

V. V. BARTHOLD

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FOUR STUDIES ON THE  
HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN

BY

V. AND T. MINORSKY

VOLUME III

MĪR 'ALĪ-SHĪR

A HISTORY OF THE TURKMAN PEOPLE



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## FROM THE TRANSLATOR

With the publication of the essay on Mīr ʿAlī Shīr the promise to present an English translation of “Four Studies” of Barthold is fulfilled, but after the publication of the first issue containing “A short history of Turkestan” and a “History of the Semirechye”, and of the second issue on Ulugh-beg, it was discovered that *Mīr ʿAlī Shīr* would be somewhat short to form a separate volume in the series. It has been decided therefore to supplement it with some other study from Barthold’s vast heritage.

“An Outline of the History of the Turkmans”<sup>1</sup>, which the translators have chosen for this purpose, might in fact be considered as the fifth essay in the selection, but in order not to disturb the title of the series we present it here as a somewhat extensive Annex.

It was written at a difficult period in Barthold’s life, when having lost his wife and being himself in precarious health, he had to work “as never before” (as he said in a private letter) to satisfy the requests of the new nations of Central Asia anxious to know more about their past. With his usual thoroughness the historian of Turkestan extracted from the vast range of sources a mass of facts which will form the starting point of any future research.

As regards the basic essay of the present issue<sup>2</sup>, the commemoration of the 400th anniversary of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr has produced a great number of publications in the lands of both Iranian and Turkic culture. To compile an adequate list of them would be no easy task but one can be sure that in that vast sea Barthold’s essay still floats like Noah’s Ark.

15 November 1960

V. MINORSKY

<sup>1</sup> Published in the joint effort volume *Turkmenia*, 1929, I, 3-69.

<sup>2</sup> Appeared in the joint effort volume *Mīr ʿAlī Shīr*, published by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., 1928, pp. 100-164.



Mīr 'Alī Shīr in his old age  
*Portrait by Maḥmūd Mudbabbib*

# MĪR ‘ALĪ SHĪR

## INTRODUCTORY

Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s career as a poet, and especially as a patron of art and science, is closely linked with the rule of the Timurids. It was a brilliant epoch in the cultural history of Persia and of the Turks — her masters in those days — and to it belong the finest monuments of Persian Muslim architecture. Quite naturally this period aroused much interest among European scholars, but no monograph, sufficiently comprehensive and founded on first hand sources, has been devoted either to the Timurid dominion as a whole, or to any of its protagonists in the cultural and political field. In this case what hampers the student is not the lack but the plethora of material contained in manuscripts scattered among many libraries and still awaiting critical examination and, above all, critical editing. In fact there exists no work giving a complete survey of the sources on the history of the Timurids, let alone a critical study of them.

In 1918 I published a monograph *Ulugh-beg and his times*<sup>1</sup> which does not exhaust, however, the material on the subject. One of the lacunae I later noticed and partly filled<sup>2</sup> was the absence of any mention of Ulugh-beg’s coins which proved to be very interesting and characteristic. These coins show that Ulugh-beg, for all his cultural and scientific leanings, was even more of a Turk and of an upholder of Timur’s political and military traditions than it had first seemed<sup>3</sup>. This helps to obtain a more complete picture of life in Samarqand under Ulugh-beg, essentially so different from what it became in the second half of the fifteenth century when “the forty years’ reign of Ulugh-beg (1409-1449) was succeeded by the forty years’ domination of KHOJA AĦRĀR of the Naqshbandi order”<sup>4</sup>. In the same

<sup>1</sup> [V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, v. II, Engl. transl. Leiden 1958.]

<sup>2</sup> The article “Ulugh-beg’s coins” (in Russian), *Izvestiya Gos. Ak. Mat. Kulturi*, II, pp. 190-192.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 178, Annex A.

<sup>4</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 168

book <sup>1</sup> I referred to the flourishing state of Herat under the rule of another Timurid SULTĀN-ḤUSAYN (1473-1506), of whom Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was a friend and intimate.

In the present essay the life in Herat in the days of Sultān-Ḥusayn and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr is studied in more detail. It is not my purpose to give an exhaustive study of the pertinent literature, but with the aid of the sources accessible to me at the present moment <sup>2</sup> I shall try to make the image of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr more realistic than that created by the fantasy of Oriental, nay even of European panegyrists. In the same way I endeavoured to destroy the imaginary view of Ulugh-beg as a “scholarly idealist who from the first days of his reign abandoned politics and devoted all his time to mathematics and astronomy” <sup>3</sup>.

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr’s activities formed the subject of the earliest M. A. thesis presented to the Faculty of Oriental Languages in the University of St. Petersburg. The task of its author, M. Nikitsky <sup>4</sup>, was to characterise Mīr ʿAlī Shīr’s “public and literary importance”. His enthusiastic encomium has long been forgotten, but another monograph on Mīr ʿAlī Shīr published five years later by A. Belin <sup>5</sup> still enjoys some credit both in the East and West, although it is also much more of a panegyric than a historical study. Apart from other reasons, this is due to the rhetorics of the French style of the 1860-5, from which even the great Dozy was not exempt <sup>6</sup>. Belin’s rhetoric goes far beyond that of his Persian sources. It is hard to accept that the words <sup>7</sup> “c’est, dit-il, pendant mon séjour à Mechhed, où je restai, après la mort de Sultān-Bābour, plongé dans la douleur d’avoir perdu mon bienfaiteur, que etc.” reproduce the text <sup>8</sup> in which Mīr

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Mostly the same as I used in *Ulugh-beg*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. IX.

<sup>4</sup> *Amīr Nizām al-dīn ʿAlī Shīr* (in Russian) SPb. 1856.

<sup>5</sup> *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mīr ʿAlī-Shīr-Névāī*, *Jour. As.*, 1861, février, 175-256, avril, 281-357. In another article, *Jour. As.*, 1866, juin, 523-52, août, 126-54, Belin studies Mīr ʿAlī Shīr’s *Mahbūb al-qulūb*.

<sup>6</sup> Barthold, *R. Dozy*, in *IAN*, 1921, p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> *Notice*, p. 183.

<sup>8</sup> *Majālis al-nafāʿis*, Univ. MS., 618, f. 19a: *gharīb-va-khasta yiqīlīp erdim*.



‘Alī Shīr says that at that time he was a stranger in Mashhad and lay ill in bed. The original has not a word about the benefactor, or grief over his death. As we shall see, in many other instances the impression given by the actual text of the sources is somewhat different from that created by the “embellished” translation. In his monograph, Belin gives no clear idea of the character of the sources, nor does he tackle the still moot question<sup>1</sup> of how volume VII of the *Raudat al-ṣafā* was composed, and how much of it belongs respectively to Mīrkhond and Khwāndamīr. The author quotes Mīrkhond throughout, even in the passages on the death and burial of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr<sup>2</sup>, although Mīrkhond died in 1498, and Mīr ‘Alī Shīr in 1501. Nevertheless, as late as 1920, E. G. Browne<sup>3</sup> described Belin’s work as “an admirable monograph” and borrowed from it the far from accurate picture of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s “singularly peaceful” life. Almost entirely based on Belin’s monograph is the biography of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr compiled by Ismā‘īl Hekmat to commemorate the fifth centenary (A.H. 844-1344) of the poet’s birth<sup>4</sup>.

