline."[104] At length, however, Fīrūz al-Dīn gave in to a coalition of Afghān and Ūymāq chiefs under the leadership of Ṣūfī Islām, who insisted on the necessity of battling the Qājārs.[105] To strengthen his cause, Ṣūfī Islām addressed a letter to the Hazāra and Tīmūrī leaders in Qājār employ and reminded them of their duty to join the "army of Islam" (*lashkar-i islām*). His prediction of the upcoming fierce battle may also be read as a premonition of his impending death:

> Your consent with the ignominious Qizilbāsh unbelievers and your obedience to the errant *shīʿī* polytheists is against the divine command and contrary to my approval. It should be known that in this altercation many heads will lose their bodies and many bodies their heads; many sons will lose their fathers and fathers their sons. Through the souls of the eminent saints (*abdāl va autād*), through the felicitous ambition of the devoted servants and ascetics, and through the heavenly signs and constellations it has become evident to me that victory will belong to His Majesty Fīrūz Mīrzā. In this battle, owing to the presence of ascetics and the prayer of hermits, he will be victorious (*fīrūz*) like his name and happy like his fate. Fortunate will be those who lend the ear of understanding to the advice of their compassionate guide and hurry to [join] their preceptor. Be aware that the irreligious heretics will be defeated… All the Afghāns and Ūymāq have sincerely united with His Majesty and me…[106]

In his description of the battle itself, Nūrī anticipates Ṣūfī Islām's violent end by comparing his palanquin to a coffin. While attempting to ridicule Ṣūfī Islām, the following passage from the *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* inadvertently illustrates his spiritual authority and the way in which it translated into physical arrangements. As Ṣūfī Islām entered the battlefield, seated on a palanquin and shielded by his close associates and armed followers, his spiritual standing produced a battle order in its own right. The protective field surrounding the leader and his associates was enhanced by the performance of vocal *dhikr*:

> Ṣūfī Islām seated himself on a litter. A number of men bearing his squalid litter on their shoulders, one thousand of his ignoble disciples baring their swords, together with his representatives and his offspring of adultery, they [marched to] sacrifice themselves under his flag and before his coffin [-like litter], and began to recite the *dhikr* of *hū hū*.[107]

Writing in the 1830s, Fażlullāh Shīrāzī offers a similar interpretation of the relationship between Ṣūfī Islām and the ruler of Herat. In his portrayal, it is again Ṣūfī Islām who seduces Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn to stray from "proper" religion and, hence, to give up his allegiance to the Qājār overlords. He accuses Ṣūfī Islām of polytheism and his disciple Ḥājjī Fīrūz of apostasy: "Because of the assembly of irreligious disciples and the

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[103] *Ba-zaʿm-i nāqiṣ-i bāṭil-i khud tasvīlāt-i rīshkhand-āmīz-i Fīrūz Mīrzā-rā ba-rīsh bardāshta; az kūn-i kharī khud-rā rīsh-i qāżī pindāshta va muqābila-yi ʿasākir-i islām-rā ghazva-yi jihād dānista, ān-rā sahl u āsān ingāsht va burūthā-yi nāmarbūt-i khud-rā chūn asbāl [sibāl]-i gurba tāb dāda, kamar ba-ʿadāvat-i Qizilbāsh-i ḥaqq-shināṣ basta, bar bāragī-yi żalālat va jahālat nishasta, ba mavāzī-yi yak hazār nafar az ṣūfīya-yi tīra-rāy… va dah nafar az khulafā-yi nāpāk-i shaqāvat-intimā va du pisar-i nā-khalaf-i badgauhar-i ū… rah-sipar-i balda-yi fākhira-yi Harāt va pay-sipār-i ṭarīq-i qażā va jihād gardīdand* (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 390).

[104] *Avval-i ṭulūʿ-i ṭalīʿa-yi īn daulat-i jahān-āshūb ast va kaukab-i iqbāl-i afghān-rā zamān-i ghurūb* (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 402).

[105] *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 401–3.

[106] *Muvāfiqat-i shumā bā kāfirān-i qizilbāsh-i qallāsh va mutābiʿat-i shumā bā mushrikān-i shīʿa-yi nāḥaqq-talāsh khilāf-i ḥukm-i khudā va munāfī-yi riżā-yi māst. Īn maʿnā maʿlūm va īn mafhūm hamginān bāshad ki dar īn mujādila basā sar bī tan va tan bī sar khvāhad shud va bisyār pidar bī pisar va pisar bī pidar. Va az taʾthīr-i nufūs-i abdāl va autād va yumn-i himmat-i ʿibād u zuhhād va az āthār-i falakī va aużāʿ-i kavākib chinīn maʿlūm-am shud ki fatḥ u nuṣrat qarīn-i ḥāl-i hażrat-i aʿlā Fīrūz Mīrzāst va ū dar īn maʿraka ba-sabab-i vujūd-i murtāżān va athar-i duʿā-yi gūsha-gīrān chūn nām-i khud fīrūz va mānand-i bakht-i khud bihrūzī khvāhad yāft. Nīk-bakht va saʿādatmand kasī ki naṣīḥat-i pīr-i mushfiq-rā ba-gūsh-i hūsh jā dāda ba-jānib-i murshid-i khud shitāft. Āgāh bāshīd ki rāfiżiyān-i bī-īmān maghlūb… khvāhand būd. Tamāmī-yi afghān va ūymāq… bā hażrat-i aʿlā va īn jānib bī-nifāq ittifāq namūda-and…* (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 408).

[107] *Ṣūfī Islām bar miḥaffa qarār girifta, gurūhī miḥaffa-yi palīd-i ū-rā bar-dūsh va hazār nafar az marada-yi mardūda-ash shamshīrhā-yi birihna dar āghūsh nihāda, bā khulafā va aulād-i zinā-yash dar pā-yi bairaq va pīshrū-yi tābūt-ash fidāī va az zabān ba-dhikr-i hū hū gushādand* (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 415)

polytheistic injunctions of that cursed one [Ṣūfī Islām], the matter of Sufism gained splendor. The unfortunate Ḥājjī Fīrūz became his disciple and turned away from the circle of Islām." Shīrāzī casts the confrontation with the Herati troops as the defense of the true religion: Seeking recourse in God's strength and placing their confidence in the good fortune of their king, the Iranian fighters mounted attack after attack against the "irreligious" Herati troops and carried the day. In keeping with this imagery, Shīrāzī likens the bodies of the slain Afghan soldiers to the carrion of dogs and hogs.[108]

Twenty years later, Lisān al-Mulk largely follows Faẓlullāh Shīrāzī's earlier account of the battle but views the dynamic between royal patronage and religious legitimacy differently. While assuming the submissive role of a disciple, Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn sought to instrumentalize Ṣūfī Islām's spiritual resources for his own ends. By pointing to Ṣūfī Islām's far-spread followership, Lisān al-Mulk makes it clear that the Naqshbandī *pīr* had considerable resources at his disposal which Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn wanted to harness to his military cause. Furthermore, Lisān al-Mulk enumerates all the regions Ṣūfī Islām drew adherents from, thus mapping his large sphere of influence:

> [Ṣūfī Islām] assembled a great group of disciples and adherents. Ḥājjī Fīrūz became likewise enamoured with his spiritual attainments and, believing in him, became his disciple. He thought that [Ṣūfī Islām's] influential position would enable him to win over the entire population, urban and rural, and to enjoy complete power over his kingdom.[109] For this reason, he prepared for a military campaign and assembled 50,000 men from among the tribes of Herat, Qandahār, Farāh, Andkhūd, Mārūchāq, Qunduz, Khatlān, Chīnānjakth [Chīchaktū],[110] Maimana, Fāryāb, Bādghīsāt, and the Jamshīdī, Tāymanī, Fīrūzkūhī and Nikūdarī *ūymāq*. He placed Ṣūfī Islām in a golden litter in the middle of the army and surrounded it with 366 heroic guards, one for each day of the year…[111]

The available Afghan sources assume a more neutral tone in their account of the battle of Shāda. Sulṭān Muḥammad merely mentions Ṣūfī Islām as one "of the great *shaikhs* of Afghānistān" and lists him among a number of dignitaries whose support Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn summoned. During the ensuing confrontation, Ṣūfī Islām and 5,000 others imbibed the drink of martyrdom.[112] Writing in the early twentieth century, Faiż Muḥammad adds a religious note to the campaign: "Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn, who was among [Ṣūfī Islām's] fortunate disciples, assembled 50,000 troops from among the tribes (*īlāt va ulūsāt*) of Herat and its environs in the name of jihad."[113]

After Ṣūfī Islām's death, his authority passed to his descendants, who enjoyed "complete power" (*kamāl-i iqtidār*) until the reign of Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān.[114] Mīrzā Abū al-Qāsim b. Ṣūfī Islām was among the Herati ulama and notables who endorsed Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān Sadūzai's assumption of power in Muḥarram 1272/September 1855.[115] Mīrzā Abū al-Qāsim was succeeded by his brother Mīrzā Allāhvirdī b. Ṣūfī Islām, who gained great fame for his hospitality: In his convent, two hundred travellers were fed crushed wheat and barley (*bulghūr*) and bread every night.[116] After Mīrzā Allāhvirdī's death, the control of the shrine and its considerable resources was contested between two cousins claiming Ṣūfī Islām's heritage. In 1895, the sons of Mīrzā Abū al-Qāsim and Mīrzā Allāhvirdī, both named Muḥammad ʿUmar, appealed to Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān, who eventually allotted a stipend to both parties but ordered Mīrzā Allāhvirdī's sons and two of his grandsons to reside in Kābul.[117] Riyāżī reports that the influence of Ṣūfī Islām's family

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[108] *Dhū al-qarnain* 266.

[109] *Bar chār bālish-i mulk takiya khvāhad zad*. This expression is commonly employed in the chronicles to project the ease accompanying full authority. For further examples spanning the period from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, see Saif al-Haravī 1943: 165; Rota 2009: 385; Vārid, *Mirʾāt* 128, 180, 185; *Dhū al-qarnain* 172.

[110] See *Dhū al-qarnain* 266.

[111] NT 162.

[112] According to Sulṭān Muḥammad's account, the second religious dignitary who backed Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn was Mullā Ḥalīm Kākarī (T Su 184).

[113] ST 74–5; see also the translation by McChesney in McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 121.

[114] KR 62.

[115] TRSN X: 667; NT 1278.

[116] KR 62. See also *Mazārāt-i Harāt* 157.

[117] ST 1158–59, 1206–7; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 III, 3: 1511–12; 1603–4.

declined from that time on. Even so, its followership consisted of ten to twelve thousand families in and around Kurukh in the early twentieth century.[118]

Khanikoff, who visited Kurukh in 1858, noted that two popular graves stood in close vicinity to one another. Ṣūfī Islām's grave was located in a beautiful mausoleum constructed by Mīrzā Abū al-Qāsim.[119] It was surrounded by a spacious garden intersected by two pine-lined avenues. The other shrine at Kurukh housed the grave of Imām Riżā's doorkeeper Maʿrūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815–16) and was venerated by the Shīʿī population. Yet the building containing the grave, which probably stemmed from the Safavid era, was in a state of dilapidation.[120]

THE QĀJĀR SIEGES

In the course of the nineteenth century, the demarcation of political spheres intensified and enhanced local antagonism. During the Persian sieges of 1837–1838 and 1856, both Iran and the rulers of Herat justified their territorial claims on the basis of religious affiliations. For the local Shīʿī population, the Iranian endeavor to regain possession of Herat held the promise of added political leverage. In 1832, Lal noted that religious sentiments as such played a secondary role in the outlook of the Fārsīvān: "They are all fond of the Persian government—not with regard to religion, but through the ill treatment, which they daily receive from Kamran and his ministers."[121]

The Iranian reasoning for the intervention in Herat rested on the notion of the Qājār state as a Shīʿī domain. From this point of view, it was Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's duty to protect the entire Shīʿī population in the region. For one thing, this idea applied to the Shīʿīs of Herat, who had to be protected from Kāmrān Sadūzai's tyranny. An additional and equally important consideration was the need to safeguard the remaining Shīʿī population of Khurāsān from slave raids committed not only by the Turkmens but also by the Sunnī *ūymāq* of the Herat region. Kāmrān was held responsible for plundering raids that emanated from his realm and were carried out as far as Sabzavār. In April 1836, Muḥammad Shāh stated that Kāmrān and the Afghāns under his authority had carried away 12,000 persons as slaves.[122] What is more, Kāmrān was accused of interfering with territories considered Iranian possessions: He had exerted direct pressure on Khvāf and Qāyin for tribute and had mounted a campaign against Lāsh-Juvain.[123] The position of the Qājār government concerning the necessity of a campaign to Herat was supported and encouraged by the religious establishment. As early as April 1836, Ḥājjī Ibrāhīm, the *mujtahid* of Iṣfahān, declared jihad against the Afghāns. In May 1837, the clergy of Mashhad demanded that Muḥammad Shāh free the Shīʿīs from Kāmrān's oppression.[124]

Kāmrān Sadūzai, on his part, attached his own religious interpretation to the conflict. Seeking support from other Afghān leaders, he described Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's pending attack as an effort to extirpate the

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118 KR 62.

119 According to Ākhundzāda Mullā Muḥammad Ṣadīq-i Haravī, the text on Ṣūfī Islām's gravestone read as follows: *Tā az naẓar nihān shuda sulṭān-i dīn panāh, kardand rūz ahl-i irādat shab-i siyāh. Sāl-i shihādatash ṭalabīdam zi pīr-i ʿaql, giriyān shud u ba nāla biguftā gharīv u āh* (1222) (*Mazārāt-i Harāt* 157; see also Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 131) In the 1850s, Abū al-Qāsim played a prominent role in the politics of Herat. In 1272/1855, he was one of the members of the council formed by Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 525).

120 Khanikoff 1864: 376–7. According to a popular legend, Karkhī converted to Islam at the hands of Imām Riżā (R. A. Nicholson/R. W. J. Austin, "Maʿrūf al- Karkhī," *E.I.,* 2 VI: 613–14).

121 Lal 1834: 9.

122 Ellis to Palmerston, 17 April 1836 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, No. 32, p, 23). In 1837, Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī accused Kāmrān of having killed 40,000 *sayyids* of Khurāsān. Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī to McNeill, n.d. (dispatch No. 45 of 1837, IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, No. 4, Appendix p. 3).

123 Ellis to Palmerston, 8 January 1836; McNeill to Macnaghten, Tehran, 22 January 1837; Stoddart to McNeill, 23 July 1837; Memorandum by M Shāh to England, France, Russia, Turkey on 15 Rabīʿ II 1254/ 8 July 1838 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, Nos. 32, 50, 59, 105, pp. 23, 43, 66, 188–90); T Su 284.

124 Ellis to Palmerston, Tehran, 29 April 1836; Count Simonich to Count Nesselrode 28 May 1837 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, No. 33, pp. 9, 23).

Sunnī Muslims.[125] Yet the Iranian accounts also create the impression that Kāmrān acknowledged the issue of slavery to be at the root of the conflict with the Qājār government. Lisān al-Mulk reports that the ruler of Herat sent his son Nādir Mīrzā Sadūzai and a number of Herati dignitaries to Allāh Qulī Khān of Khīva (r. 1825–1842), Miżrāb Khān of Maimana (r. 1831–1845) and the leaders of the Hazāra, Tāymanī and Jamshīdī *ūymāq* to solicit help. Nādir Mīrzā bore the following message:

> 'Now Muḥammad Shāh has set out for Herat. Do not think that you can live in peace after the [Iranian] conquest of Herat. It is the endeavor of this king and his army to free the Shīʿī prisoners, who are mostly scattered among the tribes around Khīva and Maimana. You should pay attention to the result of the matter and beware not to avoid fighting this army.'[126]

In response to Kāmrān Sadūzai's request for aid, Allāh Qulī Khān appointed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khalīfa to the command of 1,500 cavalry. With the support of the Uzbek leader Miżrāb Khān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān raised 6,000 additional troops in the region of Maimana, Andkhūd and Shibarghān. In the context of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's military activities, Lisān al-Mulk observes that he was considered so holy that the dust from his feet was believed to heal all ailments.[127] A highly influential Naqshbandī *shaikh* of Marv, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khalīfa (d. 1854) was a key figure in the politics in the region. In assuming a military role, he followed the example of his preceptor Ṣūfī Islām, who had died combating the Iranian troops in 1807.[128]

In preparation for the pending confrontation with the Iranians, the Herat government also requested legal assistance from local theologians. When the Iranian army arrived before the gates of Herat on 22 Shaʿbān 1253/21 November 1837, Kāmrān Sadūzai summoned Mullā ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Pushtakī, who is described as an eminent *sayyid*[129] and one of the foremost ulama of Herat.[130] Mullā ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Pushtakī mounted the pulpit of the Friday mosque and issued a *fatvā* declaring jihad against the Iranians:

> 'If this army finds entrance into the city your lives and property will be wasted. The protection of lives and property is obligatory. What is more, fighting this group is jihad according to the will of God (*jihād fī sabīlallāh*). If you are killed, you will enter Paradise and if you kill one of them Paradise will also be yours.' Incited by these words, the people went to the public bath in groups, cleaned their bodies, clipped their nails, and put on shrouds. Led by the people from Pushtakī, the Heratis took up weapons and issued from the Khushk [Khush] Gate to fight [the Iranians].[131]

Whatever expectations the Shīʿī population may have attached to the Iranian intervention, the siege exposed them to a number of hardships and reprisals from both sides. Prior to the arrival of the Iranian army, the influential Shīʿī citizens were either forced to flee from Herat or deprived of their property.[132] The ten-month siege by 30,000 Iranian soldiers and 90,000 camp followers spelled disaster for the environs of the city. Some sources state that all villages in a twelve-mile radius were plundered and depopulated.[133] Lisān al-Mulk reports that the Iranian troops, "becoming annoyed with the lengthy siege of Herat, busied themselves with the destruction of forts, buildings and the outskirts of the city. Nor did they refrain from cutting down

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125 Ellis to Palmerston, Tehran, 4 February 1836, 17 April 1836 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, No. 32, pp. 15–16, 23). This argument was not new. In 1800, Shāh Zamān already accused Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh of oppressing the Sunnī population of Khurāsān in the name of *ithnā ʿasharism* (Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 141–2).

126 NT 682–3. See also ST 132; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 221–2.

127 NT 683. See also TMN 1641.

128 For ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khalīfa's role in the politics of Marv, see Wood 1998: 100–1, 105–17. His military activities in the regions north of Herat continued throughout the Iranian siege of Herat (Wood 1998: 158–6).

129 NT 690.

130 KR 74 (Patterson 1988: 60).

131 '*Agar īn sipāh badīn shahr rāh kunand jān u māl-i shumā ba-hadar shavad va ḥifẓ-i jān u māl vājib ast va az īn bar ziyādat muqātilat bā īn jamāʿat jihād fī sabīlullāh ast ki agar kushta shavīd jāy dar bihisht kunīd va agar az īshān bukushīd ham bihisht shumā-rā bāshad.' Mardum-rā badīn kalamāt junbish dāda hamī gurūh gurūh be garmāba dar-raftand va ghusl kardand va nākhun bachīdand va kafan ba-pūshīdand va mardum-i Pushtakī az pīshrūy va shahriyān as qafā ālāt-i ḥarb u żarb-rā girifta az darvāza-yi Khushk ba-āhang-i muqātila bīrūn shudand* (NT 690). See also ST 135; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 226–7.

132 McNeill to Macnaghten, Tehran, 22 January 1837 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, No. 50, p. 46).

133 KR 75 (Patterson 1988: 63). According to the British envoy McNeill, these villages were destroyed by the government of Herat prior to the siege in order to deprive the Iranian army of all basis of sustenance (McNeill to Palmerston, Tehran, 30 October 1837 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, No. 63, pp. 78–9).

trees, groves and orchards. [In this manner] an area of twenty to thirty *farsang* (80–120 miles) around Herat was turned into plain desert and was cleared of dwellings and fields alike."[134] In October 1839, Todd observed that the impact of the siege continued to be strongly felt in Herat a year after its conclusion. Muḥammad Shāh Qājār and his army had turned the country into an "uninhabited waste": The greater part of the cultivators was gone, bullocks and implements of husbandry had been destroyed or carried away, and seed corn was unavailable.[135]

As early as December 1837, the Iranian foraging parties scoured the region to a distance of sixty miles. In their search for provisions, the Iranian troops made no distinction on the basis of faith and relentlessly pillaged the Sunnī and Shīʿī population alike. In particular, the atrocities committed by the Iranian commander Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Mākūʾī in a village of *sayyids* caused a great outcry. After being plundered twice in a row, the villagers sought shelter in Herat and avowed that they felt nothing but enmity for the Qājārs from this point. The urban Shīʿīs, who likewise suffered from the scarcity of provisions brought about by the Iranian siege, joined their opinion.[136] Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's decision to execute Kāmrān Sadūzai's Qizilbāsh attendant ʿAbbās Khān Raiḥān, who had deserted to the Qājār camp during the early part of the siege, likewise caused public opinion to sway against the invaders. Henceforth, neither Shīʿī nor Sunnī Heratis were tempted to join the Iranian ranks, as Riyāżī puts it.[137]

At the conclusion of the Iranian siege, Kāmrān Sadūzai undertook to give up the slave trade and to respect the Qājār sphere of influence in Khurāsān.[138] In Herat itself, however, the lot of the Shīʿī population took a turn for the worse. Ironically, the famine brought about by this war once again encouraged the trade in slaves. According to Ferrier, the situation of the inhabitants was so dramatic at the time that many sold themselves to the Turkmens in order to safeguard the survival of their families. In the meanwhile, the local Shīʿīs faced reprisals on the part of the government. In order to salvage his desperate financial situation, Vazīr Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai resorted to the exchange of Fārsīvāns for supplies:

> Herat contained a population of at least 70,000 souls before this siege, and when it was raised there were at the outside not more than six or seven thousand persons. This extraordinary decrease is to be accounted for by the great emigration that took place, the casualties during the siege, and the deaths by famine. The mortality continued long after it was over, and was of a most fearful and heartrending character; many of the unfortunate Heratians, to escape its terrors, sold themselves to the Turcomans as slaves, to provide food for their wives and children. Yar Mohamed was then in as great a difficulty as any one else during this frightful visitation, and he met the difficulty in the most pitiless manner; for the least fault, probably without any, he sold the Parsivans to procure provisions, and bartered four or five against a horse or a few quarters of wheat. His officers and agents traversed the city, and endeavoured to excite the people that he might have an excuse for selling them in greater number to the Turcomans; the inhabitants, however, perceived the snare, and remained quietly in their houses: but Yar Mohamed was not, however, to be foiled; he closed all the outlets of the bazaars at an hour of the day when they were the most crowded, drew up his troops at these points, seized indiscriminately all he could lay his hands on, and sold them to obtain funds.
>
> Since these sad episodes took place, the Vezir has usurped the sovereign authority and enriched himself with English gold, and under his altered circumstances has given up a horrible traffic, which he justified by the necessities of the times. Since the year 1842 he has endeavoured to repeople Herat with several thousand nomads, Hazarahs [Hazāras], Jumshidies [Jamshīdīs], and Taymoonees [Tāymanīs], whom he made prisoners in the expeditions he has at various times successfully undertaken against these tribes. At the period of my visit every one enjoyed the most complete security, and commerce and agriculture had greatly developed themselves during the last few years. An amnesty had been granted to the Heratians who fled to Persia or the English territories, and they have returned to their native city in considerable numbers. The population in 1845 amounted to from 20,000 to 22,000 souls…[139]

After the withdrawal of the British mission from Herat in February 1841, Kāmrān Sadūzai and Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai formally tendered their submission to Iran. Throughout the 1840s, Yār

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134 NT 710. See also Busse 1972: 258.

135 *Correspondence Relating to Herat*, IOL, L/PS/20/G 10/3 No. 4, p. 10.

136 Mirza Agha's Journal 3 December, 17 December, 25–26 December 1837; Stoddart to McNeill 7 January 1838, McNeill to Palmerston, 23 Feb. 1838 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1,Nos. 18, 73, pp. 95–6; App. pp. 27, 29, 31, 34).

137 KR 74–5 (Patterson 1988: 61–2). Fasāʾī merely mentions ʿAbbās Khān's desertion to the Qājār side (Busse 1972: 255).

138 For the text of the treaty between Kāmrān and the Iranian Government, see Muqaddam 1995: 33–5.

139 Ferrier 1857: 171–2.

Muḥammad Khān maintained a friendly relationship with the Qājār court but failed to perform the standard expressions of submission, such as the striking of coins and reciting the Friday prayer in the name of Muḥammad Shāh. At the same time, he intermittently interfered with the affairs in the Qājār realm. In 1845, he supported the rebellious governor of Qāyin.[140] During the early phase of Ḥasan Khān Sālār's uprising in the autumn of 1848, by contrast, he rendered active support to the Qājār governor Ḥamza Mīrzā. In exchange for his services during this period, he was awarded the title of Ẓahīr al-Daula.[141] Around that time, Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai instituted five regular infantry regiments with Iranian support.[142]

The Iranian views concerning the position of Herat and the role of the local Shīʿīs are highlighted by the account of a diplomatic mission in 1851. In Rajab 1267/May 1851, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh dispatched an envoy to award a robe of honor to Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai and to request his assistance in a military campaign to Sarakhs which Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā Ḥusām al-Salṭana, the governor of Mashhad, was about to undertake. When this unnamed envoy[143] arrived in Herat on 10 Ramażān 1267/11 July 1851, he found out that Yār Muḥammad Khān had died a month earlier. During his month-long stay, he interacted with Yār Muḥammad Khān's successor Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān, his *vazīr* Mīrzā Najaf Khān and the Shīʿī merchant community. By bestowing the robe of honor on Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān and reiterating his request for troops, the envoy made it clear that he considered Herat a part of the Iranian realm.[144] This notion is also underlined by his attempt to refer the adjudication of a dispute between a Shīʿī and a Sunnī merchant to a religious judge (*ḥākim-i sharʿ*) in Mashhad.[145]

On their part, the members of the Herati government readily professed their allegiance to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh.[146] These protestations of loyalty, however, were not backed up by any practical expression of fealty. The central figure in the politics of Herat was Mīrzā Najaf Khān, a Fārsīvān, who had taken the reins of government and was busy suppressing rebellions among the Hazāra and Fīrūzkūhī *ūymāq*.[147] Citing the difficulty of maintaining order in the principality after Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai's death, Najaf Khān politely but firmly rejected the envoy's request for troops.[148] Although providing little firsthand information on the economic circumstances in Herat, the envoy's report allows one to conclude that the trading community was doing well. He reported that Yār Muḥammad Khān had routinely protected the trade caravans to Bukhārā.[149] The envoy's meeting with 30–40 influential Shīʿī merchants and ulama at the house of Mīrzā Najaf Khān indicates that the trading community of Herat was fairly strong.[150] This impression is supported by British sources, which report that many of the merchants who had left for Mashhad during the siege of 1837–38 returned to Herat at the time of Ḥasan Khān Sālār's rebellion in Mashhad in 1847–1850.[151] These positive developments notwithstanding, the envoy's notes capture the atmosphere of resentment that continued to cloud the relations between Shīʿīs and Sunnīs. As in former times, the Shīʿī representatives expressed great impatience for the return of Iranian rule and the hope to be freed from Sunnī oppression.[152] The news of Ḥusām al-Salṭana's military setback in Sarakhs triggered opposite emotions in the two camps: "All the Shīʿīs were aggrieved and all the Sunnīs rejoiced."[153]

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140 Champagne 1981: 229–30, 234–5, 245–53, 271–4.
141 TRSN X: 665; Abbas Amanat, "Herat, vi. the Herat Question," *E.Ir.* XII: 222; Champagne 1981: 265–71. For Yār Muḥammad Khān's correspondence with Prime Minister Mīrzā Taqī Khān Amīr Kabīr (1848–1851), see Ādamiyat 1982: 618–20.
142 KR 99, 119 (Patterson 1988: 135–6, 189).
143 Ādamiyat is of the opinion that this envoy was ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Pisyān (Ādamiyat 1982: 620–1 fn 15).
144 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 30–32.
145 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 43–49.
146 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 34–5.
147 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 27–8, 35–6, 38–41. On the person of Najaf Khān, see also Ferrier 1857: 158.
148 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 30–1.
149 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 36.
150 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 35.
151 Champagne 1981: 270.
152 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 34–5, 39.
153 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 49.

The notion of separate Sunnī and Shīʿī factions was offset by numerous instances of interlacing interests in the political sphere. A case in point was Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai's powerful Fārsīvān minister Mīrzā Najaf Khān. Yār Muḥammad Khān himself was married to "Navvāba", an "Iranian" woman, who was Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān's mother. This maternal connection with the Shīʿīs did not automatically translate into allegiance. Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān, who is generally described as "mentally impaired" (*nuqṣān-i ʿaql*) or "mad" (*khabṭ-i dimāgh*), was unable to garner the support of the local leadership, regardless of religious affiliation.[154] His hold on the hinterland of Herat was even more tenuous, and constant Hazāra and Turkmen raids on the highroads brought overland trade to a halt. The decrease in custom receipts in turn reduced his ability to offer pecuniary incentives for collaboration.[155] Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān attempted to make up for his lack of authority in and around Herat by summoning Iranian support. He solicited aid from Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh to ward off Sardār Kuhandil Khān of Qandahār, who made a brief but ultimately unsuccessful attempt to occupy Herat in the spring of 1852. Subsequently, Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān had gold and silver coins minted in the name of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and submitted them to the Qājār court in Ṣafar 1269/November–December 1852.[156] The Iranian intervention in Herat once again highlighted sectarian demarcations. Seven Afghān leaders were arrested and sent to Mashhad. In the wake of the retreating Iranian troops, Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān stepped up his activities against the Durrānī nobility and eliminated the prominent members of the Alakūzai, Bārakzai, Pūpalzai and Achakzai tribes. To compensate for the dwindling of Afghān support, he increasingly entrusted Shīʿī notables with the affairs of government.[157]

During the second Iranian siege from early April to late October 1856, Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān's *vazīr* ʿĪsā Khān Bardurrānī, who took control of the city at the onset of the military encounter, exemplified the indomitable spirit of Herati Afghāns.[158] The urban Shīʿīs, on their part, again identified with Iranian interests. Both British observers and Iranian historians recount a failed attempt of the Fārsīvāns (Fārsīzabānān) to give entry to the Qājār troops during the siege. According to Lisān al-Mulk's account, Amīr ʿAbbās Khān, an influential Fārsīvān, deserted to the Iranian camp but simultaneously maintained contact with the Shīʿī population inside the city. The right moment for an invasion seemed to be one hour after sunset on Thursday night, 26 Dhū al-Ḥijja/28 August, when the Afghān population had assembled for prayer in the Friday mosque. At this time, Ḥaidar Qulī Khān Sartīp, the leader (*sarkhēl*) of the Persian population, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusain Mustaufī entered the southeastern Burj-i Khvāja ʿAbd al-Miṣr from inside the city, killed the Afghān soldiers guarding the counterscarp (*faṣīl-i bāra*) and encouraged the Iranian troops to enter. As the Iranian troops hurried towards the tower, the Herati Shīʿīs, both men and women, extended their turbans and ropes to help them scale it. Although the Iranian troops briefly gained control of a great part of the fortifications and the central bazaar area (*Chahār Sū*), they subsequently scattered amid plundering and were eventually beaten back by the Afghāns, who issued from the Friday mosque like "mad wolves". Reprisals against the Shīʿī population followed shortly thereafter. The property of the pro-Iranian conspirators was plundered and their wives and children were handed over to the Sunnī leadership. Another hundred Fārsīvān were executed and their houses burnt.[159]

From the Iranian point of view, the communal conflict in Herat was resolved as soon as the Qājār troops assumed control of the city during the final week of October. Ḥusām al-Salṭana sent two messengers to Tehran to submit coins minted in Herat and to communicate the following message:

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154 KR 123 (Patterson 1988: 198); Champagne 1981: 282.

155 Champagne 1981: 291–2.

156 NT 1196. See also KR 111 (Patterson 165–6).

157 Champagne 1981: 298, 302, 305–6.

158 In a letter to the Muḥammadzai Amīr, ʿĪsā Khān allegedly made the following statement: "The Afghans, as good Sunnīs, would never submit to the supremacy of the Persian Shīʿah" (Champagne 1981: 374). See also Stack 1975: 454.

159 NT 1324–27. See also Taylor 1858c: 942–3.

> After the conquest of Herat… the urban population has been relieved from [its former] anxieties and has taken up the path of joyfulness, as the Iranian army represents the law of justice and equity, benevolence and civility. Now the people of Herat regret their resistance and aloofness, Shīʿīs and Sunnīs live together in a brotherly fashion in all walks of life (*gulkhan va gulshan*).[160]

As was to be expected, the Iranian chronicles paint a rosy picture of Ḥusām al-Salṭana's presence in Herat. Hidāyat avows that, in order to win the sympathy of the peasants, Ḥusām al-Salṭana saw to it that not a single ear of grain was damaged during the approach of the Qājār army in Rajab 1272/April 1856.[161] With its incorporation into the Qājār domain, the city became so secure that even pearls lost in the street were restored to their rightful owner. The establishment of Qājār authority found its expression in the insertion Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's name into the Friday prayer and in the institution of the Shīʿī call to prayer.[162] Furthermore, Ḥusām al-Salṭana attempted to strengthen the position of the Shīʿīs of Herat. Among the three army contingents he ordered to be raised, one was to consist of Herati Afghāns and two of Fārsivāns. To this purpose, he ordered the "old hands" (*naukar-i qadīm*) among the Fārsīvāns, Afshārs, Shāmlūs, Shāhseven and the people from Jām and Qāyin to be registered. In effect, eight hundred Fārsīvāns as opposed to one hundred Afghāns were assembled and drilled.[163] Besides, Ḥusām al-Salṭana showed a general concern for the well-being of the population. To alleviate the scarcity prevailing in the city, he sent grain to the bakers in town, lowered food prices and relinquished his tax demands on the Heratis.[164] He restored the water supply of the city and ordered the citadel to be repaired. Finally, he imposed the stamp of Qājār supremacy by purchasing houses and shops within a distance of 100 *dharʿ* of the citadel and demolishing them to enhance its security. He also opened one of the northern city gates and named it *Bāb al-Nuṣrat*.[165]

The Shīʿī author Riyāżī likewise emphasizes the benign nature of Qājār rule:

> The late Ḥusām al-Salṭana opened the door of benevolence to Sunnīs and Shīʿa alike, so that the people of their own accord changed the names of their children from ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and Abū Bakr to ʿAlī, Ḥasan and Ḥusain… The late Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā Ḥusām al-Salṭana donated 50 *tūmān* in cash and a shawl as [poetry] prize. He instituted justice, assigning stipends, salaries and fiefs (*istimrār va mavājib va tuyūl*) to all judges, students and notables (*aʿyān*), both Shīʿī and Sunnī. He also awarded landed estates (*jāydād va tuyūlī*) to the author's paternal uncles.[166]

But Riyāżī also alerts the reader to the fact that the ideal circumstances brought about by Qājār rule faced serious challenges. In his opinion, the continuing resistance to Ḥusām al-Salṭana had to be attributed to the activities of interested circles fomenting Sunnī fanaticism. According to his version of events, a small group of stakeholders sought to activate the Sunnī population of the neighboring Muḥammadzai province of Qandahār into a jihad against the Shīʿīs of Herat and their Qājār overlords. Riyāżī seeks to substantiate his claims by quoting a letter that allegedly fell into his hands in 1306/1888–89. On the basis of this letter, he portrays Sunnī attitudes during the siege of 1856 and casts this group as cannibals and warmongers:

> But instigators turned up in corners and byways and impelled some judges to write to the Afghān tribes around [Herat] up to Bakvā and Zamīndāvar and to request help. One of their writings which the author saw someplace in 1306 may be summarized as follows: 'Oh Sunnī believers and Muslims! The Qājār army surrounded Herat. In the first instance the [Shīʿī] heretics inside Herat… brought many of the [Qājār] soldiers into the city when the Muslims were [busy] performing the Friday prayer in the Friday mosque. On that day the brave [defenders] of Islām attacked jointly and fought fiercely. One of the Qājār officers, who is a Ḥanafī Muslim, sounded the trumpet of return and the Qājār soldiers retreated without [heeding] the order of the Prince. The warriors of Islām attained victory and many of the heretics fell victim to their shiny and bloodthirsty swords. We killed a wily

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160 NT 1343.

161 TRSN X: 674.

162 NT 1346–7; Amanat, "Herat vi. the Herat Question," *E.Ir.* XII: 223–4.

163 NT 1353.

164 NT 1346. Lisān al-Mulk also reports that Ḥusām al-Salṭana requisitioned provisions for Herat from Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya. His order to the rulers of Maimana and Marv for the submission of 2,000 donkey loads and 500 camel loads of grain respectively seems less credible, as Maimana and Marv did not fall into the orbit of Qājār control at that time (NT 1354).

165 The last part of the passage in question is not entirely clear. Lisān al-Mulk's statement that the northern and eastern gate were opened and manned with guards at this time might imply that they had been walled up during the siege: *Va darvāza ba-ṭaraf-i shumāl gushūda, ān-rā bāb al-nuṣra nāmīd va az sarbāzān-i fauj-i duvvum-i nuṣrat qarāvulān bagumāshtand va ba-jānib-i mashriq nīz darvāza bāzdāshtand va jamāʿatī ra ḥāfiẓ u ḥāris kardand* (NT 1353). See also NT 1347.

166 KR 129 (Patterson 1988: 217).

> Shīʿa *shaikh* by the name of Sayyid Muḥammad, roasted his meat and ate it. After a while the Qājār unbelievers employed trickery, entered an agreement with the baffled ʿĪsā Khān Bardurrānī, swore an oath, invited him into camp and matyred him. Now they have occupied our realm and fully devote themselves to heresy: They sing ʿā*shūrā* and perform *taʿzīya* in public… Their entire group, including the local heretics does not exceed 30,000. All of you should come to the aid of religion and prepare to wage jihad so that all of us in unison will drive them away and kill them. We will not even allow a single local heretic to remain alive.'[167]

While projecting a purported Sunnī perspective, Riyāżī's account of the ongoing discord in the province of Herat reflects the impact the Qājār presence had on the division and appropriation of the public realm. Apart from the specific call to prayer, the performance of the customs surrounding *ʿāshūrā* signalled a new apportioning of urban space. Yet this new order of things did not last for even a year. The only *ʿashura* ceremony that can have been performed in Herat under Qājār auspices was that of 1274/31 August 1857, which immediately preceded the withdrawal of the Iranian troops in September of that year.[168] The departure of the Qājār forces implied uncertainty and the risk of insecurity for their Shīʿī protegés. According to Riyāżī, Ḥusām al-Salṭana reluctantly left Herat and only at the insistence of Prime Minister Āqā Khān Nūrī Iʿtimād al-Daula. His farewell was accompanied by heart-rending scenes:

> Aware of the harm done [by the evacuation of Herat] Ḥusām al-Salṭana, with extreme bitterness, announced to the Qizilbāsh of Herat, 'We intend to depart. You people, whatever and whoever you are, must emigrate and accompany us to Iran, for after our departure, you will suffer injustice from the Afghāns.' Some of the Shīʿīs (*ahl-i tashayyuʿ*) who had fewer entanglements (*āludagī*) or had no alternative to leaving, chose to accompany the royal army. The others, who were bound to stay, wept on the day of Ḥusām al-Salṭana's departure as bitterly as mothers bereft of their children. They escorted them as far as one *farsang* to see them off. The late Ḥusām al-Salṭana, on his part, sought to console them and shed tears himself.[169]

Khanikoff, who visited Herat a year later reported that many of the wealthy Shīʿī citizens of Herat had chosen to accompany their Qājār overlords. The prevailing divisions within the urban population are highlighted by the fact that the Shīʿī emigrants destroyed their houses to prevent them from being taken over by the Afghāns.[170] The Herati emigrés who accompanied Ḥusām al-Salṭana to Mashhad received salaries and stipends according to their rank from the Qājār government.[171]

British sources paint a less sanguine picture of the Persian presence. Apart from the "Qizilbāsh" of Herat who voluntarily accompanied Ḥusām al-Salṭana, a number of other groups faced forceful deportation to Mashhad. Among these were a great number of Herati Jews who were removed to Qājār Khurāsān because of their importance in the regional economy. This resettlement seems to have been largely counterproductive. A great number of Jews died en route and many of those who made it to Mashhad lived in abject poverty.[172] Furthermore, Ḥusām al-Salṭana endeavored to resettle a great number of Hazāra and Jamshīdī *ūymāq* in Iranian Khurāsān.

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[167] *Līkan az gūsha va kināri muḥarrik paidā shud chand nafar qużāt va muftī-rā vādāshta barā-yi īnki ānhā ba-īlāt-i afāghina-yi aṭrāf tā Bakvā va Zamīndāvar nivishta va kumak khvāsta būdand ki yak nivishta-yi ānhā-rā muʾallif sana-yi hazār u sīṣad u shash ba-jāʾī dīda. Khulāsa ʿunvānash īn būd: 'Ay muʾminīn va muslimīn, ahl-i sunnat va jamāʿat. Lashkar-i qājār āmadand ba-daur-i Harāt. Avval rāfiżiyān-i dākhila-yi shahr dū rājī [?] shuda bisyārī lashkariyān-i ānhā-rā dar vaqtī ki musalmānān ba-namāz-i jumʿa dar masjid-i jāmiʿ būdand ba shahr vārid kardand. Va ān rūz shujāʿān-i islām muttafiqan ḥamla burda ghazā-yi sakhtī kardand. Yakī az afsarān-i qājār ki madhhab-i islām-i ḥanafī dārad barā-yi khair-i musalmānān shaifūr [shaipūr]-i bāzgasht kashīd va sarbāzhā-yi qajar [sic] ba-ḥukm-i shāhzāda-yi qajar [sic] nakarda bargashtand va fatḥ barā-yi ghāziyān-i islām rūy dād va bisyārī az rāfiżiyān-rā ṭuʿma-yi shamshīr-i ābdār va talvār-i khūnkhvār qarār dādand va Sayyid Muḥammad nām shaikh-i ʿayyār-i kalān-i shīʿa-rā kushta gūshtash-rā biryān namūdīm va khurdīm. Ammā baʿd az chandī Qajarhā-yi kāfir ḥīla ba-kār burda bā Sardār ʿĪsā Khān Bardurrānī-yi shamīd band u bast kardand va qasam khurdand ū-rā ba-urdū khvāstand va ba-shahādat rasānīdand. Ḥāl ham ki mulk-i mā-rā girifta-and ghair az rafż kār-i dīgar nadārand. ʿĀshūrā mīkhvānand va shabīh bīrūn miyāvarand. Tamām-ishān bā rāfiżiyān-i vilāyatī mutajāviz az sī hazār nīstand. Shumāhā hama yārī-yi dīn-i islām-rā namūda kamar basta ba-ʿazm-i jihād ḥāżir shavīd ki hama muttafiq shuda īnhā-rā az pīsh bar-dārīm va ba-qatl rasānīm va yak tan az rāfiżiyān-i vilāyatī-rā ham zinda gudhārīm.'* (KR 129–30 (Patterson 1988: 218–19)).

[168] Kelly 1991: 498.

[169] KR 130 (Patterson 1988: 219).

[170] Khanikoff 1864: 360.

[171] KR 131 (Patterson 1988: 221).

[172] Champagne 1981: 410, 415, 419.

British observers noted that the departing Iranian troops left behind a trail of destruction. In December 1857, Major Taylor filed the following gloomy report:

> The Persian soldiers in sheer wantonness, have removed all the timber props from the houses… The defences (all the serviceable guns and ammunition) have been destroyed, the unripe crops were cut down as well as 6,000 muskets removed, and in fact the city has been left in such a complete state of defencelessness that any rabble army might make it an easy capture.[173]

Subsequent to the Treaty of Paris, Herat formally became a Muḥammadzai dominion. Āqā Khān Nūrī Iʿtimād al-Daula assigned the government to Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān, who was a son of Dūst Muḥammad's brother Muḥammad ʿAẓīm Khān (1785–1823). A close associate of Dūst Muḥammad Khān's son Muḥammad Akbar (1816–1847), Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān had played an important role in the resistance against the British occupation of Kābul during the First Anglo-Afghan War. Disillusioned with his position at court after Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān's return to power in 1843, Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān departed for Qandahār and backed the local Sardārs against Kābul until the Amīr's takeover of Qandahār in 1855. Subsequently, he made his way to Tehran and gained the government of Herat, thus rendering this principality a final bastion against Dūst Muḥammad Khān's territorial expansion.

From the beginning, Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān occupied a relatively weak position vis-à-vis Iranian and Muḥammadzai interests. In the light of the pressure these entities brought to bear on Herat, the British envoy Murray (1855–1859) compared the principality to a clay pot squeezed between two iron ones.[174] Given the British backing of Dūst Muḥammad Khān, Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān depended entirely on the Iranian government for financial and material support.[175] His subordination to Tehran in effect negated the Treaty of Paris and its injunction that Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was to "relinquish all claims over the territory and city of Herat".[176] At the time of his appointment in March 1857, Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān, apparently unaware of the terms of the treaty, undertook to coin money and have the Friday sermon read in Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's name.[177] In spring 1860, he traveled to Tehran in person and presented the Shāh with 1,000 *tūmān* struck in his name and received three light field guns, 800 muskets and 12,000 *tūmān* in exchange. From May 1860, he obtained a monthly stipend of one thousand *tūmān* from the Qājār court.[178] For the year 1277/1860–61, Riyāżī reports that Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān performed *sikka* and *khuṭba* in the name of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh "as usual".[179] In 1862 the Qājār court subsidized his preparation for the war with Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān.[180]

There is little information on the interplay of communal identities in Herat during Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān's six-year reign. An anecdote recounted by Riyāżī indicates that the conflict with Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān was cast along communal lines, with the rulers of Herat playing on a Shīʿī identity. When Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān's son Shāh Navāz Khān heard in 1272/1860–61 that Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān had named a cannon in Kābul "Chahār Yārī" to invoke the assistance of the first four caliphs, he had a 36 lb gun cast in Herat which he called "Panj Tanī" to summon the support of the five central figures of the Shīʿī belief, Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain.[181] With Muḥammadzai pressure mounting on Herat from 1862 on, communal differences once again assumed sharper outlines. Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān, himself a Muḥammadzai, began to suspect the Afghāns of Herat of treason and expelled them form the city. In his war effort against the ruler of Kābul, he exclusively relied on Fārsīvān and other Shīʿī soldiers.[182] The opposite

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[173] Champagne 1981: 418.
[174] Champagne 1981: 421.
[175] Champagne 1981: 420–1, 429.
[176] For the full text of the Treaty of Paris, see Champagne 1981: 490–7.
[177] Champagne 1981: 390–1.
[178] Champagne 1981: 432–5.
[179] One side of the coin read: "Struck at the abode of victory 1277" (*żarb-i dār al-nuṣrat* 1277). The other side of the coin was inscribed: "Al-Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār" (KR 138 (Patterson 1988: 244)).
[180] Furthermore, Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān received permission to purchase supplies on credit, the bills of which were covered by the provincial government in Mashhad (Champagne 1981: 441).
[181] Riyāżī states that the "Panj Tanī" cannon was still in Herat in the early twentieth century, but its name had changed to "Tūp-i Zilzila" in the meantime (KR 139 (Patterson 1988: 246–7)).
[182] Champagne 1981: 445.

camp likewise couched their strategy in religious arguments. As early as 1857, Dūst Muḥammad Khān's son Sardār Ghulām Ḥaidar Khān (1819–1858) had appealed to Sunnī solidarity in order to bring the Jamshīdī chief ʿAbdullāh over to his side.[183] Thus the bifurcation of the political landscape on the basis of religious alignments once again served as an important rallying point and marker of opposition. Even so, the notion of two opposed religious camps hardly transcended the complex patterns of conflict "on the ground". The aforementioned ʿAbdullāh Khān Jamshīdī is a case in point. Despite Sardār Ghulām Ḥaidar Khān's insistence on common religious bonds, he chose to side with Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān in the defence of Herat.[184] His brother Mihdī Qulī Khān, by contrast, became a faithful ally of Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān.[185]

The orientation of the Heratis underwent a significant shift with the Muḥammadzai conquest, as Herat was given up to plunder by the victorious troops:

> Four thousand Afghan soldiers, chosen expressly for the purpose from different tribes and regiments, rushed at a given signal, and from different sides of the city, upon the defenceless habitations, and are said not only to have carried off clothing, arms, furniture, whatever in fact met their eye, but forced every one to strip himself almost to a state of nudity, and to have left the half-naked tenants behind them in their thoroughly denuded and emptied houses.[186]

The abuses committed in the wake of the annexation of Herat served to unite the old inhabitants, Sunnī and Shīʿī alike, against the new overlords. Vámbéry, who visited Herat five months after the conclusion of the Muḥammadzai siege, noted a prevailing resentment against the Pashtūn newcomers:

> The fortress itself is inhabited, for the most part, by Persians, who settled here in the last century, to maintain and spread the influence of their own country. They are now principally handicraftsmen or merchants. As for Afghans, one cannot find in the city more than one in five. They have become quite Persians, and are, particularly since the last siege, very hostile to their own countrymen. A Kabuli, or a Kakar from Kandahar, is as much regarded by him in the light of an oppressor, and therefore is as much detested, as by the aboriginal natives of Herat.[187]

After the incorporation of Herat into the Muḥammadzai kingdom, the Shīʿī population maintained its orientation towards Qājār Iran. In January 1864, Vámbéry reported to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh that the Heratis continued to pray "for the welfare of His Majesty of Persia".[188] Thus the linkage of confessional identities with overarching political entities remained a vital aspect in the political outlook of the local population. Yet the position of Herat changed dramatically: In 1863, the city and the province as a whole ceased to be a contested domain between Afghan and Qājār interests, and the potential for direct Iranian interference was removed. This implied a significant change in comparison with the early nineteenth century, when the Iranian government postured as the guardian of the old Safavid, and hence, largely Shīʿī realm.

The Impact of Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān's Anti-Shīʿī Policies

Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān's war against the Shīʿī Hazāras of central Afghanistan in 1309–1311/1891–1893 was accompanied by a propaganda campaign that affected the entire Shīʿī community. For the year 1309/1891–1892, Riyāżī reports that the Amīr's military campaign to "Barbaristān" was not proceeding well. While wintering in Urāzgān [Urūzgān], the Afghan troops were afflicted by hunger and cold and shrank from the idea of fighting their fellow countrymen (*raʿāyā-yi dākhil-i Afghānistān*). To remedy this situation, Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ordered the Sunnī *ʿālim* Mullā Ṣaid Muḥammad to produce a booklet proving the unbelief of the "Barbarīs" and inciting the general populace to engage in war against them.[189] Published in 1310/1892–1893, Mullā Ṣaid Muḥammad's anti-Shīʿī tractate was distributed and read to the Shīʿa ulama in the Friday mosques all over the country. This proclamation was accompanied by the injunction that the

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183 Champagne 1981: 392.
184 Markham 1977: 510. For ʿAbdullāh Khān Jamshīdī's role during the siege of 1856, see NT 1312, 1327, 1329, 1336–7.
185 Vámbéry 1864: 259–60.
186 Vámbéry 1864: 280.
187 Vámbéry 1864: 273.
188 Vámbéry 1864: 295.
189 KR 253.

Shīʿīs were to attend the daily prayers at the Sunnī mosques and should give up their passion plays (*taʿzīya dārī*).[190] Moreover, their *takyas* (places reserved for the commemoration of the Prophet's grandson Ḥusain during Muḥarram) were confiscated and passed to the possession of Sunnī ulama.[191]

Riyāżī views Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān's propaganda as an expedient to address the exigencies of his time and to further the progress of government matters, that is, to extend his authority in central Afghanistan. In his opinion, the Amīr was aware that his measures exposed the entire Shīʿī population to grave danger, as the dissemination of the anti-Shīʿī proclamation was accompanied by a royal order to the civil and military officials for the protection of the Qizilbāsh.[192] Riyāżī reports that Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān indeed succeeded in galvanizing support for his campaign against the Hazāras. Particularly the "desert dwelling Afghān tribes" (*ṭavāyif-i saḥrā nishīn-i afghān*) heeded his call to arms and swelled the ranks of the government troops. At the same time, the Amīr's proclamations had an unsettling effect on communal relations, particularly in the cities. According to Riyāżī, common people misunderstood the orders as a legal ruling (*fatvā-yi sharʿī az ʿulamā-yi millat*) and a binding royal injunction (*ḥukm-i qaṭʿī az pādshāh-i mamlakat*) to plunder and kill Shīʿīs.[193]

According to Riyāżī, the Amīr's anti-Shīʿī proclamation might well have triggered a major riot in Herat, had it not been for the judicious intervention of the civil and military governors and the leading Sunnī ulama. On the day of the reading of the royal proclamation, the Shīʿī ulama were taken to the Friday Mosque by force and rumors spread that they were about to be executed. They were accompanied by a crowd of 8,000 coreligionists and 400 armed Shīʿī soldiers. When the Sunnī preacher entered the pulpit the governor and commander-in-chief took position in front of it. The Sunnīs amounted to more than 70,000 persons, including civilians (*raʿīyat*) and soldiers (*sipāh*). In order to incite the crowd, the preacher not only read the royal decrees but went on to expound the circumstances of the assassination of the third Caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in a highly emotional manner. At this point, he was silenced by the two governors, who ordered the soldiers present to escort the Shīʿī ulama safely to their homes. During the following days the two leading Sunnī ulama of Herat, Qāżī Mullā Ḥusain and Ākhūndzāda Mullā Muḥammad ʿUmar, saw to it that the important Shīʿīs of Herat remained unmolested.[194]

While the immediate tension was thus defused, the situation of the Herati Shīʿīs was far from secure. Many of the local residents used the anti-Shīʿī propaganda as a pretext to settle personal scores. Riyāżī recounts the case of a Shīʿī tailor by the name of Ḥājjī Ḥaidar who was accused of heresy and stoned. To evade this pressure, a great number of Shīʿīs fled to Iranian Khurāsān and onward to Russia and England. Many of them lived around Mashhad in extreme poverty. Riyāżī, who also emigrated with his father at that time, praises the local ulama for the solicitude they showed for the Herati refugees. He draws two lessons from the events in Herat. On the one hand, he utters a prayer to God to free the Sunnī and Shīʿī Muslims from the discord prevailing among them so that hypocrisy (*nifāq*) may be transformed into unity (*ittifāq*). On the other hand, he clearly feels that the Afghan government is to blame for the difficult position of the Shīʿīs in Herat. Comparing Iranian and Afghan policies towards local minorities, he reaches the conclusion that the Qājār government is to be commended for its tolerance. To prove his point, he quotes a letter written by Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī to Āṣaf al-Daula in 1260/1844–45, in which the Prime Minister exhorted the governor of Khurāsān to look after the safety of his Jewish subjects. "See the difference," Riyāżī exclaims, "The officials of the exalted Iranian government show such a [great a degree of] kindness and justice to unbelievers (*kuffār*). The nation (*millat*) of Afghānistān, by contrast, allows the oppression, murder, and plundering of coreligionists, who share [the same belief] in God, the Prophet and the Koran!"[195] The account of Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān's policies from the point of view of a Herati Shiite highlights the government push to

[190] KR 256–7.
[191] KR 258.
[192] KR 257.
[193] KR 258.
[194] KR 257. See also Kakar 1979: 160–1.
[195] KR 257–8.

endow the Afghan state with a Sunnī identity and bears witness to the degree of alienation these policies bred among the Shīʿī minority.

THE ŪYMĀQ

Nineteenth-century travellers to the Herat region reported a highly heterogeneous population in the districts south and east of the city. In the winter of 1858–59, Khanikoff encountered Ghilzai nomads in the village of Siyāvushān southeast of Herat. These groups migrated between the mountainous regions around Dāy Zangī in the summer and the plains extending to Qāyin in Iranian Khurāsān in the winter.[196] The region near the Davandar mountain south of Kurukh was mostly inhabited by Pashtūns: Apart from Ghilzais, Alakūzai, Pūpalzai, and Bārakzai Durrānīs dwelled there. The Zūrī *ūymāq* constituted a further component of the population.[197] Mārva, a collection of villages on the right bank of the Harī Rūd, had a mixed population of Tājīks, Zūrīs, as well as Alakūzai, Nūrzai and Isḥāqzai Durrānīs.[198] South of Herat, the town of Isfizār was inhabited by Bārakzai and Alakūzai Durrānīs, Tājīks, Zūrīs, Tīmūrīs, Jews and Hindus.[199] The Durrānīs of Isfizār migrated to the mountainous region of Ghūr in the summer months.[200]

The tribal elite that figured in the politics of the principality of Herat was mainly furnished by the *ūymāq*, who were semi-nomadic, Sunnī in faith, and Persian speaking. Among these, the Sunnī Hazāras of Qalʿa-yi Nau played a preponderant role in the early nineteenth century. From the 1860s on, the Jamshīdīs assumed a central position. In the 1830s, the distribution of the major *ūymāq* was as follows:

- The Sunnī Hazāras under the leadership of Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra controlled the lands between Auba and the upper course of the Murghāb river.[201]
- The Jamshīdīs under Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān Jamshīdī held the region south of the confluence the Kushk Rūd and the Murghāb river, that is, Panjdih, Mārūchāq, and Bālā Murghāb.[202]
- The western part of the Fīrūzkūhī lands lay around Qādis and Kūcha east of Herat. The eastern Fīrūzkūhīs were based in the basin of the upper Murghāb river (Gharjistān) and on the plateau north of the upper Harī Rūd valley (Chaghcharān).[203]
- The Tāymanīs under the leadership of Ibrāhīm Khān Tāymanī were centered around Taivāra in the mountainous area of Ghūr southeast of Herat.[204]
- The Tīmūrīs occupied the lands south of Herat from Isfizār to Khvāf.[205] Most of this tribe acknowledged the authority of the Qājār governors of Mashhad from the early nineteenth century on.

For the greater part of the nineteenth century, the *ūymāq* were tied into the regional economy of slave trade. In the early 1820s, Fraser ascribed to them the same role as that of the Turkmens, as both groups preyed on the population of Khurāsān and disrupted the local economy:

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196 Khanikoff 1864: 366.
197 Khanikoff 1864: 369.
198 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 296; Khanikoff 1864: 374.
199 Khanikoff 1864: 381–3. According to *Ḥayāt-i afghānī*, the Nūrzai, ʿAlīzai and Isḥāqzai Durrānīs constituted the dominant component of the population of Isfizār in 1867 (*Ḥayāt-i afghānī* 457–8).
200 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 401, 408, 413–14.
201 Forrest 1906: 35–6, 38.
202 Lumsden 1885 IOL, L/PS/18/A 53 pt. 3, pp. 12–13; Stirling 1991: 250–5, 258–9.
203 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 106–7; Holdich 1910: 217; Todd, Oct. 1839, IOL, L/PS/20/G 10/3 No. 4 p. 9; Pottinger, Dec. 1839, IOL, L/PS/20/G 10/3 No. 63, 54–5; Yate, NAI, For. Sec. F Feb 1887 No. 478 pp. 24–5.
204 Todd, Oct. 1839, IOL, L/PS/20/G 10/ 3 No. 4 p. 9. Taivāra is located 187 miles southeast of Herat on an open plain at the junction of the Khvājagar and Ghūr streams (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 419).
205 Todd, Oct. 1839, IOL, L/PS/20/G 10/ 3 No. 4 p. 9.

> We find to the north, the Gocklan [Göklen], the Yamoot [Yomut], and Tuckeh [Teke] Toorkomans, who occupying the country behind the Elburz [Alburz], and in the steppe of Khaurezm [Khvārazm], pour from their deserts upon the cultivated countries around; plundering villages and caravans, committing every sort of atrocious outrage, murdering on the spot the old, the feeble, and the helpless; carrying into slavery all who are fit for labour, and thus depopulating many extensive districts, that, but for them, would have continued fertile and well inhabited. On the east, the Timoorees [Tīmūrīs], Hazarehs [Hazāras], Feerozecooees [Fīrūzkūhīs], and Jumsheedees [Jamshīdīs], commit the same ravages; disposing of their captives to those who frequent the slave markets of Khyva [Khīva] and Bukhara.[206]

During the same period, the Iranian traveller Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrvānī noted with abhorrence that the Hazāras of Bākharz routinely captured travellers and traded them to the Uzbeks and Turkmens.[207] In 1838, Alexander Burnes reported that Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra of Qalʿa-yi Nau had far-reaching connections and played a pivotal role in the slave trade:

> This Chief has great power in these countries, and besides his attachment to Kamran has connections with the Khivans, Toorkmans [Turkmens] and Chiefs in and about Maimuna [Maimana], all of whom would only assist Herat through him. He plunders the country of its property and inhabitants as far west as Meshid [Mashhad] and Nishapur [Nīshāpūr], and the petty Chiefs of Khaf [Khvāf], Toorshish [Turshīz] and Tabbus [Ṭabas Gīlakī] are glad to send him annual presents to spare in some degree their people.[208]

In 1845, Ferrier observed that Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra's brother Karīmdād Khān Hazāra had followed the "noble profession of pillager" until recent times, when Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai had forced him to concentrate on stock breeding as economic mainstay:

> [H]e plundered caravans, and extended his forays to the south of Persia in the district of Ghaïn [Qāyin], where he sacked the villages and carried off the people to sell them to the Usbeks. His depredations were so frequent, and gave rise to so many complaints, that Assaf Doulet [Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula, governor of Khurāsān, 1834–1847] sent to Yar Mahomed Khan and informed him that, as he seemed unable to keep his own vassal in order, he should chastise him himself at the head of an army. The Vezir Sahib, who had everything to fear from the violation of his territory by the Persians, marched in person against Kerim-dad Khan, vanquished him, and obliged him to acknowledge the sovereignty of Herat, which he had thrown off. Since then the Sirdar has contented himself with the large profits arising from his stud, his numerous flocks, and the manufacture of a cloth called kourk or barek [*barak*], woven of an exceedingly fine and silky wool which grows on the belly of the camel… The Afghan and Persian nobles, even the sovereign, always wear it in the winter.[209]

The *ūymāq* chiefs operated in a field of overlapping interests emanating from Herat, Khīva, and Maimana. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Iranian push for the control of Herat also affected local relationships of power. Although virtually independent, the rulers of Maimana formally tendered allegiance to Herat. Until his death in 1845, Miżrāb Khān of Maimana submitted an annual present of five horses and received a dress of honor in return.[210] From 1845 on, Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai endeavored to enforce control over the *ūymāq* and to extend his authority over Maimana. He repeatedly inserted himself into the power struggle between Miżrāb Khān's sons, Ḥukūmat Khān and Shīr Muḥammad Khān Ming. In 1847, he used Ḥukūmat Khān's plea for assistance as a pretext for a military campaign in the region, in the course of which he plundered Chīchaktū, Andkhūd and Āqcha. Before withdrawing in the midst of winter, he installed Ḥukūmat Khān (r. 1847–1862) as ruler and obtained a pledge for the payment of 30,000 *ṭilā*.[211] As this revenue was not forthcoming, the Herati troops besieged Maimana for eleven months in 1849, denuding the entire region of its produce. At the conclusion of the siege, Ḥukūmat Khān submitted a tribute of 12,000 *ṭilā* and made the usual offering of horses, camels and carpets. After Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai's death, the

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206 Fraser 1825: 256.
207 *Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 150.
208 Forrest 1906: 38.
209 Ferrier 1857: 191–2.
210 Taylor 1858b: 866.
211 Taylor 1858b: 867–869.

expression of fealty once again became largely symbolic and was reduced to an annual gift of a few horses.[212]

The developments the *ūymāq* experienced in the course of the nineteenth century mirror the changing circumstances in the wider political setting. One general phenomenon was the genesis of fairly stable territorial units. British intervention in the affairs of Herat brought about a formal division of the Afghan and Iranian spheres of activity. This process of delineation and appropriation closed up the open field of political options that had previously presented itself to local actors. What is more, it provided the rulers with an unprecedented "sense of territorial ownership".[213] Freed from the pushes and pulls previously generated in a setting of fluid alliances, the Qājār and Muḥammadzai dynasties were able to achieve a degree of consolidation unheard of as of yet. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, this enhanced scope of authority entailed a corresponding "freezing" of local circumstances.

In the eighteenth century, by contrast, the tribal leadership of Herat still presented a highly dynamic and powerful elite that derived its identity not so much from notions of territoriality as from opportunities of advancement under the auspices of the Durrānī state. While there was a distinct concept of tribal "homelands", the leadership primarily obtained its standing from government offices and the concomitant land grants, which, over time, also came to be considered hereditary tribal possessions. Among the *ūymāq* chiefs who figured within the framework of the Durrānī administration, Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān Hazāra enjoyed a high profile, serving as the governor of Herat under Aḥmad Shāh. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Qilich Khān Tīmūrī, Yalangtūsh I Jamshīdī, Gidā Khān Tāymanī, and Ḥusain ʿAlī Khān Darzai Fīrūzkūhī played a formidable role in the politics of Herat.[214] With the crumbling of the Sadūzai Empire in the early nineteenth century, the tribal leadership was able to expand its hold over local affairs and interacted with the lords of Herat on an equal footing. One striking example for the political segmentation prevailing at the time is the dominion Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra carved out for himself around his stronghold of Qalʿa-yi Nau. Situated north of Herat, he negotiated Kāmrān Sadūzai's contacts with the local *ūymāq* and Maimana. His great control over the military resources of the northern regions enabled him to prop up Kāmrān and to give him crucial military support during the Iranian siege of 1837–1838.

In the 1840s, the balance of power shifted in favor of the ruler of Herat. Maintaining a friendly relationship with the Qājār court, Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai employed the resources at his command to strengthen his position vis-à-vis the *ūymāq*. This period was characterized by sustained military intervention in the environs of Herat and occasional campaigns against Maimana. As part of his effort to bring the *ūymāq* to heel, Yār Muḥammad Khān instituted a policy of deportation to the Herat valley. In the face of the unremitting pressure exerted by the ruler of Herat, the options of the tribal leadership were reduced to the choice between migration beyond the Vazīr's domains and total subjection. While the Jamshīdīs adopted the first course of action, the Hazāras of Qalʿa-yi Nau and the Tāymanīs found their power broken and were reduced to subjects of the Herat government. The only group that apparently benefited from Yār Muḥammad Khān's policies were the Fīrūzkūhīs, who were able to widen their sphere of influence.

Another round of resettlements was inaugurated by the conclusion of the Iranian occupation of Herat in 1856. Upon his departure from Herat, Ḥusām al-Salṭana, the Qājār governor of Mashhad, induced a substantial group of Hazāras and Jamshīdīs to enter Iranian service. While Yār Muḥammad had employed the resettlement of the *ūymāq* to consolidate his position in the Herat valley, the Qājār goverment brought the *ūymāq* to the region east and northeast of Mashhad to secure Khurāsān against Turkmen depredations. With hindsight, this heightened speed and scale of resettlement in the 1840s and 1850s represented a final phase of feverish activity before the incorporation of Herat into the Muḥammadzai realm and the emerging delineation of the state spheres of Iran and Afghanistan. After 1856, the Qājār interference in the affairs of

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[212] Like his father, Ḥukūmat Khān lent military support to Herat when the need arose. Thus it is reported that he dispatched 2,000 cavalry to help Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān suppress a Hazāra rebellion (Taylor 1858b: 869–70).

[213] Kashani-Sabet 1999: 36.

[214] *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 278, 408; ST 50–2; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 80–3.

Herat ceased but was replaced by mounting pressure from Kābul. The main counterweight in the region was Maimana, which retained its independence until 1876.

In the light of the pressure exerted by the government of Herat from the 1840s on, the *ūymāq* leaders sought alliances with Maimana and the more distant powers based in Kābul and Tehran. In the early 1860s, Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān paid allowances to the Jamshīdīs in order to weaken the influence of Maimana in the region. Henceforth, the Jamshīdī leadership advanced the cause of the Muḥammadzai government and prospered accordingly subsequent to the conquest of Herat in 1863. Linked to the royal family by marriage alliances and political offices, the Jamshīdī leader Khān Āqā Jamshīdī dominated the affairs in the province until his death in 1880.

The freezing of local circumstances reached its climax under Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān, under whose government all *ūymāq* groups were exposed to the tightening grip of the central government. Initially, the Jamshīdīs and Fīrūzkūhīs profited from the Amīr's plans to protect Afghanistan northwestern border by settling *ūymāq* there. Within a short period, however, Amīr Abd al-Raḥmān Khān switched from a policy of patronage to one of relentless persecution. In 1885, he blamed these groups for the Russian occupation of Panjdih and wiped out their entire leadership within the next two years.[215] On the following pages, I will take a closer look at the developments among the Sunnī Hazāras of Qalʿa-yi Nau, the Jamshīdīs, Fīrūzkūhīs and Tāymanīs.

THE SUNNĪ HAZĀRAS OF QALʿA-YI NAU

The Sunnī Hazāras trace their origin to Mongol groups who settled in the region at the time of Chingiz Khān.[216] European travelers came up with other theories concerning the historical roots of this group. Thus Khanikoff reached the conclusion that they had originally formed part of the Barlās tribe centered around Shahr-i Sabz, the birthplace of Tīmūr Lang (r. 1370–1405). Their migration to the region of Herat occurred when Tīmūr appointed his son Shāh Rukh as governor of Khurāsān, Sīstān and Māzandarān in 799/1397 and ordered one thousand families (*hazāra*) to accompany him to Herat.[217] British observers were of the opinion that the Sunnī Hazāras had been relocated from the Hazārajāt by Nādir Shāh.[218]

The region occupied by the Hazāras was more hilly than the Jamshīdī lands to the west:

> [T]he rolling downs and long smooth ridges and hollows of the latter are here exchanged for a mass of small tumbled hills, which cover the whole surface, except a few high plateaux along the bases of the range to the south. From these plateaux descend great ravines, whose beds are far below the general level of the country. Their upper parts are rocky and narrow, but as they ascend they widen out, and become broad, shallow hollows or valleys, all uniting at last in the Tora Shaikh [Tūr-i Shaikh] hollow, which runs north to the Murghab, joining the valley of that river between Maruchak [Mārūchāq] and Panjdeh [Panjdih].[219]

The involvement of the Sunnī Hazāras in the politics of Herat can be traced to Bēglerbēgī Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān Hazāra (d. 1772), whose career I have discussed in the previous chapter. At the time of Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān Hazāra, Qalʿa-yi Nau already formed the stronghold of the Hazāras. The only other fortress worth mentioning was that of Naratū, which had already figured in Isfizārī's fifteenth-century description of the Herat region. Similar to the other areas of Bādghīs, the agricultural production consisted of wheat, barley, lucerne, tobacco, and opium. Another important source of income were pistachios, which grew wild all over eastern Bādghīs, the Fīrūzkūhī country of the upper Murghāb river, and on the slopes of the Band-i Turkistān. These pistachio groves were most extensive on the low hills around Qalʿa-yi Nau. Moreover, there were "enormous" quantities of sheep and goats in the entire region.[220]

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215 Lee 1996: 478–9.
216 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 228.
217 Khanikoff 1864: 348–9.
218 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 228–9; Lee 1996: 125 fn 107.
219 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 226.
220 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 227.

In the 1830s, Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra b. Iskandar b. Āqāʾī b. Muḥammad Shāh was the most influential leader of the Sunnī Hazāras and held a superior position among the *ūymāq* north of Herat.[221] The degree of power he enjoyed can be gauged from the fact that he was in charge of raising troops among the Fīrūzkūhīs and Jamshīdīs, and from the rulers of Maimana.[222] Furthermore, he was considered an ally rather than a subject of Kāmrān Sadūzai. In 1838, Alexander Burnes reported that the Hazāra dominion constituted the northern border of the realm of Herat.[223] As a "devoted supporter of Kāmrān's interests," Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra attempted to curtail Vazīr Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai's influence at the court of Herat, and it was thought that Kāmrān owed his political survival entirely to his backing.[224] In exchange for his services Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra received the title of Niẓām al-Daula from Kāmrān.[225] During the Iranian campaign against Herat in 1837–38, Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra united with Zamān Khān Jamshīdī, Shāh Pasand Khān Darzai Fīrūzkūhī and Miżrāb Khān of Maimana to ward off the Iranian troops that had entered Bādghīs under the command of Āṣaf al-Daula. After offering spirited resistance, this alliance was eventually beaten on 20 December 1837 and had to bow to Iranian supremacy.[226] Even so, Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra continued to harass and plunder the Iranian troops before Herat until the summer of 1838.[227]

Karīmdād Khān Hazāra, who succeeded his brother Shīr Muḥammad Khān in the early 1840s, enjoyed a fairly comfortable position during the first years of chieftainship. In 1258/1842–43, he accepted Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai's claims to authority and signalled his willingness to submit revenues to Herat.[228] At the time of Ferrier's visit in 1845, this tribute was largely nominal: Karīmdād Khān Hazāra sent in an offering of a few choice horses, which Yār Muḥammad Khān reciprocated with gifts of valuable cashmere shawls and European goods. The relation of fealty with the ruler of Herat was also expressed by the obligation to furnish soldiers in case of war. Moreover, Karīmdād's brother Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān Hazāra was kept at Yār Muḥammad Khān's court as a hostage.[229] Major Taylor, who monitored Iranian activities in autumn 1857, reported that the Hazāras enjoyed considerable privileges and few obligations during the early 1840s. In exchange for a grant of 2,000 *kharvār* of grain and 9,000 *tūmān*, they furnished one horseman in every four families.[230] During this period Karīmdād Khān's scope of authority in Bādghīs expanded considerably, as the Hazāras spread into the regions given up by the Jamshīdīs as a result of their conflict with Yār Muḥammad Khān. Karīmdād Khān's brothers Aḥmad Qulī Khān and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khān Hazāra governed Panjdih and Murghāb respectively. The extent of Karīmdād Khān's authority is reflected by the fact that he was in charge of 28,000 tents and could summon 5,000 horsemen and 3,000 foot soldiers.[231]

Yet by 1847, Karīmdād Khān Hazāra also began to feel the brunt of Yār Muḥammad's endeavor to break the power of the tribal groups around Herat. After a "bloody engagement" that same year, 10,000 Hazāra

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221 Mohan Lal met Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra near Herat in March 1833 (Lal 1977: 141). Maitland's assumption that Shīr Muḥammad Khān died during the Iranian siege of 1837–1838 is not borne out by the other available sources. As will be seen below, Shīr Muḥammad Khān spearheaded the resistance to the Iranian invasion and apparently died sometime between 1838 and 1842 (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 231; Lee 1996: 201).

222 "[Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra] can take the field with 6,500 horse; 2,000 of these are constantly present and 2,000 more from his 'Ooloos' [*ulūs*] can be assembled in a few days, 1,500 are furnished from the Feerozkohees [Fīrūzkūhīs], who are his subjects, and the Jamsheedee Kimaks [sic] [Jamshīdī *ūymāq*], who are his friends and co-adjutors, will send 1,000 more. He can also command two or three thousand horse from Maimuna [Maimana], and on the former invasion of the Persians Toorkmáns [Turkmens] co-operated with him" (Forrest 1906: 38).

223 Forrest 1906: 36.

224 Forrest 1906: 35, 38.

225 G*az Afghanistan* III: 230. See also Lee 1996: 125 fn 107; 149.

226 NT 682–692; ST 130–1, 132–135; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 218, 221–6; TRSN X: 58, 60, 215; Lee 1996: 149–58; McNeill to Palmerston, Tehran, 23 February 1838 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1 No. 73, p. 95).

227 NT 713; ST 146–7; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 247.

228 ST 190; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 326.

229 Ferrier 1857: 191–4.

230 Taylor 1858c: 949.

231 Ferrier 1857: 191–4.

families were forcibly resettled in the Herat valley, and Qalʿa-yi Nau lost more than half of its population. Karīmdād Khān fled to Mashhad and joined Ḥasan Khān Sālār's rebellion, which lasted until the spring of 1850.[232] Later on, he returned to his erstwhile stronghold and, after Yār Muḥammad's death in June 1851, offered sustained resistance to the new ruler, Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān.[233] Owing to Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān's political and military weakness, Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai's arrangements quickly unravelled in the summer of 1851. A great number of the Hazāras who had been deported to Herat left for Kushk, where they besieged Yār Muḥammad Khān's appointee Mīr Hāshim Khān Bēglerbēgī. In order to prevent a further exodus from the Herat valley, Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān imprisoned the remaining Hazāra population. The Fīrūzkūhīs, who had been settled at Qalʿa-yi Nau by Yār Muḥammad Khān, withdrew from the erstwhile Hazāra stronghold during this time.[234]

In 1269/1852, Karīmdād Khān Hazāra tendered allegiance to Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā Ḥusām al-Salṭana, the Qājār governor of Mashhad (1849–1853).[235] Two years later, in 1271/1854–55, Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān executed Karīmdād Khān, thus bringing about his own downfall. Disgusted with Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān's erratic policies, the leadership of Herat summoned the Hazāra cavalry from Bādghīs and invited Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Malik Qāsim Sadūzai, who resided in Iranian Khurāsān, to assume the reins of government. After receiving a reassuring answer from Muḥammad Yūsuf, they pronounced Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān insane and began to disobey his orders.[236] The Hazāra leadership prepared the way for Muḥammad Yūsuf's entry in Herat.[237]

In the 1880s, Karīmdād Khān Hazāra's nephew Muḥammad Khān Niẓām al-Daula b. Aḥmad Qulī Khān was the most influential Hazāra chief.[238] In 1881, he opposed the advance of Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān's general Sardār ʿAbd al-Quddūs b. Sulṭān Muḥammad Muḥammadzai on Herat but was beaten during a battle near Shāfilān. Afterwards he maintained a close relationship with Sardār ʿAbd al-Quddūs Khān, who governed Herat from 1881–1882, and gave one of his daughters in marriage to him.[239] Muḥammad Khān strongly opposed Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān's plans to secure the northern frontier of Herat by settling Jamshīdīs and Fīrūzkūhīs in the region around Bālā Murghāb. In 1883, the Hazāra leader successfully intrigued against the settlement program and provoked tensions between the Jamshīdīs and the Afghan general in charge, Ghauth al-Dīn Khān. The ensuing clashes between Jamshīdīs, Fīrūzkūhīs and Sunnī Hazāras convinced Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān to colonize the area with Durrānī groups from Farāh and Qandahār instead.[240] Subsequent to the Panjdih crisis in March 1885, the Amīr's attitude to the *ūymāq* hardened. Muḥammad Khān Niẓām al-Daula was placed under open arrest in Herat for over a year.[241] In April 1886, he and the Jamshīdī and Tāymanī nobility were charged with sedition and sent to Kābul. Muḥammad Khān Niẓām al-Daula and his brother Maḥmūd were luckier than the Jamshīdī leadership and escaped execution. However, they were not allowed to return to their homeland and had to remain in Kābul.[242]

A second branch of the leading Hazāra family was associated with the district of Bākharz, which belonged to the Durrānī Empire in the late eighteenth century but was incorporated into the Qājār administration in the early nineteenth century. Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra's paternal great uncle

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232 TRSN X: 325, 415; NT 881, 1099.

233 Ferrier 1857: 194 fn by editor. See also Champagne 1981: 262–3.

234 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 27–8, 35–6, 39–40.

235 Karīmdād Khān sent 2,000 Hazāras and "Bākharzīs" to Mashhad (TMN III: 225; Zaʿfarānlū 1968, "Introduction," p. 13). See also Champagne 1981: 283; Daud Khan 1873; Durand NAI, For. Sec. F Feb. 1887 No. 479.

236 KR 123 (Patterson 1988: 198–9). See also TRSN X: 607–8.

237 According to Taylor, Muḥammad Yūsuf's brother Muḥammad Riżā b. Malik Qāsim conquered Herat with the help of Karīmdād Khān Hazāra's three brothers Aḥmad Qulī Khān, Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khān Hazāra, who lived in Shahr-i Nau at that time (Taylor 1858c: 932–3). See also *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 239.

238 Lee 1996: 400–402.

239 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 234. See also Kakar 1979: 42, 110; Lee 1996: 427.

240 Kakar 1979: 131; Lee 1996: 429–32; Tapper 1973: 53–61.

241 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 238.

242 Lee 1996: 478–9.

Muḥammad Khān Bēglerbēgī b. Muḥammad Shāh Khān Hazāra was appointed as governor of this region by Tīmūr Shāh Durrānī in 1785. Until the early 1830s, Muḥammad Shāh Khān Hazāra's descendants were associated with the administration of Bākharz and Jām.[243] In the early 1820s, Shīrvānī described Bākharz as a district containing fifty cultivated villages. The principal town of the district was Shahr-i Nau, which had been founded by Muḥammad Khān Bēglerbēgī. It contained "good buildings and delightful castles", as well as one thousand houses. Both grain and different kinds of fruit grew in abundance. There were 10,000 Hazāra families in the district and a Persian minority known as "Bākharzī".[244] In 1845, Ferrier reported that 2,000 Hazāra families inhabited Shahr-i Nau. Like their relatives in Qalʿa-yi Nau, the Hazāras of Bākharz engaged in horse breeding, and the revenue due to Mashhad consisted of fifty horses per year. In addition, they were required to furnish one thousand armed cavalry to the Qājār governors.[245]

Subsequent to the Iranian siege of Herat in 1856, there was a renewed influx of Hazāras into Iranian Khurāsān. In 1857, Ḥusām al-Salṭana settled 5,000 Qalʿa-yi Nau Hazāras in Turbat-i Shaikh Jām and Bākharz under the leadership of Karīmdād Khān Hazāra's relative Yūsuf Khān Hazāra.[246] In 1858, Khanikoff reported that all the plains between Turbat-i Shaikh Jām and Mashhad had been surrendered to the Hazāras who had been forced to join the Persian army during its retreat from Herat. The newcomers did not prosper in Iranian Khurāsān. They were greeted with hostility by the local population and were said to pine for the beautiful pastures of Bādghīs.[247] The involuntary nature of their migration is underlined by the fact that the Iranian government confiscated all their baggage cattle to prevent them from returning to their homelands.[248] Nonetheless, two thousand among them departed for Herat within a short period.[249] The remaining groups were moved to Isfarāyin, where they were decimated by cholera. The survivors of this epidemic were shifted to the village of Kana Gūsha ten miles northeast of Mashhad. In 1275/1858–59, they were ordered to return to Bākharz and Maḥmūdābād near Turbat-i Shaikh Jām. Their chief Yūsuf Khān Hazāra served as governor of Bākharz from 1877–1881 and was granted land in Muḥsinābād, Kārīz, Farmānābād and Tāybād. After his death in 1885, his sons Gul Muḥammad Khān and Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān successively became the paramount chiefs of the Hazāras of Bākharz. Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān gained the Qājār title of Shujāʿ al-Mulk in 1894 and was appointed governor of Bākharz in 1896. In the 1890s, the Hazāras in Iran numbered 1,200 families and furnished 450 cavalry.[250]

When Charles E. Yate passed through the region in spring 1894, he observed that Shahr-i Nau, by now a village of 200 houses, still formed the headquarters of the Bākharz district. In the meantime, however, the composition of the local population had changed significantly and the Sunnī Hazāras had dwindled to a minority:

> The place was well watered, and the numerous gardens and orchards were said to produce every kind of fruit known in these parts, with the exception of pomegranates, for which the climate was too cold…Our route now led up the valley in the centre of the Bakharz district. We passed through continuous villages and cultivation, and the stream flowing down the valley, with the springs and grassy sward along its banks, gave a look of fertility to the place that one rarely sees in Persia… The population was comprised of Persians known as Bakharzis, with a small proportion of Hazarah, Timuri, and Afghan settlers…[251]

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243 For the developments in Jām and Bākharz in the early nineteenth century, see Chapter 5, footnotes 132, 145.

244 Shīrvānī's opinion of the inhabitants of this region was not very favorable. Apart from noting a general inclination for bloodshed and wickedness, he takes issue with the lack of politeness prevailing among the Bākharzīs. Thus, his courteous question concerning the origin of a passer-by met with a rough response: "The author asked one of them: 'Which region do you hail from, which rose garden were you picked from?' (*Mardum-i kudām diyār-ī va gul-i kudām gulzār-ī?*) He answered with complete rudeness and ill humor: 'I am a Bākharzī'" (*Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 150).

245 Ferrier 1857: 137.

246 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 241.

247 Khanikoff 1864: 348–9. At the time, only a hundred Hazāra families seem to have remained in the Herat region (Taylor 1858c: 949).

248 Taylor 1858 a: 854–855. See also *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 120–1.

249 The Hazāras who returned from Iran took possession of Qalʿa-yi Nau under the leadership of Karīmdād Khān Hazāra's brother Aḥmad Qulī Khān in 1871. Qalʿa-yi Nau, which had been destroyed by the Jamshīdīs, was rebuilt in 1874.

250 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 241; Mīr Niyā 1994: 124–6; Yate 1900: 131–2. See also Vámbéry 1864: 289.

251 C. E. Yate 1900: 136–7.

THE JAMSHĪDĪS[252]

The two etymologies adduced for the genesis of the Jamshīdīs suggest a merging of different groups into a military coalition. The first links their genesis to the Persian past participle *jamʿ shuda*, "gathered" or "collected together".[253] The second traces their name to the mythical king Jamshīd. This view is taken by a member of the leading lineage (*khān khēl*), Āqā Khān Jamshīdī b. Yalangtūsh II, who wrote a treatise entitled *Tārīkhnāma-yi Jamshīdīhā* in the early twentieth century.[254] Āqā Khān reports that his family was of Kayanid descent and was resettled by Tīmūr from Sīstān to Bādghīs in 795/1392–93. In exchange for protecting the frontier of Khurāsān, they received Bādghīs as a permanent grant and were placed in command over the *ūymāq* living around Herat. As part of this process, the name Jamshīdī became associated with all their followers.[255]

According to another emic view, the Kayanid migration to Bādghīs was brought about by the policies of Tīmūr's grandson Ulugh Bēg (d. 1449), who induced the founders of the *khān khēl*, the brothers Mīr Ḥaidar Khān and Yalangtūsh Sulṭān, to settle at Kurukh and Kushk in Bādghīs respectively.[256] As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Jamshīdīs figured in the politics of Herat in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The groups based in Harāt-Rūd and Kurukh east of Herat controlled the lands along the highroad to Maimana and held service grants in Gharjistān.[257]

The members of the leading lineage of the Jamshīdīs emphasize their unbroken dominance over Bādghīs from the Timurid period to the eighteenth century.[258] This "telescoping" bypasses the arrival of the Abdālī Afghāns in the Herat region around 1000/1592 and their assumption of power in 1717.[259] According to the *Tārīkhnāma-yi Jamshīdīhā*, Nādir Shāh's conquest of Herat in 1732 even enhanced the position of the Jamshīdīs in Bādghīs. After suffering a temporary resettlement in Turbat-i Shaikh Jām and Langar, they were allowed to return to Bādghīs under their principal chief Maḥmūd Khān Jamshīdī in 1732 and exerted great influence on the affairs of Herat.[260]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Kurukh and Kushk are mentioned as the most important Jamshīdī settlements. Kushk was held by Maḥmūd Khān's sons Yalangtūsh I and Maḥmūd II Jamshīdī (d. ca. 1817). In the 1830s, Yalangtūsh Khān widened the Jamshīdī sphere of influence to include Bālā Murghāb, Mārūchāq and Panjdih.[261] Like the other *ūymāq* of the Herat region, the Jamshīdīs suffered from Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai's resettlement policies. In the early 1840s, 5,000 families were forced to move to the Herat valley.[262] Roughly at the same time, the *khān khēl* and the greater part of the tribe moved from Kushk and Qara Tepe to Khīva and entered the military service of Allāh Qulī Khān (r. 1825–1842), Raḥīm Qulī Khān (r. 1842–1846), and Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt (r. 1846–1855).[263] Estimates of the Jamshīdīs who settled in Khīva vary between 5,000, 7,000, 10,000, 12,000 and 15,000 families.[264] The available sources differ on the role of the Khivan government in bringing on the Jamshīdī migration. While the European sources maintain that the Jamshīdīs were forcefully removed to Khīva, the Khivan historian

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252 For an earlier article on the Jamshīdīs, see, Noelle-Karimi, "Jamšidi," *E.Ir*. XIV: 528–31.

253 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 185; Pottinger Dec. 1839, IOL, L/PS/20 G10 3 No. 63 p. 54–5.

254 Semenov 1923. I am most grateful to Lutz Rzehak, who generously shared his Persian and Russian materials on the Jamshīdīs with me.

255 Semenov 1923: 165.

256 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 185.

257 IM 1154, 1475; DS 158–9, 280–1.

258 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 185; Semenov 1923: 165–6.

259 *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh* 19, 21.

260 Semenov 1923: 166; T Su 105.

261 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 186–7; NT 284–5; Stirling 1991: 260; Lumsden 1885 IOL, L/PS/18 A 53 pt. 3 pp. 12–13.

262 Ferrier 1857: 158, 172, 193–4; *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 187–8.

263 Raḥīm Qulī Khān died on 2 Ṣafar 1262/30 January 1846 and was succeeded by his brother, Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt (Wood 1998: 205–6).

264 Ferrier 1857: 193–4; Basiner 1848: 202–3; *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 188; Semenov 1927: 166; Vámbéry: 1864: 258–9, 355; Wood 1998: 169.

Muḥammad Riżā Āgāhī reports that the Khivan campaign to Bādghīs in the winter of 1841–42 was occasioned by a Jamshīdi plea for help against the oppression of the Herat government.[265] The Iranian sources indicate that the Jamshīdī leader Mīr Aḥmad Khān b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār Bēg b. Yalangtūsh Khān closely cooperated with the Khivan court. He played a key role in his military activities in Marv and Sarakhs between 1844 and 1855, received the title of "Khān Āqā" from Muḥammad Amīn Khān, and was killed together with him while fighting the Iranian army in Sarakhs in March 1855.[266] The author of the *Tārīkh-i Jamshīdīhā* relates that his tribe spent a total of sixteen years in Khīva but decided to return to Bālā Murghāb and Mārūchāq when unrest spread in Khīva after the death of Muḥammad Amīn Khān. This migration took place in 1856–57, under the leadership of Mīr Aḥmad Khān's brother Mihdī Qulī Khān.[267]

In the late 1850s, the Jamshīdīs were exposed to pressure exerted by the Herati ruler Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān (r. 1857–1863), who deprived the Jamshīdīs of Kurukh of their customary service grants and enforced revenue payments from them. Furthermore, he displaced the northern section of the Jamshīdīs from their stronghold in Bālā Murghāb and razed it to the ground.[268] Even so, Mihdī Qulī Khān seems to have maintained a certain degree of independence. In the 1860s, he reportedly lived in Mārūchāq, while his brother Allāh Qulī Khān governed Bālā Murghāb.[269] Mihdī Qulī Khān exacted his own custom tolls from caravans crossing the Murghāb river.[270] He also interacted independently with the Qājār government and actively supported its final military campaign to Marv in 1860.[271]

In 1863, the Jamshīdī leader assisted Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān in the conquest of Herat and subsequently cooperated with the newly crowned Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān. During the civil war of 1866–1868, Mihdī Qulī Khān consistently sided with Shīr ʿAlī Khān and the Jamshīdī troops played a crucial role in Shīr ʿAlī Khān's final victory over his adversaries.[272] Furthermore, he gave two daughters in marriage to the Amīr's sons Muḥammad Yaʿqūb and Muḥammad Ayūb. His high position at the court of Herat is reflected by the illustrious title of "Amīn al-Daula va al-Niyābat" which was conferred on him in addition to the Khivan title of "Khān Āqā". Acting as Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān's guardian, Mihdī Qulī Khān was the most powerful official in the province until Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān's recall and imprisonment in 1874.[273]

Mihdī Qulī Khān's career ended with the last phase of the Second Anglo-Afghan War when he turned against Muḥammad Ayūb Khān, who was busy fighting the British near Qandahār in July–August 1880. At this time, the Jamshīdī leader entered a plot with Sardār Anbiyā Khān Tāymanī and Sardār ʿAbdullāh Khān Tīmūrī to depose Sardār Muḥammad Ayūb Khān and to install Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai's grandson Bihbūd Khān Alakūzai as ruler of Herat.[274] After his initial success at Maivand on 27 July 1880, Muḥammad Ayūb Khān was defeated by the British at Mazraʿ in the Arghandāb valley on 31 August and returned to Herat. Despite his recent military setback against the British, Muḥammad Ayūb Khān still commanded sufficient military support to mount campaigns against the ringleaders of the plot against him. The Jamshīdīs of Kushk were defeated in late November 1880. Mihdī Qulī Khān Jamshīdī initially managed to flee to Ghūr but was soon apprehended by a rival of Anbiyā Khān Tāymanī and handed over to Muḥammad Ayūb Khān, who assassinated him in a brutal fashion. During the ensuing general persecution of the Jamshīdī tribe Mihdī Qulī Khān's son Yalangtūsh II fled to Maimana.[275]

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265 Wood 1998: 168.
266 NT 1202–3, 1248–52; *Sifāratnāma* 57 (French text 89–90); Wood 1998: 202–7. See also Chapter 6.
267 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 189; Khanikoff, 1846: 376; Stewart 1883: 51; Lumsden 1885 IOL, L/PS/18 A 53 pt. 3 pp. 12–13.
268 Molloy 1883: 10.
269 *Ḥayāt-i afghānī* 458.
270 Vámbéry 1864: 259–61. In 1867, the Jamshīdīs reportedly submitted a yearly revenue of 15,000 rupees (*Ḥayāt-i afghānī* 459).
271 Shahīdī 1971: 56.
272 *Gulshan-i imārat* 75; PM II: 144.
273 Napier 1875: 244; PM II: 143.
274 ST 375; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 335. According to the British correspondence of the time, Mihdī Qulī Khān championed the cause of Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai's son Muḥammad Ḥaidar Alakūzai (Kakar 1971: 70–1).
275 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 190–1, 410; Kakar 1971: 66, 70–1; Lee 1996: 400–2; Semenov 1923: 169.

Yalangtūsh II's subsequent career exemplifies the unpredictable nature of Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān's policies. Until 1883, the newly crowned king extended his patronage to the *ūymāq* of Herat and awarded an annual subsidy of 60,000 rupees to their chiefs.[276] In exchange for his assistance in the conquest of Herat in 1881, Yalangtūsh II was confirmed as the leader of the Jamshīdīs and received the title of "Amīn al-Daula".[277] Yalangtūsh Khān's appointment to the government of Panjdih in 1884 represented the high point of his career but also precipitated his downfall. After the Russian occupation of Panjdih in March 1885, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān charged him with treason and ordered him and his brother Amīnullāh Khān, who had served as governor of Bālā Murghāb, to be executed in late 1886. Their fellow tribesmen initially migrated to Kushk but were deported to Herat in 1889. Those who were allowed to return to Kushk a few years later found themselves reduced to tenants of Afghan officials, who had taken over their lands in the meantime.[278] Yalangtūsh II's sons and nephews remained in prison until 1903. Their flight to Russian territory in 1908 once again exposed the Jamshīdīs to persecutions by the Afghan government, and 3,000 families escaped to the Russian districts of Chaman-i Bīd and Qalʿa-yi Mūr located on the lower course of the Kushk Rūd.[279]

Like the Sunnī Hazāras, a number of Jamshīdīs relocated to Qājār Khurāsān. These migrations occurred from the middle of the nineteenth century on and were occasioned by Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai's oppressive policies in 1842, the Iranian siege of 1856, and Muḥammad Ayūb Khān's defeat and flight to Iran in 1881.[280] In 1857, Ḥusām al-Salṭana settled 2,000 Jamshīdī families on the Sar-i Jām plain southeast of Mashhad in an apparent attempt to secure the eastern border of Khurāsān. Battered by Turkmen raids, some of these Jamshīdīs returned to Herat, while others moved to Kana Gūsha and Qara Buqa near Mashhad. In the following decades, this group of "Iranian" Jamshīdīs dwindled further. The famine of 1870–1872 reduced their number to 150 families. After a temporary relocation to Pas Kamar near Pul-i Khātūn on the Russian border between 1885 and 1889, they were estimated to number eighty families. This group of Jamshīdīs furnished a border guard of fifty cavalry to the provincial government in Mashhad until the end of the nineteenth century.[281]

THE FĪRŪZKŪHĪS

Like the Jamshīdīs, the Fīrūzkūhīs essentially viewed themselves as Persians and linked their migration to the Herat region to Tīmūr's conquest. An important aspect of their ethnogenesis is the heterogeneous background of the constituent groups. While there are indications that the Fīrūzkūhīs may have been associated with the ancient Ghurid capital of Fīrūzkūh, popular accounts trace their origin to the more distant town of Fīrūzkūh in Māzandarān, where a number of tribes are said to have assembled before being deported to Herat:

> [T]heir forefathers fought Timurlang [Tīmūr Lang] bravely when that conqueror subjugated their country. After they were driven by him into the mountains south of Mazandaran, they defended themselves most desperately, but were eventually defeated and carried by him into Herat, where their descendants exist at the present time. Although this body of men belonged to several distant tribes, from their being involved in one common misfortune, they were all included in the name of Firozkohi, from the village in the neighbourhood of which they were surrounded and captured.[282]

This process of tribal agglomeration seems to have continued in later times as well, and there is evidence that the Fīrūzkūhī functioned as a military formation. One of the leading families traces its descent to a certain

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[276] Molloy 1883: 9.
[277] According to the *Tārīkh-i Jamshīdīhā*, Yalangtūsh II was appointed chief of the Herati *ūymāq* at that time (Semenov 1923: 170).
[278] *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 283; Yate 2003: 216–17.
[279] Semenov 1923: 170–3.
[280] *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 207–8; Napier 1875: 246.
[281] Curzon 1966 I: 198–9; Yate 1900: 32–3.
[282] MacGregor 1871a: 252. See also Ferrier 1857: 195–6. Other accounts trace the name of the Fīrūzkūhīs to the person of Fīrūz, who assumed leadership during the march to Khurāsān (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 109).

Durrānī leader by the name of Khvāja Maḥmūd, who was a descendant of an Achakzai leader by the name of Ḥakīm Khān. Khvāja Maḥmūd was appointed to the command over the western Fīrūzkūhīs by the military governor of Herat in the early eighteenth century.[283] From the middle of the eighteenth century on, two main branches can be identified among the Fīrūzkūhīs. Khvāja Maḥmūd's descendants and their followers were known as Maḥmūdī and were based in Qādis and Kūcha. The second branch was designated as Darzai (Darazi) and was centered in Gharjistān and Chaghcharān.[284] The political allegiances of the Fīrūzkūhīs were split on the basis of clan ties and geographical factors. In the early 1840s, the Maḥmūdīs under Fatḥullāh Bēg tendered allegiance to Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai. The Darzai section of Gharjistān, by contrast, sought an alliance with Maimana. The Darzais of Chaghcharān were far enough removed from both centers of power to restrict themselves to mere tokens of loyalty to the powers in presence.[285]

One important member of the Maḥmūdī branch was Bahrām Khān Fīrūzkūhī, who entered an alliance with Bunyād b. Muḥammad Shāh Khān Hazāra in 1817.[286] For most of the nineteenth century, however, the Maḥmūdī Fīrūzkūhīs were locked into struggles with Hazāras of Qalʿa-yi Nau, whose grazing grounds adjoined their territories on the west. In the 1830s, the Hazāras seem to have had the upper hand, as they forced the Maḥmūdī Fīrūzkūhī chief Maudūd Qulī Khān out of Qādis.[287] Maudūd Qulī Khān, on his part, supported the Iranian siege of Herat in 1837–38 and received Qalʿa-yi Nau as *tuyūl* from Muḥammad Shāh Qājār.[288] While this assignment apparently was as short-lived as the Iranian presence before Herat, the Fīrūzkūhīs made substantial territorial gains when Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai turned against the Hazāras in the late 1840s. There is evidence that the Fīrūzkūhīs were again placed in possession of Qalʿa-yi Nau during this period.[289]

From the 1840s on, Fatḥullāh Bēg b. Muḥammad ʿAẓīm Khān Atālīq is mentioned as the most influential leader of the Maḥmūdī section. He consistently sided with Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān during the power struggle for the possession of Kābul in the 1860s.[290] From 1870 to 1880, Fatḥullāh Bēg was locked into a conflict with a rival faction under the leadership of Bahrām b. Maudūd Qulī Khān, who gained possession of Qādis with the support of the Hazāra chief Muḥammad Khān Niẓām al-Daula in 1878. Fatḥullāh Bēg was evicted and fled to Maimana.[291] Later on, Niyāz b. Fatḥullāh Bēg Fīrūzkūhī obtained Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān's permission to occupy Tagāu ʿAlam on the upper course of the Murghāb river. In the 1880s, both sections suffered from Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's reprisals. In 1884–85, the Fīrūzkūhī chiefs of Qādis and Kūcha were taken to Kābul and killed. By the early years of the twentieth century, their Fīrūzkūhī followers, as well as the Hazāras of Qalʿa-yi Nau, were reported to have given up all hostilities among one another: "They are now absolutely broken and under the thumb of the central Government."[292] Located at a geater distance from Herat, the Darzai section of Chaghcharān, on the other hand, continued to evade Muḥammadzai authority. Throughout the 1880s, the local leadership resisted the efforts of the Herat government to control the selection of leaders and to ensure a smooth flow of revenues.[293]

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283 C. E. Yate 1887a:10–12, 14, 24–6; *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 117.
284 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 118.
285 Yate 1887a: 8–9.
286 NT 282–5. Bahrām Khān Fīrūzkūhī is mentioned as one of the *sardārs* of Khurāsān in the context of Maḥmūd Mīrzā Sadūzai's rebellion in 1795 (T Hu 310, 423). One of his daughters was married to Tīmūr Shāh (Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 32).
287 Pottinger, Dec. 1839; IOL, L/PS/20/G 10 3 No. 63, 54–5. See also Ferrier 1857: 195–6.
288 NT 708.
289 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 120–1; Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 35.
290 Napier 1875: 244; *Gulshan-i imārat* 75.
291 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 122; Stewart 1883: 51; Yate 1887a: 24–6.
292 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 122–3, 126.
293 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 123–6.

THE TĀYMANĪS

The leading lineage of the Tāymanīs traced its origin to the eponymous ancestor Tāyman, a Kākar Pashtūn who reportedly settled in Darra Khargūsh[294] in 973/1565–66 and displaced the local Qipchāq population. At the time, the Tāymanīs enjoyed the support of the Khvājas of Chisht, and Tāyman himself is said to have acted as their agent in Chaghcharān, Gharjistān and Chahār Ṣada. In the late seventeenth century, the Tāymanī leader Mīr Muḥammad Sulṭān conquered Ghūr, which henceforth was considered as Tāymanī homeland.[295]

During the nineteenth century, the Tāymanīs were said to number 12,000 families, 2,000 of which belonged to the *khān khēl* originated by Tāyman.[296] British observers noted that the Tāymanī country seemed somewhat less inviting than other *ūymāq* settings: "The Taimani hills are totally different from the grassy uplands and tremendous ravines of the Firozkohi country, or from the magnificent rolling downy pastures of Badghis. They are bare and stony, though not often actually rocky." Within this "maze of brown, treeless and barren hills,"[297] the narrow valleys along the streams draining the region in a southwesterly direction formed fertile islands yielding wheat and barley, vegetables, melons, rice, cotton and tobacco.[298]

The "national hero" of the Tāymanīs, in the words of a British observer, was Dilāvar Khān, who used the breakdown of Safavid authority around 1717 to expand the Tāymanī sphere of influence towards the southwest. When the Abdālī Afghāns asserted their authority over Herat, Dilāvar Khān conquered Farāh and expelled the Shāmlū governor from Isfizār.[299] This expansion of power enabled Dilāvar Khān to offer spirited resistance to Nādir Shāh from 1731 on, as has been discussed in Chapter 2. After Dilāvar Khān's death the Tāymanī country was divided among two of his sons and his paternal uncle Shāh Karam Sulṭān. Shāh Karam Sulṭān was placed in possession of Taivāra in the Tāymanī heartland of Ghūr. Dilāvar Khān's son Āqā Mīrzā received the southwestern regions of Isfizār and Fārsī. The other son, ʿUnāb Khān, was placed in control of the northern regions of Tagāu Ishlān, Tūlak, Shahrak and Chaghcharān. ʿUnāb Khān joined Aḥmad Shāh's service in 1754 and played an important role in his Indian campaigns. In 1761–62, he sided with the military governor of Herat, Anzala Khān Fūfalzai Durrānī, in his conflict with the Hazāra *bēglerbēgī* Darvīsh ʿAlī Khān Hazāra.[300]

In the eighteenth century, the Tāymanī chiefs were expected to furnish 2,000–3,000 soldiers to the Sadūzai rulers and to present a yearly "present" (*pīshkash*) to the court. While no longer in charge of Farāh and Isfizār, they played an important role in the administration of the eastern Herat valley. Thus, Khusrau Khān b. Āqā Mīrzā was appointed governor of Shāfilān and Auba by Aḥmad Shāh.[301] In the course of the nineteenth century, the Tāymanī possessions shrank further. Chaghcharān was lost to the Fīrūzkūhīs, and from the early 1840s on, the region of Ghūr faced increasing pressure from Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai. However, the local chief, Shāh Karam Sulṭān's great-grandson Ibrāhīm Khān Tāymanī b. Muḥammad Khān (d. 1855–56), enjoyed a measure of support from the Qandahār Sardārs. Ibrāhīm Khān Tāymanī's conflict with Yār Muḥammad Khān was apparently triggered by his steadfast loyalty to Kāmrān Sadūzai: After Kāmrān's assassination in 1257/1842, he had given shelter to two of his sons and other Sadūzai exiles from Herat. In 1844, Ibrāhīm Khān Tāymanī was displaced from Taivāra by Yār Muḥammad Khān, and 3,000 Tāymanī families were deported to the Herat valley. Subsequently, Ibrāhīm Khān Tāymanī returned with the active help of the Pusht-i Kūh Hazāras and the encouragement of the Qandahār Sardārs.[302]

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294 A valley draining northwards from the Band-i-Bāba range into the basin of the Murghāb river, through which runs the route from Chaghcharān to Chahār Ṣada (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 65, 86, 246).

295 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 396–7; Janata 1983: 326. For the relationship of the Tāymanīs with the Khvājas of Chisht in the late eighteenth century, see T Hu 423.

296 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 408.

297 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 391.

298 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 391–395.

299 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 397.

300 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 399, 414–15; TA 172, 430.

301 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 398, 408–9.

302 Ferrier 1857a: 242–3.

Ibrāhīm Khān Tāymanī's sons ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Khān (d. 1879) and Anbiyā Khān (d. 1886) enjoyed a powerful position in Ghūr. ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Khān is mainly known for the fact that he provoked a confrontation between the Muḥammadzai overlords of Qandahār and Farāh and Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān of Herat, which eventually led to the Muḥammadzai conquest of Herat. Subsequent to these events, ʿAbd al-Ghafūr relinquished his claim to the government of Ghūr but resurfaced during the power struggle of the late 1860s as a proponent of Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān's cause. Later on, he was closely associated with Sardār Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān.[303]

In the early 1860s, ʿAbd al-Ghafūr's brother Anbiyā Khān assumed the leadership of the Tāymanīs of Ghūr. In exchange for his pledge to submit revenues to the Muḥammadzai administration he was formally installed as the governor of Ghūr. The Second Anglo-Afghan War of 1878–1880 brought about a rift among the various Tāymanī sections. Anbiyā Khān of Taivāra and Sardār Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān of Fārsi (a descendant of Āqā Mīrzā Khān) showed pro-British sentiments. The chiefs of Tūlak and Tagāu Ishlān and the Ghurid sub-chiefs of Sākhar and Sangān, by contrast, decided to side with Muḥammad Ayūb Khān. The chief of Sangān and the son of the chief of Sākhar actively participated in the battle of Maivand. The leaders of Tūlak and Tagāu Ishlān proved their loyalty to Muḥammad Ayūb Khān by apprehending Khān Āqā Jamshīdī and delivering him to Herat in December 1880. As Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān consolidated his hold over Herat in 1881, the pro-Ayūb forces suffered correspondingly. The northern Tāymanī chiefships of Tūlak and Tagāu Ishlān were incorporated into the provincial administration, and only Shahrak evaded sustained government intervention. Anbiyā Khān, on his part, successfully held on to his old prerogatives. He continued to be in charge of the assessment and collection of the government revenue of Ghūr and received an annual subsidy of 15,000 *qirān*. Furthermore, he evicted the chief of Sangān with government backing and thus enhanced his sphere of influence. The privileges of the Tāymanī chiefs of Ghūr lasted until 1894. The chief of Fārsi was not quite as fortunate. While enjoying liberal grants and a marriage alliance with the governor of Herat, Muḥammad Sarvar Khān (1882–1887), he was deprived of the right to assess and collect the local revenues.[304]

HERAT AND ITS HINTERLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Persian accounts of the Herat oasis are unanimous in their praise of its delightful climate, its abundant and fine agricultural produce, and its well fortified and prosperous city. Passing through the region in the early nineteenth century, Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrvānī recorded his impressions as follows: "[Herat's] climate is pleasant, its water tasty… It contains charming districts, pleasing villages, and flourishing paradise-like gardens…The entire valley is inhabited and cultivated. Seven irrigation channels are in use. Its fruit and grain are for the most part excellent, its grapes and melons outstanding."[305]

The Central Asian traveller Boukhary, who described Herat around 1233/1818,[306] roughly at the same time as Shīrvānī, noted that the local monuments had suffered due to the vicissitudes of time. Even so, he was of the opinion that the Muṣallā in the *bulūk* Khiyābān and the Pul-i Mālān south of Herat had retained much of their erstwhile splendor. To Boukhary, the Muṣallā complex represented the finest architecture in Herat and surpassed all the buildings he had seen in Transoxiana, Iran and Anatolia:

> The descendants of Chingīz Khān, Tīmūr-i Gūrgān and the Uzbek kings erected buildings in Herat. When [the city] fell to the [Safavid] Iranians (*ʿajam*), they destroyed these splendid edifices on purpose. As soon as the Iranians had erected new buildings, this country was once again conquered by the Uzbeks, and they destroyed whatever the Iranians had built. But a few monuments remain. The Muṣallā, the *madrasa* and nine minarets built by Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāyqarā in the name of Imām Riżā were spared by the Iranians. The Muṣallā remains unharmed. Its cupola equals the ʿUthmānīya mosque [in Istanbul] in size and height. But its vault is gilded, covered with arabesques of gold and lapis lazuli, and ornamented with inscriptions and glazed tiles. They

303 Napier 1875: 244; KD 31 Jan–6 Feb 1868, NAI, For. Pol. A Feb 1868 No. 328.
304 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 410–413.
305 *Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 419.
306 Boukhary 83–4, Persian text 41.

> have truly constructed a fine edifice. In each of its four corners is a tiled minaret. There is no building like this in Transoxiana, Khurāsān, or Iran. Such delicate ornaments in gold and lapis lazuli are not to be found in Istanbul either.[307]

Boukhary was also deeply impressed with the most famous bridge spanning the Harī Rūd, the Pul-i Mālān:

> There is also the Pul-i Mālān across the river of Herat located one *farsakh* (four miles) towards the south along the road to Qandahār. It was built by a lady called Bībī Nūr. It has twenty-seven arches, each of them high enough that an elephant, its driver and its litter can pass underneath. It is beautifully ornamented and is twenty paces wide. In springtime, when the water of the river swells and swirls around, it is a most wonderful spectacle to behold.[308]

Subsequent European visitors mostly noted signs of decline in and around Herat. This state of dilapidation was brought about by three major military campaigns, viz. the Iranian sieges of 1837–1838 and 1856 and the Muḥammadzai conquest of 1863, which took their toll of the population and altered the urban fabric. In the following, I will first reproduce a few eyewitness accounts which capture the prevailing mood in the city. In the second part of this section I will revisit some of the landmarks known since Timurid times. The final part will capture some impressions from the "counties" (*vilāyāt*) of Herat.

In 1839, D'Arcy Todd, the British envoy to Herat, painted a gloomy picture of the circumstances in Herat subsequent to the first Iranian siege:

> Herat was formerly celebrated for its manufacture of carpets, swords and matchlock rifles; but there is now scarcely a single artificer or workman in the place: the whole of these people, with the exception of one or two whom Lieutenant Pottinger has induced to remain by lending them small sums of money, and occasionally employing them, having either died or emigrated with their families to Mushed [Mashhad], and other places beyond the Herat frontier. Of the forty-five thousand inhabitants of Herat, which, at the lowest calculation, the town contained eight or nine years ago, there do not remain at present more than eight thousand persons. Not more than one tenth of the houses of the city are inhabited, the remainder are deserted and ruined; the bazaar consists of about one hundred shops, chiefly of the necessaries of life, beyond which there is scarcely anything procurable in the place… Most of the mosques and public edifices are in ruin. The city water-courses are choked up or destroyed. In fact, everything about the place denotes desertion, desolation and ruin.[309]

When Ferrier visited the city six years later, he estimated the population at 6,000–7,000 persons and noted that the impact of the war was still clearly visible:

> Though the population of Herat has continually increased during the last three years, it will be a long time before the ruins are all cleared away, for only one house in five at the utmost is inhabited, or in a condition to be so. Buildings of all kinds, caravansarais, bazaars, baths, & c. were nearly all destroyed by the Persian shells or fell to the earth from being abandoned by their owners. The besieged also pulled down many of those nearest to the walls to repair the breaches made by the enemies' guns. Nothing can be imagined more desolate than the appearance of the city in 1845; the traces of the wanton destruction of gardens and houses in the environs, originally so picturesque and fertile, was still apparent; villages and handsome esplanades, shaded by beautiful trees, have completely disappeared. The Persian troops during the ten months' siege… made greater havoc and devastation than if the country had been a prey to civil wars for a hundred years. Not one of the splendid trees which were the pride of the inhabitants and ornament of the suburbs was spared, everything was levelled to the ground by these Vandals, and on their departure the town and country round was one scene of desolation and ruin. [new paragraph] The greater number of the bazaars at the period of my visit were in a dilapidated state; a portion of those in the Char Sook [Chahār Sū], the four streets, were the only ones in good repair. The houses in these four streets are built of burnt bricks, and vaulted, there are shops on either side, and the four extremities of the streets unite at one end in a circular building, from the top of the cupola of which there is a panoramic view of the whole city.[310]

After the Muḥammadzai conquest of Herat in May 1863, the city was given up to plundering by 4,000 Afghan soldiers.[311] When Vámbéry arrived there almost half a year later, he was dismayed at the general level of destruction:

> We entered by the gate Dervaze Arak [Darvāza-yi Arg]. The houses which we passed, the advanced works, the very gate, looked like a heap of rubbish. Near the latter, in the inside of the city, is the Ark (citadel) having, from its elevation, served as a mark for

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307 Boukhary 250–1, Persian text 110.
308 Boukhary 251, Persian text 110.
309 D'Arcy Todd to Macnaghten, 2 October 1839 (IOL, L/PS/20/G 10/3 No. 4, p. 4).
310 Ferrier 1857: 173.
311 Vámbéry 1864: 280.

> the Afghan artillery; it lies there blasted and half demolished. The doors and windows have been stripped of their woodwork, for during the siege the inhabitants suffered most from the scarcity of fuel. In the bare openings of the walls are perched here and there a few wretched-looking Afghans or Hindoos—worthy guards of such a ruin... [new paragraph] The bazaar itself, dating from Herat's epoch of splendour, the reign of the Sultan Husein Mirza [Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqarā], and consequently about four hundred years old, deserved still, even in its ruins, the epithet beautiful. It is said, in earlier times, to have formed an entire street, from the Dervaze Arak to the Dervaze Kandahar [Darvāza-yi Qandahār].[312]

In the 1870s, the population of Herat rebounded. However, Grodekoffs statement that the city contained 50,000 persons in 1878 is not borne out by other sources.[313] In 1884, Stewart ventured the opinion that the city population hovered between 12,000 and 15,000 people.[314]

In spite of the decay that the city suffered during the nineteenth century, most of the characteristic features of Timurid Herat survived into the nineteenth century. A look at the Persian chronicles of that time shows that certain places had assumed new names in the meantime. While the western and eastern city gates continued to be designated as ʿIrāq and Khush/Khushk,[315] the name of the southern Fīrūzābād Gate had changed to Qandahār Gate.[316] Leading to the citadel, the northwestern Malik Gate was also designated as "Darvāza-yi Arg".[317] In the nineteenth century, the Qipchāq Gate was referred to as Quṭb(-i) Chāq.[318] Among the four bastions of the city walls, only the southwestern tower retained its historical name of Burj-i Khākistar.[319] The former Burj-i Shamʿāniyān in the northwest was called Burj-i Fīlkhāna (Pīlakhāna), the former Burj-i ʿAlī Asad in the northeast was known as Burj-i Shāh-i Karam, and the former Burj-i Kh-R-Q in the southeast was now referred to as Burj-i (Khvāja) ʿAbd al-Miṣr.[320]

European and British Indian visitors described the Chahār Sū and the Qalʿa-yi Ikhtiyār al-Dīn as the most prominent features of Herat city. Even after a prolonged period of peace, Yate noted that the trade going on in the Chahār Sū was but a mere shadow of its former potential:

> All the trade of the city is comprised in these four streets and with the exception of a few fruit-stalls, &c., there are no shops worth speaking of anywhere else. All these four streets are roofed with wooden beams, either boarded over or covered with matting and bushes during almost their entire length from the gateways to the Chaharsu; the central portion immediately adjoining the Chaharsu alone being roofed with regular brick domes. At present hardly half of the shops are occupied, and it is only in the immediate neighbourhood of the Chaharsu that there is any display of wares…[321]

In 1833, the British Indian traveller Mohan Lal described the Qalʿa-yi Ikhtiyār al-Dīn as "one of the most solid and ancient buildings in Herat." Yet he reached the conclusion that it "has so little of the character of a regal residence, that the gaols in British India are much superior to the palace of Kamran, not only in architectural beauty, but even in cleanliness."[322] At the time of Charles E. Yate's visit, the citadel was known as *arg-i kuhna* to distinguish it from the *arg-i nau*, an open enclosure on the northern wall which had been

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312 Vámbéry 1864: 270–2.

313 Marvin 1884: 287.

314 *Correspondence respecting the Demarcation of the N.W. Frontier of Afghanistan from the Hari Rud to the Oxus, 1884–86,* IOL, L/P&S/18/A53, pt IV, p. 11.

315 *Dhū al-qarnain* 448; NT 679, 682, 690, 713, 716, 1317, 1325; KR 167; ST 146; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 247.

316 *Dhū al-qarnain* 448; NT 677, 682, 713, 716; KR 172; ST 146; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 247; Lal 1977: 158; Szuppe 1992: 27; Vámbéry 1864: 272.

317 *Dhū al-qarnain* 448; KR 167; Vámbéry 1864: 270, 272.

318 KR 167; Takki Khān 1885: 1175; Lal 1977: 158; C. E. Yate 1885: 1164. Tumanovich translates *quṭb-i chāq* as "large dome" (Tumanovich 1989: 49). Iranian sources of the time distort the name of the gate into *Qūtchāq*, *Qūbīchāq*, or *Qūṭī Chāy* (*Dhū al-qarnain* 448; NT 682; *Vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ* 25). For a description of the adjoining Quṭb-i Chāq quarter, see Samizay 1981: 118–147.

319 NT 678, 682; ST 14; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 21.

320 NT 682, 713, 716, 1324; Hamilton 1906: 152; ST 146; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 247; Stewart, *Correspondence respecting the Demarcation of the N.W. Frontier of Afghanistan from the Hari Rūd to the Oxus, 1884–86*, IOL, L/PS/18/A53, part IV, p. 10; Szuppe 1992: 27, 29; T Su 98; C. E. Yate 1885: 1164. The southeastern quarter of town was known as ʿAbdullāh Miṣrī (Samizay 1981: 148–74), the southwestern as Muhmand (Samizay 1981: 174–211), the northwestern as Bardurrānī (Samizay 1981: 212–53), and the northeastern as Quṭb-i Chāq (Samizay 1981: 118–47).

321 C. E. Yate 1885: 1163. The domes of the Chahār Sū Bazaar eventually collapsed in 1914 (Najimi 1982: 38).

322 Lal 1977: 159.

erected to fortify the northern line of defence and served as a parade ground for the troops in garrison. Yate's portrayal of the citadel is somewhat more sober than that of Isfizārī in the late fifteenth century but still reflects its imposing dimensions:

> This building, which is altogether some 250 yards in length, now stands not in the centre of the town, but slightly back from the main northern wall. The ditches… are now mostly choked up and full of reeds, though efforts are being made to clear them out. The entrance is over a bridge across the ditch and through a gateway at the south-east angle, facing the main street down to the Chahar Su… This Citadel is at present occupied by the Sipah Salar and his brother and their wives and families with a guard of some 50 men…The entire inhabited portion or Citadel proper is a lofty building of burnt brick, with four bastions on its southern face, some 110 yards in length and 60 in breadth.[323]

Another building which continued to impress visitors to the region was the cistern (Hauż-i Chārsū) erected by the Safavid governor Ḥasan Khān Shāmlū in the seventeenth century. Mohan Lal even characterized it as the "most beautiful and beneficial edifice" in Herat. He described it as nearly sixty feet square and thirty feet deep, containing "clear and shining" water. Lamps placed in its arches served to bring out its fine architectural features.[324] In 1845, Ferrier praised this "vast reservoir" and its dome of "bold and excellent proportions" as a chef d'oeuvre of its kind.[325]

In the districts around Herat, the available nineteenth-century accounts focus on the Pul-i Mālān in the *bulūk* of Guzāra, the Gāzargāh in the *bulūk* of Parvāna-Havādashtak and the Muṣallā in the *bulūk* Injīl. Contrary to Boukhary, European and British Indian observers were less than enthusiastic about the state of the Pul-i Mālān and mostly noted signs of deterioration. Because of the crumbling of its arches and the changing course of the Harī Rūd, the bridge only afforded a partial passage across the river. The other branches of the river could only be forded during the dry season. At the time of the spring and autumn floods, trade with Qandahār entirely ground to a halt.[326] In 1833, Mohan Lal reported that the spring floods had swept away three of its arches and cut off the intercourse between Herat and the outside world for two months.[327] The decay of the Pul-i Mālān in the nineteenth century is confirmed by a British agent in 1840:

> An old irregular bridge having numerous arches of unequal size formerly spanned the river at this point; three of its arches have entirely failed, and the whole structure is in a state of great dilapidation; the river has also partially deserted the bed in which it formerly ran, a branch now flowing round either end of the bridge.[328]

In the summer of 1845, Ferrier noted the Pul-i Mālān among other vestiges bearing witness to a more glorious past:

> At one hour's distance from the town we crossed the Heri-rood [Harī Rūd] by a bridge of twenty-six arches, called Pûl Malan; it is built of burnt brick, and has been recently restored by Yar Mohamed [Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai]. In Europe it would have been an ordinary work; but at Herat it was an object of general admiration. At this place the bed of the river is hollowed out of the sand, and the waters flow through fifteen canals, twelve feet wide and very deep, enclosed between two embankments, formed of the earth taken out of the excavations. They have been made as a precautionary measure against the overflowing of the river, from which the country had often suffered… The rise of the Heri-rood in the spring is considerable; but such is the number of outlets cut from it to carry on the irrigation of the country between Obeh [Auba] and Herat, that it was nearly dry when we crossed it at Pûl Malan. The cultivation extends for two miles south of Herat, and scattered in various directions are the remains of houses, aqueducts, and other monuments of antiquity, which even now give an idea of what the environs were in former times.[329]

Forty years later, Yate reported that the Pul-i Mālān was reduced to 25 arches:

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323 C. E. Yate 1885: 1163. See also C. E. Yate 1887b: 85.
324 Lal 1977: 159–60.
325 Ferrier 1857: 174.
326 Khanikoff 1864: 362.
327 Lal 1834: 17; 1977: 156–7. While most accounts assume the Pul-i Mālān to have originally consisted of 26 arches, Lal fixes their number at 33.
328 This passage is quoted in Allen 1981: 42.
329 Ferrier 1857: 261.

> Of the old bridge only half of it now remains, and though the main channel of the river is turned under the present remnant of the bridge every year at the conclusion of the spring floods, still while the floods last, say during April, May and June, there is always a wide stretch of water to be forded, though the flood, I am told, is seldom so high as to render the river impassable for very many days together at a time. Some 25 arches, all told, of the old bridge are now standing, but some of these are broken through and are decidedly precarious, though still passable, except towards the northern end, where the deepest channel of the river has cut away a couple of arches. Only three or four small blocks of masonry sticking up in the middle of the bed of the river to the south of the bridge, show where it formerly extended to.[330]

Other focal points of British interest were the Muṣallā and the Gāzargāh containing Khvāja ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī's grave. Both locations reportedly suffered acts of Shīʿī vandalism during the frequent Qājār campaigns in the region in the early nineteenth century and the sieges of 1837–38 and 1856.[331] In 1830, Conolly reported that the Iranian troops had vented their anti-Sunnī sentiments on Anṣārī's grave by cracking the pillar of white marble adorning it. Even so, he came away with the impression that the shrine and its attendants still prospered:

> The shrine is well endowed, a Motwullee [*mutavallī*] and thirty attendants being retained to perform the duties of reading the Korân and keeping the garden in order; and they, and numberless cats, lounge about and sleep, and profit by the visiters (sic). Khojeh Abdoollah Ansarree extended his philantropy to the brute species, and was very fond of cats, of which I should think not fewer than a hundred are kept in honour of his memory; not that the shrine is put to much expense, for the townspeople continually make picnic parties, to enjoy the *sail* (prospect) from these hills, and what they do not eat they leave for the cats and beggars.[332]

In 1885, Yate noted that although the buildings of the shrine complex had lost much of their former splendor, the Gāzargāh was still "well worth a visit":

> Passing first through a large walled garden of pine and mulberry trees, the visitor comes to an octagonal domed building full of little rooms and three-cornered recesses, two stories in height and all opening inwards, built apparently as a cool, breezy place in which to pass the heat of the summer days. Beyond this again is the main enclosure of the Ziarat, now a deserted and dilapidated-looking place; everything bears a look of decay; the unkept court-yard, the broken tile work on the archway and entrance to the shrine, and general want of repair visible everywhere, betoken a great falling off from former prosperity… The entrance of the shrine lies at the eastern end of the main court yard through a doorway under a high arched vestibule and across a covered corridor, paved with slabs of white marble, worn and polished into a most dangerous state of slipperiness by, presumably, the feet of countless pilgrims. Round about this door sit Mullas, beggars and pilgrims of all sorts, in addition to the numerous blind Hafiz or reciters of the Koran who here seem to act as the general showmen of the place… Passing through the entrance one emerges into a square court-yard, surrounded by high walls and little rooms with a lofty half domed portico at the eastern end, the tile work on which is very much out of repair… The great feature of the Shrine is the headstone of white marble to the grave of the Saint which stands some 14 or 15 feet in height and is most exquisitely carved throughout. This stone is a beautiful piece of work, as not only is the carving of the texts and inscription well executed, but the whole proportions of the stone are beautiful.[333]

Yate goes on to describe a number of the 20–30 tombs inside the portico, most of which belonged to nobles related to Shāh Rukh or Chingiz Khān. The covered water reservoir in the enclosure had originally been built by Shāh Rukh and was subsequently restored "by some lady of royal descent" in 1100/1688–89. A more recent addition was the grave of the Muḥammadzai ruler Dūst Muḥammad Khān, who died barely two weeks after conquering Herat in May 1863:

> The Amir Dost Muḥammad's tombstone is a plain simple but handsome block of pure white marble, some 8 feet in length by about 1 ½ or 2 feet in height and breadth, finely carved and surrounded by a marble balustrade. It lies just to the north of the Saint's tomb in the open enclosure. At the head and foot of the grave stand small blocks of white marble carved in imitation, but a very bad imitation, of the head and foot stones of the Khwajah's tomb. They are dwarfed and quite lost in comparison with the original monuments.[334]

Ironically, British presence in Herat caused further damage to the local monuments. After the fall of Panjdih in March 1885, the British feared further Russian encroachment on Afghanistan and proceeded to strengthen

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330 C. E. Yate 1885: 1164.
331 Vambéry 1864: 283–4
332 Conolly 1834 II: 23.
333 C. E. Yate 1885: 1166–7; 1887b: 85–8.
334 C. E. Yate 1885: 1168; 1887 b: 90. For a twentieth-century account of the Gāzargāh, see Samizay 1981: 64–74.

the fortifications of Herat. Part of their efforts to ward off a possible Russian bombardment focused on the citadel and the city gates, which were equipped with heavy artillery. Of graver consequences was the British decision to clear the outskirts of Herat of all elevations that might provide cover for an approaching Russian army. This undertaking entailed the destruction of the Muṣallā, as the Herati historian Riyāżī bitterly remarks:

> After the Russian conquest [of Panjdih] the British officials endeavored to strengthen the army and fortifications of Herat. A number of entrenchments were erected outside of Herat. Among others, they built mighty entrenchments at Tall-i Bangiyān north of Herat. In addition, they cleared the environs of the city to a distance of 600 paces of walls and trees. They dismantled the mosque and the *īvān* of the famous Muṣallā of Herat by means of mining, gunpowder and manpower. They transported the bricks [of these buildings] to Herat and used them to build a large storage facility to provide the army with grain. They installed a firm entrenchment outside of the ʿIrāq Gate next to the moat, in which they placed six cannons. They also used the bricks of the Muṣallā to erect an entrenchment underneath the Burj-i Khākbasar by the moat, in which they installed a battery of artillery. In like manner they erected entrenchments outside all of the gates and placed several cannons on them. The Muṣallā of Herat, which was destroyed with the approval of the British functionaries, was the most excellent building in the eastern territories and [its beauty] was beyond imagination. Its chambers (*ghurfāt*) and the vault (*īvān-i maqṣūra*) were ornamented with blue and green tile work in a [style] that is far removed from the technical skills and artistic concepts of present-day craftsmen.[335]

Yate, who witnessed the demolition of the Muṣallā complex and furnished a last report concerning its constituent parts in November 1885, agreed with Riyāżī that it was the "grandest building anywhere in this part of the world":

> The so-called Musalla in reality consists of the remains of three separate buildings, running north-east and south-west and covering a total space of nearly 600 yards from end to end. The Madrassah on the north-east lies some 1,350 yards, the domed building in the centre, known as the tomb of Shah Rukh, about 1,200 and the Musalla some 1,000 yards to the north of the walls of the new citadel. Of the Madrassah or college nothing but two high arches and four minarets remain. The arches must be at least some 60 feet in height and are covered with the remains of fine tile work of beautiful and artistic designs. The tile work on the minarets seems to have been mostly worn off by stress of weather, while inside the arches the tiles in some places are still perfect. The minarets of the Madrassah appear taller than those of the Musalla and must be between 120 and 150 feet in height… The domed building called the tomb of Shah Rukh stands between the Madrassah and the Musallah. It is faced on the east by an archway and by one solitary minaret, still covered with tilework. The dome, too, was once covered with blue tiles, but is now sadly out of repair… The Musallah was a huge, massive building of burnt brick and mortar throughout, almost entirely faced with beautiful tile or rather mosaic work as the various patterns were all formed of small pieces of enamelled tile compactly fitted together in fine gypsum plaster… The main building of the Musallah consisted of a fine, lofty dome some 75 feet in diameter with a smaller domed building behind it and many rooms around. The entrance to this was from the east through a lofty archway some 80 feet in height, the outer face of which was one great sheet of mosaic work, mingled with large inscriptions in gilt. Above the archway was a square-topped mass of masonry containing rooms and passages of sorts, adding greatly to the height of the building. Beyond again or to the east of this archway was an enclosed courtyard some 60 to 80 yards square surrounded with corridors and rooms several stories in height, all faced with enamelled tile and mosaic work… The main entrance to the building lay through another massive archway, also some 80 feet in height… Four minarets some 120 feet in height form the four corners of the building and are still for the most part covered with tiles, though a good deal has been worn off by the weather, especially on the north by east, the side of the prevailing wind.[336]

In sum, the above descriptions of the great sites of Herat convey a sense of forlornness. They capture individual monuments without offering the corresponding sense of coherence these buildings were endowed with in Timurid times. Rather than vibrant institutions, the reader comes upon scattered architectural shells bereft of their former embeddedness in a corresponding social and political context. While these accounts bear witness to the longevity of the Timurid buildings and eagerly trace signs of former grandeur, they also document an ongoing process of deterioration.

As far as the *vilāyāt* of Herat are concerned, the European observers note regional differences. While the western lands adjoining Iranian territory bore the mark of repeated military altercations, the eastern and southeastern regions reportedly flourished. Towards the north, Bādghīs still lived up to its reputation as pasture ground and thus figured largely in British strategic considerations.

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[335] KR 225–6. See also ST 465–6; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 III, 1: 174; Kakar 1979: 107.

[336] C. E. Yate 1885: 1171–3; 1887b: 96–9. See also Samizay 1981: 96.

KURUKH

Despite its proximity to the city, Kurukh was not directly affected by the Iranian siege of Herat in 1837–1838. Nevertheless, the local governor sought to ingratiate himself with Muḥammad Shāh Qājār by sending loads of snow to the Qājār camp at the height of summer in 1838.[337] A year later, British observers reported Kurukh to be in a "comparatively flourishing condition" and to yield sufficient revenue for the upkeep of four hundred cavalry and four hundred infantry by the local governor.[338] In 1858, the products of horticulture and wool sold in Herat are mentioned as major sources of income.[339]

GHŪRIYĀN

In the early nineteenth century, Ghūriyān assumed a central position in the altercations between the Qājār government and the princes of Herat concerning their respective spheres of influence in eastern Khurāsān. In 1839, D'Arcy Todd summed up the shifting configurations of power as follows:

> Ghorian has been considered as one of the four velayuts [*vilāyat*], or counties of Herat, since the time of Ahmad Shah [Aḥmad Shāh], but it has often changed masters, and was for many years, about the beginning of this century, held as an independent possession of Eesa Khan, Karaee [Isḥāq Khān Qarāʾī, d. 1816], the celebrated chief of Toorbut [Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya]. On Eesa Khan's death, Ghorian was taken by Bunyad [Bunyād] Beg, Hazara, who kept it for about a year; after which it fell to Hajee Feerooz [Fīrūz al-Dīn Sadūzai], the Governor of Herat [1801–1818], who retained it for about a year.[340] On Hajee Feerooz being driven out of Herat by his brother Shah Mahmood [Shāh Maḥmūd], Ghorian was taken by the Persians, assisted by the Tymoorees [Tīmūrīs] under Ghillich Khān [Qilich Khān, d. 1822], by which chief Ghorian was held for about two years. It then fell into the hands of Mahomed Khan, Karaee [Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī], son of Eesa Khan above mentioned, who retained possession of it for four or five years, independent of either Persians or Afghans. On Mahomed Khan being seized by the Persian Governor of Khorasan [in 1833], Ghorian was attacked and taken by the rulers of Herat, in whose possession it remained until taken, in November 1837 by the Persians… The fortifications of Ghorian are of no great strength, but its position renders it of extreme importance to Herat. It is situated about forty miles to the west of the city, and commands the only road practicable for artillery, by which Herat can be approached from the west… The possession of Ghorian by the Persians is at present productive of great evil to the inhabitants of Herat, as it entirely prevents the importation of grain from the west and south-west, whence supplies might be obtained in considerable quantities.[341]

During the same period, the Russian lieutenant Blaramberg reported that the fort of Ghūriyān was square-shaped; each of its walls measured 400 feet and was equipped with towers and a double moat.[342] In 1844, Vazīr Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai destroyed the fort in order to secure the favor of Muḥammad Shāh Qājār.[343] When Khanikoff visited the region in September 1858, a new fort was under construction to the northeast of Ghūriyān.[344]

KŪSŪYA (KUHSĀN)

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Kūsūya was "one vast ruin" containing only four hundred inhabited houses. Passing through in June 1845, Ferrier observed that the local citadel apparently dated back to a much earlier period:

> The wall of the enceinte is open at several points, and its desolate appearance agrees with the tradition that the town has been rebuilt and destroyed many times; certain it is that the materials of which the citadel was constructed are very ancient—the burnt bricks, of a fine grain, being as hard as stone. The ditch that surrounds it is wide, deep and in good repair, and always full of

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337 Stoddart to McNeill, Herat, 16 August 1838 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/Vol. 1–Part 1 Appendix, p. 56).
338 Todd to Macnaghten, Herat, 2 October 1839 (IOL, L/PS/20/G10/3, p. 6).
339 Khanikoff 1864: 377.
340 Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn held Ghūriyān twice, from 1813–1814, and from 1816–1817. For a detailed account of the changing political configurations in the region, see the next chapter.
341 Todd to Macnaghten, 2 October 1839 (IOL, L/PS/20/G10/3 No. 4, p. 8).
342 Blaramberg 1841: 268, quoted in Tumanovich 1989: 225.
343 Ferrier 1857: 142.
344 Khanikoff 1864: 359.

> water; the foundations and a large proportion of the gates are of hewn stone, and were apparently constructed two or three thousand years ago.[345]

In Ferrier's opinion, the picturesque environs made up for the "melancholy and desolate appearance" of the town:

> [T]he banks of the Heri-rood [Harī Rūd] are admirably wooded for a distance of twelve parasangs [48 miles], both with copse and trees of large growth… The tamarisk rises above every other tree, and is the kind generally met with in Central Asia, more especially by the side of a river. That part of the forest which extends in a radius of two parasangs [eight miles] round Kussan [Kuhsān] has been preserved as the hunting-ground of the chiefs of Herat, and the game is collected here in prodigious quantities. Pheasants, black-cock, hares, grey partridges, and the very small kind called in Persian *tuyou*, are in abundance; also boars, deer, and the wild ass; carnivorous animals are also in great numbers, who here find ample rations.[346]

In September 1858, Khanikoff also mentioned the rich vegetation of large tamarisk, yew and plane trees around Kūsūya on the right bank of the Harī Rūd. He observed that the Harī Rūd carried very little water in this region and often disappeared altogether under sandbanks.[347]

BĀDGHĪS

Nineteenth-century accounts of Bādghīs identify Kurukh and Qalʿa-yi Nau as the constituent parts of Bādghīs. They further include Panjdih at the confluence of the Kushk Rūd and Murghāb river as part of Bādghīs, despite the fact that this region had formed part of the province of Murghāb in Timurid times. In 1885, Lumsden assigned a vast territory to Bādghīs and described it as comprising:

> the lands watered by the Murghab river, including the Kushk and all other tributaries, together with grazing lands extending from the Heri-rud [Harī Rūd] river on the west, to a day's journey for flocks to the east of the Murghab. In earlier times it included Yulatan [Yolotan], but since the time of Khivan supremacy… the tract of cultivation between Penjdeh [Panjdih] and Yulatan has remained fallow, and beyond the traces of early canals presents no vestige of former occupation, and has become desert. Penjdeh is the principal valley of Badghis, and may be described as that portion of it watered by an extensive system of canals, which formerly issued from the dam known as Band-i-Nadir [Band-i Nādir], some eight miles north of Maruchak [Mārūchāq] on the Murghab river.[348]

Another British report from this period found that the pasture grounds of Bādghīs were on a par with those of England and might serve the needs of the British cavalry as well. Yet at the time, there was hardly a trace left of the copious wood supply mentioned by Isfizārī:

> Badghis is a country of beautiful grassy downs, sloping gently to the northward. The soil of the valleys, and also of the high ground when near the hills, is exceedingly fertile and produces excellent crops of wheat and barley without irrigation. The grass in spring and early summer is magnificent, standing several feet high in the bottoms, sweet and good as English meadow grass and, like it, filled with wild flowers. The horses of the Afghan cavalry, and most of the horses in the Herat valley, are picketed out for several weeks in spring, during which they live on the grass, and nothing else. During April, May, and June all the cavalry would find grass in abundance in Badghis. After that the hot sun dries it up, but if cut in time and made into hay; a very large number of horses might be fed on it throughout the year. There are also places in the hills where there is good grass throughout the summer and well on into autumn. The rolling downs are perfectly bare of trees and even bushes. Only in eastern Badghis, where the country gets more hilly and broken, is wood found, and there, both in the Kushk and Kala Nao [Qalʿa-yi Nau] districts there are tracts covered with the pistachio tree (pistacia vera)… Juniper grows on the Band-i-Baba [Band-i Bāba], and is excellent firewood, but is too far off to be readily available as such. It is used for building, but pista (pistachio) is made use of as well in conjunction with the tamarisk and willow which occasionally grow along the larger streams.[349]

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345 Ferrier 1857: 140–1.
346 Ferrier 1857: 141.
347 Khanikoff 1864: 357.
348 Lumsden 1885: 565.
349 *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 37. See also Stewart 1883.

ISFIZĀR (SABZAVĀR-I HARĀT)

Nineteenth-century accounts generally portray Isfizār as a flourishing region but also note signs of decline. In the summer of 1833, Lal repeated a local saying, according to which Isfizār consisted of 300 walled villages, each of which was watered by 300 *kārīz*. Nonetheless, he concluded that the place was "not worth seeing":

> Sabzawar, the residence of Shahzadah Jalaluddin [Jalāl al-Dīn b. Kāmrān Sadūzai], is a very small place, fortified; there is a high structure, repaired by the prince for his family, and houses of the chiefs and common people numbered nearly sixty. The buildings are destroyed by the rain and snow, and have a very dismal appearance. The market is on Friday, when all bargains are managed by twenty Hindu merchants. 10,000 kharvars of corn is produce of the whole country of Sabzawar.[350]

Twelve years later, Ferrier attributed the "present wretched condition" of Isfizār to the fact that it had been the bone of contention between the principalities of Herat and Qandahār in the recent past.[351] In early 1859, Khanikoff reported that the town was situated in an elliptic plain extending from east to west which was bounded by the river Adraskan on the east, north and west, while mountain ridges rising beyond the river in the north, east and south provided additional barriers. The entire plain was irrigated by canals drawn from the Adraskan river and presented an "uninterrupted succession of rich pastures and cultivated fields" allowing a plentiful production of grain. The surrounding wall of the town was of a nearly square shape, with the northern and eastern wall measuring 260 and 211 paces respectively. One gate on the southern wall gave access to the town and the citadel located in its center. Consisting of a poor northern and a more densely populated southern quarter, Isfizār contained about four hundred houses. Khanikoff noted that the town was more or less deserted in the summer when its overwhelmingly nomadic population of Durrānī Afghāns, Zūrī and Tīmūrī *ūymāq* left for the mountains by force of habit rather than necessity. According to Khanikoff, the climate was generally considered salubrious and the summer heat never became intense.[352]

In the early twentieth century, Hamilton described Sabzavār-i Harāt as a bustling trade mart, containing nearly 800 shops. He attempts the following estimate of the population:

> The town is only a gathering place for the district which supports a number of villages and, together with the enveloping pasturage and a wide belt of cultivation, is inhabited by Nurzai Duranis [Nūrzai Durrānīs]. Each village is a small fort in itself and is surrounded by a high mud wall erected for purposes of security… in all there may be some 5000 households in the district, which may be apportioned into 4500 in the villages, 400 in the town, 100 in the fort, with a combined population of 12,000 souls.[353]

FARĀH

In Lal's opinion, Farāh was a forelorn and decrepit place in 1833. Located at the outer periphery of Kāmrān Sadūzai's sphere of power, this region was only loosely incorporated into the principality. At the same time, he notes a flourishing trade with Herat:

> Farah is said to be the oldest place in Afghanistan, and to have been built by Faredun, an ancient king, mentioned in the Shah-namah. It is surrounded by a high wall, and small ditch. There are three gates; one of them is blocked up with mud. The houses are very poor and dirty. The people looked harassed, and were vagabonds. Great part of the town was in ruins, and abounded with large tanks of dirty water. In a word, it is not worthy of notice… The inhabitants are all Afghans, and are never obedient to their governors… They pay annually some thing to their masters, according to their own will; for if they are required to obey order, they resist with swords in their hands. Farah is very hot in the summer, when the people are often attacked by fever, and die very soon. The winter is not cold. Snow seldom falls here, and when it does, it melts directly. The soil is very rich: wheat and other necessaries of life are exported to Herat, and sold at a great profit. Nadir Shah wrote to the king of Constantinople, that he

[350] Lal 1977: 171.
[351] Ferrier 1857: 265.
[352] Khanikoff 1864: 381–3.
[353] Hamilton 1910: 179.

> had recently possessed himself of a country, the earth of which killed his enemies, and was sold at a high price; that is, saltpetre, which is produced in considerable quantity in Farah, and makes a strong gunpowder; it is exported to Herat and other places.[354]

As with Isfizār, Ferrier held the rivalry between Herat and Qandahār responsible for the decline of Farāh. In particular, he quotes the deportation of the entire population of 6,000 persons to Qandahār during the Qājār siege of Herat in 1837–38, by means of which Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's ally Sardār Kuhandil Khān sought to create a diversion in aid of the Iranian army.[355]

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS AND BORDERS

In the early nineteenth century, the administrative divisions of Herat continued to reflect Timurid arrangements. The principality was still conceived of as the core oasis consisting of "districts" (*bulūk*) irrigated by the Harī Rūd and adjoining "counties" (*vilāyāt*). From the accounts of the time, Herat emerges as a miniature version of the former Timurid province. In the early 1820s, Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrvānī reported that seven irrigation channels were in use in the oasis proper.[356] A decade later, British-Indian travellers to the region mention eight *bulūk* and four *vilāyāt* but differ on the exact composition of the latter category. Conolly, who visited the region in 1830, mentions the *vilāyāt* of Auba (formerly Harāt-Rūd), Kurukh, Shāfilān, and Ghūriyān.[357] Lal, who passed through Herat in 1832, lists Auba, Kurukh, Isfizār, and Ghūriyān as the four constituent parts of the principality.[358] Conolly assigns a different status to Isfizār, Farāh, and Ghūr than the *vilāyāt*. Held as *tuyūl* by members of Kāmrān Sadūzai's immediate family, they yielded no taxes to the administration.

The *bulūk* listed by Conolly from west to east were Alanjān, Injīl, Khiyābān, Sabqar, and Ghūrvān-Pāshtān north of the Harī Rūd, and Udvān-Tīzān, Guzāra and Kamburāq south of the Harī Rūd. Despite the shrinkage of cultivable areas, the oasis of Herat was still famed for its fertility. Conolly provides the following statistics concerning the production of grain in the eight *bulūk*:

> [I]n these districts are four hundred and forty-six villages, eight large canals, which feed innumerable smaller ones, one hundred and twenty-three canauts *[qanāt],* and two thousand two hundred and eighty-eight ploughs. The gross produce of wheat and barley in the eight belooks, by the above calculation, amounts to more than sixty eight thousand six hundred [Tabrīz] khurwars… [O]f these, twenty-eight thousand are assigned to the crown, and the rest to the cultivators, except a tithe, which is set apart for seed.[359]

Conolly estimated that the *vilāyāt* yielded another 30,000 Tabrīz *kharvār*. Yet from Ghūriyān, only 500 out of a total estimated harvest of 10,000 Tabrīz *kharvār* were at the disposal of the administration of Herat. Conolly attributed the reduced flow of revenues to the independent status of the local governor, Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai's half brother Shīr Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai. Moreover, he indicated that the state of unrest prevailing in the region had a negative impact on the proceeds from trade:

> Formerly the country of Ghourian sent in much money and grain, but of late years it has suffered from the inroads of the Toorkmuns [Turkmens], and there has been a great falling off in the duties which were once levied upon the passing trade. When we were at Heraut, the government of Ghourian was held by a brother of sirdar Yar Mohummud Khan, protected by whom, it was said, he generally gave a very Flemish account of his receipts.[360]

During the 1830s, the eastern subdivisions of the province were assigned to close relations of Kāmrān Sadūzai. At the time of Conolly's visit to the region, Kāmrān's brother-in-law Shams al-Dīn Khān held Farāh as a service grant in exchange for furnishing 3,000 cavalry to Herat.[361] In 1833, he governed Anār

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354 Lal 1977: 175–6.
355 Ferrier 1857: 394.
356 *Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 419.
357 Conolly 1834 II: 7.
358 Lal 1834: 10; Lal 1977: 158, 165.
359 Conolly 1834 II: 6–7.
360 Conolly 1834 II: 8.
361 Conolly 1834 II: 11, 67.

Darra. At that time, the Sadūzai princes Jahāngīr, Saif al-Mulūk and Jalāl al-Dīn b. Kāmrān were in charge of Farāh, Ghūr and Isfizār.[362] Within a decade, however, the real authority in the eastern regions shifted to relations or dependents of Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai. Furthermore, the Vazīr's relatives controlled the western subdivisions directly. His younger brother Shīr Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai governed Ghūriyān. His paternal cousin Dīn Muḥammad Alakūzai b. ʿAṭā Muḥammad Khān was in charge of Kurukh and used the local revenues to keep up a body of 400 cavalry.[363]

From the enumeration of the regions subservient to Herat, the borders of the principality can be deduced. On the road to Mashhad, the village of Rūzanak north of Ghūriyān was considered the western outpost of the principality. Towards the east, Kāmrān Sadūzai's authority extended 224 miles on the road to Qandahār.[364] Farāh constituted the easternmost possession of Herat, and nineteenth-century sources describe the Khāsh Rūd as the border between the provinces of Qandahār and Herat. On the north, Herat was bounded by the possessions of Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra.[365] In the south, Lāsh-Juvain was beyond the purview of the Herat government. Sīstān formally acknowledged the supremacy of Herat in 1818 but broke away under the leadership of the Sarbandī and Shahrakī tribes in 1834.

After the Iranian siege of 1837–38, it took a while until Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai regained the territories lost to the Qājārs. On 31 March 1841, the Iranian government gave in to British pressure and evacuated Ghūriyān.[366] In 1845, Ferrier listed six provinces that could furnish a total of 45,000 troops: Ghūriyān, Kurukh, Auba, Isfizār, Farāh, and Bakvā.[367] In the following years, Yār Muḥammad Khān was able to extend his sphere of influence considerably. In the course of his campaigns against the Hazāras of Qalʿa-yi Nau and the Tāymanīs, he successfully expanded the Herat territory northwards to include the lands on the left bank of the middle course of the Murghāb river.[368] Activities in a westerly direction soon followed. Ḥasan Khān Sālār's occupation of Mashhad from fall 1848 to March 1850 provided an opportunity for Yār Muḥammad Khān to insert himself into the affairs of Qājār Khurāsān. Apart from rendering active assistance to the ousted Qājār governor Ḥamza Mīrzā, he occupied Khvāf and Turbat-i Shaikh Jām in an alleged attempt to displace the rebels from these areas. In January 1850, he requested that the Qājār government recompense him for his efforts by either paying 60,000 *tūmān* or awarding Khvāf and Turbat-i Shaikh Jām to him. Apparently, neither proposition was taken up by the Qājārs.[369] During the last year of his life, Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai attempted to bring the southern territory of Lāsh-Juvain into the fold of his government. Governed by Isḥāqzai Durrānī *khāns*, this region was also claimed by the Qandahār Sardārs, who made their presence felt there with Iranian backing in 1267/1850–51.[370] Yār Muḥammad Khān accomplished his goal of conquering Lāsh but subsequently died on his way back to Herat in June 1851.[371] Immediately after Yār Muḥammad Khān's death, an Iranian envoy listed a number of governors in the western border region of Herat, all of whom were relatives of the deceased ruler: Yār Muḥammad Khān's cousin by his paternal aunt (*ʿammazāda*) Dādū Khān was in charge of Kūhistān-i Herat near Rūzanak; his

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362 Lal 1977: 162–4, 172; NT 710. When Lal passed through Sabzavār-i Harāt in August 1833, he was received by Jalāl al-Dīn's deputy governor Mullā Karīm (Lal 1977: 171). In Farāh he met the local deputy governor Salīm Khān, "a negro slave of the king" (Lal 1977: 174).

363 The only check on Yār Muḥammad Khān's influence were the so-called *dāvṭalab* ("volunteers"), a Durrānī force which had been created by Tīmūr Shāh (D'Arcy Todd to Macnaghten, 2 October 1839 (IOL, L/PS/20/G 10/3 No. 4, pp. 5–9); Lal 1977: 163).

364 Conolly 1834 II: 44–5.

365 Forrest 1906: 36; D'Arcy Todd to Macnaghten, 2 October 1839 (IOL, L/PS/20/G 10/3 No. 4, p. 10).

366 Champagne 1981: 211, 231.

367 Ferrier 1857:183

368 Lee 1996: 205; Vámbéry 1864: 259–60.

369 Champagne 1981: 268–9; T Su 286–7.

370 In Ṣafar 1267/December 1850–January 1851, the Iranian Prime Minister Mīrzā Taqī Khān Amīr Kabīr ordered Sardār Kuhandil Khān of Qandahār to create security in Lāsh-Juvain on behalf of the Qājār government. As a reward for his services, the Qājār government appointed Mihrdil Khān as governor of Lāsh-Juvain (Ādamiyat 1982: 631). According to Sulṭān Muḥammad, Shīr ʿAlī b. Mihrdil Khān received lands in Lāsh from the local leadership at that time (T Su 287).

371 Yār Muḥammad Khān allegedly succumbed to an illness caused by a meal of cucumbers and sour milk. After his death, Lāsh-Juvain once again slipped from the control of Herat (T Su 287).

grandnephew by his sister, Ghulām Qādir Khān b. Amīr Khān governed Shakībān (Shakīvān); Ghulām Qādir Khān's brother Ghulām Jabbār Khān Qullarāqāsī held Ghūriyān.[372]

The Qājār campaign against Herat from April to October 1856 brought about territorial losses and prepared the ground for the Muḥammadzai takeover of Herat in 1863. Concurrent with the occupation of Herat, the Qājār army conquered Lāsh-Juvain but was compelled by the British to evacuate it on 29 March 1858.[373] Already in 1856, the Muḥammadzais of Kābul began to make inroads in the territory of Herat. On 30 October 1856, five days after the fall of Herat to the Persians, Dūst Muḥammad Khān's son Ghulām Ḥaidar Khān gained control of Farāh. From 1860 on, Muḥammadzai pressure on Herat increased. Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān demanded a share of the taxes of Anār Darra and Qalʿa-yi Kāh located northwest of Isfizār.[374] In 1861, ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Khān Tāymanī's intervention with the affairs of Farāh caused the newly appointed Muḥammadzai governor of Farāh, Pusht-i Rūd and Girishk, Muḥammad Sharīf b. Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān, to engage in military activities against Ghūr. In an effort to retain control over the region, the Herati ruler Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān sent his wife (a sister of Sardār Muḥammad Sharīf Khān) and his son to negotiate for the possession of Taivāra and Sākhar. Nevertheless, Sardār Muḥammad Sharīf continued with his military campaign to Ghūr and displaced ʿAbd al-Ghafūr from Taivāra.[375] At that point, one of the recently unseated Qandahār Sardārs, Mīr Afẓal Khān Muḥammadzai, convinced Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān to conquer Farāh while Sardār Muḥammad Sharīf Khān was busy in Ghūr. The occupation of Farāh by Herati troops in March 1862 triggered Dūst Muḥammad Khān's campaign against Herat and its conquest on 27 May 1863.[376]

With its incorporation into the Muḥammadzai state, Herat became one of the four provinces (*vilāyāt*) in Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān's realm. The other three provinces were Kābul, Qandahār, and Afghan Turkistān.[377] During Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān's reign, Herat was governed by a number of members of the ruling Muḥammadzai family. As mentioned above, his son Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Khān served as governor in 1863–1868 and 1871–1874. From 1869 to 1871, Shīr ʿAlī Khān's nephew Sardār Fatḥ Muḥammad Khān b. Muḥammad Akbar Khān was in charge of the administration of Herat. After Muḥammad Ayūb Khān's rebellion in December 1874, the Amīr's troops took possession of Herat on 19. January 1875.[378] Until 1293/1876, Ishīk Āqāsī Shīrdil Khān Bārakzai (d. 1878) and Mustaufī Mīrzā Ḥabībullāh Khān Vardak

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372 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 28–9.

373 Champagne 1981: 418–19, 423; Taylor 1858c: 949.

374 Champagne 1981: 433.

375 ST 238; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 75–6.

376 ST 240–1; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 79–82. According to another account, it was ʿAbd al-Ghafūr who persuaded Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān to annex Farāh (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 409). See also Champagne 1981: 436–7; *Ḥayāt-i afghānī* 457–8; *Gulshan-i imārat* 25–26.

377 Kakar 1979: 49; Vámbéry 1864: 244–5. In the 1870s, the outlines of these provinces underwent a number of changes. The province of Kābul included the southern towns of Qalāt-i Ghilzai and Ghaznī, the eastern city of Jalālābād and the central regions of Bāmiyān, Yak Aulang and Dāy Zangī (*Gaz. Afghanistan VI*: 1, 4, 60). Shīr ʿAlī Khān's sphere of influence in Turkistān expanded with the conquests of Badakhshān in 1873 and Maimana in 1876 (Ghubār 1981: 596; *Gulshan-i imārat* 170–1; ST 304–5, 335–6; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 200, 256–7; PM II: 84–5, 87, 100, 105; KD 8–14 January 1869 (NAI, For. Pol. A. February 1869 Nos. 178–9); KD 1–4 July 1870 (NAI, For. Pol. A August 1870 No. 158); KD 28–31 July 1876 (NAI, For. Sec. September 1876 No. 56)). The administrational border of Qandahār province changed significantly. After the conquest of Herat in 1863, Farāh was formally incorporated into Qandahār province. Nevertheless, the local governor continued to render accounts separately from Qandahār and possibly enjoyed greater powers than the governors of Qandahār, who had to delegate revenue matters to officials appointed by Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān from 1871 on (St. John 1879). The districts of Girishk and Zamīndāvar were separated from the province of Qandahār and were likewise treated as distinct administrative units (KD 8–10 November 1870 (NAI, For. Pol. A December 1870 No. 409); KD 1–4 December 1871 (NAI, For. Sec. January 1872 No. 33)). Under Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the province of Kābul expanded at the cost of other districts. Afghan Turkistān was subdivided into the provinces of Maimana, Turkistān, and Badakhshān and was placed within the administrative jurisdiction of Kābul (ST 687; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 III, 2: 597–8; Kakar 1979: 49). Farāh, Girishk, Zamīndāvar and Chakhānsūr were likewise subsumed within the administration of Kābul (Kakar 1979: 49).

378 IOL, L/PS/7/2 Pt. III No. 11 of 5 March 1875, p. 1433.

served as governors of Herat.[379] In 1876, Muḥammad ʿUmar b. Muḥammad ʿAẓīm Khān, the brother of the former Herati ruler Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān, was appointed to the government of Herat and held the post until 1879.[380] Under Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān, Herat was governed by the Muḥammadzai Sardār ʿAbd al-Quddūs b. Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān (1881–1882),[381] Muḥammad Sarvar Khān (1882–1887),[382] and Qāżī Saʿd al-Dīn Khān Vakīl al-Daula (1887–1904).[383]

From the 1860s on, Kuhsān (Kūsūya) northwest of Ghūriyān was considered the last Afghan duty station on the way to Iran. All the available reports indicate that the Afghan border was separated from the Iranian territory by a stretch of no man's land. In 1863, Vámbéry gave the following description of Afghanistan's western frontier:

> From this point [Kuhsān] to the Persian frontier, which commences at Kahriz [Kārīz] and Taybad [Tāybād], lies a district without claimant or owner, over which from north to south as far as Khaf [Khvāf] , Kaïn [Qāyin], and even Bihrdjan [Bīrjand], the Tekke [Teke], Salor, and Sarik [Sarïq] send forth their Alamans: these, consisting of hundreds of riders, fall unawares upon villages and hurry off with them into captivity, inhabitants and herds of cattle.[384]

While the exact demarcation of the border between Afghanistan and Iran was still pending, no major changes occurred in its broad outlines after 1863. The description given by Napier in 1874 shows that there was a general understanding of the division of the territories. North of Kuhsān, the border was thought to coincide with the lower course of the Harī Rūd along a stretch of roughly one hundred miles that was devoid of bridges. Towards the south, the border ran,

> undefined and unguarded, into the great expanse of desert, stretching from Subzwar to the borders of Ghain [Qāyin]… till the border of Lash Jouven [Lāsh-Juvain] is reached… This part of the frontier line being so well protected by nature, it is perhaps unnecessary that it should be watched.[385]

The demarcation of the border between Afghanistan and Iran was forced by the temporary Iranian occupation of the Dasht-i Hashtādān in 1885.[386] In December 1889, the region was divided through the arbitration of C. S. MacLean, who then served as British consul general for Khurāsān and Sīstān.[387] MacLean's settlement concerning Hashtādān highlighted the difficulty of creating sharply defined boundaries in a setting characterized by marginal government presence and loose allegiances. Thus, neither the Iranian nor the Afghan government were able to provide MacLean with documentary proof that they were entitled to the lands at stake.[388] In the following two years, the 66-km stretch in question was demarcated by 39 boundary posts. The 400 km-long southern stretch of the border extending between Hashtādān and Sīstān remained undefined until the twentieth century. It was delimited by a Turkish commission in 1934–1935 by the erection of a total of 48 boundary posts. The role of the lower course of the Harī Rūd as boundary between Afghanistan and Iran was apparently never called into question.[389]

Towards the north, the extent of the Muḥammadzai possessions was more vaguely defined. As mentioned above, the lands up to the confluence of the Murghāb river and the Kushk Rūd had been incorporated into the principality of Herat in the late 1840s. The regions further north along the lower course of the Murghāb,

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379 ST 333–4; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 253–5.

380 KD 22–25 September 1876, NAI, For. Sec. A. November 1876 No. 12; MA 4 August 1877, NAI, For. Sec. April 1878 No. 33A.

381 KR 12.

382 KR 215; ST 404–5, 465, 483; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 III, 1: 52, 172, 208; *Correspondence respecting the Demarcation of the N.W. Frontier of Afghanistan from the Hari Rūd to the Oxus, 1884–86*, IOL, L/PS/18/A53 Pt. 4, p. 9.

383 KR 5, 11, 226, 253; ST 536, 1085; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 III, 1: 311; III, 3: 1371; Balland,"Boundaries III. Boundaries of Afghanistan," *E.Ir*. IV: 408.

384 Vámbéry 1864: 288. In the 1870s, a number of British travellers confirmed that Kuhsān was the Afghan border post and that the Iranian territory commenced at Kārīz (Marvin 1884: 67, 159; Napier 1875: 217–18). See also KR 171.

385 Napier 1875: 218.

386 Kakar 2006: 212.

387 Balland, "Boundaries III. Boundaries of Afghanistan," *E.Ir.* IV: 412, 414.

388 ST 596–7, 603–4; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 III, 1: 429–30, 441–3.

389 Balland, "Boundaries III. Boundaries of Afghanistan," *E.Ir.* IV: 412, 414. See Kreutzmann (1997) for the delineation of the borders.

by contrast, formed a "terrain vague" of shifting Turkmen configurations. The northern stretch of the border was defined and demarcated between 1884 and 1888 by a joint Russian-British delegation to become known as the Afghan Boundary Commission (ABC). Early on into the proceedings, Peter S. Lumsden, the head of the British mission, noted that defining a border in the region north of Herat posed conceptual problems. Although there were sufficient historical precedents to prove that the lands occupied by the *ūymāq* belonged to Afghanistan, he observed that it was difficult to delineate a border in a setting where proprietary rights did not necessarily translate into corresponding notions of space. Lumsden's account of the circumstances in Bādghīs highlights the tenuous nature of sovereignty and local allegiance. The *ūymāq* had traditionally acknowledged the sovereignty of Herat, he noted, except in times of crisis. Furthermore, he adverted that Herat's hold over the region

> has principally been a feudal one, consequently, it is not to be expected that an exact boundary of state jurisdiction should be found, especially when it is considered that the population is a nomad one, and that, save in the case of the Kushk and Murghab valleys, the whole of the ground has been used for pasturing only.[390]

The Tsarist government, on its part, assumed a more activist stance in the creation of boundaries. Before the Afghan Boundary Commission settled down to business, Russian troops occupied a number of strategic regions, thus strengthening Russian positions in the subsequent negotiations. As a result, Pul-i Khātūn and Panjdih passed to Russian control. After prolonged negotiations, the demarcation began near the Dahana-yi Dhū al-Faqār and then proceeded to Khamyāb on the Āmū Daryā. The process of delineation, in the course of which a total of 79 boundary posts were set up, lasted from November 1885 to January 1888.[391]

STAKING CLAIMS: THE PORTRAYAL OF AFGHĀN-QĀJĀR ENCOUNTERS IN PERSIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

So far, this chapter has been concerned with the practical implications of the delineations of the Iranian and Afghan spheres of influence around Herat. In the following, I will attempt to gauge the extent to which the political developments were taken up in the Persian sources of the time. The production of Iranian historiography reached its high point in the mid-1850s, coinciding with Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's final attempt to incorporate Herat into the Qājār state. Seen in this light, it is perhaps not surprising that many authors focus on ancient Iranian rights to far-flung lands and seem somewhat reluctant to take ongoing territorial losses into account. However, the persistent notion of extensive Iranian possessions in the east is no less remarkable given the notable inability of Qājār rulers to extend their military and administrative presence beyond the core regions of the province in a significant manner. What is more, one identifies a gap between formal notions of entitlement and concrete knowledge about the regions claimed. The lack of information about the areas targeted was acutely felt by the Qājār rulers during the campaigns to Herat in 1837–38 and 1856. On the eve of the first expedition to Herat, Muḥammad Shāh Qājār, for example, attempted to make up for this shortfall by charging his envoy to Qandahār, Qanbar ʿAlī Khān, with the task of gathering detailed intelligence concerning the regions beyond Kirmān.[392]

One good example for the reiteration of an inclusive sense of Iranian territorial entitlement is Mīrzā Faẓlullāh Shīrāzī, who undertook to describe the territory of Iran around 1250/1834–35. In the introduction to his *Dhū al-qarnain*, he portrays this "extensive country" (*mamlakat-i vasīʿ al-misāḥat*) to have traditionally stretched from the Caucasus, including the furthest limits of Dāghistān and Georgia in the north, to Kirmān and the Indian Ocean in the south. The eastern and western reaches of this territory are defined by the Oxus and the Tigris. Among the sixteen provinces of Iran, Shīrāzī identifies Ghaznīn and Khurāsān as the easternmost possessions and delineates the extent of each province by enumerating the principal constituent cities, each of which was replete with historical associations. The ensuing lists of provinces and towns

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[390] Lumsden to Granville, 27 January 1885 (IOL, L/PS/18/A 53 part 3, p. 11).

[391] KR 218–20; Balland, "Boundaries III. Boundaries of Afghanistan," *E.Ir.* IV: 408.

[392] McNeill to Palmerston, Tehran, 30 December 1836; Instructions from the Persian Government to Qanbar ʿAlī Khān (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1 No. 49, p. 43; enclosure 9 in No. 51, p. 56).

creates a sense of timeless territorial integrity. He states that Ghaznīn comprises the towns of Farāh, Sabzāra [Isfizār], Qandahār, Balkh, and Ghaznīn. The list of towns making up Khurāsān is even more impressive: "Herat, Marv-i Shāhījān, Ṭūs, that is, holy Mashhad, Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya, Turshīz, Qūchān (known as Khabūshān), Buzūnjird [Bujnūrd], Kalāt, Darra Jazain [Darra Gaz], Tūn, Ṭabas, Bīrjand, Nīshāpūr, Sabzavār, Bisṭām, Jājarm, Juvain, Dāmghān, Simnān, and Mazīnān."[393]

Yet there also were differing voices. Mīrzā Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrvānī makes a clear distinction between the ancient province of Khurāsān, extending a month's journey from east to west, and the actual scope of Qājār control. He agrees that the first Safavid ruler Shāh Ismāʿīl I (r. 1501–1524) freed Khurāsān from the control of strangers, i.e., the Uzbeks. Yet he also points out that this formerly vast expanse had disintegrated into a number of independent realms in the second half of the eighteenth century:

> From the time of the decline of the Nadirid kingdom until now (1237/1827), the princes of that territory have built up tribal kingdoms (*mulūk al-ṭavāyif*) and no one bows his head in obedience to the other. Early on, the Qājārs established control over [the region between] Bisṭām and Mashhad; beyond, the Afghāns rule over Herat and its dependencies. [This also holds true for] the Uzbeks in Balkh and its districts, the Afshārs in Andkhūd and Shibarghān, the Jalāyir tribe in Kalāt, the ruler of Bukhārā in Marv and its dependencies, the Turkmens in Sarakhs and Bādghīs, the Arabs in Qāyin, the Kayanids in Sīstān, the Hazāras in Bākharz, the Kurdish tribes in Khabūshān, the Qarāʾī in Turbat [Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya], the Khuzaima tribes in Ṭabas, the Ghurid Maliks in Gharjistān, the group of Mask [?] in Khulm, another tribe (*qaum*) of Hazāras in the mountains of Herat, and another group of Turkmens in Nasā and Abīvard. There are many others in various nooks and corners who do not submit to anybody.[394]

The Qājār preoccupation with the need to reclaim Iranian territories raises the question of how the changing political realities in Herat entered the historical discourse. Early chronicles like *Dhū al-qarnain* loosely refer to the eastern territories of Khurāsān as the "Afghān region" *(diyār-i afghān)*[395], the "Afghān region/province" (*vilāyat-i afghān*),[396] or the "Afghān kingdom" (*salṭanat-i afghān*).[397] From the 1850s on, however, the concept of "Afghānistān" emerges in the official historiography. Writing in 1273/1856–57, the Iranian official Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana was the first author to include the name of Afghanistan in the title of his work. The definition he furnishes in the introduction to his *Tārīkh-i vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ-i Afghānistān* essentially confirms the sentiments most commonly expressed with regard to this territorial and political entity. From the Iranian point of view, Afghanistan occupied the distant eastern margins of the historically grown empire but was by no means entitled to a separate political identity. By including Kashmīr and Pishāvar in the Afghan dominions, the author apparently refers not so much to the contemporary Afghan state but to the scope formerly under Sadūzai control:

> Afghānistān is an extensive country. According to the delimitation of the European [authors], it measures 1,000 miles from east to west and 700 miles from north to south. This country extends from Kashmīr to the plain of Herat, and the Europeans call it 'Eastern Iran', as it has continuously formed a part of Iran and has been subordinate to its rulers. Its major cities are Herat, Kābul, Pishāvar, Qandahār, Kashmīr, Balkh and Ghaznī.[398]

Hidāyat's *Tārīkh-i raużat al-ṣafā-yi nāṣirī* epitomizes the incipient incorporation of Aghanistan into the historical narrative. In the context of the Qājār conquest of Herat in 1856, the author offers an overview of the history of the region drawing on the works of Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana and Lisān al-Mulk. Hidāyat introduces the lengthy chapter by pointing out that "the account of the events in eastern Khurāsān calls for the

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393 *Dhū al-qarnain* 13–14.

394 *Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 146. Shīrvānī's survey of the land, population and history of Khurāsān was integrated into Hidāyat's account of Āqā Muḥammad's campaign to Khurāsān in 1210/1796. Interestingly, Hidāyat leaves out all information that could cast doubt on Āqā Muḥammad's absolute authority. Thus, he omits the above list of more or less independent groups in the region and contents himself with the observation that Khurāsān passed to the descendants of Nādir Shāh in the second half of the eighteenth century (TRSN IX: 277).

395 *Dhū al-qarnain* 137, 172.

396 *Dhū al-qarnain* 94, 138.

397 *Dhū al-qarnain* 173.

398 *Vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ* 24–5.

description of the origin and branches of the Afghāns and of the country of Afghānistān."[399] Yet in the subsequent historical outline he shows a clear preference for the historical geographical expression of "Zābulistān" as the designation of the Afghān homeland.[400]

The changing profile of territorial concepts can best be traced on the basis of a number of historical junctures exemplifying competing notions of political authority. These crucial moments in history were Āqā Muḥammad Khān Qājār's conquest of Mashhad in 1210/1796, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's campaign in Khurāsān in 1214–15/1800 and Nāʾib al-Salṭana's preparation for a campaign against Herat in 1248/1832–33. All the available historical accounts employ a specific dramaturgy to highlight the critical nature of these encounters, which are portrayed as written and verbal interchanges between Iranian and Afghan rulers concerning their respective spheres of influence. These dialogues mark the corner stones of the historical narrative and endow it with a specific rhythm. Recounted and embellished by the Iranian historians, they form the set pieces of the evolving Persian historiography of the mid-nineteenth century. They reflect the Qājār endeavor to root territorial claims in the past and illustrate that the sense of ownership over the entire historical province of Khurāsān remained alive well into the nineteenth century. As will be seen below, the notion of Afghanistan gradually enters the accounts of these historical snapshots.

PRELUDE: ĀQĀ MUḤAMMAD ENTERS KHURĀSĀN

One example of the evolving historical script is furnished by Āqā Muḥammad Khān's assertion of his territorial claims against his Manghīt and Sadūzai antagonists, and the renderings it receives in the chronicles of the mid-nineteenth century. While earlier historians remain silent on the repercussions of Āqā Muḥammad Khān's conquest of Mashhad in 1210/1796, both Hidāyat and Lisān al-Mulk frame this event as a revival of Safavid grandeur. According to these accounts, Āqā Muḥammad was not content with conquering Mashhad; he also reclaimed the ancient Iranian possessions of Balkh, Herat and Marv. Lisān al-Mulk does not comment on the immediate outcome of Āqā Muḥammad's initiative; he merely states that:

> He sent Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Qarāguzlū as a messenger to Shāh Zamān, the successor of Tīmūr Shāh Afghān, who held the government of Kābul and Afghānistān at the time, and entrusted a kind letter to him. [In this letter] he conveyed the happy news of his conquest of Khurāsān and requested that he [Shāh Zamān] withdraw his officials from Balkh, which constitutes part of the Iranian territories [*ki juzv-i mamālik-i Īrān ast*], and submit it to the representatives of His Majesty.[401]

Hidāyat compares Āqā Muḥammad Khān's success in ordering the affairs of these provinces with the most brilliant phases of Safavid administration, thus establishing a linkage between the Qājār efforts at state building and well-known historical precedents. Interestingly, Hidāyat endows Āqā Muḥammad Khān with the right to a wide range of territories which not even his most illustrious forebears ever controlled in their entirety. In a letter to the Bukharan Amīr Shāh Murād (r. 1785–1800), Āqā Muḥammad Khān protested recent Uzbek interference with the affairs of Marv and Balkh and took the opportunity to stake out his territorial claims:

> It is not necessary to recount the history of the previous Safavid rulers from Shāh Ismāʿīl I and the contemporaries of Muḥammad Khān Shībānī Uzbek down to Nādir Shāh and the Uzbek Abū al-Khair Khān [Abū al-Faiż Khān?]. I know and you know what has happened. It is evident that Balkh-i Bāmī, Marv-i Shāhījān, Zamīndāvar, Sīstān, Qandahār, and Kābul have [always] belonged to the realm of the Iranian kings [*mulk-i pādshāhān-i Īrān*].

According to Hidāyat's version of events, Āqā Muḥammad Khān exhorted Shāh Murād to content himself with his historical possessions. On his part, the Qājār leader graciously undertook to honor the long-standing borders (*ḥudūd, sunūr, thughūr*) of Iran and not to venture beyond the Oxus (*Āb-i Jaiḥūn*).[402]

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399 *Chūn dar bayān-i vaqāyiʿ-i Khurāsān-i mashriqī az dhikr-i aṣl u farʿ-i afāghina va tashrīḥ-i bilād afghānistān guzīrī nīst īnak mujmalī marqūm mīgardad* (TRSN X: 652).

400 TRSN X: 654–5.

401 NT 81.

402 TRSN IX: 283.

Hidāyat also recounts the mission of Muḥammad Khān Qarāguzlū to the court of Shāh Zamān. He reports that Shāh Zamān immediately complied with Āqā Muḥammad Khān's territorial demands and confirmed the cessation of Balkh to the Qājārs. What is more, his brother Maḥmūd Mīrzā, the governor of Herat, readily acknowledged the fact that his province had been a dependency (*żamīma*) of Iran for many years during the Safavid period and asserted his readiness to be counted among the governors and appointees of the [present] Iranian king. Yet Āqā Muḥammad Shāh's plan to emulate the Safavid mode of administration by appointing his own governors to Balkh-i Bāmī, Marv-i Shāhījān and Herat was cut short by the need to protect Azerbaijan from Russian intervention.[403]

THE DRAMA UNFOLDS: FATḤ ʿALĪ SHĀH'S CAMPAIGN TO KHURĀSĀN IN 1214–15/1800

The ensuing exchanges between Shāh Zamān Sadūzai and Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Qājār over the possession of Khurāsān likewise present a crucial moment in Persian historiography and bring the evolving notions of territoriality into focus. The available accounts of two Afghan missions to the Qājār court prior and during Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's second campaign to Khurāsān provide insights into different historiographic styles. They also bear witness to the fact that the term "Afghānistān" as a political entity entered the discourse relatively late. Writing in 1236/1821, Dunbulī gives a terse report of the message Shāh Zamān's envoy Ṭurra Bāz Khān Pūpalzai submitted to the court on the occasion of his first visit:

> The substance of his message and the gist of his undeveloped thought was as follows: Neither should Shāh Zamān leave the path of obedience, nor should the world-conquering emperor mount his steed and set his boundless army into motion toward Khurāsān. This request covered the king's sun-like soul with the dust of indignation. The royal countenance turned away from accepting this petition and the resolve to move against Khurāsān was carried out.[404]

When Ṭurra Bāz Khān rejoined the royal camp near Sabzavār, he bore a more submissive message on behalf of the Sadūzai ruler. Shāh Zamān readily acknowledged Qājār supremacy and offered to induce the rebellious leadership of Sabzavār and Nīshāpūr to give up their resistance:

> A handful of base people and a few low persons, who, fearing [royal] retribution for their treason, are hiding behind the walls of Khurāsān, are neither fit to combat the king, powerful as heaven, nor able to resist his boundless army. If the compassionate sovereign should accept the mediation of this well-wisher…, [he] will, when the victorious reins have been turned towards the capital, send them to the heaven-like court, soothed by royal favors and without resistance.[405]

In the 1830s, Fażlullāh Shīrāzī highlights the differing views on Khurāsān by introducing the conceptual contradistinction between the "regions [properly] belonging to Iran" (*vilāyāt-i mutaʿalliqa ba-daulat-i Īrān*) and those "occupied by the Afghāns" (*vilāyāt-i mutaṣarrifī-yi afghān*). According to his account, Shāh Zamān aspired to a separate but clearly subordinate position as the "younger brother" of the Qājār king:

> At the behest of Shāh Zamān and dispatched by his Prime Minister Vafādār Khān, Ṭurra Bāz Khān Afghān arrived in the capital for a meeting with Ḥājjī Ibrāhīm Khān Iʿtimād al-Daula… In short, his message was as follows: 'The domain (*mamlakat*) of Khurāsān, because of its neighborship with the regions occupied by the Afghāns, should suitably remain in the possession of Shāh Zamān, while the other provinces (*mamālik*) of Iran shall belong to the King of kings, powerful as heaven. Because Shāh Zamān does not [wish to] interfere with the other provinces of Iran, His Majesty shall also refrain from moving against Khurāsān. [The King] shall consider Shāh Zamān his younger brother and leave the entire domain of Khurāsān to him.'… He received the following answer: 'The goal of the departure of the victorious standards for Khurāsān is not only to [restore] order in Khurāsān;

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403 TRSN IX: 284–5.

404 Dunbulī 60. See also Brydges 1973: 106.

405 *[M]ushtī furūmāyagān va lakhtī bīpāyagān-rā ki az bīm-i jān va mujāzāt-i khiyānat harāsān va dar pusht-i divārhā-yi Khurāsān pinhān-and na liyāqat-i sitīz-i shahryār-i gardūn-tavān ast va na ṭāqat u tavān dar pīsh dar pā-yi lashkar-i bī-karān. Agar khadīv-i marḥamat-kīsh shafāʿat-i īn khairandīsh-rā qabūl farmāyad… īn nīkkhvāh baʿd az inʿiṭāf-i ʿinān-i ẓafar ba-jānib-i takhtgāh īshān-rā ba-ālṭāf-i shāhāna dil-āsā va bī-ikrāh ravāna-yi dargāh-i gardūn-ishtibāh khvāhad sākht* (Dunbulī 63). See also Brydges 1973: 120.

its general aim is to free all the regions belonging to Iran from foreign occupation. Now the campaign to Jarūd [?], Qandahār and Kābul has been determined and the decision of this conversation can only be settled by brandishing the fire-like sword.[406]

Shīrāzī further agrees with Dunbulī that Shāh Zamān assumed a more compliant tone in his second message to Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. On this occasion, the Sadūzai king readily conceded the Qājār entitlement to Khurāsān by heritage and by merit. Furthermore, he accepted the subordinate position of his own, acquired regions, referring to them as a worthless backyard of the Qājār domain.[407]

In Hidāyat's version of events, Shāh Zamān's purported endeavor to hold on to the divisions of power prevalent during the Zand/Sadūzai period likewise met with an indignant reaction. The author adds a slightly different emphasis to the verbal exchange by focusing on the importance of the Safavid legacy. Furthermore, he introduces an emotional note by portraying the region as Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's ancestral resting place:

We will now reconquer Herat, Marv, Balkh, Kābul, Qandahār, Bust, Qaṣdār,[408] Sīstān and Zamīndāvar, which were dependencies (*iżāfāt va mulḥaqāt*) of the exalted government of Iran under Safavid rule, from their [present] usurpers. Khurāsān itself is the ancient home of our fathers and forefathers.[409] If Khurāsān were not part of Iran, how could it be that the grave of our great ancestor is located near Ṭūs, a fact that is well known in Turkey and Russia alike? [410]

Writing in the 1880s, Ḥasan Ḥusainī Fasāʾī closely follows Shīrāzī's portrayal of the exchanges between the Qājār court and Shāh Zamān but unhesitatingly identifies the domain of the Sadūzai king as "Afghānistān".[411] The Iranian historiography thus largely agrees on the reasoning behind Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's second campaign to Khurāsān and the sequence of events. All of the aforementioned sources display a striking contrast between the inclusive territorial claims put forward and actual military scope. With the exception of Hidāyat, the authors attribute Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's decision to break his camp before Sabzavār and to call off the siege of Nīshāpūr to the formal Sadūzai submission conveyed by Ṭurra Bāz Khān during his second visit. Yet the ready acceptance of Shāh Zamān's proffered role as a mediator suggests that Qājār claims to authority in Khurāsān were not as absolute as the verbal statements imputed to Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh seem to purport.

From the perspective of the Afghan author Sulṭān Muḥammad Bārakzai, the message submitted by Ṭurra Bāz Khān takes on a different meaning. In this account, "Afghānistān" emerges as the overarching territorial unit which includes the region of Khurāsān. Moreover, Shāh Zamān assumes a position of equality with the Qājār ruler. Accordingly, his message to Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh reads more like a challenge than the baseless and ill-

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406 *Ṭurra Bāz Khān-i afghān ba-ishāra-yi Shāh Zamān az jānib-i Vafādār Khān vazīr-i aʿẓam ba-ʿazm-i mulāqāt-i jināb-i Ḥājjī Ibrāhīm Khān Iʿtimād al-Daula vārid-i takhtgāh shud…khulāsa-yi paighām īnki: Mamlakat-i Khurāsān ba-sabab-i hamjavāriyat ba vilāyāt-i mutaṣarrifī-yi afghān ansab chinān ast ki dar taṣarruf-i Shāh Zamān, va sāyir-i mamālik-i Īrān dar taḥt-i ikhtiyār-i shāhanshāh-i gardūn-tavān bāshad. Chinānki Shāh Zamān-rā dar bāb-i sāyir-i mamālik-i Īrān ḥarfī nīst, az ān ṭaraf-i qarīn al-sharaf nīz dar ḥarakat ba-jānib-i Khurāsān ʿazīmatī vāqiʿ nagardad, ū-rā barādarī kihtar az khud shumārand va mulk-i Khurāsān-rā dar-basta ba-Shāh Zamān gudhārand… Ū-rā chinīn javāb guftand:… Manẓūr az ḥarakat-i rāyāt-i ẓafar-āyāt na tanhā naẓm-i mamlakat-i Khurāsān ast balki maqṣūd-i kullī intizāʿ-i jamīʿ-i vilāyāt-i mutaʿalliqa ba-daulat-i Īrān az taṣarruf-i bīgānagān [mībāshad]. Īnak ʿazīmat-i Jarūd [?] va Qandahār va Kābul muṣammam va qaṭʿ u faṣl-i rishta-yi īn guftugū mauqūf ba-burish-i ḥusām-i ādhar-shiyam ast* (*Dhū al-qarnain* 132–3).

407 *Mamlakat-i Khurāsān bi-al-irth va bi al-istiḥqāq mutaʿalliq ba-kārguzārān-i ān daulat-i ʿalīya ast balki vilāyāt-i mutaṣarrifī-yi īn niyāzmand nīz maṭbakhī az ān dūdmān-i sanīya* (*Dhū al-qarnain* 136).