A recent volume of the *Journal Asiatique* contains an article by L. Bouvat on the civilisation of the Timurid epoch<sup>5</sup>. The author contrasts the flourishing state of culture until the end of the Timurid dynasty and the subsequent political and social decay. He also points out the baleful character, “au point de vue moral”, of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn’s reign, “so brilliant in many other respects”<sup>6</sup>. The author’s information on the data contained in the sources

<sup>1</sup> In a MS. described by Rieu in his *Catalogue* (Persian MSS., p. 93) Mīrkhond is named as the author. The Tehran lith. edition, 1270 A.H., attributes it to Khwāndamīr.

<sup>2</sup> *O.c.*, p. 213 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *A History of Persian Literature under the Tartar dominion*, 1920, p. 506. Also, *ibid.*, p. 439: “the best account of Mir Ali Shir’s works with which I am acquainted”.

<sup>4</sup> In a pamphlet published by the Azarbayjan Literary Society, Baku 1926, and presented to the First All-Union Turcological Conference. Reviewed by A. N. Samoylovich in *Mīr ‘Alī Shīr*, ed. by the Academy of the U.S.S.R., 1928, pp. 167-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Essai sur la civilisation timouride*, *J. As.* v. CCVIII, 1926, pp. 193-299.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

is insufficient and inaccurate. Like many of his predecessors, including E. G. Browne<sup>1</sup>, he repeats the mistake<sup>2</sup> about Hāfizi-Abrū's work when he says that only the first two volumes have come down to us. M. Bouvat utilises the works of Mīrkhond, Khwāndamīr, Babur and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. To these he adds<sup>3</sup>, with no justification whatever, the spurious 'Institutes' of Timur, composed in India in the seventeenth century and in no way characteristic of fifteenth century Iran. On the other hand, he neglects the material accessible only in MSS., including even ʿAbd al-Razzaq's *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*. This manifestly inadequate acquaintance with the sources is responsible for the fact that M. Bouvat's article gives no idea of the struggles and upheavals which took place under the Timurids, or even of the transformation of Ulugh-beg's Samarqand into the Samarqand of Khoja Ahrār.

[*Additional note.* Only while reading the last proofs have I had the opportunity of acquainting myself with M. Bouvat's latest book<sup>4</sup>. Its pp. 162-180 are devoted to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr is additionally mentioned in the chapter *La littérature turque*, pp. 205-7. The book does not add anything essential to our knowledge. Like his predecessors, the author does not give any proper idea either of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's reign or of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's life.]

<sup>1</sup> *O.c.*, p. 425.

<sup>2</sup> Refuted by me thirty years ago in *al-Muzaffariya*, p. 25 sq. See also my article on Hāfizi-Abrū published in *EI* in 1915, and fully accessible to Western scholars.

<sup>3</sup> As Nikitsky had done before him.

<sup>4</sup> L. Bouvat, *L'Empire Mongol: deuxième partie*, Paris 1927, published in E. Cavaignac's series *Histoire du monde*, tome VIII/3.

## I. IRANIANS AND TURKS

Mīr ‘Alī Shīr is perhaps the most brilliant representative of that particular current of the literary and cultural life of the Turks which is characterized by a complete surrender to the influence to ‘Perso-Muslim’ culture. We know from Maḥmūd Kāshgharī’s work<sup>1</sup> that, even after they accepted Islam, the Turks possessed a poetry of their own, both popular and literary, which was hardly touched by Persian influence. But even in those days there existed the proverb: “there is no Turk without a Tat; no cap without a head”<sup>2</sup>. When the Turks became the main, and almost the sole holders of political and military power in the Iranian world, their concept of their own political past was affected by the Persian epics on the “Turanian” king Afrāsiyāb. The Turkish rulers of Iranian provinces remained Turks in their language, names and titles. Turkish even spread among the Iranians. Towns sprang up with a Turkish population; among them, first Kashgar, then the towns of Khwarazm and of the regions along the lower course of the Sīr-Darya, became centres of Turkish literary movements. Yet for the cultured Turks such literary works could not compare with the creations of Persian literature, and this led to their being soon forgotten. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr knew nothing about Turkish poets, or even about the Turkish kings of the pre-Mongol period. For him “Sulṭān Toghril” (i.e. presumably the first bearer of this name and the founder of the Seljuk empire) was one of the *Sart*, i.e. “Iranian” sultans, in the terminology of those days<sup>3</sup>.

The Mongols brought with them a new East-Asian current which powerfully affected the cultural evolution of the Central Asian Turks. While the Mongols were being Turkicised in the

<sup>1</sup> *Kitāb diwan lughat al-Turk*, 3 volumes, Constantinople 1333-1335.

<sup>2</sup> Kāshgharī, II, 224. [*Tat* means “a non-Turk, a sedentary”, especially an Iranian. V.M.]

<sup>3</sup> Quatremère, *Chrestomathie en Turc Oriental*, fasc. I, Paris 1841, p. 33 (from the *Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*).

West, the Turks themselves gradually absorbed the traditions of Chingiz-khan's empire, until the reminiscences of the Turkish rulers of pre-Mongol times came to be obliterated. These Mongol traditions lived on in the three "Mongol" states formed in the West by the break-up of the Mongol empire: the kingdom of the Golden Horde, with its centre on the Volga; Persia, with her centre in the North-West, and the Mongol state in Central Asia, which later came to be called after Chingiz-khan's second son, Chaghatay. Everywhere the Mongol invasion seems to have brought about a considerable increase of the Turkish population. And everywhere the glamour of the Mongol state, regarded as *Turkish*, fostered the growth of Turkish national consciousness coupled with cultural activity. On the eastern border of the Golden Horde, the principal town of Khwarazm, Urgenj, became "one of the largest, most beautiful and most important Turkish towns" <sup>1</sup>. The *khanāqa*, built in Urgenj in the first half of the fourteenth century by Türe-beg-khanım, is one of the handsomest buildings of the Mongol epoch. Still further East, in Barch-kand on the SİR-Darya, the scholar Jamāl Qarshī <sup>2</sup>, a native of Almaliq (near Qulja), met in 672/1273-4 the theologian Ḥusām al-din Ḥāmīdi al-<sup>c</sup>Āṣimi Barchinlighī who wrote poetry in three languages: his Arabic verses were eloquent, the Persian witty, the Turkish truthful <sup>3</sup>. This seems to be the earliest attempt to characterise the three literary languages of the Muslim world and their respective creations. Already under the caliph Ma'mun (A.D. 813-833), eloquence was regarded as the privilege of Arabic literature, and ideas as the prerogative of the Persian letters <sup>4</sup>, and now Turkish came into its own with the recognition of its greater naturalness and spontaneity. From what he heard from his father and uncle who spent three years in Bukhara (probably in 1262-1265), Marco Polo describes this town as "the best city

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Battūṭa, in V. Tiesenhausen, *Collection of materials for the history of the Golden Horde* (in Russian), SPb. 1884, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> On him see *ZVO*, XI, 283 sq.