408 A region in Sind (Dihkhudā XI: 15527).

409 *Khāna-yi qadīm-i ābā va ajdād-i mā.*

410 TRSN IX: 361.

411 "The spring of that year saw the arrival of Ṭurra Bāz Khān Afghān in the name of Vafādār Khān, the Prime Minister of Shāh Zamān, for a meeting with Ḥājjī Ibrāhīm Khān Iʿtimād al-Daula. He submitted the following message of the vizier of Afghānistān: 'The domain (*mulk*) of Khurāsān, because of its close neighborship, should suitably remain in the possession of Shāh Zamān, while the other provinces (*mamālik*) of Īrān shall belong to the victorious King of kings. Because Shāh Zamān does not [wish to] interfere with the other provinces of Īrān, His Majesty shall also refrain from moving against Khurāsān from the opposite side. [The King] shall consider Shāh Zamān his younger brother and leave the entire domain of Khurāsān to him.' After deliberating the Ḥājjī answered as follows: 'The intention of His noble Majesty's proceeding to Khurāsān is the occupation of all the countries which belong to Īrān: Nishāpur, Sabzavār, Kābul, and Qandahār. At this very moment, he is preparing the conquest of Afghānistān'"(FN 677). The above translation is a modified version of the one given by Busse (1972: 92–3).

timed request it is portrayed as in the Iranian sources. The Sadūzai ruler confidently informs his Qājār counterpart that he will refrain from extending his authority beyond Khurāsān, provided that Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh gives up his plan to attack the possessions of Afghanistan (*amlāk-i Afghānistān*). As 50,000 Qājār cavalry set out for Sabzavār and Nīshāpūr, Shāh Zamān issues a further warning to Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh not to meddle with Khurāsān, which forms part of Afghanistan.[412]

The modern Afghan historian Fūfalzāʾī likewise endows Shāh Zamān with a position of strength vis-à-vis the Qājār ruler. Interestingly, he lets the protagonists speak for themselves, adducing their purported correspondence of 1214–1215/1799–1800. While the authenticity of these letters remains to be verified, the style adopted fits the circumstances and the period.[413] In keeping with the late eighteenth-century setting, the concept of "Afghānistān" is not framed as a political concept yet. Rather, the written dispute focuses on the validity of the respective claims advanced by the Durrānī and Qājār rulers to Khurāsān. On his part, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh takes exception to the incursions by Abdālī Afghāns into the ancient dependencies of his hereditary kingdom, which he stakes out as comprising Marv, Balkh, Andkhūd, Shibarghān, Badakhshān, Maimana, Herat, Sabzavār, Bust, Nīshāpūr, Ṭabas, Qandahār, Bāmiyān, and Balūchistān.[414] While acknowledging the territorial precedents set by the Safavids, Shāh Zamān asserts his right to Khurāsān, which, deriving from the degree of power currently exercised by the Durrānī dynasty, is more tangible and more justified than the vague historical claim advanced by the Qājārs:

> It is evident that this is your inherited and protected country as much as it is mine (*mulk-i maḥrūs va maurūth-i man u tu-st*). If the quality of your swords and spears justifies your [claims to] dignity, it will be yours. If it befits my Alexander-like standing, it will be mine, bound to the essence of my perseverance and resolve. You try to enter and establish your ownership by means of fraud and meanness. I have occupied [this region] by merit of military strength and intrepidity. It was my blessed forefathers who obtained this realm by means of the sword.[415]

In keeping with his insistence on the force of more recently established precedents, Shāh Zamān advises Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh to stick to the agreements concluded between the Durrānīs and Karīm Khān Zand and to respect "the limits of the guarded domains of the Durrānīs" (*ḥudūd-i mamālik-i maḥrūsa-yi durrānīya*), or else he will face military confrontation.[416] Finally, he roundly rejects Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's claim to ownership over Khurāsān on the basis that his ancestor Navvāb Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Qājār is buried there.[417] Referring to Āqā Muḥammad Shāh's desecration of Nādir Shāh's tomb in 1796, he states:

> [Merely] referring to your ancestor's grave is not enough to place the guarded domain of Khurāsān (*mulk-i maḥrūsa-yi Khurāsān*) in your jurisdiction. If the graves of the great ancestors and kings were an indication for actual possession and were honored as such by the great Qājār commander, the deceased king Āqā Muḥammad Shāh would never have upturned the grave of the Iran-ornamenting king Nādir Shāh, resting in Paradise, by the strikes of the spear and would not have acted in utter disrespect to his bones.[418]

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412 T Su 170, 175–6.

413 The correspondence quoted by Fūfalzāʾī consists of a letter by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and a response by Shāh Zamān written on 18 Jumādā II 1215/6 November 1800. According to Fūfalzāʾī, these letters were copied by his ancestor Sardār ʿAlam Khān Vakīl al-Daula, who served as Shāh Zamān's *vazīr-i dīvān-i aʿlā* (Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 144, 243).

414 Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 138–9.

415 Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 143.

416 Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 142.

417 Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 139. It is not clear who is intended here. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's grandfather Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Quyūnlū was killed near Ashraf in Jumādā II 1172/January–February 1759. His head was sent to Karīm Khān Zand in Tehran, who buried it in the nearby shrine of ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm (Bāmdād 1992 III: 365–72). To the best of my knowledge, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's only ancestor to die in Khurāsān was his great grandfather Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Quyūnlū, who was assassinated in Khvāja Rabīʿ near Mashhad in Ṣafar 1139/October 1726 (Lockhart 1938: 24–6). In connection with Shāh Rukh Afshār's deposal in January 1750, there is mention of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Qājār Ishīk Āqāsībāshī (TA Humāyūn 75–6).

418 Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 143.

CONCLUDING ACT: ʿABBĀS MĪRZĀ NĀʾIB AL-SALṬANA BEFORE THE GATES OF HERAT

Qājār territorial claims are also brought into relief by the available accounts of Nāʾib al-Salṭana's endeavor to regain control of Herat in 1248/1832–33. Again, a stylized verbal exchange serves to illustrate notions of Qājār ownership. Addressing Vazīr Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai of Herat, Nāʾib al-Salṭana employs a summary historical overview to underline his right to Herat as part of the Iranian legacy. According to the version given by *Dhū al-qarnain*, Nāʾib al-Salṭana informs Yār Muḥammad Khān that the "provinces occupied by the Afghāns" (*vilāyāt-i mutaṣarrafī-yi afāghina*) of Herat, Qandahār and Kābul have since time immemorial accepted their subservience to the Iranian kings. From Nāʾib al-Salṭana's perspective, competing Sadūzai claims to this region merely form an aberration in an otherwise unbroken chain of Iranian sovereignty. Aḥmad Khān Sadūzai, the founder of the Durrānī dynasty, is portrayed as a rebel, who has upset the time-honored order of things. His speech culminates in the peremptory order that Kāmrān Sadūzai, the ruler of Herat, should either assume the same duties as the other governors within the Qājār realm or give up his dominion:

> In bygone times, the provinces occupied by the Afghāns were continuously in the possession of the powerful Iranian kings and were controlled by their governors. The Afghān tribes (*ṭavāyif-i afāghina*) belonging to the tribes of Hindūstān, and those of them who have resided in the provinces of Herat, Qandahār, Kābul, etc. have submitted taxes (*kharāj-gudhār va bāj-dih*) to the kings of Iran [throughout time]. After the assassination of Nādir Shāh Afshār, Aḥmad Khān Abdālī has established control over those provinces contrary to law and order and by means of imposture, and, assuming the title of *shāh*, has galloped down the valley of obstinacy. Lacking the wherewithal to conquer Herat and the other regions mentioned…, the Zand *amīrs* postponed this issue. The martyred king [Āqā Muḥammad] would have had the power to accomplish all these matters had fate not plucked him from this transitory world. The present king of auspicious conjunction [Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh] has devoted his ever-lasting reign to the jihad against the Russian unbelievers so that he could not take any royal steps in this direction. Now, by the abundance of divine grace and high royal fortune, all worldly and religious matters have been resolved and the enmity between the realms of Islam and unbelief has dissolved. I, the lowest servant of the exalted court, have girded the loins of high ambition to reclaim the hereditary possessions (*mulk-i maurūth*)… In short, Kāmrān Mīrzā and his entire entourage should embark on the royal highway to the heaven-embracing court and vacate the province of Herat and the other regions; or else he should accept the same duties as the other local rulers and governors of the guarded domains (*mamālik-i maḥrūsa-yi sulṭānī*), submit the taxes and proceeds of the occupied regions, and perform *sikka* and *khuṭba* in the name of his Muslim-sheltering royal majesty.[419]

Nāʾib al-Salṭana's statement as recounted in *Dhū al-qarnain* is closely mirrored, at once in content and wording, in Hidāyat's version, with the difference that Nāʾib al-Salṭana avows his readiness to extend his military campaign as far as Balkh.[420] Both Faẓlullāh Shīrāzī and Hidāyat refer to the Afghan dominions as "provinces occupied by the Afghāns". Writing roughly at the same time as Hidāyat, Lisān al-Mulk, by contrast, gives a more summary account of Nāʾib al-Salṭana's speech, and employs the term *Afghānistān* as territorial designation for the debated region in eastern Khurāsān.[421]

As viewed through the lens of Persian historiography, the early debates between the Qājār and Sadūzai rulers revolved around an abstract and extensive notion of Khurāsān, which was conjured up and reinforced by the formulaic repetition of the component districts constituting the historical province. The above quotes illustrate the fact that regional identifications were endowed with different meanings according to context. In sketching the contested terrain, both the Afghan and Iranian chroniclers conceptualized the terrain as nested entities reflecting increasing degrees of inclusiveness. Yet, while the Afghan commentators perceived Afghanistan to contain Khurāsān, the opposite was true from the Iranian perspective. If using the term *Afghānistān* at all, the Iranian authors make it clear that it is to them no more than a subordinate region located on the eastern fringes of the Iranian legacy. Yet, for all its geographical and political marginality, this eastern region remained central to prevalent Iranian conceptions of space.

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419 *Dhū al-qarnain* 838–9.

420 TRSN X: 30–31.

421 NT 487–8. While omitting the Iranian bias concerning the illegitimacy of Aḥmad Shāh's gaining possession of *Afghānistān*, the early twentieth-century Afghan chronicle *Siraj al-tavārīkh* closely follows Lisān al-Mulk's version (ST 117; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 193–4).

As the nineteenth century wore on, the concept of Afghanistan gradually gained currency. This process coincided with a reduction of the regions within the political and military reach of the Iranian government. As a result, the conflict with the Afghans increasingly narrowed down on Herat as the crucial possession in eastern Khurāsān.[422] Henceforth, Herat and Marv formed vital coordinates on the mental map of the Qājārs. While located on the margin, and increasingly beyond, the scope of Qājār military control, both cities continued to hold the Iranian imagination as places of great strategic importance and inherent strength. Thus Lisān al-Mulk described Herat as the regional center of "eastern Khurāsān" and *Afghānistān* in the 1850s.[423] Hidāyat extolled Marv as the key to Khvārazm and praised Herat as the key to all of Khurāsān and Turkistān.[424] The continued prestige of Herat is also reflected by the reasoning the Iranian Prime Minister Mīrzā Āqā Khān Nūrī Iʿtimād al-Daula adopted to explain the difficulties besetting the Qājār siege of Herat in the summer of 1856:

> The conquest of Herat, which constitutes the center of Khurāsān, is no easy matter. The firmness and impenetrability of its fortifications is legendary, from ancient times until today. No king of old that we have read or heard about was ever able to gain control of Herat unless the inhabitants of that city found it advisable to submit on their own accord… [Even] Nādir Shāh Afshār, who conquered half of the world, was unable to take Herat by force.[425]

CONCLUSION

The aftermath of the short-lived Iranian occupation of Herat in 1856 bears witness to Khurāsān's transition from a far-flung territory embracing the ancient centers of Iranian civilization to a closed space defined by linear borders. Owing to British pressure, Herat was removed from the orbit of Qājār control, and the sense of Khurāsān as a vast eastern expanse gave way to more concrete notions of boundedness. As the Afghan ruler Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān Muḥammadzai prepared to conquer Herat in 1862, a small Persian force occupied the village of Kūsūya to afford protection to the province of Khurāsān.[426] Rather than the Oxus, a village on the right bank of the Harī Rūd located seventy miles west of Herat had come to symbolize the eastern border of the Iranian state.

A similar process took place in Afghanistan, albeit with the difference that, in this case, a dramatic territorial shrinkage had already taken place with the downfall of the Sadūzai dynasty in the early nineteenth century. Operating from a narrow base of power, the first Muḥammadzai kings employed the limited resources at their disposal to expand from Kābul into the space delimited by British and Russian interests. While the exact course of the border between Afghanistan and Iran was not settled until the 1930s, the fact remains that the Afghan kingdom assumed the identity of a territorially bounded entity. This process found its visual expression in a map Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān (r. 1880–1901) published in 1898. Contrary to the western cartographic conventions the Amīr had undoubtedly become acquainted with in the course of his boundary negotiations with the British, this map does not attempt to reproduce a bird's eye view of the Afghan territory and its geographical features. Rather, it depicts the Afghan state as a multi-tiered, hierarchical edifice surrounded by similar structures representing the governments of Iran, Russian Turkistan, China and British India. Placed in the center of the map, the realm occupied by Afghanistan is set apart form the neighboring states by a dotted line suggesting a clearly identified and self-contained territorial unit.[427]

The borders sketched in this map may be seen as a delimitation against outsiders. Afghanistan's position as a buffer state between British and Russian interests, and the fixed borders it implied, freed the hands of the Muḥammadzai *amīrs* to impose order internally. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān reportedly compared his country to a

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422 This phenomenon is also discussed by Kashani-Sabet 1997: 218.
423 NT 1192.
424 *Sifāratnāma* Persian text 112.
425 NT 1320.
426 Wynne 1870a: 53.
427 The text accompanying this map was originally published in Curzon 1988: 55–8. For a detailed discussion of its context and content, see Edwards 1996: 78–88.

building requiring constant and vigilant maintenance in order to keep both external and internal enemies at bay:

> It is easy to understand that before furnishing a house one must think of making or finding a house to furnish; and in case of building a house it must be surrounded by walls to keep the goods safe which are put in it; and if the house is full of holes, ditches, snakes, scorpions, etc., it is necessary to get rid of these before any one can live in it. In the same way, it was of the first and greatest importance to mark out a boundary line all around Afghanistan, so that we should first know what provinces really belonged to Afghanistan before thinking of introducing any reforms and improvements therein. Fortunately, I have succeeded in defining the boundaries of Afghanistan with the neighbouring powers, and putting an end to their gradual moving forward… Taking into consideration that the boundary lines made a strong wall around the country, shaping it, as it were, into a house, it was necessary to clear that house of all the injurious scorpions existing in it, scorpions that formed a great obstacle in the way of peace and progress. To explain myself: I mean that I had to put in order all those hundreds of petty chiefs, plunderers, robbers, and cut-throats, who were the cause of everlasting trouble in Afghanistan. This necessitated breaking down the feudal and tribal system, and substituting one grand community under one law and under one rule.[428]

The above utterance was imputed to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān by his Punjabi biographer Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān, who, in fact, produced the sections concerning the Amīr's effort at state building and the nature of his administration without any direct input or control on the part of the king. The statement is also interesting in that it endows ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān with an active role in the delineation of Afghanistan's borders, obscuring the fact that they were largely defined at the instance of Great Britain and Russia. The notion that Afghanistan's boundaries were created on the Amīr's initiative is also shared by Afghan historians of the time.[429]

While the above statement may not have been coined by the Amīr himself, it reflects a profound conceptual change which signifies the adoption of modern notions of territoriality. The emergence of fixed borders in the late nineteenth century caused traditional conceptions of political authority to be charged with entirely new perceptions of space. As part of this process, the early modern dynastic idea of a ruling "house" and its net of allegiances with other influential families was substituted by a notion of the state as a clearly bounded edifice. In keeping with this image, the walls of the house symbolized the linearity and seeming immutability of national borders, which in turn called for a more efficient and profound administrative penetration of the state sphere thus defined. The construction of the modern state as a confined but inviolable space continued to carry the seeds of territorial conflict with next-door neighbors and endowed lingering territorial claims with a new degree of urgency. This inherent tension was highlighted during the first British attempt at dividing Sīstān between Iranian and Afghan interests in 1872. The boundary line created in this process left both parties involved discontent. Even so, it formalized the distinction of Iran and Afghanistan as separate and clearly delimited political entities.

The creation of modern boundaries engendered the necessity of redesigning the relationship between the central government and its subject territories. Both in Afghanistan and Iran, the state faced the challenge of penetrating a more narrowly defined space from within. The transformation of the tribal leadership from important allies into "scorpions" in the perception of the state reflects the effort to substitute the traditional methods of maintaining a web of personal allegiances with centralized control. It was this aspect of modernity that both the Qājār and the Muḥammadzai governments found it difficult to implement conceptually and practically. While the outward borders were in place, the internal balance was slow to shift. On the Afghan side, the relative weakness of early Muḥammadzai rulers was offset by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān's sustained effort at sweeping out the feudal and tribal elements from his vision of a centralized state by means of countless rounds of execution, imprisonment and exile. In Qājār Khurāsān, intermittent attempts at curbing the influence of the tribal leadership were followed by periods of entrenchment. While individual leaders were subject to execution and deportation, the local nobility retained, and at times even enhanced its influential position in the provincial administration. In the following chapter, I will attempt to shed light on the regional relationships of power by exploring the demographic makeup of Iranian Khurāsān and the

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[428] Sultan Mahomed Khan 1980 II: 175–7.

[429] Riyāżī states that Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān decided to fix the borders of Afghanistan (*ba khiyāl-i taʿyīn-i sarḥaddāt uftād*) in 1301/1883–84. As a result, the Afghan Boundary Commission was formed (KR 217).

interaction between Qājār administrators and the local forces. The prominent tribal leaders of Khurāsān enjoyed a great degree of stability both in terms of their territorial possessions and their relationship with the government. The circumstances in the eastern and northeastern reaches of Khurāsān, by contrast, were characterized by a high volatility until the late nineteenth century. As will be seen below, this environment of fluctuating allegiances and changing patterns of settlement only gained a measure of solidity with its incorporation into modern political entities and the resulting freezing of local conditions.

5. Qājār Khurāsān

THE SETTING IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

No matter how varied the perspective, nineteenth-century perceptions of Khurāsān bear remarkable similarities with one another, both in a geographical and political sense. Iranian chroniclers as well as British travelers noted that unrest seemed to be a natural state of affairs in the region, and that the stubbornness of the inhabitants was matched by the inaccessibility of their tribal domains. In the 1850s, Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat compared Khurāsān to "a sea bringing forth storms…It is [like] an ocean ruffled by waves. Once it is aroused, wave after wave will arise, for this is the abode and dwelling place of various tribes (*ṭavāyif*), each of which by habit carry their head high in pride and refractoriness."[1] This assessment is shared by the British secretary Eastwick who observed in 1862 that "[t]he normal state of Khúrásán is war. Petty plunderings, murders, brigandage, small insurrections, executions of five, ten, or twenty robbers take place weekly; and cavalry engagements, sieges of fortresses or towns, annually, with a considerable war every five or ten years."[2]

In the early 1820s, the British traveller James Fraser described Khurāsān as a dangerous place. While the region officially formed part of the Qājār Empire, the provincial governors found their sphere of influence restricted to the immediate surroundings of Mashhad, Nīshāpūr, Sabzavār, and Turshīz.[3] In the late 18th century, the political vacuum created by the crumbling of Sadūzai power and the relative weakness of the Afsharid rulers of Mashhad allowed a number of local lords to carve out their own realms. Foremost among these was the Turkic Qarāʾī leadership of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya (later also known as Turbat-i Isḥāq Khān), a well cultivated district south of Mashhad, which British observers described as "one of the most prosperous towns" of Khurāsān.[4] Further south, the Arab leadership of Qāyin and Bīrjand maintained a precarious independence between the representatives of royal authority based in Mashhad and Kirmān.[5] In the southwest, the Zangūʾī Arab governors of Tūn (present-day Firdaus) and Ṭabas (also known as Gulshan) consistently cooperated with the Qājār governors of Mashhad.[6] The trade route between Mashhad and Herat was controlled by Tīmūrī and Hazāra chiefs. Qilich Khān, the powerful chief Tīmūrī chief of Khvāf, enjoyed a great measure of influence at the provincial court in Mashhad.[7]

Northwest of Mashhad, the regions of Khabūshān (Qūchān) and Bujnūrd had been a Kurdish domain since Safavid times.[8] Although locked into a system of mutual raids with the neighboring Turkmens, the Kurdish leadership had developed a modus vivendi with these groups, using the threat their neighbors represented as a bargaining chip in their relationship with the Qājār court. Thus Fraser noted that

> [t]he Toorkomans, who have more than once been oppressed by Mahomed Raheem [Muḥammad Raḥīm] Khan of Khaurezm [Khvārazm], have of late shown a disposition to shelter themselves from the power of that monarch, by a union with the chiefs of Koordistan [Kurdistān]; and these chiefs have found that such an union operates powerfully in checking the disposition of the king to annoy them with demands for tribute; for his majesty, whose arms are neither very efficient nor dreaded, will rather come to easy terms than drive to desperation men who have the means of letting loose upon his dominions the armed plunderers of the desert. The king, indeed, views this good understanding with a jealous eye, but so weak is his influence in this quarter, that whatever he attempts by arms or negociation, is baffled, more by the intrigues of his servants than his avowed enemies; for the former find it their interest to keep up, and play one party against another, thus creating difficulties, and enhancing the value of

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[1] TRSN X: 535.
[2] Eastwick 1976 II: 216.
[3] Fraser 1825: 326–7; "Route from Meshed to Cabul by Herat and Candahar" (1830), IOL, L/PS/19/59.
[4] "Route from Meshed to Cabul by Herat and Candahar" (1830), IOL, L/PS/19/59. See also Fraser 1825 Appendix B: 25; Mīr Niyā 1990: 77.
[5] Fraser 1825 Appendix B: 20.
[6] *Dhū al-qarnain* 430; NT 283, 306, 316–17, 414, 459.
[7] Fraser 1825: 488, 524, 528; *Gaz. Iran* II: 115, 242, 309.
[8] Afshār 1999: 205–6; Barthold 1984: 91.

> their own services, so that under existing circumstances it might be the king's best policy to permit unopposed the independence of these border chiefs, to preserve the peace of the country.[9]

The most influential Kurdish leader, Īlkhānī Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū, controlled the local towns of Khabūshān, Shīrvān and Chinārān and had sufficient resources at his disposal to maintain a standing force of 1,200 men.[10] He was linked by marriage alliance to Najaf Qulī Khān Shādillū,[11] who resided in the town of Bujnūrd and had 500–600 cavalry at his disposal.[12] To the northeast, the region of Darra Gaz, with the towns of Muḥammadābād and Luṭfābād, was held by Chāpushlū leaders of Turkic origin.[13] Commanding 600–700 horsemen, Bēgler Khān Chāpushlū was allied to the Kurdish leadership of Khabūshān and Bujnūrd in their resistance to the Qājār governor Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā from 1813 on. In the 1830s, his son Riżā Qulī Khān Chāpushlū established a close linkage with the Qājār heir-apparent ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana and received the title of "ʿAbbās Qulī Khān".[14]

All early nineteenth-century authors make a point of mentioning the continuing strength of the Khurāsānī leadership. In the following, I will explore the tribal makeup of the region as reflected by Persian and European accounts. The second part of this chapter will focus on the Qājār mode of government, the interaction with the tribal nobility of the region, and the endeavor to regain control of Herat. For the greater part of the nineteenth century, there is a discernable gap between extensive Qājār claims to power and the narrow political exigencies the governors of Mashhad were grappling with. The final section will be devoted to the conceptual tension generated by this state of affairs and its reflection in the contemporaneous Persian historiography.

THE TRIBAL FRAMEWORK

In the 1820s, Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrvānī observed that the most definitive feature of Khurāsān province lay in its tribal population, which he estimated to consist of 40,000 Qizilbāsh families, 50,000 Kurdish families, and 60,000 Arab families. In Shīrvānī's opinion, the local Arabs had entered the region during the Umayyad and Abbasid era.[15] Indeed, the migration of some of the prominent Arab groups to Khurāsān can be traced to the early Muslim period. The Khuzaima Arabs living in the region of Qāyin reputedly settled there during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786–809).[16] The Zangūʾī Arabs of Tūn and Ṭabas, by contrast, were said to have been brought from Arabia to Iran as late as the Safavid period.[17] The origin of the Mīshmast Arabs of Turshīz and Turbat-i Shaikh Jām is not accounted for in terms of legend or historical fact.[18]

The other two groups mentioned by Shīrvānī, the Qizilbāsh and Kurds, owed their settlement in Khurāsān in large part to what Perry has described as an early seventeenth-century strategy combining scorched earth tactics in Azerbaijan with the "cossackization" of the northeastern frontier.[19] According to the standard accounts, Shāh ʿAbbās I divided the Qājārs into three branches and settled them in Ganja, Marv, and

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[9] Fraser 1825: Appendix B, 51–2.

[10] NT 480; Fraser 1825: 259, Appendix B: 42–52. According to Curzon, the local cavalry contingent originally numbered 1,000 men and was reduced to 500 by the 1890s (Curzon 1966 I: 111).

[11] The name of this Shādillū leader is variously given as Najaf Qulī Khān or Najaf ʿAlī Khān in the available Persian texts.

[12] Fraser Appendix B: 52–3; Gaz Iran II: 81–5, 95; NT 415, 480, 482. For a detailed description of the villages and town making up the realm of the Shādillū leaders, see MSh I: 127–38.

[13] Ruling over a mixed population of Afshārs, Girāylīs and Kurds, the leading family of Darra Gaz were of Turkic origin. Their ancestor Muḥammad Bābā Chāpushlū (d. 1737) had migrated from Qarshī prior to the rise of Nādir Shāh and received lands in Darra Gaz from the governor of Abīvard (Fraser 1825: 523, App. B: 53; Fraser 1973: 287–9; *Gaz. Iran* II: 137–41. See also O'Donovan 1970 II: 30, 55–6).

[14] *Dhū al-qarnain* 906.

[15] *Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 143.

[16] C. E. Yate 1900: 65. The purported Arab connection is denied by the representatives of the Khuzaima family, who assert their Khurasanian origin. For a detailed discussion of the early history of the Khuzaima Arabs, see Mojtahed-Zadeh 2004: 42–7.

[17] C. E. Yate 1900: 59.

[18] Mīr Niyā 1990: 155, 161–2; Oberling, "ʿArab, iv. Arab Tribes of Iran," *E.Ir.* II: 217.

[19] Perry 1975.

Astarābād.[20] While the first two branches declined in the course of the eighteenth century, the Qājārs of Astarābād benefited from their relatively isolated position between the Qara Qum desert, the swamps and forests of Māzandarān, and the northern Alburz range, eventually giving rise to the Qājār dynasty.[21]

The origin of the Kurds in northern Khurāsān is generally attributed to Shāh ʿAbbās I's removal of at least 30,000 families from the region near Erzerum to Khabūshān. Given their great number, this group soon assumed an influential position in the politics of Khurāsān. At the time of Nādir Shāh's rise to power, they were locked into bitter rivalry both with the Qājār leadership of Astarābād and with Nādir Shāh himself.[22] Nādir Shāh belonged to the Qirqlū subdivision of the Afshār Turkmens, who had been transferred by Shāh ʿAbbās I from the Urmīya region to Abīvard and Darra Gaz. Another group to settle in Khurāsān in the early seventeenth century were the Bayāts, who were moved from Yerevan to Nīshāpūr.[23]

Nādir Shāh likewise employed the instrument of large-scale resettlement to populate and strengthen his basis in Khurāsān. After his campaign to Azerbaijan in 1730, he transferred 12,000 Afshār families to Khurāsān.[24] By the end of 1730, a total of 50–60,000 families had been transplanted from Azerbaijan, Persian ʿIrāq and Fārs to Khurāsān.[25] Between 1732 and 1736, a total of 13,000 Bakhtiyārīs were sent to Khurāsān.[26] Yet a great part of Nādir Shāh's measures was reversed with his death in 1747, as the Zand, Bakhtiyārīs, Shāhseven, and Shaqāqī Kurds he had brought in gravitated west, to the realm of Karīm Khān Zand (r. 1751–1779).[27] The major branches of the Abdālī (later Durrānī) tribes, which Nādir Shāh had removed from Herat in 1732, already received lands around Qandahār during his lifetime.[28] Other groups transplanted by Nādir Shāh, for instance, one thousand Arab families in Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya and a group of Arabs who were transferred from Khūzistān to the region of Bīrjand, stayed on after his death.[29]

Nādir Shāh's sweeping measures notwithstanding, a report compiled in 1215/1800–01 indicates that the geographical distribution of the tribes in Khurāsān did not change significantly after the late Safavid period. Detailing the troops and revenues at the disposal of the Safavid ruler Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain (r. 1694–1722) and Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Qājār (r. 1797–1834), this report is of little reliability as far as the numerical strength of the individual tribes is concerned, but its description of the circumstances in the early eighteenth century closely approximates the demographic composition of Khurāsān known in the nineteenth century.[30] Among the groups of Iranian origin, it lists the Zaʿfarānlū Kurds of Chinārān, the Saʿdānlū Kurds of Khabūshān, as well

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[20] Avery 1991: 4–5; Hambly 1991a: 106–7; Lambton, "Īlāt," *E.I., 2* III: 1101–2; There is evidence that the relocation of the Qājārs and Kurds to Khurāsān was more gradual a process than the official narrative suggests, and that it did not entirely coincide with the forced removals officially initiated by Shāh ʿAbbās I (Perry 1975: 204–9).

[21] Hambly 1991a: 106–7.

[22] Avery 1991: 4–5; Tavaḥḥudī 1985 II: 327–8. According to Yate, Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Zaʿfarānlū, the ancestor of the *īlkhānīs* of Khabūshān, received the title of *amīr al-umarā* from Shāh ʿAbbās I and was resettled in Akhal. He was accompanied by 40,000 Kurdish families comprising the Zaʿfarānlū, Shādillū, Kaivānlū, Amarlū and Qarāchūrlū subdivisions. During the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain (r. 1694–1722), ongoing raids emanating from Ūrganj and Bukhārā forced the Kurds to withdraw into the mountains to the south. After displacing the local Girāylī population, they settled in the region of Khabūshān, Shīrvān, Bujnūrd, and Simalqān (C. E. Yate 1900: 180–1).

[23] Avery 1991: 4–5; Perry 1975: 205; Perry, "Nādir Shāh Afshār," *E.I., 2* VII: 853–6. According to Minorsky, some Afshārs were already resettled in the region of Abīvard by Shāh Ismāʿīl I (Minorsky 1934: 3). Doerfer is of the opinion that the Qarā Bayāts already lived around Nīshāpūr at the time of Shāh Ismāʿīl I's conquest of Khurāsān (Doerfer, "Bayāt," *E.Ir.* III: 883).

[24] Among these Afshārs were 2,000 Qirqlū families who were settled in Kubkan (?) located southeast of Darra Gaz. The remaining Afshārs were sent to Kalāt-i Nādirī (Lockhart 1938: 51–2).

[25] Minorsky 1934: 9.

[26] 3,000 families of the Haft Lang Bakhtiyārīs were moved to Khurāsān in 1732. A second group of 10,000 families of Haft Lang and Chahār Lang Bakhtiyārīs were relocated after the suppression of a Bakhtiyārī rebellion in 1736 (Lockhart 1938: 51–2, 54, 65, 110).

[27] TA (Humāyūn) 16; see also Mann 1898: 174.

[28] Lockhart 1938: 54.

[29] Oberling, "ʿArab, iv. Arab Tribes of Iran," *E.Ir.* II: 217.

[30] Dānishpazhūh 1974. See also Towfiq, "ʿAšāyer", *E.Ir.* II: 709; Lambton, "Īlāt," *E.I., 2* III: 1101–2. The anonymous author bases his account of the Safavid period on a statement by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusain Mustaufī al-Mamālik in 1128/1715–16.

as the Kavānlū Kurds of Rādkān.[31] Two further groups of Iranian origin inhabiting Khurāsān are mentioned: the Jalāyirs migrating between Kalāt and Marv, and the Qarāʾīs based in the region between Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya and Turbat-i Shaikh Jām.[32] The Turkish tribe of the Afshārs, comprising the Shāmlū, Qirqlū (Qirkhlū) and Sarvānlū subdivisions, is placed in the region around Ṭūs.[33] The Qājārs are reported to live in Astarābād, Yerevan and Marv.[34] Among the Arab groups mentioned are the Mīshmast located in the Turshīz and Qāyināt districts, and the Zangūʾīs located in Ṭabas.[35]

Estimates concerning the percentage of the tribal population in Iran varied over time and according to the viewpoint of different observers. Writing in the early nineteenth century, Kinneir was of the opinion that the *īlāt*, or wandering tribes, outnumbered the town population.[36] In the 1850s, Lady Sheil described Persia as "overrun with tribes" and reckoned that the combined number of the "wandering and stationary clans" made up at least half of the total population.[37] As Lady Sheil's statement suggests, a number of tribes were sedentary. Even so, the term *īl* and its synonyms (*ʿashīra, qabīla, ṭāyifa*) were primarily associated with nomadism and implied an opposition to the settled, urban life representing the sphere of government. This contrast between two seemingly irreconcilable modes of life was blurred by the tribal origins of the ruling Qājār dynasty, who followed a long established Iranian tradition of nomads-turned-rulers. While making Tehran their capital (*dār al-khilāfa*),[38] the Qājār rulers continued to celebrate their nomadic background by maintaining a pattern of movement reminiscent of the early modern tribal mode of government. In the early nineteenth century, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, like most members of his lineage, was reported to prefer "an erratick to a settled life; a village to a city, and a tent to a palace."[39] Labeled as a pastime, the movement to hunting grounds and summer camps coincided with military activity. Pilgrimages to holy sites may likewise be understood as byproduct of the need to enforce local authority. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's pilgrimage to the shrine of Imām Riżā in 1818 signaled the successful conclusion of a military campaign against the chiefs of Khurāsān and the neighboring Turkmens.[40] Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's (r. 1834–1848) visit to the province in 1836, as well as Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's (r. 1848–1896) trips there in 1867 and 1883 fulfilled a similar purpose, combining ostentatious acts of patronage with a show of force.[41]

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[31] Dānishpazhūh 1974: 410–11.

[32] Dānishpazhūh 1974: 411–12. According to Yate, the Qarāʾīs were of Turk origin and were taken to Syria by one of the Mongol kings. Tīmūr Lang (r. 1370–1405) brought them to Fārs, from where they were relocated to Khurāsān by Shāh Ismāʿīl I. After residing in Marv and Herat, the Qarāʾīs finally settled in Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya. The Jalāyirs were brought to Khurāsān by Tīmūr Lang (C. E. Yate 1900: 53–4, 157).

[33] Dānishpazhūh 1974: 412–13.

[34] Dānishpazhūh 1974: 413.

[35] Dānishpazhūh 1974: 414–15

[36] Kinneir 1813: 44.

[37] Sheil 1973: 393.

[38] See, for instance, NT 931.

[39] Ouseley 1819–1823 III: 151. See also Lambton 1988: 91.

[40] *Dhū al-qarnain* 496.

[41] The fortunes of the shrine in Mashhad reflected the measure of control exercized by the Qājār dynasty. While it suffered a violent extraction of wealth prior to Āqā Muḥammad Shāh and Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's conquests of Mashhad in 1796 and 1803 (Sāravī 285), it subsequently prospered and was endowed with a second courtyard (*ṣaḥn-i jadīd*) in 1818 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 496–7; NT 306). Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, who accompanied Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh to Mashhad in 1883, gives the following description of the new courtyard: "It is approximately 72 yards (*dharʿ*) in length and 49 yards in width. The tilework by Ḥājjī Mīrzā Mūsā Khān is of utmost distinction… In the center of the court is also a reservoir constructed by the same [master], where Haji Mīrzā Riżā Muʾmin al-Salṭana (the former Mustashār al-Mulk) built a fountain (*saqqā khāna*). This court has four gates: one facing the *īvān*, which is known as the "Minting Gate" (*dar-i żarrābkhāna*), one leading to the lower boulevard (*khiyābān-i pāʾīn),* one leading to the jewelers' market (*bāzār-i zargarhā*), one leading to the grave of Shaikh Bahāʾī. The courtyard is lined with rows of students' chambers on the upper and lower floors… There are two *īvāns*…, the northern leading to the … lower boulevard and the southern leading to the attendants' drinking hall (*sharbat khāna*) and kitchen (*āshpaz khāna*) (MSh II: 135–6, 157; see also C. E. Yate 1900: 322). The new courtyard was later embellished by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (*Glory of the Shia World*: 261). In addition, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh donated five gold lamps to the shrine (KR 72 (Patterson 1988: 52)). During his visit in June 1833, Fraser primarily noticed signs of decay as compared with 1821: "I made my way to the Sahn, or great square, once forbidden to me,–now open to all Europeans; but I scarcely knew it again; all its beauty was gone; its glory had departed… The beautiful minaret of azure and

THE QĀJĀR MODE OF GOVERNMENT

Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh treated the provinces of his realm as an extension of Qājār interests and overwhelmingly reserved their administration for members of his own family.[42] While the control of the highest levels of provincial government rested with the most prominent among Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's relatives, local affairs were not affected by the administration in a deep or lasting manner. Rather, Qājār policies fostered the entrenchment of a tribal elite, which looked after the affairs within the tribe and policed other groups located even further on the margins of the Qājār empire. The *īlkhānīs* or *īlbēgīs* appointed from among the leading families of the larger tribes were generally also in charge of revenue collection and the administration of customary law. As is well attested for the Shādillū Kurd leadership of Bujnūrd, the tribal nobility often held their lands free in return for military service.[43]

Qājār notions of empire were offset by an extremely limited government presence on the ground. Even within the core regions of the empire, sovereignty rested less on instances of direct physical control than on a loose system of tribal allegiances. Qājār efforts to impose the government stamp were most successful in central and western Iran, specifically along the axis linking Bushire, Iṣfahān, Tehran and Tabrīz.[44] The connection with the large province of Khurāsān was much more tenuous. Like earlier regimes, the Qājārs faced the difficulty of extending their power through the geographical bottleneck created by the southern face of the Alburz Mountains in the north and the Dasht-i Kavīr in the south. Along this narrow colonized strip, the towns of Sabzavār, Nīshāpūr and Mashhad were linked by the highroad to Tehran and formed a narrow isthmus of government control.[45]

Compared with the local leadership in other parts of the Qājār realm, the Khurāsānī nobility was particularly successful in retaining its hold over local affairs. Tribal structures displayed a great amount of resilience towards changes in the larger political setting. They survived the turmoil following the decline of the Safavid empire unscathed and helped to maintain a minimum of local security and order in a setting of eroding state structures. The continued strength of the tribal nobility effectively countermanded the expansion of government control. Unable to transcend or dissolve local patterns of authority, the Qājār government employed the tribal leadership as a sort of subsidiary government and entrusted it with the collection of revenue and the provision of military services. This royal recognition in turn enhanced the control the tribal leaders wielded over local affairs. Their relatively secure position is also reflected by the fact that, individual reprisals by state forces notwithstanding, they enjoyed greater stability and continuity than the provincial governors, who had to bargain with the court for the retention of their posts at relatively short intervals.[46]

Confronted with the continued strength of the Khurāsānī leadership, the provincial governors had to strike a precarious balance between control and conciliation. One possible strategy open to the Qājār princes based in Mashhad was the cultivation of individual allies and the exploitation of the rivalries existing among the

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gold erected by Shah Ismael [should be Shāh Ṭahmāsp I], had been so shook or damaged, that for fear of its falling they had taken it down; and the splendid azure-lettered inscriptions on the neck of the golden dome, were turned to a dusty grey. The beautiful gateways at either end of the Sahn had suffered a corresponding dilapidation. The tiles were everywhere peeling off, and the freshness of their colours quite tarnished. Even the exquisite…water-house, in the centre of the square, constructed of a kind of filigree work in gilded wood, was falling to pieces, and all its gilding was gone" (Fraser 1973: 211–12). When Qājār authority reached a low point during Ḥasan Khān Sālār's rebellion in 1847–1850, the shrine was once again depleted of its precious candlesticks, golden railings and silver doors (C. E. Yate 1900: 324–5). Between 1853 and 1855, the Qājār governor Farīdūn Mīrzā engaged in repairs. In 1859, the administrator (*mutavallī*) erected a golden door and a guest house for pilgrims and the poor by order of the king. During his visit in 1867, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh signalled his devotion by taking the jeweled aigrette from his hat and presenting it to the shrine (C. E. Yate 1900: 325). For a map of the shrine in the 1880s, see MSh II: 500.

42 Drouville 1825 II: 2–4; Fraser 1825: 203. See also Meredith 1971: 66; Migeod 1990: 8.

43 Lambton 1988: 69.

44 Migeod 1990: 31.

45 Curzon 1966 I: 203–4, 245, 255–6; Migeod 1990: 66.

46 Sheikholeslami 1997: 85–88, 191, 193–4.

various leaders. The ongoing renegotiation of the political balance of power is reflected by Kinneir's statement that the tribal leaders were

> both from birth and influence, the first men in the empire; they are always mutually jealous and hostile; and the King, by fomenting their quarrels, and thus nicely balancing the power of the one against that of the other, insures his own safety and the peace of his dominions. It is the custom to detain at court, either the chief himself or some part of his family, as hostages for the fidelity of the tribe.[47]

At times this policy backfired, and the Qājār princes fell prey to local machinations or found themselves beaten by their own weapons. On the other hand, the pursuance of all too energetic policies to further government control carried the danger of alienating crucial local allies. One possible scenario was wholesale rebellion, as Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's first governor to the region, Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā (1803–1816) was to find out during the three final years of his governorship. In 1820, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh took issue with the forceful measures his son Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā Shujāʿ al-Salṭana had adopted towards the local leadership during the first few years of his governorship of Khurāsān (1816–1827). The king expressed his fear that Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's campaigns against a number of tribal strongholds might do more harm than good. In his opinion, the cooperation of the Jalāyir, Hazāra, Baghāyirī, Arab, Qarāʾī and Tīmūrī leadership was more vital for the furtherance of Qājār authority than short-term military success:

> Other than these leaders there is no one in Khurāsān [to support you], with the exception of three Kurdish and Turkish *khāns*… In short, there is no one left in the entire province who is satisfied with my son's policies. If all of Khurāsān has lost its confidence [in you], how, then, can the affairs there be settled in a satisfactory fashion?[48]

In the early nineteenth century, the politics of Khurāsān were moulded by the interests of the Qarāʾī leadership of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya and the Zaʿfarānlū Kurd chiefs of Khabūshān. Isḥāq Khān Qarāʾī used his prominent role in the provincial government to carve out an independent power base for himself in the region bordering on the principality of Herat until he met with a violent death in 1816. A decade later, the weakness of the provincial government temporarily allowed the rivalling Qarāʾī and Zaʿfarānlū clans to split up the core regions of Khurāsān among themselves. During his governorship from 1831–1833, ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana successfully removed the influential Zaʿfarānlū and Qarāʾī chiefs from power. Even so, his efforts to strengthen Mashhad's position vis-à-vis the tribal leadership crumbled with his death in October 1833. British observers noted that the difficult situation Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's troops experienced before Herat in 1837–1838 derived not so much from the inherent strength of Herat's defences than from the fact that the Qājārs were operating from a weak base. In fact, there was little common purpose between the Qājār crown and the Khurāsānī leadership:

> [T]he Shah will not for some time be in a position to command success against Herat, which is defended not only by its strong walls and its citadel, but by the intrigues of the Persian Chiefs, and even Governors in Khorassan, who find themselves more important and more caressed, while there is an enemy at hand, than they could hope to be if Herat were taken, or matters amicably adjusted with that Government.[49]

This prediction held true for the outcome of the siege of Herat and for the developments in Khurāsān during the latter part of Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's reign, as the province was shaken by a three-year rebellion. Instigated by Ḥasan Khān Sālār, the son of the Qājār governor Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula, this uprising was supported by Jaʿfar Qulī Khān Shādillū of Bujnūrd during its early stages and reached its climax with the occupation of Mashhad in 1848–1850. Their often doubtful loyalty notwithstanding, the leaders of Khabūshān, Bujnūrd and Darra Gaz made an instant comeback after the conclusion of the rebellion and assumed a pivotal role in the administration of northern and northeastern Khurāsān and the military campaigns to Sarakhs, Marv and Herat in the 1850s.

The position of the tribal leadership was further enhanced in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century. During Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's reign (1848–1896), the relationship between the crown and

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[47] Kinneir 1813: 45.

[48] Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh to Shujāʿ al-Salṭana, Jumādā II 1236/March 1820, quoted in *Zanbīl* 281. See also Mīr Niyā 1994: 46–7.

[49] McNeill to Macnaghten, Tehran, 22 January 1837 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, Part II, No. 50, pp. 47–8).

the Khurāsānī nobility was put on a formal footing. In exchange for their incorporation in the provincial government, the most prominent leaders received high-sounding titles and enjoyed extensive prerogatives in their home territories and beyond. A first round of titles was distributed during Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's first visit to Khurāsān in 1867, which aimed at restoring confidence in Qājār rule in the aftermath of the disgraceful defeat of the Iranian troops at Marv in 1860.[50] The appointments following in the 1890s, by contrast, reflected a shift in power in favor of the Qājār court. In order to maintain their hereditary claims to power, the local leadership had to submit substantial fees to the Shāh, the prime minister, the governor-general, and the *vazīr* of Khurāsān. The government, on its part, based the appointments of local governors on the value of the presents received, thus fanning local rivalries and hastening the financial ruin of many leading families.[51]

THE TRIBAL ARISTOCRACY OF KHURĀSĀN

THE ZAʿFARĀNLŪ KURDS OF KHABŪSHĀN

As early as 1215/1800–01, the Zaʿfarānlūs, then described as lords of Chinārān, were extolled for their courage and warlike disposition:

> Their winter and summer quarters (*qishlāq, yailāq*) extend across the mountains of Akhlūmad [Akhlamad]. At the time of the martyred Sulṭān [Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain], they were estimated to number 180,000 families. Their young men are handsome, tall, of strong physique and courageous. Their troops consist entirely of cavalry. One hundred of their cavalry are considered equal to 1,000 cavalry furnished by other tribes (*qaum*). They do not resort to rifles in battle and say that war conducted by means of rifles is not a war among men (*jang ba tufang jang-i mardān nīst*), because [even] a woman can achieve victory over a hundred horsemen by means of a bullet. In their opinion, cannons are for the conquest of forts (*qalʿa shikanī*), and they view this sort of warfare as deceitful. Therefore, they fight with spears and swords; and a minority resorts to bow and arrow.[52]

The prominent role of the Zaʿfarānlū leadership in the politics of Khurāsān is fairly well documented from the Nadirid era onward. Jaʿfar Khān Zaʿfarānlū was one of the leading figures in the power struggle engulfing Khurāsān after Nādir Shāh's death in 1747. Until his defeat and blinding in 1751–52, he was the most powerful antagonist of Mīr ʿAlam I Khuzaima of Qāyin and Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān Jalāyir of Kalāt, and temporarily deposed Nādir Shāh's grandson Shāh Rukh Afshār.

In the early nineteenth century, Amīr Gūna Khān Zaʿfarānlū of Khabūshān[53] was one of the prominent military leaders of Khurāsān.[54] Following historical precedents, he had received the titles of "*īlkhānī*" and "*amīr al-umarā*" from Āqā Muḥammad Khān in 1210/1796.[55] Contrary to the Zaʿfarānlū leadership of Chinārān,[56] Amīr Gūna Khān was a steadfast ally of the Qājārs and entered a marriage alliance with Fatḥ

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[50] Sheikholeslami 1997: 83.

[51] C. E. Yate 1900: 60–1, 183. This ongoing circulation of gifts in cash and kind from the periphery to the center and government reciprocation in the form of fiscal favors granted to local officials has been characterized by Sheikholeslami as the most dynamic aspect of an "otherwise stagnant economy" (Sheikholeslami 1997: 115).

[52] Dānishpazhūh 1974: 410.

[53] The available sources alternately identify the Kurdish leadership of Khabūshān as "Zaʿfarānlū" (Kāẓim 75, 77, 107, 590; *Dhū al-qarnain* 111; TRSN IX: 363; NT 103) or "Saʿdānlū" (Dānishpazhūh 1974: 410–411).

[54] *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 74, 114, 161–6, 239–45, 338–40, 397, 414.

[55] *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 69.

[56] Chinārān was the seat of Mamish Khān (d. ca. 1217/1802), who was another influential Zaʿfarānlū leader in the late eighteenth century. In 1780–81, he temporarily removed Shāh Rukh Afshār from the government of Mashhad (*Gulshan-i murād* 645–7; see also Dānishpazhūh 1974: 410; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 263–6) Mamish Khān submitted to Āqā Muḥammad Qājār in 1210/1796, but subsequently rebelled against his successor Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 68; Bāmdād 1992 IV: 158). When Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā assumed office as the first Qājār governor of Mashhad in 1218/1803, he faced the opposition of Mamish Khān's nephew Naqd ʿAlī Khān, who took position at the fort of Chinārān (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 80–3, 129, 142–4).

ʿAlī Shāh.[57] Amīr Gūna Khān's descendants assumed a powerful position for the greater part of the nineteenth century. The continuing prominence of the Kurdish leadership is reflected by the fact that Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh paid visits to their seats in Bujnūrd and Khabūshān on the occasion of his trips to Khurāsān in early 1284/summer 1867 and Ramażān 1300/July 1883.[58]

The Zaʿfarānlū leaders of Khabūshān were able to maintain their position as "the most powerful vassals of the Persian crown", notwithstanding recurring instances of antagonism.[59] Despite a temporary detainment in the capital, Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū's son Amīr Ḥusain gained the title of "Shujāʿ al-Daula" in 1867 and presided over the affairs of Khabūshān and the neighboring regions from 1865 until his death in 1893.[60] Yet the royal attempts at conciliation were accompanied by efforts at playing the Zaʿfarānlū and Shādillū leaders off against each other. In 1281/1864, Amīr Ḥusain Khān briefly gained the governorship of Bujnūrd.[61] Nine years later, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh ordered Yār Muḥammad Khān Shādillū Sihām al-Daula to curb the expansionist activities of his Zaʿfarānlū counterpart Amīr Ḥusain Khān.[62] After the death of the Zaʿfarānlū leader in 1893, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh repeatedly switched the governorship between Amīr Ḥusain Khān's son and his nephew and, by fuelling the competition between them, extracted increasing gifts of money from both sides.[63]

The Shādillū Kurds of Bujnūrd

The Shādillū leaders of Bujnūrd maintained their hold over the neighboring areas of Jājarm and Isfarāyin, as well as over Astarābād and the adjacent Turkmen regions well into the 1890s. This lineage figures in the politics of Khurāsān from the early Qājār period on. In the early nineteenth century, Najaf Qulī Khān Shādillū received the title of *īlkhānī* from Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh for his attempts to rein in the Turkmens in the Tejend region.[64] Carrying the title of *mīr-i panj*, his son Jaʿfar Qulī Khān Shādillū controlled the government of Astarābād in addition to his possessions in Bujnūrd from 1271/1854 until his death in 1275/1858–59.[65] Najaf Qulī Khān Shādillū's third son Ḥaidar Qulī Khān (d. 1288/1871–72) was the first Shādillū leader to receive the title of Sihām al-Daula around 1281/1864. His nephew and successor Yār Muḥammad Khān Shādillū (d. 1322/1904–5) gained this title in 1298/1880–81. Ḥaidar Qulī Khān's brothers Shīr Muḥammad Khān Shādillū and Muḥammad Qulī Khān Shādillū held the governorships of Jājarm/Isfarāyin and Turbat-i Shaikh Jām respectively.

While the government of Astarābād mostly rested with Qājār representatives, the Shādillū leadership continued to make its influence felt there. Between 1281–1284/1864–1867, Ḥaidar Qulī Khān conducted two military campaigns to Astarābād.[66] His successor Yār Muḥammad Khān Shādillū governed Astarābād from late 1302–Rajab 1304/late 1885–March/April 1887.[67] At the time of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's second visit to Khurāsān in Ramażān 1300/July 1883, Yār Muḥammad Khān Shādillū was in charge of administering the

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[57] Amīr Gūna Khān's daughter was married to Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's fifth son Ḥusain ʿAlī Mīrzā Farmānfarmā during Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's first campaign to Khurāsān in the summer of 1213–14/1799 (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 69; TRSN IX: 353; NT 103; TMN 1452). See also Komaki 1995: 81.

[58] Mīr Niyā 1994: 156, 205; Tavaḥḥudī 1985 II: 396–7. During his first visit to Bujnūrd, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh ordered the Zaʿfarānlū leader Amīr Ḥusain Shujāʿ al-Daula and the Shādillū leader Ḥaidar Qulī Khān Sihām al-Daula to organize a raid against the Yomut Turkmens of Gurgān (Tavaḥḥudī 1985 II: 378–87).

[59] Curzon 1966 I: 101.

[60] Bāmdād 1992 I: 390–2; Migeod 1990: 64.

[61] Tavaḥḥudī 1985 II: 368.

[62] Gill 1874: 276; Sheikholeslami 1997: 86.

[63] C. E. Yate 1900: 180–2.

[64] Fraser 1973: 219. See also *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 373–4.

[65] TRSN X: 612; NT 1282, 1372–5; MSh I: 135–6; Bāmdād 1992 I: 249; Lambton 1988b: 44. For Jaʿfar Qulī Khān's policies towards the Akhal Teke Turkmens, see König 1962: 27–8. According to Polak, Jaʿfar Qulī Khān died while he was governor of Astarābād (Polak 1860: 51–2).

[66] MB 1463, 1555, 1558; TMN 1894; Tavaḥḥudī 1985 II: 378–90.

[67] Bāmdād 1992 I: 303; IV: 401, 432–3.

Göklen Turkmens.[68] In 1894, his officials reportedly occupied a subordinate position to the Qājār governor of Astarābād, as it was their duty to collect revenue among the Göklen Turkmens of Gurgān and to submit it to the provincial government.[69]

THE KHUZAIMA ARABS OF QĀYIN

Bordering the desert of Sīstān, the region of Qāyin primarily lent itself to animal husbandry and was a center of carpet weaving: "Numbers of camels are reared in the plains of Kayn, and its mountains are covered with sheep; from the wool of which, carpets of different textures are made, of a quality equal to any produced in Persia."[70] The chief town of this region was Bīrjand, "situated under a range of low hills on the northernmost side of a fertile valley running east and west".[71] Aside from carpets, the principal products of the region were saffron, cotton textiles, raw silk, *zirishk*, dried fruits, nuts, and almonds.[72]

The leading position of the Khuzaima Arabs in this region can be traced to the Nadirid period. In 1731, Ismāʿīl Khān Khuzaima received the government of Qāyin and Farāh. Based in Tūn, Ṭabas and Qāyin, Ismāʿīl's son Mīr ʿAlam Khān inserted himself into the power struggle engulfing Mashhad in the aftermath of Nādir Shāh's assassination. His career ended in the summer of the year 1754, when he was captured by Aḥmad Shāh Sadūzai and given up to his enemies for execution. During the Zand and early Qājār periods, Qāyin was held by Mīr ʿAlam Khān's son Mīr ʿAlī Khān and his grandson Mīr ʿAlam II.[73]

It was under Mīr ʿAlam Khān II's grandson, Mīr ʿAlam III, that the Khuzaima Arab nobility was able to expand its sphere of influence dramatically. In 1867, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh awarded the government of Sīstān and the title of Ḥishmat al-Mulk to Mīr ʿAlam III, who garrisoned Sīstān with his own troops. He enjoyed a position even superior to that of the *īlkhānīs* of Khabūshān and Bujnūrd and was considered one of the most powerful individuals in Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's realm.[74] After his death in 1891, Mīr ʿAlam III's possessions were split up among his sons. The elder son Mīr ʿAlī Akbar inherited his father's title of Ḥishmat al-Mulk and gained the governorship of Sīstān, Tūn and Ṭabas. The second son, Ismāʿīl II Khuzaima, half brother of Mīr ʿAlī Akbar, received the title of Shaukat al-Mulk and the governorship of Qāyin. While the territory controlled by this family remained impressive, the Qājār government effectively reduced the sphere of authority of the individual governors in charge. This is also reflected by the fact that the use of the evocative title of *amīr*, which had been conferred on the rulers of Qāyin as early as the seventeenth century, was

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[68] Yār Muḥammad Khān Shādillū seems to have used his governorship of Astarābād to convey large sums of money to Bujnūrd (Tavaḥḥudī 1985 II: 394, 397–8).

[69] C. E. Yate 1900: 215, 217–8.

[70] Malcolm 1829 II: 224.

[71] The water supply of Bīrjand was secured by four large *qanāts*. Towards the end of the drought of 1870–72, the town consisted of 3,000 dome-roofed mud-built houses with 15,000 inhabitants. It had six caravanserais and about 200 shops (Goldsmid 1876 I: 336). During the same period, the population of the town of Qāyin was estimated at 2,500 inhabitants. The town possessed "from seventy to eighty wretched shops, three *hammáms*, and two ruined caravanserais…" Owing to the drought, the local industry had declined: "In happier days the district could show large yields of silk and saffron; but the three terrible years of drought that have passed over it have so blighted the mulberry-trees, that last year's yield of silk was not more than one-fourth of the average, while the cultivation of wheat has everywhere superseded that of saffron." (Goldsmid 1876 I: 341).

[72] Goldsmid 1876 I: 336.

[73] Mojtahed-Zadeh 2004: 63–4.

[74] Curzon 1966 I: 200; Sheikholeslami 1997: 180. The Goldsmid delegation met Mīr ʿAlam III at the newly founded Qājār garrison of Nuṣratābād in Sīstān in February 1872. Major Euan Smith describes him as "a tall fine-looking man, of some forty-five years old, rather dark, with a countenance principally noticeable for the immense size of the jaw bones, which project from his face like fins. He wears a thick moustache, is not unlike the Shah, and his expression – though somewhat stern and cruel, with a want of frankness in it – can at times be made very courteous and engaging. On the occasion of the first visit paid him by Captains Lovett and Smith, he was dressed in a magnificent Kashmír robe trimmed with sable, and seated in an upstairs room inside the inner citadel of the Shahr-i-Kadím, carpeted with unusually handsome rugs, and hung round with pistols and guns…" (Goldsmid 1876 I: 267).

dropped. The neutral designation of *ḥukmrān*, "governor", which was adopted instead, carried no connotation of historical entitlement.[75]

THE ZANGŪʾĪ ARABS OF ṬABAS (GĪLAKĪ)

The Arab geographers noted the existence of two towns by this name. This town they called Ṭabas al-Tamr ("Tabas of the Date Palm") to distinguish it from Ṭabas al-ʿUnnāb ("Tabas of the Jujube Tree") located four stages east of Bīrjand. From the eleventh century on, the two towns came to be known as Ṭabas Gīlakī and Ṭabas Masīnā respectively.[76] The Persian chronicles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries generally mention Tūn and Ṭabas in conjunction, indicating that they were understood as an administrative unit. In the early nineteenth century, Malcolm described Ṭabas as an insular oasis, surrounded by thirty miles of desert in every direction. Camel breeding and tobacco constituted the major sources of income.[77]

The role of the leading Zangūʾī family as governors of Ṭabas dated back to Afsharid times. Nādir Shāh is said to have conferred the district on ʿAlī Mardān Khān Zangūʾī in return for services rendered in the Dasht-i Lūt.[78] He lost his life while battling Aḥmad Shāh Sadūzai's troops in 1770.[79] At the time of Tīmūr Shāh and Shāh Zamān Sadūzai, ʿAlī Mardān Khān's grandson Mīr Ḥasan Khān Zangūʾī (d. 1235/1819–20) governed Ṭabas and, hence, the "Bandar-i Lūt", the gateway to the desert.[80] In the nineteenth century, the Zangūʾī chiefs were known as the *vakīls* of Ṭabas and consistently cooperated with the Qājār governors of Mashhad. Like the other leaders of Khurāsān, Ḥājjī Muḥammad Bāqir Khān of Ṭabas received a prestigious title from Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1867. Henceforth known as ʿImād al-Mulk, he controlled the affairs of Ṭabas without major government interference until his death in 1894. The final years of the nineteenth century, by contrast, were characterized by several rounds of intense bargaining between Muḥammad Bāqir Khān's three sons and Mīr ʿAlī Akbar Khān Khuzaima Ḥishmat al-Mulk, the governor of Sīstān, for the succession to the governorship of Ṭabas. At the end of this process, in the course of which a great part of the funds necessary for gifts to the court and the provincial government were raised by the sale of land, the eldest son ʿAlī Akbar Khān Zangūʾī gained this coveted post and the title of ʿImād al-Mulk.[81]

THE QARĀʾĪS OF TURBAT-I ḤAIDARĪYA

Contrary to the leading Khurāsānī families discussed so far, the Qarāʾī leadership of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya already suffered decisive inroads into their sphere of influence in the early 1830s. The Qarāʾīs had been intermittently involved in the administration of Mashhad since Aḥmad Shāh had appointed Amīr Khān Qarāʾī as military governor (*sardār*) of Khurāsān and assigned the government of Tūn and Ṭabas to him.[82] Prior to the advent of Āqā Muḥammad Qājār in 1796, Amīr Khān Qarāʾī's son Isḥāq Khān was said to control the entire region between Mashhad and Khvāf, and hence the major southern trade routes in the region leading to Herat and Ṭabas. As "first merchant" in this region, he exported dried fruit produced on his

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[75] C. E. Yate 1900: 65–6. See also Sykes 1902b.

[76] Krawulsky 1982: 46; Krawulsky 1984: 40; Sykes 1906: 562.

[77] Malcolm 1829 II: 223. On the occasion of his visit to Ṭabas in October 1880, C. E. Stewart observed that the town did not live up to the expectations Malcolm's portrayal had raised: "Sir John Malcolm has thrown a sort of halo over Tabbas by his description of it…, but it is really a very ordinary town. A portion of it is fortified with a deep ditch and walls, stronger and in better repair than is usual in Persia. The gates are also thickly plated with iron, and though of course not a strong place, it is in better order than most Persian towns, where, if the gate is strong enough to resist being kicked in by a Turkoman's horse, it is considered sufficient. The fortified portion contains about 5000 inhabitants, but the mass of the people live outside" (Stewart 1881: 522).

[78] Sykes 1906: 562.

[79] Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 123, 435.

[80] Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 49, 267. See also Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 325–6;

[81] C. E. Yate 1900: 59–61. See also Curzon 1966 I: 202–3; Sykes 1906: 564.

[82] According to *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī*, Amīr Khān Qarāʾī already controlled Tūn, Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya, Zāva-Maḥvilāt at the time of Aḥmad Shāh's siege of Mashhad in the summer of 1167/1754 (TA (ed. Humāyūn) 180. See also *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 114–15; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Ražavī) 89–90; Mann 1898: 182; Yate 1900: 53–4.

own estates and had three thousand camels on hire with the caravans between India and Persia. His entire income was estimated at hundred thousand *tūmān*. In Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya, which grew "from an inconsiderable village into a town of consequence" under his auspices, he maintained a guest house large enough to feed five hundred persons at a time.[83] Isḥāq Khān's fame and reputation for economic success lingered on after his death in 1816. In spring 1830, the British traveller Conolly was told that the herds grazing around Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya during Isḥāq Khān's time were so large that fourteen hundred dogs were needed to keep watch over them.[84]

Occupying a key position in relationship to Herat, Isḥāq Khān Qarāʾī assumed a double role as the most crucial ally and the most powerful antagonist of the early Qājār administrators in Mashhad.[85] He effectively used his relationship with the Qājār court to widen his sphere of influence eastward to include the region of Ghūriyān. Meanwhile, his son Ḥusain Qulī Khān Qarāʾī[86] was involved with the administration of Turshīz, which was one of the core possessions of the Qājārs in the early nineteenth century.[87] Both Isḥāq Khān and Ḥusain Qulī Khān Qarāʾī ultimately paid with their death for the extensive powers they enjoyed under the first Qājār governor, Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā (1803–1816). Having assumed an all too independent and overbearing position towards the provincial administration, they were executed in 1231/1816.[88] Isḥāq Khān's remaining son Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī used his position in Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya to openly defy Qājār authority by disrupting the caravan traffic in the region and engaging in slave trade.[89] In 1246/1830–31, he occupied Jām and Bākharz.[90] Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī's career was put to an end with his deportation to Azerbaijan in 1833. Henceforth, Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya was incorporated into the Qājār administration.[91] It was governed by tribal outsiders and garrisoned by Persian troops.[92] Even so, the family continued to control a

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[83] According to the source quoted by Malcolm, Isḥāq Khān derived thirty thousand *tūmān* from his own estates, forty thousand from his subjects, and twenty thousand from trade (Malcolm 1826 II: 226–9).

[84] In 1830, Conolly estimated the size of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya at 600–800 houses (Conolly 1834 I: 290). In December 1832, Mohan Lal reckoned that the town had no more than 5,000 inhabitants (Lal 1977: 124). In June 1845, Ferrier reported that there were more than 200 villages in the district of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya. The town itself contained 3,000 houses: "This place is walled and surrounded by a ditch, and there are bazaars, but not roofed, mosques and caravanserais; there are more than 200 villages in the district of Toorbut. The productions are opium, silk, tobacco, and fruits" (Ferrier 1857: 137).

[85] Conolly 1834 I: 290; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 122; Mann 1898: 180; C. E. Yate 1900: 53–4. For Isḥāq Khān's central role as military leader at the beginning of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's reign, see *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 72, 74, 87, 114, 116–18, 151–5, 203–5, 334, 377, 380–95, 414, 420; TRSN IX: 377.

[86] The Persian sources variously refer to Isḥāq Khān Qarāʾī's son as Ḥusain Qulī (*Dhū al-qarnain* 380) and Ḥusain ʿAlī (NT 273–4).

[87] Muṣṭafā Qulī Khān ʿArab Mīshmast, the hereditary ruler of Turshīz, resisted the Qājār government until Rabīʿ II 1224/June 1809, when he was taken prisoner and was forced to live at the royal court. He stayed in Tehran until Ṣafar 1245/August 1829, and regained the government or Turshīz in Rajab 1245/January 1830. Shortly after, he was supplanted by his younger brother Muḥammad Taqī Khān, who in turn found himself displaced by ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana's troops in Ramażān 1247/February 1832 (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 132–3, 153–6, 332–6, 377–80; *Dhū al-qarnain* 719–20, 800–2; NT 185, 429).

[88] *Dhū al-qarnain* 424–5; NT 274. See also Yate 1900: 53–4.

[89] See Zaʿfarānlū for the case of a woman of Turshīz, who was abducted by Salor Turkmens with the connivance of Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī around 1827 and returned home 24 years later (Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 45–6). At the time of Conolly's visit in the spring of 1830, Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī was rumored to have sold more than 50,000 people to the Turkmens. Not even a caravan traveling under the patronage of the influential Qājār official Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Vahhāb Muʿtamad al-Daula was safe from his abuses (Conolly 1834 I: 290–1). Mohan Lal, who visited Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya in 1832, described Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī as "a man of cruel disposition and a slave-dealer. He was a friend of the Turkmans, and a foe of his own people, whom he sold to the former for horses or money" (Lal 1977: 120). In 1833, Fraser recounted an anecdote concerning a barber who had complained to Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī about his difficulties to provide for his progeny, the number of which he overstated. Muḥammad Khān "solved" that poor man's problem by selling his children, and those he had presented as his own to further his case, to a Turkmen agent (Fraser 1973: 228–9). When issuing instructions to Abbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana in the fall of 1246/1830, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh reasoned that it was necessary to apprehend Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī and Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū because their slave dealing "caused unrest in Iran and Tūrān" (*Dhū al-qarnain* 795–6). See also Yate 1900: 53–4.

[90] KR 70 (Patterson 1988: 47).

[91] *Dhū al-qarnain* 833–6; NT 486–7, 497.

[92] Forrest 1906: 38.

vast landed estate in the region, which is evidenced by the conflict which erupted between Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī's son Abū al-Qāsim Khān and the governor of Mashhad in 1885.

The relatively early decline of the Qarāʾī leadership notwithstanding, the prevailing balance of power between Qājār rulers and local leadership did not shift significantly for most of the nineteenth century. Operating from a rudimentary administrative base, government representatives relied on the provincial nobility for the performance of vital tasks, such as the collection of revenue, the performance of military services, and the administration of justice. In 1285/1868–69, the troops at the disposal of the leadership of Khabūshān, Bujnūrd and Qāyin were listed as the backbone of the army of Khurāsān and Sīstān.[93] As their part of the bargain, the local leaders enjoyed royal recognition. They also thrived financially to the extent that they could exploit the customary gap between the revenues due to government and the income realized locally. Their loose incorporation into the Qājār state structure therefore enhanced their standing locally while engendering little or no interference from the center.[94] Yet by the 1890s, there were signs that the tribal power base was eroding. One indication of increasing government weight is the growing interference with the issues of succession which arose with the death of a number of influential tribal leaders. The Qājār government used the ongoing generational change within the local nobility to insert itself into local processes of decision-making and to remould local relationships of power according to its own interests.

The diminishing clout of the local leaders also derived from the fact that their services as the guardians of Khurāsān's frontiers increasingly became obsolete. While implying a closed space, the borders delineated with Afghanistan and Russia carried with them the advantage of greater security. In particular, the containment of the Turkmen threat in the 1880s deprived the northern tribes of their raison d'être as a bulwark against marauding Central Asian hordes.[95] This transition from a setting of loosely negotiated allegiances to an environment of boundedness will be treated in greater detail in the following section. The description of the political framework will be structured chronologically around the sequence of governorships and the military campaigns they involved. By reconstructing the events from the onset of Qājār authority to the end of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, I hope to shed light on the forces at play and the limitations of Qājār government, particularly on the eastern fringes of the realm.

THE QĀJĀR ADMINISTRATION OF KHURĀSĀN

Khurāsān formally became a Qājār possession in 1210/1796,[96] when Āqā Muḥammad conquered Mashhad and attempted to eradicate all traces of Afsharid control. In revenge for the death of his grandfather Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Qājār, he had the remains of Nādir Shāh dug up and sent to Tehran. Shāh Rukh Afshār, Nādir Shāh's grandson and representative of the Sadūzai empire, suffered great abuse and subsequently succumbed to the rigors of deportation. Meanwhile, his son Nādir Mīrzā Afshār took refuge at the Sadūzai court in Kābul and later moved to Herat.[97] Yet Qājār authority in Khurāsān crumbled with the death of Āqā Muḥammad on 21

[93] MB 1590. In 1875, Napier reported that the regular army of Mashhad consisted of three regiments of infantry, of about 800 men, which rotated in the garrisons of Kalāt and Sarakhs. The irregular forces, by comparison, were much more formidable in numbers. Napier estimated that 10,000 peasants could be raised on short notice. Among the troops available locally, the Kurds had the greatest fighting strength. The cavalry of Mashhad was furnished by Hazāra, Tīmūrī and Jamshīdī mercenaries (Napier 1875: 223–5).

[94] Sheikholeslami 1997: 86–8, 146, 191.

[95] Curzon 1966 I: 111; Migeod 1990: 65–6.

[96] Āqā Muḥammad Khān embarked on his journey from Tehran to Astarābād and Khurāsān on 7 Dhū al-Qaʿda 1210/14 May 1796 (Sāravī 283; NT 80; TMN 1432; FN 663).

[97] Sāravī 286–8; Boukhary 145–50; Persian text, p. 64–66; TRSN IX: 279; NT 80–81; FN I: 663–4, Busse 1972: 69–70. See also Champagne 1981: 49; Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 65, 184; Quddūsī 1960: 440.

Dhū al-Ḥijja 1211/17 June 1797.[98] The local leaders reasserted their independence, and the following year Nādir Mīrzā was able to return to Mashhad with Sadūzai support.[99]

A year after his official coronation in 1212/1798, Āqā Muḥammad's successor Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh directed his attention to Khurāsān.[100] In the course of three military campaigns in the summers of 1213–1214/1799,[101] 1214–1215/1800[102] and 1217/1802,[103] he forced the leadership of Sabzavār and Nīshāpūr to submit. The focus of the first and third campaigns was on Mashhad. While the local population suffered twofold from Nādir Mīrzā Afshār's extortions and from the hardships brought about by the presence of the Qājār army, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh was unable to establish direct authority there. Despite waning popular backing, Nādir Mīrzā continued to hold his own. During the first siege of 1799, the local ulama and *sayyids* willingly served as intermediaries but subsequently became increasingly estranged from the Afshār leader. On his part, Nādir Mīrzā turned against the leading *ʿālim* Mīrzā Muḥammad Mihdī, who had served as the *mutavallī* of Imām Riżā's shrine since the late 1770s[104] and whose growing popularity reflected general discontent with the deteriorating conditions in Mashhad. Finding himself besieged by the newly appointed Qājār governor Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā from 20 Ṣafar 1218/11 June 1803 on, Nādir Mīrzā lost the last vestiges of local support when he pillaged the tomb of Imām Riżā to pay his troops. On 1 Ramażān 1218/15 December 1803, he fled from Mashhad after inflicting a mortal wound on his antagonist Mīrzā Muḥammad Mihdī. Within a short time, he was apprehended and sent to Tehran for execution.[105] In revenge for the abuses committed by Nādir Mīrzā, the ulama of Mashhad demolished the tomb of his great-grandfather Nādir Shāh.[106]

The actual scope of Qājār control over Khurāsān in the early nineteenth century is reflected by the aforementioned statement of 1215/1800–01, which compares the revenues and troops at the disposal of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh with those commanded by the Safavid ruler Shāh Sultan Ḥusain. In 1128/1715–16, that is, seven years prior to the downfall of the Safavid Empire, Khurāsān was still reported to comprise, in theory at least, three large *bēglerbēgīs* covering the entire space between Kirmān and Sīstān in the west, and Kābul and Ghaznī in the east. The prospects presented by the account of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's revenue base, by contrast, were much more modest. Thus the Qājār king was reported to derive the bulk of his income in Khurāsān from the western towns of Simnān, Dāmghān, Shāhrūd, Būstān (Bisṭām?), Sīstān (?) and Biyārjumand.[107] The report concludes with the remark that Sabzavār and Nīshāpūr had been added to the tax rolls only one year earlier, possibly as a result of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's second campaign to Khurāsān, while the remaining towns and tribes of Khurāsān had failed to submit any revenues whatsoever at the time of writing.[108]

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[98] Lambton, "Kadjar," *E.I. 2*, IV: 391; Perry, "Āḡā Moḥammad Khan Qājār," *E.Ir.* I: 604. According to Imām al-Dīn Ḥusainī and Faiż Muḥammad, Āqā Muḥammad was killed on 14 Muḥarram 1212/9 July 1797 (T Hu 471, ST 55; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 87).

[99] *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 66; ST 55; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 87–8. See also Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 100–2, 184.

[100] Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh ascended to the throne on 4 Ṣafar 1212/29 July 1797. His official coronation took place in Tehran on 1 Shavvāl 1212/19 March 1798 (Amanat, "Fatḥ ʿAlī Shah Qājār," *E.Ir.* IX: 408).

[101] The Qājār troops left Tehran on 15 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1213/20 May 1799 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 106), encamped before Mashhad from 1–15 Rabīʿ I 1214/3–17 August 1799 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 111, TRSN IX: 352–3), and returned to Tehran on 15 Rabīʿ II [1214]/16 September 1799 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 113). See also TRSN IX: 349–56; TMN 1452; Komaki 1995: 81. According to Lisān al-Mulk, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh returned to Tehran on 11 Rabīʿ II 1214/12 September 1799 (NT 103).

[102] Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh left Tehran on 9 Dhū al-Ḥijja [1214]/8 May 1800 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 135), advanced to Sabzavār in Muḥarram 1215/May–June 1800 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 135–6), and arrived in Tehran on 14 Rabīʿ II [1215]/4 September 1800 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 139). See also TRSN IX: 363–4; NT 108–9; TMN 1456–7; Elphinstone 1992 II: 321; Komaki 1995: 81.

[103] Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh set out from Tehran on 17 Muḥarram 1217/20 May 1802 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 163), besieged Mashhad from 9 Rabīʿ I [1217]/10 July 1802 for one month (*Dhū al-qarnain*. 164), and reached Tehran on 7 Jumādā I [1217]/5 September 1802 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 165). See also TRSN IX: 376–80; TMN 1463–4; Komaki 1995: 81.

[104] *Gulshan-i murād* 643, 645.

[105] *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 67–8, 86, 111–27. According to Fażlullāh Shīrāzī, Nādir Mīrzā Afshār was executed in late Dhū al-Qaʿda [1218]/March 1804 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 177–9;). See also NT 121; TRSN IX: 385–6; TMN 1467–8.

[106] Lockhart 1938: 264n.

[107] In the late nineteenth century, Biyārjumand was a subdistrict of Shāhrūd-Bisṭām (*Gaz. Iran* II: 78).

[108] Dānishpazhūh 1974: 417–21.

THE GOVERNMENT OF MUḤAMMAD VALĪ MĪRZĀ (1218–1231/1803—1816)[109]

The Qājār conquest of Mashhad on 10 Ramażān 1218/24 Dec 1803 coincided with a period of weakness in the Sadūzai domain, as the relationships of power in Kābul, Qandahār and Herat were shaken up in the aftermath of the forceful transition of power from Shāh Zamān to his half brother Maḥmūd in 1800–01.[110] The favorable circumstances on the eastern frontier were outweighed by the need to contain Russian intervention in the Caucasus, and Qājār presence in Khurāsān remained relatively weak for the next decade. The first Qājār governor Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā, who was fifteen years old at the time of his appointment, commanded poor financial and military resources and required the support of the local nobility to maintain a semblance of authority.[111] This in turn restricted his ability to maneuver vis-à-vis the Khurāsānī leadership. For the first ten years after assuming office, Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā maintained his position by means of a close alliance with Isḥāq Khān of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya. The Qarāʾī leader, who had already enjoyed special favors under Āqā Muḥammad Shāh,[112] "very soon became so powerful, that he controlled the prince, who found he could do nothing of which his general did not approve."[113] Isḥāq Khān used his alliance with Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā to extend his dominions eastward. Upon the conquest of Ghūriyān in Ramażān 1219/December 1804, Isḥāq Khān's nephew Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān Qarāʾī was appointed governor.[114] Isḥāq Khān was thus in the position to exert pressure on the intervening areas of Bākharz and Jām and to assume a pivotal role in all policies concerning Herat.[115]

The developments of the early nineteenth century were linked to the uncertain status of Herat as a Qājār tributary and the semi-independent status of the contiguous Qarāʾī possessions. This led to a number of changing coalitions among the local leadership and posed a constant challenge to Qājār authority. Ghūriyān, located 40 miles west of Herat, became the focus of three military campaigns in 1807, 1811, and 1814. In the course of these events, the Qarāʾī leader and his nephew sought to bolster their position by fanning the rivalry between the lords of Mashhad and Herat to their own advantage. In 1807, Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān Qarāʾī entered an intrigue with Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn Sadūzai of Herat and encouraged him to extend his authority westward into Khurāsān. In his designs against Mashhad, Fīrūz al-Dīn was supported by his Naqshbandī *murshid* Ṣūfī Islām and the head of the Sunnī ulama of Herat, Ḥājjī Mullā Mūsā. During the battle of Shāda on 22 Rabīʿ II 1222/29 June 1807, Fīrūz al-Dīn's forces suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā's deputy (*nāʾib*) Muḥammad Khān Qājār.[116] Ṣūfī Islām was among the 4,000–6,000 Herati casualties of this confrontation.[117] After finding himself besieged for forty days in Herat, Fīrūz al-Dīn submitted two years'revenue (*kharāj*) to Muḥammad Khān Qājār.[118]

The next Qājār campaign against Herat in Jumādā II–Rajab 1226/July 1811 was brought about by Fīrūz al-Dīn's failure to submit revenues (*kharāj*) and his apparent designs to regain control over Ghūriyān. On this occasion, the mere threat of a military confrontation served as a reminder to Fīrūz al-Dīn of his obligations towards the Qājār court. When Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā moved with his troops via Ghūriyān to

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[109] Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā (b. 1203/1788–89) was the fourth son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (Mīr Niyā 1994: 22).

[110] See Chapter 3, footnote 207.

[111] Fraser 1825: 225.

[112] FN I: 663, Busse 1972: 69.

[113] Fraser 1825, Appendix B: 26.

[114] *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 203–6.

[115] *Dhū al-qarnain* 265–6; KR 62–3 (Patterson 1988: 18–20, 24).

[116] *Dhū al-qarnain* 267, 328. See also *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 380–423; TMN 1486; T Su 185.

[117] The figures given for the heavy losses of the Herati troops vary. According to Muḥammad Taqī Nūrī, 4,000 men were killed and 2,000 were taken prisoner (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 421). Fażlullāh Shīrāzī reports 6,000 troops died and 3,000 were taken prisoner (*Dhū al-qarnain* 267).

[118] *Dhū al-qarnain* 268, 328. According to Riyāżī, Fīrūz al-Dīn submitted three years' taxes at that point (KR 62 (Patterson 1988: 18–21)). Sulṭān Muḥammad Durrānī mentions a tribute of 100,000 rupees, 100 bolts of cashmere shawl cloth and an elephant (T Su 185). See also Boukhary 83–84; NT 161–3; ST 74–5; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 121–2.

Pul-i Nuqra near Herat, Fīrūz al-Dīn readily submitted and sent in the revenues of Herat through his son Malik Ḥusain Sadūzai.[119]

The following conflict about Ghūriyān coincided with an unfolding rebellion by the Khurāsānī leadership. In the summer of 1228/1813, the relationship between Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā and the nobility of Khurāsān deteriorated. The author of *Nāsikh al-tavārīkh* attributes the ensuing conflict to the impolite and impolitic attitude of the young prince: "Whenever he detected a hint of rebelliousness among the great ones… he would fly into a rage and abuse their ancestors and descendants with filthy language. The nobles of that territory suffered these ignominies for years unable to give vent to the darkness in their hearts…," until they heard about the heavy territorial losses in the final phase of the Russo-Persian war. In a meeting convened in the steppe of Gurgān, Isḥāq Khān and the other Khurāsānī nobles present decided to depose Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā. The active phase of the rebellion began shortly before the conclusion of the treaty of Gulistān on 13 September 1813. On 27 Shaʿbān 1228/25 August 1813, the Khurāsānī leadership attacked the royal herds in Chinārān and plundered in the surroundings of Mashhad. Unaware of Isḥāq Khān's leading role in the revolt, Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā summoned the Qarāʾī leader to his court. On 11 Ramażān 1228/7 September 1813, Qarāʾī troops occupied the fortifications of Mashhad, and Isḥāq Khān deprived Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā of his power.[120] Yet in the aftermath of this sudden success the rebellion lost momentum, as the chiefs of Khabūshān, Bujnūrd, Darra Gaz and Jahān-Arghiyān refused to acknowledge Isḥāq Khān's claims to leadership: "We are of higher standing and better birth than Isḥāq Khān, and we will not serve him."[121]

As the nobles took off for their respective homes, Isḥāq Khān Qarāʾī's dreams of independence crumbled. Interestingly, his submission to Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā on *ʿīd al-fiṭr* 1228/27 September 1813 allowed him, at least temporarily, to slip back into his old role as a staunch supporter of Qājār interests, whereas the other leaders continued to bear the mark of rebelliousness. In the winter of 1813/14, Isḥāq Khān's son Ḥusain Qulī Khān Qarāʾī used a visit to the royal court in Tehran to explain his father's behavior and to request royal support against the other Khurāsānī nobles. In Rabīʿ II 1229/March 1814, a military campaign against the other ringleaders of the rebellion, Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū of Khabūshān, Najaf Qulī Khān Shādillū of Bujnūrd, Bēgler Khān Chāpushlū of Darra Gaz, and Saʿādat Qulī Khān Baghāyirlū of Jahān-Arghiyān, followed.[122]

In the meantime, Isḥāq Khān pursued an independent course of action. When Fīrūz al-Dīn used the weak position of the Qājār government to lay claim to the frontier post of Ghūriyān, the local governor, Isḥāq Khān's son Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī, requested help from Fīrūz al-Dīn's rivals in Qandahār rather than from the Qājār court. Kāmrān Sadūzai, then in control of Qandahār, readily took up the offer to extend his influence into Khurāsān with Qarāʾī support. This caused Fīrūz al-Dīn to withdraw his forces from Ghūriyān and to solicit military assistance from the Qājār general Ismāʿīl Khān Dāmghānī. Upon Kāmrān Sadūzai's retreat from Herat, Fīrūz al-Dīn submitted a tribute of 50,000 *tūmān* in gold coins to Ismāʿīl Khān's brothers. Furthermore, he promised to submit revenues on an annual basis and to perform *sikka* and *khuṭba*, the striking of coins and recitation of the Friday prayer, in the name of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh.[123]

As the rebellion of the Khurāsānī nobles went into its second year, Isḥāq Khān was rumored to be secretly supporting their cause. In Jumādā II–Shaʿbān 1230/June–August 1815, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh mounted an expedition against Khabūshān and Rādkān.[124] The next campaign against Rādkān in summer 1231/1816 coincided with a show of strength against Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān of Khīva.[125] While formally backing the

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[119] *Dhū al-qarnain* 328–9; NT 204–5; TMN 1500–1. See also KR 62–3 (Patterson 1988: 21–2).

[120] NT 247–8. See also Fraser 1825 Appendix B: 26.

[121] NT 248–9. See also TMN 1517; Komaki 1995: 86. According to Fraser, the Kurdish leadership rejected Isḥāq Khān's ambitions to assume a leading position because of his humble beginnings as a *yasāvul* of the previous Qarāʾī chief Najaf Khān (1825 Appendix B: 25–6).

[122] *Dhū al-qarnain* 380, 386–8; NT 249–50, 253.

[123] *Dhū al-qarnain* 392–3; NT 256–7; ST 88; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 144–5; KR: 63 (Patterson 1988:22–3). See also Komaki 1995: 81.

[124] *Dhū al-qarnain* 412–15; NT 268–9. See also TMN 1526.

[125] *Dhū al-qarnain* 419–24; NT 271–3.

Qājār cause, Isḥāq Khān maintained contact with Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā's opponents. In addition, he attempted to discredit the prince at the royal court in Tehran, intimating in several messages that the stalemate with the nobles of Khurāsān could only be overcome by the appointment of a new and capable governor. Not surprisingly, Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā seized the next opportunity when Isḥāq Khān and his son Ḥusain Qulī Khān Qarāʾī, then governor in Turshīz, were present at the court in Mashhad to strangle them.[126]

Ironically, the removal of his greatest rival did not improve Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā's situation. Unrest spread in Khurāsān, particularly in the regions contested between Mashhad and Herat. Once again, Ghūriyān slipped from Qājār control, and Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā's deputy Muḥammad Khān Qājār suffered two military setbacks. Defeated by an ad hoc coalition between Isḥāq Khān's son Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī and the Hazāra leadership, the Qājār general withdrew to Mashhad, thus enabling Fīrūz al-Dīn Sadūzai of Herat to spread his influence to Jām and Bākharz.[127] On receiving the news of the loss of Ghūriyān, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh realized that the relationship between Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā and the *khāns* of Khurāsān was beyond repair. He appointed another son, Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā, governor of Khurāsān and awarded the title of Shujāʿ al-Salṭana to him. Equipped with an army of 10,000 men, the new governor set out to restore order in the province.[128]

The Government of Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā Shujāʿ al-Salṭana[129] (Muḥarram 1232– Jumādā II 1242/December 1816–January 1827)[130]

Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's ten-year tenure as governor coincided with the end of Sadūzai power in Kābul, which was sparked by Shāh Maḥmūd's abortive attempt to assume direct authority over Herat and eventually reduced his sphere of authority to western Afghanistan. The Qājār governor, on his part, attempted to establish a sufficient measure of control among the leadership of Khurāsān to mount a total of four campaigns against Herat in 1817, 1818, 1821 and 1826. Closer to Mashhad, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's most important antagonists were Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū of Khabūshān, Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya and Bunyād Khān Hazāra of Jām and Bākharz.

The first year of Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's governorship was characterized by intense military activity in the northern and eastern regions of Qājār Khurāsān. In Jumādā I 1232/March 1817, he moved against Khabūshān and thus forcefully convinced Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū to join his ranks. Furthermore, the leadership of Bujnūrd, Darra Gaz, Jahān-Arghiyān and Rādkān undertook to give hostages and to furnish 2,000 cavalry to the Qājār governor. In Jumādā II 1232/May 1817, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana set out for Ghūriyān and Herat. During this campaign, he regained control of Ghūriyān and enforced allegiance from the Herati ruler Fīrūz al-Dīn Sadūzai, who submitted a tribute of 50,000 *tūmān* in gold and undertook to perform *sikka* and *khuṭba* in the name of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh.[131] This campaign was simultaneously directed against the Hazāras of Jām and Bākharz.[132] On his way to Herat, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana forced Bunyād Khān Hazāra to flee from Jām,

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[126] *Dhū al-qarnain* 424–5; NT 273–4; TMN 1530. See also *Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 226–7; Fraser 1825 Appendix B: 27.

[127] NT 275; KR 63–4 (Patterson 1988: 24).

[128] *Dhū al-qarnain* 426–9; NT 276. See also *Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 227; Fraser 1825 Appendix B: 28.

[129] Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā was the sixth son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (Bāmdād 1992 I: 367).

[130] Shujāʿ al-Salṭana arrived in Mashhad on 17 Muḥarram 1232/7 December 1816 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 430; TRSN IX: 529). See also Komaki 1995: 88.

[131] *Dhū al-qarnain* 443–9; NT 282–4. As the revenue of Ghūriyān amounted to 50,000 *tūmān* (Fraser 1825 Appendix B: 38), it is possible that the sum submitted by Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn represented back revenues from Ghūriyān rather than a direct revenue payment by Herat.

[132] In the early nineteenth century, as Bākharz and Jām were contested between the rulers of Herat and the Qājār governors of Mashhad, a number of Hazāra leaders, all descendants of Muḥammad Shāh Khān Hazāra Bēglerbēgī, came to the fore. In 1229/1814, Ibrāhīm Khān Hazāra b. Muḥammad Shāh encouraged Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn of Herat to occupy Ghūriyān (*Dhū al-qarnain* 392, NT 256; ST 88; KR 63). As a result, he was detained during a visit to Tehran in Muḥarram 1230/January 1815. At that time, his nephew, Āzād b. Muḥammad Khān Bēglerbēgī, gained the governorship of the Hazāras (*ḥukmrānī-yi qabāyil-i Hazāra*) but died soon afterwards (NT 265). In 1231/1816, Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā appointed Iskandar b. Āqāʾī to the government of Jām and the command of the Hazāras (*vilāyat-i Jām va imārat-i Hazārajāt*) (*Dhū al-qarnain* 427). In the same

and the Qājār troops killed so many Hazāras that they were able to erect a minaret of skulls. After the successful completion of the siege of Herat, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana decided to pursue Bunyād Khān further in the difficult terrain of Bādghīs, thus allowing himself to be drawn into a local power struggle among the leadership of the Hazāras, Tīmūrīs and Jamshīdīs. A military stand off near Darra-yi Būm[133] in the summer of 1232/1817 ended with a disorderly retreat of the Qājār troops.[134]

Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's second campaign to Herat was occasioned by the continued competition for the possession of Ghūriyān. This rivalry gained scope as Fīrūz al-Dīn requested aid from Shāh Maḥmūd Sadūzai in Kābul against the Qājār governor. Ironically, Fīrūz al-Dīn found himself eliminated from the political arena by Shāh Maḥmūd's *vazīr* Fatḥ Khān Muḥammadzai Bārakzai. After his successful coup against Fīrūz al-Dīn, Fatḥ Khān installed himself in Herat, sent his half brother Kuhandil Khān against Ghūriyān, and entered coalitions with the Hazāra and Qarāʾī leadership and Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān of Khīva.[135] During the ensuing confrontation near Kāfir Qalʿa in 1233/1818,[136] Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's troops were vastly outnumbered by those of Fatḥ Khān.[137] The outcome of the battle was inconclusive. According to one British account, "both armies ran away from each other, and were both plundered by the Hazaurehs, each general took credit for a victory".[138] While offering different interpretations, the chroniclers on both sides agree that the bullet wound that Fatḥ Khān Muḥammadzai received in his mouth had a grave psychological impact on the Afghan side. The sight of their wounded leader "made the bird of courage to fly from the case of the body", as the Afghan historian Faiż Muḥammad put it, and caused his officers to give up the fight.[139] Borne away by the "tide of retreat", Fatḥ Khān was forced to return to Herat.[140]

Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's position in Khurāsān was strengthened in the aftermath of the battle of Kāfir Qalʿa. Fatḥ Khān's erstwhile allies, Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī, Qilich Khān Tīmūrī and Yalangtūsh I Jamshīdī submitted to the Qājār governor, thus enforcing the notion of an Iranian victory.[141] Bunyād Khān Hazāra, on

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year, during the final phase of Muḥammad Valī's government, Iskandar Khān and his uncles Bunyād Khān and Naṣīr Khān b. Muḥammad Shāh sided with Ḥājjī Fīrūz al-Dīn Sadūzai. Their victory over the Qājār army enabled Fīrūz al-Dīn to expand his sphere of influence to include Ghūriyān, Jām and Bākharz (*Dhū al-qarnain* 428–9). At the time of his appointment as governor, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana allowed Ibrāhīm Khān Hazāra to return to Khurāsān. In the course of the military campaign of 1817, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana displaced Bunyād Khān and Naṣīr Khān Hazāra from the fort of Maḥmūdābād in Jām in 1817 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 430–1, 442–6, 449). Even so, Bunyād Khān continued to make his presence felt in the region until 1821.