<sup>3</sup> V. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> *Aḥmad ibn abī Ṭāhir Ṭaifūr, Kitāb Bagdād*, ed. Keller, 158.

in all Persia”<sup>1</sup>, i.e. in the country where Persian was spoken. In *Ulugh-beg* I have mentioned the constructions of the Central Asian khans and, in later times, those of Timur and Ulugh-beg in Andijān, Qarshī, Shahrīsabz and Samarqand. In the last three towns the rulers built for themselves, whereas Andijān was founded solely in the interests of the population, and had no palatial residences. An anonymous historian of the early fifteenth century<sup>2</sup> adds that khan Duva settled in Andijān many people from all over his dominions, and “to this very day each quarter of the town is called after some particular people”<sup>3</sup>. Andijān became a purely Turkish town. According to Babur (born in Farghāna in 1482) there was not a man in the town, or its bazaar, who did not know Turkish. He adds that Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s works were written in the Andijān dialect, meaning probably that in Andijān, a town of culture, a “correct” idiom was spoken, i.e. one close to the literary language<sup>4</sup>. But Mīr ‘Alī Shīr never visited Andijān and only when speaking of his residence in Samarqand casually mentions two men from Andijān who were studying there<sup>5</sup>.

One might have expected the Mongol khans, and later Timur, to foster outside Iran a culture comparable to the Iranian, but this did not happen. By virtue of its cultural attainments, Iran continued to enjoy an exclusive position among the lands occupied by the Mongols. Iran alone produced historians capable of describing the feats of Chingiz-khan, Timur and their descendants. At least, only the works of Iranian historians writing in Iranian towns<sup>6</sup> have come down to posterity, and we owe to them nearly all we know of the events that occurred in Turkestan, from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth.

<sup>1</sup> *Travels of Marco Polo*, Russian translation by I. I. Minayev, p. 6. [Marco Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, 1929, I, 10].

<sup>2</sup> Daulatshāh, ed. Browne, 371.

<sup>3</sup> Iskandar’s Anonym (probably Mu‘īn al-din Natanzī), MS. As. Mus., f. 245b. [Such was the case of Marghelan even in the twentieth century. V.M.]

<sup>4</sup> *GMS*, I, 2b. Babur says that the Andijān dialect is *qalam bile rāst* “consistent with the writing”.

<sup>5</sup> *Majālis*, 28a.

<sup>6</sup> Though occasionally they were men of Turkish descent.

## II. HERAT AND ITS IMPORTANCE

Around Samarqand Timur built villages to which he gave the names of Sultāniya, Shīrāz, Baghdad, Dimishq (Damascus) and Miṣr (Cairo) so that they should witness to the paramountcy of Samarqand over all the other cities. Herat was not included in the number, and Timur did not foresee that in the near future this town was destined to emulate Samarqand, even in the political field.

Whatever Timur's intentions may have been, it turned out that he dealt a fatal blow to Khwarazm, the main centre of extra-Iranian<sup>1</sup> culture, whereas many Iranian provinces, if not all of them, were able to recover rapidly from Timur's devastations and massacres. The opinion often held by European scholars<sup>2</sup> on the results of Timur's devastations is not confirmed by the facts. The account of Clavijo, who crossed Persia during the last year of Timur's reign, clearly shows that at that time Northern Persia did not give the impression of being a ravaged and depopulated land. Various towns were governed by Timur's sons and grandsons, which in itself was bound to contribute to their restoration. Each of the princes strove to enhance the brilliance of his court by drawing upon both local and Central Asian cultural elements. Turkish poets were to be found not only in Herat, but also in Shīrāz<sup>3</sup>.

Herat had always been a large city but, before the coming of the Mongols, it was not the capital of any particular dynasty. It is true that the Ghūrīds (twelfth to fourteenth century) favoured it with some attention, but only the Kurt dynasty, related to the Ghūrīds<sup>4</sup>, arose in Herat. This was perhaps the first

<sup>1</sup> [In this case it might have been more adequate to speak of "External, or Greater Iran". V.M.]

<sup>2</sup> Especially A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, II, 268 sq., where some exception is made only for the "ostpersische Provinzen".

<sup>3</sup> Daulatshāh, *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> [Through their ministers. *Kart* is a better reading than *Kurt*. V.M.]

dynasty of Iranian origin to spring up after the Mongol invasion. After the collapse of the Mongol power in Persia, the Herat ruler MU<sup>ʿ</sup>IZZ AL-DĪN ḤUSAYN (1331-1370) became independent and strove to subjugate the other parts of Khorasan. At the time when in Turkestan the Turkish military force, as represented by the Chaghatay begs, took the upper hand, it was in Herat, for geographical reasons, that the two elements, Iranian urban culture and Turkish military tradition<sup>1</sup>, were bound to clash sooner than elsewhere, even though the necessity to conciliate them was, somewhat vaguely, realised by men of the Timurid epoch, including Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. Already the first of the Chaghatay begs, QAZAGHAN (1346-1358), made war on the ruler of Herat<sup>2</sup>. He is said to have contemptuously referred to Ḥusayn as a “Tajik who advances claims to the sultanate”<sup>3</sup>. Before the battle Qazaghan pointed out to his followers the disadvantages of the position chosen by Ḥusayn, adding: “this Tajik does not know the art of warfare”<sup>4</sup>. The Chaghatays defeated Ḥusayn’s army but could not take the fortified town. From that time onwards the relations between the Kurts and the Chaghatays continued alternately more, or less, friendly, until Herat was taken by Timur (1381), the Kurt dynasty deposed (1383) and its members exterminated (1389).

Herat became the residence of Timur’s sons who ruled Khorasan: first Mīrānshāh, then, after 1397, Shāhrukh. The latter’s fief, in addition to Khorasan, included Sīstān and Māzandarān. The prosperity of Sistan could not be restored in the same measure as that of the other provinces, for in 1383 Timur had destroyed the famous “dyke of Rus-

<sup>1</sup> It can be seen from the curious comparison of the Persians and the Turks in the *Muhākamat al-lughatayn* that Mīr ʿAlī Shīr cherished the hope that the Turks might outstrip the Persians even in the cultural field. Somewhat naively, the author saw the superiority of the Turks over the Persians in the fact that every Turk knew Persian, while hardly any Persian knew Turkish.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ulugh-beg*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *ZN*, I, 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 34.

tam”<sup>1</sup>. Both under Timur and under Shāhrukh, Sistan several times revolted against the Chaghatay power and was laid waste anew. Māzandarān was joined with Khorasan already under the Chingizids. According to Hamdullah Qazvinī<sup>2</sup>, Khorasan, Kūhistan, Kūmis, Māzandarān and Tabaristan were, under the Mongols, like a separate state, and their revenues were entered separately from the general revenue of the Mongol dominions in Persia. The explanation of this arrangement must be probably sought in the conditions of nomad life: the Mongol detachments stationed in Khorasan withdrew for the winter to the shore of the Caspian sea. Such movements are often mentioned in Timur’s and Shāhrukh’s histories.

One result of the troubles that followed Timur’s death was that Herat, instead of Samarqand, acquired the rank of the capital of Timur’s empire. The Timurids had to struggle not only amongst themselves, but also with the survivors of the dynasties dispossessed by Timur. In the West, the Turkman dynasty of the BLACK SHEEP succeeded in securely restoring its kingdom, and even in extending its possessions beyond the old boundaries. After Shāhrukh’s three expeditions to the West, Jahān-Shāh (1436), son of Qara-Yūsuf who had fought against Timur, was recognised ruler of Azarbayjan. In the remaining part of Persia, the descendants of Timur’s three eldest sons, Jahāngīr, ‘Omar-Shaykh and Mirānshāh, were gradually replaced by the sons of Shāhrukh. Of these, ULUGH-BEG ruled from 1409 in Samarqand, IBRĀHĪM-SULTAN from 1414 in Shiraz, and SUYURGHATMĪSH from 1418 in Kabul, Ghazni and Qandahar. Another of Shāhrukh’s sons, Baysunqur, who had assimilated Persian learning to a greater degree than his brothers, remained in Herat. He was regarded as his father’s vazir and, with him, contributed to the splendour of the capital. For one of Baysunqur’s infant sons, SULTĀN-MUḤAMMAD, a special state was created in Central Persia in 1442, comprising the towns of Sulṭaniya, Qazvin, Rayy and Qum<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> V. Barthold, *A historical and geographical survey of Iran* (in Russian) SPb. 1903, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *GMS*, XXIII, I, 147.

<sup>3</sup> AR, f. 257b.



On the whole, this division of the former empire favoured the restoration of culture and its further development. Besides the capital, other cities too realised achievements which later profited the whole of the Iranian cultural world. In his account of Ibrāhīm-Sultān's death (1435), 'Abd al-Razzaq mentions as his particular merit his patronage to SHARAF AL-DĪN YAẒDĪ which enabled "this most elegant writer in the world and the noblest man in Iran"<sup>1</sup> to finish his work on Timur's history (*Zafar-nāma*). Under the Uzbeks this work was translated into Turki by a Bukharan author<sup>2</sup>, but even under the Timurids it attracted the attention of the Turks. The poet Lutfī, whom 'Alī Shīr prefers to all his other predecessors<sup>3</sup>, completed a versified version of the *Zafar-nāma*. No fair copy of this work (over 2,000 verses) was prepared and it remained unknown<sup>4</sup>.

The concentration of the power in the hands of the members of Shāhrukh's family did not lead to political stability. Shāhrukh's sons and grandsons fought against each other. Gradually the Timurid state shrank and, in the provinces still under Timurid rule, the power passed to the descendants of 'Omar-Shaykh and Mīrānshāh. In 1446, Shāhrukh himself led an expedition to the West, against his grandson Sultān-Muḥammad<sup>5</sup> who had seized Isfahan and was besieging Shiraz. The prince fled, and among his advisers whom Shāhrukh brought to account was the historian Sharaf al-dīn, the prince's constant companion. It was said that in some verses he suggested that an old man should make room for a young one, and he was also accused of having assured the prince that Shāhrukh would never come to the West. On being questioned, Sharaf al-dīn admitted only the last charge, but explained that far from being an incitement to rebellion it was only a hope that Shāhrukh would treat his promising grand-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 245b.

<sup>2</sup> *ZVO*, XV, 257. The MS. of this translation exists, as far as I know, only in Constantinople (Nūr-i Othmāniya, 3268).

<sup>3</sup> *Muhākama*, in Quatremère's *Chrestomathy*, 34. On Lutfī see *Ulugh-beg*, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> *Majālis*, 29a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 145.

son with leniency and forgive him his impertinence. ‘Abd al-Latif, Ulugh-beg’s son, who was with Shāhrukh’s army, roughly upbraided the historian, and the latter was handed over to him. This was what ‘Abd al-Latif was aiming at, as he had only wished to save the historian’s life, and he immediately sent him to Herat. According to one report<sup>1</sup> ‘Abd al-Latif claimed that Ulugh-beg needed Sharaf ad-dīn for his astronomical observations, and therefore sent him to Samarqand. ‘Abd al-Razzaq<sup>2</sup> says nothing on the subject, and apparently the historian went no further than Herat. When Khorasan was for a short time seized by Sultān-Muḥammad (1449) Sharaf al-dīn was able to return to the West. He settled down in his birth-place Taft (near Yazd) and lived there in his khānaqā till he died in 1454. In spite of his association with Sultān-Muḥammad, he was visited there in 1452 by Sultān-Muḥammad’s brother and murderer Abul-Qāsim Babur<sup>3</sup>.

Despite the discord which reigned among Shāhrukh’s descendants, the political prestige of Herat built up by the exertions of Shāhrukh proved more enduring than the prestige with which Timur had sought to endow Samarqand. Sultān-Muḥammad’s expedition against Herat in 1449 was partly provoked by the declaration of the “chiefs (*sardārān*) of [Persian] Iraq and Luristan” that they would submit to the sovereign whose residence would be “the throne of Shāhrukh’s sultanate”<sup>4</sup>. Mīrānshāh’s grandson ABŪ-SA‘ĪD<sup>5</sup>, who reigned in Samarqand since 1451, was constantly planning to seize Herat and make it his capital<sup>6</sup>, and when in 1459 he achieved his ambition, he stayed on in Herat.

<sup>1</sup> Rieu, *Pers. Man.*, 173.

<sup>2</sup> AR, f. 270b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 295a. Abul-Qāsim Babur (d. in 1457) must not be confused with Zāhīr al-dīn Babur, founder of the empire of the Great Moghuls (d. in 1530), but to call them “Babur I” and “Babur II”, as this is sometimes done, would be a mistake as they ruled over entirely different provinces.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 286a.

<sup>5</sup> On him see *Ulugh-beg*, p. 160 sq.

<sup>6</sup> AR, f. 309b. Cf. *Ulugh-beg*, p. 173, note 1.