133 The Darra-yi Būm is the lower portion of a "long valley descending north from the northern watershed of the Hari Rud to the Murghab… The … valley varies from 100 to 300 yards in breadth. It is bounded on either side by precipitous rocky cliffs, rising to a height of about 300 feet." (*Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 144; see also *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 56). According to Faẓlullāh Shīrāzī, the "Darra-yi Bām" was a dependency of Mārūchāq and was located on the road from Qalʿa-yi Nau to Bālā Murghāb at a distance of five *farsakh* from the Murghāb river (*Dhū al-qarnain* 449–52).

134 Shujāʿ al-Salṭana returned from Bādghīs to Mashhad on 10 Ramażān 1232/24 July 1817 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 453; NT 286). See also KR 64 (Patterson 1988: 25–7); ST 91–2; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 149–50.

135 NT 292–3, 295; KR 64–5 (Patterson 1988: 27–8); ST 92–3; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 151–2. See also Bāmdād 1992 I: 370.

136 The Iranian sources do not mention the date of the battle at Kāfir Qalʿa. Fażlullāh Shīrāzī and Hidāyat merely state that Shujāʿ al-Salṭana set out from Mashhad on 8 Rajab 1233/14 May 1818 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 479; TRSN IX: 560). According to the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* and *Sirāj al-tavārīkh*, Fatḥ Khān left Herat as late as 28 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1233/29 October 1818 to confront the Qājār troops (T Su 199; ST 95–6; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 156).

137 While the exact figures vary, all sources agree that Fatḥ Khān's army amounted to more than twice the number of that of Shujāʿ al-Salṭana. According to Fraser, Fatḥ Khān was joined by 10,000 "disaffected Khurasanees". Shujāʿ al-Salṭana, on the other hand, commanded an army of 6,000 men but was at an advantage in terms of artillery (Fraser 1825 Appendix B: 34). Hidāyat reports that Fatḥ Khān assembled 30–40,000 soldiers, whereas Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's army consisted of 10,000 cavalry and infantry (TRSN IX: 560). The authors of *Dhū al-qarnain, Nāsikh al-tavārīkh* and *Sirāj al-tavārīkh* speak of 30,000 men on Fatḥ Khān's and 10,000 men on Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's side (*Dhū al-qarnain* 480; NT 296; ST 95; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 156). Riyāżī reports similar proportions, assigning 35,000 men to Fatḥ Khān's side and 10,000 to Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's army (KR 66 (Patterson 1988: 34–5)).

138 Conolly & Trevelyan 1831.

139 ST 96. See also McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 158; *Dhū al-qarnain* 482; TRSN IX: 563; NT 298–9; TMN 1539; KR 66 (Patterson 1988: 34).

140 Fraser 1825 Appendix B: 35.

141 ST 96; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 158.

his part, had brought the influential Qājār official Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Vahhāb Muʿtamad al-Daula (d. 1244/1829) into his control during the confusion of the fight and used him as a pawn to obtain assurances for the government of Ghūriyān, Kūsūya and Bākharz.[142] Qājār claims to Khurāsān received a further boost with Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's campaign to the region in Ramażān—Dhū al-Ḥijja 1233/July–October 1818. On his way to Mashhad, the Qājār king exerted pressure on Khabūshān and used his influence with the Sadūzai court to have Fatḥ Khān Muḥammadzai punished for interfering with the affairs of Ghūriyān, Bākharz and Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya. When Shāh Maḥmūd's son Kāmrān Sadūzai attempted to mend the relationship with the Qājār court by alleging that the minister had acted without the consent of the Sadūzai government, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh responded by asking Kāmrān to demonstrate his goodwill by handing over Fatḥ Khān as prisoner or blinding him. Kāmrān chose the second course of action.[143]

With the blinding and subsequent execution of Fatḥ Khān, Afghanistan was plunged into an internal war that eventually led to the rise of the Muḥammadzais as rulers of Kābul and Qandahār. In this process, Shāh Maḥmūd and his son Kāmrān, the last representatives of the Sadūzai empire, found their sphere of influence reduced to Herat. Meanwhile, in Iranian Khurāsān, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana used the unsettled state of affairs in the east to exert further pressure on the Qarāʾī and Hazāra leadership. In the summer of 1235/1820, he forced his entry into Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya but subsequently defused the conflict by entering a marriage alliance with Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī and reinstituting him as governor of the region.[144] Bunyād Khān Hazāra's bid for the government of Ghūriyān, Kūsūya and Bākharz apparently met with no success. In 1235/1820 and 1236/1821, the Hazāra leader repeatedly plundered the regions of Bākharz and Jām, eliciting military responses from Shujāʿ al-Salṭana. In the battle of Kārīz on 24 Ramażān 1236/25 June 1821 Bunyād Khān suffered a decisive defeat and, finding himself pursued by Qājār troops, fled to Jamshīdī and Fīrūzkūhī country.[145] Shujāʿ al-Salṭana also used this campaign to eastern Khurāsān to make his presence felt in Herat. Unlike the previous year, however, he did not content himself with Shāh Maḥmūd's protestations of loyalty but sent his *vazīr* Mīrzā Mūsā Gīlānī into the city to obtain "taxes" (*kharāj*) worth 10,000 *tūmān* and a "present" (*pīshkash*) of 100 bolts of cashmere shawl cloth.[146]

Five years later, in early Dhū al-Ḥijja 1241/July 1826, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana once again set out for Ghūriyān and Herat, this time by the invitation of Kāmrān Sadūzai, who sought Qājār assistance in his power struggle with his father Shāh Maḥmūd. Earlier during the year, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana had already deputed 500 cavalry to Herat. This had done little to improve Kāmrān's position vis-à-vis his father, who besieged the citadel of Herat with more than 4,000 troops. But the news of the approaching Qājār army in summer 1826 turned the tables in favor of Kāmrān, who was able to inflict a decisive defeat on Shāh Maḥmūd without any active interference on the part of Shujāʿ al-Salṭana. Subsequently, Kāmrān and his nobles invited the Qājār prince into the city and presented the keys of the city and the citadel to him. While collecting no revenue other than a carnelian ring from Kāmrān's treasury, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana used this opportunity to gain a more lasting

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142 Fraser 1825 Appendix B: 35; *Dhū al-qarnain* 483–4; TRSN IX: 563–4; NT 300; ST 96; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 158. See also Javadi, "ʿAbd al-Vahhāb Moʿtamad al-Dawla 'Nashāṭ'," *E.Ir.* I: 170–1.

143 *Dhū al-qarnain* 488–98; NT 296–306; ST 97; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 158–9.

144 *Dhū al-qarnain* 516–7; NT 316. See also Bāmdād 1992 I: 372–3.

145 *Dhū al-qarnain* 516, 528–9; NT 316–17, 322. The battle of Kārīz sealed Bunyād Khān's fate. Already one year before, in 1235/1819–20, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana had entrusted Qilich Khān Tīmūrī with the administration (*naẓm*) of Khvāf and Bākharz (*Dhū al-qarnain* 515–17). After the battle of Kārīz, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana appointed Bunyād Khān's brother Ibrāhīm Khān Hazāra as governor of Bākharz and Shahr-i Nau (*Dhū al-qarnain* 528–9; NT 322–3). At the time of Aḥmad ʿAlī Mīrzā's appointment as governor of Khurāsān in Ṣafar 1245/August 1829, Baḥrām b. Bunyād Khān Hazāra (d. 1245/1829–30) was the *bēglerbēgī* of Jām and Bākharz (*Dhū al-qarnain* 719, 766). In 1248/1832, ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana awarded the government of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya, B-R-S-N, Kadkan, Maḥvilāt and Sar-i Jām to Suhrāb Khān Ghulām Pīshkhidmatbāshī and made Ibrāhīm Khān Ḥazāra second in command (*niyābat*) in some of these regions (NT 487).

146 *Dhū al-qarnain* 529; NT 323. KR 67–8 (Patterson 1988: 38–9); see also ST 105. In 1238/1822–23, Shujāʿ al-Salṭana was recalled to Fārs but was reappointed to the governorship of Khurāsān the following year. During his absence from Khurāsān, his younger brother ʿAlī Naqī Mīrzā Ḥujjat al-Sulṭān acted as governor (*Dhū al-qarnain* 577, 592; TRSN IX: 620–1, 629) See also Bāmdād 1992 I: 374; Komaki 1995: 89; Mīr Niyā 1994: 49–50.

foothold in Herat. When he returned to Mashhad in early Muḥarram 1242/August 1826, he left his son Arghūn Mīrzā supported by 5,000 cavalry and three cannons behind.[147]

The occupation of Herat in the summer of 1241–42/1826 marked the high point of Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's power in Khurāsān. Yet his territorial gains soon deteriorated after his recall to Tehran in Jumādā II–Rajab 1242/January 1827 and his subsequent appointment to Yazd and Kirmān.[148] Under the governorship of Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's son Hulākū Mīrzā, who was assisted by his brothers Arghūn Mīrzā (governor of Sabzavār) and Mangū Qāʾān (governor of Turshīz), it took less than three months to undo Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's achievements. After Hulākū's inconclusive campaign against Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya in Ramażān 1243/April 1828, Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū seized the reins of government, formally designating Hulākū's younger brother Abāqā Khān Mīrzā as new governor of Khurāsān. During the next year, Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū and Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī carved out separate bases of power for themselves. By Ṣafar 1244/August 1828, Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū controlled not only the Kurdish regions of Khabūshān, Chinārān and Rādkān but also Nīshāpūr. Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī, on the other hand, initially sided with the Qājār general Ḥusain Khān Qājār Qazvīnī in a military campaign against Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū in Nīshāpūr but then used the trust placed in him to take control of the city of Mashhad. This provided the opportunity for Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū to ingratiate himself with the Qājār government by asking for the appointment of a new governor to Khurāsān.[149]

The Government of Aḥmad ʿAlī Mīrzā[150] (Rajab 1245–Rajab 1247/January 1830–December 1831)[151]

The affairs of Khurāsān unfolded according to Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū's plans. The newly appointed governor Aḥmad ʿAlī Mīrzā arrived in Chinārān on 12 Rabīʿ II 1245/11 October 1829, where Riżā Qulī Khān submitted the control of Nīshāpūr to him.[152] Subsequently, Aḥmad ʿAlī Mīrzā moved against Mashhad with the assistance of the Zaʿfarānlū and Shādillū Kurds, as well as the Jalāyir, Hazāra and Tīmūrī leadership. Faced with the approach of 20,000 troops, Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī realized that the "doors of misfortune had opened on him from all sides" and decided to withdraw to Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya. Aḥmad ʿAlī Mīrzā entered Mashhad on 7 Rajab1245/1 January 1830.[153] The remainder of his governorship was devoted to maintaining order in the regions located north of Mashhad known as Pusht-i Kūh. Located on the fringes of the plains of Khvārazm, the Jalāyir leadership of Kalāt and the Chāpushlū leadership of Darra Gaz in particular attempted to use the relative weakness of the Qājār presence in Mashhad to open negotiations with the Khān of Khīva.[154] Aḥmad ʿAlī Mīrzā depended for his exercise of power entirely on his experienced *vazīr* Mīrzā Mūsā Gīlānī, who had already served under Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā Shujāʿ al-Salṭana.[155] Conolly, who met the governor of Khurāsān in the summer of 1830, described him as "a mere pageant".[156]

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147 *Dhū al-qarnain* 631–2; NT 375; KR 68–9 (Patterson 1988: 40–42), T Su 282. See also Bāmdād 1992 I: 374. *Kulliyāt-i Riyāżī* also reports an earlier meeting between Kāmrān Sadūzai and Shujāʿ al-Salṭana in 1241/late summer 1825, during which a treaty of friendship was concluded (KR 68–9 (Patterson 1988: 40–1)).

148 Bāmdād 1992 I: 375–5; Rażavī 1999: 205.

149 *Dhū al-qarnain* 693–5, 717–18. See also NT 414–16, 427–8; Rażavī 1999: 205–6; Shākirī 1986: 61; Komaki 1995: 91.

150 Aḥmad ʿAlī Mīrzā was the nineteenth son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (Bāmdād 1992 I: 93; Shākirī 1986, 60).

151 According to *Dhū al-qarnain*, Aḥmad ʿAlī left Tehran for Khurāsān on 3 Ṣafar 1245/4 August 1829 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 718–19).

152 *Dhū al-qarnain* 719.

153 NT 429. See also *Dhū al-qarnain* 720, 781; Rażavī 1999: 206; Komaki 1995: 91.

154 NT 442, 451.

155 *Dhū al-qarnain* 719, 797, 841.

156 Conolly 1834 I: 285, 287.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ʿABBĀS MĪRZĀ NĀʾIB AL-SALṬANA (RAJAB 1247–JUMĀDĀ II 1249/DECEMBER 1831–OCTOBER 1833)[157]

The unsettled state of affairs in Khurāsān caused Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh to add the governorship of Khurāsān to Nāʾib al-Salṭana's duties in Azerbaijan. In late 1831, he assigned the command of the eastern territories "up to the river Oxus and the waters of the Atrak" to the heir apparent.[158] Nāʾib al-Salṭana arrived in Mashhad on 17 Rajab 1247/22 December 1831.[159] Supported by military regiments from Azerbaijan, Māzandarān, and Astarābād, Nāʾib al-Salṭana decisively altered the balance of power in the summer and fall of 1248/1832.[160] At the end of his forceful campaigns against Khabūshān, Sarakhs and Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya, Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū and Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī found themselves imprisoned and deported to Azerbaijan, and their dominions were incorporated into the Qājār administration. Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū was forced to submit on 8 Rabīʿ II 1248/4 September 1832. Nāʾib al-Salṭana ordered the fort of Khabūshān to be razed and awarded it along with the *sar vilāyat* of Nīshāpūr, Bām and parts of Jahān-Arghiyān to his relative Nūr Muḥammad Khān Develū.[161] On 23–24 Jumādā I 1248/18–19 October 1832, the Qājār troops took possession of Sarakhs, plundered the town and razed the citadel.[162] On his way back from Sarakhs, Nāʾib al-Salṭana deprived Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī of his dependencies of Maḥmūdābād, Daulatābād, Zāva and Sangān. Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī seemed on his way to an amicable arrangement with the Qājār governor, when Nāʾib al-Salṭana decided to imprison him on the basis of his purported correspondence with Kāmrān Sadūzai in Herat. The government of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya was awarded to a tribal outsider, Suhrāb Khān Ghulām Pīshkhidmatbāshī.[163] On the occasion of his visit to the royal court in Muḥarram 1249/June 1833, Nāʾib al-Salṭana presented the Zaʿfarānlū and Qarāʾī leaders to Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū and Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī were exiled to Azerbaijan, but Riżā Qulī Khān died en route to Tabrīz.[164]

Nāʾib al-Salṭana's governorship of Khurāsān was also characterized by mounting tensions with Kāmrān Sadūzai, who had become the undisputed ruler of Herat after Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's intervention on his behalf in 1826.[165] Kāmrān's advisor Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai had been an important player in the upheaval that broke out in Khurāsān after Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's recall to Tehran in January 1827.[166] Closely allied with Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū, he attempted in vain to discourage Nāʾib al-Salṭana from taking action against Khabūshān. Little moved by Yār Muḥammad Khān's threat that he was about to join forces with Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū, Nāʾib al-Salṭana peremptorily ordered his attendance at his camp. Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai complied and was immediately placed under arrest.[167] Subsequent to the conquest of Khabūshān and Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya, Nāʾib al-Salṭana turned to the affairs of Herat. In early 1833, he sent an ultimatum to Kāmrān Sadūzai that he should give up Herat and present himself at the Qājār court or perform *sikka* and *khuṭba* in the name of the Iranian king, submit taxes (*manāl-i dīvān*) and give hostages. Instead, Kāmrān

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157 NT 458, 502.

158 *Ṭūlan tā rūd-i Jaiḥūn va ʿarżan tā āb-i Atrak* (*Dhū al-qarnain* 789). See also TRSN IX: 745; TMN 1606.

159 *Dhū al-qarnain* 798; TRSN IX: 750; NT 458. See also TMN 1607; Komaki 1995: 93.

160 Nāʾib al-Salṭāna dismissed the Astarābādī troops under the command of their governor, the Qājār prince Badīʿ al-Zamān b. Muḥammad Qulī Mulk Ārā, after the conquest of Sarakhs in October 1832 (*Dhū al-qarnain* 832).

161 Nūr Muḥammad Khān Develū was the brother of the former Prime Minister Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula (*Dhū al-qarnain* 821–5; see also NT 482; KR 71 (Patterson 1988: 48–9)). The *sar vilāyat-i Nīshāpūr* was a subdivision of Nīshāpūr located northwest of the town (*Gaz. Iran* II: 529). In other contexts, the term *sar vilāyat* seems to refer to the "upper", mountainous part of Khurāsān north of Sabzavār and Nīshāpūr, e.g., *sar vilāyat-i Buzunjird* [Bujnūrd] (TRSN X: 377); *sar vilāyat va Khabūshān* (TRSN X: 376); *Chinārān va sar vilāyat ki bihtarīn mavāżiʿ-i kull-i Khurāsān ast* (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 298).

162 *Dhū al-qarnain* 828–31; NT 483–5.

163 *Dhū al-qarnain* 832–5; NT 486–7. Suhrāb Khān Ghulām Pīshkhidmatbāshī was also appointed to the governorship of B-R-S-N, Kadkan (a subdivision of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya), Maḥvilāt, and Sar-i Jām (a large plain southeast of Mashhad) (*Gaz. Iran* II: 250–1, 460–1, 596).

164 NT 497–8. See also Fraser 1973: 225–7; Komaki 1995: 93–4; Shākirī 1986: 63.

165 Champagne 1981: 100.

166 NT 415.

167 *Dhū al-qarnain* 836–7; NT 478, 480–1, 487. Mohan Lal met Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai in Mashhad in early October 1832 and in February 1833 (Lal 1977: 107–9, 112, 135).

offered a "present" (*pīshkash*) of 15,000 *tūmān* in gold coins and advised Nāʾib al-Salṭana to prepare for war if he insisted on more than the offered sum.[168]

During his return from Tehran to Khurāsān in the late summer of 1249/1833, Nāʾib al-Salṭana ordered his son Muḥammad Mīrzā to move against Herat. Yet this campaign was cut short when Nāʾib al-Salṭana succumbed to tubercolusis in Mashhad on 10 Jumādā II 1249/25 October 1833.[169] Given the altered state of affairs in Khurāsān and the prospect of becoming heir apparent himself, Muḥammad Mīrzā gave up the siege of Herat. After his arrival in Mashhad in late Jumādā II 1249/November 1833, Muḥammad Mīrzā summoned Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai, still detained at the provincial court, and ordered him to work out a settlement concerning Herat. The resulting treaty stipulated that Kāmrān Sadūzai should perform *sikka* and *khuṭba* in the name of the Iranian king, submit 15,000 *tūmān* and 50 bolts of cashmere cloth as *pīshkash*, and send in one of his sons as hostage.[170] While Nāʾib al-Salṭana's governorship had a grave impact on the balance of power in the hinterland of Mashhad, the position of Herat was scarcely affected. Although the striking of coins and the recitation of the Friday prayer in the name of the Iranian king formally placed Herat within the orbit of Qājār control, the actual income derived there had decreased considerably as compared to Shujāʿ al-Salṭana's first campaign in 1817, and was negligible with regard to the revenue yielded by the provinces more firmly incorporated in the Qājār state.[171]

THE GOVERNMENT OF ALLĀHYĀR KHĀN ĀṢAF AL-DAULA QĀJĀR DEVELŪ (1250–1263/1834–1847)

Owing to British and Russian intervention, the power struggle which erupted after Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's death in Iṣfahān on 19 Jumādā II 1250/23 October 1834[172] was quickly settled. Muḥammad Mīrzā was proclaimed king in Tabrīz on 7 Rajab 1250/9 November 1834.[173] The king appointed Mīrzā Abū al-Qāsim Qāʾim Maqām Prime Minister in gratitude for his unwavering support for his quest for power. In choosing Mīrzā Abū al-Qāsim as Prime Minister, Muḥammad Shāh Qājār dashed the hopes of his maternal uncle and former Prime Minister Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula Qājār Develū of regaining this post.[174] Unable to hide his disappointment, Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula resisted the appointment as governor of Fārs and was eventually made governor of Khurāsān. His tenure there coincided approximately with Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's reign (1834–1848). Upon Abū al-Qāsim Qāʾim Maqām's execution on 29 Ṣafar 1251/26 June 1835, Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula briefly attempted to regain a central role in the capital but returned to Khurāsān when the king chose his tutor Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī as chief advisor.[175] His frustrated ambitions in the capital notwithstanding, Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula enjoyed an extremely powerful position in Khurāsān.

Having attained kingship, Muḥammad Shāh Qājār resumed the activities his father had begun in Khurāsān in 1831. After the loss of Yerevan and Nakhjivān to the Russians had been sealed with the treaty of Turkmānchāy in 1828, a firm stand in the eastern part of the Qājār kingdom seemed all the more important. In Rabīʿ II 1252/July 1836, Muḥammad Shāh embarked on his first eastward campaign but concentrated on subduing the Teke, Yomut and Göklen Turkmens after being informed that cholera was

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168 *Dhū al-qarnain* 862; NT 488, 496–7. See also Ferrier 1858: 175–6.

169 Nāʾib al-Salṭana was buried at Imām Riżā's shrine (*Dhū al-qarnain* 881; TRSN X: 61f; NT 500–502; T Su 283; Busse 1972: 222).

170 *Dhū al-qarnain* 885. See also NT 504. According to Riyāżī, Muḥammad Mīrzā stationed Najaf Qulī Khān Shādillū in Herat (KR 71–2 (Patterson 1988: 50)).

171 According to Fraser, Iraq, Gīlān and Fārs yielded 500,000 *tūmān*, 160,000 *tūmān* and 150,000 *tūmān* respectively to the royal treasury (Fraser 1825: 217–18).

172 TRSN X: 94; NT 518; TMN 1621; KR 72 (Patterson 1988: 52); Busse 1972: 229.

173 TRSN X: 144; NT 609. Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's official coronation in Tehran took place on 14 Ramażān 1250/14 January 1835 (TRSN X: 151; TMN 1630).

174 Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula was married to Maryam Khānum, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's fifth daughter. His sister was married to ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana. He served Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh as majordomo (*khvānsālār*) and held the post of prime minister from 1240–1243/1824–1827 (NT 413; TMN 1566, 1593; see also Bāmdād 1992 I: 154).

175 TRSN X: 162–5; NT 629–30, 656; TMN 1632; Mostofi 1997: 40. See also Bāmdād 1992 I: 63 Yapp 1980: 123; Zarrinkoob, "Ḳāʾim Maḳām-i Farāhānī," *E.I., 2* IV: 462.

rampant around Mashhad.[176] The following summer, Muḥammad Shāh again set out for Khurāsān, and marched from Mashhad for Ghūriyān and Herat. While Ghūriyān fell to the Iranian army after two days on 14 Shaʿbān 1253/13 November 1837, the siege of Herat lasted for ten months, from 21 November 1837 to 9 September 1838.[177] During this period, the Iranian army of 30,000 men and 90,000 camp followers achieved little except denuding the valley of Herat of provisions. The main feature of Iranian strategy was a barrage of artillery fire, the efficiency of which was subject to varying interpretations. According to idealizing Iranian accounts, the bombardment was so dense that not even a crow or pigeon dared to alight on the outer fortifications of the city.[178] While attesting to the intensity of the Iranian fire, British accounts questioned its accuracy and claimed that thousands of rounds of ammunition were wasted during the early stages of the siege.[179] Military progress was not encumbered merely by rivalries among the various Iranian commanders but also Prime Minister Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī's decision to block only two of Herat's five gates during the first two months after the Iranian army had taken position.[180]

Meanwhile, the real fight took place near Bālā Murghāb northeast of Herat. From the fall of 1837 until early March 1838, Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula, his nephew Iskandar Khān Qājār Develū and approximately 16,000 troops were locked into repeated battles with the leadership of the Jamshīdī, Hazāra and Fīrūzkūhī leadership. The confrontations reached their climax on 20 December 1837. While greatly outnumbered by the combined northern forces of 20,000 cavalry, the Iranian artillery carried the day and caused Miżrāb Khān of Maimana as well as the Jamshīdī and Hazāra leadership to tender their submission.[181]

Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's move against Herat reawakened British fears that growing Russian influence in Iran might destabilize British India's northwestern possessions. As early as 1831, Nāʾib al-Salṭana's activities in Khurāsān had caused concern that Iran might become the "vehicle" for Russian interests. It was also during this time that Herat was identified as a vital strategic point for the defence of British possessions. The perception of Herat as the "key of India"[182] acquired renewed stringency as Muḥammad Shāh displayed a marked determination not to content himself with the customary pledges of fealty on the part of the lords of Herat and settled in for a prolonged siege. In April 1838, the British envoy McNeill joined the Shāh's camp before Herat and offered to mediate between the Iranians and Kāmrān Sadūzai. The Iranian accounts characterize McNeill's endeavors for peace as a poorly veiled attempt to strengthen the cause of Herat. According to this version of events, McNeill entered Herat twice and, instead of negotiating peace, offered financial and moral support to Kāmrān Sadūzai and his minister.[183] McNeill, on his part, attributed the failure of the negotiations on 19 and 20 April to the Shah's insistence on the recognition of Iranian suzerainty. Furthermore, Kāmrān Sadūzai seems to have raised his stakes impossibly high by demanding the evacuation of Ghūriyān. The negotiations taking place a week later were killed by Iranian demands for a large indemnity from Herat. Unable to convince Muḥammad Shāh Qājār to give up the siege, McNeill broke off diplomatic relations with Iran and left the Shah's camp on 3 June.[184] Meanwhile, the Heratis profited from the presence of Eldred Pottinger (1811–1843), a young British officer of the Bombay artillery, who happened to be in the city at the onset of the Qājār siege and actively promoted the defence of the city by advances of money and practical assistance.[185]

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176 NT 657–60; TMN 1635–6; Busse 1972: 251; Yapp 1980: 138–9.

177 TRSN X: 658; NT 676–7; Stoddart to McNeill, Shah's camp before Herat, 10 December 1837, 9 September 1838 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, Enclosure 1 No. 69, p. 90; Appendix p. 69).

178 NT 711.

179 Pottinger in Sykes 1981 I: 408; Yapp 1980: 145.

180 NT 681–2; ST 132; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 221.

181 TRSN X: 58, 60, 212–16; NT 682–692; TMN 1642; ST 132–135; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 222–6; Lee 1996: 149–58; McNeill to Palmerston, Tehran, 23 February 1838 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1 No. 73, p. 95).

182 Yapp 1980: 116.

183 NT 706, 708, 712; Memorandum addressed by the King of Persia to the Courts of England, France, Russia, and Turkey from the Camp before Herat, 15 Rabīʿ I 1254/7 July 1838 (IOL, L/PS/20/A/1, Enclosure 2 in No. 105, pp. 188–9). See also Busse 1972: 256.

184 Yapp 1980: 146, 148.

185 Yapp 1980: 361.

McNeill's fears of growing Russian influence were kindled by the arrival of the Russian ambassador Count Simonich at the time of his first negotiations with Herat. While Simonich claimed to be searching for a battalion of Russian deserters serving in the Iranian army, McNeill suspected active Russian intervention to be at hand. In fact, Simonich had initially assumed a neutral position when Muḥammad Shāh Qājār vented his plans of a campaign against Herat in May 1837. Yet after his arrival in the Iranian camp, the Russian ambassador gradually took on a more active role. In early May, he guaranteed an Iranian alliance with Qandahār. Financial support for the siege followed, and when the Shāh decided to force the Herat issue by a massive assault on June 24, 1838, he did so with the active support of Russian officers.[186] Yet after six days of battle the Shah's army was repulsed with considerable loss.[187]

Meanwhile, 500 British troops occupied the Iranian island of Khārg. On August 11, McNeill's military secretary Stoddart reached the Iranian camp and submitted a note informing the king that the occupation of Khārg would continue until the siege of Herat was lifted and the Prime Minister tendered a formal apology for the mistreatment of a messenger in British employ. Muḥammad Shāh Qājār consented to the demands of the British government and lifted the siege of Herat on 19 Jumādā II 1254/September 9, 1838.[188] In the light of a treaty concluded with Qandahār in November 1837,[189] the Qājār court managed to put a favorable gloss on the impact of the Herat campaign:

> His Majesty, the Shah, with reference to the state of His kingdom, considered it expedient to return after having spent seventeen months in a campaign, and suffered the loss entailed by the expenses of an army of sixty thousand men, and after having subdued the whole of Affghanistan [sic], except for the four walls of Herat…We have left in Ghorian, which forms part of the district of Toorbut [Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya?], and was lately in possession of Herat, two thousand men and four guns…[190]

In the aftermath of the war, combined British and Russian pressure forced Iran to evacuate Ghūriyān as well. All the same, Muḥammad Shāh Qājār sought to soften the blow he had received at Herat and represented his campaign as a success in settling the eastern borders of Iran. While lacking the financial means for additional military adventures, the Shah did not give up his historical claims to Herat. The lords of Herat, on their part, were willing to return to the *status quo ante* in their relationship with the Iranian government. After the withdrawal of the British mission from Herat in February 1841, both Kāmrān Sadūzai and his minister Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai renewed their previous pledges of allegiance to the Qājār rulers. In a letter to Muḥammad Shāh Qājār, Kāmrān formally acknowledged Herat to be part of Khurāsān, and by extension, of the Iranian state: "It is obvious that Herat is a part of Khurāsān… and that the king has left this realm (*mulk*) at our disposal. I hereby attest to the fact that Herat is connected with Iran."[191] This formal protestation of loyalty notwithstanding, the evacuation of Ghūriyān on 31 March 1841 helped to disentangle Qājār and Herati interests.[192]

Qājār control of Khurāsān remained stable until Ramażān 1261/September 1845, when Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's deteriorating physical condition gave rise to a power struggle at court which also made itself felt in the province. One faction gathered around Prime Minister Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī's step son Allāh Qulī Mīrzā, whose mother was a daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. After his removal from the capital in December 1845, Allāh Qulī Mīrzā attempted to use the revenues of his domain in Burūjird to advance separate claims of power. This rebellion never got off the ground as a network of informers reported every of his moves to the capital. When Allāh Qulī Mīrzā attempted to return to Tehran in Rabīʿ I 1263/March 1847, Muḥammad Shāh Qājār

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186 Yapp 1980: 142, 146–8.

187 McNeill to Palmerston, camp near Tehran, 31 July 1838 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1 No. 95, p. 158).

188 Busse 1972: 260; Kelly 1991: 299; Sykes 1981 I: 411; McNeill to Palmerston, camp near Tehran, 31 July, 3 August 1838 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1 No. 95, p. 159–60).

189 Mullā ʿAbd al-Rashīd (chief manager to Kuhandil Khān) to Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, Enclosure 22 in No. 81, p. 137).

190 The Persian Foreign Minister to Count Nesselrode, royal camp at Simnān, 1 November 1838 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, Enclosure 3 in No. 105, p. 190).

191 Kāmrān Sadūzai to Muḥammad Shāh Qājār, 15 May 1841, quoted in Ittiḥādīya 1975 (125): 34.

192 Ittiḥādīya 1975 (125): 31, 34–5.

prohibited his entry into the capital and strongly suggested he visit the Shiite shrine cities (*ʿatabāt*) of Najaf, Karbalāʾ, Kāẓimain, and Sāmarrāʾ.[193]

A second, even more powerful faction formed around three sons of Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's maternal uncle Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula, who was married to a daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and was locked into a bitter competition with Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī.[194] Among Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula's sons, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Sālār played an important role in the administration of Khurāsān.[195] The second son, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Ishīk Āqāsī was one of the numerous rivals of Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī at the royal court in Tehran. The third son, Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Bēglerbēgī resided in Tehran and only assumed an active part in the affairs of Khurāsān from 1847 on. In 1262/1846, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Ishīk Āqāsī informed Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula of Muḥammad Shāh's poor state of health and of the intensifying competition of various factions at the Qājār court. Āṣaf al-Daula used the apparent weakness at the center to carve out an independent position for himself in Khurāsān. With the death of Ḥājjī Mīrzā Mūsā Khān, the *mutavallībāshī* of Imām Riżā's shrine, Āṣaf al-Daula sensed the opportunity to appropriate the custodianship of the shrine for himself. Yet this plan was countermanded by Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's appointment of Ḥājjī Mīrzā ʿAbdullāh Khūʾī to this post.[196]

At this time, Ḥasan Khān Sālār began to advance separate claims to kingship and formed an alliance with his brother-in-law Jaʿfar Qulī b. Najaf Qulī Khān Shādillū of Bujnūrd. Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula initially strengthened the incipient rebellion by ignoring royal decrees requesting Jaʿfar Qulī Khān's presence at court.[197] In 1263/1847, however, he began to fear that Ḥasan Khān Sālār was planning to avail himself of his treasury in order to raise additional troops. Arguing that these funds should be spent in Tehran to further the political cause of the family, Āṣaf al-Daula set out for the capital, taking 400,000 *tūmān* in gold coins with him and appointing his son Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Bēglerbēgī as his deputy in Mashhad. It is not clear whether Āṣaf al-Daula indeed planned to defy the Qājār government. When news arrived that Ḥasan Khān Sālār and Jaʿfar Qulī Khān Shādillū had occupied Kalāt, Āṣaf al-Daula began to worry about his position at court and convinced his sister, the mother of Muḥammad Shāh Qājār, to travel to Mecca with him. After his visit to Mecca, he decided to reside in the *ʿatabāt*, where he was joined by Muḥammad Qulī Khān Ishīk Āqāsī shortly after.[198]

Meanwhile in Khurāsān, Ḥasan Khān Sālār's rebellion took on a larger dimension, eliciting a major mobilization of Qājār troops under the leadership of Prince Ḥamza Mīrzā Ḥishmat al-Daula (1235–1297/1819–1880)[199] and his generals Ibrāhīm Khalīl Khān Khūʾī and Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Mākūʾī.[200] Despite several setbacks, the rebellion outlasted Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's reign. After suffering a major defeat near Bisṭām in Ramażān 1263/August 1847 and facing a rebellion of the population of Kalāt against the Shādillū occupation, Ḥasan Khān Sālār and Jaʿfar Qulī Khān Shādillū withdrew to the territory of the Toqtamïsh Turkmens in Akhal. With Ḥamza Mīrzā's entry into Mashhad and Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Bēglerbēgī b. Āṣaf al-Daula's withdrawal into the shrine of Imām Riżā on 17 Dhū al–Qaʿda 1263/27 October 1847, the confrontation seemed to have been decided in favor of the royal court.[201] Even so, Jaʿfar Qulī Khān was able to reoccupy his former stronghold Bujnūrd for a brief period when the local population rebelled against the exactions of the newly appointed Qājār governor Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Mākūʾī. In the winter of 1264/1847–48, Ḥasan Khān Sālār moved to Sarakhs, wherefrom he made a vain attempt to solicit the support

193 NT 843, 851–6, 864–7; TMN 1647–8, 1678.
194 TRSN X: 307–8; Wolff 1848: 356.
195 Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Sālār was the fifth son of Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula (Bāmdād 1992 II: 479).
196 TRSN X: 306, 308; TMN 1678; "Āṣaf al-Daula," DM.
197 NT 854, 860; TMN 1677–8.
198 TRSN X: 308, 319; NT 869–74; TMN 1684–5; "Āṣaf al-Daula, Ḥāj Muḥammad Qulī Khān," DM.
199 TMN 2010. Ḥamza Mīrzā was the twenty-first son of ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana and a full brother of Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā Ḥusām al-Salṭana (Bāmdād 1992 I: 462).
200 Ḥamza Mīrzā left Tehran on 8 Ramażān 1263/20 August 1847 (TRSN X: 324).
201 TRSN X: 324–7; NT 875–84; TMN 1685–7.

of the Amīr of Bukhārā. Jaʿfar Qulī Khān Shādillū sought shelter with Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai in Herat.[202]

Ḥasan Khān Sālār's prospects improved dramatically in the fall of 1848 when the oppressive behavior of the royal troops in Mashhad and its environs prepared the ground for renewed unrest. Within the city, Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Bēglerbēgī, still residing in the shrine of Imām Riżā, used a temporary absence of Ḥamza Mīrzā to forge alliances with the local leadership. The active phase of the rebellion began on 25 Ramażān 1264/25 August 1848 when Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Bēglerbēgī and his ally Rajab Marvī put Ibrāhīm Sulṭān Dārūgha and the *mutavallībāshī* Ḥājjī Mīrzā ʿAbdullāh Khūʾī to death. Some of the ulama of Mashhad supported this renewed challenge to Qājār authority and, citing the abuses committed by Ḥamza Mīrzā's Azerbaijani troops, declared jihad against him.[203] Hearing of the altered state of affairs in Mashhad, Ḥasan Khān Sālār set out from Sarakhs accompanied by 2,000 Turkmen troops. As news of Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's death on 5 Shavvāl 1264/4 September 1848[204] spread in Khurāsān, the odds were turned even further against Ḥamza Mīrzā, who found himself besieged in the citadel of Mashhad and rapidly ran out of provisions.[205] Interestingly, he ultimately was to benefit from a third party brought into the fray by Jaʿfar Qulī Khān Shādillū. Outwardly posing as a supporter of Ḥasan Khān Sālār, Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai of Herat appeared before Mashhad but entered an alliance with Ḥamza Mīrzā. Given the hopeless position of the royal troops in the citadel, the Qājār prince took up Yār Muḥammad Khān's proposition to spend the winter in Ghūriyān and withdrew from Mashhad after disabling all heavy artillery and burning the fortifications.[206]

In the windfall of Ḥamza Mīrzā's precipitate departure, Ḥasan Khān Sālār extended his sphere of influence to include the towns of Nīshāpūr,[207] Sabzavār, Turshīz, Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya,[208] Qāyin,[209] Bujnūrd, Jājarm and Isfarāyin.[210] To underline his independent position in Khurāsān, he had coins struck in his own name.[211] In the course of the winter of 1848–49, Ḥasan Khān Sālār's position proved relatively stable. When 7,000 royal troops advanced from Tehran shortly after Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's coronation on 22 Dhū al-Qaʿda 1264/20 October 1848,[212] they were unable to accomplish much, owing to heavy snowfall and intense cold. Their leader Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā b. Nāʾib al-Salṭana, who received the title Ḥusām al-Salṭana at the end of the Khurāsān campaign, depended entirely on the support of Sām Khān Īlkhānī b. Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū of Khabūshān for the survival of his troops.[213] While Ḥasan Khān Sālār rejected all offers of negotiation, Jaʿfar Qulī Khān Shādillū gave up his role in the rebellion and left Khurāsān for Tehran on 1 Rabīʿ I 1265/25

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202 TRSN X: 328–31; NT 884–9; TMN 1688.

203 NT 972–5. See also TRSN X: 322–38; Khūrmūjī 1984: 45–7; TMN 1688–9.

204 TRSN X: 350–1; NT 920; TMN 1689; Lambton 1988b: 16.

205 TRSN X: 371–2; NT 975–77.

206 NT 978–80; See also TRSN X: 372–3, 385–6; T Su 286–7; Bāmdād 1992 I: 462. Ḥamza Mīrzā made camp near Ghūriyān from the middle of Muḥarram to the end of Rabīʿ II 1265/middle of December 1848 to late March 1849 (TMN 1698).

207 Nīshāpūr apparently never fully passed to Ḥasan Khān Sālār's control despite the fact that he exerted great military pressure there. At the time of Ḥusām al-Salṭana's campaign in spring 1265/1849, Nīshāpūr was still held by Ḥamza Mīrzā's appointee, Imāmvirdī Bayāt (TRSN X: 373, 384; NT 980; 995).

208 TRSN X: 373; NT 984, 989, 993–4.

209 There is contradictory information on the position of Qāyin during this period. Hidāyat reports that Ḥamza Mīrzā incorporated it into the sphere of government after entering Mashhad in Dhū al–Qaʿda 1263/October 1847 (TRSN X: 328). Yet there is evidence that the hereditary governor, Asadullāh Khān Khuzaima, remained there until he was displaced by Ḥasan Khān Sālar in 1264/1848 (Bāmdād 1992 I: 115).

210 NT 981–2.

211 The coins minted in the name of Ḥasan Khān Sālār carried the following verse: *Sikka bar zar mizanad sālār-i dīn, yāvarash bāshad imām-i hashtumīn*—"The leader (*sālār*) of religion strikes golden coins; may he receive the assistance of the eighth *imām*" (Tavaḥḥudī 1985 II: 336).

212 Ḥusām al-Salṭana left Tehran on 5 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1264/2 November 1848 (TRSN X: 362, 374; NT 968–9, 986). See also Busse 1972: 282.

213 TRSN X: 375–7; NT 980–2, 988–91.

January 1849.[214] In the spring of 1265/1849, Ḥusām al-Salṭana began to make slow but steady progress. Ḥasan Khān Sālār successively lost control over Turshīz, Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya, Juvain, Sabzavār (on 14 Rabīʿ II/9 March) and Nīshāpūr (on Naurūz),[215] and found himself besieged in Mashhad for nine months from Rajab 1265 to Naurūz 1266/June 1849 to March 1850.[216] During the early stages of the siege, Ḥasan Khān Sālār was backed by the prominent Afshār, Hazāra and Turkmen leaders. He also enjoyed the support of the general population of Mashhad to the extent that even beggars equipped themselves with daggers to defend the city.[217] By Dhū al-Ḥijja 1265/October 1849, however, his decision to replenish his treasury by melting down gold and silver assets of Imām Riżā's shrine worth 22,000 *tūmān* caused public opinion to swing against him.[218] The confiscations of grain from the shrine apparently were of little benefit to the general population, and complaints of high food prices began to reach Ḥusām al-Salṭana in early 1850.[219]

On 9 Jumādā I 1266/23 March 1850, a number of Ḥasan Khān Sālār's tribal allies like Karīmdād Khān Hazāra, ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Darra Gazī and Urāż Khān Toqtamïsh Sarakhsī opened the city gates to the royal troops. Because of his abusive behavior towards a number of influential ulama, including the *imām jumʿa* Ḥājjī Mīrzā ʿAskarī and the *mutavallī* Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī, Ḥasan Khān Sālār was denied sanctuary in the shrine of Imām Riżā and submitted to Ḥusām al-Salṭana. On 16 Jumādā II 1266/29 April 1850, he was executed along with his son Amīr Aṣlān and his brother Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Qājār Develū. His other brother Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Bēglerbēgī, who had been taken prisoner at the time of Ḥusām al-Salṭana's conquest of Sabzavār, was put to death in Tehran on 9 Rajab 1266/21 May 1850.[220] Among Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula's four sons mentioned by the chronicles, only Muḥammad Qulī Khān Ishīk Āqāsī was allowed to return to the royal court in 1282/1865, where he gained an appointment as minister of justice a year later.[221] Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula's entire property, including the lands he had amassed in Gīlān, Burūjird, Astarābād, Māzandarān and Khurāsān, was confiscated by the king.[222]

The Government of Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā Ḥusām al-Salṭana[223] and Farīdūn Mīrzā Farmānfarmā (1266–1275/1850–1858)

Lasting from 1847 until March 1850, Ḥasan Khān Sālār's rebellion took up the last one and a half years of Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's reign and extended one and a half years into the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. While disorders also affected Iṣfahān and Kirmān, Khurāsān posed the greatest challenge to Qājār authority during this period.[224] After gaining control of Mashhad, Ḥusām al-Salṭana stayed on as governor of Khurāsān until his recall to Tehran in Shaʿbān 1269/May 1853. Between Rajab 1270/April 1854 and Rabīʿ II 1272/December 1855, the government of Khurāsān was entrusted to Ḥusām al-Salṭana's full brother Farīdūn Mīrzā. In the winter of 1855–56, Ḥusām al-Salṭana was again appointed governor of Khurāsān amid growing concerns about the unstable position of Herat. Ḥusām al-Salṭana's return from Tehran to Khurāsān on 16 Rabīʿ II 1272/26 December 1855 coincided with the death of Farīdūn Mīrzā.[225] From 1 Shaʿbān 1272–25

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214 NT 985–6. See also TRSN X: 377–8. In the summer of 1267/1851 Jaʿfar Qulī Khān was still present at the court of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (*Sifāratnāma* 98; Persian text 64).
215 NT 994–5. See also TRSN X: 378–84.
216 NT 1045. See also TRSN X: 391–2; TMN 1699–1700.
217 NT 1048. See also TRSN X: 396.
218 NT 1050–1.
219 TRSN X: 412; NT 1097.
220 NT 994, 1101–4, See also TRSN X: 415–20; TMN 1705; Bāmdād 1992 I: 328–9; Rażavī 1999: 217.
221 TRSN X: 341; "Āṣaf al-Daula, Ḥāj Muḥammad Qulī Khān," DM.
222 Bāmdād 1992 I: 154, 329.
223 Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā Ḥusām al-Salṭana (1818–1883) was the 13th son of ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana and a brother of Muḥammad Shāh Qājār (Bāmdād 1992 II: 104).
224 Lambton 1988b: 16–17.
225 NT 1304.

Ṣafar 1273/7 April–25 October 1856 Ḥusām al-Salṭana undertook a final attempt to reestablish Qājār control in Herat.[226] On Naurūz 1275/1859, he was posted to the governorship of Fārs.[227]

Ḥusām al-Salṭana's first governorship in Khurāsān was characterized by efforts to strengthen Qājār presence in Herat and on the northeastern frontier. Within the core regions of Khurāsān, Ḥusām al-Salṭana's choice of allies served to strengthen the tribal leadership of Khabūshān, Darra Gaz and Bujnūrd. Sām Khān Īlkhānī Zaʿfarānlū, who had proved a steadfast ally of the Qājārs during Ḥasan Khān Sālār's rebellion, also assumed a pivotal role during the campaigns against the Turkmens in 1851, the intervention in Herat in 1852, the defence of Sarakhs against Khīva in 1854, and the siege of Herat in 1856. His brother Yazdānvirdī Khān was governor of Khabūshān.[228] The return of the Kurd Zaʿfarānlū leadership to power is remarkable in the light of the fact that Sām Khān's father Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū had been among the most formidable antagonists of the Qājār administration in the late 1820s, and his imprisonment and subsequent death in 1833 had coincided with the destruction of his family's fort in Khabūshān. The career of ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Darra Gazī is equally interesting, as his title reflects a close cooperation of the Chāpushlū leadership with ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana. Their intimate relationship with the provincial government continued throughout Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula's tenure. Though ʿAbbās Qulī Khān sided with Ḥasan Khān Sālār's rebellion, he was among the nobles who opened the city gates to Ḥusām al-Salṭana's troops in March 1850. During Ḥusām al-Salṭana's governorship, he briefly gained the governorship of Sarakhs in 1267/1851. When he died two years later during an assignment as Qājār governor of Marv, his position passed on to his son Bahādur Khān.[229] Another of Ḥasan Khān Sālār's former allies also made an impressive career. The appointment of Jaʿfar Qulī Khān Shādillū of Bujnūrd to the governments of Jājarm, Nardīn and Astarābād in 1271/1854 underlined the continued strength of the tribal elite.[230]

The first locale to attract Ḥusām al-Salṭana's attention was Herat, where the death of Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai and the succession of his son Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān in June 1851 brought about opportunities for intervention. Contrary to his powerful father, Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān was unable to command the allegiance of the local leadership and faced military pressure by the Muḥammadzai chief of Qandahār, Sardār Kuhandil Khān, who conquered Farāh and Isfizār in March 1852 and pushed onwards to the outskirts of Herat. In response, the Qājār government dispatched two separate armies under the command of Sām Khān Īlkhānī and ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Darra Gazī. Upon the arrival of the Iranian troops before Herat, Kuhandil Khān gave up his designs on Herat and withdrew to Qandahār. Sām Khān Īlkhānī assumed control of the citadel of Herat until the third week of May 1852. Subsequently, the Qalʿa-yi Ikhtiyār al-Dīn passed to Afghan possession again, but the Iranian soldiers lingered in the province for another three months.[231] As a

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226 TRSN X: 674; NT 1204, 1234–5, 1304.

227 Busse 1972: 339; Bāmdād 1992 I: 107.

228 NT 1123, 1193, 1195; ST 211; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 29; TRSN X: 483. See also Markham 1977: 498–99; C. E. Yate 1900: 182.

229 NT 1124, 1202–3; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 172, 213; Persian text 110, 140–1; TRSN X: 542; *Gaz. Iran* II: 139; Markham 1977: 499–500; C. E. Yate 1900: 166.

230 TRSN X: 612–13; NT 1282, 1372; Lambton 1988b: 44. For Jaʿfar Qulī Khān's policies towards the Akhal Teke Turkmens, see König 1962, 27–8.

231 Champagne gives a detailed account of the Iranian interference in Herat and its repercussions on the relationship with the British (1981: 281–314). See also Amanat 1997: 226, 231; Kelly 1991: 454. Among the available Persian sources, Hidāyat's version of events is the most complete. He reports that Ḥusām al-Salṭana ordered Sām Khān Īlkhānī Zaʿfarānlū to advance to Herat, while ʿAbbās Qulī Mīr Panja Kurd Jahānbēglū was charged with the protection of the "border between Khurāsān and Herat" (*sarḥadd-i Khurāsān va Harāt*), located some place west of Ghūriyan. According to his account, the cavalry of Sām Khān and Herat came out of the city of Herat to combat the besieging forces under Kuhandil Khān. After a heavy engagement, Sām Khān summoned the support of ʿAbbās Qulī Mīr Panja. The news of the impending arrival of additional Qājār troops convinced Kuhandil Khān to give up the siege of Herat and to retreat to Qandahār. Sām Khān stayed in Herat for several months to put Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān's affairs in order (TRSN X: 542–3). See also NT 1139, 1192, 1196; KR 111 (Patterson 1988: 165–6); ST 211; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 II: 29. The correspondence contained in Ādamiyat (1982) indicates that Kuhandil Khān withdrew from Herat in Jumādā II 1268/March–April 1852. Amanat's statement that the Persian army was already present in Herat in late 1851 and evicted Kuhandil's forces from the citadel is not borne out by the available chronicles (Amanat, "Herat vi. the Herat Question," *E.Ir.* XII: 222).

result of this incident, the British envoy Justin Sheil negotiated an agreement with the Prime Minister Mīrzā Āqā Khān Nūrī Iʿtimād al-Daula (1851–1858) on 14 Rabīʿ II 1269/25 January 1853, according to which the Iranian government would refrain from interfering with the affairs of Herat.[232]

Ḥusām al-Salṭana's second great endeavor was to extend Qājār authority to Sarakhs and Marv. This northeastern push occurred against the backdrop of constant Turkmen incursions. In 1267–68/1851–52, Turbat-i Shaikh Jām, Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya, Bujnūrd, Khabūshān and the environs of Mashhad were subject to Turkmen raids.[233] Since the early nineteenth century, the Khāns of Khīva had repeatedly made their presence felt in the regions located on the fringes of Qājār control and had inserted themselves as a third party in the conflicts concerning Herat in 1818 and 1837–38. Between 1851 and 1854, the Qājār governors of Khurāsān renewed their claims to Sarakhs and Marv, thus entering an open confrontation with Khīva. Ḥusām al-Salṭana succeeded in incorporating Sarakhs, albeit loosely, into the administration of Khurāsān. After its conquest by Nāʾib al-Salṭana in 1832, this region had turned into a staging ground for Ḥasan Khān Sālār's insurgencies in 1847–48. In June 1851, Ḥusām al-Salṭana temporarily forced Sarakhs into submission but, owing to Khivan pressure, was unable to establish direct control there.[234] His designated governor ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Darra Gazī was forced to flee shortly after his appointment to evade a plot against him by the Khivan representative Mīr Aḥmad Khān Jamshīdī.[235] However, the Khivan presence was not sustained enough to allow the tribal leadership of Sarakhs to dismiss Qājār claims to sovereignty. Facing a renewed military campaign by Ḥusām al-Salṭana in late summer 1268/1852, sixty Turkmen nobles (*buzurgān*) under the leadership of Urāż Khān Teke came to Mashhad and undertook to submit fifty elders as hostages, to furnish fifty men for Ḥusām al-Salṭana's army and to station one hundred guards on the borders (*thughūr*) of Khurāsān.[236] In the spring of 1854, the representatives of the Toqtamïsh and Otamïsh confederacies promised to protect the trade routes leading through their territory in exchange for grazing rights in the environs of Mashhad. In the summer of the same year, Mīrzā Fażlullāh, the *vazīr-i niẓām* of Khurāsān, used the presence of 150 Sarakhsī nobles at his court to enforce the support of their fellow tribesmen for Farīdūn Mīrzā's military campaign to Kalāt, ʿIshqābad (Ashgabat) and Akhal.[237]

While Marv had not figured much in the events of the first half of the nineteenth century, it assumed center stage in 1269/1853, when Ḥusām al-Salṭana revived Qājār claims to this region by appointing his own governor there. The Qājār hold over Marv proved to be short-lived: The Iranian troops withdrew to Mashhad in May 1854. This encouraged Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt of Khīva to renew his claims to Marv and Sarakhs. With the assistance of Ḥukūmat Khān Ming of Maimana, he assembled an army of 40,000 Uzbek, Turkmen, Jamshīdī and Tāymanī troops and took control of Marv. On 29 Jumādā II 1271/19 March 1855 the Khivan troops reached the outskirts of Sarakhs. Subsequently, however, they suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of a relatively small Iranian/Turkmen army and, in the words of Lisān al-Mulk, "scattered like a herd of sheep pursued by a wolf". Among the 3,000 Khivan casualties of this battle was the Khān himself, whose head was cut off and sent to Tehran. On 18 Rajab 1271/6 April 1855, Farīdūn Mīrzā re-established Qājār control over Marv and appointed Khān Savār Khān Hazāra as governor.[238]

Shortly after, the focus of the Khurāsān administration again shifted to Herat. On 11 December 1855, the Iranian government received a request for military assistance from the newly installed ruler of Herat,

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[232] Champagne 1981: 480–3; Ādamiyat 1982: 645–6.

[233] NT 1123, 1192–3; Khūrmūjī 1984: 117–18. On 20 Shavvāl 1267/18 August 1851, residents in the district of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya complained of rising insecurity and ironically commented: "Look how well Ḥusām al-Salṭana has secured the province: where the Turkmens used to come in parties of 30–40, now 4,000 to 5,000 come at a time!" (Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 55).

[234] *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer): 84, 88–90, 98–99; Persian text: 54, 56–8, 64–5.

[235] NT 1122–4; TRSN X: 484–5; Khūrmūjī 1984: 92–3; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer) 1975: 172, (Persian text) 110. See also Sārlī 1995: 55.

[236] NT 1195.

[237] NT 1237–41. See also Khūrmūjī 1984: 138.

[238] TRSN X: 583–7; NT 1247–55, 1355, 1475; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975):216–21; Persian text, p. 142–7; Khūrmūjī 1984: 142–5, 230. See also Bregel, "Central Asia vii. In the 12th–13th/18th–19th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 198; Markham 1977: 500. According to Dshikijew, this battle took place on 12 March 1855 (Dshikijew 1994: 171).

Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān.[239] A grandson of Fīrūz al-Dīn Sadūzai, Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Malik Qāsim had resided in Iran under Qājār tutelage since 1844 and served as governor of Turbat-i Shaikh Jām under Farīdūn Mīrzā.[240] On 3 Muḥarram 1272/15 September 1855, he deposed the Alakūzai ruler Saʿīd Muḥammad Khān b. Yār Muḥammad without seeking formal Qājār sanction or support.[241] The shift in power in Herat coincided with a growing Muḥammadzai presence in southern and western Afghanistan. In November 1855, Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān incorporated Qandahār into his realm and appointed his own governor to Farāh.[242] The swift reaction of the Iranian government to Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān's message suggests the possibility that preparations for a move against Herat had already been under way. As early as 20 December 1855, the Tehran Gazette announced the dispatch of troops to Herat.[243] In February 1856, an advance guard under Sām Khān Īlkhānī briefly entered Herat but withdrew to Ghūriyān after encountering hostility from the local Afghān leadership.[244]

With the arrival of Ḥusām al-Salṭana's troops before Ghūriyān, the border stronghold quickly fell to Iranian control on 22 Rajab 1272/29 March 1856.[245] Farāh, Isfizār and Kurukh soon followed.[246] The siege of Herat, by contrast, dragged on from early April to the end of October 1856, causing considerable consternation to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and his courtiers.[247] The poor success of the 30,000 Iranian troops can be attributed in great part to the fact that Ḥusām al-Salṭana's attempt to play different Herati factions off against each other backfired and, rather than easing his entrance into Herat, complicated matters even further. While engaging Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān in peace negotiations, the Iranian side cut a separate deal with his *vazīr* Sartīp ʿĪsā Khān Bardurrānī to hand over the Sadūzai prince. ʿĪsā Khān indeed gained control over Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān and sent him and a number of his courtiers to the Iranian camp on 22 Shaʿbān 1272/28 April 1856. This part of the deal having been accomplished, it turned out that little common purpose existed between Ḥusām al-Salṭana and ʿĪsā Khān. While the *vazīr* expected sovereignty as his part of the bargain and showed no inclination to relinquish the control of Herat, Ḥusām al-Salṭana tightened the siege on the city.[248] Feeling betrayed by the Iranian government, ʿĪsā Khān sought British and Russians support, in vain.[249] Ḥusām al-Salṭana, on his part, suspected Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān Muḥammadzai's machinations, and ultimately British designs to be at the root of ʿĪsā Khān's "disobedience".[250] The Bardurrānī leader continued to hold Herat for another six months until he was forced to surrender on 25 Ṣafar 1273/25 October 1856 by of lack of provisions.[251]

In July 1856, as Ḥusām al-Salṭana was making little or no progress before the gates of Herat, the British government decided to exert pressure on Iran by sending troops to the Persian Gulf. On 1 November 1856, the Governor-General of India declared war against Iran arguing that the invasion of Herat constituted a breach of the Anglo-Iranian agreement of 1853. On 4 December 1856, British troops occupied the island of Khārg, and on 8 February 1857, the Iranian troops suffered a decisive defeat near Khvāshāb in the region of

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239 Champagne, 1981: 357. According to *Nāsikh al-tavārīkh*, Ḥusām al-Salṭana received Muḥammad Yūsuf's request for aid upon his return to Mashhad on 5 Jumādā I 1272/13 January 1856 (NT 1304).

240 NT 1243. Markham reports that Ḥusām al-Salṭana appointed Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān to the command of a body of irregular cavalry at "Serjam" [Sar-i Jām?] on the Herat Frontier in October 1851 (Markham 1977: 500–1).

241 The Iranian sources emphasize the instability Saʿīd Muḥammad's rule engendered in eastern Khurāsān. Lisān al-Mulk and Hidāyat highlight the fact that he rendered military assistance to the Khān of Khīva during the battle for Sarakhs in 1855. Another source of conflict were depredations by Afghān horsemen under his command, who extended their raids as far as Bīrjand, Qāyin, Tūn and Ṭabas, as well as Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya (TRSN X: 665–7; NT 1276).

242 TRSN X: 667–9; NT 1277–8, 1290, 1297. See also Noelle 1997: 243.

243 Champagne 1981: 357–8.

244 TRSN X: 669. See also Taylor 1858c: 936–8.

245 TRSN X: 673. According to Lisān al-Mulk, the governor of Ghūriyān submitted on 23 Rajab 1272/30 March 1856 (NT 1306).

246 TRSN X: 679–80; NT 1312, 1318, 1323, 1331. See also Champagne 1981: 360–1.

247 NT 1319–21, 1329–30. See also Champagne 1981: 369.

248 TRSN X: 676–7; NT 1309–10.

249 Champagne 1981: 363–5, 367–8.

250 TRSN X: 677; NT 1290, 1310, 1317, 1336.

251 TRSN X: 693–4; NT 1336. See also TMN 1793.

Bushire. British operations ceased with the battle of Muḥammira (present-day Khurramshahr) on 26 March. The Treaty of Paris concluded on this date forced Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh to relinquish his claims to Herat once and for all and to recognize the independence of Afghanistan.[252] Prior to the exchange of the ratified treaty in Baghdad on 2 May 1857, the Iranian Prime Minister Āqā Khān Nūrī appointed Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān's nephew Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān as governor of Herat and extracted a written oath of loyalty from him, thus skilfully undermining the independent status of Herat that had been agreed on in Paris.[253] Ḥusām al-Salṭana, who opposed the evacuation of Herat in the light of the Indian Mutiny of May 1857, was summoned to Tehran.[254]

KHURĀSĀN IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

There is a noticeable decline in the quality and quantity of information concerning the affairs of Iranian Khurāsān during the second half of the nineteenth century. This may partly be attributed to the fact that the most detailed and systematic historical accounts concerning the Qājār period were written in the 1850s, whereas the source material concerning the era of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh tends to be more scattered. The lack of organized data on eastern Khurāsān during this period possibly derives from the fact that the affairs of the region generated little interest after the final loss of Marv and Herat in 1860 and 1863 respectively, and ceased entirely with the settlement of the northeastern borders in the 1880s.

Following Ḥusām al-Salṭana's recall to Tehran in 1858, incursions by the Turkmens and rivalries among the nobility of Khurāsān continued. This state of affairs was reflected and possibly enhanced by frequent changes in government. But as the rapid succession of appointments involved a number of previously known actors, one may also speak of certain continuities in the administration of Khurāsān. The name of Ḥamza Mīrzā Ḥishmat al-Daula is primarily associated with political and military mishaps in Khurāsān. Unable to contain Ḥasan Khān Sālār's rebellion, he had been forced to place himself under the protection of Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai of Herat during the winter of 1848–49. His second governorship of Khurāsān from Rajab 1275–1277/February 1859–1860[255] ended with the disastrous defeat of the Qājār army at Marv.

In the same measure, the person of Ḥusām al-Salṭana stood for military success and a degree of political stability. Similar to his first two governorships in the 1850s, Ḥusām al-Salṭana used his third tenure from Shavvāl 1277/April 1861 to re-establish a measure of control and to contain the Turkmen threat.[256] While the military command rested with Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Qājār Develū Ẓahīr al-Daula, the Zaʿfarānlū Kurd leadership of Khabūshān, notably Sām Khān's half brother Amīr Ḥusain Khān Īlkhānī Shujāʿ al-Daula, continued to play a leading role in beating back Turkmen incursions.[257] Ḥusām al-Salṭana's third tenure as governor ended with his arrest and deportation to Tehran in November 1863.[258]

Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān Muḥammadzai's westward thrust in 1862–63 temporarily put Herat back on the Qājār agenda. Yet if Iranian ambitions for an intervention in Herat existed, they were soon enough stifled by the British government. A small body of horsemen stationed at Kūsūya within Herat territory in the summer of 1862 to guard the province of Khurāsān from Afghan incursions had to be withdrawn owing to British pressure.[259] In conversations with the British secretary Eastwick in October 1862, Ḥusām al-Salṭana admitted that the financial burdens created by an occupation of Herat outweighed the possible benefits of a conquest. At the same time, he emphasized that the Qājār efforts to regain control of Herat and Marv were less motivated by "a weak vanity of adding to territories already too large to be easily governed" than by the

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252 Champagne 1981: 376, 380–90, 484–97; Daulatshāhī 1964: 273–5.
253 Champagne 1981: 390–1; Taylor 1858c: 946.
254 Bāmdād 1992 II: 106–7.
255 TMN 1815–16, 1826, 1832; Bāmdād 1992: 107; Ražavī 1999: 218.
256 TMN 1839–40, 1849; Ražavī 1999: 218.
257 Khūrmūjī 1984: 263–4, 280–1, 297–9. See also Bāmdād 1992 I: 390–2, II: 108, IV: 13; Eastwick 1976 II: 196–7; Farmayan 1981: 58; Shākirī 1986: 109.
258 Sheikholeslami 1997: 205.
259 Wynne 1870a: 53.

more practical need to curb Turkmen incursions into Khurāsān proper. In view of these facts, the prince professed his dismay at the continued British support for Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān and declared that it was impossible to defend the province of Khurāsān and to develop its potential as "the brightest jewel in the Persian crown", as long as England "shackles and impedes every effort that the Persian government makes for the protection of its own subjects".[260]

Although Eastwick acknowledged "a great deal of truth" in Ḥusām al-Salṭana's remarks, the British government continued to view the conflict over Herat strictly as one between two "Afghan principalities" and not a concern of the Iranian government.[261] Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's dramatic announcement in December 1862 that "so long as Persia had a soldier or a toman left, she would struggle to free herself from the Afghan incubus on the frontier of Khorassan" also fell on deaf ears.[262] By 1864, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh seemed to have reconciled himself to the loss of Herat. When the Hungarian traveller Ármin Vámbéry informed the king that Herat had been reduced to a "heap of ashes" by the Afghans he replied coolly, "I have no taste for such ruined cities."[263] The second grievance of the Qājār government, a possible advance by Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān into Sīstān, was initially dismissed by the British government on the basis of the assumption that Iran commanded no sovereignty there.[264] Subsequent to the fall of Herat, however, London assented to an Iranian assertion of authority in Sīstān by force of arms.[265]

Ḥusām al-Salṭana was succeeded by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's teenage son, Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā Jalāl al-Daula, who acted both as governor of Khurāsān and guardian of Imām Riżā's shrine from 1281/1864 until his death during the cholera epidemic of 1285/1868.[266] While authority formally rested with Jalāl al-Daula, the reins of government were held by two powerful Qājār officials, the *vazīr* Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Develū Ẓahīr al-Daula[267] and the *sipahsālār* Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān (d. 1284/1867).[268] In this period, the Khuzaima leadership enforced Qājār claims to Sīstān. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's first trip to Khurāsān in 1284/1867 coincided with the last part of Jalāl al-Daula's tenure as governor. During his visit to Bujnūrd in Rabīʿ II 1284/August 1867, the Shāh ordered the two most prominent Kurdish leaders Amīr Ḥusain Khān Shujāʿ al-Daula Zaʿfarānlū and Ḥaidar Qulī Khān Sihām al-Daula Shādillū to organize a raid against the Yomut Turkmens of Gurgān.[269]

In his third tenure as governor of Khurāsān from 1285–1288/1869–1871, Ḥamza Mīrzā followed the precedent set by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. His policy of employing the chiefs of Khabūshān and Bujnūrd against the neighboring Turkmens obviously served the dual purpose of keeping the Turkmens in check while simultaneously defusing ongoing tensions between the Zaʿfarānlū and Shādillū Kurds. The following attack on Qara Qalʿa by the combined forces of Khabūshān and Bujnūrd in the summer of 1286/1869 elicited counter attacks by the Akhal Teke, which primarily affected Darra Gaz.[270] Another issue that required Ḥamza Mīrzā's attention were the activities of the governor of Sīstān, Mīr ʿAlam III Khuzaima of Qāyin, towards extending his authority across the right bank of the Hilmand and the resultant clash of interests with Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān Muḥammadzai (r. 1869–1878).[271]

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[260] Eastwick 1976 II: 244–5, 250–3. See also Champagne 1981: 446.
[261] Wynne 1870a: 63.
[262] Wynne 1870a: 57.
[263] Vámbéry 1864: 295–6.
[264] Wynne 1870a: 64.
[265] Wynne 1870a: 57, 65–6.
[266] TMN 1903. See also Mīr Niyā 1994: 153; Rażavī 1999: 218. According to Yate, Jalāl al-Daula was appointed governor of Khurāsān in 1866 (C. E. Yate 1900: 325).
[267] Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Qājār Develū Ẓahīr al-Daula was appointed as *vazīr* of Khurāsān after Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's return to Tehran in Jumādā II 1284/October 1867 (TMN 1897). See also Bāmdād 1992 IV: 14.
[268] TMN 1884; 1893–4; Bāmdād 1992 II: 117.
[269] MB 1555, 1558; Tavaḥḥudī 1985 II: 378–87.
[270] TMN 1909. See also Napier 1977: 76; Sārlī 1995: 138–9, 144–6, 156–8, 161.
[271] Wynne 1870a: 81, 84, 87.

Ḥusām al-Salṭana, who returned to Khurāsān in 1288/1871–72,[272] was also locked into repeated confrontations with the Turkmens.[273] Within a year, however, he lost his post because of his conflict with and open criticism of the Prime Minister Ḥāj Mīrzā Ḥusain Khān Mushīr al-Daula.[274] At this point, the governorship of Khurāsān passed to Ḥāj Ḥusain Khān Shāhseven Shihāb al-Mulk, who held this post until his death in Muḥarram 1292/March 1875.[275] During Shihāb al-Mulk's tenure, Amīr Ḥusain Khān Shujāʿ al-Daula Zaʿfarānlū again played a leading role in combating the neighboring Turkmens.[276] Shihāb al-Mulk was succeeded by Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Qājār Develū Ẓahīr al-Daula, who had already been involved with the administration from 1861–1868. Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān's governorship ended with his death in 1294/1877.[277] Between 1294/1877 and Shaʿbān 1301/May 1884, Muḥammad Taqī Mīrzā Rukn al-Daula b. Muḥammad Shāh Qājār[278] held the governorship of Khurāsān and Sīstān with two short interruptions.[279] Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's second trip to Khurāsān in 1300/1883 coincided with his tenure.[280]

In the summer of 1301/1884, the governorship of Khurāsān passed to Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Vahhāb Khān Shīrāzī, who received the title of Āṣaf al-Daula.[281] In his relationship with the Qājār court, he assumed an independent bearing and, in Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's opinion, went as far as to conceive of himself as the "King of Khurāsān".[282] Internally, Āṣaf al-Daula's governorship was known for strictness and acts of oppression. In Shavvāl 1302/July 1885, he faced a general rebellion in Mashhad which was sparked by his conflict with Abū al-Qāsim Khān b. Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī, the grandson of the famous Isḥāq Khān of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya. Abū al-Qāsim Khān tried to evade Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Vahhāb Khān Shīrāzī's attempt to acquire his possessions by leasing them to ʿAlī Mardān Khān Tīmūrī Nuṣrat al-Mulk and seeking sanctuary at the shrine of Imām Riżā at Mashhad. Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Vahhāb Khān Shīrāzī violated the sanctity of the shrine and removed Abū al-Qāsim Khān Qarāʾī by force, thus bringing the wrath of the clergy and of the people of Mashhad upon himself. As the population of Mashhad surrounded the citadel, the governor's troops refused to follow his order to open fire on the rebels. The unrest subsided as soon as ʿAbd al-Vahhāb Khān Shīrāzī was recalled to Tehran in Jumādā II 1303/March 1886. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh appointed Maḥmūd Khān Qarāguzlū Nāṣir al-Mulk in his stead, whose governorship from Jumādā I 1303–late 1304/February 1886–summer 1887 is mainly remembered for his kind manners and his official pepper-and-salt attire.[283]

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[272] 23 March 1871–10 March 1872.

[273] TMN 1923, 1925–6; Rażavī 1999: 219. At the time of Bellew's visit to Mashhad in April 1872, nearly one hundred Turkmen hostages were held there to ensure the obedience of their fellow tribesmen (Bellew 1874: 361–2). In May 1872, a member of the Goldsmid delegation left the following account of Ḥusām al-Salṭana: "The Prince is a man of about sixty years of age, aristocratic alike in appearance and manners… he talked as one born in the purple, who from his youth had been a ruler of men. His dress was very simple, much resembling that of an English gentleman; nor was this resemblance in one respect only: he discoursed on all subjects with an ease and fluency which denoted not only extensive reading, but the readiness of a complete man of the world: appearing fairly well versed in European politics (a rare thing in Persia), and displaying some knowledge of the details of the English Constitution" (Goldsmid 1876 I: 359).

[274] Bāmdād 1992 I: 415; II: 109–110.

[275] TMN 1935; Bāmdād 1992 I: 393–4, II: 109; Rażavī 1999: 220.

[276] TMN 1953; Shākirī 1986: 110.

[277] TMN 1957; Bāmdād 1992 IV: 13–14; Migeod 1990: 131; Mīr Niyā 1994: 159.

[278] Rukn al-Daula was the fourth son of Muḥammad Shāh Qājār and a younger half brother of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (Bāmdād 1992 III: 312). See also Curzon 1966 I: 168.

[279] TMN 2030, 2036, 2040, 2145; KR 3. Mīrzā Ḥusain Khān Mushīr al-Daula's appointment to the governorship of Khurāsān and the guardianship of Imām Riżā's shrine on 18 Shaʿbān 1298/16 July 1881 was cut short by his death in Mashhad two months later, on 21 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1298/14 November 1881 (TMN 2026; Bāmdād 1992 I: 422; III: 313). In Rabīʿ II 1300/February–March 1882 Ḥusām al-Salṭana gained the governorship of Khurāsān for the last time but died on 2 Jumādā I 1300/11 March 1883 before he could take up his post. (TMN 2047; Bāmdād 1992 II: 104; Mīr Niyā 1994: 161, 204).

[280] Tavaḥḥudī 1985 II: 396–7.

[281] According to the documents available at the Āstān-i Quds, Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Vahhāb Khān Shīrāzī acted as governor of Khurāsān and *mutavallī bāshī* of Imām Riżā's shrine from Shavvāl 1301–Dhū al-Ḥijja 1302/August 1884–September 1885. Iʿtimād al-Salṭana's daily notes allow the conclusion that Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Vahhāb Khān Shīrāzī held the government of Khurāsān from 17 Ramażān 1301–Jumādā II 1303/11 July 1884–March 1886 (Bāmdād 1992 II: 309). See also Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 143.

[282] Sheikholeslami 1997: 95, 105, 163.

[283] Bāmdād 1992: IV: 58. See also Radde 1898: 176.

On 14 Dhū al-Qaʿda 1304/4 August 1887 Muḥammad Taqī Mīrzā Rukn al-Daula succeeded Nāṣir al-Mulk to the governorship of Khurāsān and held this post until Shavvāl 1308/May 1891. His second tenure as governor coincided with Turkmen unrest in Gurgān and a confrontation with the Shādillū governor of Bujnūrd, Yār Muḥammad Khān Shādillū Sihām al-Daula. Interestingly, the central government interjected itself into this conflict and attempted to defuse it by urging both Rukn al-Daula and Yār Muḥammad Khān Shādillū not to undermine the existing modus vivendi between the provincial government and the local nobility.[284] In a number of direct communications with Yār Muḥammad Khān Shādillū in April and May 1887, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh encouraged the Shādillū leader to resume his cooperation with Rukn al-Daula. In March 1888, the influential Qājār official ʿAlī Aṣghar Amīn al-Sulṭān (1274–1325/1858–1907)[285] reminded Rukn al-Daula of the need to conciliate the Shādillū leadership.[286] These efforts notwithstanding, Rukn al-Daula deposed Yār Muḥammad Khān Shādillū and appointed Vajīhullāh Mīrzā Saif al-Mulk in his stead. Lasting until 1308/1891–92, Saif al-Mulk's governorship of Bujnūrd and Gurgān was characterized by a policy of repression, causing a number of Turkmens to migrate to the Russian-occupied territories.[287]

There is little information on the particulars of Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Shīrāzī's governorship and his guardianship of Imām Riżā's shrine from 1308–1310/1891–1893.[288] He was succeeded by Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrzā Muʾayyid al-Daula (d. 1330/1911–12), the eldest son of Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā Ḥusām al-Salṭana, who held the governorship of Khurāsān from Shaʿbān 1310–1312/February 1893–1894/95. The guardianship of Imām Riżā's shrine rested with Muḥammad ʿAlī Ṣadr al-Mamālik during this period.[289] After Ghulām Riżā Khān's brief tenure as governor in 1312/1894–95, Muḥammad Taqī Rukn al-Daula regained this post for the third time and oversaw the affairs of Khurāsān from 1897 until his death in 1318/1900–01.[290]

CONCLUSION

While the exact modalities of provincial government still remain to be explored, there can be no doubt that Khurāsān experienced a tightening of central authority in the late nineteenth century. In 1889, Curzon summed up the developments the province had undergone in the course of the past ninety years, contrasting its former position as a hotbed of conflict and a fraying fiasco of territorial disintegration with the degree of stability that had currently been achieved:

> In the early part of this century, desolated by border warfare on the north, inhabited by turbulent chieftains and conflicting tribes, and commonly dependent upon the fluctuating politics and fortunes of Herat, it was the vulnerable spot of the Kajars' dominions, a sort of Ireland to an otherwise fairly united kingdom… It is not indeed till the last ten or fifteen years that Khorasan may be said to have become thoroughly fused, in sentiment as well as in title, with the rest of the Shah's dominions. The present King, who, whatever his failings, has undeniably consolidated his reduced but still compact territories, can boast a firmer hold upon the province than any previous member of his dynasty, and is as unquestionably sovereign at Meshed [Mashhad] as he is at Teheran.[291]

In practical terms, the incorporation of Khurāsān into the Qājār kingdom was enhanced by a leap in modern technology. At a point in time when the major communications of the country merely consisted of well-

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284 Sheikholeslami 1997: 85.

285 Bāmdād 1992 II: 387; Calmard, "Atābak-e Aʿẓam," *E.Ir.* II: 878–90.

286 Amīn al-Sulṭān instructed Rukn al-Daula to "treat him [Yār Muḥammad Khān Shādillū] and his dependents with maximum respect and use all within your power to cooperate with him and help him, so that he would return to Bujnurd willingly. Then again you should strengthen him, treat him kindly, cooperate with him and his dependents, lest he becomes unhappy and disappointed." (Amīn al-Sulṭān to Rukn al-Daula, 14 March 1888, quoted in Sheikholeslami 1997: 194).

287 Mīr Niyā 1994: 224–5. See also Curzon 1966 I: 190.

288 Bāmdād 1992 II: 309–11; Mīr Niyā 1994: 163, 227.

289 KR 7; Bāmdād 1992 I: 51–3; Mīr Niyā 1994: 229. See also C. E. Yate 1900: 45.

290 Bāmdād 1992 III: 317; Mīr Niyā 1994: 240. According to Yate, Rukn al-Daula arrived in Khurāsān in November 1897 (C. E. Yate 1900: 60, 418).

291 Curzon 1966 I: 180–1.

trodden camel tracks and a postal service of *chāpārs*,[292] Iran profited from the British thrust towards modern methods of communication. Propelled by the need to create a closer link between India and the Home Government in the aftermath of the Mutiny of 1857, the British government sought to provide a linkage between the Indian telegraph system and that of England. Under the auspices of the Indo-European telegraph scheme, the British entered a number of agreements with the Qājār government. The first contract was concluded in 1862 and provided for the establishment of a telegraph link from Khāniqīn on the Turkish border to Tehran and then on to Bushire. The establishment of a second line between Bushire and Julfa in 1283/1866–67 linked the Iranian telegraph system to the British line from Bushire to India and the Russian lines in the Caucasus.[293] Within Iran, the first telegraph lines came into being as early as 1859.[294] In 1892, Curzon summarized the interaction between British interests and Qājār efforts at modernization and highlighted the contradictions and asynchronies accompanying the introduction of the telegraph:

> By a curious inversion of the customary chronology… the electric telegraph was already in full working order throughout Persia long before a decent letter-post had been organised. The first experiment was made by the Government in 1859, with a line from Teheran to Sultanieh [Sulṭānīya]; but this was so badly constructed as to be soon abandoned. In 1860 followed a complete line from Teheran to Tabriz [Tabrīz], extended in 1863 to Julfa. At this period ensued the negotiations between the British and Persian Governments that resulted in the passage of the main line of Indo-European Telegraph through Persia in transit from London to Bombay… [T]he issue of these proceedings has been the construction of a triple wire from Julfa to Teheran, worked by the Indo-European Telegraph Company; and from Teheran to Bushire, worked by a staff of the Indian Government. In addition to these lines Persia possesses some 3,000 miles of single wire lines, in a more or less dubious state of repair, which belong to the Government and are worked by a Persian staff. The capital is now connected with every city or centre of importance in the kingdom…[295]

Placing even distant provinces within immediate reach of the capital, the new technology endowed the central government with unprecedented means of control and curtailed the freedom of action the provincial governors and tribal leaders had enjoyed so far. Ultimately, however, the enhanced speed of communication and the closer supervision it implied did not coincide with a wholesale modernization of the mode of government. Instead, the telegraph served to invigorate old fashioned methods of surveillance, as Sheikholeslami observes: "The Shah grafted the modern technology onto the traditional political structure, turning it into a modern Abbasid espionage system. Telegraph offices were usually headed by colonels whose primary function was to report on the activities of the governors."[296]

The mode in which the government utilized the telegraph epitomizes the superficial nature of the modernization the Qājār state underwent in the course of the nineteenth century. Underneath a veneer of military and administrational reform, early modern structures implying a segmentation of political power and a concomitant dispersion of resources continued to determine the mechanisms at work. In Khurāsān, the traditional patterns of authority limited the control the provincial governors enjoyed over men and goods and hampered their ability to maneuver. In the regions beyond the capital of Mashhad, the governors depended on tribal intermediaries for the collection of revenues and the maintenance of order.

The difficulty of generating sufficient resources was especially brought into focus in times of war, as the scarcity of supplies put a narrow ceiling on the scope of military action. Besides raising sufficient and sufficiently motivated forces to generate the required military momentum, the military leaders faced the task of procuring adequate provisions. Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's campaign against Herat in the autumn of 1837 was afflicted with grave logistical problems long before it reached its destination. In the army of 12,000 men

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[292] By 1889, only Qazvīn, Tehran and Qum were linked by carriageable roads amounting to a total of nearly two hundred miles. While superior to the camel tracks, the roads serviced by *chāpārs* were generally "strewn with rocks and bolders" in the plains and turned into "furrows or ruts" in mountainous terrain (Curzon 1966 I: 486–8). See also Polak 1860: 40.

[293] TMN 1887; Amanat, "Eʿteżād al-Salṭana," *E.Ir.* VIII: 670.

[294] In 1275/1859, the telegraph line was extended from Tehran to Sulṭānīya and Tabrīz (TMN 1812; 1815; Shahvar, "Telegraph, i. First Telegraph Lines in Persia," *E.Ir.).* The telegraph connection between Tehran and Mashhad was established in 1876 (TMN 1964; C. E. Yate 1900: 325).

[295] Curzon 1966 I: 467.

[296] Sheikholeslami 1997: 90. See also ibid. p. 205.

approaching Sabzavār in September 1837, there was reportedly no "commander of any talent or experience, even at the head of a battalion. The higher classes are disgusted, and the soldiers discontented; the baggage cattle are deficient in numbers, and the country, through which the army is to march, is deficient of supplies of any kind."[297] In autumn 1862, Ḥusām al-Salṭana likewise encountered problems feeding his army of 18,000 men within the core regions of Khurāsān province when he took position at Qalandarābād to discourage possible intrusions by Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān.[298] Eventually, the great famine of 1870–1872 highlighted the fact that Khurāsān was still very far away from Tehran both in conceptional and infrastructural terms. Thus Ḥamza Mīrzā's repeated requests for grain only elicited an impatient response from Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in Rajab 1287/November 1870: "I have had enough and will no longer listen to all these complaints (*āh va nāla*) of the difficulties [prevailing in Khurāsān]. I have given every bonus [*takhfīf*] possible. It is enough!"[299] In 1872, the British representative Bellew reported that neither Ḥusām al-Salṭana nor anybody else in the Qājār administration had "moved a finger" to alleviate the suffering caused by the general scarcity, which had cost 120,000 lives in Khurāsān and had deprived Mashhad of half of its population.[300]

For all its internal segmentation, the fact remains that Khurāsān outwardly assumed a bounded identity defined by outlines that became increasingly distinct in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century. This process was generated in great part by territorial loss, as the contested space was divided into new political entities, such as Afghanistan, British-controlled Balūchistān and the Russian province of Transcaspia.[301] In western Iran, the most incisive developments took place much earlier with the Russian annexations of the Caucasian provinces as determined by the treaties of Gulistān and Turkmānchāy in 1813 and 1828 respectively. During this period, eastern Khurāsān still was a land of opportunity holding the promise of expansion or, in the light of the continuing vitality of the territorial perceptions stemming from the Safavid era, calling for reclamation. Up to the 1830s, the easternmost Qājār province represented a variable political landscape open to the establishment and maintenance of a loose system of clientelistic relationships with the local leadership. Following the elastic early modern pattern of control, the scope of government comprised all those regions acknowledging central authority on the basis of formulaic expressions of allegiance, such as the striking of coins and the reading of the Friday prayer in the name of the sovereign (*sikka* and *khuṭba*). On the practical level, claims to overlordship had to be maintained by ongoing military campaigns which served to invigorate the existing network of loyalties and to enforce the flow of revenues.

Yet even within this flexible framework of control, the radius of Qājār military activity was fairly limited. In contrast with the official rhetorical emphasis on far-flung Khurāsānīan possessions, the governors of Mashhad were mostly concerned with the practical need to establish a token authority over Herat, Sarakhs, and Marv. While Marv remained beyond the scope of direct intervention and thus represented a "terrain vague" for most of the nineteenth century, Herat was an embattled zone, facing no less than ten military campaigns between 1807 and 1833. These confrontations were largely motivated by the Qājār attempt to establish control over Herat's westernmost town of Ghūriyān and served to confirm the subservience of the

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297 McNeill to Palmerston, Tehran, 28 September 1837 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, No. 78, p. 78).

298 Eastwick 1976 II: 248.

299 Note by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in Rajab 1287/November 1870, quoted in Sārlī 1995: 162–3. For the causes and effects of the famine, which affected Khurāsān, Iṣfahān, Yazd and Fārs alike, see McDaniel 1971: 40; Melville 1993b; Okazaki 1986.

300 At the time of Bellew's visit, not even half of the 9,000 houses in Mashhad were tenanted (Bellew 1874: 364). In 1875, Napier reported that 7,500 houses were inhabited in Mashhad. He concluded that the resident population amounted to 30,000 persons. To this he added a fluctuating population of 5,000 to 6,000 pilgrims visiting Mashhad every month (Napier 1875: 221). During his visit in 1883, Iʿtimād al-Salṭana estimated the population of Mashhad at 40,000 persons: "I have not been able to ascertain an exact figure for the population of this city. Most of the people I asked gave exaggerated figures. Some offered the opinion that the inhabitants of this city amounted to 100,000 persons. But to all appearances the actual figure is a lot lower. As far as I can judge, there must be about 40,000 persons. According to the calculation of an Iranian officer the population of the city of Mashhad amounts to 32,000 persons. In any event the religious students and ulama (*ṭullāb va ahl-i ʿilm*) form the strongest segment of the city population" (MSh II: 31).

301 Morgan 1874.

local Sadūzai rulers. Hovering between 10,000 and 50,000 *tūmān*, the tribute collected at Herat was negligible in comparison with the revenues yielded by the central provinces of ʿIrāq, Fārs and Gīlān and probably merely supplemented the cost of dispatching the provincial army. The relatively weak position of the Qājār government in Khurāsān is also reflected by the fact that the entire province submitted no revenues to speak of to Tehran in the early nineteenth century.[302] During his third tenure as governor of Khurāsān from 1861–1863, Ḥusām al-Salṭana assessed the entire revenue of Herat at 80,000 *tūmān*, an amount which he considered insufficient for covering the military and administrative expenses required for a steady Iranian presence there.[303]

The fact that Herat continued to rate high on the Qājār agenda despite its financial unattractiveness underlines the pull generated by its symbolic value. The Iranian engagement at Herat climaxed with the sustained sieges of 1837–1838 and 1856, which aimed at forcefully incorporating this principality into the Qājār statehood. During the intervening periods, there is a noticeable tension between the tenacity of Qājār ideas of territoriality and the tenuousness of their actual control over Khurāsān. This state of affairs was highlighted by two major rebellions affecting the core regions of the province in 1813–1816 and 1847–1850.

Qājār presence in Khurāsān reached an all-time low in the winter of 1848–49, when the provincial governor Ḥamza Mīrzā was driven out of Mashhad and had to seek refuge with the ruler of Herat. The situation of the army sent from Tehran under the command of Ḥusām al-Salṭana was not much better. The Qājār general and his troops initially depended on the Zaʿfarānlū leadership of Khabūshān for survival and did not regain control of the provincial capital before March 1850. The 1850s, by contrast, witnessed sustained efforts to place Herat, Marv and Sīstān under the umbrella of Qājār control. The Iranian amibitions on Herat were finally throttled by British involvement. The resultant Treaty of Paris sealed the fate of Herat and effectively removed Ghūriyān, so hotly contested in the early nineteenth century, from the scope of Qājār control. The Iranian government also failed to gain a permanent foothold at Marv, and in 1860 the army was beaten decisively by the local Turkmen population.

Thus, we may note two contrary trends in Qājār territorial design. Generous conceptions of political space coincided with a limited scope of military action and a marginal government presence even within the core regions of the historical province. The tension between a historical sense of entitlement and the constricted political circumstances also manifests in the chronicles of the time. In particular, Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat's account displays an interesting contrast between the endeavor to create a sense of historical continuity and the changing realities "shining through" in the narrative of the political events. Besides adhering to the stylistic devices typically employed to convey royal splendor, Hidāyat achieves a notion of permanence by appealing to historical precedents. He illustrates the high rank of the founder of the Qājār dynasty by placing him on the same footing with mythical and real heroes like Afrāsiyāb, Chingiz Khān, Amīr Tīmūr and Shāh Ismāʿīl I.[304] For Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's campaigns to Khurāsān, Hidāyat adds a specifically Safavid frame of reference by portraying the military activities of 1217/1802 as a continuation of Shāh Ismāʿīl I's and Ṭahmāsp I's earlier contentions with the Uzbek leadership.[305] He also uses Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's eastern expedition in 1233/1818 to revive Safavid territorial claims. According to his portrayal, the Qājār king allegedly set out to subject Ṭukhāristān, Gharjistān, Kābul, and Zābul, whereas, in fact, his actual military activities concentrated on Khabūshān and Mashhad.[306]

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302 Fraser 1825: 217–218.

303 Eastwick 1976 II: 244–5.

304 *Āyandagān īn daftar bikhvānand va īn maʿnī bidānand ki hażrat-i sikandar rutbat tīmūr ʿazīmat Āqā Muḥammad Khān b. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān b. Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Qājār Qūyunlū az aʿāẓim-i salāṭīn-i ʿālam būda dar ʿazm u ḥazm va razm u bazm az aqrān-i Afrāsiyāb va Chingīz Khān va Amīr Tīmūr-i Gūrkān va Shāh Ismaʿīl-i Ṣafavī ast* (TRSN IX: 291–2).

305 *Īn farzandzāda-yi Sulṭān Muḥammad Ḥusain [Ḥasan?] Khān b. Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān-i maghfūr [Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Quyūnlū] ki az aulād-i Chingīz va aḥfād-i Tīmūr [Tīmūr Lang] būd ba-ḥukm-i virāthat dar mulk-i Khurāsān yūrish-i chingīzī va shūrish-i tīmūrī tāza farmūd… chināṅki Shāh Ismaʿīl-i Ṣafavī ba-muḥāriba-yi Shībak Khān-i Ūzbak [Muḥammad Khān Shībānī] ravad yā Shāh Ṭahmāsb farzand-i ū ba-mudāfiʿa-yi ʿAbdullāh [ʿUbaidullāh?] Khān-i Mā varāʾ al-nahrī hamīshavad* (TRSN IX: 376).