Somewhat earlier the Timurids lost the western part of Iran. According to ‘Abd al-Razzaq, in 1453 all the western provinces of Persia from the frontiers of Azarbaijan and down to the Ocean, which had remained under the sway of Timur’s dynasty for 80 years, submitted to the Turkmans <sup>1</sup>. In 1458 JAHĀN-SHĀH tried even to take Herat from the Timurids, but he had no success, and in 1459 a treaty was concluded which left Western Persia to Jahān-Shāh, and Khorasan to Abū-Sa‘īd <sup>2</sup>. After Jahān-Shāh’s death in 1467, Abū-Sa‘īd tried to restore the Timurid power in the West — an attempt which cost him his life (1469). The western part of Iran remained under the Turkmans, with the only difference that the house of the Black Sheep was succeeded by that of the White Sheep (Aq-qoyunlu). The principal representatives of this new dynasty were UZUN-HASAN (1466-1478) and his son YA‘QŪB (1479-1490). Meanwhile the Timurid state finally broke up; Turkestan remained under the power of Abū-Sa‘īd’s sons, whereas Khorasan passed into the hands of SULTĀN-ḤUSAYN, a descendant of ‘Omar-Shaykh.

Thus were formed those states outside which Mīr ‘Alī Shīr, judging by his works, found nothing worthy of notice by way of culture: the Turkman kingdom in the West and the two Timurid kingdoms, one in Samarqand and the other in Khorasan <sup>3</sup>, neither of which formed a well-knit entity. In Khorasan in particular many towns had their own “sultans” hostile to each other although belonging to the same family — that of Sultān-Ḥusayn. The cultural life of Herat undoubtedly surpassed that of Samarqand, but it is less clear how far the Timurid East was superior to the Turkman West. Our sources — mainly written in the Timurid state — are naturally biased in their judgment of the Turkmans. This much can be said that some of the records, quoted by European scholars <sup>4</sup>, are contradicted by the evidence

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 295a. The statement on “80 years” is slightly exaggerated for Timur crossed the Amu-Darya only in 1380. [The Turkmans of the Black Sheep (*Qara-qoyunlu*)].

<sup>2</sup> On the treaty, *ibid.*, 316b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Majālis*, f. 31b, the expression *Khorasan va Samarqand mülki*.

<sup>4</sup> For example Bouvat in *J. As.*, CCVIII, 270, about Jahān-Shāh: “athée notoire, débauché et cruel”.

of other Timurid, but more impartial, sources <sup>1</sup>. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s opinion of his contemporary Sultān Ya‘qūb <sup>2</sup> is also comparatively favourable.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ‘Abd al-Razzaq’s report on Jahān-Shāh’s rule, f. 331a: “the country of Azarbayjan was extremely flourishing thanks to Mīrzā Jahān-Shāh’s beneficence and good intentions. This well-meaning sovereign was thoroughly engaged in dispensing justice, in restoring the country, in raising the condition of the subjects; his capital Tabriz, by virtue of its numerous population and the advent of tranquillity, emulated Egypt and shone like the sun in its splendour”.

<sup>2</sup> *Majālis*, 78b: “among the Turkman sultans there were few stalwarts equal to him in the pleasantness of nature and in the praiseworthiness of manners”.

### III. MĪR ʿALĪ SHĪR'S ORIGIN AND YOUTH

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was born in Herat in 844/1440-1. According to Khwāndamīr <sup>1</sup> his family was closely connected with the Timurid house, in particular with the descendants of ʿOmar-Shaykh. With the latter, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's family was bound by ties of foster-brotherhood (*kūkältāshī*). This term is usually explained in dictionaries as *köngültash* "foster-brother, foster-sister", but those who have heard it for themselves give it as *kükältash* <sup>2</sup>. A large number of buildings of the Uzbek period in Turkestan are linked with persons surnamed *kükältash*. This term does not accompany Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's name, but it appears in that of his brother, Darvīsh-ʿAlī <sup>3</sup>.

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr belonged to the high serving aristocracy and was by birth an *amīr* <sup>4</sup>, *beg*, or (in Mongolian) *noyon* <sup>5</sup>, independently from the fact whether he held any charge or not. Among Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's more distant ancestors, Belin <sup>6</sup>, following Sām-mīrzā, mentions his maternal great-grandfather, Bū-Saʿīd Chang, one of the chief amirs of the divan in the time of Mīrzā Bayqara, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's grandfather. As we shall see, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr several times refers to his father without giving his name <sup>7</sup>. In one of Khwandamīr's stories Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's father

<sup>1</sup> *Habīb al-siyar*, 217. [Throughout this essay references are to the Bombay edition, III, 3].

<sup>2</sup> [*Köngül* means "heart" and *köngül-tash* would mean "heart companion", which the dictionaries equate with "nourished by the same breast, frère de lait". The interpretation may be right but the etymology *kükäl* = *köngül* is not sure. V.M.]

<sup>3</sup> For example, *HS*, 249, above.

<sup>4</sup> Hence the *Mīr* before his personal name which has been retained in literary works. It would be more correct to call him simple Alī-Shīr.

<sup>5</sup> Babur writes *Alī-Shīr beg*. The title *noyon* accompanies Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's name, for instance, in *Daulatshāh*, 14.

<sup>6</sup> *O.c.*, 180. Cf. Nikitsky, 35.

<sup>7</sup> [Possibly as a token of respect, usual among the Muslims. V.M.]

is called Ghiyāth al-dīn Kichkina <sup>1</sup>. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s close personal connection with the dynasty appears from the fact that he was Sulṭān-Ḥusayn’s schoolfellow, as already mentioned by Babur <sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, earlier sources do not seem to countenance the anecdote quoted by Belin, namely that the boys promised each other from the very first “de ne point s’oublier, si plus tard la fortune venait à sourire à l’un d’eux”. This story is hardly more credible than the earlier one about the “Three Schoolfellows”, i.e. Nizām al-mulk, Hasan-i Ṣabbāh and ‘Omar Khayyām. It is true that this last is notoriously “full of anachronisms” <sup>3</sup>, whereas in our case the boys’ friendship is chronologically possible. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was born in 1438 <sup>4</sup> and was thus only some two years older than Mīr ‘Alī Shīr. Neither was the joint education of a subject with his prince impossible. At the date of Timur’s death (1405), MĪRZĀ BAYQARA was twelve years old <sup>5</sup>. He lost his political power in 1415. Shāhrukh sent him to Qandahar where he intrigued against the local ruler, the prince Qaydu, for which he was imprisoned. At first Shāhrukh ordered him to be sent to India, but changed his mind when he himself went to Qandahar. Brought to Shāhrukh’s army, Bayqara was sent to Samarqand (1417) <sup>6</sup> and seems to have been killed soon after <sup>7</sup>. His son GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN MANṢŪR could not have been more than a child at his father’s death. He lived till 849/1445-6 and resided in Herat, apparently as a private person. He may have even suffered from want, like Mīrānshāh’s son Sīdī-Aḥmad who addressed to Shāhrukh poems containing urgent requests

<sup>1</sup> *HS*, 179. Belin gives him the name, or surname, of *Kichkina-bahādur* which he found in a seventeenth century Turkish source (*kichkina* “little”, *bahādur* “a hero, a stalwart”). Sām-mīrzā calls him only *Bahādur*.

<sup>2</sup> *GMS*, I, 178b.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., V. A. Zhukovsky in *al-Muzaffariya*, 326.

<sup>4</sup> Muḥarram 842, see *HS*, 203.

<sup>5</sup> *ZN*, II, 734.

<sup>6</sup> On this see *AR*, ff. 205a, 209a sq. In *Notices et extraits*, XIV/I 279 sq., the account of events does not come down to the prince’s adventures in Qandahar.

<sup>7</sup> *Daulatshāh*, 374 sq.

for material assistance <sup>1</sup>. We know that later Sīdī-Aḥmad's son married Sultān-Ḥusayn's sister. As the house in the north-eastern quarter of Herat where Sultān-Ḥusayn was born, came to be called "the palace" (*daulat-khāna*) we may infer that Maṣṣūr's family was somewhat more prosperous, and that the family of Sīdī-Aḥmad may have profited by the new relationship.

Events soon put an end to Mīr 'Alī Shīr's schooling. According to him, during the troubles after Shākrukh's death, his father made up his mind to flee from Khorasan to Iraq with a "large crowd of people" <sup>2</sup>. Mīr 'Alī Shīr's account of this journey and of the meeting in Taft with Sharaf al-dīn raises certain chronological difficulties. Sharaf al-dīn took up residence in Taft only in 1449, so that at the time of their meeting Mīr 'Alī Shīr was not six years old, but somewhat older. The choice of the verses written by the historian for the boy seems strange: "Sufi, do not condemn the revellers who worship wine, for the bowl contains the ray of the Friend's reflection". The fact itself of the arrival of the caravan in Taft and the visit to Sharaf al-dīn's khānaqā is not surprising, as the author of Timur's history must have enjoyed popularity in the East. Among Sharaf al-dīn's visitors were Abul-Qāsim Babur, and, according to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, even a prince of a more distant land, the future khan Yūnus of Moghulistan <sup>3</sup>. This latter report is full of chronological contradictions <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 83, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Majālis*, 14b.

<sup>3</sup> On this term see *Ulugh-beg*, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107. It says that Yūnus was born in 818 or 819/1415 or 1417 (see *TR*, pp. 84 and 115), was taken prisoner by Ulugh-beg at the age of sixteen (though the date is given as 832/1428-9), then was sent to Shahrukh, and from thence to the West to Sharaf al-dīn, under whom he studied in Yazd for twelve years till the latter's death, whereas in point of fact the historian lived till 1454. In Zahīr al-dīn Babur's version, *GMS*, I, 10, Yūnus came to Ibrāhīm-Sultān in Shīrāz five or six months before the latter's death, i.e. in the autumn of 1434, he lived in Shīrāz for seventeen or eighteen years and was *nukar* to the infant 'Abdullāh (born in 1433). Babur does not say that Yūnus was Sharaf al-dīn's pupil, whereas Muḥammad Haydar claims (*TR*, 85) that it was owing to Sharaf al-dīn that Yūnus became the best-educated man ever to have lived among the Moghuls.

By the beginning of the fourteen-fifties some degree of order had been restored in the Timurid possessions. Since 1451 Abū-Saʿīd ruled in Samarqand <sup>1</sup>. On Monday 28 August 1452 <sup>2</sup> Abul-Qāsim Babur returned to Herat from his unfortunate expedition to the West which had nearly cost him the newly conquered Khorasan. In 1454 he made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Samarqand. On concluding a treaty with Abū-Saʿīd he returned to Herat on 25 December <sup>3</sup> of the same year.

These dates were important in Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's life, and may be in that of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and his family also. According to Khwāndamīr <sup>4</sup> Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was fourteen years old when, after taking counsel with his mother, he entered Abul-Qāsim Babur's service. Consequently this must have occurred in 1452, probably after 28 August. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn took part in the expedition of 1454, but he stayed with Abū-Saʿīd and did not return with Babur to Khorasan. He was probably not alone in acting thus, but did it jointly with other princes descended from ʿOmar-Shaykh. This is made clear by subsequent events. Sulṭān-Uvays, son of Muḥammad and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's cousin, raised a revolt. This aroused Abū-Saʿīd's suspicions against the princes, and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn with thirteen of his relatives was imprisoned in the citadel of Samarqand. When this news reached Herat, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's mother Fīrūza-begum, daughter of Timur's grandson Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, killed in 1405 <sup>5</sup>, came to Samarqand to intercede for her son. Through her mother she was a granddaughter of Mīrānshāh and first cousin to Abū-Saʿīd. Her request was granted, and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was liberated and returned to Babur's service.

Khwāndamīr <sup>6</sup> says that Mīr ʿAlī Shīr entered Babur's service at the same time as Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, but he does not explain

<sup>1</sup> *TR*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *AR*, f. 295a, gives the date as 12 Shaʿbān 856.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 300b: 4 Muḥarram 859.

<sup>4</sup> *HS*, 204 above.

<sup>5</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 65. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, son of Manṣur, must have been named in his honour.

<sup>6</sup> *HS*, 217.



whether this relates to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's first or second enlistment. The latter is more probable as, according to Sām-mīrzā <sup>1</sup>, Mīr 'Alī Shīr's father was for some time in Abū-Sa'īd's service, probably at the same time as Sulṭān-Ḥusayn. The earliest authority, 'Abd al-Razzaq, knows nothing of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's first enlistment in Babur's service <sup>2</sup>. He only says that on Abū-Sa'īd's orders, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was imprisoned in the Samarqand citadel, spent "a long time" in captivity, was set free and joined Babur who endowed him with a generous allowance of 100,000 *kebek* <sup>3</sup> dinars. The *kebek* dinar was a silver coin weighing 2 drachms. At the rate of 1 silver drachm = 1/4 of a rouble, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's allowance would amount to 50,000 roubles (£ 5,000).

According to Daulatshāh <sup>4</sup> Mīr 'Alī Shīr's father was in Babur's service; though a Turk, he was an educated man and tried to give his son the best education possible. He is said to have governed the state under Babur, but this can hardly be true, for the historians would have mentioned it. From Mīr 'Alī Shīr's own account <sup>5</sup> it is clear that his father was only a governor in the town of Sabzavār, a famous Shi'ite centre. This record appears in the biography of MĪR-SHĀHĪ of Sabzavār, a poet popular in his day, whose real name was Mīr Aq-Malik. At one time he was an intimate of prince Bāysunqur who died in 1433. Mīr 'Alī Shīr never met him but corresponded with him. Apparently at the time when "the king" sent Mīr 'Alī Shīr's father as *hākīm* to Sabzavār, the *hākīm* of Astarābād sent for Mīr-Shāhī. The poet died in Astarābād and his body was brought to Sabzavār where it was solemnly received by the population and buried by the side of the poet's ancestors. According to

<sup>1</sup> Sām-mīrzā, son of Shah Ismā'īl I, wrote the anthology *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, see *Notice*, 180, Nikitsky, 35.