306 *Chūn ḥażrat-i khāqān-i akbar va pādshāh-i buzurg az jānib-i Khvārazm va vilāyāt-i Khurāsān āsūda khāṭir nabūd ba-ʿazm-i razm-i Khvārazm va qaṣd-i taskhīr-i Ṭukhāristān u Gharjistān u Kābul u Zābul ʿazīmat-i yūrish-i mulūkāna kard* (TRSN IX:

Another characteristic trait of Hidāyat's account are the geographical-historical excursuses conceptualizing Khurāsān and, by extension, Iran, as naturally grown and intimately related units. Reiterating conventional geographical concepts, he revives Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's formulaic description of Khurāsān as consisting of Ṭukhāristān (Balkh), Marv, Nīshāpūr, and Herat. Hidāyat begins his historical overviews of Marv, Sarakhs and Herat by locating the cities in the fourth clime and by linking their foundation to mythical Iranian kings. In this manner, he embeds the ancient metropolises in a timeless, uniquely Iranian space.[307] For all his emphasis on a grand, historically grown expanse, Hidāyat also hints at internal division. The narrative typically switches from projections of Khurāsān's perpetuity and unity to the minutiae of ongoing local conflict. The author's emphasis on the *ʿarabkhāna* and the *kurdkhāna* as the constituent elements of the region highlights tribal dominance and conveys a sense of regional fragmentation.[308]

The Iranian chronicles of the nineteenth century follow well-established paths of historiography. One marked feature is the description of successive battle scenes, with the citadels constituting dots in the landscape to be joined by conquest, and to be realigned with the map of Qājār power. Again, these descriptions inadvertently reveal the limited scope of military activity in Khurāsān.[309] For all their emphasis on the subservient status of the Afghān elite[310] and Herat's position as an integral component of the *mamālik-i maḥrūsa*,[311] the authors outline different spheres of inclusion and clearly distinguish between the core of Qājār Khurāsān centered around Mashhad and the eastern, more peripheral regions. In his description of the events in the winter of 1248/1832–33, Fażlullāh Shīrāzī identifies Nāʾib al-Salṭana's conquests of Khabūshān, Sarakhs and Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya as pertaining to the "internal matters of Khurāsān", while categorizing activities in Herat and Khvārazm as "foreign affairs".[312] In connection with the pressure Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān exerted on Herat in 1855, Hidāyat likewise makes a distinction between "inner" Khurāsān and its "outer limits".[313] Although Hidāyat labels Herat as part of "eastern" (*mashriqī*, *sharqī*) Khurāsān[314] and as the "frontiers" (*sarḥaddāt*) of Khurāsān,[315] he also creates the impression that going there in fact entailed leaving Khurāsān.[316] While no doubt mirroring the political realities of the time, the perception of Mashhad and Herat as separate entities echoes a long-standing territorial concept. The idea of a bifurcation of Khurāsān, documented since Mongol times and manifest in Safavid administrative arrangements, thus continues to carry weight in nineteenth-century delineations of space.

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564). Prior to battling Fatḥ Khān Muḥammadzai over the possession of Ghūriyān earlier that year, Fatḥ ʿAli Shāh's son Shujāʿ al-Salṭana engaged in a verbal confrontation with the Afghān leader. According to Hidāyat, he invoked a precedent from the *Shāhnāma*, threatening to wreak as much havoc in Afghānistān and Kābulistān as the Kayanid king Bahman once did in Zābulistān: *Bā Afghānistān va Kābulistān hamān kunam ki Bahman bā Zābulistān kard* (TRSN IX: 561).

307 TRSN IX: 276; X: 218, 479, 540–2.

308 TRSN X: 328.

309 A fine example of this sort of mapping is furnished by Hidāyat's minute description of the local forts successively conquered by Ḥusām al-Salṭana in the spring of 1849 (TRSN X: 377–80).

310 See, for instance, *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 405.

311 See, for instance, TRSN X: 543.

312 *Az qarār-i farmāyish-i shāhanshāh-i tājdār navvāb-i valīʿahd-i kāmkār-ra manẓūr-i naẓar īn būd ki baʿd az tamshiyat-i umūrāt-i dākhilī-yi mamlakat-i Khurāsān ba-anjām-i mahāmm-i khārijī az qabīl-i kār-i Khvārazm va Harāt, panja-yi dilīrī gushāyad va ba har ṭarīq ki mumkin āyad farmānravāyān u ḥukkām u ahālī-yi ān ṣafaḥāt-rā muṭīʿ va munqād namāyad* (*Dhū al-qarnain* 836). In connection with Ḥasan Khān Sālār's rebellion, Lisān al-Mulk even describes Kāl-i Yāqūtī near Mashhad as the "frontier" (*ḥudūd*) of Khurāsān (NT 972–3; see also NT 296, 975, 1123). Discussing the events of 1857, he characterizes the village of Rāz in the Kopet Dagh mountains as located "on the border of the country [of Iran]" (*Qarya-yi Rāz ki dar sarḥadd-i mamlakat ast*) (NT 1373). For the year 1299/1881–82, Iʿtimād al-Salṭana speaks of Kalāt and Sarakhs as constituting the "borders" (*sarḥaddāt*) of Khurāsān (TMN 2036, 2039).

313 *Az īn jisārat-i khisārat-angīz va jalādat-i fitna-āmīz-i ū [Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān] dūr nabāshad ki rishta-yi intiẓām-i sarḥaddāt-i khārija-yi Khurāsān gusīkhta gardad va harj u marj-i tamām dar bilād-i dākhila-yi Khurāsān rūy kunad* (TRSN X: 671).

314 TRSN X: 652, 670–5.

315 TRSN X: 704.

316 See, for instance, Ḥamza Mīrzā's departure for Herat in the winter of 1265/1848–49 (TRSN X: 373; 385).

The territorial designations employed by the Persian historiographers may also be read as an early figure of the political framework to take shape later in the century. As mapped by Hidāyat and his colleagues, the limits of Khurāsān become tangible in the vicinity of the provincial capital and anticipate the boundaries that eventually came into being in the 1880s. While Mashhad served as the mainstay of the Qājār administration of Khurāsān, it figures as a distant eastern outpost in the historical narrative. Hidāyat reinforces this impression by depicting Khurāsān as the frontier with Central Asia and describing the rulers of Khīva as active agents in the region. In his portrayal, the rebellion of 1847–1850 owed its initial success to Ḥasan Khān Sālār's close relationship with the Khān of Khīva, as well as with the Turkmens of Sarakhs, Akhal, Tejend, Qarayāb, and Khīva.[317] In the following chapter, I will explore the developments in the debated spaces beyond the northeastern and southeastern rim of Khurāsān proper. Again, the focus will be on the process whereby the vagueness of Qājār territorial conceptions increasingly gave way to a sense of containment, as the new borders successively gained shape and instilled a sense of permanence. As will be seen below, the physical delimitation of the Iranian sphere of interest generated a new sense of entitlement and the opportunity to consolidate government claims over regions formerly merely loosely incorporated into the kingdom.

[317] TRSN X: 393–4.

6. The Emergence of Fixed Boundaries

In the early 1880s, the Irish war correspondent Edmund O'Donovan (1844–1883) reacted with amusement to the perceived inability or unwillingness of the Prime Minister to delineate the exact scope of Qājār authority in the northeastern reaches of Khurāsān, even in the face of growing Russian encroachment:

> I remember once at Teheran asking Hussein Khan[Husain Khān Mushīr al-Daula], the acting Prime Minister, for a passport to the frontier. He said he would give it willingly, but added that he could not be responsible for my safety outside the kingdom. I made no objection to that, as may well be imagined, but merely asked his Highness if he could tell me the boundary lines of the Shah's dominions in the direction which I proposed taking. After a moment's reflection he replied: 'Perhaps on that point I had better refer you to your own Ambassador.' I mentioned the conversation to the British Minister, who was highly amused, as he could no more inform me than the Sipah Salar Aazem could to what exact point the sway of his Persian Majesty extended.[1]

In this chapter, I will investigate the contrast between far-flung territorial claims and the realities on the ground in two settings located at the northeastern and southeastern frontiers of Khurāsān. The conceptional gap between overarching notions of supremacy and the crystallization and consolidation of international borders is best understood against the backdrop of the changing texture of local power. In the oases embraced by the Qara Qum desert, the fluid concepts of sovereignty employed by the Qājārs and the neighboring Central Asian principalities lost their evocative content and were overtaken by new political realities in the late nineteenth century. With the Russian encapsulation of the khanates of Bukhārā and Khīva and the imposition of a clearly demarcated sphere of interest, Qājār territorial concepts found their expression in short-lived spurts of irredentism before eventually withering away into nostalgia. The same tension between evolving notions of boundedness and the formal adherence to an early modern cast of loosely defined loyalties may also be observed in Qājār dealings with the southeastern region of Sīstān. In this environment, however, the Iranian government successfully switched to a sustained policy of military penetration, thereby creating facts conducive to territorial consolidation.

THE SHRINKING FRONTIER: ASTARĀBĀD, SARAKHS AND MARV

While Qājār claims to authority extended as far as Marv and Khīva for the greater part of the nineteenth century, their actual sphere of influence barely reached beyond the slopes of the mountain barrier formed by the Greater and Lesser Balkhān mountains and the chains of the Küren Dagh and Kopet Dagh mountains. Along the outer hem of these sterile limestone ridges a belt of fertile land known as *atek* extended all the way from the Harī Rūd to Qizil Arvāt.[2] In the 1820s Fraser described the landscape at the foot of the mountains in the following way:

> These mountains, although they present to the desert their loftiest face, still sweep down in a manner so gradual near their base, as to afford in the vallies and ravines they include, as well at their feet, a quantity of rich land, watered by numerous rivulets, which once was well peopled and cultivated. This stripe of country has been termed by natives the *Attock* [*atek*], a word signifying a skirt (as of a garment), and it contained the considerable towns of Nissa [Nasā], Abiverd [Abīvard], Diroom [Durūn], Mehineh [Maihana], with their dependent villages, all of which are now in ruins…[3]

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[1] O'Donovan 1970 II: 11.

[2] Barto'ld 1984: 88–89. Napier distinguised three sections, the Kalāt Atek, the Darra Gaz Atek, and the Akhal Atek. The Kalāt Atek commenced in Āq Darband and extended about 100 miles west to Abīvard: "The Kelat range reaches the Atak in long spurs, pointing for the most part to the east, and subsiding in a maze of rough ravine-cleft undulations. Many fine streams rise in its glens and, reaching the plain, carry broad lines of pasture across the desert half-way to Tajand [Tejend]." The Darra Gaz Atek extended from Abīvard to Gavurz, a distance of about 50 miles. The Akhal Atek extended from Gavurz to Qizil Arvāt and included the settlements of Anau and ʿIshqābād (Napier 1876: 138–9). See also König 1962: 19; Lessar 1884: 281; Rawlinson 1977: 112. The region located between the northern foothills of the Alburz Mountains and the Gurgān plain was likewise known as Atek (Rabino 1928: 86, 97, 99–100).

[3] Fraser 1825: 245.

Beyond this fertile strip of land, the inhospitable Qara Qum desert stretched away towards the northeast. Within this expanse, the delta oases of Marv on the Murghāb river and Khīva on the Āmū Daryā formed compact islands of fertility, which were relatively secure from invading armies.[4] Both Persian and British authors attempted to convey the dimensions of this desert and the dangers it held in store by comparing it to an ocean. When the Iranian envoy Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat embarked on his mission to Khīva in spring 1851, the Qājār governor of Astarābād, Muḥammad Valī Khān Qājār Develū, warned him of the hazards that lay ahead:

> You [are mistaken if you] think that the route ahead is like the road to Māzandarān. It is a murderous desert more dangerous than a tumultuous sea. You will have to pass forty stages without water, fodder, cultivation, accommodation, signs marking the way, or any kind of greenery. [You will be traveling] among a plundering, bloodthirsty, ferocious and warlike people (*qaum*)… No Göklen dares to pass through the Yomut territory, as these two tribes (*ṭāyifa*) have been at war with each other for a long time. A Yomut guide? He would have to be not an Uzbek but a demon (*ghūl*) to pass through Turkmen territory. Besides, camels cannot travel to that region unless their driver is a Turkmen himself. These people are not loyal to anybody. They move and rest as they like, and one has to proceed according to their desire. What is more, you have to anticipate the number of persons, high and low, accompanying you in order to provide sufficient water and provisions for them. You will have to take flour, bread and other necessities such as pickles and legumes… along from Astarābād. Imagine Astarābād as a port, the Turkmen desert as an endless sea, the Yomut camel drivers as boatmen, and Khvārazm as (far away as) Caluctta, Egypt or Europe. [Imagine] that you have to move across water until you reach your destination. Of utmost necessity is an abundant supply of drinking water for your travelling companions as well as for your horses, otherwise your lives will be in danger.[5]

This prediction proved true as soon as Hidāyat's party crossed the Atrak river. On the other side, the caravan entered an "endless desert", in which, according to Hidāyat's poetic rendering, not even demons, angels, beasts or fairies were to be seen. On a practical level, this expanse was devoid of any sight that might enable the itinerant to take his bearings: there were no settlements, trees, stones or other signs; nor could the distances be measured. After travelling for eleven days, Hidāyat was overjoyed to see a group of Yomut Turkmens on their migration: "We thanked God that there were some other humans also passing along this way. We took it as a sign of life on this route, an indication that there would be an inhabited world on the other side of this barren desert."[6]

In 1888, Lord Curzon saw portions of this desert during a journey by the newly-constructed Transcaspian Railway. While enjoying much greater comfort than the caravans of old, he was nonetheless affected by the bleakness of the scenery and, like Hidāyat, attempted to convey the daunting vastness of this plain by invoking its resemblance with the sea. His account begins with a description of the "howling wilderness" immediately east of the Caspian Sea and then takes a bird's eye view of the wastelands adjoining the Aral Sea and the Oxus:

> Here but little vegetation is either visible, or, with certain exceptions, possible. The sand, of the most brilliant yellow hue, is piled in loose hillocks and mobile dunes, and is swept hither and thither by powerful winds. It has all the appearance of a sea of troubled waves, billow succeeding billow in melancholy succession, with the sand driving like spray from their summits, and great smooth-swept troughs lying between, on which the winds leave the imprint of their fingers in wavy indentations, just like an ebb-tide on the sea-shore.[7]
>
> A funereal tale of destruction, both to man and beast, engulfed in their whirling crests, might these cruel sand-waves tell; and the bones of many a victim lie trampled fathoms deep under the pitiless tide. The peaks of the great Balkan range on the north, rising in points to a height of 5,000 ft., afford a welcome relief to the eye, and, after a wide depression in the surface level through which the Oxus or one of its confluents once disembogued into the Caspian, are succeeded by the inferior elevation of the Little Balkans on the south. These are presently merged in the splendid barrier of the Persian mountains…
>
> If the mountains on the south supply a perpetual variety of shape and summit, there is a more than equivalent monotony in the spectacle that extends as far as the eye can reach to the north. Here nothing is visible but a wide and doleful plain, wholly destitute, or all but destitute, of vegetation, and sweeping with unbroken uniformity to a blurred horizon. This desert is the

[4] Becker 1968: 10, 65; Hambly 1991b: 19–20; Holdsworth 1959: 22.
[5] *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 48–9; Persian text: 30–1.
[6] *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 40–43; Persian text: 63–8. See also Granmayeh 1996: 236–7.
[7] Curzon 1967: 56.

> famous Kara Kum or Black Sand, which, with intervals of dunes and interruptions of so-called oases, stretches from the Caspian to the Oxus, and from Khorasan to Khiva and the Aral Sea…
>
> At intervals this desert is broken by belts of more or less cultivable soil, which, under the modest standards of so barren a country, are dignified by the name of oases. There are four such oases between Uzun Ada [on the eastern shore of the Caspian] and the Oxus, viz. those of Akhal, Atek (or the mountain base), Tejend [Sarakhs], and Merv. An oasis in these parts has no relation to the *a priori* picture, painted by our imagination, in which rivulets of water course through a wealth of verdure beneath umbrageous trees. It is simply a designation for such portions of the desert as have been reclaimed, by moisture naturally or artificially supplied, for the service of man…
>
> There is a good deal of variety in the vegetation of these oases. In the more sterile parts they seem to support little but a stunted growth of tamarisk, absinthe, camelthorn, and light desert shrubs; though even here in spring-time there is a sudden and magical efflorescence of bright prairie flowers… Elsewhere, under the influence of a richer water supply, barley, rice, maize, millet, sorghum, and lucerne are succeeded in the most fertile districts by orchards and gardens, which produce an amazing crop of melons, apricots, peaches and grapes.[8]

The Qara Qum desert posed a formidable obstacle to military movement. The Iranian occupation of Marv in 1853–54 had to be given up because of overextended supply lines. In 1271/1854–55, the Iranian Prime Minister Mīrzā Āqā Khān Nūrī Iʿtimād al-Daula (1851–1858) dissuaded Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh from a military campaign against Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt of Khīva (r. 1846–1855) by pointing to the logistic difficulties such an enterprise would entail:

> Raising the standard of war against Muḥammad Amīn Khān and sending an army there will cause great exertion and trouble: En route neither forage nor water can be obtained. The transportation of provisions, fodder and water alone will incur great expenditure. The costs of the conquest of Khvārazm bear no relation to the profits to be gained thereby.[9]

Military movements in the opposite direction were equally difficult. In 1851, the Iranian envoy Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat reported that the Khivan army required two beasts of burden to carry the provisions necessary for one horseman: "Whenever he [Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt] sets out with 5,000 men his army will seem 15,000 strong because of the great number of baggage-horses and camels. If there are 10,000 troops they will seem like 30,000. This supposed multitude of troops will impress the uninformed onlooker and will inspire fear in strangers [unacquainted with these facts]."[10] According to Lisān al-Mulk, Muḥammad Amīn required a total of 30,000 camels to provide for the needs of the 40,000 men he collected for his campaigns against Marv and Sarakhs in 1855.[11]

As a rule, caravan traffic across the desert was suspended during the hottest part of summer from early June to mid-August.[12] The Turkmen raiding parties, by contrast, traversed this expanse with considerable ease and penetrated the Qājār domains well beyond Mashhad. Moreover, they gradually filled the void created in northeastern Khurāsān by declining Iranian and Khivan influence. These developments notwithstanding, both the Qājār kings and the *khāns* of Khīva continued to consider the land between the Kopet Dagh mountains and the Oxus as their legacy, and extended overlapping but fairly loose territorial claims to the fertile regions on the fringes of the Qara Qum desert. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Iranian authorities even viewed Khīva as part of the Qājār dominions and ascribed generous proportions to the khanate, depicting its southern borders as contiguous with those of the districts of Astarābād and Marv.[13] The rulers of Khīva, on their part, reckoned Marv and Sarakhs as their southernmost possessions. In the west, their claims to authority extended all the way to the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea. The northern slopes of the Üst Yurt Plateau and the Sīr Daryā formed the northern boundary. In the east, the sands of the Qizil Qum desert constituted a natural border.

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[8] Curzon 1967: 68–72.
[9] NT 1247.
[10] *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975) 179; Persian text 115.
[11] NT 1248.
[12] Conolly 1834 I: 150–1.
[13] NT 1245.

THE PRINCIPALITY OF KHĪVA (KHVĀRAZM) AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAN

The oasis proper comprised a strip of fertile land along the final stretch of the Āmū Daryā south of the Aral Sea, with most of the agricultural activity and the urban settlements, including the capital Khīva, concentrated on the left bank of the river. In the 1740s, the British traveller Hanway noted the compactness of the oasis: "The dominions of Khieva [sic] are of so small extent, that a person may ride round them in three days; it has five walled cities, all within half a day's journey of each other."[14] While the river delta immediately south of the Aral Sea was characterized by an abundance of water and swamps, the southern part of the oasis suffered from encroaching desert sands and relied on an elaborate irrigation system which was fed by six main canals ranging from 40 to 100 miles in length and was maintained by compulsory peasant service.[15]

The urban population of Khīva was mixed and consisted of the Uzbek elite, the original oasis inhabitants, and a strong admixture of Persians captured in raids. The Turkmens carried on a cattle economy on the southern and western fringes of the intensely irrigated and fertilized oasis areas and furnished cavalry to the Khivan army.[16] In the north, the semi-nomadic Qarā Qalpāqs and Qazāqs constituted minorities.[17] The ruling elite was furnished by Qunghrāt Uzbeks who seized power in 1770 after a period of *khān-bāzī* on the part of local Uzbek *amīrs* and an incursion by Yomut Turkmens.[18] The rise of the Qunghrāt Uzbeks in Khīva took place parallel to the emergence of new Uzbek dynasties in Bukhārā and Khūqand. In the early nineteenth century, the rulers of all three khanates were primarily preoccupied with consolidating their dominions against the competing interests of other tribal nobles. Given the relative compactness of the Khivan oasis and its centralized irrigation system, efforts at establishing direct control over administrative matters were particularly successful as compared with the two other Uzbek khanates.[19] Between 1855–1867, however, the *khāns* of Khīva were confronted with a rebellion by the Yomut and other Turkmen tribes and, after destroying their irrigation systems, forced them to return to a nomadic way of life.[20]

In all three khanates, the process of consolidation was accompanied by thrusts at territorial expansion, which in turn generated conflict among them. Bukharan, Khivan and Iranian interests overlapped at Marv. In 1842–43, Bukhārā and Khīva clashed at Chārjūy and Marv. Further to the south, Khivan troops repeatedly made their presence felt in the frontier regions of Gurgān and Akhal. While maintaining a friendly relationship with the Qājār court, Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān (r. 1806–1825) of Khīva, his successor Allāh Qulī Khān (r. 1825–1842) and his brother Raḥmān Qulī mounted military campaigns against Khurāsān and/or the Turkmens almost on a yearly basis from 1811 on.[21] As a rule, Khīva became active in Khurāsān as soon as the Qājār government showed signs of weakness vis-à-vis the local leadership. Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān's

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[14] Hanway 1754: 241.The other important towns were Ūrganj, Qunghrāt, Hazārasb, and Kuhna Ūrganj (Basiner 1848: 169–73, 195–202).

[15] Basiner 1848, 183–7; Holdsworth 1959: 23; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 132, Persian text: 89.

[16] Dshikijew 1994: 133.

[17] Estimates of the population and the proportions of the various ethnic categories vary. In 1842, Basiner reported the population of the oasis proper to consist of 73,500 to 93,600 families: 20,000–26,000 families of "Sarts" (Tājīks), 18,000–23,000 families of Uzbeks, 10,000–13,000 families (?) of Persian slaves, 5,000–7,000 families of freed Persians, 8,000–10,000 Qarā Qalpāq families, 7,000 Jamshīdī families, 5,000–7,000 Turkmen families, 500–600 Kirghiz families. While the Turkmens constituted a relatively small minority in the oasis proper, the Teke Turkmens of Marv and Sarakhs (40,000 families), the Akhal Tekes and the Chowdurs (40,000–50,000 families) were also considered subjects of the Khanate of Khīva at that time (Basiner 1848: 202–207). The designation of "Chowdur" possibly intended the Turkmen tribe of Chāvuldūr or Chaundūr (Sümer 1972: 210). According to Bregel, the Turkmens made up close to 25 per cent of the oasis population in the mid-nineteenth century (Bregel, "Central Asia, vii. In the 12th–13th/18th–19th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 196). Holdsworth assumes a total population of 700,000 for the entire Khanate, one third of which consisted of Turkmens. According to her estimate, the Uzbeks numbered 40,000 persons (Holdsworth 1959: 21–2).

[18] Bregel, "Central Asia, vii. In the 12th–13th/18th–19th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 195; Boukhary 180; Persian text: p. 79; Wood 1990: 28.

[19] Basiner 1848: 183, 246–7; Becker 1968: 10; Bregel, "Central Asia, vii. In the 12th–13th/18th–19th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 196.

[20] Wood 1990: 28.

[21] Basiner 1848: 254; Bregel, "Central Asia, vii. In the 12th–13th/18th–19th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 198; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): xiv.

campaign against Khurāsān in 1812–13 and his effort to spread his influence among the Yomut Turkmens of Gurgān in 1231/1816 coincided with the ongoing rebellion of the Khurāsānī nobility.[22] The Khivan rulers also used the repeated conflicts between the Qājār governors of Mashhad and the lords of Herat to further their own interests in Khurāsān. Parallel to the confrontation between Shujāʿ al-Salṭana and Fatḥ Khān Muḥammadzai at Kāfir Qalʿa in 1233/1818, Raḥīm Khān advanced as far as Sarakhs, Maihana and Durūn but withdrew after Fatḥ Khān's defeat.[23] In the winter of 1240/1824–25 Raḥīm Khān reached Mashhad but was forced to retreat to Sarakhs due to the harshness of winter. In Rajab 1240/March 1825 the Turkmen troops were beaten back by Shujāʿ al-Salṭana.[24] The following year, in Rajab 1241/February 1826, Allāh Qulī Khān pushed forward as far as Jām at the instigation of Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya.[25] In Dhū al-Qaʿda 1245/April–May 1830, the rebellious leadership of Kalāt-i Nādirī and Darra Gaz entered an alliance with the Khān of Khīva, which led to a battle between Qājār and Turkmen troops at Pul-i Khātūn near Sarakhs a year later.[26] At the time of Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's siege of Herat in 1837–38, 1,500 Khivan troops assisted the combined forces of the Chahār Vilāyat and the Hazāra, Fīrūzkūhī and Jamshīdī leadership in combating Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula.[27]

Upon his accession to the Khivan throne in 1846, Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt initially gained the goodwill of the Qājār government by freeing Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula's nephew Muḥammad Valī Khān Qājār, who had fallen into the hands of Turkmen slave traders four years earlier.[28] In exchange for the return of Muḥammad Valī Khān, Muḥammad Shāh Qājār sent presents to Khivan court and formally bestowed the title of "Khvārazm Shāh" on Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt.[29] Yet, as the relationship between Tehran and Khīva deteriorated in the 1850s, the Qājār court began to take exception to Muḥammad Amīn Khān's posturing as an independent monarch. Lisān al-Mulk reports that the Khān of Khīva referred to himself as *pādshāh-i kūchik* in relation to the "great" king of Iran in his correspondence with Tehran, a position he was not entitled to from the point of view of the Iranian government because Khvārazm formed part of Iran.[30] In 1267/1851, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh sent Hidāyat to the court of Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt to state his grievances concerning Khivan intervention in his territories. The negotiations between the Iranian envoy and the Khān of Khīva revolved around the respective spheres of influence in the regions beyond the Alburz and Kopet Dagh mountains and the issue of slave raiding. Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt's position exemplifies the continuing gap between notions of territoriality and the idea of a corresponding degree of local control. While interpreting the ongoing Qājār activities around Astarābād and Sarakhs as acts of aggression against Khivan territory, he refused to assume responsibility for the slave raids emanating from Akhal, Sarakhs and Marv in the direction of Iran:

> [The Khān asked,] 'Why do the Iranians doubt the sincerity of our feelings for [ʿAlī's] family?' I said, 'The distrust of the Iranian people mainly derives from [your] taking prisoners among Muslims.' He said, 'When have we ever gone to Iran to take prisoners?' I said, 'Perhaps you did not do so yourself. But your followers, the Teke, Yomut, Salor and Sarïq Turkmens [of] Akhāl, Sarakhs and Marv engage in these unworthy acts.' He said, 'If the Marvīs were under my authority, why would I engage in military campaigns against them year after year? For the past several years they have killed the officials of my minister and are in a state of rebellion. The Tekes and Salors do not render any service to us. The Sarakhsīs alternate between allegiance and resistance.'[31]

[22] *Dhū al-qarnain* 419–21; NT 271; König 1962: 22.
[23] *Dhū al-qarnain* 479, 484–7; KR 29; Patterson 1988: 28; NT 295, 300–2; ST 95–6; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 156–8.
[24] NT 360–1. See also Wood 1998: 92.
[25] Conolly 1834 I: 379; NT 376. See also Wood 1998: 92–7.
[26] *Dhū al-qarnain* 757–8, 781; NT 442, 451.
[27] NT 638.
[28] NT 763. See also *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): xiv–xv.
[29] *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): xiv–xv.
[30] NT 1246.
[31] *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 109, Persian text: 71.

THE TURKMEN PHENOMENON

In the memoirs of his mission, Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat described the Turkmens as the most volatile element in the region:

> It should be mentioned that the Turkmen population is innumerable. It is difficult to ascertain their (exact) number because they do not have a city where they take shelter, nor do they permanently reside in one place… They are scattered in the plain of Gurgān and the endless desert of Khvārazm. Some say they number 30,000, others arrive at smaller or larger figures. They traverse the distance across the desert between Astarābād and Khīva, a distance of forty stages, in twenty days by covering two stages in one day. The Göklen, who reside on the other side of Astarābād, are at enmity with this tribe [the Yomut]. It would take up too much space here to mention all the branches and lineages (*shuʿba va tīra*) making up these two groups (*ṭāyifa*) by name. Everyone is entitled to leadership and commands obedience within his own tribe (*īl*). No tribe is subservient to the other, in fact even the lowest camel driver of a tribe will not pay attention to his leader or *khān*. They resemble the desert Arabs in every respect except for the fact that they speak Turkī instead of Arabic… They make their living by stealing and plundering. Besides raising and driving camels, they subsist on their milk and meat… In principle, they belong to the Hanafi school of law but barely know anything about it (*az ān nīz khabarī nadārand*).[32]

Compared with the well-established tribes of central Khurāsān, the Turkmens displayed a high degree of mobility for the greater part of the nineteenth century. At the same time, their changing circumstances highlighted the dwindling scope for economic and military action in the Central Asian frontier region. In the sixteenth century, these groups had occupied the regions along the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea as far south Gurgān. In the eighteenth century, the simultaneous decline of the Safavids in Iran and the Arabshahids in Khīva opened up the opportunity for a large-scale eastward expansion into the oases lining the Qara Qum desert.[33] A century later, the Turkmens were dreaded by the Iranian government and the local population for their frequent incursions into the eastern regions of the Qājār realm. From a regional perspective, however, these tribes were tied into current economic processes in a twofold manner, as they supplied the slave markets of Khīva and Bukhārā and served as mercenaries for local potentates. The Turkmen leadership was entwined with the local elites, such as the *khāns* of Khīva and the chiefs of Khabūshān and Darra Gaz, in a system of service grants. With the Russian occupation of Khīva and Marv and the following establishment of a fixed boundary line between Khurāsān and the Russian *oblast* of Transcaspia, these activities ground to a halt. Internally, the shrinking economic niche of the Turkmens is exemplified by repeated phases of migration and resettlement accompanied by sequences of mutual displacement. The Turkmen threat felt in Khurāsān thus represented final spurts of large-scale movement in an environment that was about to be fitted into narrowly defined boundaries and to be constrained by an unprecedented degree of government control.

The Turkmens' dual role as mercenaries and slave raiders is also revealed by the exchange between the Iranian envoy and the Khān of Khīva in 1851. Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt's rejection of Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat's request to prohibit slave trade highlights the complex nature of the relationship between the khanate and its Turkmen subjects. While blaming the Shādillū Kurds of Bujnūrd as the real perpetrators, the Khān freely admitted that he exercised little control over the Turkmens of Marv and Sarakhs. What is more, he insisted that it was not for him to interfere with the commercial enterprise of his subjects: "If the Khivans don't engage in slave trade, the Bukharans will."[34] This ostentatious protectiveness of mercantile interests points to the fact that there was more at stake for the Khivan rulers than notions of territorial control. Apart from extending their sphere of authority, they also sought to incorporate the Turkmens into the administrative machinery. In the oasis proper, Yomut Turkmens were employed as a counterbalance to the rival Uzbek leadership from the 1780s on, and efforts to settle these and other Turkmen groups, such as the Göklen, in the western parts of the oasis continued well into the nineteenth century.[35] Claims to authority were also upheld among the Turkmens of Marv, Sarakhs and Akhal but generally had to be asserted by force

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[32] *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 62–3, Persian text: 39–40. See also Granmayeh 1996: 243.
[33] Barto'ld 1984: 91; Bregel, "Central Asia, vii. 12–13/18–19 Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 194.
[34] *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 98–100, 109–11; Persian text: 64–5, 71–3. See also NT 1128–9.
[35] Basiner 1848: 205; De Bode 1980: 50; Conolly 1834 I: 37; Wood 1990: 28: 33.

of arms.[36] At the same time, the Turkmens' "unruliness" played a vital role in supplying the slave markets of Khīva, Samarqand and Bukhārā while simultaneously depleting the resources of Iran's northeastern frontier.

Covering distances of 400–500 miles, the Turkmen raiding parties preyed on Māzandarān, Astarābād and Khurāsān, severely disrupting the caravan trade and steadily draining away the population of the rural areas and local towns. In the early 1820s, Fraser gave a vivid account of the swift and relentless nature of a typical Turkmen plundering sortie (*chapāv*):

> They unite together in larger or smaller bodies, according to the nature and remoteness of their object, under some leader, whose known conduct and courage has inspired them with confidence, and who for the time is absolute in his authority; and carrying a stock of barley for their horses, and bread for themselves, equal to the very sparing consumption of seven or eight days, they sally from their haunts in the desert, often upwards of two hundred miles beyond the inhabited country; and ascending the passes, move with astonishing celerity, probably at least two hundred miles more, upon the point to be attacked, which may be in the neighbourhood of Shahrood, Subzawār, Nishapore, or even a much greater distance. They lie in wait near the gates of the village (if such be their object), and wait in perfect silence until morning dawns, and the unsuspecting inhabitants come forth from gates, to labour, to drive their cattle afield, or for other purposes; when they start from their lurking place, seize all they can catch, murder those who resist, rapidly plunder the village, and binding their booty upon such cattle as they may have secured, hastily retreat before the neighbourhood have caught the alarm. If their object be a caravan, they conceal themselves in some hollow near its course, having scouts stationed unseen, but watchful of its movements, upon all the heights around, and when it has reached the ambuscade, they dart upon it with a force and rapidity that defies resistance or escape, bear down all opposition, and bind as prisoners all whom they lay hands upon; then begins the work of plunder and often of blood; the old, and unfit for work are massacred, the cattle unlikely to be of use in their retreat, or unable to keep up with them, are disabled, or cut to pieces: such goods as may be thought worth the carriage are laden upon the rest, and they commence a rapid return to their fastnesses.[37]

The highroad connecting Shāhrūd, Sabzavār, Mashhad and Herat regularly suffered Turkmen raids. Between Mazīnān and Shāhrūd, the eastern wing of the Alburz mountains provided excellent cover for Turkmen bandits, causing this stretch of the road to be known as the 'Stages of Terror' in the early nineteenth century.[38] Eastern and southern Khurāsān were likewise seriously affected, as the Teke Turkmens of Akhal and Marv regularly poured across the mountain passes along the Iranian and Herat frontiers. The repeated battering of the surroundings of Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya, Ṭabas and Qāyin caused the local population to reckon history in terms of Teke forays.[39] In 1862, the Qājār prince Murād Mīrzā Ḥusām al-Salṭana described the entire region north of the trade route between Mashhad and Herat as a scene of desolation: "throughout that space will be found villages and towns, with their forts, their mosques, their baths, and houses standing, but utterly deserted, the population having been exterminated, or driven gradually south."[40]

Raiding and trading in slaves was by no means limited to the Turkmens but also furnished an additional means of income for the Qarāʾīs, Jamshīdīs, Fīrūzkūhīs, Tāymanīs and Sunnī Hazāras located on the eastern fringes of Qājār control. Aside from Sarakhs, the four Uzbek strongholds of Maimana, Andkhūd, Shibarghān and Sar-i Pul served as entrepôts for the traffic in Persian and Shiite Hazāra slaves.[41] While all the groups involved in the slave trade were Sunnī and justified their raids with the heretic beliefs of their Shiite victims,[42] the definition of "heresy" was rather loose. In the 1820s, Fraser reported that the sedentary Göklen

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[36] Basiner 1848: 206–7.

[37] Fraser 1825: 274–5.

[38] Curzon 1966 I: 275. See also Eastwick 1976 II: 167; Polak 1860: 50–1.

[39] Marvin 1880: 128. See also De Bode 1980: 51.

[40] Eastwick 1976 II: 250.

[41] Forrest 1906: 38; Stirling 1991: 286; Lee 1996: 126–8, 139, 184. In the early nineteenth century, the Hazāras of Bākharz were known to sell "travellers and passers-by to the Uzbeks and Turkmens" (*Riyāż al-siyāḥat* 150). In the 1820s, the prominent Hazāra leader Bunyād Khān derived his income from plundering raids into the region of Bākharz (*Dhū al-qarnain* 529). Up to 1832, Jamshīdī, Tāymanī, Hazāra and Tīmūrī traders engaged in slave trade at Sarakhs (*Dhū al-qarnain* 826, 830). In 1837, Shīr Muḥammad Khān Hazāra was an important stakeholder in the regional slave trade (Forrest 1906: 38; McNeill to Macnaghten, Tehran, 22 January 1837, IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1 No. 50, pp. 46–7). His brother Karīmdād Khān Hazāra carried out frequent slave raids in the region of Qāyin during the governorship of Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula (1834–1847) (Ferrier 1857: 191–2). In the early 1830s, Muḥammad Khān Qarāʾī was accused of having sold a total of fifty thousand persons to the Turkmens during his seventeen-year rule in Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya (1816–1833) (Conolly 1834 I: 291).

[42] De Bode 1980: 51; NT 1129.

Turkmens of the Gurgān basin, who acknowledged the supremacy of the Qājār government, received the same treatment as other Persian subjects and were publicly sold in the slave bazaars of Khīva.[43]

In addition to the raids penetrating deeply into Khurāsān, there also was a local pattern of mutual plundering that involved the Turkmens and their neighbours located along the northern rim of the Kopet Dagh mountains. From the early nineteenth century, the low-scale warfare with the Teke and Yomut Turkmens provided the Zaʿfarānlū Kurds of Khabūshān and the Shādillū Kurds of Bujnūrd with a steady source of income in terms of plunder and ransom obtained in exchange for Turkmen prisoners.[44] While conceding that the ongoing exchange of raids with the Teke Turkmens worked to the detriment of the local population, the Chāpushlū leadership of Darra Gaz and their officials also pointed out that the booty obtained from the Tekes provided a substantial part of their livelihood as late as 1881.[45] The local raids were thus by no means a one-sided affair. Nor were they directed by the Turkmens as a whole against tribal outsiders. Conflicts among the various tribes were common. In the nineteenth century, the Yomut Turkmens were reported to be at constant war with the Göklen and Teke Turkmens on the basis of a long-standing enmity.[46] Turkmen raiding in Khurāsān reached a final peak in 1870–1872, when the resistance of the Persian population was further weakened by a terrible famine.[47] Subsequently, the lucrative trade in slaves was put an end to by Russian intervention.

The Russian Expansion in Central Asia

Russian interest in the region dated back to the eighteenth century. As early as 1715–1717, Peter the Great had made a first, ill-fated attempt to open the trade route to India via Central Asia. For most of the eighteenth century, however, Russian activities aimed at containing the threat emanating from the Kazakh nomads. In the nineteenth century, Russia continued its southward push in several settings. Up to the Crimean War of 1853–1856, the expansion into the Caucasus was a primary concern. Roughly during the same period, Russian troops competed with Khīva and Khūqand for influence in the Kazakh steppe. From 1856 on, Russia directed its energies towards Central Asia with renewed vigor. During the two following decades, the agenda evolved from the immediate aim of closing the line of fortifications in the Kazakh steppe to a sequence of conquests moving up along the course of the Sīr Daryā.[48]

The establishment of the Russian fortress of Raimovskoe (from 1851 Aral'skoe) at the mouth of the Sīr Daryā in 1847 brought Russia in contact with the khanates of Khīva and Khūqand. Russian activities initially focused on Khūqand. In 1853, Czarist troops occupied Āq Masjid on the lower Sīr Daryā and renamed it Fort Perovskii. With the annexation of Tāshkand and Khujand in August 1866, Khūqand was reduced to the Farghāna valley and was eventually absorbed by governorate-general of Turkestan in 1876. In June 1868, the Amīr of Bukhārā capitulated and accepted the Russian occupation of Samarqand along with the middle and upper Zarafshān valley. Henceforth Russian activies were directed against Khīva, which had evaded sustained efforts at direct intervention so far. Following the establishment of the Russian post of Krasnovodsk on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea in 1869, Khīva was occupied on 29 May 1873. As a result, Khīva lost its entire territory on the right bank of the Āmū Daryā and the Üst Yurt plateau to Russia.[49]

Russian control over Khīva was more extensive and more intrusive than in Khūqand and Bukhārā. The Russo-Khivan treaty of August 1873 rendered Khīva a protectorate, the foreign relations of which were controlled by the Russian government. The khanate further suffered a direct occupation by Russian troops

[43] Fraser 1825: 260.
[44] Fraser 1825 Appendix B: 47–52; O'Donovan 1970 II: 10; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 98; Persian text: 64.
[45] O'Donovan 1970 II: 31, 35–6.
[46] De Bode 1980; 53; Fraser 1825: 260–1; König 1962: 27; O'Donovan 1970 II: 72; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 62; Persian text: 39.
[47] Marvin 1880: 129; Sārlī 1994: 161–3.
[48] Dahlmann 1991: 52–6.
[49] Becker 1968: 13–14, 25–27, 36, 42, 45, 72; Bregel, "Central Asia, vii. In the 12th–13th/18th–19th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 199–202; Carrère d'Encausse 1989: 143–5; Holdsworth 1959: 24.

and a temporary intervention with its internal administration. The Yomut Turkmens located in the western part of the khanate felt the impact of the Russian administration most profoundly. Unable to raise their part of an exorbitant fine imposed on all the Turkmens of Khīva by the Governor General of Turkestan Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman (1818–1882) in July 1873, they and their livestock were subjected to a "wholesale slaughter" by the Cossack troops.[50]

Subsequent to the conquest of Khīva, the Russians used their Caspian outposts on the Mangishlāq peninsula and in Krasnovodsk to make their influence felt among the remaining Turkmen groups. The conquest of Qizil Arvāt in 1877 primarily affected the southern branch of the Yomut Turkmens. In January 1881, the troops under General Skobelev occupied Gök (Geok) Tepe, killing 15,000 Teke Turkmens in the aftermath. In the same year the lands of the western Turkmens were divided between Russia and Iran on the basis of the Treaty of Tehran, according to which the boundary coincided with the Atrak river up to the Sumbar river (Chāt) and then followed the base of the Kopet Dagh mountains to Luṭfābād in Darra Gaz. Further east, a similar division took place between 1884 and 1885, as the old city of Sarakhs and the Murghāb oases of Marv, Yolotan and Panjdih became Russian possessions and a large number of Turkmens sought refuge in Afghanistan. Between 1884 and 1888, the northern boundary of Afghanistan from the Āmū Daryā to Iranian Khurāsān was fixed.[51]

The Russian expansion in Central Asia effectively suppressed the slave trade. The conquest of Khīva in 1873 led to the abolition of slavery as such, and the Russo-Bukharan treaty concluded the same year prohibited slave trade. At this point, it was assumed that there were more than 100,000 slaves in the Khivan, Bukharan and Turkmen territories. Of the 30,000 slaves present in Khīva at the time of the Russian conquest, 6,300 were returned to Iran within three months. In spite of these measures, about 10,000 Iranian slaves were reported to be present in Khīva during the mid-1870s.[52] The prohibition of slave trade affected the patterns of Turkmen raiding. While still a frequent occurrence in the regions bordering upon Iranian dominions, the plundering was more limited in scope. Thus the Tekes near Darra Gaz carried off cattle, horses and camels rather than human beings.[53] In their raids on the Kurdish population in the vicinity of Bujnūrd, the Yomut south of the Atrak focused on children and only took adults if they could expect to collect a worthwhile ransom within a short period of time.[54]

The diminishing scope of Turkmen movements was symptomatic of the "freezing" of national frontiers that took place in the late nineteenth century. As part of this process, the individual Turkmen groups became fixed entities identified with a certain territory. Like other groups in the region, they had experienced large-scale relocations earlier in the century as part of their interaction with rival tribes and local centers of power. Their shifting alliances with the Qājār government, the Khān of Khīva and the Amīr of Bukhārā occasioned voluntary migrations as well as forcible resettlements. A case in point are the Göklen who, fleeing reprisals from the Iranian army in the early nineteenth century, were forcibly settled in Khīva.[55] In 1881, the meeting with a Teke elder who had seen his tribe shift from the Tejend river to Sarakhs and from Sarakhs to Marv in his lifetime caused O'Donovan to conclude that "the idea of a definite centre seems foreign to the Tekké mind."[56]

The fate of the individual Turkmen tribes has already been traced in a number of studies.[57] As my work is concerned with regional shifts of power and conceptions of state, I will take the opposite approach and examine the developments in four of the major Turkmen settlements along the fertile fringes of the Qara Qum desert.

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[50] Becker 1968: 73–5. See also Carrère d'Encausse 1989: 145, 147.

[51] Barto'ld 1962: 169; Bregel, "Central Asia, vii. In the 12th–13th/18th–19th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 202; Carrère d'Encausse 1989: 147–9; Fraser-Tytler 1953: 158–9; Irons 1975: 10–11; Khazeni 2012: 146; Planhol, "Boundaries, ii. With Russia," *E.Ir.* IV: 405.

[52] Becker 1968: 73–4, 77; Levi 2002: 68.

[53] O'Donovan 1970 II: 34.

[54] Irons 1975: 67.

[55] Bregel, "Central Asia, vii. In the 12th–13th/18th–19th Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 198; Wood 1990: 33.

[56] O'Donovan 1970 II: 196.

[57] Bregel 1987; Dshikijew 1994; Irons 1975; Wood 1990.

ASTARĀBĀD

The Setting

Located three miles north of the richly wooded foothills of the eastern wing of the Alburz mountains, Astarābād commanded the Gurgān plain watered by the Gurgān and Atrak rivers, both of which flow to the Caspian Sea. In the early seventeenth century, Iskandar Munshī described the Atrak river as the divide between Gurgān and Khvārazm.[58] The space between the two rivers was taken up by the Dasht-i Gurgān, which extended towards the Qara Qum desert, with the Greater and Lesser Balkhān mountains and the Küren Dagh as the only obstacles at a distance.[59] Modern-day accounts attest to the remarkable flatness of the desert, the terrain of which only rises 60 meters between the coast of the Caspian Sea and Gunbad-i Qābūs, undisturbed by a "single elevation".[60] In the 1830s, the British traveller Conolly recorded his impressions of this barren expanse in the following way:

> The Caspian desert is generally of a light soil, white, and inclined to be sandy, yet so firm, that in dry weather camels barely leave the print of their feet upon it. This soil produces light thorns and weedy bushes, much of the juicy camel-thorn… and stunted tamarisk bushes; and in parts spring patches of coarse grass, probably where water is near the surface. Much of the ground is hard, and quite bare, showing occasionally patches of salt, doubtless the cause of the sterility. A third feature is the sand:–this is either spread loosely over the plain, or it is gathered in broad ridges, which assume some consistency. Near such spots the Toorkmuns prefer to pitch their tents: their camps are more private and sheltered, and good water is found at no great depth.[61]

The southern part of the plain adjoining the Gurgān river, by contrast, was very fertile. Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat praised the abundance of water and the strength and potential of the soil. Noting with regret that the local Turkmens only sowed and reaped according to their own needs, he ventured the opinion that the region (*vilāyat*) might feed an entire kingdom (*mamlakat*) if properly cultivated.[62] Located 25 miles or one day's march from the Caspian Sea, Astarābād served as an important trading post.[63] At the time of Riżā Qulī Khān's visit in 1851, it housed a citadel, as well as a number of convents, public baths, mosques and colleges of religious learning.[64]

The Historical Developments

Iskandar Munshī described the mountains and woods bordering on the Gurgān plain as a setting conducive to rebellions.[65] Even so, Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 1588–1629) was able to establish Safavid authority by defeating the Turkmens on the Atrak in 1598. During his reign, Astarābād became a Safavid province (*iyālat*) in its own right.[66] In the first half of the seventeenth century, the province was governed by men of Circassian, Georgian and Armenian background.[67]

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[58] *Āb-i Atrak… miyāna-yi vilāyat-i Jurjān va Khvārazm fāṣila ast* (IM 933).
[59] Conolly 1834 I: 43–4; Rabino 1928: 97.
[60] Ehlers, "Gorgān, ii. Dašt-i Gorgān," *E.Ir.* XI: 142.
[61] Conolly 1834 I: 147–8.
[62] *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 57; Persian text: 37.
[63] Barto'ld 1984: 115–17; Bosworth, "Astarābād, i. History," *E.Ir.* II: 838; Conolly 1834 I: 26; Rabino 1928: 88, 90–1.
[64] *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 45; Persian text: 29.
[65] IM 174. See also IM 932.
[66] Barto'ld 1962: 146; Neyestani, "Gorgān, vii. From the Safavids to the End of the Pahlavi Era," *E.Ir.* XI: 155. See also Röhrborn 1966: 17.
[67] The governorships of Astarābād from 1606 to 1661 can be fairly well reconstructed from Persian sources:
Until 1015/1606–07, Yūsuf Khān Mīr-i Shikārbāshī (IM 1328);
1015–1030/1606–1621, Farīdūn Khān, a Circassian (Muḥammad Ṭāhir Bisṭāmī, *Futūḥāt-i farīdūnīya*, Introduction, 9–11);
1621–1636, Khusrau Khān, a *ghulām* (Rettelbach 1978: 57, 418; IM, *Dhail* 22, 24; *Khuld-i barīn* 242, 354);
1636–1639, Qazāq Khān, a Circassian (Rettelbach 1978: 232, 275, 467; IM, *Dhail* 192, 294; *Khuld-i barīn* 120, 203, 234, 242; 289–90, 294, 354–5; Rota 2009: 243, 416);

Shāh ʿAbbās Iʿs policy of "cossackization" had a lasting impact on the political configurations in Astarābād. In order to ward off incursions from the northeast, he settled one section of the Qājārs of Qarābāgh here.[68] In addition, he created five Kurdish districts along the border from Astarābād to Chinārān.[69] Shāh ʿAbbās I also encouraged the influx of Turkmens, whose tents reportedly dotted the entire plain for a ten days' journey in either direction.[70] The infrastructure was greatly improved in this period: Shāh ʿAbbās I constructed a paved road linking Astarābād with Māzandarān in the west and Herat in the east.[71]

For the remainder of the seventeenth century, the Safavid hold over Gurgān was relatively stable. With the decline of Safavid power in the early eighteenth century, Marv and Astarābād fell to Khivan control. Between 1730–32, Ṭahmāsp Qulī (to become known as Nādir Shāh in 1736) used his position as governor of Khurāsān to possess himself of Astarābād on behalf of the Safavid pretender Ṭahmāsp II.[72]

Along with these events, Astarābād witnessed the rise of the Qājārs against the backdrop of the rivalry between two prominent tribes, which dominated the two constituent branches of the confederacy. The forefathers of the Qājār dynasty belonged to the Quyūnlū tribe ("the flock-keepers"), which was part of the Ashāqabāsh branch commanding the pasture grounds below the Mubārakābād fortress of Astarābād. Within in the Yukhārībāsh branch holding the pastures above this fortress, the Develū Qājārs ("the camel-herders") formed the most powerful section.[73] During his rise to power, Nādir Afshār considered Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Quyūnlū his most dangerous adversary and conspired to have him put to death at the shrine of Khvāja Rabīʿ near Mashhad in Ṣafar 1139/October 1726.[74] Subsequently, Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān Develū served as *bēglerbēgī* of Astarābād.[75] In Dhū al-Ḥijja 1156/January 1744, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Quyūnlū's son Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Quyūnlū briefly gained control of Astarābād with the help of Yomut Turkmens but was later defeated by Nādir Shāh's troops and forced to flee.[76] Upon his return to power, Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān Develū eliminated a great number of his Qājār rivals, making Astarābād a "scene of desolation", as Nādir Shāh's biographer Muḥammad Mihdī, a native of the region, puts it.[77]

The political unrest engulfing Khurāsān after Nādir Shāh's death in 1160/1747 allowed Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Quyūnlū to return to Astarābād.[78] In 1163/1750, he was appointed *bēglerbēgī* of Astarābād and

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1639–1641, Ḥusain Khān, a *ghulām* (Rettelbach 1978: 275, 288, 416–417, *Khuld-i barīn* 234–5, 253, 271, 289; Rota 2009: 251, 419);
1641–1649, Miḥrāb Khān Charkhchībāshī, a *ghulām-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa* of Georgian background; in 1649 he gained the governorship of Qandahār in addition to that of Astarābād and died in the same year while defending the city against the Mughal prince Aurangzīb (Rettelbach 1978: 289, 441; *Khuld-i barīn* 253, 289; *ʿAbbāsnāma* 127, 137–8; *Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī* I: 334);
1649–1652, Allāhvirdī Bēg Amīr-i Shikārbāshī, an Armenian (*ʿAbbāsnāma* 140, 149);
1652–1653, Muḥammad Qulī Khān b. Siyāvush Khān Qullarāqāsī (*ʿAbbāsnāma* 149, 162);
1653–1654/55 (1065), Hājjī Manūchihr Khān, brother of Miḥrāb Khān, of Georgian background (*ʿAbbāsnāma* 134, 162, 216);
From 1065/1654–55 on, Jamshīd Khān, still in charge in 1071/1660–61 (*ʿAbbāsnāma* 216, 287).
I am grateful to Giorgio Rota for sharing his expertise on Safavid administrative and military affairs with me.

68 TRSN IX: 5; NT 8–9; Avery 1991: 4–5; Hambly 1963: 162; Savory 2002. Shāh ʿAbbās I appointed Ḥusain Khān Qājār as governor of Astarābād (IM 973; see also Tumanovich 1989: 142).

69 Barto'ld 1984: 91; Farmayan 1981: 50–3; Fraser 1825, Appendix B: 42; Maʿṭūfī 1995: 247.

70 Röhrborn 1966: 18.

71 According to Barto'ld, the road to Sārī and Āmul was built in 1622: "it made Māzandarān accessible in any season of the year" (Barto'ld 1984: 241–2).This so-called *khiyābān* had fallen into disrepair in Nādir Shāh's time but was still used in the nineteenth century. In 1851, the Persian envoy Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat travelled by this route (Hanway 1754: 198; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 25, 34, 36, 38, 43 (Persian text: 17–18, 22, 24, 26, 28)). See also Tumanovich 1989: 192–3.

72 Lambton, "Ḳādjār," *E. I., 2* IV: 390; Rabino 1928: 72.

73 Lambton, "Ḳādjār," *E. I., 2* IV: 390; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 59–60, 97; Persian text: 38, 64.

74 Lockhart 1938: 14–16.

75 During the Afsharid period, Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān Develū was a prominent military leader. From 1736 on, he was in the service of Riżā Qulī Mīrzā Afshār. In 1739, he instigated Riżā Qulī Mīrzā to put Ṭahmāsp II to death and strangled him personally in Sabzavār (Kāẓim 8, 66, 397, 543, 587, 590, 598, 767–70, 959; Lockhart 1938: 177).

76 Kāẓim: 959–65; Hanway 1754: 129–31. See also Lockhart 1938: 243–4.

77 Jones 1771 II: 89–90.

78 NT 15–17; Neyestani, "Gorgān, vii. From the Safavids to the End of the Pahlavi Era," *E.Ir.* XI: 154; Perry, "Āḡā Moḥammad Khan Qājār," *E.Ir.* I: 603.

Gurgān by Sulaimān II, who occupied the throne in Mashhad from 5 Ṣafar-11 Rabīʿ 1163/14 January–20 March 1750.[79] In the following years, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Quyūnlū became virtually independent and extended his authority into Māzandarān and Gīlān. Military confrontations with Karīm Khān Zand of Shīrāz, Aḥmad Shāh Sadūzai of Qandahār and Āzād Khān Ghilzai of Azerbaijan followed. In 1172/1759, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Quyūnlū's dominion broke up due to the renewed rivalry with Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān Develū, who joined Karīm Khān Zand's ranks. After being defeated by the Zand army near Ashraf, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was killed in flight.[80] His sons Āqā Muḥammad Khān and Ḥusain Qulī Khān Quyūnlū, who had sought refuge wtith the Yomut Turkmens, were captured and delivered to Karīm Khān Zand as hostages. Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān Develū regained his appointment as governor of Astarābād and held his post until his death in 1176/1762–63, when he was succeeded by his younger brother Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Develū.

Meanwhile, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Quyūnlū's sons were placed under the custody of the Zand court. Among them, Ḥusain Qulī Khān Quyūnlū temporarily gained the government of Dāmghān.[81] Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān's elder son Āqā Muḥammad Khān Quyūnlū, on his part, remained in Shīrāz until the death of Karīm Khān Zand in 1193/1779 allowed him to escape. After gaining a foothold in Gurgān, Māzandarān and Gīlān, Āqā Muḥammad Khān established Tehran as his capital in 1786 and was enthroned there in 1203/1788–89. With the removal of the last Zand representative Luṭfʿ Alī b. Jaʿfar Khān from Shīrāz and Kirmān in 1791 and 1794 respectively, the Quyūnlū Qājār leader imposed his authority on the greater part of Iran except Khurāsān. In Ramażān 1210/March 1796, he was crowned *shāh* of Iran in the Mughān steppe and subsequently girded the ceremonial sword of the Safavid kings in Ardabīl, thus claiming both the Safavid and the Afsharid heritage.[82] During his subsequent campaign to Khurāsān, Āqā Muḥammad Shāh desecrated Nādir Shāh's grave and brutally abused his grandson Shāh Rukh Afshār in revenge for the assassination of his grandfather, and his own castration at the hands of Nādir Shāh's successor ʿAlī Qulī Khān Afshār.[83]

The frictions between the Quyūnlū and Develū Qājārs were paralleled by local rivalries and determined the strategies adopted. As mentioned above, Āqā Muḥammad and his relatives repeatedly received support from the Yomut Turkmens. In exchange, they entered marriage alliances with the Yomut leadership and gave them privileged access to lands in the fertile Gurgān plain.[84] In the light of the traditional loyalty of the Yomuts to the Quyūnlūs, Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān, the Develū governor of Astarābād, favored an alliance with the Göklens in 1189/1775.[85] After his rise to power, Āqā Muḥammad Khān sought to enhance the standing of the newly established Qājār ruling house by seeking reconciliation with the Develū tribe.[86] When he took control over Astarābād in 1196/1782, he appointed Raḥīm Khān Develū as governor (*bēglerbēg*). Efforts to contain unrest among the various Turkmen segments followed.[87] Āqā Muḥammad's enthronement in 1788–89 was accompanied by Turkmen uprisings in Astarābād. In Rabīʿ II–Jumādā I 1207/November–December 1792, Āqā Muḥammad went to Astarābād to combat the Ṣāʾinkhānī Yomuts. Aside from collecting a rich booty of cash, livestock, horses and slaves, he had a minaret of Yomut skulls erected outside the Sabz Mashhad gate on the northern face of the city wall of Astarābād.[88] In Dhū al-Qaʿda 1210/May–June 1796,

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[79] *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 58; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Rażavī) 47. See also Perry 1979: 7.

[80] NT 17–26; Bosworth, "Astarābād, i. History," *E.Ir.* II: 839; Lambton, "Ḳādjār," *E.I., 2* IV: 389–90.

[81] For a detailed account of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Quyūnlū's death and the career of his son Ḥusain Qulī Khān Quyūnlū, see Komaki 1989.

[82] Hambly 1991a: 129; Perry, "Āḡā Moḥammad Khān Qājār," *E.Ir.* I: 603.

[83] Lambton, "Ḳādjār," *E. I., 2* IV: 390–1.

[84] Hambly 1991a: 137; Maʿṭūfī 1995: 250; Rabino 1928: 80; Schneider 2003: 185–6.

[85] TRSN IX: 109.

[86] To this end, he arranged a marriage for his nephew Bābā Khān (Fatḥ ʿAlī b. Ḥusain Qulī Khān Quyūnlū) with the daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Develū in 1196/1781–82 (Hambly 1991: 142).

[87] Schneider views Āqā Muḥammad Shāh's activities against the Yomut Turkmens as occasioned by the recent alliance with the Develū tribe, which in effect relegated the Yomuts to an inferior position (Schneider 2003: 192–3).

[88] Sāravī 230–8; NT 65–7. See also Schneider 2003: 188–90. Hidāyat attributes the rebellion of 1207/1792 to the unpopularity of Mihr ʿAlī Khān Dāshlū, who was appointed to the government of Astarābād after the death of the erstwhile governor Muḥammad

Āqā Muḥammad Shāh personally enforced his authority among the Göklen Turkmens by destroying their fields.[89]

This pattern of intermittent rebellion and ensuing government interference continued under Āqā Muḥammad Shāh's successors. At the time of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's accession to the throne in 1797, the local *bēglerbēgī* Imām Qulī b. Muḥammad Riżā Khān Qājār Quyūnlū faced the task of reining in the Turkmens.[90] In 1802–3, the Shāh moved to Māzandarān and Astarābād to suppress disturbances among the Yomut and Göklen Turkmens along the Gurgān river. In 1228/1813, royal troops quenched a revolt among the Yomuts and Göklens, which was instigated by Khvāja Yūsuf Kāshgharī, a descendant of the Central Asian *shaikh* Makhdūm Aʿẓam.[91] In 1229/1814, contemporaneous with the rebellion of the Khurāsānī leadership, the newly appointed governor Muḥammad Zamān Khān Qājār ʿIzz al-Dīnlū collaborated with the Yomut and Göklen Turkmens in an uprising, which Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh quickly put an end to by mobilizing the urban leadership of Astarābād. As the rebellion in Khurāsān continued in 1815–16, the Yomuts under the leadership of Qurbān Qilīch Khān cultivated contacts with the court of Khīva.[92] From the early 1820s until the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1834, the Qājār prince Badīʿ al-Zamān b. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Mulk Ārā administrated Astarābād in conjunction with his father, who held the government of Māzandarān.[93] At that time, the Qājār musketeer regiments stationed in Astarābād were considered the best of Iran.[94] In the course of the Perso-Russian war of 1826–28, Badīʿ al-Zamān was confronted with a rebellion of the Jaʿfarbāy Yomut Turkmens on the Caspian coast, which was apparently instigated by the Russians.[95]

In the 1830s, the government of Astarābād was held by ʿAbbās Khān Qājār. In Rabīʿ I–Jumādā II 1252/July–September 1836, Muḥammad Shāh Qājār moved to the Gurgān region in person to enforce revenue payments from the Yomut and Göklen Turkmens. The majority of the Yomuts, however, seem to have evaded these demands by withdrawing towards the Balkhān mountains.[96] The campaign dragged on until the winter and underlined the difficulty of maintaining Qājār authority in the outlying provinces. As the British minister McNeill pointed out at the time, Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's military ambitions were primarily hampered by lacking resources, which made it next to impossible to control the soldiers under his command, let alone combat the Turkmens:

> The dearth of food is so great, that the soldiers have plundered even the provisions destined for His Majesty's own use. Barley sells in camp for ten times the price at which it can be purchased here, and wheat is not procurable at any price. A great number of the baggage cattle have been carried off by the Turcomans, whose light horsemen hover around the encampment and keep up a continual alarm from dusk to daylight. Amongst the cattle carried away were forty belonging to the Shah, and one hundred and eighty which carried the baggage of the Russian minister. The troops are so much dissatisfied, that the Shah has been obliged to promise them that he will return to Teheran. In the meantime having received no pay, and almost no rations, and having been disappointed in their hopes of plunder, they attacked and pillaged the Goklan tribe of Turcomans which had for many years been subject to Persia, a large portion of which was settled in villages, whose hostages were in the camp, and who had not only not

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Riżā Khān Qājār Quyūnlū (1200–1207/1785–1792). When the disturbances had been quelled, Riżā Khān's son Imām Qulī gained the government of Astarābād (TRSN IX: 252–3). However, Sāravī and Lisān al-Mulk do not mention a gubernatorial appointment of Mihr ʿAlī Khān Dāshlū and merely report that he accompanied Āqā Muḥammad Khān to Astarābād (Sāravī 233, NT 66). According to the *Tārīkh-i muntaẓam-i nāṣirī,* Imām Qulī b. Muḥammad Riżā Khān Qājār Quyūnlū held the government of Astarābād from 1207–1214/1792–1799 (TMN 1420–1). I would like to thank Zahir Bhalloo for directing my attention to the information TMN furnishes on the gubernatorial appointments to Astarābād in the late eighteenth century.

89 Sāravī 285–6; NT 80; TMN 1432.

90 Neyestani, "Gorgān, vii. From the Safavids to the End of the Pahlavi Era," *E.Ir.* XI: 157.

91 *Dhū al-qarnain*: 352–6, 820–1; NT 120, 225–7; TMN 1516–17; Bāmdād 1992 I: 154. See also Wood 1998: 31.

92 NT 254–5; Farmayan 1981: 54–5.

93 *Dhu al-qarnain* 820–1; NT 481; Bāmdād 1992 I: 187; Fraser 1825: 203.

94 Fraser 1825: 228. The troops furnished by Astarābād assisted Shujāʿ al-Salṭana in the Herat campaign of 1818, and supported Nāʾib al-Salṭana in establishing control over Khabūshān, Sarakhs and Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya in the autumn of 1248/1832 (NT 297–8, 481, 484).

95 TMN 1573–4; Bāmdād 1992 I: 187.

96 NT 657–60; TMN 1635–6; Busse 1972: 251; Farmayan 1981: 56.

fled on the advance of the army, but had supplied it with the greater part of its provisions it received. The Shah has disavowed the act, but the evil is irreparable, for all idea of accommodation between the Shah and the refractory tribes is now at an end.[97]

Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's endeavor to strengthen the Qājār presence in the province of Astarābād thus backfired in a twofold manner. The depletion of provisions occasioned by his campaign precluded the stationing of further Qājār troops there. Rather than containing the Turkmen threat, this campaign ultimately left the province unprotected and enhanced the opportunities for raiding. Shortly after the withdrawal of the Qājār troops, the Turkmens of the region were reported to have recommenced their depredations on the trade routes leading to Mashhad.[98] In 1257/1841–42, Muḥammad Shāh Qājār dispatched troops from Māzandarān and Khurāsān to assist the governor of Astarābād, Nāṣir Khān Qājār Quyūnlū in subduing a rebellion by the Yomut, Göklen and Teke Turkmens under the leadership of a Naqshbandī *pīr*.[99]

From 1267/1850 on, Muḥammad Valī Khān Qājār Develū served as the *bēglerbēgī* of Astarābād and was ordered to rebuild the dilapidated fortress of the town to forestall Turkmen incursions.[100] His military campaign against the Yomut Turkmens during that year coincided with Ḥusām al-Salṭana's activities in Sarakhs and Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat's mission to Khvārazm.[101] These measures apparently only met with limited success. When Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat passed through Astarābād on his return journey from Khīva in October 1851, the erstwhile loyal Ātābāy Yomut were in a state of rebellion, and Hidāyat himself narrowly escaped captivity. Subsequently he advised the *bēglerbēgī* of Astarābād to adopt a conciliatory stance to this group. Given his recent experience of Khivan politics, he argued that repeated government reprisals would only serve to drive this group into the arms of Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt of Khīva and thus lead to perpetual unrest in the Gurgān region.[102]

In 1857, the relationship with the Qājār government seemed to take a turn for the better when the Yomut cavalry of Astarābād offered to support Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's troops in the war effort against the British at Bushire. This was taken by the Prime Minister as a sign that Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's authority among the Turkmens far exceeded that once exercised by Nādir Shāh.[103] At the same time, Astarābād was subject to as much unrest as in earlier times.

From 1271–1275/1854–1858/59 Jaʿfar Qulī Khān Shādillū held the governorship of Astarābād in addition to his domain in Bujnūrd.[104] Jaʿfar Qulī Khān instilled obedience in his Turkmen subjects by resorting to very much the same methods of raiding common among them. According to Hidāyat's flattering description, the dread of his ongoing night attacks caused the sleep in his enemies' eyes to turn into thorns and made their hair stand on end like snakes.[105] In 1272/1855–56, Jaʿfar Qulī Khān mounted a successful campaign against the Teke Turkmens which, according to Hidāyat, caused all the neighboring Turkmens to turn in their captives voluntarily.[106] The following year, confrontations with the Jaʿfarbāy Yomut Turkmens followed.[107] In 1858, however, the Shādillū leader was defeated by a confederacy of Teke, Yomut and Göklen Turkmens at Qara Qalʿa on the upper course of the Sumbar river.[108]

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[97] McNeill to Palmerston, Tehran, 3 November 1836, IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, No. 47, p. 39.

[98] McNeill to Palmerston, Tehran, 2 December 1826, IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, No 48, p. 40.

[99] The Khurāsānī troops were led by Jaʿfar Qulī Khān Shādillū of Bujnūrd (NT 767–8; TMN 1657).

[100] Neyestani, "Gorgān, vii. From the Safavids to the End of the Pahlavi Era," *E.Ir.* X1: 158; Sārlī 1995: 55. For details of the governorship of Muḥammad Valī Khān Qājār Develū, see TRSN X: 496–7; Khūrmūjī 1984: 118; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 45; Persian text: 29; TMN 1716.

[101] NT 1129; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 84; Persian text: 53–4.

[102] *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 185–95, 199; Persian text 120–7, 130–1.

[103] NT 1375.

[104] MB 1326; NT 1282, 1372, 1375, 1482; TMN 1781. For his services in guarding the Atrak border, Jaʿfar Qulī Khān Shādillū was exempt from paying land tax on his possessions in Bujnūrd (Lambton 1999: 491).

[105] *Az saṭvat-i shabīkhūn va īlghār-i vay dushmanān-rā khvāb dar dīdahā khār va mūy dar andāmhā mār gasht* (TRSN X: 613).

[106] TRSN X: 623.

[107] Khūrmūjī 1984: 231–2.

[108] König 1962: 28; Sārlī 1995: 76–77.

In the 1860s, Astarābād witnessed a quick succession of governors.[109] In 1866, the British diplomat Augustus Mounsey was unable to travel from the Russian base on the Caspian island of Ashurada to Astarābād because of mounting insecurity in the region. He described the Yomuts as the most volatile element on the southern shore of the Caspian:

> Even in quiet times, this journey to Astarabad ought never to be undertaken without strong escort, for the Turkmens are irrepressible; while on their swift, powerful horses, they are here, there, and everywhere. Nor is it only on land that they are so formidable; they make descents, in their long canoes, on the coast of Mazandaran, and are so much dreaded that the peasants till their rice fields and gather their mulberry beans with firearms slung on their shoulders.[110]

In Ṣafar 1284/June 1867, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's visit to Mashhad coincided with a Yomut revolt in Astarābād. Instigated by an *īshān* of Afghan provenience, the Yomuts besieged the Qājār fort of Āq Qalʿa, located thirteen miles north of Astarābād on the Gurgān river.[111] On his subsequent visit to Bujnūrd in Rabīʿ II 1284/August 1867, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh ordered Jaʿfar Qulī Khān Shādillū's brother Ḥaidar Qulī Khān Sihām al-Daula (d. 1288/1871–72) to mount a retaliatory campaign against the Yomut and Göklen Turkmens of Gurgān. The available accounts of this raid illustrate the fact that the strategies the Qājār king employed coincided with local methods of warfare. The troops under the leadership of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān and Amīr Ḥusain Khān Zaʿfarānlū briefly descended on a number of Yomut camps near Gunbad-i Qābūs and retreated after cutting off 200 Turkmen heads, taking 1,000 prisoners (mostly women and children) and plundering all moveable property. The captives were distributed among Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's courtiers or released in exchange for ransom.[112] In 1286/1869–70, Ḥaidar Qulī Khān Shādillū conquered Qara Qalʿa, resettled its population in Bujnūrd and moved Göklen Turkmens into the fort.[113]

In 1888–89, as many as 13,000 troops under the command of the governor of Khurāsān, the *khāns* of Bujnūrd and Khabūshān, and the governor of Astarābād were dispatched against the Yomut Turkmens of Gurgān.[114] This pattern of intermittent conflict between the Qājār representatives and the local population continued until the early twentieth century and reached a final climax in 1908, when the Turkmens reacted to the bombardment of the National Assembly by attacking Astarābād.[115]

Allowing for some variations in the absolute population figures, the proportions between the Yomuts and Göklens and the lands they occupied remained relatively stable. The two major branches of the Yomuts had migrated to Khīva and Gurgān respectively during the second half of the seventeenth century. Settling on the

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[109] In 1275/1859, Kayūmarth Mīrzā Īlkhānī Qājār was appointed to the government of Māzandarān and Astarābād and received the title of "Mulk Ārā" (TMN 1815). Sulṭān Masʿūd Mīrzā Yamīn al-Daula (Ẓill al-Sulṭān) succeeded Kayūmarth Mīrzā Īlkhānī Qājār in Ramaẓān 1277/March–April 1861 and held the government of Māzandarān, Astarābād, Ṣaḥrā-yi Turkman, Simnān and Dāmghān until Dhū al-Ḥijja 1279/May–June 1863 (Bāmdād 1992 IV: 81, 103–4). During this period, Aḥmad Mīrzā Muʿīn al-Daula served as deputy governor (*nāyib al-ḥukūma*) of Astarābad (TMN 1839, 1843; Bāmdād 1992 I: 103–5; IV: 14). In late 1279/spring 1863, ʿAin al-Mulk Khvānsālār was appointed to the government of Māzandarān and Astarābād (TMN 1851; Bāmdād 1992 IV: 104). In 1280/1863, Anūshīrvān Khān Qājār Iʿtiżād al-Daula's brother Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān was appointed *bēglerbēgī* of Astarābād (TMN 1857; Bāmdād 1992 V: 279). In 1281/1864, Muḥammad Valī Khān Qājār Develū, the commander-in-chief of the army of Khurāsān, was appointed to the government of Astarābād (MB 1463; TMN 1864; Bāmdād 1992 V: 279). In 1283/1866, Kayūmarth Mīrzā Īlkhānī Qājār Mulk Ārā was appointed to the government of Astarābād for a second time (TMN 1887). In 1284/1867, Anūshīrvān Khān Qājār Iʿtiżād al-Daula was appointed to the government of Astarābād (TMN 1895; Bāmdād 1992 II: 117). Upon his death in 1285/1868, he was succeeded by his son Iʿtimād al-Daula, who held this post until 1294/1877–78 (TMN 1905; personal communication from Zahir Bhalloo). In 1298/1881, Astarābād was one of the numerous governorships held by Kāmrān Mīrzā b. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (Bāmdād 1992: III: 153; Sheikholeslami 1997: 147). For the year 1894 Yate mentions Kayūmarth Mīrzā as governor of Astarābād (C. E. Yate 1900: 285).

[110] Mounsey 1872: 325; quoted in Granmayeh 1996: 244.

[111] Kashmīrī 1970; TMN 1894.

[112] MB 1555, 1558; TMN 1894; Tavaḥḥudī 1985 II: 378–90. See also TMN 1895. Here, the text omits the name of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān.

[113] Napier 1977: 76; Sārlī 1995: 138–9, 144–6. For Ḥaidar Qulī Khān's campaign to Qara Qalʿa in 1285/1868–69, see MB 1593. Ḥaidar Qulī Khān was also employed against the Turkmens of Akhal and checked Turkmen raids in Jājarm and Sarakhs (Tavaḥḥudī 1985 II: 391).

[114] Curzon 1966 I: 190. See also KR 236; Shākirī 1986: 110.

[115] Rabino 1928: 95.

lower Gurgān river, the Yomuts forced the Göklens, who had lived in the area since the sixteenth century, to move to the upper course of the river.[116] In the 1830s, Conolly reported that the Yomuts occupied the banks of the Gurgān river and the lands to the north and outnumbered the Göklens.[117] In 1872, Stebnitzky arrived at a figure of 15,500 tents for the Yomuts and 3,000 tents for the Göklens. Twenty years later, Charles E. Yate reduced this estimate to 7,000 tents for the Yomuts and 2,000 tents for the Göklens.[118] These figures were confirmed by the British vice consul Rabino in the early twentieth century.[119] While the Göklens were entirely sedentary, one third of the Yomuts were nomads, *chārvā*, as opposed to the *chumūr*, who rarely moved their camps. During his visit to the region in November 1894, Yate noted the geographic distribution of these two groups and observed a matching socio-economic hierarchy:

> Travelling from east to west, we had gone through three distinct varieties of the Yamut Turkoman race. First came the wild, lawless, and poor Charwas or graziers round Gumbad-i-Kabus. These were poorly dressed, and had nothing but bare necessaries in their *kibitkas*, such as bedding and an iron cooking-pot. Next we came to the cultivating Chumurs amongst the Daz and Diaji sections opposite Findarisk and Katul, where the people were better off… Finally we arrived amongst the Jafarbai Chumurs, the sailors, fishermen, and traders of the tribe. These were the best off of all. Their *kibitkas* were well and even luxuriantly furnished, and the teapot and sugar-bowl were everywhere in evidence; the women were well dressed and covered with silver ornaments and kran [*qirān*] pieces… The men as a rule seemed all well-to-do. All of them looked comfortably off, wore cloth clothes, and many of them were even dressed in fur-lined overcoats. The majority of the traders spoke Persian, played chess, and showed various signs of civilisation.[120]

Because of the animosity between the Göklens and the Yomuts, their territories were separated by a stretch of neutral terrain.[121] But the Turkmens' relationships with their other neighbors were equally strained. The Göklens carried on a small-scale war with the Kurds of Bujnūrd, and they and the Yomuts exchanged hostilities with the settled population along the foothills. To contain the danger of raiding, many of the villagers entered an agreement whereby they furnished local Yomut leaders with quantities of rice in exchange for protection. Throughout the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, it was unthinkable for Persians to move freely into the plain between the Gurgān and Atrak rivers, or for individual Turkmens to approach Astarābād. In 1881, O'Donovan captured the prevailing sense of danger produced by the ongoing mutual hostilities in the following way:

> No single Turcoman will venture into the pomegranate jungles, amid which are situated the fortified Persian villages which constitute the suburbs of Asterabad. To do so would be to incur almost certain death, for these outlying Persians invariably go about armed and in groups, and never lose an opportunity of 'potting' a nomad, and *vice versâ*.[122]

In the 1830s, Conolly cited an idealized revenue account according to which the 12,000 Yomut tents were assessed at a rate of four *riyāls* each. He noted, however, that the reality was bleaker: "[The Yomuts] are very independent liegemen, pay their slight tribute only when it suits them, and carry off their fellow subjects the Persians whenever they can catch them."[123] In 1894, Yate recorded that the enforcement of revenue payments increased with the proximity to the administrative seat at Astarābād.[124] Yet government presence was limited to the towns, and the soldiers of garrisons like Āq Qalʿa were reported to be "practically prisoners within the walls of their fort," unable "to ensure the safety of communications with Astarabad, although they are actually within sight of it."[125]

In the early twentieth century, the Yomut nomads reportedly paid little or no tribute, while the Göklens were subject to a "light" tax assessment. In addition, all Turkmen tribes were required to furnish a quota of

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116 Bregel 1987: 157, 161; Wood 1990: 27–8.
117 Conolly 1834 I: 35–6, 41.
118 C. E. Yate 1900: 236, 280.
119 Rabino 1928: 98, 101.
120 Yate 1900: 270–1.
121 Rabino 1928: 97–100.
122 O'Donovan 1970 I: 198. See also Conolly 1834 I: 44; Rabino 1928: 99.
123 Conolly 1834 I: 44.
124 C. E. Yate 1900: 252.
125 C. E. Yate 1900: 260, 281. See also Ehlers, "Gorgān, ii. Dašt-i Gorgān," *E.Ir.* XI: 143–4.

horsemen when the need arose.[126] Some of the reports about the danger emanating from the Turkmens seem to have been exaggerated. In an undated letter, the commissioner of Gunbad-i Qābūs, the Qājār official Iḥtishām al-Vuzarā, primarily attributed the Turkmens' supposed rebelliousness to a deliberate misrepresentation on the part of the local administrators, who stood to gain from projecting them as dangerous enemies: "Governors and persons in authority, in the interest of their own pocket and to increase their reputation, have always represented some section or other of the Turcomans as being in open rebellion, and the Persian government has immediately sent instructions for the punishment of the rebels." According to this letter, accusations that the Göklens had refused to submit their taxes for three years in a row were equally unfounded. The next lower level of administration bred a different form of corruption. The government agents (*sarkarda*) in charge of revenue collection reportedly used their hereditary position to form raiding partnerships with the Turkmens to the detriment of the villagers of Astarābād.[127]

AKHAL

Extending for about 160 miles between Qizil Arvāt and Darra Gaz, the oasis of Akhal formed a narrow strip of fertile land bounded on one side by the northeastern slopes of the Kopet Dagh mountains and the Qara Qum desert on the other. Varying from two to sixteen miles in width, it was plentifully watered by small streams and subterranean irrigation channels (*kārīz*) issuing from the mountains.[128] In the middle of the nineteenth century, it was reported to have 36 forts.[129] One of the major settlements was ʿIshqābād (Ashgabat). Once of considerable proportions, the town was in a state of decay and merely housed 500 tents at the time of the Russian conquest in 1881.[130] In the early nineteenth century, Fraser attributed the ruined state of the historical towns of Nasā, Abīvard, Durūn and Maihana to continual Turkmen incursions.[131] Indeed, successive waves of Turkmen immigrants caused a constant reshuffling of local power relations. This expansion became in large part possible as anarchy spread in Khurāsān during the wars between the Zands and Qājārs in the late eighteenth century. The ensuing Iranian-Khivan competition for the possession of the southern fringes of the Qara Qum desert wrought further destruction.[132]

In the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the region of Akhal witnessed a number of demographic changes, the most profound of which was the advent of the Teke Turkmens. The Qaradashlï, Ali-eli, and Emreli Turkmens, who had inhabited the oasis in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,[133] were severely weakened by Nādir Shāh's military campaigns in the 1730s and 1740s. Later in the century, they were either absorbed or displaced by Teke Turkmens, and many of them migrated to Khvārazm at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[134] A great part of the Teke Turkmens likewise moved on to other destinations. This onward movement can partly be attributed to the fact that the Akhal oasis could only accommodate a limited number of settlers. At the time the Tekes arrived in the region, most of the former irrigation works had fallen into disrepair and large parts of the oasis had become uninhabitable swamps. Another factor that propelled the Tekes onwards was Iranian interference with the border regions of Khurāsān. As will be seen below, the Tekes were able to expand into Sarakhs in 1832, when the Iranian army inflicted a decisive defeat on the Salor Turkmens living there. A quarter-century later, the Tekes of

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[126] Rabino 1928: 95, 97, 100. According to Conolly, the majority of the 400 Turkmens Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh retained at Tehran were Göklens. The remainder were furnished by the Yomuts (Conolly 1834 I: 36).

[127] Rabino 1928: 95–96.

[128] Rawlinson 1977: 112. See also König 1962: 35, 161; Stewart 1977: 154.

[129] NT 1480; König 1962: 26, 33.

[130] O'Donovan 1970 II: 71–2; Spuler, "Ashkhabad," *E.Ir.* II: 750.

[131] Fraser 1825: 245.

[132] *Gaz. Iran* II: 139.

[133] According to Bregel, the Qaradashlï Turkmens came to Akhal in pre-Mongol times. The presence of the Ali-elis there is documented for the late sixteenth century (Bregel 1987: 150, 157). The Qaradashlïs played an active political role under Shāh ʿAbbās I (Sümer 1972: 242). See also Dshikijew 1994: 83, 99, 119.

[134] Bregel 1987: 157; Dshikijew 1994: 89–91, 96, 131–2, 176–7; König 1962: 18–19; Wood 1990: 34–5.

Sarakhs faced mounting Iranian pressure. In 1274/1858, they sought refuge in Marv and displaced the Sarïq Turkmens from this region. These migrations seem to have involved a cross section of the Tekes, as the constituent branches of Otamïsh[135] (Āqtamish)[136] and Toqtamïsh and their subsections were present in Akhal, Sarakhs and Marv.[137]

Even prior to these large-scale movements, the Akhal Tekes suffered loss and displacement in their confrontations with the Khanate of Khīva. Between 1816 and 1820, Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān mounted three expeditions against the Akhal Tekes to enforce revenue payments among them. A part of the local population evaded the reprisals by withdrawing to the mountains. Others fled to Marv and Sarakhs. A number of Akhal Tekes were resettled in Khvārazm.[138] Khivan efforts at control did not focus on the Akhal Tekes alone. Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān and his successors resorted to a policy of divide and rule with respect to the various Turkmen groups, switching back and forth between punitive and conciliatory measures as the need arose. Their harsh efforts to impose control alternated with periods of little or no government presence. While requiring the Tekes to furnish troops for their campaigns to Khurāsān, they employed the rival Yomut and Göklen Turkmens to further their authority in Akhal. In 1830, Allāh Qulī Khān resettled the Ali-elis of Atek and gave their lands to the Teke Turkmens. In 1836, he restored the fortress of Maihana in Akhal and garrisoned it with Göklen troops as part of his effort to counterbalance the growing Qājār pressure on Sarakhs. In 1847–1848, the Tekes of Akhal and Sarakhs supported the rebellion of Ḥasan Khān Sālār and suffered Khivan and Iranian intervention in the aftermath. In 1855–56, the Khān of Khīva summoned Teke contingents to suppress an uprising by the Yomuts in his principality. As this rebellion dragged on for another decade, Khīva's ability to make its presence felt in Akhal diminished dramatically.[139]

Compared with Khivan activities, Qājār intervention in the Akhal oasis was even less sustained. Iranian interests focused on the fort of Nukhūr,[140] which commanded the communications between Akhal and Bujnūrd and served as a staging point for Turkmen incursions south of the Kopet Dagh. East of ʿIshqābād, the population of the towns of Anau and Gavurz accepted Iranian authority. In the summer of 1854, the Qājār governor Farīdūn Mīrzā undertook a military campaign to Kalāt, ʿIshqābād and Akhal, levelling the aforementioned 36 forts in the process.[141] In 1857, Jaʿfar Qulī Khān Shādillū, governor of Bujnūrd and Astarābād, made a vain attempt to contain the Turkmen raids emanating from Akhal, the frequency of which had increased greatly subsequent to the Iranian siege of Herat.[142] In 1861, following the disastrous Iranian defeat at Marv, the Akhal Tekes took possession of Anau and Gavurz but, according to Iranian sources, were beaten back by Ḥusām al-Salṭana.[143] In 1285/1868–69, the chiefs of Khabūshān and Bujnūrd, Amīr Ḥusain Khān Zaʿfarānlū Shujāʿ al-Daula and Ḥaidar Qulī Khān Shādillū Sihām al-Daula inflicted great losses on the local Teke population.[144]

In the course of their settlement in the Akhal oasis, the majority of the Teke Turkmens switched from animal husbandry to farming or a combination thereof. In 1881, it was estimated that the sedentary population (*chumūr*) amounted to 18,000 *kibitkas*, while the nomads (*chārvā*) counted 3,300 tents.[145] The structure of landownership reflected the pattern of migration. The choice lands were controlled by those segments of the Tekes which had been on the forefront of conquest.[146] The Teke expansion led to conflicts

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[135] Dshikijew 1994: 165; König 1962: 23.
[136] *Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* 28.
[137] NT 1237; Barto'ld 1962: 167; Dshikijew 1994: 165; König 1962: 20–21; Lessar 1884: 281; O'Donovan 1970 II: 170–1; *Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* 28; William 1990: 30.
[138] König 1962: 22–24.
[139] König 1962: 23, 25–7.
[140] NT 1373.
[141] NT 1239–40; Khūrmūjī 1984: 280–1. NT and Khūrmūjī read Anau as Atū and Atāū respectively.
[142] NT 1373–4.
[143] Khūrmūjī 1984: 280–1. See also Dschikijew 1994: 89–91; König 1962: 28–29.
[144] MB 1594.
[145] König 1962: 37. According to Stewart, the Akhal Tekes numbered 25,000 tents in the 1880s (Stewart 1977: 154).
[146] König 1962: 30, 35, 42.

with the chiefdoms of Khabūshān (Qūchān) and Darra Gaz, the leadership of which maintained claims to the fertile lands in the foothills. In the early nineteenth century, the Tekes forcefully deprived the chief of Khabūshān, Amīr Gūna Khān Zaʿfarānlū, of his dependency of Maihana. Teke efforts to exert pressure on the dominions of Darra Gaz under Bēgler Khān Chāpushlū were less successful.[147] But at times the Teke leadership also enjoyed service grants awarded by the Chāpushlū and Zaʿfarānlū leadership. In 1816–1817, the Teke leader Murād Sardār formed an alliance with Bēgler Khān Chāpushlū of Darra Gaz and was awarded lands along the stream of Gavurz. Another Teke leader received lands at Giani from Bēgler Khān. Amīr Gūna Khān's son Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū (d. 1833) bestowed a service grant on Nafas Bēg (Nepes Bek) Toqtamïsh Teke.[148]

While pursuing a game of fluctuating friction with the neighboring powers, the Akhal Tekes witnessed the inexorable progress of the Russians from the Caspian Sea during the 1870s with a sense of paralysis. Immediately prior to the final stand off with General Skobelev's troops at Gök Tepe in 1881, the Akhal leader Makhdūm Qulī Khān Toqtamïsh Teke complained to O'Donovan that the Teke were isolated in their resistance towards the encroachment by Russian troops:

> [The Akhal Tekes] had seen the Turcoman khanates one after the other practically deprived of their independence, and their own immediate brethren, the Western tribes of the coast and intermediate plain, become Russian subjects, and now even arrayed in arms against themselves. Russia assailed them; the Persian government refused to accept them as subjects or tributaries, or give them any protection; their friends the Osmanlis were powerless to help them; neither could the Afghans give them any aid.[149]

Indeed, about 2,000 Yomut irregular cavalry supported the Russian campaign against the Akhal Tekes.[150] At the same time, the Akhal Tekes could not expect any sustained support from their relatives in Marv, who, apart from sending some volunteers to Akhal, pretty much minded business as usual:

> [T]he tribes of Merv were but little concerned by the danger threatening their neighbours. They were too far from the scene of hostilities to dread any immediate danger; and so they lived much in their usual fashion, with occasional cattle-lifting among themselves as a matter of course, and having every now and then a brush with the still wilder tribes to the west and south of their own territory.[151]

As late as 1879, it looked as if the Akhal Tekes might be able to beat off the Russian forces. In 1878, they erected the mud fortress of Yangī Shahr near the old village of Gök Tepe, and in August 1879, they inflicted a sounding defeat on the Russian forces under General Lomakin. In 1880, General Skobelev embarked on a new campaign against this fort and, in an effort to secure his supply lines, extended the railway towards Teke territory. In January 1881, almost the entire population of Akhal, estimated by O'Donovan at 50,000 to 60,000 tents, concentrated in the fort of Yangī Shahr under the leadership of Makhdūm Qulī Khān. After a siege of three weeks, the fort fell to the Russian forces on January 24, 1881. O'Donovan, who witnessed the battle from the Mārkūh mountain twelve miles south of Gök Tepe, offers what seems a bird's eye view account of the battle that ultimately rendered Akhal part of the Trans-Caspian province of Russia:

> With my double field-glass I could easily make out the lines of the Turcoman fortress, and the general position of its besiegers… I could plainly see, by the smoke of the guns and the movements of the combatants, that the attack had begun in earnest… The Russian assault was directed against the southerly wall of the fortifications, and, after what was apparently a desperate conflict there, it was evident that they had forced their way. A crowd of horsemen began to ride in confusion from the other side of the town, and spread in flight over the plain. Immediately afterwards, a mass of fugitives of every class showed that the town was being abandoned by its inhabitants. The Turcoman fortress had fallen, and all was over with the Akhal Tekkés.[152]

While Makhdūm Qulī Khān withdrew to Tejend and later joined his kinsmen in Marv, the Akhal Tekes not only fell victim to Russian violence; they were also helplessly exposed to raids by their own kinsmen, as well as Turk and Kurdish riders descending from the mountains:

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147 Fraser 1825: Appendix B, 46–7.
148 König 1962: 23, 34.
149 O'Donovan 1970 II: 4.
150 O'Donovan 1970 II: 72.
151 O'Donovan 1970 II: 2.
152 O'Donovan 1970 II: 67.

> Meanwhile the direst confusion prevailed throughout the country. The Tekkés who had escaped from Geok Teppé were everywhere robbing and murdering. The Russian pursuing parties were also active… Moreover, the moss-troopers of Derguez [Darra Gaz], and the Kurds from Kuchan [Qūchān], were abroad like flocks of sea-gulls in troubled waters, seeking what they could pick up, and mercilessly harrying the unarmed fugitives of Geok Tepé especially.[153]

SARAKHS

The town of Sarakhs was located immediately north of the eastern end of the Kopet Dagh mountains, near the point where the Harī Rūd, known as Tejend in this region, met the Qara Qum desert after passing through the mountainous regions between Dahana-yi Dhū al-Faqār and Pul-i Khātūn. The historical town of Sarakhs was located on the eastern bank of the river, which only contained water during winter and early spring and was lost in the desert sands a little way to the north.[154] Running parallel to the Kopet Dagh Mountains, the final stretch of the Tejend formed a swamp which, according to O'Donovan, presented an impenetrable barrier to travellers: "[I] found it partially covered with jungle, in which the wild boar and leopard abounded, and tigers were not uncommon. The marsh is a treacherous expanse, and men and horses are often swallowed in its depths while attempting its passage at night."[155]

South of the Kopet Dagh Mountains, a number of trade routes fanned out into Khurāsān. The immediate destinations to the south were Kūsūya and Kārīz. To the southwest, the Kashaf Rūd valley led to Mashhad. Given its strategic location half-way between Mashhad and Marv and commanding the approach to Herat, Sarakhs had been the frontier zone between competing Safavid and Uzbek interests since the early sixteenth century.[156] In the nineteenth century, the town primarily served as a gateway for Turkmen incursions into Khurāsān, while the Qājār government repeatedly sought to revive its historical claims to authority there.[157] The changing political dynamic also affected the role of Sarakhs as a commercial center. While it had traditionally served as an important entrepôt in the overland trade, Iranian captives had become the most important trade item in the nineteenth century.[158] In 1828, the British traveller Stirling described Sarakhs as a "perfect den of murderers and slave sellers".[159] Although the local Salor Turkmens reportedly did not engage directly in slave raids, they had entered a business relationship with the Teke, Sarïq and Ali-eli Turkmens, whereby they received half of all slaves captured in exchange for furnishing the weapons necessary for the raids.[160]

In the course of the nineteenth century, Sarakhs underwent a number of demographic shifts which reflected the rivalry among the local Turkmen tribes and were enhanced by intermittent Iranian intervention. Until the early 1830s, the Salor Turkmens constituted the dominant population of Sarakhs proper, while the Teke Turkmens inhabited the lower Tejend oasis.[161] According to local traditions, the powerful Teke leader Mopak [Muvaffaq] (d. 1810) established the irrigation system of Qārī Band in the early nineteenth century and warded off Iranian military interference in Tejend. Later in the century, in 1812 and 1834, the Tekes temporarily evaded Qājār pressure by seeking refuge in Marv. For the period between the 1830s and 1850s, Urāż Khān and Khvājam Shakūr are mentioned as the two most powerful Teke leaders. Around 1830, Urāż Khān is said to have led 10,000 Toqtamïsh Tekes from Gavurz southeast of ʿIshqābād to the Tejend, where

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153 O'Donovan 1970 II: 74.

154 Bosworth, C. E., "Sarakhs," *E.I. 2* IX: 34. See also Barto'ld 1984: 62; Gachet 1882: 494; Lessar 1884: 283; Radde 1989: 139–41; Stewart 1977: 152.

155 O'Donovan 1970 II: 75.

156 IT 391; *Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* 30; TRSN X: 479; Bosworth, C. E., "Sarakhs," *E.I. 2* IX: 34. On the eve of a military confrontation with the Safavid army in 1510, Muḥammad Khān Shībānī had the city's population of 160,000 families evacuated to Transoxiana (*Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 85n). For the strategic importance of Sarakhs in the late nineteenth century, see Marvin 1884: 170–1.

157 TRSN X: 479.

158 *Dhū al-qarnain* 826.

159 Stirling 1991: 236

160 *Dhū al-qarnain* 826; NT 483. See also Farmayan 1981: 55.

161 See, for instance, *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 397.

they erected a fort named Urāż Qalʿa.[162] Khvājam Shakūr, the leader of the Otamïsh Tekes, moved to Sarakhs after ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana's successful campaign against the Salors in 1832. Another famous Teke leader was Qaushīd Khān Toqtamïsh (d. 1878), who played an instrumental role in the Teke migration to Marv in 1274/1858.[163]

In the early nineteenth century, contact between the Salor Turkmens and Mashhad was limited to occasional expressions of fealty and support during military campaigns.[164] From the 1830s on, however, Qājār efforts to establish a direct presence in Sarakhs intensified. In August 1830, Aḥmad ʿAlī Mīrzā's *vazīr* Mīrzā Mūsā Gīlānī mounted a campaign against Sarakhs and Darra Gaz. Yet within two weeks, the army returned to Mashhad "weary and disconsolate", as Conolly reports, after losing 150 men in skirmishes with the Turkmens and facing starvation in the desert. To make things worse, the campaign had been stifled by dissensions among the tribal leaders assisting the *vazīr*, among them Najaf Qulī Khān Shādillū of Bujnūrd, Riżā Qulī Khān Zaʿfarānlū of Khabūshān and Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai of Herat.[165]

The first decisive step against Sarakhs was undertaken by ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana. When fifty Salor leaders arrived at the provincial court of Mashhad to present tokens of loyalty in the summer of 1832, Nāʾib al-Salṭana did not allow them to depart for their home town and subsequently embarked on a military campaign against Khabūshān and Sarakhs. During the short-lived siege of Sarakhs in Jumādā I 1248/October 1832, the local population lived up to their evil reputation as slavers by using their Shiite prisoners as human shields against Qājār artillery fire. On his conquest of the town on 23–24 Jumādā I 1248/18–19 October 1832, Nāʾib al-Salṭana freed 3,000 Shiite slaves and deported 3,000 Salor families. What is more, he had 450 slave traders executed at the hands of former Shiite captives.[166] These figures seem rather large in the light of contemporaneous British sources. In 1828, Stirling noted that no more than "five or six despicable shops" were to be found in the bazaar of Sarakhs.[167] Immediately prior to Nāʾib al-Salṭana's campaign, Burnes had reported the entire local Salor population to consist of 2,000 families.[168]

Although Nāʾib al-Salṭana razed the citadel of Sarakhs, he was unable to establish a permanent government presence there, and his successors had to content themselves with occasional military campaigns to the region. His victory over the Salors of Sarakhs and their subsequent deportation worked to the benefit of the Teke Turkmens. According to some sources, the Otamïsh subsection moved to the town and its environs shortly thereafter, while the Toqtamïsh under Urāż Khān stayed in Tejend.[169] In 1844, ʿAbbās Qulī Khān, the Iranian envoy to Bukhārā, reported that the Teke population of Sarakhs amounted to 20,000 families, the greater part of whom (12,000 families) belonged to the Toqtamïsh subsection under the leadership of Nafas Bēg while the remainder formed part of the Otamïsh division under Turāb Bēg.[170] At that time, the allegiance of the local Turkmen chiefs seems to have been split threefold. While the Toqtamïsh leader Urāż Khān had joined Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula in Mashhad and was on his way to the Qājār court

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[162] The exact dates of this migration are not clear. According to Dshikijew, Urāż Khān arrived in the Tejend region in 1829 or 1830 (Dshikijew 1994: 166–9). In König's account, this migration took place in the mid-1830s (König 1962: 21). Lessar's opinion that Urāż Khān was the leader of the Otamïsh Tekes is not borne out by other sources (Lessar 1884: 291).

[163] Dshikijew 1994: 169–171. See also Wolff 1848: 322.

[164] NT 303; TRSN X: 479.

[165] Conolly 1834 I: 321, 336, 355.

[166] *Dhū al-qarnain* 829–3; NT 481, 483–6, 495–6; TRSN X: 479. See also *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer) 1975: 173; Persian text: 110; Wolff 1848: 321–2. According to Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana, 4,000 Shiite slaves were freed and 5,000 Sarakhsi families were deported (IT 390–1). During his visit to Mashhad in June 1833, Fraser noted a "prodigious number of beggars", many of whom were remnants of the "three or four thousand" Salor taken prisoner at Sarakhs. They were initially confined in the Uzbek caravanserai of Mashhad without food until ransomed by their kinsmen. The remaining prisoners, mostly women and children whose close relatives had died during the war with the Qājārs, were left to fend for themselves in Mashhad (Fraser 1973: 213–19).

[167] Stirling 1991: 239.

[168] Burnes quoted in Dshikijew 1994: 227.

[169] Dshikijew 1994: 169; König 1962: 25; O'Donovan 1970 II: 171.

[170] *Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* 28.

in Tehran, the Otamïsh leader Khvājam Shakūr was allied with the Khān of Khīva. Other local chiefs were in league with Bukhārā.[171]

In 1845, Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula totally destroyed the Teke settlements in Tejend.[172] Even so, Urāż Khān Toqtamïsh gave shelter to Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Daula's son Ḥasan Khān Sālār in the winter of 1847–48. In the following year, Urāż Khān and Qaushīd Khān actively supported Ḥasan Khān Sālār's assumption of power in Mashhad which lasted until the spring of 1850.[173] According to Hidāyat, the Turkmen reinforcements sent from Sarakhs to Mashhad during this period were paid in slaves, at the rate of one slave per horseman.[174]

While unable to establish direct control over Sarakhs, the Qājār governors Ḥusām al-Salṭana and Farīdūn Mīrzā managed to make Qājār presence felt in the early 1850s. In Ramażān 1267/June–July 1851, Ḥusām al-Salṭana attacked Sarakhs and beat back Turkmen insurgencies on Turbat-i Ḥaidarīya. Yet his subsequent attempt to appoint ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Darra Gazī as governor to Sarakhs proved to be in vain.[175] Between 1852 and 1854, Urāż Khān and the nobles around him repeatedly approached the provincial court of Mashhad, signaling their willingness to furnish 50 cavalry to the army of Khurāsān and to protect the trade routes passing through their territory. In Jumādā II 1271/March 1855, Urāż Khān played a leading role in warding off a Khivan invasion under Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt with the assistance of Farīdūn Mīrzā.[176] Muḥammad Amīn Khān's subsequent defeat and death encouraged a decade-long rebellion among the Turkmens of Khīva.[177]

With the onset of the siege of Herat in 1856, however, the Sarakhsis threw off their allegiance to Mashhad. While about 200 cavalry from Sarakhs actively supported the besieged Heratis, the greater group of Turkmens from Akhal, Sarakhs and Qarayāb near Marv resumed their raids into Khurāsān and primarily targeted the supply lines linking Mashhad with the troops encamped before Herat. Further raids on Khurāsān coincided with the military showdown between Qājār and British troops in Bushire in the spring of 1857.[178] These incursions caused Ḥusām al-Salṭana to detain a number of Teke nobles in Mashhad in 1274/1857–58. In the same year, he launched a campaign against the Tekes of Sarakhs and pursued them as far as Marv.[179] This time, the Teke withdrawal to Marv proved to be of a permanent nature. Qaushīd Khān and his compatriots settled in Marv, displacing the local Sarïqs, who in turn drove the Salors out of Panjdih.[180]

A decisive blow against Sarakhs followed shortly thereafter. In order to put an end to the ongoing Turkmen attacks on residents, travellers and pilgrims in Khurāsān, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh ordered the newly appointed governor of Khurāsān, Ḥamza Mīrzā Ḥishmat al-Daula, to establish a permanent government presence in Sarakhs. From Shavvāl 1275–Rabïʿ II 1276/May–November 1859, Ḥamza Mīrzā devoted all his energies to the construction of a new settlement and fort called "Nāṣirīya-yi Sarakhs" on the left bank of the Tejend and made efforts to bring in settlers from Khurāsān. Muḥammad Valī Khān Qājār Develū, the *sardār* of Khurāsān, was placed in charge.[181] Throughout their stay near Sarakhs, Ḥamza Mīrzā's troops faced daily

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171 *Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* 24–5, 28, 73. Joseph Wolff, who accompanied ʿAbbās Qulī Khān on his return from Bukhārā in August/September 1844, reported that Khvājam Shakūr Otamïsh "threatened to smite with the edge of the sword the whole caravan if they did not give him tribute, after the other Tūrkomauns had taken it [along the route via Marv]"(Wolff 1848: 322).

172 Dshiikijew 1994: 169.

173 NT 889, 972, 976, 1047; Khūrmūjī 1984: 35.

174 TRSN X: 394, 480.

175 TRSN X: 480–5; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975) 84, 98; Persian text: 54, 64. ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Darra Gazī was appointed to the government of Sarakhs in 1268 (27 October 1851–14 October 1852) (*Sifāratnāma* Persian text 110; TMN 1727).

176 NT 1121–4, 1237–40, 1248, 1251–2; Khūrmūjī 1984: 118, 138, 142–5;TMN 1741, 1769; Dshikijew 1994: 170–1.

177 Evans 1984: 17.

178 NT 1317, 1347–9, 1352, 1470, 1481; TRSN X: 709–10, 712–13; Khūrmūjī 1984: 191–2; 230–1.

179 The campaign against the Tekes of Sarakhs was concluded in Ramażān 1274/April–May 1858 (Khūrmūjī 1984: 236). See also O'Donovan 1970 II: 170; Sārlī 1995: 92–3.

180 Dshikijew 1994: 227; Sārlī 1995: 95; Lumsden, IOL, L/PS/18/A 53 Pt. 3, p. 13.

181 Khūrmūjī and Iʿtimād al-Salṭana state that Ḥamza Mīrzā settled 4,000 families in Nāṣirīya-yi Sarakhs (Khūrmūjī 1984: 249; TMN 1815–16, 1823). According to reports of the late nineteenth century, however, the population amounted to no more than 300 houses and 150 Arab cultivators. The garrison consisted of one company of infantry and a detachment of artillerymen (*Gaz. Iran* II: 593; "The New Russian-Persian Frontier East of the Caspian Sea," in Cumming 1977: 184). In the early 1870s, it was

attacks by an alliance of the Turkmens of Marv and Tejend. In Ṣafar 1276/Juli–August 1859, the government troops retaliated by destroying the fields, irrigation works and grain stores of the Tejend Tekes.[182] In May 1276/1860, Ḥamza Mīrzā followed Nāṣir al-Dīn's order to embark on a campaign against Marv, which ended with a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Teke Turkmens in October.

Ḥamza Mīrzā's successor Ḥusām al-Salṭana (1861–1863) endeavoured to maintain a military presence in Sarakhs and repeatedly sent provisions there. Even so, the Qājār position in Sarakhs was by no means secure. Ḥusām al-Salṭana himself was confronted with a Turkmen attack while on his way there in Rabīʿ II 1278/October 1861.[183] An important figure in the Turkmen raids emanating from the environs of Sarakhs in the 1850s and 1860s was Muḥammad Shaikh Marvī, who repeatedly took the lead of the Turkmens of Sarakhs and Qarayāb and threatened the environs of Mashhad as well as the trade route to Herat.[184] The situation of the Qājār garrison in Sarakhs remained precarious for the next decade. The difficult position of this government outpost was highlighted in 1870–71, when Khurāsān was in the grips of a serious famine. In Rajab 1287/November 1870, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh painted a grim picture of the situation:

> The affairs of Sarakhs are once again disturbed. Firstly, the fort, its towers and bastions are in need of repair. Secondly, the arsenal is devoid of ammunition. Thirdly, there are no provisions. Fourthly, the Turkmens have carried off all the sheep and donkeys. Of what use then is a fort and its garrison under such circumstances? The fort is in grave danger. [Ḥamza Mīrzā] Ḥishmat al-Daula [governor of Mashhad, 1869–1871] needs to assemble ammunition and provisions, he needs to send men there and to repair the damages. Otherwise, the Turkmens may gain strength and—God forbid—all of a sudden take over the fort.[185]

In the early 1870s, Sarakhs briefly witnessed the return of its previous population, the Salors. After their defeat and forceful removal at the hands of Nāʾib al-Salṭana in 1832, the Salors had settled on the Murghāb river between Yolotan and Panjdih. With the arrival of the Tekes in Marv and the following southward push of the Sarïqs, the Salors initially migrated to Mārūchāq in 1860 and then moved on to Zūrābād located 40 miles south of Sarakhs.[186] In 1871, the Salor leader Murād Khān entered an agreement with Ḥamza Mīrzā whereby his tribe was allowed to move back to Old Sarakhs in exchange for protecting the border against Sarïq and Teke incursions. Government endeavours to buy security for Sarakhs by playing on tribal divisions worked to the detriment of the Salors. The Marv Tekes violently objected to the new government-sponsored role of the Salors, and within six months, Qaushīd Khān Toqtamïsh Teke mounted an expedition of 6,000 cavalry and infantry against them. As a result, a great part of the Salors were forcefully resettled in Marv and dispersed among the Tekes.[187] In 1881, there were about 400–700 Salor tents in Marv. Another thousand families migrated along the upper part of the Murghāb river.[188] In the same year, the Salors of Marv accepted

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reported to be garrisoned by Qarāʾī soldiers (Sārlī 1995: 162–3). Ḥamza Mīrzā also erected another fort called Ḥishmatābād on the Harī Rūd at a short distance from Sarakhs (Shahīdī 1971: 47–8).

182 Khūrmūjī 1984: 249–50.

183 Khūrmūjī 1984: 264, 280–1.

184 TRSN X: 535, 706–7; NT 1192, 1241, 1347, 1470; Khūrmūjī 1984: 118, 194, 229, 281.

185 Sārlī 1995: 162–3. For the precarious position of the garrison of Sarakhs during this period, see also Lessar 1881: 283.

186 The information concerning the Salor migrations is contradictory. Dshikijew quotes Lessar's statement that the Salors moved from Yolotan to Zūrābād as early as 1855 and stayed there for twelve years (Dshikijew 1994: 227). Yet according to a Persian eyewitness account of Ḥamza Mīrzā Ḥishmat al-Daula's abortive campaign to Marv, the Salors were still in possession of the fort of Yolotan in the summer of 1860. After altercations with the Iranian army, they evacuated the fort of Yolotan and migrated to Panjdih. At this juncture, a number of Salor families settled among the Tekes, with whom they had formed an alliance against the Persians (Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 107–8, 110–111, 114–18; see also Barto'ld 1962: 169). While giving no date for the expulsion of the Salors from Yolotan, the son of Iʿtimād al-Salṭana claims that they initially went via Panjdih to Mārūchaq, where they stayed for four years. Subsequently, they split up into three groups, one staying behind in Mārūchāq, one moving on to Qara Tepe twenty *farsangs* from Herat, and one moving to Zūrābād with the permission of Ḥamza Mīrzā Ḥishmat al-Daula. The remaining Salors of Mārūchāq were later expelled by the Sarïqs, joined their fellow tribesmen in Qara Tepe and convinced them to move to Zūrābād together (Sārlī 1995: 110–111; see also pp. 158, 161–2). Writing in Rajab 1299/May 1882, Muḥammad ʿAlī Munshī reported that 1,500 Salor families had arrived in Zūrābād the previous year (*Safarnāma-yi Rukn al-Daula* 70, 88–9, 93).

187 Sārlī 1995: 110–111. As Ḥamza Mīrzā Ḥishmat al-Daula's third and final governorship of Khurāsān ended in 1871, this is the latest date the migration of the Salors to Sarakhs can have taken place.

188 Dshikijew 1994: 227–9; O'Donovan 1970 II: 173.

an invitation extended by the Iranian government to return to Sarakhs but were prevented from leaving by the Teke leadership.[189] With the Russian conquest of Gök Tepe in January 1881, however, the power constellations in the region changed again. With Russian backing, the Salor leader Teke Khān united the various Salor groups of Marv, Yolotan and Zūrābād under his command and settled them in Sarakhs.[190] In 1884, Old Sarakhs on the right bank of the Tejend became a Russian possession, whereas Nāṣirīya-yi Sarakhs on the left bank of the river remained under Iranian control.[191]

In 1894, Charles E. Yate described Iranian Sarakhs as a forlorn government outpost with a governor (*ḥākim*), an agent (*kārgudhār*), a telegraph clerk, and 200–300 infantry. The local population consisted of 150 families of Arab descent and 60 Sīstānī families, who had been settled there in 1874 and 1888 respectively. Yate attributed the relative poverty of the local population to the Russo-Persian boundary settlement of 1884, which only left one-sixth of the water available from the Tejend to Iranian Sarakhs, while the remaining five-sixths went to Russia.[192]

MARV

Writing in the middle of the nineteenth century, Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat emphasized the ancient Iranian origins of Marv.[193] Located at the crossroads of the trade routes leading to Khīva, Bukhārā, Mashhad, Andkhūd, Maimana and Herat, Marv formed one of the major urban centers in the region up to the Mongol invasion. It was also famed for its fertility, which it owed to its position on the final stretch of the Murghāb river. The water of this stream, which was also known as Rūd-i Shahd, is described as "bright green" in its upper reaches[194] and "muddy but sweet" further down.[195] Originating in the Safīd Kūh mountains, it entered the Qara Qum desert about 100 miles further east than the Tejend and took a parallel northerly course until it lost itself in the desert sands. Along its course, the river watered several separate oases. After irrigating the valley of Mārūchāq, the Murghāb river rushed through a region enclosed by steep banks. Further north, the oasis of Panjdih formed a two-mile wide strip of fertile land which extended along the river for twenty-five miles. Joined by its main tributary, the Kushk Rūd, the Murghāb river flowed through a sand desert before reaching the oasis of Yolotan and eventually fanning out into the irrigation system forming the oases of Marv and Qarayāb.[196] The land along the final stretch of the river was considered most fertile, and, in the eyes of the Teke leader Qaushīd Khān, it was like gold as compared to the silver and copper of the territories lying further upstream.[197]

The trade route from Marv to Herat ran parallel to the course of the Murghāb river to Panjdih, where it bifurcated west into a passage along the Kushk Rūd and east into a passage which continued along the Murghāb to Pul-i Tābān. The proximity of the trade route and the river did not imply easy access to water. A member of the Qājār military campaign to Marv in 1860 describes the terrain as difficult:

> The route from Marv to Herat follows the bank of the Rūd-i Shahd. But the road runs at an elevation of fifteen *dhar'*. The river flows below and is situated in such a way that cavalry and infantry cannot approach its banks. If water is needed, it has to be drawn up in a bucket [like water] from a well. Every twelve to fourteen *farsang* along the route, a path to the river bank becomes visible and [this place] also serves as a halting-place (*manzilgāh*). All along the river banks trees, reeds, tamarisks and weeds abound.[198]

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189 O'Donovan 1970: 361–3.
190 Dshikijew 1994: 229; Lessar 1885: 520; Wood 1990: 33. In June 1882, Rukn al-Daula, the governor of Khurāsān, had employed Teke Khān and 100 cavalry as border post (*qarāvul*) (*Safarnāma-yi Rukn al-Daula* 93–4).
191 Bosworth, "Sarakhs," *E.I., 2* IX: 34.
192 C. E. Yate 1900: 34.
193 TRSN X: 540–1.
194 Vámbéry 1990: 285.
195 Radde 1898: 142. See also; Stirling 1991: 248; Vámbéry 1864: 257, 261.
196 Barto'ld 1984: 39–40; Stewart 1977: 145–6.
197 Dshikijew 1994: 171–2.
198 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* 79.

When the Qājārs renewed their historical claims to Marv in the middle of the nineteenth century, not much was left of its former splendour. The "citadel" of Marv mentioned in the Persian sources of the time properly referred to the seat of the Teke Turkmen leader Qaushīd Khān, while the ancient settlements of Marv lay in ruins.[199] Despite the decline it had suffered, the name of Marv continued to evoke associations of grandeur that were entirely out of proportion to its strategic or economic value. No doubt these overblown assumptions had their part in fanning Qājār irredentist claims to the region up to 1860; they also enhanced Britain's fixation on the strategic necessity of barring Russia's eastward progress in the 1880s. Yet in a lecture addressed to the Royal Geographical Society in 1882, O'Donovan portrayed this region as a forlorn bit of no-man's-land in the middle of the desert:

> And now let me pause to dispel a delusion that has existed for a long time, namely, that Merv is a great Asiatic city, the possession of which would make the fortune of the possessor at the present time. There is no such city as Merv. Merv is only a 'geographical expression.' It means a certain amount of cultivated territory where half a million Tekke-Turkomans manage to eke out an existence by pastoral pursuits, plunder, and thievery, combined with the caravan service between Bukhara and Meshed. There is no central point which you can call Merv now…except… Koushid Khan Kala [Qaushīd Khān Qalʿa].[200]

Like other cities in the region, Marv suffered a decisive blow during the Mongol invasion of 1219. Formerly housing as many as 90,000 soldiers and a population large enough to throng three Friday mosques, Marv became the abode of hyenas and wolves and afforded no shadow of repose to the itinerant traveller for the subsequent two hundred years, as Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū stated in the early fifteenth century. The town was rebuilt and experienced a considerable revival under Tīmūr's son Shāh Rukh from 1409 on. Shāh Rukh's greatest achievement was the restauration of the irrigation system, which in turn infused the city with new life: "When the dam was closed and the water began to flow in this region, people from all regions came to settle, enlivening the bazaars, endowing the mosques with splendor and laying the foundations of public baths and inns. During his auspicious reign, convents, theological schools, caravanserais, and bridges were built" [201]

According to Isfizārī, the Timurid rulers favored Marv as a winter camp on account of its mild climate and the abundance of firewood available. Among the products of the region, he mentions grain and cotton but devotes a special description to the rich harvest of melons (*kharbuza*). He praises their exceeding sweetness and delicacy, which is only surpassed by the fine melons of Langar-i Amīr Ghiyāth in Bādghīs. The high quality of the local melons is illustrated by the fact that the king and some of the notables (*akābir*) of Herat ordered their melons to be brought from Marv despite the long distance of 60 *farsakh* or 240 miles separating the two towns. As elsewhere in Isfizārī's account, melons symbolize the affluence associated with Timurid rule. The image of a seemingly inexhaustible supply of melons serves to highlight the fertility of this flourishing oasis: Even in winter, there were sufficient amounts to feed the population and the numerous soldiers encamped there, a whole donkey load costing only two silverlings (*tangcha*).[202] Isfizārī also seeks to demonstrate the high state of agricultural development by claiming that the entire region extending between Marv and Murghāb, a distance of 30 *farsakh* or 120 miles, as well as that between Marv and Sarakhs, a distance of 25 *farsakh* or 100 miles, was cultivated.[203]

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's and Isfizārī's optimistic accounts notwithstanding, Marv apparently did not recover from the Mongol invasion in the same measure as other towns in the region. It lost its former commercial importance in the overland trade between western and eastern Asia and was increasingly eclipsed by Herat.[204] This development continued in the sixteenth century as the oasis formed the bone of contention between the nascent Safavid dynasty on the one hand and the Abu al-Khairid (Shibanid) khanate on the

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[199] Khūrmūjī 1984: 259; Shahīdī 1971: 57, 62; Stewart 1977: 150; Zaʿfarānlū 1968. For descriptions of the historical settlements of Marv, see Barto'ld 1984: 41–3; Zhukovskii 1894.

[200] O'Donovan 1977: 196. O'Donovan's estimate of the Tekes at 500,000 souls seems rather high. In 1878, Grodekov assumed the Tekes to number 48,000 families or 190,000–240,000 souls (Marvin 1880: 135–6). In 1880 Stewart reported that the Teke population consisted of 40,000 families or 200,000 souls (Stewart 1977: 154).

[201] Krawulsky 1982: 59–60; 1984: 46–7. See also Saif al-Haravī 1943: 53.

[202] Isfizārī I: 173–5.

[203] Isfizārī II: 374–5. See also Subtelny 1993: 187.

[204] Barto'ld 1984: 43, 45; Bosworth, "Marw al-Shāhidjān," *E.I., 2* VI: 621.

other. In December 1510, Shāh Ismāʿīl I inflicted a decisive defeat on the Uzbek army at Maḥmūdābād, located twelve miles from Marv. To underline his victory, the Safavid ruler had the head of the slain Uzbek leader Muḥammad Khān Shībānī mounted in gold to serve as a drinking cup. When Marv proper fell into Safavid hands shortly after, the entire Uzbek population there was killed or sold into slavery.[205] In 917/1511, Shāh Ismāʿīl I fixed the Āmū Daryā as the border between the Safavid and Uzbek spheres of interest.[206]

For most of the sixteenth century, however, the Safavid rulers were unable to give substance to their claims to the entire cis-Oxus region.[207] Balkh passed to the Abu al-Khairid rulers as early as 1516, and Marv reverted to their control after Shāh Ismāʿīl I's death in 1524. Subsequent Uzbek endeavours to penetrate further into Khurāsān were cut short with the accession of the new Safavid ruler Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (r. 1524–1576). Although the Uzbek general ʿUbaidullāh b. Maḥmūd Shībānī briefly gained control of Mashhad and Astarābād in 1524, his forces suffered a decisive defeat near Turbat-i Shaikh Jām in 1528. From this time onwards, Uzbek activities in Khurāsān were confined to those intervals when Safavid energies were devoted to combating the Ottomans in the west. In 1531, ʿUbaidullāh again exerted pressure on Herat, Mashhad, Sabzavār and Astarābād. After attaining khanship in 1533, he briefly established control over Herat in 1535. His death in 1540 was followed by a power struggle between two leading clans, which in turn eased Uzbek pressure on Khurāsān until the 1580s.[208]

The rise of the powerful Abu al-Khairid leader ʿAbdullāh Khān (r. 1583–1598) coincided with a period of internal weakness in the Safavid realm and military preoccupations in the west. The death of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I in 1576 and the ensuing power struggle within the royal family and among the Qizilbāsh and Tājīk elites allowed the Uzbeks to gain control of Herat and Mashhad as well as most of the smaller towns of Khurāsān for close to a decade. ʿAbdullāh Khān also advanced against Khvārazm and its dependency of Marv, eventually conquering the region in 1593. The period of Uzbek supremacy in Khurāsān ended with the deaths of ʿAbdullāh Khān and his son ʿAbd al-Muʾmin in February and June of 1598. During the following contentions among the Uzbek leadership, Khurāsān, Khvārazm and Badakhshān slipped from Bukharan control. As a result, the balance of power in the region again shifted in favor of the Safavids.

For Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 1588–1629), the battle of Pul-i Sālār on 6 Muḥarram 1007/9 August 1598 provided a turning point in the affairs of Khurāsān. After inflicting a decisive defeat on the Uzbek forces, he regained control of Herat and subsequently re-established Safavid authority over the other regions of Khurāsān as well. Shāh ʿAbbās I also reinstated the Chingizid lords of Khvārazm and Marv, both of whom had sought asylum in Iran during ʿAbdullāh Khān's ascendancy. Khvārazm reverted to the control of the Arabshahid dynasty, which was to remain in power until the end of the 11th/17th century. In 1598, Nasā, Abīvard and Marv were reclaimed by their erstwhile ruler, Nūr Muḥammad Khān Marvī, the adopted son of ʿAbdullāh Khān's brother-in-law Abū al-Muḥammad, with Iranian support.[209] Within two years, however, his uncertain loyalty caused him to be deported to Iran. Shāh ʿAbbās I occupied Abīvard and Marv. In the latter, a *khuṭba* in the name of the twelve Imāms was read for the first time in eighty years, and Biktash Khān Ustājlū was appointed as the first governor there.[210] He was succeeded by Miḥrāb Khān Qājār in 1608, who was the first of a long succession of Qājār leaders in Marv.[211] Shāh ʿAbbās I's effort to install his own nominee in Balkh,

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[205] Aubin 1970b: 237; Hajianpur 1966: 171; Lee 1996: 29–30; Savory 1978: 61–3; Vambéry 1990: 268–70.

[206] See Chapter 2. The first Safavid governor of Marv was ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Bēg, a member of Shāh Ismāʿīl I's early entourage, who also received control of Abīvard and Khabūshān at that time. His governorship lasted until shortly after the battle of Ghijduvān in November 1512 (Aubin 1984: 15, 22).

[207] Burton 1997: 71; Röhrborn 1966: 15–16; Szuppe 1992: 81.

[208] Szuppe 1992: 111–13; Vámbéry 1990: 277–81.

[209] IM 646–7; 705–6; 906, 927–8; Burton 1997: 64, 69–70, 73–6, 95, 98–104. See also Mitchell 2009: 188; Navāʾī 1973 I: 147–66; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): xiii–xiv.

[210] Biktash Khān Ustājlū had held the governorship of Mārūchāq up to that point (IM 969–75, 999, 1015, 1324–25; TRSN 8: 317, 326; TRSN X: 451). See also Burton 1997: 113–14; Tumanovich 1989: 142. To ensure the pacification of the region, Shāh ʿAbbās I razed the fortresses of Abīvard, Nasā, and Marv (Matthee 1996: 401).

[211] Miḥrāb Khān Qājār (d. 1032/1622–23) served as governor of Marv from 1017–18/1608–10 (Savory 2002: 25). In 1614 and 1617, he is again referred to as governor of Marv (Tumanovich 1989: 146–7). In 1051–1052/1641–1642 Murtażā Qulī b. Miḥrāb Khān Qājār is mentioned as the governor of Marv (Rota 2009: 253, 263–5, 419, 423–4).

by contrast, met with no success. In 1602, a military campaign there ended in a stalemate, and Mārūchāq remained the furthest Safavid outpost in that direction.[212]

The re-establishment of Safavid control over Marv coincided with the rise of the dynasty of the Tuqai-Timurids, who controlled the affairs of Bukhārā until the 1740s. For most of the seventeenth century, Marv continued to be incorporated into the Safavid administration. At that time, a great part of the local population consisted of Qājārs, who had been resettled there by Shāh ʿAbbās I from Tabrīz and also furnished the local governors.[213] In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a period of economic and political decline set in, which manifested in crumbling central governments and a dwindling caravan trade.[214] Reduced to an insignificant border town, Marv slipped from Iranian control, and the local Qājār leadership assumed an increasingly independent position. From 1127/1715–16 on, the Qājār leader Muḥammad ʿAlī Bēg, whose family had held the post of *ishīk āqāsībāshī* in Marv throughout the Safavid administration, expelled three successive governors appointed by Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain (r. 1694–1722). The fall of Iṣfahān in 1722 and the subsequent dismemberment of Iran into several regional centers allowed Muḥammad ʿAlī Bēg to abandon all tokens of allegiance. In 1723, Malik Maḥmūd, the self-proclaimed ruler of Khurāsān and Sīstān, made a vain attempt to establish his own governor in Marv. Malik Maḥmūd's candidate shared the fate of the earlier Safavid appointees and was forced to make a hasty retreat to Malik Maḥmūd's capital at Mashhad.[215]

Malik Maḥmūd Sīstānī's claims to Khurāsān were challenged by Nādir Khān Afshār, who used his appointment as *ishīk āqāsī* of Abīvard to extend his control over the neighboring regions of Atek and Khabūshān.[216] In 1136/1723–24, Nādir also interfered with the affairs of Marv on behalf of the local Qājār leadership. His campaign coincided with deteriorating political and economic conditions within the oasis. At the beginning of the year, a plague epidemic had reduced the population of the town by 30,000–40,000 persons. Coinciding with this epidemic, the death of Muḥammad ʿAlī Bēg Qājār brought about anarchic conditions. According to Nādir's chronicler Muḥammad Kāẓim Marvī, the inability of Muḥammad ʿAlī Bēg's successor Fūlād Bēg to impose his authority brought about a general state of rebellion: "Everyone became his own *kadkhudā* and nobody listened to anyone else [anymore]."[217] This state of affairs allowed the Tātārs and Turkmens occupying the environs of Marv to make inroads into the oasis. Qājār power reached its lowest point when the Tātārs removed Fūlād Bēg from power, repeatedly plundered Marv proper and cut off the water supply, thus causing general starvation which "filled the azure skies with the sighs and moans of [dying] children".[218]

During his first intervention in Marv, Nādir attempted to stabilize the situation by reinstating Fūlād Bēg as governor and removing the Tātār leadership to Zāghcha near Abīvard. Furthermore, he raised one thousand soldiers among the Qājār population and resettled one hundred prominent families in Abīvard proper.[219] Within two years, however, Nādir's authority in Marv was challenged once again when the Tātārs killed his appointee Fūlād Bēg and did away with the entire local leadership and the majority of the Qājār population. This development occasioned a military campaign in late 1139–early 1140/1727 by Nādir's brother Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, who destroyed the *band-i sulṭān(ī)*, the main dam of which had secured the agricultural wealth of the oasis since ancient times.[220] Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān removed the remaining Qizilbāsh to Mashhad, allowing Marv to be occupied by the Tātārs. Shortly after, Nādir appointed ʿAlī

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212 IM 997–1013, 1019; Burton 1997: 116–17; Riazul Islam 1970: 87; Roemer 1986d: 267; Tumanovich 1989: 143–44.

213 TRSN IX: 5; NT 8–9. See also Avery 1991: 4–5; Dshikijew 1994: 184.

214 Bregel, "Central Asia, vii. 12–13/18–19 Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 193, 195; Matthee 1999: 241.

215 The Safavid governors driven away by *ishīk āqāsī* Muḥammad ʿAlī Bēg were Ḥusain ʿAlī Khān, Yaḥyā Khān and Muḥammad Amīn Khān. In 1723, Malik Maḥmūd Sīstānī tried to establish Mihdī Bēg Rīkā as governor in Marv (Kāẓim 55–57). See also Avery 1991: 22–3.

216 Kāẓim 41–2; Avery 1991: 23–24.

217 Kāẓim 57.

218 Kāẓim 57–8.

219 Kāẓim 59–60; Avery 1991: 23–4.

220 Barto'ld 1984: 45.

Mardān Bēg Afshār as *nāʾib* of the frontier and weakened Tātār hold over Marv by ordering seventeen of their most influential leaders to be given up to the Qājārs at Mashhad in revenge for the massacre the Tātārs had conducted among their kinsmen.[221] In the following years, Nādir made several fruitless attempts to repair the *band-i sulṭānī*. In 1145/1732–33, the newly appointed governor of Marv, Ismāʿīl Khān Sabzavārī employed 2,000 militiamen and an irrigation expert with equally little success.[222] Two years later, the dam was finally restored after a steady exertion of five and a half months and the employment of 1,000 laborers.[223]

Later on in his career, Nādir focused on the strategic position of Marv as the "gateway to Turkistan" (*sarḥadd-i dahana-yi Turkistān*) and the need to rebuild it as a commercial and agricultural center.[224] In the winter of 1147/1734–35, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, by then governor of Mashhad, restored the irrigation works with great difficulty.[225] Four years later, Nādir Shāh ordered the Qājārs of Marv to separate from his troops busy in the Mughal province of Kābul and to return to their erstwhile hometown. While they had rendered valuable military service, he insisted that it was necessary that they now restore the agriculture of Marv with the help of 3,000 peasants to be resettled there from other regions of Khurāsān. According to his chronicler Muḥammad Kāẓim, Nādir Shāh's decision was in great part motivated by his plan to conquer Transoxiana and the necessity to provide sufficient supplies for his huge army during its return to Iran.[226] When the Qājār troops reached Marv in early Ramażān 1151/December 1738 under the leadership of their appointed governor Kalb ʿAlī Khān Afshār and his *ishīk āqāsī* Shāh Qulī Bēg Qājār b. Muḥammad ʿAlī Bēg, the oasis presented a scene of desolation and isolation. Having decayed even further since their departure twelve years earlier, the town looked to the returnees as "hapless and destroyed as the heart of a prisoner," bearing no trace of construction or cultivation.[227] While the citadel of Marv remained impressive as compared to other fortifications in the Iranian realm, the oasis itself seemed like a forlorn island in a sea of hostile Turkmens: "Whoever gets caught in this region (*vilāyat*) has no way out. If he tries to go in the eastern, northern, or southern direction by himself, he will fall into the hands of Turkmens. If he wants to go west, that is, to the holy land [*arż-i aqdas*, of Mashhad], he first has to cross the great river Murghāb and after that a waterless desert…"[228] Despite these seemingly insurmountable obstacles, Kalb ʿAlī Khān Afshār was able to revive the irrigation system to such an extent that Marv flourished like the "highest Paradise" after a short time. Moreover, the military pressure exerted on the Turkmens induced them to give up their incursions and to enter the oasis solely for commercial purposes.[229]

The strategic importance of Marv was highlighted during Nādir Shāh's retreat from the banks of the Oxus towards Mashhad in in Shavvāl 1153/December 1740–January 1741. In order to secure the maintenance of his army in the desert extending between Chārjūy on the Oxus and Marv, Nādir Shāh ordered the chiefs of Marv to dig 1,500 wells and to store provisions en route.[230] Even so, a great number of Yūsufzai Afghāns

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221 Kāẓim 68–73. See also JN 66, 69, 93; Jones 1771 I: 73, 99.

222 Kāẓim 205.

223 These works were supervised by Kāẓim's father, who was an official in Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān's employ (Kāẓim 431–5).

224 Kāẓim 610.

225 Kāẓim 434. See also JN 336.

226 Kāẓim 610–12.

227 Kāẓim 614.

228 Kāẓim 612–13.

229 Kāẓim 615–16. ʿAbd al-Karīm Kashmīrī, who visited Marv along with Nādir Shāh's troops after the conquest of Khvārazm, gave a less enthusiastic appraisal of Marv: "Marv used to be a pleasant city, but like Herat, it has been abandoned owing to the oppression exercised by its governors. The [former] courtyards of the houses are used for agriculture." (*Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 93–4). See also Gladwin 1788: 69.

230 Kāẓim 821. According to ʿAbd al-Karīm Kashmīrī, Nādir Shāh divided the march from Chārjūy to Marv into four stages. On the first stage, the troops would carry water from the Āmū Daryā. He instructed the governor of Marv to dig thirty wells at the second stage, and eighty wells at the third stage. At the fourth stage, the population of Marv was expected to extend one of the irrigation channels of Marv by three *farsakh* into the desert and dig a reservoir at its end. In addition, Nādir Shāh ordered water skins to be filled and carried to a distance of five *farsakh* towards the army from this point. According to Kashmīrī, the governor executed all these tasks adequately (*Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 79–81; Gladwin 1788: 52–3).

died on the march through the desert.[231] Reprisals against the local elite followed. Before departing for Mashhad, Nādir Shāh ordered the execution of almost all the high-ranking officials of the Marv administration. Among them, Shāh Qulī Bēg Qājār formed a notable exception. With his appointment as governor, Nādir revived the hereditary position the family of Muḥammad ʿAlī Bēg Qājār had enjoyed in Marv.[232] At the time of Naṣrullāh Mīrzā's campaign against the rebellious leadership of the Aral region in 1155/1742–43, Marv again served as a depot for 30,000 troops.[233] During the final phase of Nādir Shāh's government, Shāh Qulī Bēg Qājār engaged in an unsuccessful rebellion against inordinately high revenue demands and was apprehended and blinded.[234]

With the crumbling of the Afsharid empire, Marv again slipped from Iranian control. In 1164/1750–51, the local *bēglerbēgī* ʿAlī Naqī Khān Qājār interfered with the affairs of Khurāsān and briefly occupied Mashhad, which at that time was formally under the control of Nādir Shāh's grandson Shāh Rukh Afshār, but in reality formed an embattled zone between the competing interests of the Jalāyir chiefs of Kalāt, the Zaʿfarānlū Kurds of Khabūshān, and the Khuzaima Arabs of Qāyin.[235]

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Marv increasingly found itself in the orbit of Bukharan interests. The oasis received a severe blow in 1200/1785–86, when the newly crowned Bukharan ruler Shāh Murād Bī Manghīt (r. 1785–1800) advanced to Marv and defeated the local governor Bairām ʿAlī Qājār ʿIzz al-Dīnlū b. Shāh Qulī Bēg.[236] Shāh Murād's father Dāniyāl Bī (r. 1758–1785) had maintained a paternal friendship with Bairām ʿAlī Qājār, addressing him as his son (*farzand*). Shāh Murād, by contrast, had Bairām ʿAlī Qājār's severed head nailed to the gallows in Bukhārā. The ensuing three-year effort to establish Bukharan control over Marv was accompanied by a large-scale destruction of the oasis and its environs. While Bairām ʿAlī Qājār's son Ḥājjī Muḥammad Ḥusain managed to hold the town with the help of troops and provisions sent by Tīmūr Shāh Sadūzai, Shāh Murād Bī occupied the southern part of the oasis. When Marv fell to the Bukharan army in 1788, a systematic deportation followed. According to Boukhary, a total of 17,000 Qizilbāsh families were forced to resettle in Bukhārā and convert to Sunnism in the aftermath of the conquest. Another 2,000 families accompanied the Durrānī troops during their withdrawal to Herat. Ultimately, only 3,000 families of the original population were left in Marv, one third of which were Sunnī.[237] Shāh Murād's hold over Marv proved to be precarious. Within two years he faced a rebellion by his

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[231] *Bayān-i vāqiʿ* 93, Gladwin 1788: 68–9. Nādir Shāh's camp followers who passed through the stretch of desert between Chārjūy and Marv subsequent to the conquest of Bukhārā in Rajab 1153/October 1740 likewise suffered great hardships. En route lack of water, intense heat and the shifting sands of Shīr-i Shutur forced them to discard their valuable merchandise of decorated bottles and fine cloth (*sīsha-yi guldār va aqmisha-yi bisyār*) and to feed lemon juice to their riding animals. Upon their arrival in Marv, they found to their dismay that they could have sold a bottle of lemon juice for 300 *dīnārs*, while the decorated bottles would have fetched 200 *dīnārs* (Kāẓim 803).

[232] Kāẓim 821–2.

[233] Kāẓim 862–5.

[234] Kāẓim 1114–19.

[235] TA (Humāyūn): 139, 163–4.

[236] TRSN IX: 282. See also Barto'ld 1962: 161; Wood 1998: 46. For Bairām ʿAlī Qājār's friendly relationship with Nādir Mīrzā Afshār of Mashhad in the late 1770s, see *Gulshan-i murād* 644.

[237] Boukhary 141–2; Persian text 61–2. The figure of 3,000 inhabitants after Shāh Murād Bī's conquest is confirmed by Kinneir, who bases his account on oral information received from a member of Amīr Ḥaidar Tūra's retinue (Kinneir 1813: 179–80). Ḥājjī Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān Qājār ʿIzz al-Dīnlū himself reports that"[n]early 1000 families were forced to leave Marv to settle in Bokhara" at the time of his submission to Shāh Murād in 1788. (Ouseley 1846: 334). Later Persian accounts quote much higher figures of deportation. The *Tārīkh-i ḥusainshāhī* contains the copy of a letter Tīmūr Shāh allegedly addressed to Shāh Murād in 1204/1789–90. According to this letter, Shāh Murād himself claimed to have carried 30,000 persons to Bukhārā in order to bring them to the fold of Islam, i.e., Sunnism (T Hu 195–6, Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 274). Shāh Murād's deportations to Bukhārā are also depicted in later Persian sources (TRSN X: 541; T Su 156). Faiż Muḥammad mentions Shāh Murād's intention to repopulate Marv with groups from Bukhārā and Shahr-i Sabz (ST 41; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 64–5). See also Hambly 1991b: 192; Marvin 1880: 127; O'Donovan 1970 II: 241; Stewart 1977: 148.

appointed governors, his brothers ʿUmar Bī and Fāżil Bī, who had formed an alliance with the local Turkmens. In the course of these events, Shāh Murād destroyed and rebuilt the vital *band-i sulṭānī* twice.[238]

In the nineteenth century, British observers interpreted Shāh Murād's invasion of Marv and the destruction of its irrigation system as an attempt to make this region inaccessible to Iran.[239] His activities in Khurāsān certainly elicited protests from the Sadūzai and Qājār rulers, who were too far removed to interfere with the affairs of Marv directly. From his base in Kābul, Tīmūr Shāh Durrānī used the Bukharan conquest of Marv as a pretext to enforce Durrānī sovereignty in the Balkh region, an enterprise that put his resources to a severe test.[240] In the 1780s, Qājār efforts at state building concentrated on the western part of the empire. When Āqā Muḥammad Qājār took control of Mashhad in 1210/1796, he contented himself with a letter to Shāh Murād, in which he threatened to retaliate for his depredations and demanded the return of Iranian prisoners.[241]

With the death of Shāh Murād Bī in 1800, Nāṣir al-Dīn Bēg, his son and appointed governor of Marv, assumed an increasingly independent position with respect to the new ruler of Bukhārā, his brother Amīr Ḥaidar Tūra (r. 1800–1826). The ensuing conflict over the control Marv continued until Ḥaidar Tūra was able to displace Nāṣir al-Dīn Bēg in late 1222/early 1808.[242] Once again, the oasis suffered. Ḥaidar Tūra destroyed the *band-i sulṭānī* and left it unrestored upon taking possession of Marv. He also resorted to large-scale deportations, in effect depopulating the city.[243] In 1820, the Russian official Meyendorff stated that the city population consisted of 500 inhabitants, and thus barely exceeded the Bukharan garrison of 400–500 men.[244] In the course of these events, the composition of the population changed dramatically. The Sarïq Turkmens, who had earlier nomadized in the region between Khīva, the middle course of the Āmū Daryā and Marv, became the dominant group in the oasis.[245] While the Sarïqs partly switched to agriculture after their arrival at Marv, most of them remained pastoralists until the late nineteenth century. Displaced by the Tekes in 1858, they migrated south to the area of Yolotan and Panjdih.[246]

Whatever was left of Marv after the Bukharan invasions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century passed to Khivan control in 1238/1822, when the Sarïq leaders of Marv transfered their allegiance to Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān Qunghrāt.[247] Under Khivan auspices, the oasis served as "a major staging and

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238 Boukhary 22, 126–45; Persian text, 11, 56–64. For a detailed account of Shāh Murād's campaigns to Marv on the basis of Boukhary, see Wood 1998: 50–9.

239 Stewart 1977: 148.

240 Boukhary 22–3; Persian text 11; ST 41; McChesney/Khorrami 2013 I: 64–6; T Su 156. In his letter to Shāh Murād in 1204/1789–90, Tīmūr Shāh objected to Shāh Murād's interference with the affairs of Marv which, in his opinion, formed part of the territories enjoying his protection (*mamlakat-i maḥrūsa-yi sulṭānī*). He further demanded that the deported population be released (T Hu 196; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 274).

241 NT 81–2. See also TRSN IX: 283. Shāh Murād had advanced as far as Mashhad in 1209/1794 (Malcolm 1829 II: 253).

242 Meyendorff 1826: 155; Wood 1998: 60–3. For Nāṣir al-Dīn Bēg's appointment as governor of Marv, see Boukhary 144; Persian text 63. According to *Ashraf al-tavārīkh*, Nāṣir al-Dīn Bēg arrived in Mashhad on 14 Dḥū al-Ḥijja 1222/12 February 1808. He had entertained regular contacts with Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā, the Qājār governor of Mashhad (1803–1816) since the winter of 1220/1805–06. During this period, Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā repeatedly sent gifts in cash and kind to assist him with the maintenance of the dam and ensure the protection of the Shiite population of Marv (*Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 211–15, 269–74, 329, 372–3, 444–6, 457). According to Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, Nāṣir al-Dīn Bēg already established contact with Muḥammad Vali Mīrza in 1219/1804–5 (TMN 1472). After his arrival in Mashhad, Nāṣir al-Dīn Bēg entered a marriage alliance with Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā. He traveled to Istanbul in 1245/1829–30 and onward to Russia in 1246/1830–31, where he eventually died (Boukhary 129, 158–9; Persian text 57, 70; TMN 1489–90).

243 TMN 1490; Wood 1998: 62, 90.

244 Meyendorff 1826: 155. Meyendorff reports that Amīr Ḥaidar Tūra ordered the entire population of Marv, a total of 25,000 souls, to be deported to the realm of Bukhārā.

245 Wood 1990: 33; Wood 1998: 69–72. According to Barto'ld, the Sarïqs migrated from Chārjūy to Marv at the time of Bairām ʿAlī Qājār ʿIzz al-Dīnlū's government, that is, before 1785. When Shāh Murād Bī took control of the region, he assigned Marv to the Sarïqs and gave Yolotan to the Salors (Barto'ld 1962: 166n; see also Stewart 1977: 148).

246 Dshikijew 1994: 252; O'Donovan 1977: 172, 200; Wood 1990: 33; Wood 1998: 75, 171–7, 253. According to Stewart, the Sarïq population of Panjdih and Yolotan amounted to 11,000 families (Stewart 1977: 154).

247 Wood 1998: 87–9. See also Barto'ld 1962: 166; Bregel, "Central Asia, vii. 12–13/18–19 Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 197; O'Donovan 1977: 198.

supply area for regular raids into Iranian Khurasan".[248] Although the service in the Khivan army promised economic benefits for the local population, Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān's successor Allāh Qulī Khān encountered hostilities in Marv. In the summer of 1827, a group of Sarïqs killed the Khivan governor and entrenched themselves at the fortress of Bairām ʿAlī Qājār. The attempt to fend off Khivan supremacy was not entirely successful. As overtures to Bukhārā failed, a group of local dignitaries under the leadership of the Naqshbandī *shaikh* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khalīfa (d. 1854) declared their loyalty to Khīva.[249] Although the rebels continued to hold the fortress, the losses inflicted in the course of three Khivan campaigns were so great that the entire Sarïq leadership formally submitted to Allāh Qulī Khān in the winter of 1828–29.[250] During the decade from 1832–1843, the Khivan presence in Marv consolidated. In response to ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana's campaign to Sarakhs in the summer of 1832, Allāh Qulī Khān erected the fort of Porsu Qalʿa and established a permanent garrison there. Until his violent death in 1843, the chief of artillery, Niyāz Muḥammad Bāy, served as commander of the fortress and was in charge of collecting *kharāj* and *zakāt*.[251] Efforts to revive the irrigation system followed. James Abbott, who passed through Marv in 1840, noted that the main dam had been restored.[252] Even so, he took a dim view of the state of the former metropolis:

> During the misrule and anarchy of the last sixty years the ancient dam of the Moorghaub [Murghāb river] was neglected and carried away. The city in consequence became uninhabitable, and was utterly abandoned. The dam is again set up, and the lands are brought under culture, but the ancient site continues a desert ruin. The present Merv is an assemblage, upon the Moorghaub, of about one hundred mud huts, where a considerable Bazaar is held.[253]

In 1259/1843, the Turkmens of Marv rebelled and entered an alliance with Bukhārā, which primarily served to keep Khīva at bay.[254] On his part, Amīr Naṣrullāh of Bukhārā (r. 1242–1277/1827–1860) harbored few illusions as to his ability to establish direct control there. The situation in Marv was reflected by the exchange between the Iranian envoy ʿAbbās Qulī Khān and the Amīr in May/June 1844. While ʿAbbās Qulī Khān attempted to revive ancient Iranian claims to Marv,[255] the Amīr pointed out that under present circumstances, it was difficult to establish any authority whatsover in the region:

> [Recently, t]he Sarïq, Salor and Teke tribes united and killed the Khivan appointee Niyāz Bāy and 1,200 men. The Khān of Ūrganj [Khīva], on his part, began hostilities against us. When I was away on a campaign to Khūqand and not a single soldier remained at Bukhārā and its environs, he entered my realm (*vilāyat*), besieged Chahārjūy and deported 40,000 families. This happened at a time when we were about to conquer Khūqand. Upon receiving this news, I returned and marched to Chahārjūy. [The Khān of Khīva] fled and went to Ūrganj. After that, we collected troops, moved against Hazārasb and besieged it for eighteen days. The Turkmen leaders used this opportunity to kill Niyāz Bāy. They submitted his head and those of the other killed men to us at Hazārasb and asked for the appointment of a [Bukharan] governor. I did not trust their word because they had repeatedly adopted the same conduct towards us and had killed our appointees. However, I had no choice because the country (*mamlakat*) was falling apart and the trade routes were disrupted. In order to secure the roads, I appointed a governor and sent him [to Marv].
>
> As this governor saw nothing trustworthy in the actions of the Turkmens, he feared for his life and fled to Bukhārā within three months... Subsequently, apprehending [renewed interference by] the Khān of Ūrganj, the Turkmens once again came and requested the appointment of a [Bukharan] governor. We appointed the present governor, Aurāq Khvāja, and sent him to Marv.

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248 Wood 1998: 125. See also ibid. 94.

249 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khalīfa was a disciple of Ṣūfī Islām. For his activities in the region of Herat, see Chapter 4.

250 Wood 1998: 97–9, 118–31.

251 Wood 1998: 136, 141–7.

252 The irrigation works, or part thereof, were apparently restored by 1838. For this year, the Khivan historian Muḥammad Riżā Āgāhī mentions the Band-i Jān ʿAlī as a dam on the Murghāb (Wood 1998: 154). There also are indications that the *band-i sulṭānī* was in operation in the winter of 1849–50 (Wood 1998: 223).

253 Abbott 1843 I: 51–2. On the basis of Abbott's description, Stewart concluded that Porsu Qalʿa and the settlement around represented the "last and most wretched of places which have borne the name of Merv" (Stewart 1881: 531).

254 Bregel, "Central Asia, vii. 12–13/18–19 Centuries," *E.Ir.* V: 198.

255 In the words of the Persian envoy, Marv had formed part of Khurāsān since the time of Manūchihr; it had always belonged to the sphere controlled by the governor (*vālī*) of Khurāsān; it had formed the homeland and refuge of the illustrious Qājār tribe; due to revolutions and conquest by oppressive governors this region had become separated from Khurāsān; henceforth, as in old times, nobody [other than the Iranian government] should interfere there (*Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* 37).

> The funds covering his expenses (*ikhrājāt*) have to be sent there from Bukhārā. If a representative of the high imperial government [of Iran] had ever come to administer the affairs there, we certainly would not have resisted or withheld our approval. The truth of the matter is that, as long as the city of Marv does not reach its former level of cultivation, no Turkmen can engage in [revenue-generating] agricultural pursuits (*raʿiyatī*) and no governor – regardless of his affiliation – can govern there.[256]

The validity of Amīr Naṣrullāh's assessment of the political situation in Marv was proven shortly after. When the Iranian envoy passed through Marv on his way back to Iran in late August 1844, the Bukharan appointee Aurāq Khvāja did not have the means to protect the Iranian caravan consisting of freed slaves from heavy tax demands imposed by the Salor and Sarïq *kadkhudās* of Marv. Unable to render practical assistance to the Iranian envoy, Aurāq Khvāja exclaimed that he had practically no authority over the population of Marv: "They do not listen to me! No matter how hard my officials strive to make them give up their mischievous ways, they will not take any advice." This conflict also highlighted the fact that the Turkmens considered Khīva an alternative source of power. The Salor and Sarïq leadership even threatened to plunder the Bukharan governor and to hand him over to Khīva if he sided with the Iranian envoy.[257]

Beginning with his enthronement in Ṣafar 1262/January–February 1846, the Khivan ruler Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt began to exert unprecedented pressure on Marv.[258] This earned him the enmity of the Naqshbandī *shaikh* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khalīfa, who eventually solicited the aid of the Qājār government in the summer of 1269/1853.[259] Ḥusām al-Salṭana, the Qājār governor of Mashhad, named ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Darra Gazī as the new governor of Marv and deputed him there with a force of 150 cavalry. After successfully defending Marv against a Khivan force of 10,000 troops, ʿAbbās Qulī Khān fell ill and died. For the next few months, the governorship passed to his son Bahādur Khān,[260] whose initial force of 400 cavalry was reinforced by another 500 cavalry as well as three regular Khurāsānī contingents and six cannons. While unable to take the oasis of Marv itself, the Khān of Khīva and his representatives ruled over the surrounding country. When the outbreak of cholera in the Khivan ranks hastened Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt's departure from Marv, he appointed Mīr Aḥmad Khān Jamshīdī as the governor of Qarayāb on the northwestern fringe of the oasis, thus maintaining a foothold in the region. The ensuing rivalry between the Qājār and Khivan appointees disrupted the trade between Bukhārā and Mashhad and denuded the countryside of whatever provisions might have been left behind by the Khivan army. Prior to his departure for Tehran in May 1853, Ḥusām al-Salṭana deputed further reinforcements to Marv and underlined Qājār claims to this region by sending the royal lion-and-sun flag there.[261] The Qājār presence in Marv lasted until May 1854. The decision to withdraw was occasioned by continuing Khivan pressure, lack of provisions, and crumbling Sarïq support after the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khalīfa in the spring of the same year.[262] Iranian control of the region was briefly renewed after the defeat and death of Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt near Sarakhs in Jumādā II 1271/March 1855.[263]

Three years later, in 1274/1857–58, the oasis underwent yet another forceful demographic change occasioned by the influx of Teke Turkmens from Sarakhs. The Tekes did not settle in Porsu Qalʿa, which had turned into a "howling waste of mud ruins" at the time of O'Donovan's visit in 1881. Under the leadership of Qaushīd Khān, they removed their stronghold to a point 25 miles northward of the dam from which the irrigation system of the Murghāb river spread out. Compared to the former Sarïq capital, the new

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256 *Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* 38–39. See also pp. 30–1. For the perspective of Khivan and Khūqandī historians on these events, see Wood 1998: 184–91.

257 *Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* 56–7. For a slightly different account of the events in Marv, see Wolff 1848: 312–13.

258 Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat's visit to Khīva in the summer of 1267/1851 coincided with Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt's return from a two-month siege of Marv (*Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 71, 85, 88, 91, 98; Persian text: 45, 54, 56, 58, 65).

259 TRSN X: 542; TMN 1745–6, 1754.

260 TRSN X: 542.

261 NT 1202–4, 1235–6. See also *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 213; Persian text, p. 140–1.

262 Wood 1998: 245, 249–52.

263 Bregel, "Central Asia, vii. In the 12th–13th/18th–19th Centuries", *E.Ir*. V: 196–8. See also Barto'ld 1962: 166; *Sifāratnāma* (Schefer 1975): 109, 159, 171; Persian text, 71, 106, 109

fort called Qaushīd Khān Qalʿa bore even less resemblance with any urban setting. In 1880, Stewart observed that the Tekes had not made the transition to fixed habitations:

> There is no sign of a town about Kala Kaushid Khan. There are about 6000 tents of the Beg tribe generally pitched near it, and each chief man has a guest-house of mud or sun-burnt brick, but they themselves live either in felt tents, or in places where reeds are plentiful, in reed or mat-huts, which can be carried away on camels. Near Kala Kaushid Khan there is a boys' school, with five or six houses for the mollahs or priests who teach in it… A market is held on the river bank, near the fort, and here the Jew traders who frequent the place, each trader being under the protection of some powerful Turkoman, have built small open enclosures without any roofs, where they expose their goods for sale on the two days in a week when a market is held.[264]

Despite efforts to restore the *band-i sulṭānī*, the oasis of Marv never regained its former importance and the extent of irrigated land shrank dramatically. The water supply to Dāsh Ribāṭ on the western fringe of the oasis dried up, rendering the caravan journey to Sarakhs more cumbersome than it had formerly been.[265] Upon his arrival in 1858, Qaushīd Khān picked out the location for a new dam a two days' journey north of the *band-i sulṭānī*.[266] A hundred yards north of the new main dam, two major canals branched off and formed a right angle bisected by the Murghāb river. The Alasha canal watering the lands on the western bank of the river provided the water supply of the Otamïsh branch of the Tekes.[267] The Novur canal watering the lands on the eastern bank was reserved for the use of the Toqtamïsh branch. Reflecting the political weight of Qaushīd Khān's kinsmen, this canal enjoyed priority over the remainder of the irrigation system and was always filled first.[268] At Egri Gudhar located fifteen miles north of Qaushīd Khān Qalʿa, two further canals branched off from the Murghāb stream, the Malyāb to the west and the Qarayāb to the east: "At this junction, owing to the exhaustion of the waters for irrigating purposes, the Murgab has diminished to a very inconsiderable thread of stream, and struggles forward eight or nine miles further before it totally disappears."[269]

In its entire extent, the irrigation system around Marv covered an area of 50 to 55 miles in length and 35 to 40 miles in breadth. Located a two to three days' journey south of the main dam of Marv, the *band-i qāzïqlï* secured the water supply of the oasis of Yolotan.[270] With the arrival of the Tekes in Marv, the Sarïqs had been forced to relocate to this area and Panjdih five marches further south. In the 1880s, the Sarïqs of Yolotan were reported to have reconciled themselves with their new environment and to be on "speaking terms" with the Tekes. The Sarïqs of Panjdih, on the other hand, still harbored an inveterate hatred towards the new overlords of Marv.[271] During this period, the entire group of Sarïq Turkmens was estimated to number 12,000 tents.[272] The region between Sarïq and Teke lands was occupied by 400–700 Salor families, which in part represented the former population. Others had been removed from Sarakhs and now lived interspersed with Otamïsh Tekes, who treated them as their subjects. 150 Salor families were settled on the lands along the Sukhtiyap canal in Otamïsh territory. Their state of subservience was demonstrated in 1881, when the Otamïsh chiefs forcefully prevented them from relocating to Sarakhs.[273]

O'Donovan's account of the affairs in early 1881 provides some insights into the internal organization of the Tekes. Policing actions such as the one required to rein in the fugitive Salors were carried out by a tribal militia called *yasāvul*. Reflecting the tribal structure of the Tekes, this force of about 1,000 horsemen was commanded by two officers (*yasāvulbāshī*) representing the Toqtamïsh and Otamïsh divisions. Among the duties of the *yasāvul* was the protection of the caravans passing through Marv on their way to Bukhārā and

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264 Stewart 1881: 532; Stewart 1977: 150.
265 Shahīdī 1971: 55; Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 94.
266 O'Donovan 1970 II: 185, 197; Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 108.
267 The Alasha canal apparently corresponded to the present-day Sukhtiyap canal.
268 O'Donovan 1970 II: 160, 190; Stewart 1977: 166–7.
269 O'Donovan 1970 II: 192.
270 O'Donovan 1970 II: 197–8, 244.
271 O'Donovan 1970 II: 173, 197–8. See also Stewart 1977: 167.
272 Dshikijew 1994: 252.
273 O'Donovan 1970 II: 173, 361–3; Dshikijew 1994: 227.

Mashhad.[274] They were also charged with the execution of the decisions reached in the tribal council (*majlis*) composed of the *khāns* of the two major divisions, the *kadkhudās* representing the 24 constituent subsections and a number of respected elders (*āq saqāl*). While the *majlis* was convoked to deliberate on matters of grave impact such as the impending Russian invasion, the *khāns* adjudicated minor disputes on market days:

> On each alternate bazaar day, the Khan of the Otamish and Toktamish hold a kind of court for the settlement of claims and disputes among their respective clansmen… The court was held upon an earth mound, about forty feet in length and fifteen in height. It was the remnant of a battery erected by the Turcomans to protect a ford of the Murgab during the fighting with the Persians [in 1860]... The Khan sat upon a carpet placed on the summit of the mound, surrounded by some of his Kethkodas, and aided by a cadi [*qāzī*]—an old man, learned in the law, named Moullah Safa, who decided all cases in which technical knowledge was required.[275]

The *khāns* implemented their judgments by imposing fines or resorting corporal punishment:

> [T]he Khān in person usually administers justice in public, and often inflicts summary punishment with his stick. For neglected duties, for instance, such as not working due to time on the fortifications, fines are imposed, and if the offender cannot pay, his hat is taken off, his hands bound to his sides, and he is exposed in this position to the sun for an hour or two. Thieves are tied to a stake and their heads similarly exposed.[276]

Apart from the maintenance of the fortifications, communal action was devoted to the operation of the irrigation system, which required particular attention in spring when the snowmelt of the Afghan mountains caused the water in the Murghāb to rise dramatically. At such times, up to 700 men were engaged in adjusting the working of the sluice of the main dam to prevent it from being swept away by the torrent.[277]

Given the political weight of the Toqtamïsh branch, it comes as no surprise that this division furnished the prominent Teke leaders. One noted leader was Nūrvirdī Khān of the Vakīl subsection, whose son Makhdūm Qulī Khān led the resistance of the Akhal Tekes against the Russian siege of Gök Tepe in January 1881.[278] The most powerful Teke leader Qaushīd Khān belonged to Bēg subsection. Qaushīd Khān's fame derived from his leading role in the affairs of Sarakhs, the Teke migration to Marv and their military success against the Qājār troops in 1860. He died due to poisoning in 1878.

While the Sarïqs of Marv had cultivated friendly relations with the Qājār court in order to counterbalance Khivan pressure in the early 1850s,[279] the Teke Turkmens did everything in their power to evade Iranian overlordship. When a Qājār army consisting of 21,000 cavalry and infantry[280] set out from Kāl-i Yāqūtī near Mashhad on 1 Dhū al-Qaʿda 1276/21 May 1860, it seemed as though the days of Teke independence were over. Yet on 17 Rabīʿ 1277/3 October 1860, this mighty army was scattered "like locusts" before a Teke entrenchment.[281] During this battle and the subsequent flight, the majority of the Iranian troops fell into the hands of the Tekes, who sold them at the much debased rate of three *tūmān* per head at the slave markets of the region. The final Qājār attempt to assert authority over Marv thus ended with an ignominious defeat and merely served to enhance notions of Teke invincibility.[282]

There is a tendency in the Iranian chronicles to gloss over the dramatic failure of the Marv campaign. Muḥammad Jaʿfar Khūrmūjī, who admits the Iranian defeat, is an exception. Writing in 1284/1867–68, he compares the blow Ḥamza Mīrzā Ḥishmat al-Daula suffered at Marv with the crushing defeat the Tekes inflicted on the Khivan ruler Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt and his mighty army at Sarakhs in 1855.[283]

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[274] O'Donovan 1970 II: 161–4, 192.
[275] O'Donovan 1970 II: 329. See also Stewart 1977: 166–7.
[276] O'Donovan 1970 II: 161.
[277] O'Donovan 1977: 198.
[278] Dshikijew 1994: 172; O'Donovan 1970 II: 73, 83, 204, 207; Stewart 1977: 167.
[279] TMN 3: 225; Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 13.
[280] Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 86. According to Couliboeuf de Blocqueville, the Qājār army was not as formidable as the official roll call suggested. He estimated it to consist of 12,000 to 15,000 men, including personal attendants and camel drivers (Couliboeuf de Blocqueville 1980: 48).
[281] Shahīdī 1971: 43, 46; 49; Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 79, 83, 86, 135.
[282] Marvin 1880: 128–9.
[283] Khūrmūjī 1984: 259–63.

In his *Tārīkh-i muntaẓam-i nāṣirī,* Iʿtimād al-Daula, by contrast, offers a rather daring interpretation of the events and even speaks of an Iranian victory.[284] The rather skimpy official statements concerning the Marv campaign are complemented by the eyewitness accounts of two army officials who participated in the action. In 1301/1883–84, the former army scribe Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrī published a work which became known as *Safarnāma-yi Marv*.[285] Four years later, an officer closely associated with Ḥamza Mīrzā Ḥishmat al-Daula wrote down his version of events in the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*.[286]

The two reports largely agree on the sequence of events and highlight the range of problems besetting the Iranian venture. The authors identify the discord between the military leaders, which often evolved along "Khurāsānī" and "ʿIrāqī" demarcations, as the main reason for the eventual military disaster. In combination with the ineptitude of the army leadership, the logistic problems of maintaining a large army in a hostile desert environment proved deadly. Both accounts give substance to the reservations Prime Minister Āqā Khān Nūrī had voiced earlier to the idea of extending military activities into the Qara Qum desert. Travelling at the height of summer, the Iranian army was afflicted with a severe scarcity of water and provisions. While trade caravans with laden camels ordinarily covered the route from Mashhad to Qaushīd Khān Qalʿa via Sarakhs in ten days, the Iranian troops proceeded at a leisurely pace and took six weeks to arrive at the outskirts of Marv.[287] This delay was in great part caused by the attempt to extend the water supply of the Tejend river into the desert. In the nineteenth century, the route from Sarakhs to Marv passed through 85 miles of desert, the first part of which was practically devoid of water. On the final stretch towards Marv, a few wells yielded brackish water. In order to safeguard the water supply of the troops, the military leadership decided to revive an abandoned canal, which formerly branched off north from the Tejend near Sarakhs, making the first stages of the journey to Marv comparatively easy.[288]

One major problem with Ḥamza Mīrzā's canal project was timing. The troops charged with constructing the necessary dam at "Sar-i band" on the Tejend began their work only one week prior to the arrival of the entire army. The troops were thus delayed for twelve days near Sarakhs, waiting for the completion of the necessary dam. Finally, the water began to flow towards Shūra Kāl, and the soldiers fell to the old canal with picks and shovels to remove all obstacles en route. For the next seventeen days, the army ambled along, adjusting its pace to the progress of the water. Unfortunately, the "exceedingly sweet" water of the Tejend turned bitter and salty as it was conducted through the desert. Near the old fort of Shūra Kāl, the canal thinned to a trickle, and the idea of carrying it further was abandoned.[289] The remainder of the march became a nightmare. The water filled into the skins of freshly slaughtered animals turned foul. Innumerable snake and rat holes rendered the desert a "sieve", causing 2,000 beasts of burden to break down and the artillery to get hopelessly stuck.[290]

The luck of the Iranian army turned when the Sarïq leader Imām Qulī Mīrzā from Panjdih joined the camp at Dāsh Ribāṭ and offered to lead Ḥamza Mīrzā's men to Qarayāb.[291] The arrival at Qarayāb coincided with harvest time, and the soldiers had ample opportunity to make up for the privations suffered in the desert. At the sight of the fertile oasis, they "gave up combating the enemy and devoted themselves to cucumbers

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284 TMN 1826. See also Bāmdād 1992 I: 465.

285 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 75–144. For a partial edition of a different copy of the same text see Shahīdī 1971: 35–63. Shahīdī gives the name of the author of this book as Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ḥusainī.

286 As the first and the final pages of the manuscript are missing, little is kown about the author. He was apparently a son of Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm, the *atābak* of Ḥamza Mīrzā, and served as commander of the royal guard (*sarkishikchībāshī)* during the Marv campaign. On the basis of information provided by the *Safarnāma-yi Marv*, the editor Muḥsin Raḥmatī tentatively identifies him as Muṣtafā Khān Sartīp-i Avval ("Muqaddima," *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* 26–28).

287 Traveling with a Turkmen escort in December 1861, Couliboeuf de Blocqueville covered the entire route from Marv to Sarakhs in 38 hours (Couliboeuf de Blocqueville 1980: 133).

288 Stewart 1977: 167–8.

289 Shahīdī 1971: 43, 48, 50, 52; Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 78–79, 85, 87–8, 90. See also *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* 34–7.

290 Shahīdī 1971: 52–55; Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 90–94. See also *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* 37–42.

291 Shahīdī 1971: 56; Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 95.On the role of the Sarïq Turkmens as the "fifth column" of the Iranian army see also O'Donovan 1970 II: 171; Sārlī 1995: 96.

and pumpkins".[292] The following events are quickly told. On 17 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1276/6 July 1860, the army moved to Marv and occupied Qaushīd Khan Qalʿa.[293] While the conquest of Yolotan from the Salor Turkmens in the middle of Muḥarram 1277/early August 1860 met with little resistance, Ḥamza Mīrzā's decision to leave Qaushīd Khān Qalʿa and to besiege the Teke entrenchment at Yūrt Khān Kachan[294] one day's march distant proved fatal. A Teke offer of allegiance was peremptorily turned down and belittled as an attempt at buying time. On 27 Ṣafar 1277/14 September 1860, the main body of the army arrived before the Teke entrenchment and cut short the Teke endeavor at negotiations by opening cannon fire. A war of attrition followed, in which the Teke adversaries proved much superior to the Iranian troops and scored one victory after the other. Within twelve days, the Iranian camp ran out of provisions while the foraging parties sent out were invariably cut to pieces by the Turkmens. On 17 Rabīʿ 1277/3 October 1860, the Iranians withdrew helter-skelter towards Qaushīd Khān Qalʿa, running headlong into the Turkmen lines of attack. The Tekes pursued the army up to a distance of five miles from the fort, taking numerous prisoners and capturing the entire Iranian artillery.[295]

In their analysis of the events, the authors apportion responsibility to different actors. Nūrī credits the commander in chief Ḥamza Mīrzā Ḥishmat al-Daula with clutching defeat out of the jaws of victory. One aspect he comments on throughout his narrative is the lack of discipline in the Iranian army. During the march, the army officers made no effort to keep the individual contingents together or to maintain a discernable order with a vanguard and rear guard.[296] Upon the arrival in Qaushīd Khān Qalʿa, the troops again faced the task of gathering provisions, this time in an environment of constant small-scale warfare with the Teke Turkmens. Even so, the officers in charge mostly failed to offer protection to the parties searching for supplies outside of the fort. Another marked feature were the ongoing dissensions among the various military leaders and the endless discussions between them and the supreme commander Ḥamza Mīrzā. Early on during the campaign, Ḥamza Mīrzā complained about the disorderly conduct of the army, inadvertently revealing his own inability to enforce discipline.[297] To make things worse, the supreme commander generally showed poor judgement in strategic questions. Some senior officers were in favour of using the relatively strong position of the army at Qaushīd Khān Qalʿa to cut off the water supply of the Tekes and to starve them into submission. But Ḥamza Mīrzā lent his ear to the inflated proposition of gaining a glorious victory over the Tekes in the open field. Furthermore, Nūrī provides a moral frame for his narrative. In the introduction, he attributes the weakness of the Iranians to their reliance on numerical strength rather than organization. As this was the biggest army the Qājārs had ever sent against the Turkmens, all parties involved expected an Iranian victory, and it never occurred to the officers in charge to take precautions against a possible defeat. In Nūrī's words, the Iranian army was one of unbelief, the members of which were blind with pride, self-worship, insolence, and heedlessness. Confronted with overwhelming odds, the Teke Turkmens, on their part, accepted God as their only refuge and eventually earned victory by placing all their trust in Him.[298]

The author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, by contrast, is more sympathetic to Ḥamza Mīrzā. He reserves his criticism for the self-serving attitude of the *vazīr* Mīrzā Muḥammad Āshtiyānī Qivām al-Daula and the military leadership. According to his account, the army officers placed their personal interests above military success. Much of the inactivity was caused by their refusal to cooperate with ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Khān Sartīp-i Tūpkhāna, who conducted the successful campaign against Yolotan and was a strong proponent of confronting the Teke Turkmens in open battle. In order to prove him wrong and to diminish his fame, the

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[292] *Mujādila bā ʿaduv-rā andākhta ba khiyār u kadū pardākhtand* (*Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* 43). See also Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 96.
[293] Shahīdī 1971: 56–8; Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 95–7.
[294] Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 119.
[295] Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 107–35. Estimates of the Iranian losses vary. According to Grodekov, the Tekes took 20,000 Persian prisoners (Marvin 1880: 128–9). Turkmen accounts claim that only 100 cavalry of the Iranian army of 80,000 (!) soldiers were able to get away (Dshikijew 1994: 172).
[296] Shahīdī 1971: 44–5; 53; Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 80–1, 91–2.
[297] Shahīdī 1971: 44–6; 53; Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 80–3, 91–2, 106.
[298] Shahīdī 1971: 41–2; Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 76–7.

opposing faction ceased all action after the army had moved to Yūrt Khān Kachan. The bastions vital for the operation of the artillery were not even erected when the camp followers, showing greater zeal (*ghairat*) than the officers, collected one thousand *tūmān* among themselves to pay the soldiers.[299] When the first cannons were lost to the Tekes, none of the leaders obeyed Ḥamza Mīrzā's order to retrieve them. "In the middle of the night," the author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* reports, "we could clearly hear… the Turkmens fire volleys with those very cannons and celebrate." Meanwhile, in the Iranian entrenchment, "peals of laughter and singing rose from the leaders' tents to the sky, and they were shouting, 'Let ʿAbd al-ʿAlī go and bring in the cannons!'"[300]

In casting Ḥamza Mīrza as the aggrieved victim of these machinations, the author also highlights his lack of leadership and growing isolation. Utterly unable to break the stalemate and to motivate the soldiers into action, he was increasingly ignored by the officers, who assembled in the tent of Qivām al-Daula instead. According to this portrayal, Ḥamza Mīrza acknowledged his weakness by visiting the tent of his *vazīr* and soliciting the advice of the leaders present: "I have given up my superior status as commander and prince, and, like an ordinary being, now find myself in a broken boat, about to drown in a stormy sea."[301] This plea brought about the decision to retreat to Qaushīd Khān Qalʿa.

As far as they are extant, both narratives conclude their account with the breakup and the flight of the army towards Iran. Once again, they assign different roles to the same protagonists. According to Nūrī, Ḥamza Mīrzā was primarily concerned with his own safety and even considered abandoning his troops. Once inside the fort, he and Qivām al-Daula made no effort to reorganize the remnants of their army but resolved to leave on their own. All appeals of the second in command, Muqarrab al-Khāqān, to their responsibility for the soldiers under their command went unheard. When they rode out of Qaushīd Khān Qalʿa, with Yūsuf Khān Hazāra and Mīr ʿAṭāʾ Tīmūrī as their guides, the last vestiges of order broke down, as the remaining troops desperately tried to keep up with their fugitive leaders. Nūrī informs us that Ḥamza Mīrzā and Qivām al-Daula initially intended to return to Iran via Sarakhs but were prevailed upon to move toward Herat by Yūsuf Khān Hazāra. The latter feared that ten to fifteen thousand unmounted soldiers following them would perish in the Qara Qum desert.[302] The author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā,* by contrast, solely takes Qivām al-Daula to task: According to his account, the *vazīr* bought the support of Yūsuf Khān Hazāra and was intent on moving to Sarakhs. Ḥamza Mīrzā, on the other hand, refused to countenance the prospect of several thousand foot soldiers perishing in the desert and opted for the route via Panjdih to Herat.[303]

Pursued by 400–500 Teke Turkmens, the Iranian troops struggled southward along the Murghāb river towards Panjdih. Here, the initially hostile Sarïqs consented to supply provisions after being reminded of their long-standing relationship with the Qājār government. Both authors report that a minor commotion in the Sarïq market near Panjdih triggered the onward flight of the Qājār army: The dispute over the price of a melon (*kharbuza*) turned into a melee and created the impression of a Turkmen attack. As the Qājār troops dropped their belongings and made headlong for the desert towards Chaman-i Bīd, they found themselves pursued by the Sarïqs, who took between 2,500[304] and 4,000 prisoners.[305] During the following marches to Shakībān, the Iranian troops subsisted on horse and camel flesh, another 200 men falling victim to hunger.[306] Highlighting his close companionship with Ḥamza Mīrza, the author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* adds

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299 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* 61–2.
300 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* 65.
301 *Man az ḥaqq-i sardārī va shāhzādagī-yi khud gudhaztam. Man ham mithl-i āḥād-i nās aknūn bā jamʿī hastīm dar kishtī-yi shikasta dar daryā-yi mutalāṭim dar shuraf-i gharq shudan* (*Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* 65–6).
302 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 135–7.
303 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* 77–8.
304 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 139–40.
305 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* 84–5.
306 Zaʿfarānlū 1968: 140.

a dramatic note to their flight through the desert. Together, they brave the hail of Turkmen bullets and survive the heat of the sandy desert by quenching their thirst with melons (*kharbuza*).[307]

Despite the decisive blow the Qājār government had suffered at the hands of the Turkmens, it refrained from punitive action against them and thus practically abandoned its historic claims to Marv. Immediately after the battle, the Teke leadership attempted to bolster their position vis-à-vis Tehran by entering an alliance with Khīva. Qaushīd Khān reportedly submitted one-fifth of the booty he obtained from the Iranian army to the Khivan ruler Sayyid Muḥammad Khān (r. 1856–1864).[308] When the Teke leader proposed a rapprochement with Ḥamza Mīrzā in 1286/1869–70, his advances were roundly rejected by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, who insisted on the return of all Iranian prisoners and weapons as a precondition for any sort of alliance with the Turkmens.[309] As Russian pressure on Akhal and Marv mounted in the 1880s, the Qājār government finally adopted a more active policy towards the Teke Turkmens. Iranian envoys began to arrive in Marv, offering financial and military assistance in exchange for the submission of hostages in recognition of Qājār supremacy. Distrustful of the motives of the Qājār government, the Teke leadership responded by setting up a fictitious leader and sending him to Tehran as a straw man to sound the waters at court.[310] With the Russian occupation of Marv in March 1884, the region was removed from the political horizon of the Iranian government once and for all.

Conclusion

Beyond mere military defeat, the loss of Marv exemplified a shift in territorial perceptions. Up to this point in time, the Qājār rulers had viewed northeastern Khurāsān as a place they were entitled to by historical precedent, a space they could expand into, an ancient sphere of dormant allegiances they could reanimate at will. Prior to the military campaign of 1860, active Qājār involvement in Marv had been limited to two brief interludes in 1853–54 and 1855. Even so, the flag and the minor garrison Ḥusām al-Salṭana stationed there in 1853 revived Iranian claims to the region at least symbolically and bore the promise that these might gain further substance sometime in the future. The disastrous battle of 1860, by contrast, drove home new political realities to the Qājār government. Apart from the poor performance of the royal troops and the logistic problems that beset the Marv venture, it became clear that the Iranian government did not command the wherewithal to establish direct control over the Teke Turkmens, whose rise to power on the western fringe of the Qara Qum desert had roughly coincided with the Qājārs' ascent to supremacy from their basis in Astarābād.

The contrast between far-flung territorial claims and brittle alliances in the northeastern territories became increasingly pronounced as the nineteenth century wore on. Until the 1850s, both the rulers of Tehran and Khīva attempted to give substance to their territorial notions by accusing each other of infringing on sovereign territory and engaging in military campaigns against Marv, Sarakhs and Akhal, thus creating a patchwork of punctual occupation alternating with local rebellion. Yet Khīva's interference in these regions effectively ceased after the violent death of Muḥammad Amīn Khān Qunghrāt and his son in 1855–56, as for the next twelve years the core of the Khanate was shaken by Turkmen unrest.

For the Qājār government, the Marv campaign of 1860 proved a turning point. During the interlude when Khīva and Iran faded out of the picture and the Russians were not quite on the horizon yet, the local leaders of Marv and Akhal were left to their own devices.[311] Sarakhs, which housed an Iranian garrison on the left

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[307] *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* 85–6. The role of melons as vital resource in the desert is a recurrent theme. See Noelle-Karimi 2001: 142.

[308] Barto'ld 1962: 166.

[309] Sārlī 1995: 141.

[310] O'Donovan 1970 II: 3, 211, 335.

[311] The interaction of the Turkmens of Marv and Sarakhs with the court of Khīva during this period deserves further investigation. While Lessar maintains that even the minting of coins, ordinarily an expression of fealty to the central powers, passed to local craftsmen (Lessar 1884: 294), there are indications that the local leadership maintained contact with the Khān and his courtiers

bank of the Tejend river, became the last, precarious outpost of Qājār authority in an entirely hostile environment. Stability was imposed only in 1884, when the Russian government occupied the right bank of the Tejend, effectively turning the Iranian garrison into a border post.

Within the regions discussed, Astarābād was most firmly incorporated into the Iranian domain, and the situation there reflects both the potential and limits of Qājār administration. Portraying Astarābād as the cradle of the Qājār dynasty, the available Iranian chronicles suggest a degree of continuity that is not borne out by closer analysis. In fact, the region reflected the general state of instability affecting all of Iran in the eighteenth century. The local power struggles between the two most prominent Qājār subdivisions were enhanced and instrumentalized by Nādir Shāh (r. 1736–1747) and Karīm Khān Zand (r. 1751–1779) from their bases in Mashhad and Shīrāz respectively. Although the imposition of Qājār authority in the nineteenth century faced no sustained challenges, there were ongoing tensions between the rural Turkmen population and the local governors based in the towns and government garrisons. While the Turkmens posed no imminent danger to government authority, they continued to live up to their reputation of unruliness. The patterns of conflict also show that it would be misleading to assume a clear juxtaposition between the forces of government and the tribal population. The methods of coercion the Qājār and Shādillū Kurd administrators employed strongly resembled the raids perpetrated by the Turkmens, and there were even instances of collaboration between these two groups against the Persian village population. Military action thus had no lasting impact on the local balance of power.

It is noteworthy that the administration of Astarābād passed to the leadership of the Shādillū Kurds of Bujnūrd from 1854–1858/59. This development is even more striking in the light of the fact that this family had played a leading role during Ḥasan Khān Sālār's rebellion against Tehran during the previous decade. While Najaf Qulī Khān Shādillū had entered alliances with the Tekes of Akhal and Sarakhs at the time of his rebellion, his son Jaʿfar Qulī Khān used his government of Astarābād to strike out both against the local Turkmens and the Akhal Tekes. Other important actors in this region were the Zaʿfarānlū Kurds of Khabūshān and the Chāpushlū leaders of Darra Gaz, who were likewise intertwined with the Akhal Tekes in a medley of mutual raids. It was this entrenched elite that the Qājār governor at Mashhad had to negotiate with for the maintenance of order. Its members mediated administrative concerns locally while shielding the territories under their control from sustained government interference. As Marv was practically removed from the map of Qājār authority, even the core possessions in Khurāsān could barely be kept together by a bundle of fragile alliances. Another instance of the indirect exercise of power is the southeastern region of Sīstān, which was placed under the authority of the Khuzaima chief of Qāyin in the 1860s.

THE FRONTIER ACHIEVED: SĪSTĀN

In the early nineteenth century, European observers described Sīstān with a note of nostalgia for past times of grandeur, harking back to times when this region had served as the "cradle of the Persian nation".[312] In this vein, Elphinstone commented:

> There is no country to which the admirer of Persian poetry and romance will turn with more interest than to Seestaun, and there is none where his expectations will meet with so melancholy a disappointment… the numerous ruins which it still contains, testify Seestaun to have been a fertile country, full of cities, which in extent and magnificence are scarcely surpassed by any in Asia: nor are the causes of its decline less apparent than the proofs of its former prosperity. Except on the north, where it joins the southwestern border of the Dooraunee [Durrānī] country, the province is surrounded by wide and dismal desarts [sic], whence every wind brings clouds of a light shifting sand, which destroys the fertility of the fields, and gradually overwhelms the villages. The only parts which still retain their fertility are those on the banks of the Helmund [Hilmand] and Furra Rood [Farāh Rūd], and of the lake which is formed by those rivers.[313]

after 1860. A cursory survey of the Turkmen correspondence to the court of Khīva suggests that individual leaders continued to submit petitions and reports on local affairs (Central Historical Archives of Uzbekistan, Fond 125/2, courtesy of Yuri Bregel).

312 Khanikoff 1864: 394.

313 Elphinstone 1992 II: 219. See also Christie 1986: 407.

In a similar vein, a Persian report from 1856 notes:

> The weather of Sīstān is very warm, its sand very fine, and its harsh wind continuous. Its greater part is taken up by tamarisk and [other] thorny bushes, in other parts there are reed beds (*naizār*), desert (*rīgistān*) and a great sea (*baḥr-i ʿaẓīm*)… Its wheat and bread are very good, its water wholesome. It only yields little fruit but water melon (*hindivāna*) thrives there. Despite the existence of the requisite water and soil it has no rice fields and only few orchards. The region abounds with ancient buildings and ruined citadels of amazing size which were erected by the Kayanids in former times, among them the famous city of Zāhidān, the citadels of Nād ʿAlī and Jalālābād, as well as the fort of Rustam located on the mountain Kūh-i Khvāja, which is surrounded by water.[314]

Both the Persian and foreign observers contrasted Sīstān's former greatness with signs of present decline. Overall, the available nineteenth-century accounts document a shift in regional concepts implying a dramatic process of shrinkage. The territorial designation of Sīstān dates back to Sasanian times.[315] Medieval authors assigned vast proportions to the region, including the entire Hilmand valley, Ghaznī and Tigīnābād (Qandahār) in its limits. In the fourteenth century, Vaṣṣāf also counted Ghūr among its territories.[316] Five centuries later, the Russian explorer Khanikoff contrasted the accounts of the tenth-century Arab geographers with the status quo and noted that not much was left of the formerly vast region of Sīstān, which had been superseded by modern political entities:

> The limits of this province as described by Istakhry used to be natural ones and they included the entire depression of Khurāsān, the lowest point of which is formed by the Hamoun Lake. Nowadays, the subdivision of Lach Djouvein [Lāsh-Juvain] has become a district in its own right; Zamin-Davar [Zamīndāvar], Roudbar [Rūdbār] and Ferrah [Farāh] have formed part of Afghanistan for a long time… In the strict sense, the region the modern Persians and Afghans designate as Seistan has been reduced to a small district located at the point where the Hilmand enters the Hamoun or Zireh… it has a population of 10,000 to 12,000 families, half of whom are nomads.[317]

On his visit in 1810, Christie stated that, while the region bore "marks of former civilization and opulence," it was now "only inhabited by Uffghans and Belooches in felt tents".[318] From nineteenth-century reports, Sīstān emerges as a remote and inhospitable place at best: Miasmas emitted by the extensive marshlands and swarms of white flies and mosquitoes afflicting horses, mules and camels alike made the region next to uninhabitable for most of the year except during the cold winter months.[319] Despite these uninviting prospects, Sīstān became the bone of contention between Iran and Afganistan in the 1860s and 1870s. In this context, the Qājār government again failed in its avowed plan to reclaim the former limits of the Safavid realm. It nevertheless scored a victory over Afghanistan in the Sīstān arbitration undertaken by the government of British India in 1872. In the aftermath of the losses at Herat and Marv, the Iranian government managed to push the "boundary line of Persia nearly five degrees of longitude to the eastward," and to establish realities that profoundly influenced the outcome of the Sīstān arbitration.[320] In the following, I will proceed from the natural setting of Sīstān to a description of its position within the larger political framework of the Safavid, Afsharid and Durrānī empires. The final section will be concerned with the events of the nineteenth century and the inevitable conflict between historical memories of imperial greatness and

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314 Jamālzāda 1964: 203. See also Sīstānī 1990 IV: 13.