<sup>2</sup> AR, f. 308b. It is known that 'Abd al-Razzaq was born in Herat in 1413 and died there in 1492. See his biography in *EI*.

<sup>3</sup> Called after the Chaghatay khan Kebek, 1318-1326, see *Ulugh-beg*, p. 8. Instead of *dīnār* the Turks used the word *altun* (*altin*), see Daulatshāh, 373 above. The term *altun* often recurs in Mīr 'Alī Shīr, see *Majālis*, 52a, 56b, 58a.

<sup>4</sup> Daulatshāh, 495.

<sup>5</sup> *Majālis*, 13a.

Khwāndamīr<sup>1</sup> Mīr Shāhī died in Astarābād in 857/1453. In that case, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s father — if not himself — was in Babur’s service already before Sultān Ḥusayn’s arrival from Samarqand. The “correspondence” mentioned by Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was between a child and an old man. Like all the inhabitants of Sabzavār Mīr Shāhī was a Shi‘a, which did not prevent him from becoming a close companion of Bāysunqur. They drew apart only because the poet would not give up his *nom de plume* to please the prince, who wished to appropriate it to his own exclusive use. Later the poet tried to mollify the prince by his verses, but does not seem to have succeeded.

These Shi‘ite connections give rise to the question of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s own persuasion. Belin<sup>2</sup> sees in the very name “‘Alī-Shīr” sufficient proof of his having been a Shi‘a (he uses a rather unhappy expression: “appartenait au rite orthodoxe de la Perse”). Babur<sup>3</sup>, however, names Mīr ‘Alī Shīr among those on whose advice Sultān-Ḥusayn abjured Shi‘ism. There is every indication that, under Timur and his dynasty, the hostility between Sunnis and Shi‘as was not as bitter as it became in the sixteenth century under the Uzbeks and Shah Isma‘īl. Sultān Babur<sup>4</sup>, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s first patron, was also a Sunni though not particularly hostile to the Shi‘as. According to Daulatshāh, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was even then a “bilingual” poet, writing verse both in Persian and Turkish, and Babur liked his poetry. At that time Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s participation in the affairs of the state was of course out of the question. Sām-mīrzā says that Babur became attached to Mīr ‘Alī Shīr and regarded him as a son.

The sources do not give the exact date of Sultān-Ḥusayn’s re-enlistment in Babur’s service, but it must have happened before October 1456. At the beginning of that month Babur left Herat

<sup>1</sup> *HS*, 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Notice*, 219.

<sup>3</sup> *GMS*, I, 164b above.

<sup>4</sup> *AR*, 306a, below, words ascribed to Babur about the Shi‘ite coins struck during his reign: “whatever be a man’s persuasion, let him hold it, but I am firm in the Sunna and in Abū-Hanīfa’s rite”.

for Mashhad where he arrived on the 14th<sup>1</sup>. He was accompanied by both Sultān-Ḥusayn and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, which shows that the former's confinement in the Samarqand citadel was not as prolonged as ʿAbd al-Razzaq would make us think. Babur spent the winter in Mashhad and died there in March 1457<sup>2</sup>.

After Abul-Qāsim Babur's death, the two friends parted for twelve years. For Mīr ʿAlī Shīr those were years of study, at first in Mashhad, then in Herat and Samarqand. For Sultān-Ḥusayn they were years of free "cossack life", as his contemporaries, including Mīr ʿAlī Shīr<sup>3</sup> called it.

In those early years, the young prince did not venture to advance any independent claims, and during the troubles in Khorasan after Babur's death, he tried to side with one or the other of the pretenders. Apparently, immediately after Babur's death he went to Marv to join one of these, MĪRZĀ SANJAR, to whom, in the beginning of 1455, Babur had given in fief Marv, Mākhān and Jām<sup>4</sup>. During Babur's march from Herat to Mashhad in October 1456, the inhabitants of Jām complained to him of the unjust administration of the men appointed by Sanjar, but Babur took no action<sup>5</sup>. After Babur's death, Sanjar showed himself unwilling to submit either to the latter's only son Shāh-Maḥmūd (who was eleven years old), or to Bāysunqur's other grandson Sultān-Ibrāhīm (son of ʿAlā al-daula) who had been in prison in Babur's time. Sultān-Ḥusayn was well received by Sanjar who gave him his daughter Bike-Sultān-begum in marriage. On this occasion robes of honour were distributed to the "princes, dignitaries, amirs and *noyons*"<sup>6</sup>. Sultān-Ḥusayn's eldest son, Badīʿ al-Zamān, was born of this marriage. Later, after he had

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 304b, gives the date as 14 Dhul-qaʿda 860.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 305b, Tuesday, 25 Rabiʿ II 861, probably 22 March.

<sup>3</sup> *Majālis*, 12b: *qazaqliq*. [The Russian term *cossack* is a derivation from the originally Turkish term].

<sup>4</sup> AR, 301a. On Sanjar and his relations with Sultān-Ḥusayn cf. also V. Zhukovsky, *Ruins of ancient Marv* (in Russian), SPb. 1894, p. 69 sq.

<sup>5</sup> AR, 304a.

<sup>6</sup> *HS*, 204; there too other items of information on Sultān-Ḥusayn's youth.

ascended the throne, Sultān-Ḥusayn divorced the companion of his youth, and this separation became a tragedy for the queen <sup>1</sup>. Because of her “high birth”, she used to consider herself above Sultān-Ḥusayn’s other wives and any particular attention which he bestowed on any one of them aroused her wrath. By such behaviour she finally brought him to divorce her. The queen spent the remainder of her life “in extreme grief” till her death in 893/1488. She was buried in royal state in the presence of “Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān and all the princes” (but not the Sultan) in the Badī<sup>c</sup>i madrasa built by her and named after her son. Babur takes this event less tragically and approves of Sultān-Ḥusayn’s action <sup>2</sup>: “a bad woman in the house of a good man is a foretaste of hell on earth”.