315 Fragner 1999: 15.

316 Aubin 1969: 91. It should be borne in mind that territorial designations were elastic and subject to constant reinterpretation. On the basis of tenth-century Arab geographers, Le Strange describes Sīstān as the "lowland country lying round, and to the eastward of, the Zarah lake, which more especially included the deltas of the Helmund and other rivers which drain into this inland sea." He includes Bust, Zamīndāvar, Qandahār, Sībī and Mastūng in its limits. According to Le Strange, Ghaznī formed part of Zābulistān, that is, the upper waters of the Hilmand and the "Qandahār rivers", at that time. Even further north, Kābulistān extended towards the frontiers of Bāmiyān (Le Strange 1905: 334–49). In the twelfth century, Al-Idrīsī stated that Sīstān was bounded by Ghūr and (Zamīn) Dāvar on the north (Holdich 1910: 205).

317 Khanikoff 1864: 394–5.

318 Christie in Pottinger 1986: 407.

319 Büchner, "Sīstān", *E.I., 1*: 491; Greaves 1986: 90; Khanikoff 1864: 393.

320 Markham 1977: 517. See also Kashani-Sabet 1999: 33.

the corresponding conceptions of the "proper" state of affairs on the one hand, and the political facts created by the delimitation of a fixed border on the other.

Bounded in the southwest by the low mountain chain of the Kūh-i Palangān, Sīstān forms a shallow basin at an average altitude of 482 m/1,580 feet above sea level. In the nineteenth century, its main feature was the Hāmūn lake, which was fed by the Hilmand and Khāsh Rūd rivers in the northeast and the Farāh Rūd and Hārūt Rūd in the northwest. Fringed with marshes and reed beds in the south, the Hāmūn was only filled in May when the rivers entering it brought in snowmelt from the mountains of Ghūr. Travellers of that time described it as an extensive "pool" of little depth, the outlines of which greatly fluctuated in the course of the year. In the summer, when most of the river water was used up for irrigation and high temperatures as well as the "wind of 120 days" took their toll, the Hāmūn shrank rapidly and was separated into three separate shallow sheets of water. During the drought of 1870–72, its southern part dried up entirely.[321] At times when the water level reached its peak, the surplus water was discharged into the Shīla channel leading to the depression of Gūd-i Zira in the southeast.[322]

Both the Hilmand delta and the southern fringes of the Sīstān basin contain traces of former urban centers and extensive irrigation systems.[323] In the nineteenth century, a number of small settlements were concentrated in the peninsula created by the final stretch of the Hilmand river, the Hāmūn, the Shīla canal and the Gūd-i Zira, which Goldsmid described as "Sīstān Proper" in 1872.[324] A central meeting place was the Kūh-i Khvāja, a reed-ringed rock near the southeastern shore of the Hāmūn, on which the Naurūz festivities including racing competitions were held.[325] Comprising the region between Chakhānsūr in the north and Rūdbār in the south, the northeastern reaches of the Hāmūn and the region on the right bank of the Hilmand were categorized as "Outer Sīstān" by Goldsmid.[326] The region to the north of the Hāmūn was taken up by the district of Lāsh-Juvain, the country of which descended to the south in terraces intersected by deep ravines formed by erosion and the rivers flowing towards the lake.[327] The annual inundation along the Hilmand river allowed the cultivation of large quantities of wheat and barley, the surplus of which was exported to Qandahār, Farāh, Herat in the north and Bīrjand and Qāyin in the northwest.[328] The trade route from Sīstān to Bīrjand crossed the Hāmūn with reed rafts serving as a means of conveyance.[329]

In the nineteenth century, the exercise of power was highly segmented. Local leaders of Kayanid and Balūch extraction operated from a number of different bases, effectively preventing a lasting concentration of power.[330] This development coincided with the decline of the former Kayanid elite. Tracing their descent to the ancient Kayanid princes of Iran,[331] this family of Sīstānī nobles had controlled the affairs of Sīstān well into the eighteenth century. While Sīstān had been incorporated in the governorship of Khurāsān during the early Safavid period, the Kayanid rulers were able to enhance their position from the late sixteenth century on. Between 943–985/1537–1577, Qizilbāsh *amīrs* and princes ruled over Sīstān. Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (1524–1576) awarded Sīstān to Shāh Ismāʿīl I's grandson Badīʿ al-Zamān b. Bahrām Mīrzā. After a local rebellion in 1578/79, the Kayanid Malik Maḥmūd I (r. 1579–1587) assumed authority in Sīstān and signalled his

321 Markham 1977: 469; Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen 1873: 150.
322 Bosworth, "Sīstān," *E.I. 2* IX: 682; Büchner, "Sīstān," *E.I.,1*: 490; Khanikoff 1861.
323 Schlagintweit 1877: 171.
324 Goldsmid 1876 I: 407, 412.
325 Büchner, "Sīstān," *E.I., 1*: 491; Merk 1886: 155; Schlagintweit 1877: 173.
326 Goldsmid 1876 I: 407–8, 412.
327 Khanikoff 1864: 392.
328 Rist 1981: 49; Wynne 1870a: 23.
329 Merk, who travelled across the Hāmūn in 1885 left the following account of this means of transportation: [Such a reed raft, called *tutin*] "carries four or five passengers who have to sit, one behind the other, in a row, as a 'tutin' is not more than three feet wide, gradually tapering to a pointed bow with a length of about 20 feet. In the stern stands the raftsman who, with a long pole, punts the little craft through the Hamoon. Where the water is too deep for punting, the crew and passengers have to paddle with their hands and legs… it is possible to transport horses on these rafts, but one at a time only per raft… There appear to be no boats on the Hamoon" (Merk 1885: 155).
330 Christie 1986: 408. See also Rist 1981: 15.
331 Avery 1991: 15.

submission to Safavid overlordship by submitting revenues to Qazvīn.[332] Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 1588–1629) accepted the Kayanid ruler Malik Jalāl al-Dīn I as governor of Sīstān. During this period, Sīstān served the Safavids as a logistic base in their struggles with the Mughals over the possession of Qandahār. [333]

In the early eighteenth century, the declining strength of the Safavid government under Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain (r. 1694–1722) encouraged disturbances in the outlying provinces of the empire. In this process, a number of regional centers of power emerged in the immediate neighborhood of Sīstān. The Hūtak Ghilzai Pashtūns of Qandahār proclaimed their independence in 1709, and conquered Iṣfahān on 11 Muḥarram 1135/22 October 1722. Parallel to the Hūtak conquest of the Safavid heartlands, the Abdālī Pashtūns, already in possession of Herat and Farāh, besieged Mashhad.[334] Against the backdrop of Afghān and Balūch depredations, two sets of Kayanid cousins rose to prominence. In Sīstān, Malik Asadullāh b. Jaʿfar Khān, who had been appointed by Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain in 1124/1712, continued to hold his own. His paternal cousin Malik Ḥusain b. Fatḥ ʿAlī served as Safavid governor of Kirmān until he was displaced by Maḥmūd Hūtak in 1130/1717–18.[335] Subsequently, his younger brother Malik Maḥmūd II carved out a power base for himself in Tūn and Ṭabas, which ultimately allowed him to reach for the possession of Mashhad in Jumādā II 1135/March 1723.[336] His self-proclaimed kingship lasted until 16 Rabīʿ II 1139/11 December 1726, when Nādir, alias Ṭahmāsp Qulī, conquered Mashhad.[337] In Rajab 1139/February 1727, Malik Maḥmūd II was put to death amid allegations that he had instigated a "Tātār" rebellion in Marv from his sanctuary at the shrine of Imām Riżā. Maḥmūd's younger brother Muḥammad ʿAlī and his nephew Isḥāq were likewise done away with.[338]

In 1143/1730, Ṭahmāsp Qulī received Sīstān, Kirmān, Khurāsān and Māzandarān as a grant from Ṭahmāsp II.[339] Even so, the control of local affairs in Sīstān seems to have remained in the hands of the ruling Kayanid family. Following Malik Maḥmūd II's execution, Nādir confirmed Malik Maḥmūd II's cousin and rival Malik Asadullāh as governor of Sīstān.[340] Subsequent to the conquest of Iṣfahān in 1729, Malik Maḥmūd II's nephew Luṭf ʿAlī Khān Sīstānī b. Malik Ḥusain gained this post and assisted Ṭahmāsp Qulī during his campaign against Herat and Farāh in 1731–32 and his second campaign against the Ottomans in 1733.[341] Furthermore, he proved his Kayanid descent by engaging in a heroic and successful effort to rid Mārūchāq of an infestation of wild boars and a man-devouring snake in 1732, as Nādir Shāh's chronicler Muḥammad Kāẓim relates.[342] In the winter and spring of 1736–37, when Sīstān served as a staging ground

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[332] Klinkott 1982: 87–8.

[333] Röhrborn 1966: 42, 73, 81–2; Sīstānī 1990 III: 325–334. See also Tate 1970: 77–78. In 1003/1594–95, Malik Jalāl al-Dīn I erected the fort of Qalʿa-yi Sabz, which was to become known as Jalālābād later on (Sīstānī 1990 III: 329).

[334] Muḥsin 175; T Su 100.

[335] Muḥsin 170.

[336] During his tenure as governor of Kirmān, Malik Ḥusain secured the governorship of Tūn and Ṭabas for Malik Maḥmūd II (Vārid, *Mirʾāt* 118). Despite subsequent Safavid attempts to remove him from the region, Malik Maḥmūd II was able to entrench himself there. In 1132/1719–20, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Afshār, the *bēglerbēgī* of Mashhad, was killed in a military confrontation with Malik Maḥmūd II on the outskirts of Tūn (JN 12–13, Tate 1970: 80). During Maḥmūd Hūtak's siege of Iṣfahān, Malik Maḥmūd II took possession of Yazd (Vārid, *Mirʾāt* 129–30, 144–5; Tate 1970: 81). In the winter of 1722–23, the assassination of ʿAlī Qulī Khān, the *bēglerbēgī* of Mashhad, allowed Malik Maḥmūd II to establish himself there. Muḥsin alternatively dates the assassination of ʿAlī Qulī Khān on 7 Rabīʿ I 1135/16 December 1722 and 13 Jumādā II 1135/19 February 1723 (Muḥsin 176–7; see also Kāẓim 38–9). Malik Maḥmūd II entered Mashhad on 6 Jumādā II 1135/14 March 1723 (Muḥsin 177–9; see also Vārid, *Mirʾāt* 133–9).

[337] JN 82; Muḥsin183.

[338] JN 93–6; Tate 1970: 88. Muḥsin dates this event on 4 Rajab 1139/25 February 1727. He identifies both Malik Isḥāq and Malik Muḥammad ʿAlī as Malik Maḥmūd II's nephews (Muḥsin 184). See also Kāẓim 67; Avery 1991: 15–19, 27; Elphinstone 1992 II: 222; *Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 151 Tate 1970: 88. According to Sīstānī, Nādir Shāh killed 22 members of the Kayanid family (Sīstānī 1990 III: 339).

[339] Malcolm 1815 II: 50.

[340] JN 97; Tate 1970: 88.

[341] Kāẓim 181, 183. After the execution of Malik Maḥmūd II, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān Sīstānī had joined the court of Ashraf Hūtak at Iṣfahān, where he was initially received with honor but was subsequently placed into confinement (JN 98; *Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 151; Tate 1970: 88–9)

[342] Kāẓim 204–5.

for Nādir Shāh's pending campaign against Qandahār, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān lost his life while defending Afsharid interests in Makrān.

Luṭf ʿAlī Khān Sīstānī was succeeded by his brother Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Sīstānī, who served under Nādir Shāh during the campaigns to Qandahār in 1738, as well as to India and Bukhārā in 1739–40.[343] Nādir Shāh's rising tax demands towards the end of his reign caused Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Sīstānī to rebel. In Dhū al-Qaʿda 1159/November–December 1746, he reportedly assumed an independent position in Sīstān, and, "huffed up with pride", asserted his Kayanid descent and his close relationship with Malik Maḥmūd II Sīstānī.[344] Plundering raids to Farāh, Fīrūzkūh, Lāsh-Juvain, and Garmsīr followed. After initial successes against the Nādirīd army near Farāh, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Sīstānī and ʿAbbās Bēg b. Malik Maḥmūd II fell into the hands of the Afshār commander Muḥammad Riżā Khān and were subsequently put to death in Mashhad.[345]

After Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Sīstānī's defeat and death, his allies Mīr Kūchik Sarbandī and Mīr Rustam took position at the mountain fortress of Kūh-i Khvāja. Nādir Shāh's nephew ʿAlī Qulī Khān Afshār was sent against them from Mashhad but found much of Sīstān deserted. As he proceeded to besiege Kūh-i Khvāja he received message after message concerning Nādir Shāh's increasingly deranged state of mind, which caused the king "to turn away from the people of Iran, to ignore the difference between friend and foe, and to kill confidants and strangers alike". When ʿAlī Qulī Khān Afshār discovered that Nādir Shāh also targeted his own kinsmen and had confiscated his family's possessions, he decided to make common cause with the Sīstānī leadership.[346] After extending his authority from Sīstān to include Farāh and Herat, he gained the support of the Kurds of Khabūshān, which in effect allowed him to seize power in the aftermath of the king's assassination on 11 Jumādā II 1160/20 June 1747.[347]

In the turmoil that followed Nādir Shāh's death, the Kayanid family initially interacted with the lords of Mashhad but increasingly found itself in the orbit of Sadūzai interests. Nādir Shāh's grandson Shāh Rukh Afshār awarded the government of Sīstān to Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān's brother Malik Sulaimān b. Ḥusain Khān. Herat was temporarily held by Malik Maḥmūd II's son Jaʿfar. Malik Sulaimān assisted Aḥmad Shāh in his campaigns into Khurāsān and was awarded the government of Qāyin in Shaʿbān 1167/May–June 1754.[348] He further demonstrated his allegiance to Aḥmad Shāh by entering a marriage alliance and formally undertaking to pay tribute and to furnish soldiers.[349] Despite this loose allegiance to Qandahār, local circumstances were affected by the competition between different elite groups in the center. This fostered the emergence of rival factions in Sīstān, foremost among them the chiefs of the Persian-speaking Shahrakī tribe. The conflict came to a head when both the Kayanid and Shahrakī leaders inserted themselves into the power struggle unfolding after Aḥmad Shāh's death in 1772. While the Kayanids backed the unsuccessful pretender Sulaimān Mīrzā, Mīr Bēg Shahrakī sided with the victorious contender Tīmūr Shāh and received the governorship of Sīstān in exchange. Four years later, the Kayanid family regained the governorship of Sīstān but was placed in a subordinate position to Muḥammad Zamān Khān Pūpalzai Durrānī, who governed the province of Lāsh adjoining Sīstān in the north.[350]

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[343] In 1740, Nādir Shāh appointed Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Sīstānī as governor (*ṣāḥib-i ikhtiyār*) of "Nīmrūz" (Kāẓim 765). See also Kāẓim 543, 1015.

[344] Kāẓim 1184. See also Lockhart 1938: 113–14, 253. According to Avery, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Sīstānī's rebellion began in March 1746 (Avery 1991: 50).

[345] Kāẓim 1184–7. See also *Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 151–2; Tate 1970: 90–1.

[346] Kāẓim 1189.

[347] Jones 1771: 123–7.

[348] TA (ed. Humāyūn): 171. See also *Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 152; Tate 1970: 91–2; Tumanovich 1989: 173.

[349] TA (ed. Humāyūn): 211–12. See also Elphinstone 1992 II: 222; Mann 1898: 335; Sīstānī 1990 IV: 3.

[350] Markham 1977: 469. The available sources differ on the question of which member of the Kayanid family was in power in 1776. According to Tate, Malik Sulaimān controlled the affairs of Sīstān until his death in 1196/1781–82 and was succeeded by his sons Malik Muḥammad Nāṣir (d. 1208/1793–94) and Malik Bahrām (Tate 1970: 92–3; see also *Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 152). Other accounts place the beginning of Malik Bahrām's rule in the reign of Tīmūr Shāh (r. 1772–1793) (Wynne 1870a: 27).

Subsequent to the breakup of the Sadūzai Empire into a number of independent principalities in 1818, Sīstān formally acknowledged the supremacy of Herat under the rulership of Shāh Maḥmūd b. Tīmūr Shāh and his son Kāmrān Sadūzai. In keeping with the developments in Afghanistan, Sīstān underwent increasing political segmentation. Kayanid power dwindled during this period. While Malik Bahrām Khān b. Sulaimān reportedly continued to "affect the style and pageantry of a king… his nobles were every day encroaching on his land and power".[351] Based in Jalālābād in the northwest of Sīstān proper, the Kayanid leader and his son Jalāl al-Dīn II faced the competition of a number of powerful tribal leaders, foremost among them the chiefs of the Persian-speaking Sarbandī and Shahrakī tribes.[352] From his fortress at Sikūha, Muḥammad Riżā Khān Sarbandī held sway over the western and southwestern parts of Sīstān proper, while Hāshim Khān Shahrakī controlled Dashtak in the central part. Dūst Muḥammad Khān Nārūy Balūch (d. 1855–56) and his followers were based in Burj-i ʿAlam Khān in the southeastern corner.[353] Outer Sīstān formed the domain of ʿAlī b. Khān Jahān Khān Sanjarānī Balūch, who had received his domain in Chakhānsūr from Shāh Maḥmūd's Muḥammadzai minister Fatḥ Khān in 1810.[354]

In 1834, Malik Bahrām's son Jalāl al-Dīn II was expelled from Sīstān by the leaders of the Shahrakī and Sarbandī tribes. After a vain attempt by Kāmrān b. Shāh Maḥmūd, the Sadūzai ruler of Herat (r. 1829–1840/41), to reinstall Jalāl al-Dīn II in Sīstān, he became a "beggar and exile" living on the "precarious bounty" of the court at Herat.[355] Muḥammad Riżā Khān Sarbandī occupied the Kayanid stronghold of Jalālābād. The ensuing efforts of Kāmrān's minister Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai to regain control of Sīstān were cut short by Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's siege of Herat in 1837–38, and the Sarbandī and Balūch leaders remained undisturbed in their possession of Sikūha and Chakhānsūr.[356]

With the conclusion of the Iranian siege of Herat and the First Anglo-Afghan War of 1839–42, southern and western Afghanistan largely reverted to the division of power that had prevailed in the early nineteenth century. The territorial claims of the rulers of Herat and Qandahār overlapped in Sīstān. While Kāmrān Sadūzai of Herat tried in vain to reinstall the former Kayanid ruler Jalāl al-Dīn II to his erstwhile possessions, Sardār Kuhandil Khān Muḥammadzai of Qandahār (r. 1839–1855) extended his sphere of influence as far as Rūdbār on the lower Hilmand river. Muḥammad Riżā Khān Sarbandī at Sikūha and Ibrāhīm b. Khān Jahān Khān Sanjarānī Balūch at Chakhānsūr remained the two most powerful leaders in the region.[357] Passing through this region in 1845, Ferrier described Muḥammad Riżā Khān's fortress at Sikūha to be "the strongest and most important of Seistan... It contains about twelve hundred houses, each of which would furnish one and in some cases two fighting men. I have called it the capital of Seistan, but it is

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351 Wynne 1870a: 28. According to Tate, Malik Bahrām formally acted as regent of Sulaimān b. Muḥammad Nāṣir (d. 1217/1802–03) but held power in actuality (Tate 1970: 93).

352 The Sarbandīs and Shahrakīs are said to have entered Sīstān at the time of Chingiz Khān. During the reign of Tīmūr Lang, both groups were driven out of the region. The Sarbandīs were resettled in the region of Hamadān but reentered Sīstān under Nādir Shāh in 1730 and established themselves at Sikūha (*Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 265–6). Khanikoff reports that Nādir Shāh transferred the Sarbandīs from Shīrāz to Sīstān (Khanikoff 1864: 395, 397).

353 Tate 1970: 94.

354 Forrest 1906: 36; Tate 1970: 97; Wynne 1870: 31; Todd to Macnagthen, 2 October 1839, IOL, L/PS/20/G10/3 No.4, p. 10. The Sanjarānī Balūch arrived in Garmsīr during the reign of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. During the final decade of the eighteenth century, they were able to enlarge their holdings in the region at the expense of the Nūrzai Durrānīs. While Khān Jahān Khān Sanjarānī occupied the Khāsh district with its chief town Chakhānsūr, his brothers Navvāb Khān and Islām Khān held forts in the Rūdbār region (*Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 254–5).

355 Wynne 1870a: 28. See also KR 73 (Patterson 55–6). According to Todd, Malik Jalāl al-Dīn II was finally expelled from Sīstān in the fall of 1838 (Todd to Macnaghten, 2 October 1839, IOL, L/PS/20/G10/3 No. 4, p. 10).

356 Goldsmid 1876 I: 408; Sīstānī 1990 IV: 4; Wynne 1870a: 28–31. See also Afshār "Sīstānī" 1991: 253, 314–15; T Su 283; Ellis to Palmerston, 30 December 1835 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, p. 12); McNeill to Macnaghten, Tehran, 22 January 1837 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1 No. 50, p. 47). According to Tate, Jalāl al-Dīn II's brother Malik Ḥamza (d. 1263/1847) remained in Sīstān but only enjoyed nominal power. He was linked by a marriage alliance to the Sarbandī chief of Sikūha (Tate 1970: 94).

357 *Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 266; Tate 1970: 98–99; Wynne 1870a: 31–34; Todd to Macnagthen, 2 October 1839, IOL, L/PS/20/G10/3 No.4, p. 10. One of the daughters of Muḥammad Riżā Khān Sarbandī was married to a son of Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai. (Ferrier 1857: 415; Wynne 1870a: 31). Afshār "Sīstānī"'s claim that one of Kāmrān Sadūzai's daughters was married to the son of Muḥammad Riżā Khān's daughter is not borne out by other sources (Afshār "Sīstānī" 1991: 315).

impossible to say how long it may enjoy that title..."[358] Ten years later, in Muḥarram 1273/September 1856, a Persian observer identified Sikūha, Dashtak and Chakhānsūr as political centers. According to this account, the population of Sikūha amounted to 1,000 families, and its citadel was protected by a moat and three cannons. The same source depicts Dashtak as the stronghold of the Shahrakī tribe under Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān. Ibrāhīm Khān Sanjarānī Balūch's fortress at Chakhānsūr was reported to have strong fortifications including a moat and parapeted trenches (*shīr ḥājī*), which contained a citadel and three hundred houses. Another two hundred houses were located outside its walls.[359]

In the late 1840s and 1850s, Sīstān witnessed an increased interference by the rulers of Herat and Qandahār, as well as the entry of Iran as a third, powerful force. When Muḥammad Riżā Khān Sarbandī of Sikūha died in 1848, both Qandahār and Herat intervened in the ensuing power struggle by backing different sets of contenders within the leading Sarbandī family. Muḥammad Riżā Khān's brother ʿAlī Khān Sarbandī successfully solicited assistance from Qandahār and was installed as the chief of Sikūha.[360] By contrast, the efforts of Vazīr Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai of Herat to intervene on behalf of the sons of Muḥammad Riżā Khān were cut short by his death near Lāsh in 1851. The power vacuum created by the death of the Herati ruler allowed Kuhandil Khān of Qandahār to occupy the contended territories of Farāh and Lāsh-Juvain and to exert temporary pressure on Herat.[361]

The outcome of the siege of Herat in 1856 dealt a severe blow to the Qājār endeavor of recovering the former eastern territories of the Safavid kingdom. The Treaty of Paris concluded in 1857 stipulated that the old limits of the province of Herat were to be reestablished. The district of Lāsh-Juvain, which had been occupied by the Iranian forces during their advance on Herat, reverted to its erstwhile governor, Aḥmad Khān Isḥāqzai Durrānī in 1858.[362] In Sīstān, by contrast, Iranian intervention increased steadily. Even prior to the siege of Herat, the provincial government of Khurāsān had established a formal relationship with ʿAlī Khān Sarbandī of Sikūha. While British sources report that ʿAlī Khān, "wearied of being the bone of contention" between Herat and Qandahār, made overtures to the governors of Kirmān and Mashhad as late as 1857,[363] Iranian accounts point to earlier contacts between the leadership of Sīstān and Mashhad. According to Lisān al-Mulk and Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, ʿAlī Khān Sarbandī of Sikūha already contacted Ḥusām al-Salṭana in 1269/1852–53 and offered to protect from Balūch depredations the 72 (!) trade routes passing through his region, in the name of the Qājār government. Shortly after, Ḥusām al-Salṭana dispatched Mīr ʿAlam III Khuzaima of Qāyin with the Qājār lion-and-sun flag to Sīstān. Apart from raising the flag at his fort of Sikūha, ʿAlī Khān sent his son along with the sons of Dūst Muḥammad Khān Nārūy Balūch and Ibrāhīm

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358 Ferrier 1857: 419. In 1872, Major Euan Smith gave the following description of Sikūha: "The town of Sekuha, which derives its name from three clay or mud hills in its midst, is built in an irregular circular form around the base of the two principal hills. The southernmost of these hills is surmounted by the *ark* or citadel, an ancient structure known as the citadel of Mir Kuchak Khán [Mīr Kūchik Sarbandī] (the grandfather of Sardár Ali Khán); which is at present neither armed nor garrisoned, though kept in excellent repair. Adjoining this and connected with it, is the second hill called the Búrj-i-Falaksar, on which stands the present Governor's house; and about 150 yards to the west is the third hill, not so high as the other two, undefended and with no buildings on it but a mud caravanserai. The two principal hills thus completely command the town lying at their base, and are connected with one another by a covered way. Sekuha is quite independent of an extra-mural water supply, as water is always obtainable by digging a few feet below the surface anywhere inside the walls, which are twenty-five feet high, strongly built of mud and in good repair. The houses are half dome-shaped and half flat-roofed, and we noticed that in almost every courtyard were tethered two or more excellent donkeys. The population, which is somewhat migratory, numbers about 5000 all told, living in 1200 houses. The inhabitants are entirely engaged in agriculture, there being no manufactures of any kind, and are grossly ignorant of all matters unconnected with Sistán (Goldsmid 1876 I: 258–9)."

359 Jamālzāda 1964: 200. See also Afshār "Sīstānī" 1991: 454–5; Sīstānī 1990 IV: 7, 10.

360 Both Muḥammad Riżā Khān Sarbandī and ʿAlī Khān Sarbandī maintained a close relationship with the rulers of Qandahār. Upon the conclusion of the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839–1842), ʿAlī Khān had entered the service of Sardār Kuhandil Khān (*Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 266). According to Khanikoff, ʿAlī Khān initially requested assistance from the Qājār court. After being turned away by Prime Minister Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī, he entered the service of Kuhandil Khān (Khanikoff 1864: 398).

361 Kabul Wakil, 30 March 1858, IOL, L/PS/5/265, p. 39. See also Afshār "Sīstānī" 1988: 35; 1991: 315; *Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 266.

362 Khanikoff 1864: 386, 389–90; Kabul Wakil, 30 March 1858, IOL, L/PS/5/265, p. 39.

363 Wynne 1870a: 41.

Khān Sanjarānī Balūch of Chakhānsūr as hostages to Mashhad. During the Iranian siege of Herat of 1856, ʿAlī Khān joined the Iranian camp with 4,000 troops.[364]

"Sardār" ʿAlī Khān Sarbandī's relationship with the Qājār court was put on a firm footing in 1857, when the Sarbandī leader was invited to Tehran, where he was awarded a subsidy and the title of Ḥusām al-Mulk and married a paternal cousin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh.[365] On his return to Sīstān, ʿAlī Khān was accompanied by 300 Iranian cavalry, who, ostensibly serving as an escort for the Qājār princess, also transported uniforms and coining utensils to Sikūha. The transition of Sīstān from an independent entity to a Qājār province seemed perfect when ʿAlī Khān raised a regiment and had coins struck in the name of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh.[366]

The incorporation of Sīstān into Iranian dominions was subsequently called into question by ʿAlī Khān Sarbandī's violent death at the hands of his nephew Tāj Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Riżā Sarbandī.[367] Yet his assassination seems to have been motivated less by opposition to Iranian interference as such than local resentment at ʿAlī Khān's career and mode of government. Upon his assumption of power, Tāj Muḥammad Khān Sarbandī, whose two elder brothers had been blinded by ʿAlī Khān, enjoyed the support of the other chiefs of Sīstān. What is more, he immediately renewed ʿAlī Khān's agreement with the Qājār government. In exchange for submitting his brother as hostage to Tehran, he was recognized chief of Sīstān and received the same title and pay initially conferred on ʿAlī Khān. The remaining leaders of Sīstān, including Ibrāhīm Khān Sanjarānī Balūch of Chakhānsūr, backed this contract by sending their sons to reside at the Qājār capital.[368]

The 1860s were characterized by a mixture of setbacks and successes for the Qājār government. On the one hand, Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān Muḥammadzai's conquest of Herat on 27 May 1863 removed this highly prized object from the Iranian map once and for all. On the other hand, the Amīr's territorial consolidation was called into question by his death barely two weeks later. As Afghanistan was engulfed by a painful war of succession between 1863 and 1868, Tehran was able to advance into Sīstān. This signalled a marked departure from the situation a few years earlier. At the time of Amīr Dūst Muḥammad Khān's westward push in 1862–63, Qājār hold over Sīstān had seemed more than uncertain. In the summer of 1862, the Qājār government reacted to the arrival of the Amīr's agents in Sikūha by despatching dresses of honor and gifts as a symbolic inducement to Tāj Muḥammad Khān Sarbandī to honor his alliance with Tehran. Offers of military support were extended to the governor of Lāsh-Juvain, Aḥmad Khān Isḥāqzai Durrānī, who had taken refuge with the Qājār court in Mashhad at the time.[369]

In June 1866, as the Afghan heir apparent Shīr ʿAlī Khān found his sphere of influence restricted to Qandahār and Herat, 6,000 Qājār troops entered Sīstān. The official reason given for this move were Tāj Muḥammad Khān Sarbandī's failure to prevent Balūch depredations on Qāyin and territorial strife between him and Ibrāhīm Khān Sanjarānī Balūch of Chakhānsūr concerning their respective possessions on the left bank of the Hilmand.[370] When Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh traveled to Khurāsān in spring 1867, Tāj Muḥammad Khān Sarbandī and Aḥmad Khān Isḥāqzai Durrānī of Lāsh-Juvain were summoned to court and deported to Tehran.[371] In July of the same year, the Qājār troops present in Sīstān were replaced by a force of 4,000 men under the command of Mīr ʿAlam III Khuzaima Ḥishmat al-Mulk of Qāyin.[372] Acting in the name of the Qājār government, Mīr ʿAlam III deprived Ibrāhīm Khān Sanjarānī Balūch of his possessions on the left

364 NT 1195, 1311, 1313–14; TMN 1741.
365 Khanikoff 1864: 398–9; Markham 1977: 470. See also Migeod 1990: 103.
366 Wynne 1870a: 32, 41–46. See also Afshār "Sīstānī" 1991: 316; C. E. Yate 1900: 88.
367 Wynne 1870a: 46. According to Tate, ʿAlī Khān Sarbandī was assassinated two years after his return from Mashhad (Tate 1970: 96).
368 Wynne 1870a: 46–8. In 1862, the Persian government paid a total of 7590 rupees in subsidies to the chiefs of Sīstān. For a detailed statement see Eastwick to Alison, 10 October 1862, IOL, L/PS/5/265, p. 56.
369 Wynne 1870a: 54, 58.
370 Tate 1970: 98–9; Wynne 1870a: 70.
371 Wynne 1870a: 70–72. See also Afshār "Sīstānī" 1991: 317.
372 Wynne 1870a: 71. This figure seems exaggerated. According to Euan Smith, Mīr ʿAlam III Ḥishmat al-Mulk only had 400 cavalry at his disposal in 1872 (Goldsmid 1876 I: 268).

bank of the Hilmand and conquered Nād ʿAlī near the right bank of the Hilmand.[373] The destruction of Tāj Muḥammad Khān Sarbandī's former fort at Sikūha and the construction of a Qājār garrison to the north of it by the name of Nuṣratābād in 1870 (present-day Zābul) signalled the incorporation of Sīstān into the Qājār domain.[374]

The late 1860s and early 1870s witnessed competing claims to Sīstān, which focused on the territories on the right bank of the Hilmand river. Having regained control of Kābul with British backing in the winter of 1868–69, Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān reacted to the news of ongoing raids by Balūch groups and the forces of Mīr ʿAlam III of Qāyin on Chakhānsūr, Khāsh and Farāh with confidence. In March 1869, he wrote to the governor of Farāh: "The real question relates to all of Seistan, which from old belonged, and belongs, to the Afghans… I am interesting myself in this question of territory, and am writing to the English Government [about it]."[375] Much of the following discussion between Kābul and Mashhad revolved around Chakhānsūr, whose chief Ibrāhīm Khān Sanjarānī Balūch complained to Shīr ʿAlī Khān in late 1869 that, due to Iranian encroachment, he only retained one-fourth of his ancestral possessions.[376] Ḥamza Mīrzā, at that time governor of Mashhad, on his part, expressed surprise at the notion that Ibrāhīm Khān, who had submitted his son as hostage to Tehran and received a subsidy of 2,000 *tūmān* a year, should consider himself part of the Afghan state.[377]

British sentiments towards Iranian claims to Sīstān underwent several shifts. As late as October 1862, the foreign secretary Lord Russell had coolly informed the Iranian Minister at Constantinople that "Her Majesty's Government do not recognize the sovereignty of Persia over Seistan." Yet a year later, he signalled his permission for the Iranian government to assert authority over this region: "Her Majesty's Government, being informed that the title to the territory of Seistan is disputed between Persia and Affghanistan, must decline to interfere in the matter and must leave it to both parties to make good their possessions by force of arms."[378] Another switch of policy followed in 1870, when the Government of India decided to settle the Iranian-Afghan dispute over the possession of Sīstān and appointed a commission under the leadership of Major General Frederic Goldsmid. While the parting Viceroy Lord Mayo (1869–1872) was sympathetic to Afghanistan's claims to Sīstān, his successor Northbrook (1872–1876) concurred with the position of the British government that it was impossible to undo the facts created by Lord Russell's earlier permission to Iran to assert its authority. In accordance with Northbrook's views, the Government of India sent the following instructions to Goldsmid in April 1872: "Government gathers from papers received that the position is this: Persia holds the chief part of Seistan so firmly that arbitral opinion must be in favour of Persia."[379]

While the current configurations of power formed the point of departure for the Goldsmid arbitration, the local representatives attempted to press their point on the basis of historical evidence. The Iranian side emphasized "ancient rights" in Sīstān dating back to prehistoric times. This projection of an uninterrupted chain of authority from Rustam's ancestors to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh entailed the conclusion that the Afghan claims to Sīstān were an aberration. From the Iranian perspective, the role of the Sadūzai dynasty in founding a separate empire was negated and the Muḥammadzai kings were reduced to rebellious subjects. The Afghan Prime Minister Sayyid Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, on his part, based his argumentation on the incorporation of Sīstān into the Sadūzai Empire after 1747.[380] One of the proofs he adduced for his reasoning was a quote

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373 TMN 1896–7. Nād ʿAlī (30° 59' N 61° 50 E) henceforth served as a Persian frontier post. It is not to be confused with the present town by that name located in the Hilmand Province (*Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 207–11).

374 Büchner, "Sīstān," *E.I., 1*: 491; Wynne 1870a: 71–3; Rist 1981: 4, 16.

375 Political A, Proceedings June 1869, Nos. 368–9, IOL, L/PS/5/265, p. 77.

376 Wynne 1870a: 81.

377 Wynne 1870a: 81, 84, 87. The amount mentioned by Ḥamza Mīrzā seems to be an exaggeration. According to British sources, Ibrāhīm Khān Sanjarānī Balūch received a yearly subsidy of 500 rupees (Wynne 1870a: 56).

378 Wynne 1870a: 64–5.

379 Chakravarty 1976: 112–14.

380 Goldsmid 1876 I: 396, 399, 401–2.

from Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat's *Tārīkh-i raużat al-ṣafā-yi nāṣirī* to the effect that Sīstān lay beyond Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Qājār's reach in 1214/1800.[381]

Goldsmid based his arbitration on a mixture of geographical and historical reasoning. Yet, while the argumentations he adopted in both fields seemed to favor the claims of the Afghan government, he ended up awarding the more populous and fertile region of Sīstān proper to Iran. In his search of "a good natural frontier," he reached the conclusion that "[g]eographically, Sistán is clearly part of Afghánistán". Reviewing the historical claims of both sides, he also dismissed any "abstract right" of Iran on the basis of ancient associations. As for the more recent history, the Sadūzai occupation of the region seemed on a par with the authority the Safavids had enjoyed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Concerning the developments of the nineteenth century, Goldsmid felt that neither Afghanistan nor Iran had been able to substantiate their claims to authority:

> Persia has exercised no interference in the internal administration of Sistán from the days of Nadir Shah until a very recent date… But while, in my opinion, Afghánistán has the advantage in claims on the score of an intermediate tenure, superseding that of Nadir Shah or the Safavian Kings, it cannot be denied that from year to year she has been relaxing her hold over Sístan; and this has been evinced in a marked manner since the death of the Wazír Yar Muhammad [Yār Muḥammad Khān Alakūzai of Herat in 1851].[382]

Goldsmid's decision to regard the final stretch of the Hilmand as the dividing line between the Iranian and Afghan spheres of influence was in great part guided by the facts the Iranian invasion of 1866–67 had created. While Iran had established "absolute possession" over Sīstān proper, it was required to evacuate its garrison in Nād ʿAlī. Upriver from the Band-i Sīstān, both banks of the Hilmand were to remain with Afghanistan.[383]

On the basis of Goldsmid's arbitration, 300 km of frontier were delineated but not demarcated.[384] The results met with little enthusiasm by either of the parties concerned. Although Iran gained control of a major portion of the contested territory which Curzon later described as "the only really valuable and lucrative portion of the country", her representatives were deeply dissatisfied with the result.[385] Perhaps in a last-ditch attempt at bargaining, they rekindled the lost cause of recreating the frontiers of the Safavid Empire: "Persia… must have the whole of the Province as it existed in the time of the Safavean monarchs, or none at all." The Afghan commissioner, on his part, bitterly remarked that "it was quite impossible that an Afghan and a Persian should live in the same house together."[386] Meanwhile, in Afghanistan, Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān bristled at Northbrook's plan to sweeten the loss of the lands on the left bank of the Hilmand by the award of a compensatory one-time allowance of 500,000 rupees.[387] Eventually, the Afghan ruler signed the treaty in October 1873, after receiving an indemnity of 1.5 milllion rupees.[388]

Conclusion

Goldsmid's endeavor to delimit the respective spheres of influence in Sīstān highlighted the difficult transition both the Iranian and the Afghan governments were undergoing. Both states experienced a political reality that stood in a stark contrast to earlier, imperial notions of power that had involved the loose incorporation of far-flung territories with a minimum of administrational penetration. From a historical perspective, Iran and Afghanistan grappled with a dramatic process of shrinkage, in the course of which

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381 Kashani-Sabet 1999: 35–36. The passage in question concerns the mission of Shāh Zamān's envoy Ṭurra Bāz Khān to the court of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in early 1214/summer 1799 to discuss the position of Khurāsān (TRSN IX: 361). See also Chapter 4.

382 Goldsmid 1876 I: 411.

383 Goldsmid 1876 I: 412–13. Also known as Band-i Kuhak, the Band-i Sīstān (30° 48' N 61° 46 E) was a seasonal dam and served to divert the waters of the Hilmand river into the Rūd-i Sīstān, one of the main arteries of the oasis. (*Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 126).

384 Balland, "Boundaries," *E.Ir.* IV: 413.

385 Curzon 1966 I: 233. For a recent assessment of the Goldsmid arbitration, see Hopkins 2007.

386 Kashani-Sabet 1999: 35–36, footnote 122.

387 Chakravarti 1976: 114–15; Curzon 1966 I: 233.

388 Balland, "Boundaries," *E.Ir.* IV: 413.

memories of past grandeur gave way to a tight corset of fixed borders. In the light of the territorial losses to Russia embodied by the treaties of Gulistān and Turkmānchāy in 1813 and 1828 respectively, the famed Prime Minister Mīrzā Abū al-Qāsim Qāʾim Maqām (1834–1835) described Iran as a "constricted kingdom" (*mulk-i mukhtaṣar*) exposed to pressure from Russia in the north and from the Ottoman empire in the west.[389] For Afghanistan, the Sīstān arbitration coincided with the Clarendon-Gorchakov Agreement, which designated the Āmū Daryā as border between Afghanistan and the Russian spheres of influence without soliciting Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān's opinion.

In the course of the Sīstān negotiations, both the Afghan and the Iranian commissioners faced the odd task of adducing historical evidence to back up their governments' territorial claims. As part of their endeavor to fill the required space with instances of control, the negotiators attempted to tap historical eras of either "Afghan" or "Iranian" expansion. The evidence thus provided ironically harked back to times when Sīstān was only loosely incorporated into early modern polities which could and would not penetrate local power structures. The Qājār and Muḥammadzai governments, by contrast, needed to redefine the workings of government in a setting increasingly circumscribed by linear borders.[390]

The Qājār attempt to extend control into Sīstān passed through a quick succession of phases. During the period from 1851–1857, the government contented itself with a token presence expressed by the dispatch of the royal flag and, shortly thereafter, the conclusion of a "package deal" comprising the bestowal of royal favors in exchange for expressions of fealty such as the minting of coins. After 1866, the Iranian government assumed direct control over the region by dispatching soldiers, removing the Sarbandī leadership, and establishing a permanent garrison at Nuṣratābād. Muẓaffar al-Daula,[391] who headed the first Qājār campaign to Sīstān in 1866, attempted to consolidate Qājār dominance by eradicating all written evidence which, reflecting earlier constellations of power, might pose a challenge to the territorial claims advanced by the court of Tehran. On the pretense of honoring the existing pattern of landownership, Muẓaffar al-Daula ordered the leaders of the "old families" to submit all available documents to prove their hereditary rights. The documents thus gathered were torn up and allowed to be scattered by "the wind of 120 days" characteristic of the region.[392] Sīstān and Balūchistān were declared crown lands.[393]

All the same, the Qājār endeavor to establish central control in Sīstān highlighted the limited capacities the state had at its disposal. Far from strengthening the central hold over this outlying region, the government in Tehran continued to rely on local intermediaries as administrators and thus enhanced the position of existing tribal elites. From 1867 on, the administration of Sīstān rested with Mīr ʿAlam III Khuzaima of Qāyin, who thus added nine and a half districts to his dominion and became one of the most powerful local leaders within the Qājār realm.[394] At the time of his death in 1891, his possessions were divided up between his sons Mīr ʿAlī Akbar Khuzaima, who inherited his title of "Ḥishmat al-Mulk" and the government of Sīstān, Tūn and Ṭabas, and Mīr Ismāʿīl II Khuzaima, who received the title of "Shaukat al-Mulk" and the government of Qāyin.[395] Afghan Sīstān, by contrast, was left to its own devices until Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān (r. 1880–1901) embarked on a forceful policy of territorial consolidation. As Ibrāhīm Khān Sanjarānī Balūch staunchly refused to acknowledge the new state of affairs, the Amīr deposed him in 1882 and established an army garrison in Chakhānsūr. Ibrāhīm Khān became a "wanderer" in Iranian Sīstān and, after a vain attempt to stir up a rebellion against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān in 1893, he died on Iranian territory later

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389 Kashani-Sabet 1999: 30.

390 Hopkins aptly describes this process as a "fundamental transformation of political order from tributary to territorial" (Hopkins 2007: 251).

391 This title was also awarded to the Qandahār Sardār Sultān ʿAlī b. Kuhandil Khān by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1269/1852 (NT 1206).

392 Sutūda, Introduction, *Iḥyāʾ al-mulūk* 16–17.

393 Lambton 1999: 484. In 1889, Sīstān contributed 26,000 *tūmān* in cash and 24,000 *kharvārs* of grain to the total revenue of Khurāsān (Curzon 1892 I: 201).

394 Curzon 1966: I: 200; Stewart 1886a: 139–40. See also Afshār "Sīstānī" 1991: 460; Merk 1886: 157; Migeod 1990: 63 Wynne 1870a: 71–2.

395 *Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 256; Sykes 1902b: 150–1; C. E. Yate 1900: 66.

in the same year.[396] Meanwhile, the Amīr imposed a system of government appointed *kadkhudās* (headmen) and *sarḥadd-dārs* (frontier officers). As a result, the Balūch of Afghan Sīstān, formerly dreaded for their wide-range depredations on camelback,[397] were pacified to such a degree that even children could drive their lambs along the frontier in safety without risking depredations of any kind.[398]

396 *Gaz. Afghanistan* II: 256–8.
397 Ferrier 1857: 280.
398 Yate 2003: 146. See also Kakar 1979: 65.

Concluding Remarks

In the preceding pages I have attempted to reconstruct the history of Herat and the ways in which it related to, and was embedded in, larger territorial and political frameworks. Special attention has been paid to the manner in which the region was perceived and represented during the period between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. Spatial relations may be analyzed from different angles. From the vantage point of the *Annales* school, it is the geographical setting and its physical conditions that provide the framework for human action.[1] Other approaches assign a greater role to human strategies and social conceptions in an ongoing creation and negotiation of space. From this perspective, space becomes a function of the social relationships and forces of production.[2] Emanations and representations of power are a vital element in this nexus.[3] Spaces are further enriched by the formation and perpetuation of cultural memories which endow them with an intrinsic value and in turn reinforce collective social identities.[4]

Given the fact that only certain phases and aspects of the history of Herat have been treated so far, this study explores the complexities connected with the notions of space on two levels. One important concern in the "mapping" of Khurāsān has been to outline the political developments and to determine the position of Herat within the prevailing configurations of power. The second strand of investigation revolves around the concomitant notions of space and territory. The resulting narrative is largely determined by the manner in which the terrain is depicted in the available Persian chronicles. From the nineteenth century on, British documents and European travelogues constitute additional sources of information.

The density and focus of the information on Khurāsān varies greatly. The prominent position Herat enjoyed in Timurid times is reflected in the available historiography. Throughout this period the city is central both in terms of exercise of power and of the sort of representation it receives. The resulting grid of information is relatively fine; it allows for a close look at the system of irrigation, administrational units, and other such specifications. In later times, Herat recedes to the sidelines of the historical narrative. Sources tend to take on a wide-angle approach and to highlight the dynamic and dynastic aspects of power rather than administrational minutiae. With the advent of modernity the relationship between sovereignty and the concepts of territory undergoes a decisive modification. At this point, the narrative shifts to the difficult transition from a setting of loosely negotiated allegiances to the notion of state power as linked to a clearly delimited territory.

HERAT AND KHURĀSĀN IN EARLY MODERN PERCEPTIONS

Designated spaces are typically described on the basis of their outlines. This also holds true for the eastern and northeastern boundaries of Khurāsān. Given its literal meaning as "the place where the sun rises", Khurāsān carried the general connotation of the "eastern territory" or, loosely formulated, "anywhere east" in relation to western Persia or ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam. In the extreme east and northeast this space was perceived to be bounded by rivers. The Indus (Sind, Mihrān) served as the dividing line between Khurāsān and Hind/Hindūstān, or northern India,[5] whereas the Oxus was generally seen as the northeastern delimitation. This view is reflected by the late tenth-century Persian geography entitled *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, which delineates Gurgān in the west, the Oxus in the north and India in the east as the boundaries of Khurāsān.[6] The perception of the Oxus as the northern limit is shared by the contemporaneous Arab geographer Ibn Ḥauqal.[7]

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[1] Febvre 1974: 66.
[2] Lefebvre 2003.
[3] Hochmuth & Rau 2006: 27; Power & Standen 1999: 1.
[4] Fragner 1999: 11.
[5] C. E. Bosworth, "Khurāsān." *E.I., 2* V: 56; S. Maqbul Ahmad, "Hind." *E.I., 2* III: 404–9.
[6] *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* 102, 325.
[7] Kramers & Wiet 1964: 413–99.

Under the Safavids the river not only represented the border of Khurāsān; it also coincided with claims to sovereignty. In 1511 the first Safavid ruler Shāh Ismāʿil I. (r. 1501–1524) fixed the Oxus as the border between the Safavid and Uzbek spheres of interest.[8] Throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Khurāsān was described as extending all the way from Qazvīn/Simnān in the west to the border (*sarḥadd*) of Qandahār in the east and the Oxus in the northeast.[9]

The perception of the Oxus as the delimitation of different geographical spheres helped to shape notions of political space. However, the river itself hardly presented a barrier in practical terms and did not prevent movement or military expansion in either direction. In the course of the competition for Khurāsān, countless troops traversed it with ease. While Khurāsān and Transoxiana were perceived to be separate realms, military action across this divide primarily met with ecological obstacles. The desert extending up to the western bank of the river presented a much greater challenge to invading armies than the river itself. In the existing historiography, the Oxus certainly does not figure as an embattled line of defense. The relative insignificance of borders is also discernable in other medieval and early modern settings. On the basis of his translation of Al-Idrisī's *Book of Roger* and the study of travelogues, Ralph Brauer observes that "apart from sea frontiers, sharply defined boundary lines within the Islamic Empire were either non-existent or of little practical importance." Given the strong urban orientation of the medieval Islamic Empire, he reaches the conclusion that "the projections of power over the territory of a given ruler was not uniform but rather radiated from his urban center(s) in ever diminishing intensity as the distance from the capital towns increased."[10]

Herat furnishes a prime example for the fact that the rather loose definition of space on the fringes of empires was offset by painstaking attention to the internal divisions of the fertile centers. Several sources document that a close account was kept of the economic assets of the province. Thus Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's categorization of agricultural units on the basis of the intensity of production and the number of villages and hamlets making up an administrational unit conveys a clear linkage between territory, local patterns of production and the tax base. This grid information is further honed by descriptions of the irrigation system of the oasis proper. Qāsim b. Yūsuf's tax register details the units of irrigation and the amount of water apportioned. Based on the course and maintenance of irrigation channels, the resulting districts (*bulūk*) were defined from within, and their outlines were determined by the availability and reach of water. The extent and number of these administrative units were a function of patronage and security; they rose and fell along with the degree of political stability, or lack thereof.

Another measured entity was associated with the highroads connecting the important urban centers. The fourteenth-century geographer Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī attributed the institution of the prevailing length unit (*farsakh*, *farsang*) to the mythical Kayanid king Kai Qubād.[11] In more recent times, the Ilkhanid ruler Ūljāitū (r. 1304–1316) had metered a number of roads and set up milestones. Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī's description of the routes radiating out from Ūljāitū's capital of Sulṭānīya includes the highroads traversing Khurāsān.[12] A uniting feature of these descriptions is that they merely list the most important cities along these routes and the distances separating them. In this type of portrayal, the region is conceived of as a sequence of points and the intervening space only figures in terms of time and distance. Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī's *Nuzhat al-qulūb* also deals with the cities of Khurāsān and their noteworthy sites. This focus on towns rather than on the countryside in between can also be observed in early modern European travelogues.[13] Yet other sections of Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī's work discuss larger geographical features, such as mountains, rivers, lakes, and seas, in an encyclopedic fashion.

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[8] AM 139.

[9] AT 154; HS IV: 553; AM 166. See also Röhrborn 1966: 16, 103–104, 112.

[10] Brauer 1995: 36, 42–3. See also Ellenblum 2002: 107. Yet there also are historical examples for rivers forming a hotly contested boundary line. See Amitai-Preiss for the Euphrates as the focus of the frontier strategies adopted by the Mongols and Mamluks from 1260–1320 (Amitai-Preiss 1999).

[11] Wiesehöfer traces the term *farsang* to *parasange*, which apparently denoted a sort of "milestone" in Achaemenid times (Wiesehöfer 2005: 117).

[12] Le Strange 1993: 160–1, 168–172. See also Melville 1990: 57.

[13] Landwehr 2008: 104, 109, 111, 116–17, 121, 130.

Contrary to the rather static image offered by geographical accounts and tax registers, the chronicles primarily portray the lands of Khurāsān as a backdrop for the court in motion. A common feature of the Iranian courts was that they were "itinerant" and "military" by nature. This characterization broadly applies to all the ruling dynasties from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries.[14] Driven by the need to provide for large bodies of cavalry, the king and his retinue engaged in a pattern of constant movement between winter quarters (*qishlāq*) and summer quarters (*yailāq*). Within this frame of action, the available pastures (*ulang*, *chaman*) constituted vital coordinates. The map determined by the pastoral environment was of a dual nature. Known by specific names, the grazing grounds constituted fixed entities in space. But as their availability fluctuated according to season and frequentation, they were also relational in character. This phenomenon created what Lattimore has coined as the "sovereign importance of movement": In order to survive, Mongol groups had to lay claim to a larger network of grazing grounds and to the routes of migration between them.[15] The Ilkhanid court likewise "steadily ate its way round the country".[16]

Aside from being motivated by ecological constraints, the onward motion played a crucial role in the representation and assertion of royal authority. The immediate presence of the court gave substance to territorial claims and affirmed vital alliances with the local leadership. The royal realm was actualized and became tangible by the physical attendance of the influential military commanders and their participation in courtly activities: The ceremonies involving formal submission and the granting of royal favors, the exclusive circle formed during hunting expeditions and other such ritualized activities served to map and enforce relationships of power.[17] The field of gravity created by this exchange of patronage and allegiance found its practical expression in the positions the individual leaders assumed in the battle order during military action.

The nexus of royal power and perceptions of space receives a different treatment in the fifteenth-century sources concerning the city of Herat and its surroundings. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū and Isfizārī portray Herat and its central position by means of two interlinked themes. Both authors attribute the prosperity of the region to the combined effects of geographical position and royal patronage leading to a mutually reinforcing cycle of beneficial effects: Given its uniquely favorable environment, Herat was predestined to be the political and spiritual nave of Khurāsān. The protection granted by the Timurid kings in turn fostered the economic well-being of the region and furthered its attractiveness as a center of learning and religiosity. As portrayed by the authors of the time, the combination of natural factors and just rule produced a sense of intrinsic coherence.

This mode of representation crystallizes around two themes. The first theme highlights the worldly and religious buildings erected and maintained by the Timurids. These edifices are portrayed as physical representations of royal power, and endowed with mighty proportions. Isfizārī places the turrets of the citadel of Herat in immediate contact with the signs of the zodiac and confers sky-high dimensions on the Friday mosque. These images of Timurid strength are rounded off with the depiction of a number of impregnable fortresses occupying strategic positions around Herat. The firmness of the fortress of Naratū is emphasized by the fact that it withstood a seven-year siege despite the fact that its only inhabitant was a cock crowing on its ramparts. The invincibility of the castle of Khaisār is illustrated by an anecdote that not even Chingiz Khān dared to besiege it for fear of defeat.

The second theme celebrates the uniqueness of the Herati setting by describing its agricultural wealth and lush vegetation. The meadows dotting the landscape around the city are depicted by means of a conventional imagery and likened to Paradise. Focus is further laid on the unique qualities of the local fruits, which will only thrive and develop their full flavor if cultivated in situ. Halva ingredients likewise lose their specific character if exported to other regions. While Isfizārī mentions numerous fine types of grapes, melons form the centerpiece of his culinary orbit. The value attached to this fruit also sheds light on court life and royal

[14] See Morgan 1988: 35–6 on the Saljūqs and Melville 1990 on the Īlkhāns.
[15] Lattimore 1962: 535. See also Ruggie 1993: 149.
[16] Melville 1990: 63.
[17] See Schlögl for the significance of communication patterns for the formation and enactment of political power in early modern urban society (2004a: 21–4, 27–28).

pastimes. Certain kinds of melon were considered luxury goods and served as costly items of exchange. Particular prestige was attached to the *bābā shaikhī* melons, which were submitted to the grandees of Herat as gifts. In Isfizārī's time the melon harvest was one of the factors determining the movements of the court: The king and his retinue preferably visited the famous centers of production to obtain their share of this produce. Finally, Isfizārī's account endows the melon with a symbolical value. The repeated mention of the size of the fruit and of its abundance underlines the prosperity and affluence associated with Timurid rule. This linkage between temporal power and agricultural production notwithstanding, the fine quality of the local melons was to prove a more enduring feature of Herat than many of the buildings erected by the Timurids. In 1740 the Kashmirian traveler ʿAbd al-Karīm mainly observed signs of desolation in the urban fabric but still noted the inimitable quality of the local melons.

One recurrent theme in the Persian literature is the construction of Herat and its dependencies as an Iranian space. Many accounts people the region with mythical Iranian figures and embed it in an Iranian topography. One common element is an Arabic saying which locates Herat within a network of other association-laden Iranian territories: "If the soil of Isfahan, the north wind of Herat and the water of Khvārazm were combined, the local population would enjoy an everlasting life."[18] Another field of meaning is created by frequent references to the legendary Kayanid dynasty, which figures as the forefathers of the Jamshīdī *ūymāq* and the leading lineage of Sīstān. The eighteenth-century author Muḥammad Kāẓim Marvī constructs the lands around Herat as an entirely mythical sphere, in which a man-eating serpent is done away with by a hero of Kayanid descent and the rebellious tribal leadership ignores the hostile activities of Nādir Shāh's troops, while leisurely reciting the poetry of ʿUmar Khayyām on unassailable mountain tops.

MODERN NOTIONS OF TERRITORIALITY

The nineteenth century witnessed a fundamental shift in political paradigms: The perception of the state as a system based on personal bonds of loyalty ("Personenverband") gave way to the notion of the state as a territorially fixed entity. As part of this process, variegated and competing patterns of authority were replaced with a unified and centralized government.[19] In the context of the Iranian and Afghan polities, the development of modern state structures owed its momentum largely to the impact of colonial intervention.

In early modern states, relationships of power tend to be fluid. In this setting, the political space is determined by an ongoing bargaining process between the king and his military aristocracy. The political system hinges on the maintenance of a web of personal allegiances, which in turn generates a high degree of decentralization and segmentation. Yet this phenomenon does not translate into uniform weakness. It is rather the scope of intervention that varies in different settings and at different times. In the early modern environment, the focus rests on the resources that the urban centers and their fertile hinterland have to offer. The exercise of power is intermittent and mediated by local elites, which control such local assets as trade routes and agricultural land in exchange for military service.[20] The early modern domain is charted by a pattern of movement which serves a twofold purpose: Reviving existing bonds of loyalty and feeding the troops. The constant mobility of the royal court serves to link the important coordinates of the realm and thus enhances the dimensionality of space and terrain. In this environment, regional boundaries are largely peripheral to the exercise of power.

In modern polities, the focus shifts to the outlines of the state: The territory is staked out by means of clearly demarcated borders, which embody the extent of sovereignty and simultaneously contain the inhabitants. In many ways, the properties associated with borders assume physical characteristics. Ideally speaking, they function as a vessel, protecting the population from external aggression on the one hand and

[18] Variations of this saying have been recorded by Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī in the fourteenth century, Ibn Valī in the seventeenth century, Shīrvānī and Iʿtiżād al-Salṭana in the nineteenth century (Le Strange 1993: 150*;* Akhmedov 1977: 82, *Riyāż al-siyāḥat 419; Vaqāyiʿ va savāniḥ* 26).

[19] Poggi 1978: 19–31, 86–108; Ruggie 1993: 149–51.

[20] Bayly 2004: 31; Ellenblum 1999: 107–8.

preventing it from evading the state's claim on its loyalty on the other.[21] This imagery has indeed entered local modernist discourses. In the early twentieth century, the Afghan intellectual Maḥmūd Ṭarzī (1865–1933) constructed an interdependence between "homeland" (*vaṭan*) and "nation" (*millat*) by likening the first to a receptacle (*ẓarf*) and the second to its contents (*maẓrūf*): Just as a vessel without contents is of no use, the contents without its vessel would fall from a state of collectedness into confusion.[22]

In the framework of this study, the transition from early modern to modern polities is highlighted by the genesis of Afghanistan as a national entity. While the neighboring states carrying the suffix *–stān* were created in the course of the twentieth century, the term *afghānistān* can be traced back to the early fourteenth century. Yet the formation of the modern political unit known by that name did not occur before the nineteenth century. In the Persian chronicles, this term is applied to region inhabited by Pashtūns (*afghān*, *afāghina*). In his account of the Mongol period, Saif al-Haravī uses the designation of Afghānistān in contradistinction to Khurāsān. He reports that 50,000 troops were raised in Khurāsān, Jibāl-i Turkistān, Shabūrghān (Shibarghān), and Afghānistān for Chingiz Khān's army in Shavvāl 618/November–December 1221.[23] The same author informs us that Afghānistān constituted the easternmost portion of the province of Herat: In 649/1251, the newly elected Great Khān Möngke awarded the city of Herat and its dependencies, comprising all the regions extending to the Oxus and Indus, to the founder of the Kart dynasty, Malik Shams al-Dīn (r. 643–675/1245–1276).[24] Saif al-Haravī's description of Shams al-Dīn's military campaign to Bhakkar in 657/1259 confirms the impression that the region of Afghānistān adjoined the Indus at that time.[25] This notion is taken up by seventeenth-century Safavid sources, which place Afghānistān in the Mughal realm. The Safavid geography *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd* speaks of Kābul and "Afghānistān-i Hind" in contradistinction to Khurāsān.[26]

While modern nationalist discourses identify Aḥmad Shāh Sadūzai as the founder of present-day Afghanistan, the Persian sources of the time do not yield any evidence that this term gained currency as a state designation during the eighteenth century. Aḥmad Shāh was generally addressed as the "ruler of Iran, Tūrān, Khurāsān, the eastern territories, and Hindūstān".[27] His successor Tīmūr Shāh likewise styled himself as "king of the countries of Hind and the territories of Turkistān, the ruler of the region of Sind and the realm

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[21] Bayly 2004: 31–2, 37, 247–8. See also Chandler 1998:18–19.

[22] Maḥmūd Ṭarzī 341.

[23] Saif al-Haravī 1943: 76–7.

[24] As recounted by Saif al-Haravī, Malik Shams al-Dīn's visit to Möngke's court in Turkistān highlights the encounter between the Persianate and the Mongol worlds. Swayed by Shams al-Dīn's Iranian manners (*ba-rasm-i ʿajam*), his eloquence and "sweet words" (*faṣīḥ va shīrīn sukhan*), Möngke Khān expressed his willingness to bestow on him all the regions in Iran and Tūrān he desired. Eventually he granted the province of Herat to the Kart ruler: *Malik Shams al-Dīn Kart-rā… [ba] malikī-yi shahr-i Harāt… va tavābiʿ-i ū chūn Jām va Bākharz va Kūsūya va Kh-R-H (?) va Fūshanj va Āzāb va Tūlak va Ghūr va Fīrūzkūh va Gharjistān va Murghāb va Fāryāb va Marjaq [Mārūchāq] tā āb-i Āmūy va Isfizār va Farāh va Sijistān va Tigīnābād va Kābul va Tīrāh va Bustistān va Afghānistān tā shaṭṭ-i Sind va ḥadd-i Hind firistādīm* (Saif al-Haravī 1943: 162–9; Saif al-Haravī 2002: 41; Saif al-Haravī 2006: 196–202; see also Isfizārī I: 410).

[25] In a message to the governor of Bhakkar, Malik Shams al-Dīn asserted that he controlled all of Afghānistān up to the banks of the Indus: *Tamāmat-i ahl-i qilāʿ va biqāʿ-i Afghānistān tā ḥadd-i Sind va Hind baʿżī righbatan va ikhtiyāran va qaumī qahran va qasran ba kharājgudhārī va farmānbardārī-yi mā ba dam va qadam āthār-i khidmat ba iẓhār rasānīdand* (Saif al-Haravī 1943: 251). These territorial designations retained their validity in Ilkhanid times. In 714/1315, Afghānistān once again figured among the territories the Kartid ruler Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn I (r. 707–729/1308–1328/29) received from the Ilkhanid ruler Ūljāitū (r. 703–716/1304–1316). The possessions assigned to Ghiyāth al-Dīn comprised the "land of Herat to the furthest reaches of Afghānistān and the limit of the Oxus" (*khiṭṭa-yi Harāt-rā tā aqṣā-yi Afghānistān va ḥadd-i Āmū badū mufavvaż kard* (Saif al-Haravī 1943: 619–20; Saif al-Haravī 2002: 139; Saif al-Haravī 2006: 626)).

[26] *Mukhtaṣar-i Mufīd* describes Sīstān as bounded by Khurāsān in one direction, and by Kābul and Afghānistān-i Hind in the other (I: 281). Iskandar Munshī mentions "Fūshanj" (Pishīn) as part of Afghānistān in connection with the activities of the Safavid governor ʿAlī Mardān Khān in 1628–1629 (IM, *Dhail* 76). Against the backdrop of the Safavid campaign to Qandahār in the winter of 1648–49, Valī Qulī Shāmlū refers to *Afghānistān-i Tarakī va ʿAlīkhēl* (*Qiṣaṣ al-khāqānī* I 341).

[27] *Farmānravā-yi Īrvān [sic] va Tūrān va Khurāsān va khāvarān va Hindūstān* (Petition of ʿAlī Riżā Khān Shīrvānī (d. 1183/1769–70), the leader of the Qizilbāsh of Qandahār, to Aḥmad Shāh, no date, quoted in Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 724).

of Tūrān".[28] In the early nineteenth century Tīmūr Shāh's son Shāh Zamān mentioned the "Afghan kingdom" (*mamlakat-i afghānīya*) and described it as a realm embracing "Khurāsān and part of India including Kashmīr, Lahore, Sind, Multān and Shikārpūr all the way to the great ocean, Qandahār, Balkh up to the banks of the Oxus, the limits of Bukhārā, as well as the *dār al-salṭana* of Herat as far as the limits of ʿAjam".[29]

The loose definition of the Sadūzai realm as comprising "Iran" or "Khurāsān", as well as "Turkistān" and "Hindūstān" is also taken up by contemporaneous accounts, such as the *Tārīkh-i aḥmadshāhī*.[30] The divergent territories making up the Sadūzai kingdom could only be tied together by a rapid succession of military campaigns and a constant reinvigoration of the personal allegiances between the king and the local leadership. As Aḥmad Shāh's successors lacked both the personal and military resources necessary for the maintenance of this difficult equilibrium between center and periphery, the Sadūzai kingdom underwent a gradual process of shrinkage, which accelerated towards the turn of the nineteenth century. Shāh Zamān's energies were entirely consumed in the effort to safeguard his Indian possessions. Durrānī claims were hardly enforced in the western parts of Khurāsān, where the nascent Qājār Empire increasingly made its influence felt. This is reflected by Shāh Zamān's correspondence with Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Qājār, in which he referred to his realm as "the mighty Durrani kingdom" (*daulat-i qāhira-yi durrānīya*) or the "guarded domains of the Durrānīs" (*mamālik-i maḥrūsa-yi durrānīya)*. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, by contrast, opted for the more modest designation of the Durrānī state as the "kingdom of the Afghans" (*daulat-i afāghina*).[31]

The ongoing shrinkage notwithstanding, the older territorial designations for the Sadūzai realm lingered on. In 1233/1818, when the Indian dependencies of Kashmīr and Ḏērajāt were about to slip from the control of Kābul, Boukhary still described the truncated kingdom as comprising "Khurāsān" and "Hindūstān".[32] The equation of the Afghan realm with Khurāsān even survived the dramatic territorial losses that coincided with the fall of the Sadūzais and the rise of the Muḥammadzai dynasty in the 1820s. As late as 1855, the Afghan historian ʿAṭāʾ Muḥammad Shikārpūrī consistently referred to the much reduced Muḥammadzai realm as Khurāsān.[33]

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the term "Afghanistan" resurfaced and soon assumed a political connotation. British authors were the first to employ this designation for the Afghan kingdom. Writing in 1798, the British traveler Forster referred to the extensive territory ascribed to the Sadūzai rulers of Kābul as Afghanistan.[34] Forster's description of this space also includes assessments of the peculiar features of its inhabitants, in particular their unruliness, which was to become a major theme in the evolving British discourse on Afghanistan:

> The Afghans are the indigenous possessors of a tract of country, which stretches from the mountains of Tartary to certain parts of the gulf of Cambay and Persia; and from the Indus to the confines of Persia. The inhabitants of this wide domain, have no written character and speak a language peculiar to themselves. They are a robust, hardy race of men, and being generally addicted to a state of predatory warfare, their manners largely partake of a barbarous insolence, and they avow a fixed contempt for the occupations of civil life.[35]

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[28] *Shah-i mamālik-i Hind va bilād-i Turkistān, khadīv-i dāvar-i Sind va qalamrau-yi Tūrān* (Certificate of Tīmūr Shāh's wedding with Khadīja Sulṭān, the daughter of the ʿAbbās Qulī Khān Bayāt, the governor of Nīshāpūr, on 1 Jumādā I 1201/19 February 1787, as quoted in Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 391, Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 268).

[29] *Mamlakat-i afghānīya-rā ki Khurāsān va baʿż-i Hindūstān tā Kashmīr va Lāhūr va Sind va Multān va Shikārpūr tā kinār-i baḥr-i aʿẓam va Qandahār va Balkh tā lab-i Jaiḥūn ḥudūd-i Bukhārā va dār al-salṭana-yi Harāt tā ḥudūd-i mulk-i ʿajam… musakhkhar namūdam*. Shāh Zamān gave this description of his former realm 17 years after his deposition in 1801 (Shāh Zamān to Rashīd Pāshā on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Mecca, Muḥarram 1234/November 1818, quoted in *Āryānā* 1343/1964, pp. 28–30; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 548–50).

[30] TA (Humāyūn) 8; (ed. Saidmuradov) fol. 11a.

[31] See the correspondence between Shāh Zamān and Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1214–15/1799–1800 as reproduced in Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 139, 140, 142.

[32] Boukhary, Persian text, p. 4.

[33] *Navā-yi maʿārik*, introduction by Ahmad ʿAlī Kūhzād, p. III.

[34] Forster 1798 II: 48, 50, 72, 74–5, 79–80, 85–7.

[35] Forster 1798 II: 74.

Soon after, the term "Afghanistan" was employed in the Anglo-Persian treaty of 1801. Interestingly, this designation only appeared in the Persian text of the treaty, which spoke of the Afghan king as *pādshāh-i afghānistān*. The English version, by contrast, referred to the "King of the Afghans".[36] The Anglo-Afghan treaty concluded by the British envoy Elphinstone in 1809, by contrast, described the Sadūzai ruler Shāh Shujāʿ as "King of Cabool".[37] Elphinstone's account of his visit to Shāh Shujāʿs winter residence in Pishāvar points to a persisting fluidity of regional denominations. The author himself admits his inability to arrive at a clear-cut definition for the competing concepts of Afghanistan and Khurāsān:

> The origin of the name of Afghaun, now so generally applied to the nation I am about to describe, is entirely uncertain; but is, probably, modern. It is known to the Afghauns themselves only through the medium of the Persian language. Their own name for their nation is Pooshtoon; in the plural, Pooshtauneh… They have no general name for their own country, but sometimes apply the Persian one of Afghaunistaun… The name most generally applied to the whole country by its inhabitants is Khorassaun; but this appellation is obviously incorrect; for, on the one hand, the whole of the Afghaun country is not included within the strict limits of Khorassaun; and, on the other, a considerable part of that province is not inhabited by Afghauns."[38]

At the time of the conclusion of the Anglo-Persian treaty in 1801, the Afghan kingdom represented a concrete political entity more strongly than in the period after 1818, when the Sadūzai realm was reduced to three competing principalities. Although the British authorities initially denied sovereignty to the new Muḥammadzai rulers of Kābul and Qandahār, the concept of "Afghanistan" as a political entity gradually took hold in the official correspondence and was firmly established by the 1830s. While the territorial boundaries intended by this designation remained vague, it was employed in a cumulative sense for all the regions under Afghan overlordship, or, as a residual category, for all the territories beyond immediate Iranian control. Thus in 1835 a British memorandum critically commented on the fact that Muḥammad Shāh Qājār "has very extended schemes of conquest in the direction of Affghanistan [sic], and, in common with all his subjects, conceives that the right of sovereignty over Herat and Kandahar is as complete now as in the reign of the Suffavean [Safavid] dynasty".[39] The British officials negotiating with the Qājār court, by contrast, formally treated the "kingdoms of Persia and Affghanistan" as equal entities and based their objection to Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's planned invasion of Herat on the terms of the Anglo-Persian treaty of 1801.[40] By signing this treaty, they argued, the Iranian government had officially accepted Afghanistan as an independent country and was in no position to revive ancient claims to the region.[41]

While the notion of Afghanistan as a new territorial and political unit gradually acquired a life of its own, Qājār authorities held on to historical precedents and insisted on the restitution of the "proper" order of things which had prevailed during Safavid times. In 1835 the Iranian government rejected any notion of the

> Affghans as a Government or a consolidated state, with whom relations of peace or equality could be maintained. They declared that a large portion of Affghanistan belonged to the Shah of Persia, and that he was at liberty to decide how he would deal with the Affghans as being his own subjects.[42]

In 1838, as the Qājār siege of Herat dragged on inconclusively, the Persian Prime Minister Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī bitterly complained to the British agent Stoddart of Britain's one-sided interpretation of the Anglo-Persian treaty and of her hostile attitude to the Qājārs' attempt at reclaiming their rightful possessions. Noting that Iranian sovereignty was accepted as far away as Kābul and Qandahār, Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī pointed out that historical precedents justified his government's continuing claims to Herat, which had always formed a corner stone of the Persian Empire:

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[36] Aitchison 1983: 48; Champagne 1981: 59–60; Parvanta 2002: 18.
[37] Aitchison 1983: 233–4; Parvanta 2002: 18–19.
[38] Elphinstone 1992 I: 200–1.
[39] Ellis to Palmerston, Teheran, 13 November 1835 (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, No. 19 p. 11). See also Kashani-Sabet 1997: 217.
[40] McNeill to Haji Mirza Aqasi, n.d. (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1 Appendix, enclosure 6 in No. 4, Dispatch No. 45 of 1837, p. 4).
[41] Champagne 1981: 61.
[42] Ellis to Palmerston, Teheran, 30 December 1835, IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1, p. 12.

> This town, the second town in Persia in the time of the Suffaveans; Ispahan [Iṣfahān] the seat of the Shah; Herat the seat of the Walu Uhad [*valī ʿahd*, "heir apparent"]; the very ground I sit on, the property of Hasan Khan Shamloo, whose house stood where the camel artillery are pitched; this you won't help us get possession of…[43]

The moment in history captured above is interesting in several respects. For one thing, Ḥājjī Mīrzā Āqāsī's resentful comments on the ill-guided nature of British policy exemplify the emotive content and longevity of territorial designations. At the same time, the *vazīr*'s frustration at the British unwillingness to restore the status quo ante reflects the emergence of new political realities entirely opposed to traditional Iranian notions of territoriality.

The ongoing metamorphosis of existing territorial denominations, as well as the creation of new ones, was filtered by different sets of sources, which were in many ways interdependent. The views of British travelers and agents on the prevailing configurations of power had an impact on the members of the governments they interacted with. The incorporation of the term "Afghanistan" into the mainstream of Iranian historiography in the middle of the nineteenth century in turn influenced the later Afghan chronicles. Although the Iranian and Afghan authors offered divergent interpretations of the historical encounters reflecting the political and military weight of their respective governments, Afghanistan as a political concept became firmly embedded in both discourses.

The first Afghan historian to mention "Afghanistan" as a political entity is Sulṭān Muḥammad Bārakzai, who began to write his *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* in 1280/1865. Reflecting the altered political realities of the second half of the nineteenth century, the author identifies Afghanistan as the territory located *between* Hindūstān, Iran, and Turkistan, and subject to Russian, British, and Iranian imperial ambitions. Furthermore, he distinguishes different uses of the term "Afghanistan," firstly its connotation as the territory controlled by the Afghan kings during various phases of history and, secondly, as the area the Afghāns/Pashtūns call their home. While he traces the coinage of "Afghanistan" as a political term to the Sadūzai era, the author projects its usage further back into the past, employing it also for the Nadirid period.[44]

On the political level, the emergence of Afghanistan as a separate entity was sealed with the Muḥammadzai conquest of Herat in 1863 and the delimitation of the borders between the two countries from 1872 on. Combined with the loss of the Caucasian provinces in the early nineteenth century, these developments implied a dramatic process of shrinkage for Iran. Until 1863, the project of reclaiming ancient possessions in the east rated high on the Qājār agenda. These endeavors climaxed in the 1850s and were accompanied by a rich output in historical works buttressing long-standing territorial claims. A case in point is Riżā Qulī Khān Hidāyat's *Mulḥaqāt-i tārīkh-i raużat al-ṣafā-yi nāṣirī*. The author endowed the Qājār dynasty with deep historical roots reaching back to Ilkhanid times[45] and created a linkage between their current political aims and historical junctures reflecting the "proper" order of things. According to this point of view, not only Marv and Sarakhs but also Balkh, Qandahār and Kābul formed an integral part of the Iranian state.[46] A further ingredient in these irredentist claims was the preoccupation with Herat and Marv as strategic "key positions" to the region.[47] This process of territorial focusing was accompanied by a corresponding sense of urgency and efforts at incorporation. Ironically, the endeavor to secure a whittled down version of Khurāsān still fed on a nostalgic view of the former metropolises and took no account of the structural transformation that had taken place in the meantime. Owing to political and economic decline, Herat and Marv did not even present a shadow of their former grandeur at the time when the governors of Mashhad attempted to bring them into the fold of the Qājār government. This situation was most pronounced in Marv, which had been taken over by Turkmen nomads in the course of the nineteenth century. At the time of the Qājār invasion of 1860, all vestiges of the ancient capital of Khurāsān had been obliterated, the region

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[43] Extract of Stoddart's journal (IOL, L/PS/20/A7/1 Appendix, Enclosure 6 in No. 19, p. 35).
[44] T Su 10, 114–115.
[45] TRSN IX: 4.
[46] TRSN IX: 283; TRSN X: 479, 540. In keeping with his expansive view of the regions properly belonging to Iran, Hidāyat prefers the term of Zābulistān to that of Afghānistān (TRSN X: 652–5).
[47] NT 1192; *Sifāratnāma* Persian text 112. See also Kashani-Sabet 1999: 32.

was dominated by felt tents and reed huts, and agricultural activity continued on a much reduced scale. Sīstān, which fell into the orbit of Qājār activities from the 1850s on, had likewise experienced an influx of nomadic groups in the meantime.

In the course of the nineteenth century, the altered political realities gradually found their way into the imagery employed by local elites. While adhering to the conventional expansive idea of Khurāsān, Hidāyat himself described the region as the most formidable of the four boundaries making up the "house" of Iran[48] and thus added a new, spatial element to traditional conceptions of political authority. Several decades later, the Afghan ruler Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān compared the newly-constructed Afghan state to a sturdy edifice warding off encroachment from outside and allowing greater control within.[49] This imagery is remarkable in that it replaces the early modern dynastic idea of a ruling "house" resting on a flexible system of loyalties with the notion of the state as a physically fixed structure. The stability associated with the newly established state borders created a sense of boundedness and constriction. At the same time, this new setup caused the effective seat of power to shift towards the center and enabled the government to broaden its scope of local intervention. The traditional role of the nobility changed accordingly. In Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's perception, this group turned from privileged allies into vermin to be eradicated. A similar development took place in the Iranian setting, where the establishment of the northeastern border with Russia deprived the Khurasanian aristocrats of their role as wardens of the frontier and eventually made them obsolete.

The new political formulae that arose with the recasting of power relations in the historic region of Khurāsān coincided with, and mirrored the European debate concerning the evolving European borders and the increasing demarcation of the colonial space. In the early twentieth century, the former Indian viceroy Curzon (1899–1905) contrasted the time "when England had no frontier but the ocean" with the ongoing project of delimiting the "manifold Frontiers of dominion, now amid the gaunt highlands of the Indian border, or the eternal snows of the Himalayas, now on the parched sands of Persia or Arabia, now in the equatorial swamps and forests of Africa".[50]

Modern notions of boundedness also entered the impressions Curzon gathered on the political state of Khurāsān during his visit in 1889. Contrary to his later credo concerning the validity of modern boundaries, Curzon viewed the imposition of the Russian border across the historic space of Khurāsān in terms of loss. The Iranian defeat at Marv in 1860 heralded a process of territorial fragmentation which culminated in the Treaty of Tehran of 1881, and eventually left Iran in control of a territory defined by a line originating on the right bank of the Tejend in the east, passing in the east along the northeastern rim of the Kopet Dagh mountains, and coinciding with the Atrak river in the west. As a result, the modern Iranian province of Khurāsān represented a whittled down, truncated version of the formerly claimed territory. In his attempt to capture the impact of modern regional developments, Curzon described Khurāsān as a human body divided by brute force:

> Khorasan has experienced a history of great and stormy vicissitudes. Situated on the borders of Iran, it has been the perpetual theatre of armed struggle, and a favourite battle-ground of races. Its capital cities have alternately excited by their dimensions the bewildered admiration of Arab chroniclers, and have been swept off the earth, as though by a tornado, by the passions of conquerors and kings… At one time its name implied a dominion that included Kharezm (Khiva) and Merv on the north, that stretched to the Oxus and embraced Balkh, the mother of cities, of which Herat was a central point, and that extended beyond Kandahar. Later, as limb after limb was torn away, and independent sovereignties were created out of the fragments, its boundaries became more and more contracted, until the kings of Persia would sometimes have found it difficult to say how much they really held of Khorasan.[51]

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[48] *Pūshīda mabād ki khāna ba-chahār ḥadd muhayyā ast va az jumla-yi ḥudūd-i arbaʿa-yi Īrān ḥadd-i aʿẓam va rukn-i afkham Khurāsān ast* (TRSN IX: 275–6).

[49] Sultan Mahomed Khan 1980: 175–7. For a similar European portrayal of the protective function of boundaries, see Curzon 1907: 7.

[50] Curzon 1907: 8, 56.

[51] Curzon 1892 I: 180.

From the Iranian point of view, the territorial losses also added a new quality to the corporeal images Khurāsān was credited with. The traditional imagery had highlighted the centrality of the region, for instance, by likening the world to a body, Khurāsān to its breast and Herat to its heart which instilled the entire being with spiritual life. In the late nineteenth century a sense of bereavement crept in. The imagery adopted by twentieth-century Iranian authors, seems to mirror Curzon's notion of Khurāsān as a region subjected to repeated acts of mutilation or amputation by colonialist forces. In the 1960s the Iranian intellectual Muḥammad Riżā Khusravī held imperialist intervention responsible for the sad state of present-day Khurāsān: The old metropolises—once the diamonds in a precious necklace—have been rent and scattered. Herat—once as central to the region as the pearl to the oyster—has been torn out of the noble body of Khurāsān, which "has been cut to pieces by the butcher's knife of fate and colonialism…" Khusravī's excursion to Herat and his interpretation of historical events exemplifies the continuing conceptual gap between the political facts established about a century earlier and a persistent memory of what Khurāsān ought to constitute in terms of size as well as cultural and political magnitude. His quest for Herat's former greatness as a city of kings and poets, and of grapes and roses, culminates in the bleak observation that he has ended up instead in "a silent and bereft town [which is a] part of a country called Afghanistan".[52]

This statement highlights the dimension of time, or rather of historical memory and its role in shaping current perceptions of space. In their confrontation over Khurāsān, the Qājār rulers and their Afghan counterparts not only based their strategy on the political status quo and its exigencies; both parties sought to buttress their claim by adducing historical reasoning on the "proper" state of affairs. The lag between the past and the present of the actors took on yet another twist in the historiography of the time. Informed by the political developments that had taken place in the interim and reflecting the perspective of their royal patrons, chroniclers inevitably projected recent interpretations into the past and cemented into the narrative a number of set pieces in support of their respective territorial assumptions. This process became all the more intensive as the nascent nationalist discourses in Iran and Afghanistan set out to root their modern states and the related concept of fixed geographical boundaries as deeply as possible in the past. From both perspectives, Herat, and significantly its incorporation into Afghanistan in 1863, is credited with pivotal importance. Yet the interpretations attached to these events vary widely depending on the respective nationalist viewpoints. Afghan historians emphasize Herat's natural belonging within the ancient Afghan state, which, in their opinion, has occupied the space between the Oxus, the Indus and the Arabian Sea since antiquity. This sense of ownership collides with an acute sense of loss on the Iranian side, which reverberates in the historical accounts of the two unsuccessful military campaigns of 1837–38 and 1856 and continues to inform the Iranian mindset to this very day. On a larger scale, the conceptual loop confounding an idealized past with present-day notions of territoriality has likewise heightened nostalgic preoccupations. The evocative idea of "Greater Khurāsān" (*Khurāsān-i buzurg*), so central to the current academic debate in the Persophone world of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, may essentially be understood as a product of modern times, and as the upshot of nationalist concerns.

[52] Khusravī 1985: 98.

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Glossary[1]

amīr: "commander", "prince," a title conferred on high-ranking military officers.

amīr al-umarā: a commander-in-chief of the Qizilbash tribesmen (early Safavid period).

amīr ākhūrbāshī: master of the royal stables (Safavid, Durrānī periods).

āq saqāl: "whitebeard," a tribal elder among Teke Turkmens.

ark (*arg*): citadel.

āsiyāvār: measure of water sufficient to drive one mill.

ʿatabāt: "thresholds," the Shiite shrine cities of Iraq: Najaf, Karbalāʾ, Kāẓimain, and Samarra.

atālīq: a high-ranking Uzbek dignitary.

atek, *etek*, *ītāk*: edge, hem, foot of a mountain.

b.: abbreviation for *ibn*, "son of".

bāgh, bāghāt, bāghistān: intensive garden and orchard cultivation in walled plots of land.

bāra: rampart, embankment

bēglerbēg(ī): a provincial governor (Safavid, Afsharid, early Qājār periods).

bt.: abbreviation for *bint*, "daughter of".

bulūk: administrative subdivision of a province (*vilāyat*) (Timurid, Safavid periods); agricultural and pasture lands surrounding a city (*balda va bulūkāt*).

bunicha: group tax assessement of a village.

chahār-su: central bazaar.

chāpār: postal messenger.

charkhchībāshī: vanguard general (Sadūzai period).

chārvā: a nomad Turkmen.

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[1] Sources: Algar, "ʿAtabāt," *E.Ir.* II: 902–4; Allen 1981; Amanat 1997: 227; Barthold 1984: 89; Burton-Page, "Misāḥa", *E.I.*, *2* VII: 137–40; De Jong, "Khalīfa, iii. In Islamic Mysticism," *E.I., 2* IV: 950; Doerfer 1963–1975; Haneda 1987; Hillenbrand 1999: 283–4; Hinz 1955; Krawulsky 1984; Lambton 1963; Lambton 1991: 150; 405–10; 444–65; Manz 2007; McChesney 1991: 321–4; Röhrborn 1966: 13–14; Savory 1964; Savory 2002: 17; Subtelny 1988, 1991, 1993, 2002; Szuppe 1996: 85; Thackston 1994: 314, 639–642; Wiesehöfer 2005: 117.

chumūr: a settled Turkmen.

dāng: the sixth part of anything; unit of water; a *dirham*; the sixth part of a *kapakī dīnār*.

dār al-salṭana: "seat of government"; title of Herat from Timurid times on.

dārūgha: chief of security.

dasht: unwatered land.

daimcha: dry farming.

dhikr: commemoration of God.

dhikr-i jahrīya, *dhikr-i jalī*: vocal *dhikr*.

dharʿ-i Iṣfahān: unit of linear measure equivalent to 80 cm.

dharʿ-i sharʿī: unit of linear measure equivalent to 50 cm.

dīvānbēgī: officer in charge of justice and finances (Timurid, Safavid, Sadūzai periods).

fard: unit of land measurement in the Herat region (18th century).

fard: single verse.

farsakh, farsang: from *parasang* in Achaemenid times; distance that can be traveled on horseback in one hour, roughly four miles.

faṣīl: counterscarp: the exterior slope or wall of the ditch of a fort; curtain wall crowning the counterscarp.

fatḥnāma: a dispatch announcing victory.

gaz: unit of linear measure equivalent to 95 cm.

gaz-i mukassar: "broken" *gaz*, a measurement of surface area varying in length from 63.1 to 68.8 cm.

ḥākim: governor.

ḥukmrān: governor.

ikhrājāt: extraordinary taxes.

ikhrājāt-i mamlakatī: extraordinary provincial taxes.

īlbegī, īlkhānī: titles of tribal leadership in Khurāsān (Afsharid, Qājār periods).

imām: the prayer leader at a mosque; a descendant of ʿAlī.

imām-i jumʿa: *imām* who recites the Friday prayer for the sovereign.

ishīk āqāsī (bāshī): chamberlain (Safavid, Sadūzai, Qājār periods).

īvān (also *aivān*): a vaulted or flat-roofed hall, open at one end; covered hall in a mosque or a palace.

iyālat: province (Timurid, Safavid periods).

jāgīr: a land assignment in India (Mughal period).

jarīb: unit of area, equal to 60 *gaz* by 60 *gaz*; equivalent to approximately 1,600 m^2 in the late medieval period; equivalent to 960 m^2 in the seventeenth century; varies between 1,707 and 4,097 m^2 in 19th-century Central Asia.

kadkhudā: an overseer of a city quarter; village headman; headmen of a tribal subdivision (from Timurid period onwards).

kalāntar: an urban official concerned with taxation and the maintenance of public order (Safavid to Qājār periods); head of a tribal subgroup larger than that under a *kadkhudā*.

kapakī dīnār: monetary unit, made up of 6 copper *dīnār* (*dāng*) (Timurid period).

kārīz: a subterranean water channel.

kārgudhār: agent, local government representative (Qājār period).

khākrīz: earthwork, glacis.

khalīfa: successor, disciple of a Sufi *pīr,* who receives permission to initiate novices and guide them on the mystical path.

khāliṣa: crown land.

khān: derives from *khaghan*, title of ruling descendants of Chingiz Khan (Mongol, Timurid periods); dignitary title awarded to nobles (Safavid period).

khānaqāh: Sufi convent.

khandaq: moat.

kharāj: land tax.

kharvār: donkey load; equivalent to 100 *mann* or 300 kg (Timurid period).

khēl: lineage.

khuṭba: the section of the Friday prayer during which the name of the ruling king is announced.

kibitka: a Turkmen tent.

kurūh: measure of distance, one-third of a *farsang*.

lala, *lālā*: tutor to a prince (Safavid period).

madrasa: college or seminary.

majlis: council.

mamālik-i maḥrūsa: guarded domains.

mann: unit of weight, the Herati *mann* weighed about 3 kg.

maqṣūra: enclosed space next to the prayer-niche, usually reserved for the ruler.

marda: the tenth part of anything, a measure in irrigation.

masjid-i jāmiʿ: Friday mosque.

mavājib: salary.

mazraʿa, pl. *mazāriʿ*: farm, hamlet.

mīr munshī: chief secretary.

muhrdār: keeper of seals (Sadūzai period).

munshī: secretary.

muqātila: battlement.

murshid: spiritual preceptor.

mustaufī: revenue accountant; the chief revenue officer of a district.

mustaufī al-mamālik: chief revenue officer of the kingdom.

mutavallī: trustee or administrator of an endowment.

mutavallī bāshī: chief trustee.

nāʾib: viceregent, deputy governor of province (Afsharid, Sadūzai, Qājār periods).

nasaqchī: imperial bodyguard.

nasaqchī bāshī: a commander of the imperial bodyguard (Sadūzai period).

pīshkash: a gift presented as fealty or homage to a ruler, due levied in the form of a "present".

pīr: Sufi teacher.

qāʾān: derives from *khaghan*, title of certain Mongol rulers.

qanāt: underground water channel.

qarāvul: patrol, scout.

qarya: village.

qaum: tribe, community.

qāżī: Muslim judge; adjudicates disputes according to the *sharīʿa*.

qirān: shortened from *ṣāḥib qirān*, a silver coin worth the tenth of a gold *tūmān*.

qishlāq: winter camp.

qizilbāsh: "red-head," originally used as a designation for the Turkmen adherents of the Safavids on account of the red felt cap worn as sign of membership in the order; the Qizilbāsh were a nomadic tribal organization headed by Turkmen military elite; after the Safavid period this term came to designate Iranians in general.

qulba: "plough", a basic unit of land measurement: the portion of land which could be cultivated by one farmer with one yoke of oxen and one plough.

qullarāqāsī: royal guard (Safavid, Sadūzai periods, 19th-century Herat).

qūrchībāshī: a commander of the Turkmen tribal cavalry known as *qūrchīs* (Safavid period).

rafż: repudiation of the legitimacy of the Sunni caliphate.

ribāṭ: fortified Muslim monastery or frontier post.

ṣadr: head of the religious institution (Safavid period).

ṣadr-i aʿẓam: chief minister, prime minister (Qājār period).

ṣāḥib-i ikhtiyār: a dignitary in charge of local government (Afsharid, Sadūzai periods).

ṣāḥib-i kār: bailiff, inspector (Sadūzai, Qājār periods).

ṣāḥib qirān: lit. "born under the auspicious conjunction of Venus and Jupiter", title of Tīmūr.

ṣaḥn: courtyard in Imām Riżā's shrine.

sardār: local military commander attached to a city (Timurid period); military governor of a province (Sadūzai period).

sarḥadd-dār: frontier officials appointed by Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

sarkarda: a provincial government agent (Qājār period).

sar shumār: poll tax.

shālī: paddy.

shīr ḥājī (in British sources often rendered as "shirazi"): parapeted trench; in the fortifications of Herat: trenches cut into the exterior slope of the rampart which communicated with one another and with the town by subterranean passages; in these trenches, which were about 6½ or 7 ft deep, nearly the whole garrison was stationed (19th century).

sikka: striking of coins in the name of ruler.

sipahsālār: commander-in-chief (late Safavid to Qājār periods).

siyāsat: royal authority, coercive capacity of the ruler.

ṣuffa: portico, vestibule in mosque.

suyūrghāl: Mongolian "favour", a hereditary tax revenue grant (Qarā Quyūnlū to Qājār periods; predominant form of landholding under the Timurids).

ṭilā: Bukharan gold coin.

tīm: commercial compound.

tūpchībāshī: chief of artillery (Safavid, Afsharid, Sadūzai periods).

tūmān: a quantity of 10,000; military and monetary unit.

tuyūl: temporary grant of the right to collect government taxes (Ilkhanid to Qājār periods).

ulang: grassy meadow, grazing pasture.

ulkā: district, tribal lands.

ūlūs, *ulūs*: a coalition of tribal groups in the service of a Mongol ruler.

urdū: camp.

urdū-yi humāyuūn: royal camp.

ūymāq: a group of people, a tribe (Mongol period); later on: a territorial and administrative subdivision in the sense of "district".

vakīl: representative, viceregent of the Shāh (early Safavid period), a local representative (Afsharid, Sadūzai periods).

vazīr: provincial administrator, second official after the governor (Timurid, Safavid, Qājār periods).

vazīr-i niẓām: provincial military commander (Qājār period).

vilāyat: province, region, the spiritual authority of a saint.

yailāq: summer pasture.

yasāvul: sergeant-at-arms (Timurid, Safavid, Afsharid periods); tribal militia of the Teke Turkmens (19th century).

yūrt: tribal pasture.

zauj (equivalent of *qulba*): amount of land which can be cultivated by a yoke of oxen.

zirāʿat: agriculture in open fields.

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Appendices

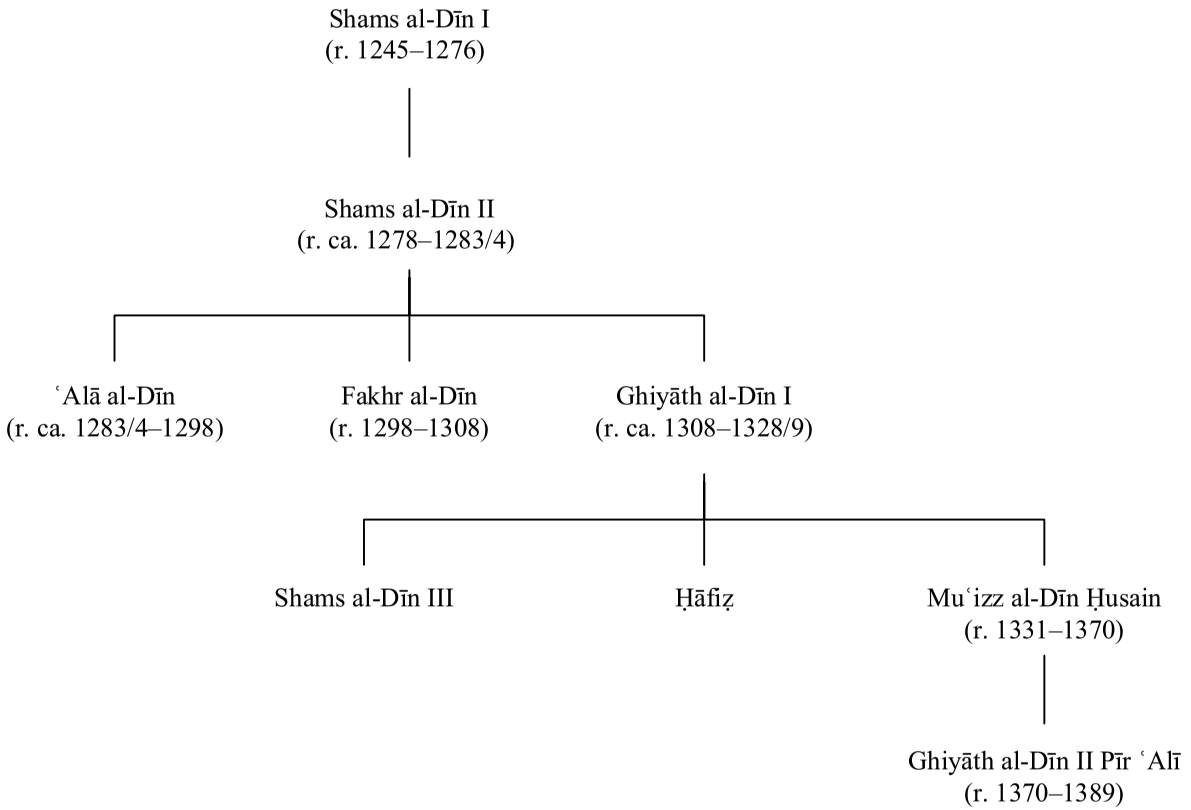
APPENDIX A: GENEALOGICAL TABLES

The Kartid Rulers of Herat
The Timurid Rulers
The Safavid Dynasty
The Afsharid Dynasty
The Sadūzai Dynasty I
The Sadūzai Dynasty II
The Qājār Dynasty
The Muḥammadzai Dynasty
Muḥammad Riżā Barnābādī (d. 1815)
The Hazāras of Qalʿa-yi Nau
The Jamshīdī Leadership
The Tāymanī Leadership
The Khuzaima Arabs of Qāyin
The Shādillū Kurds of Bujnūrd
The Zaʿfarānlū Kurds of Khabūshān
The Zangūʾī Arabs of Ṭabas Gīlakī
The Kayanid Maliks of Sīstān

APPENDIX B: MAPS

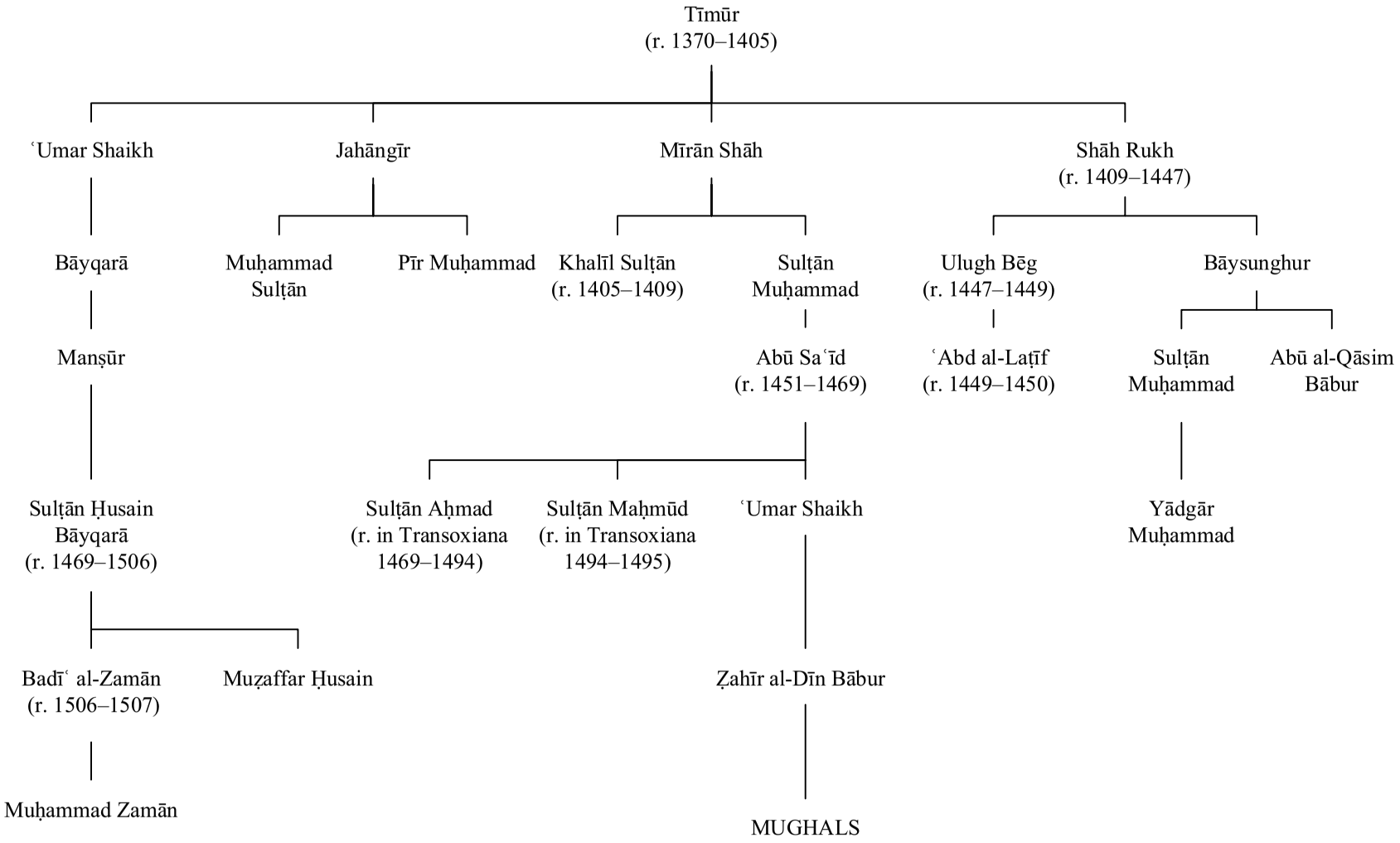
Proclamation by Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān (1898)
Map 1: Regional Context
Map 2: Vilāyāt
Map 3: Herat and its Districts (*bulūk*)
Map 4: City of Herat
Map 5: Mashhad and Western Khurāsān

GENEALOGY OF THE KARTID RULERS OF HERAT



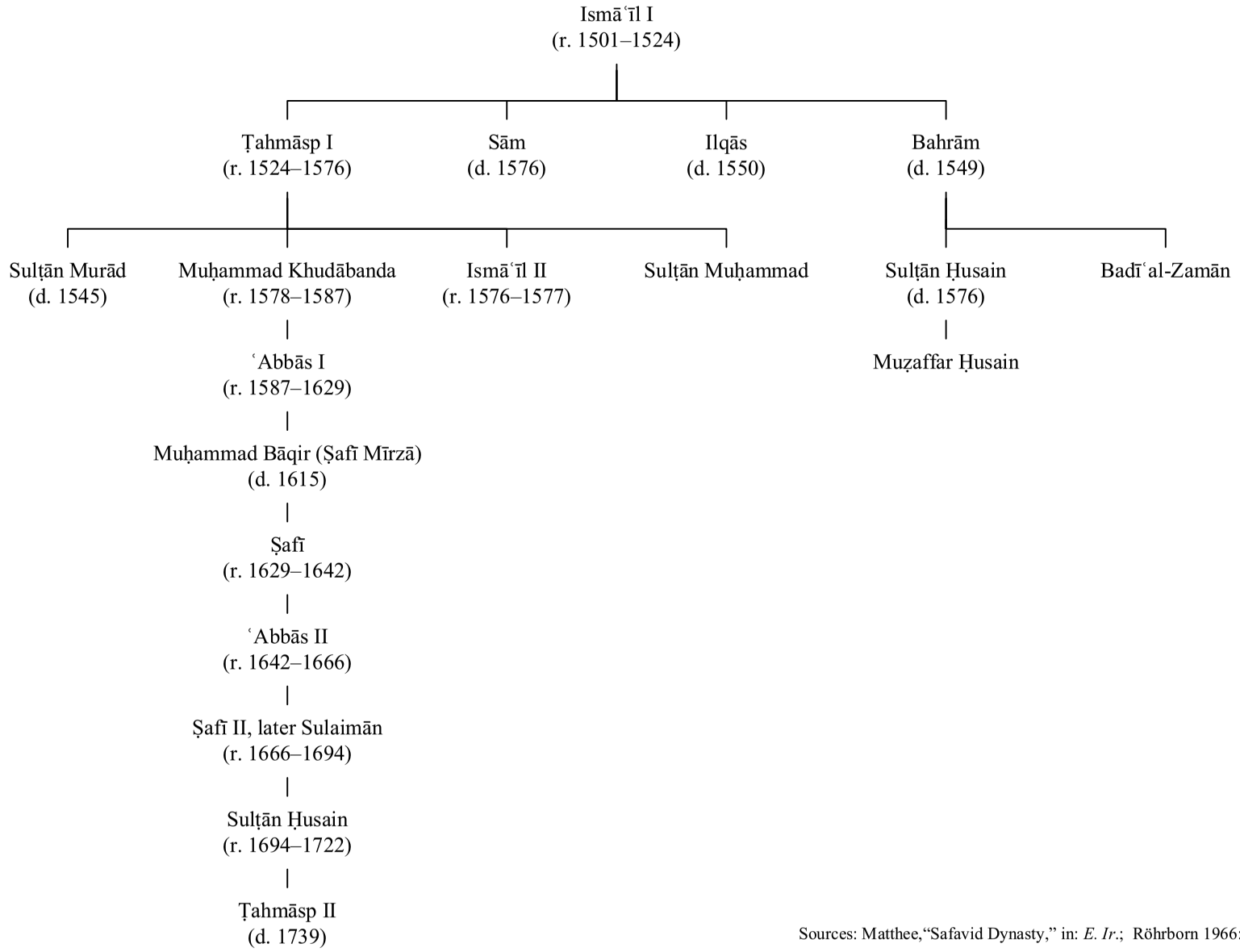
Source: B. Spuler, "Āl-e Kart," in: *E. I.* I: 758–60.

GENEALOGY OF THE TIMURID RULERS



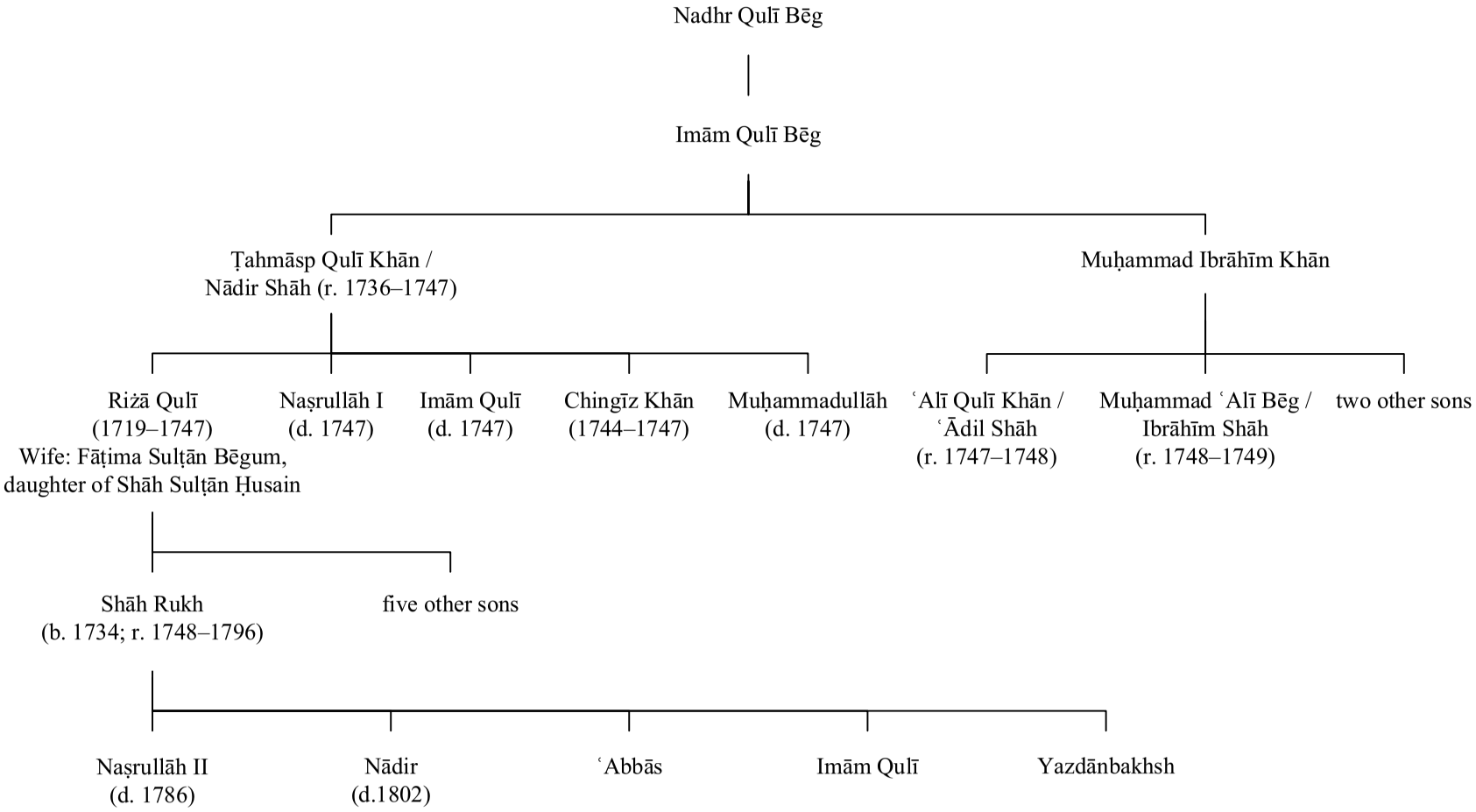
Source: B. Manz, "Timurids," in: *E.I.*, 2 X: 513–16.

GENEALOGY OF THE SAFAVID DYNASTY



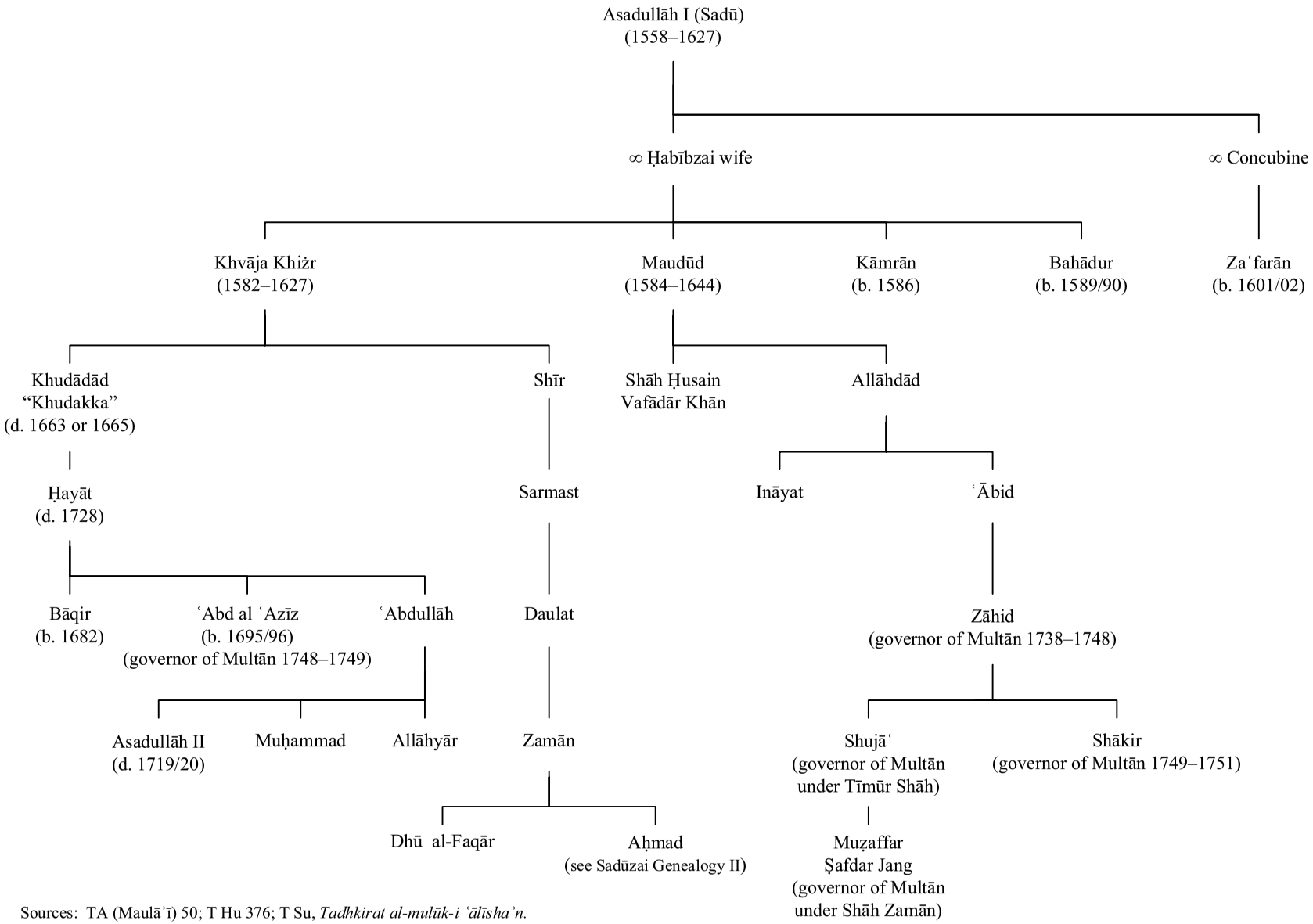
Sources: Matthee,"Safavid Dynasty," in: *E. Ir.*; Röhrborn 1966: 158.

GENEALOGY OF THE AFSHARID DYNASTY



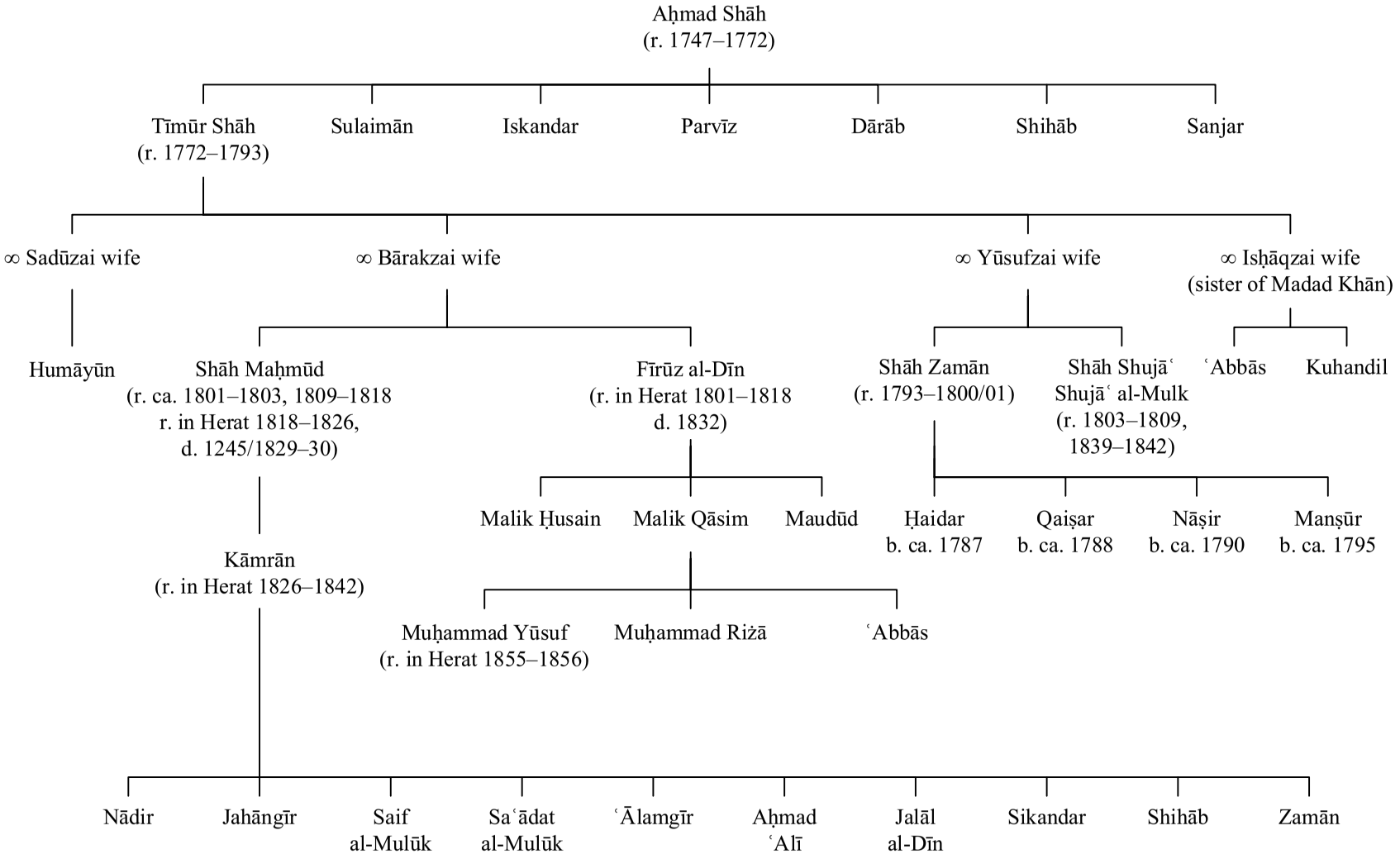
Sources: J. R. Perry, "Afsharids," in: *E. Ir.* I: 587–9; TA (Humāyūn) 501.

GENEALOGY OF THE SADŪZAI DYNASTY I



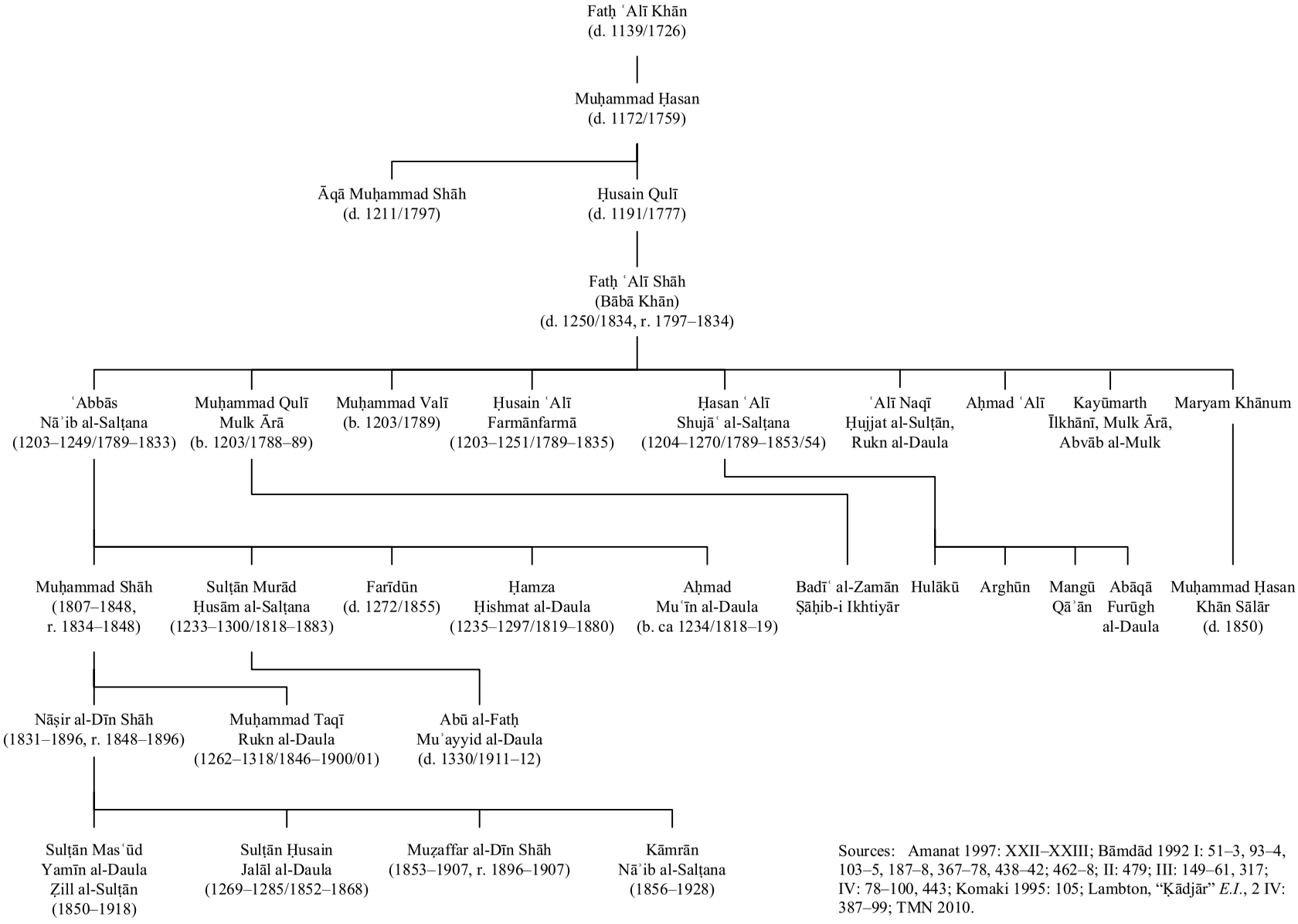
Sources: TA (Maulāʾī) 50; T Hu 376; T Su, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i ʿālīshaʾn.*

GENEALOGY OF THE SADŪZAI DYNASTY II



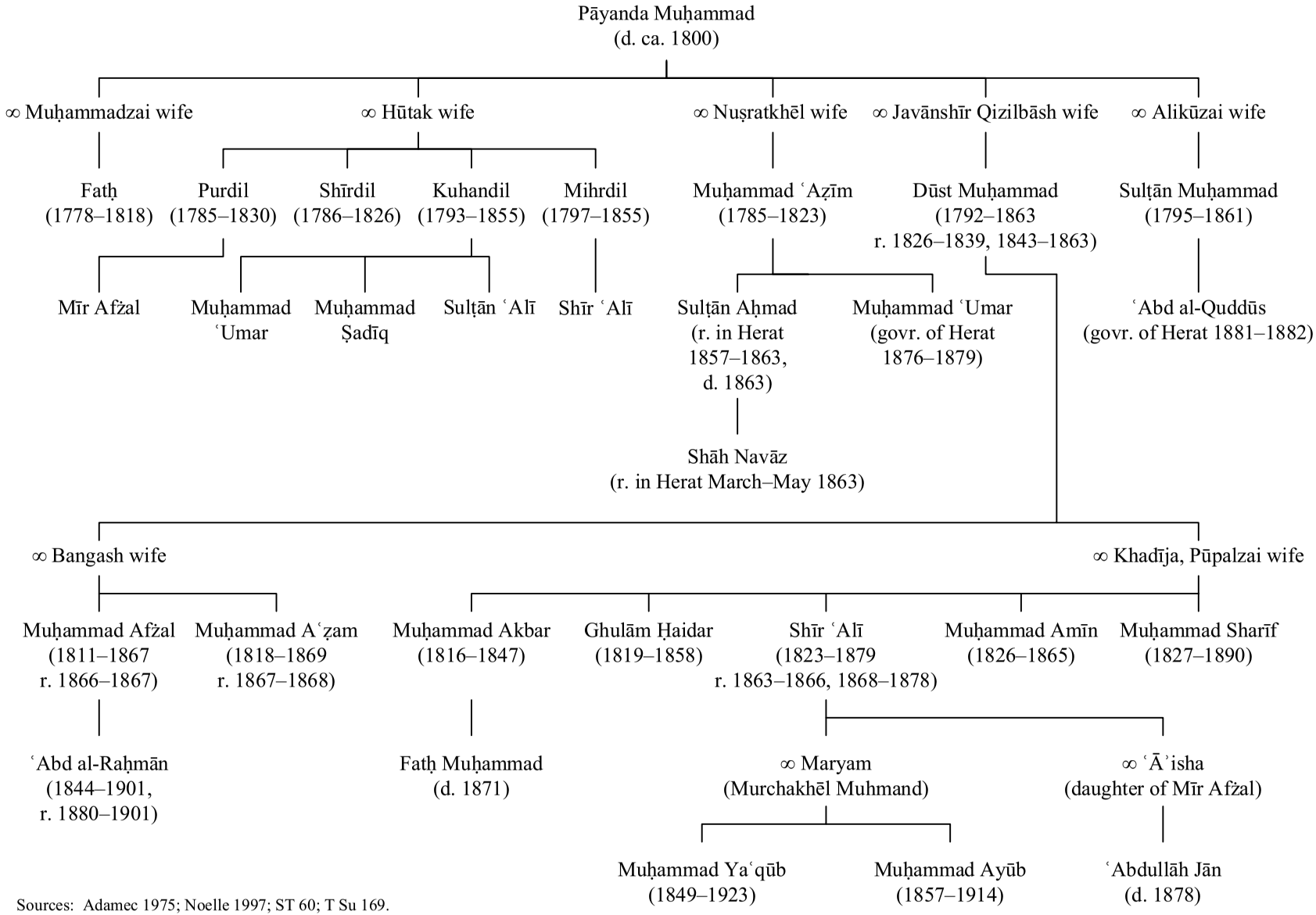
Sources: *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 425; Conolly 1834 II, 52; *Dhū al-qarnain* 135–6, 139, 172, 803; Elphinstone 1992 II: 307; Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 11; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 29, 34; KR 80–1; Lal 1979: 161–3; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) 147–8; NT 682, 710, 1277; Sykes 1981 II: 62; T Hu 380, 386–7; TRSN X: 667; T Su 161; Yapp 1980: 376.

GENEALOGY OF THE QĀJĀR DYNASTY



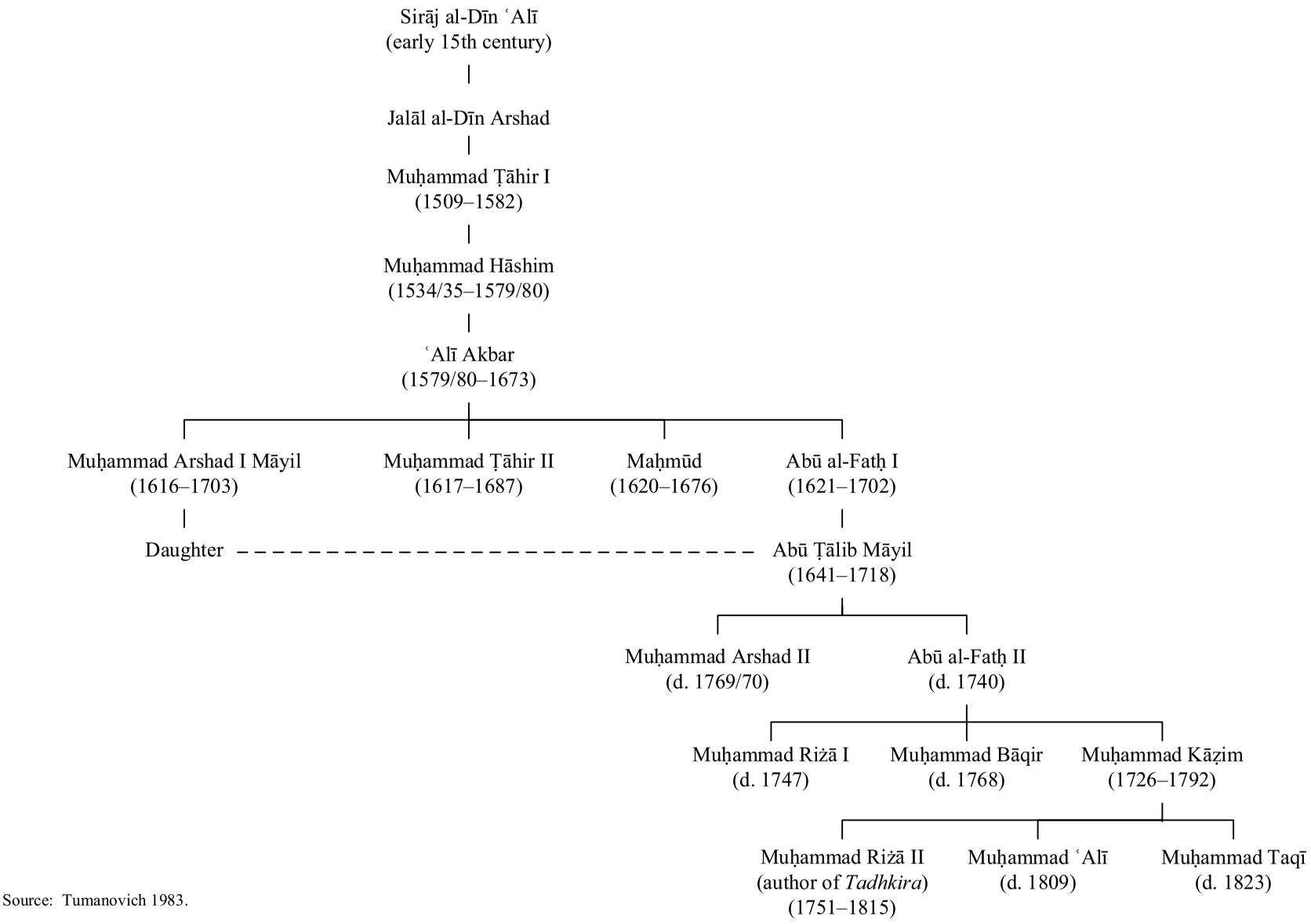
Sources: Amanat 1997: XXII–XXIII; Bāmdād 1992 I: 51–3, 93–4, 103–5, 187–8, 367–78, 438–42; 462–8; II: 479; III: 149–61, 317; IV: 78–100, 443; Komaki 1995: 105; Lambton, "Ḳādjār" *E.I.*, 2 IV: 387–99; TMN 2010.

GENEALOGY OF THE MUḤAMMADZAI DYNASTY



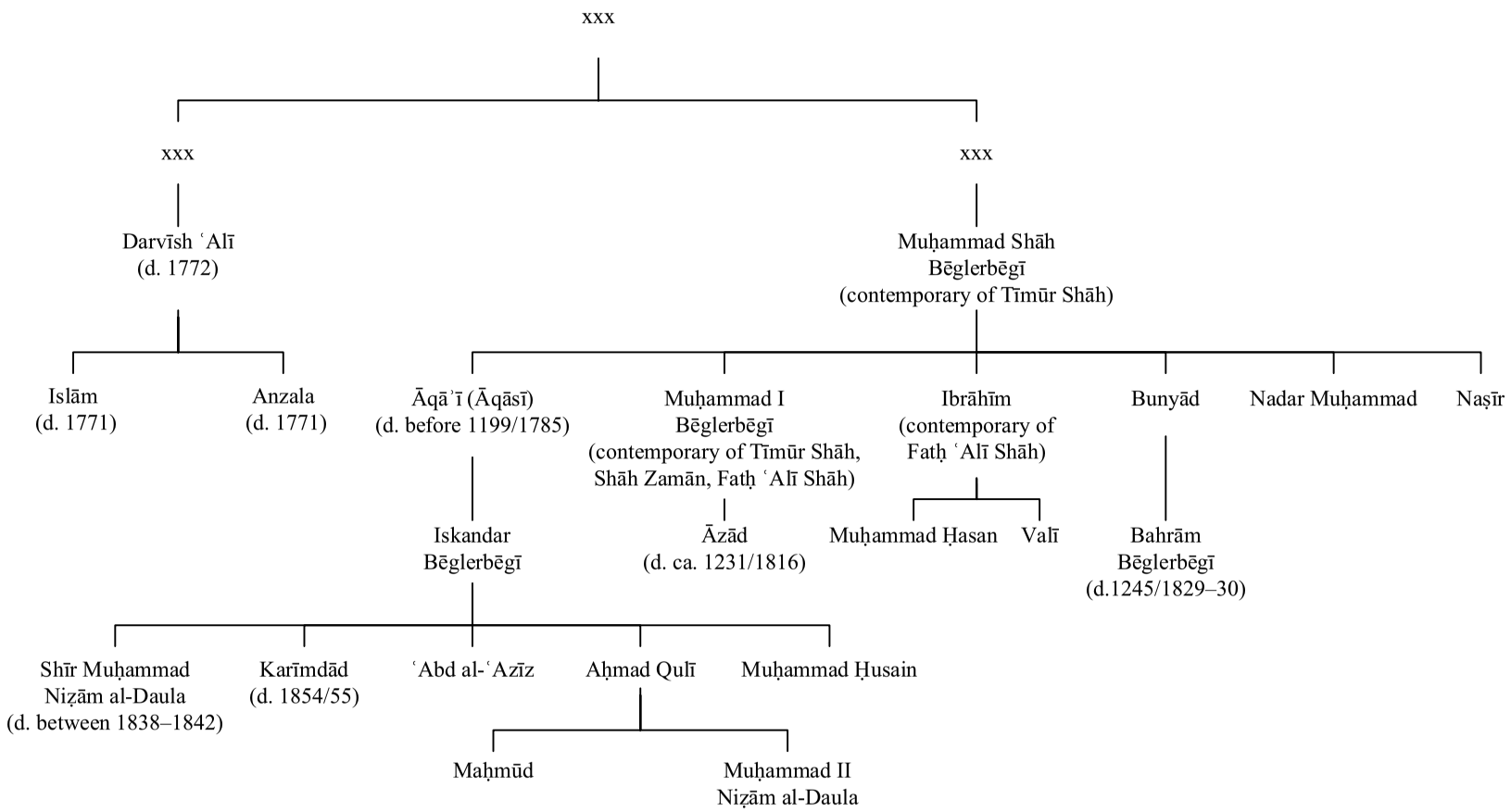
Sources: Adamec 1975; Noelle 1997; ST 60; T Su 169.

GENEALOGY OF MUḤAMMAD RIŻĀ BARNĀBĀDĪ (d. 1815)



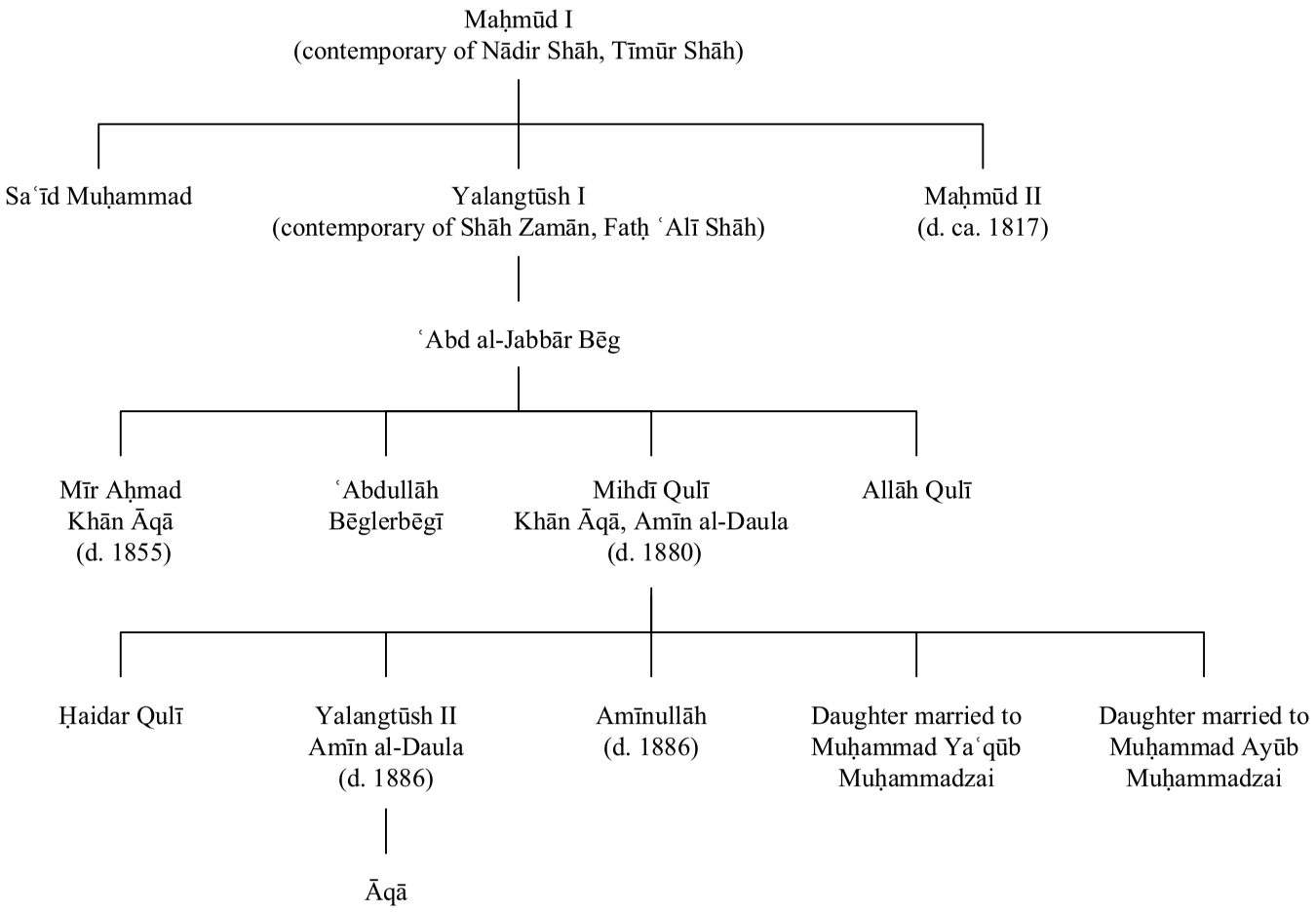
Source: Tumanovich 1983.

GENEALOGY OF THE HAZĀRAS OF QALʿA-YI NAU



Sources: *Ashraf al-tavārīkh* 74, 150–1, 155–6, 203, 239, 246, 432; *Dhū al-qarnain* 427, 450, 491, 719, 827; Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 332–3; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 270; *Gaz. Afghanistan* III: 230–1, 240; NT 265, 1177; TA (Humāyūn) 451, 502–3, 507–8; T Hu 310; TRSN IX: 542.

GENEALOGY OF THE JAMSHĪDĪ LEADERSHIP



Sources: *Gaz. Afghanistan* III; NT 1318, 1336; Singer 1972; ST 96, 334; T Hu 310, 314, 316.

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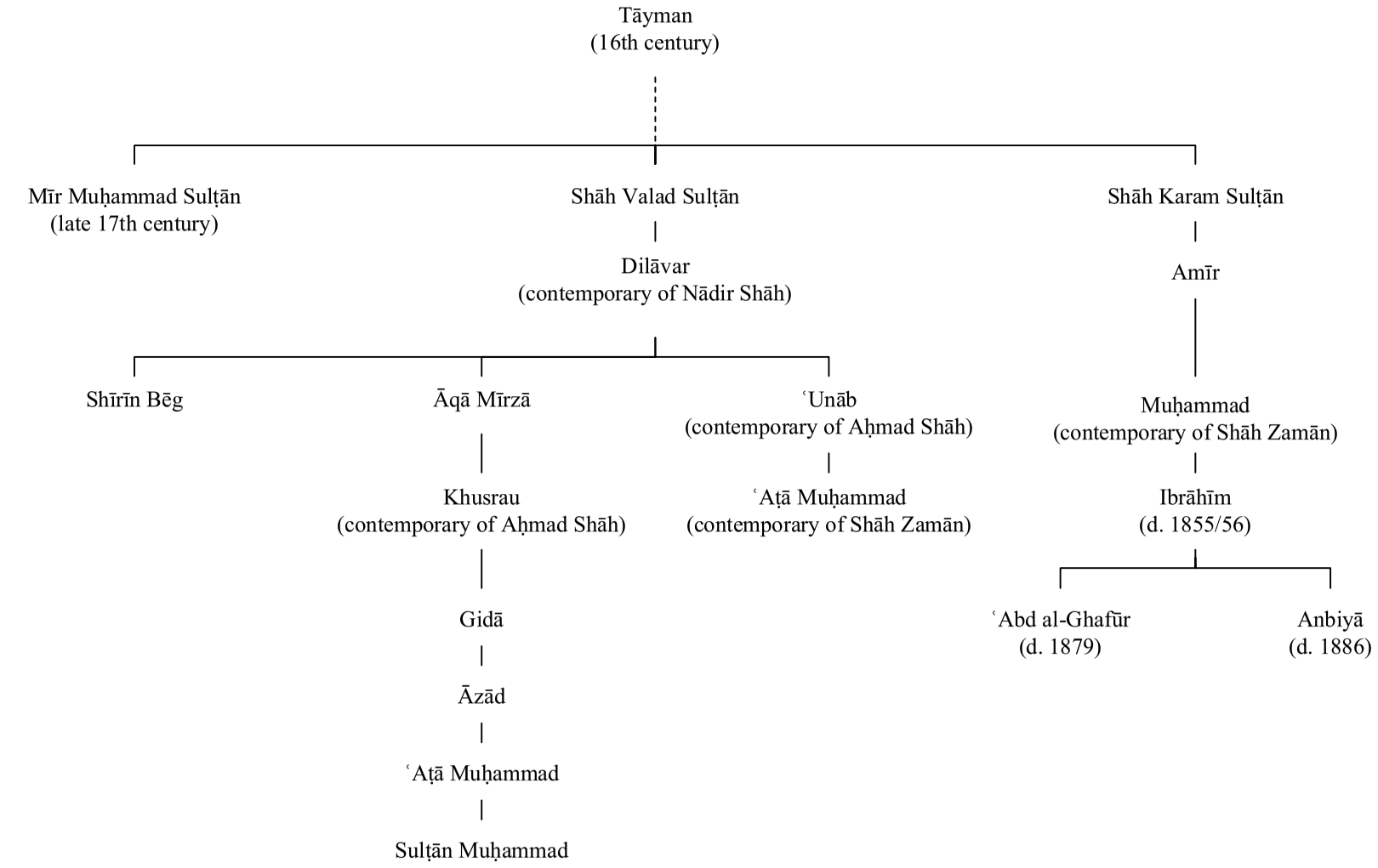
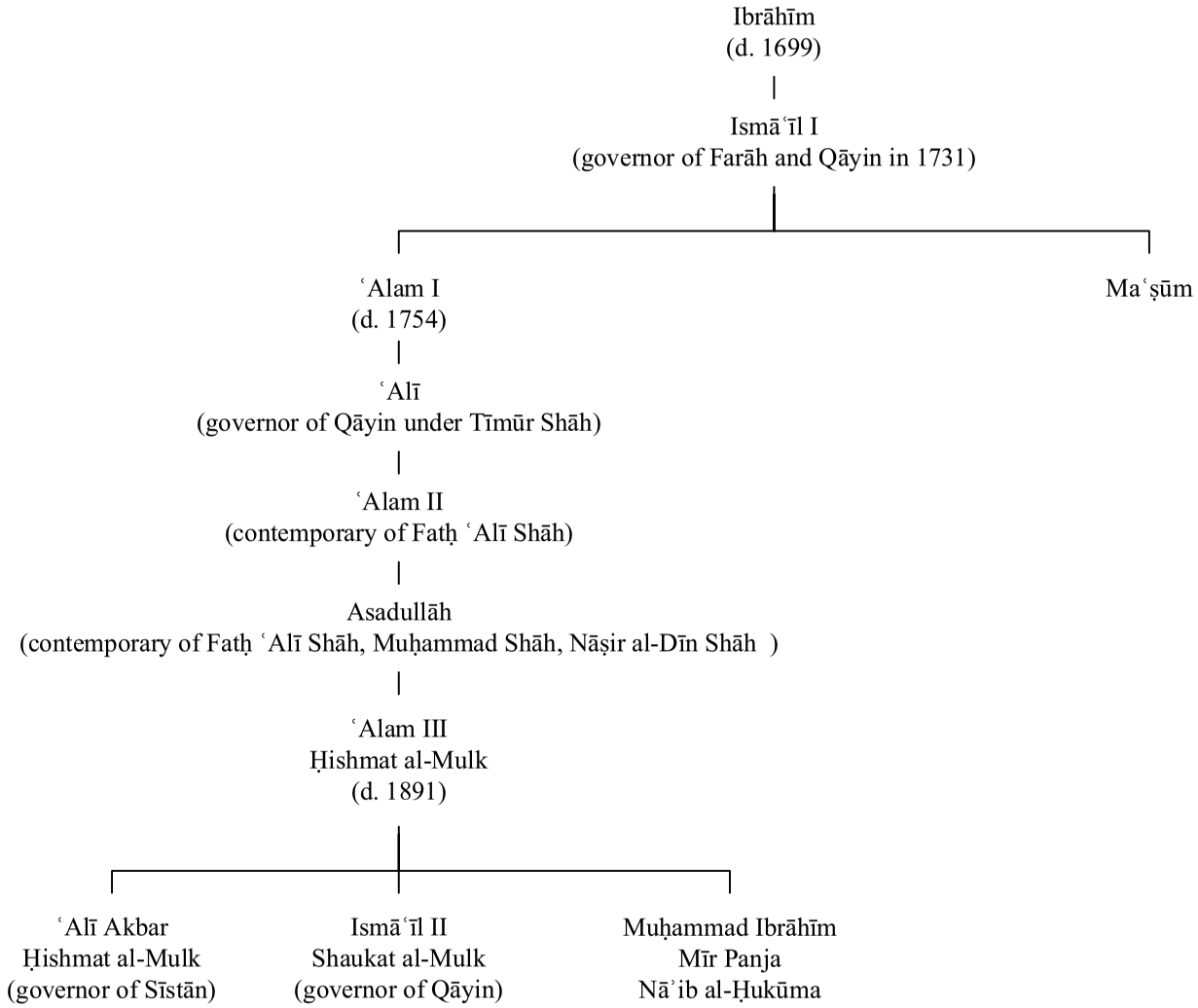


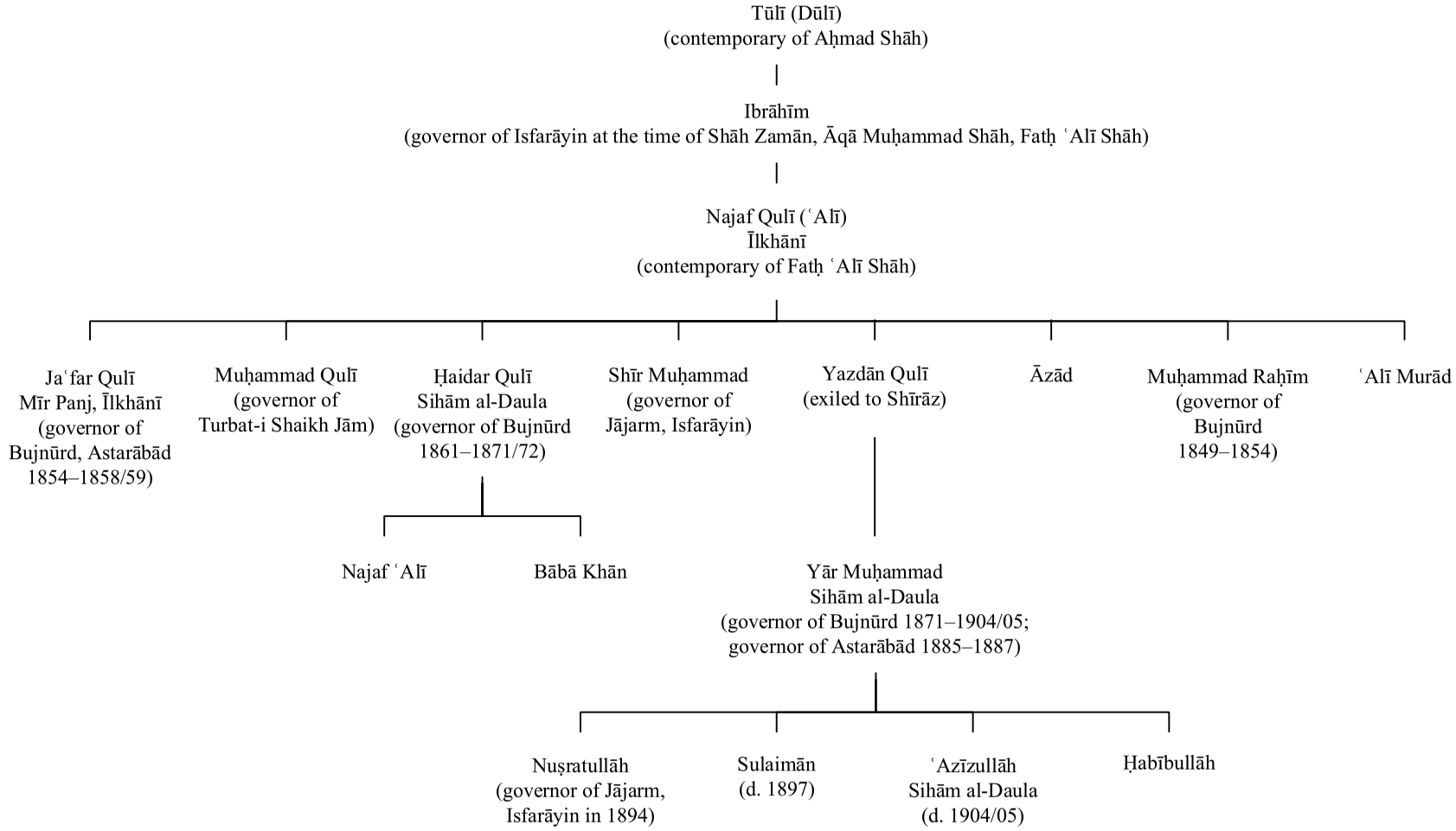
Sources: Dunbulī 151; *Gaz. Afghanistan* III; Kāẓim 835; TA (Humāyūn) 430; T Hu 310.

GENEALOGY OF THE KHUZAIMA ARABS OF QĀYIN



Sources: Bāmdād 1992 I: 115; *Dhū al-qarmain* 693, 813; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 63, 118–19, 434; Gītīgushā 381; Kāẓim 387, 483, 598, 878; KR 115; Mann 1898: 184–5; Mojtahed-Zadeh 2004: 42, 50, 56–7, 63–4; NT 1194; TA (Humāyūn) 76; Yate 1900: 65–6.

GENEALOGY OF THE SHĀDILLŪ KURDS OF BUJNŪRD



Sources: Bāmdād 1992 I: 248–9; IV: 432–3; *Dhū al-qarnain* 112, 444; Fraser 1825 Appendix B: 52–3; Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 319; MB 1326, 1386, 2384; MSh I: 135–6; NT 248, 253, 282, 295, 303, 306, 883, 1193; TA (Humāyūn) 167, 184; Tavaḥḥudī 1985 II: 324–35, 367, 373, 380–2, 391–5; TRSN IX: 362, 377, 587; X: 214; Yate 1900: 199–201.

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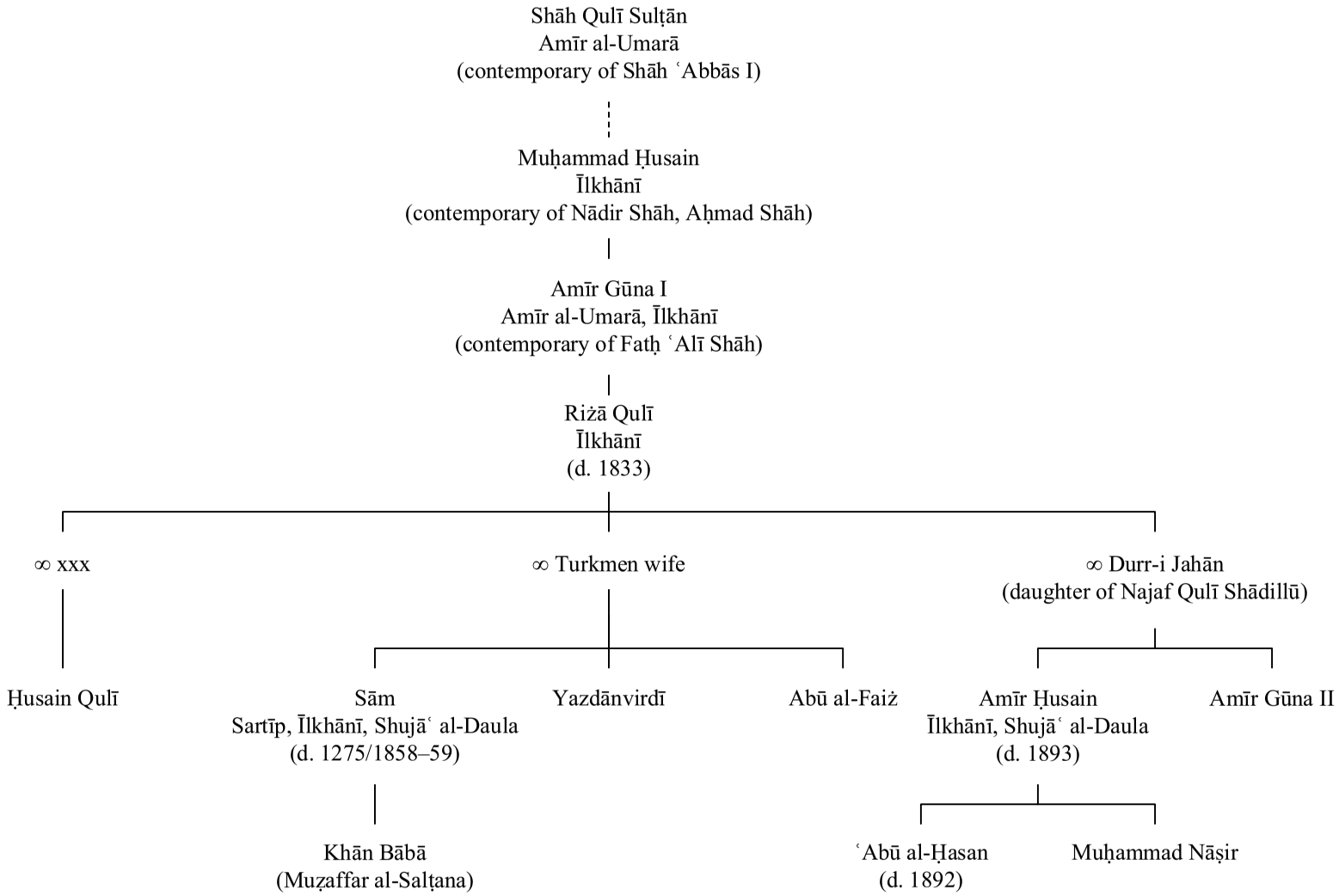
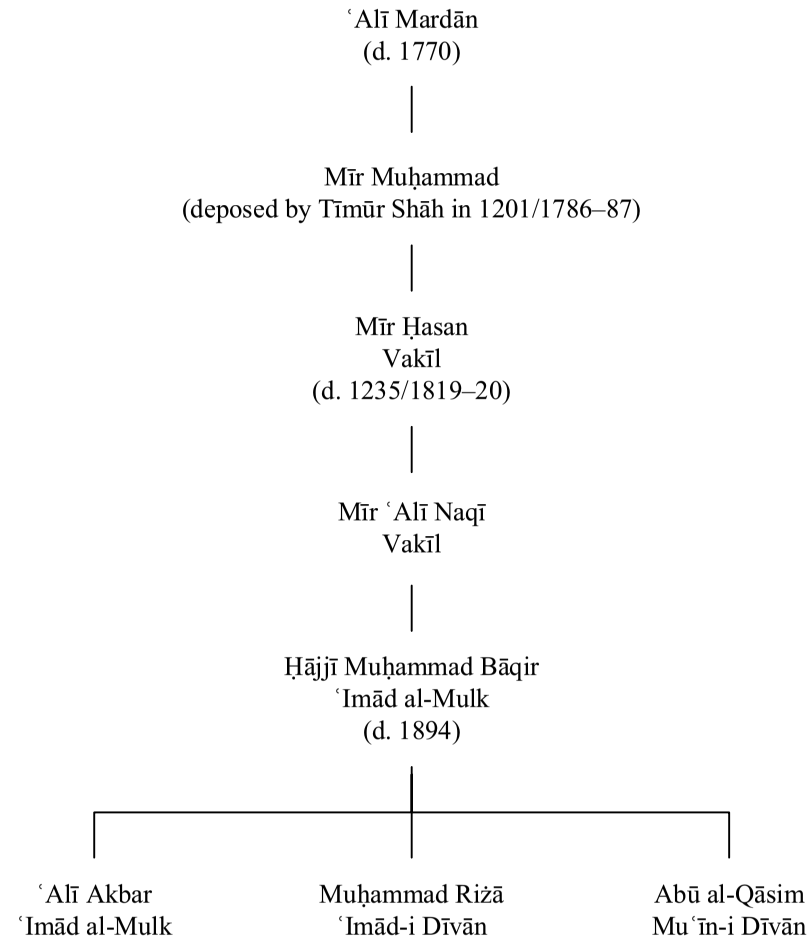


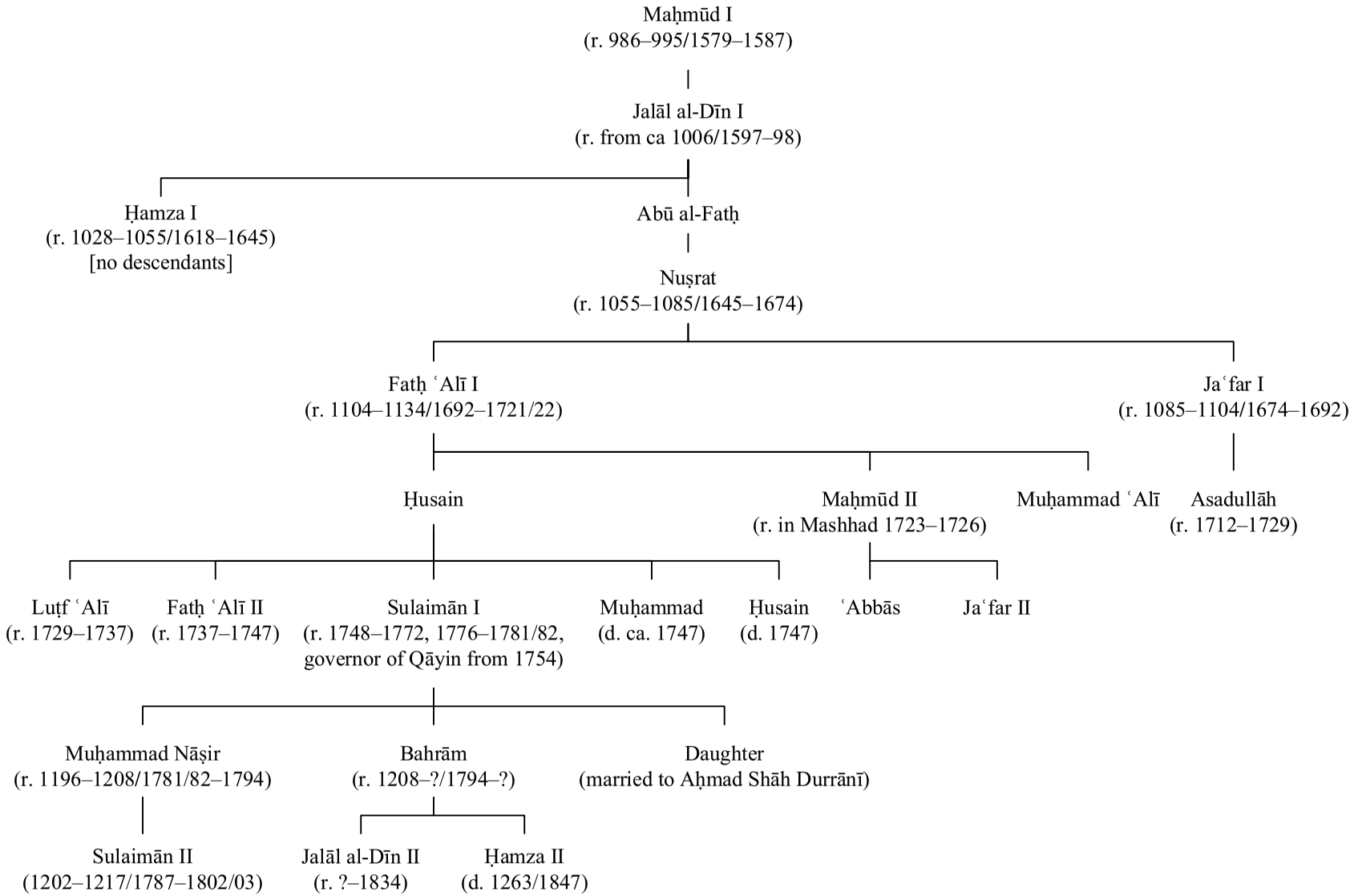
Sources: Bāmdād 1992 I: 238–9; Curzon 1892 I: 101; Dānishpazhūh 1974: 410–11; *Dhū al-qarnain* 414–15, 423, 443, 493, 798, 823–4; Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 145; *Gulshan-i murād* 644–5; Kāẓim 590, 598; Mann 1898: 182–4; MB 965, 1001; NT 302–3, 886, 993; Sāravī 286; TA (Humāyūn) 246; Tavaḥḥudī 1985 II: 315–16, 407–15, 467; TMN 1895, 1925; TRSN X: 415, 708; Yate 1900: 180–3; KR 7.

GENEALOGY OF THE ZANGŪʾĪ ARABS OF ṬABAS GĪLAKĪ



Sources: Bāmdād 1992 I: 341; III: 307; Dānishpazhūh 1974: 415; *Dhū al-qarnain* 447, 516–17, 693; Fūfalzāʾī 1958: 325–6; Fūfalzāʾī 1967: 123, 263–7, 435; *Gulshan-i Murād* 439; *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (Mann) II: 138–45; TA (Humāyūn) 499; TMN 1607, 1894; Yate 1900: 59–61.

GENEALOGY OF THE KAYANID MALIKS OF SĪSTĀN



Sources: Mann 1898: 335; Tate 1970: 73–94; Vārid, *Mirʾāt* 118, 121, 138–9, 187.

PROCLAMATION BY AMĪR ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN KHĀN (1898)

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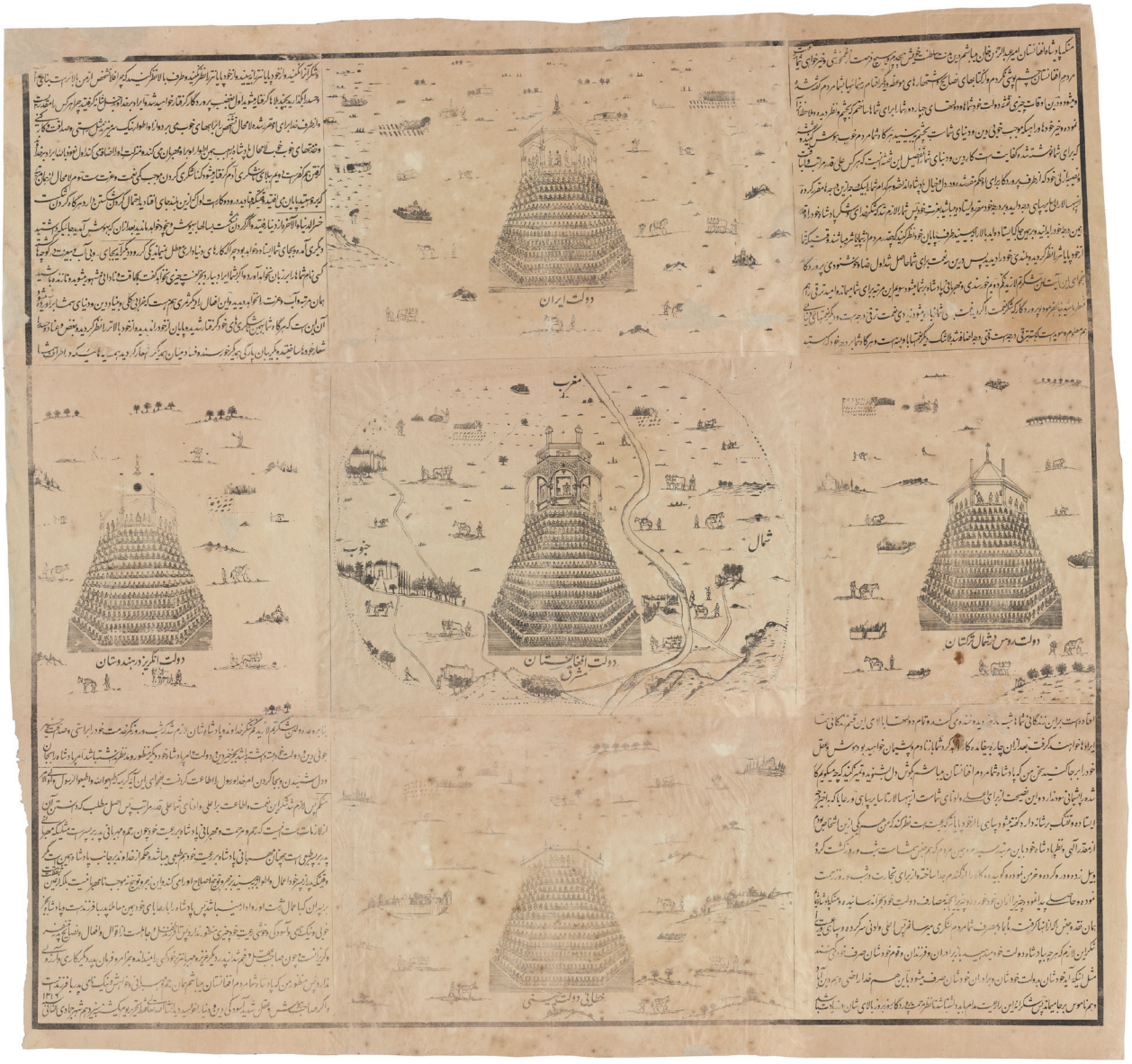
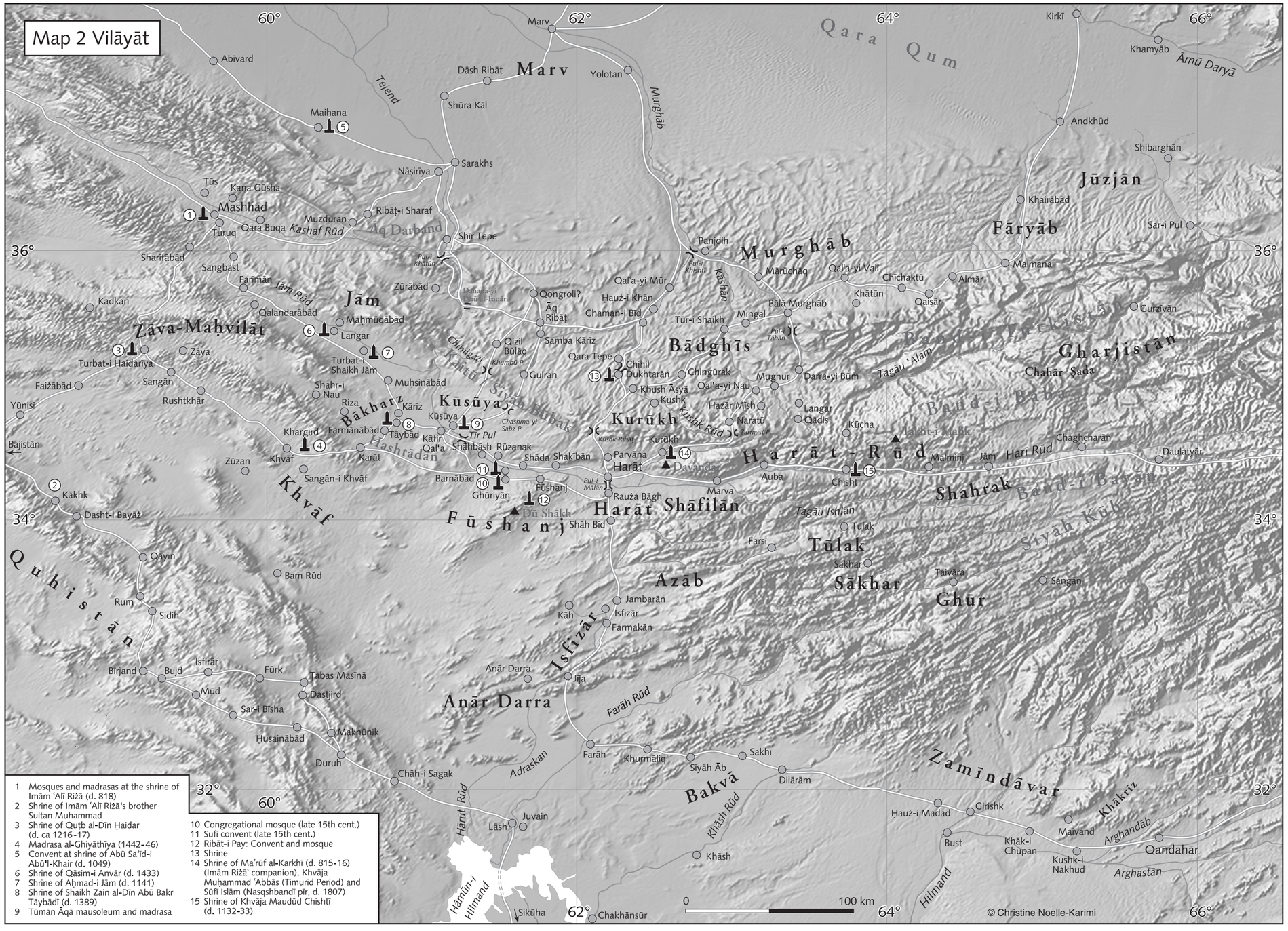
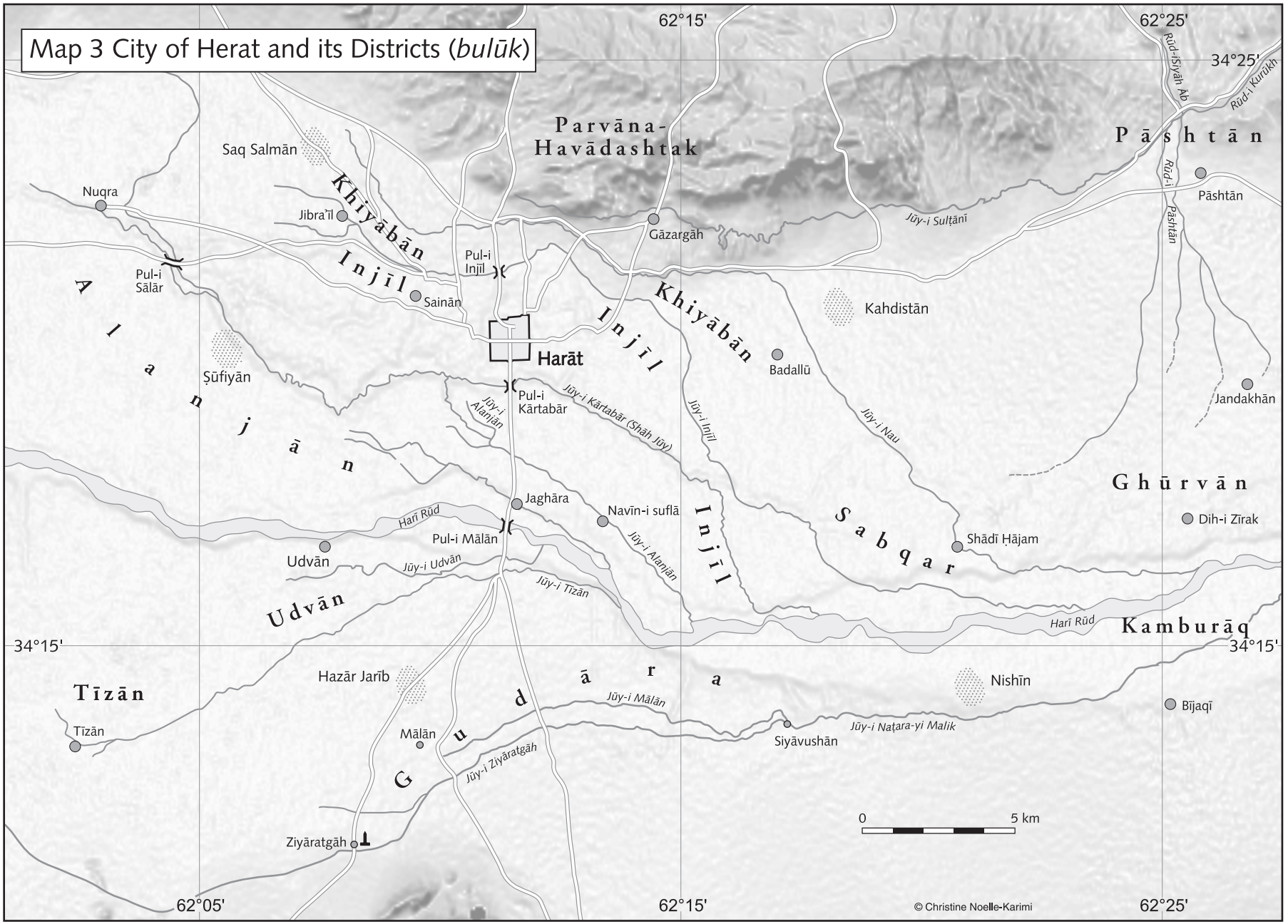


Map 1 Regional Context
Aral Sea
Caspian Sea
Persian Gulf
Mangishlāq
Üst Yurt Plateau
Khvārazm
Ūrganj
Khīva
Hazārasb
Qara Qum
Qizil Qum
Sir Daryā
Tāshkand
Farghāna
Khūqand
Khujand
Ghijduvān
Bukhārā
Zarafshān
Samarqand
Kish
Chārjūy
Āmū Daryā
Burdaliq
Qarshī
Hiṣār
Kopet Dagh
Sumbār
Atrak
Gurgān
Astarābād
Bisṭām
Dāmghān
Khabūshān
Abīvard
Marv
Marv
Murghāb
Sarakhs
Tejend
Kirkī
Jūzjān
Kilīf
Surkhān Darya
Kāfirnihān
Tirmidh
Imām Ṣāḥib
Andkhūd
Āqcha
Balkh
Balkh
Khulm
Qunduz
Badakhshān
Tāliqān
Qaṭaghan
Samangān
Baghlān
Shibarghān
Maimana
Sar-i Pul
Bālā Murghāb
Pāmīr
Karakorum Himalaya
Hindū Kush
Chārīkār
Bāmiyān
Kābul
Laghmān
Jalālābād
Pishāvar
Kashmīr
Qazvīn
Māzandarān
Alburz
Ṭihrān
Ray
Damāvand
Fīrūzkūh
Simnān
Sāva
Varāmīn
Qum
Kāshān
Dasht-i Kavīr
Khurāsān
Tūs
Mashhad
Kashaf Rūd
Sabzavār
Nīshāpūr
Harāt
Fūshanj
Harī Rūd
Jām
Band-i Turkistān
Band-i Bayān
Siyāh Kūh
Kūh-i Bābā
Adraskan
Ghūr
Ghaznī
Ṭabas Gīlakī
Quhistān
Uruzgān
Bannū
Bangash
Salt Range
Ruhtās
Gujrāt
Siyālkōṭ
Pasrūr
Jhilam
Gujrānvāla
Lāhūr
Biyās
Rāvī
Qaṣūr
Sirhind
Isfahān
Yazd
Zāgrus
Farāh Rūd
Farāh
Khāsh Rūd
Zamīndāvar
Girishk
Qandahār
Arghandāb
Tarnak
Qalāt-i Ghilzai
Shahr-i Ṣafā
Zābulistān
Bust
Dūrī
Arghastān
Kadanai
Hāmūn-i Hilmand
Chakhānsūr
Sikūha
Sīstān
Hilmand
Rūdbār
Kūh-i Palangān
Kūh-i Malik Siyāh
Kirmān
Kirmān
Dasht-i Lūt
Pishīn
Shāl
Mastūng
Sībī
Qalāt-i Balūch
Dūkī
Sulaimān Mountains
Ḍērajāt
Ḍēra Ismāʿīl Khān
Layya
Panjāb
Chināb
Multān
Ḍēra Ghāzī Khān
Satlij
Bahāvalpūr
Indus
Kāzarūn
Shīrāz
Khārg
Fārs
Lāristān
Lār
Balūchistān
Shikārpūr
Bhakkar
Sind
Ṭhatta
Lahūrī Bandar
0
200 km
© Christine Noelle-Karimi



1 Mosques and madrasas at the shrine of Imām ʿAlī Riżā (d. 818)
2 Shrine of Imām ʿAlī Riżā's brother Sultan Muhammad
3 Shrine of Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaidar (d. ca 1216-17)
4 Madrasa al-Ghiyāthīya (1442-46)
5 Convent at shrine of Abū Saʿīd-i Abūʾl-Khair (d. 1049)
6 Shrine of Qāsim-i Anvār (d. 1433)
7 Shrine of Aḥmad-i Jām (d. 1141)
8 Shrine of Shaikh Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāybādī (d. 1389)
9 Tūmān Āqā mausoleum and madrasa
10 Congregational mosque (late 15th cent.)
11 Sufi convent (late 15th cent.)
12 Ribāṭ-i Pay: Convent and mosque
13 Shrine
14 Shrine of Maʿrūf al-Karkhī (d. 815-16) (Imām Riżā' companion), Khvāja Muḥammad ʿAbbās (Timurid Period) and Sūfī Islām (Nasqshbandī pīr, d. 1807)
15 Shrine of Khvāja Maudūd Chishtī (d. 1132-33)


Map 3 City of Herat and its Districts (bulūk)
62°15'
62°25'
34°25'
34°15'
62°05'
Parvāna-Havādashtak
Pāshtān
Saq Salmān
Nuqra
Jibra'īl
Khiyābān
Injil
Pul-i Sālār
Pul-i Injīl
Gāzargāh
Jūy-i Sulṭānī
Rūd-i Siyāh Āb
Rūd-i Kurrūkh
Rūd-i Pāshtān
Pāshtān
Sainān
Kahdistān
Harāt
Badallū
Jandakhān
Alanjān
Ṣūfiyān
Pul-i Kārtabār
Jūy-i Kārtabār (Shāh Jūy)
Jūy-i Alānjān
Jūy-i Injīl
Jūy-i Nau
Ghūrvān
Jaghāra
Navīn-i suflā
Dih-i Zīrak
Harī Rūd
Pul-i Mālān
Shādī Ḥājam
Udvān
Jūy-i Udvān
Jūy-i Tīzān
Sabqar
Kamburāq
Hazār Jarīb
Nishīn
Tīzān
Jūy-i Mālān
Bījaqī
Mālān
Jūy-i Naṭara-yi Malik
Siyāvushān
Jūy-i Ziyāraṭgāh
Ziyāratgāh
0
5 km
© Christine Noelle-Karimi

Map 4 City of Herat
Mazār-i Shaikh Zain al-Dīn Muḥammad Khvāfī
Gāzargāh
Khiyābān
Bāgh-i Jahānārā
Ikhlāṣīya
Pul-i Injīl
Muṣallā
Madrasa-yi Sulṭān Ḥusain
Madrasa-yi Gauhar Shād
Masjid-i Gauhar Shād
Bāgh-i Zāghān
Gunbad-i ʿAbdullāh b. Muʿāvīya
Tall-i Bangiyān
Sultānī
Jūy-i Nau
Khiyābān-i
Bāgh-i Safīd
Jūy-i Injīl
Bāgh-i Shahr
Malik
Qipchāq
Burj-i Shamʿāniyān
Qalʿa-yi Ikhtiyār al-Dīn
Burj-i ʿAlī Asad
Masjid-i Jāmiʿ
ʿIrāq
Khush
Burj-i Khākistar
Firūzābād
Burj-i Kh-R-Q
Mazār-i Mīr Shahīd
0
1 km
Jūy-i Kārtabār (Shāh Jūy)
Pul-i Kārtabār
Pul-i Mālān
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Map 5 Mashhad and Western Khurāsān
Greater Balkhān
Lesser Balkhān
Küren Dagh
Kopet Dagh
Caspian Sea
Qizil Arvāt
Durūn
Qara Qal'a
Sumbar
Gök Tepe
'Ishqābād
Anau
Gavurz
Nasā
Rāz
Babadurmaz
Kuran
Lutfābād
Abīvard
Darra Gaz
Dūshākh
Murghāb
Qarayāb
Marv
Dāsh Ribāṭ
Shūra Kāl
Tejend
Atrak
Gurgān
Gunbad-i Qābūs
Ribāṭ-i 'Ishq
Bujnūrd
Shīrvān
Khabūshān
Muḥammadābād
Ribāṭ-i Khākistar
Kalāt-i Nādirī
Maihana
Sarakhs
Āq Qal'a
Naudih
Nardīn
Jājarm
Sankhvāst
Isfarāyin
Rādkān
Marishk
Ashraf
Astarābād
Katūl
Farsiyān
Sipanj
Āzādvār
Bām
Kashaf Rūd
Chinārān
Chāhchaha
Ābūr
Bārfurūsh
Sārī
Māzandarān
Jilān
Faryūmad
Juvain
Jahān-Arghiyān
Akhlamad
Tūs
Pul-i Shāhī
Ribāṭ-i Sharaf
Āmul
Bistām
Mayāmay
Abbāsābād
Shīrgāh
Shāhrūd
Miyāndasht
Pul-i Abrishum
Mazīnān
Mihr
Za'farānīya
Nīshāpūr
Mashhad
Turuq
Muzdūrān
Zīrāb
Dihmullā
Biyārjumand
Sabzavār
Dāmghān
Qadamgāh
Sharīfābād
Sangbast
Pul-i Khātūn
Āb-i Ask
Bāyjān
Tihrān
Qūsha
Kūh-i Mish
Jām Rūd
Jām
Bumihin
Fīrūzkūh
Āhuvān
Kadkan
Turshīz
Zāva-Mahvilāt
Ray
Sarbandān
Simnān
Kāl-i Shūr-i Jājarm
Langar
Turbat-i Shaikh Jām
Lāsjird
Khalīlābād
Sulṭānābād
Turbat-i Haidarīya
Zāva
Īvān-i Kaif
Dih Namak
Zarmihr
Sangān
Faizābād
Shahr-i Nau
Fażlmand
Rushtkhār
Bākharz
Kārīz
Kūsūya
Yūnisī
Jangal-i Ḥaidarābād
Tāybād
Tīr Pul
Dasht-i Kavīr
Bajistān
Khvāf
Kāfir Qal'a
Ribāṭ-i Sang-i Chāh
Raushanāvand
Zūzan
Karāt
Harī Rūd
Junābad
Sangān-i Khvāf
Pashna Daran
Kākhk
Fūshanj
Shīrghisht
Dasht-i Bayāż
Tūn
Qūhistān
Ribāṭ-i Khushāb
Siqal'a
Qāyin
Chārdih
Bam Rūd
Ribāṭ-i Khān
Ṭabas Gīlakī
Chahār Gunbad
Rūm
Chashma-yi Shuturān
Dihūk
Sidih
Ribāṭ-i Pusht-i Bādām
Zinūghān
Isfirār
Fūrk
Ṭabas Masīnā
Bīrjand
Allāhābād
Bujd
Dastjird
Sar-i Bīsha
Mūd
Sāghand
Shahr-i Nau
Nāyband
Ḥusainābād
Makhūnīk
Kharanaq
Duruh
Chāh-i Sagak
Hārūt Rūd
Ḥujjaṭābād-i Vazīr
Yazd
Juvain
Lāsh
Kirmān
Nih
Sikūha
Hāmūn-i Hilmand
0
100 km
© Christine Noelle-Karimi
54°
56°
58°
60°
38°
36°
34°
32°
52°

VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN ZUR IRANISTIK

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON BERT G. FRAGNER UND FLORIAN SCHWARZ

(Nr. 1–21: Veröffentlichungen der Iranischen Kommission,
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