The young prince won his father-in-law’s confidence. When, in the summer of 1451 <sup>3</sup>, Sanjar proceeded to Mashhad, he entrusted Marv to Sultān-Ḥusayn. The prince fell out with the chief dignitary, Ḥasan Arlat, on the suspicion that the latter wished to seize his person. Sultān-Ḥusayn occupied Marv but was driven out. He carried on operations on the Murghāb upstream from Marv as far as Marūchaq, spent the winter between Marv and Khiva, and in the spring of 1457 was on the Tejen where, as Khwāndamīr puts it, he won his first victory <sup>4</sup>: he attacked the force of Bābā-Ḥasan who had been dislodged by the Turkmans from the banks of the Gurgān and was marching, by way of Abīvard, to join Sanjar. Bābā-Ḥasan was captured and killed, and part of his force joined Sultān-Ḥusayn. Other victories followed in the same year — the taking of Nesā, then of Astarābād where ruled the Turkman amir ḤUSAYN-BEG SA<sup>c</sup>DLŪ, a cousin of Jahān-Shāh’s. After the capture of the town the prince was hanged <sup>5</sup>. Being desirous to legalise his situation, Sultān-Ḥusayn from Nesā opened negotiations with Sanjar, and from Astarābād, with Abū-Sa<sup>c</sup>īd. As might be expected, this

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 245.

<sup>2</sup> *GMS*, I, 169 above: “the Mirza was right”.

<sup>3</sup> Before this comes the mention of Sha<sup>c</sup>ban 861 (June-July).

<sup>4</sup> Also mentioned in *AR*, 318b.

<sup>5</sup> Thus in *AR*, 319a.

first attempt met with a rebuff. Abū-Saʿīd protracted the negotiations until he had concluded peace with Jahān-Shāh, after which he imprisoned Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's envoy and indicated his intention to wrest Astarābād from him. From then onwards the relations between Abū-Saʿīd and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn remained hostile to the very end.

In 1459 the historian ʿAbd al-Razzaq acted as Abū-Saʿīd's envoy on the Gurgān. In the spring of 1459<sup>1</sup>, Abū-Saʿīd's enemies were defeated at Sarakhs; Sanjar, who was among them, was killed after the battle on Abū-Saʿīd's orders. One detachment fled to Astarābād but was not admitted by Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, and the prince who was in command of it was killed. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn began to coin money bearing Abū-Saʿīd's name. Together with ʿAbd al-Razzaq, he sent to Herat his own envoy who was received, although the war with the Turkmans had ended long ago<sup>2</sup>. This disproves Khwāndamīr's explanation of the reasons for the break between Abū-Saʿīd and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn. Much more worthy of credit is ʿAbd al-Razzaq's report, according to which Abū-Saʿīd's operations against Sulṭān-Ḥusayn were caused by the plundering raids from Mazandaran into Khorasan, in the course of which the raiders penetrated as far as Sabzavār and Nishapūr<sup>3</sup>.

Consequently the initiative in the hostilities belonged to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn. They recurred more than once and often took the form of plundering raids. One episode in the struggle is of considerable historical and geographical interest, namely Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's flight from Astarābād to Khwarazm in 1460, and again in 1461. Both times the crossing of the Amu-Darya is mentioned, at a

<sup>1</sup> In the middle of Jamādi I 863, *ibid.*, 318a.

<sup>2</sup> [This sentence will be better understood if we add that, according to Khwāndamīr, the rupture between Abū-Saʿīd and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn dated from the time when the former felt himself secure from the Turkmans of the Black Sheep. V.M.]

<sup>3</sup> AR, f. 321b. According to Khwāndamīr, 208 above, the bands operated at first against the "Arabs" in Biyārjumand. Their inroad into the provinces of Khorasan was a surprise for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn and contrary to his wishes.

place where now runs the dry bed of the Uzboy<sup>1</sup>. An equally uncommon incident is Abū-Saʿīd's excursion on the sea in the spring of 1460. A few days after he had occupied Astarābād, Abū-Saʿīd proceeded to the sea-shore and put out in a boat, from which he was conveyed on board a large ship. This trip lasted from morning till night<sup>2</sup>.

Abū-Saʿīd left in Astarābād his third son, the infant SULTĀN-MAḤMŪD (born in 1453)<sup>3</sup>. In the beginning of May 1461 Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, taking advantage of Abū-Saʿīd's difficulties in Turkestan, reoccupied Astarābād<sup>4</sup>. From there he led an expedition against Herat, by way of Sabzavār, Nishāpūr and Sarakhs. He besieged the capital and took measures to prevent Abū-Saʿīd's troops from crossing the Amu-Darya, but did not succeed in this latter plan. In October<sup>5</sup>, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was forced to raise the siege and return to Mazandaran, leaving a garrison in Sarakhs which later surrendered to Abū-Saʿīd. At the approach of Abū-Saʿīd's army, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn again fled to Khwarazm. There he gradually made himself master of the whole province, including Khiva, where the inhabitants had risen against the governor appointed by Abū-Saʿīd. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's activity in Khorasan is again referred to under 1464. He marched swiftly through Nesā, Abīvard, Mashhad, Turshīz and Tūn, killing and plundering on the way<sup>6</sup>. In spite of the victory which he won at Turshīz<sup>7</sup>, he was obliged to retreat to Khwarazm which also slipped out of his grasp. Khwarazm passed into the hands of Amir Nūr-Saʿīd,

<sup>1</sup> The report of the first crossing speaks of boats, *ZVO*, XIV, 026 sq. The year 1464 given in *ZVO*, 027, is a mistake. [The report is important as showing that the Oxus disembogued westwards, into the Caspian, instead of flowing, as at present, northwards to the Aral sea. See in more detail, Barthold, *A History of irrigation in Turkestan*, 1914, pp. 88-93. V.M.]

<sup>2</sup> AR, f. 322b.

<sup>3</sup> Babur, *GMS*, I, 25b, the year 857.

<sup>4</sup> According to Khwāndamīr, 209, in the middle of Shaʿban 865.

<sup>5</sup> Muharram 866, AR, 209. The siege began on Monday 31 August/24 Dhul-qaʿda, *ibid.*, 326b.

<sup>6</sup> AR, 333a above; *HS*, 212.

<sup>7</sup> He told Khwāndamīr that in this battle he personally wounded 15 men.

a descendant of Shah-Malik, the former ruler of Khwarazm. Nūr-Saʿīd was regarded as Abū-Saʿīd's vassal, although he several times rebelled against him. In 1465 Sultān-Ḥusayn invaded Khwarazm from the Uzbek country and partly devastated it. Nūr-Saʿīd paid for his negligence in the defence of the province first with his power, and later with his life <sup>1</sup>. In 1468 <sup>2</sup> Sultān-Ḥusayn turned for help to the Uzbek khan ABUL-KHAYR, who once had set Abū-Saʿīd on the throne of Samarqand <sup>3</sup>. Khwāndamīr relates in detail Sultān-Ḥusayn's reception in the khan's *ordu*, where he spent a week, the disputes on points of etiquette and the testing of Sultān-Ḥusayn's capacity for drinking wine without getting drunk, which set him high in the khan's opinion <sup>4</sup>. Abul-Khayr was at the time suffering from paralysis <sup>5</sup> and died soon after. The grave troubles which broke out among the Uzbeks made it hopeless to expect help from them. Sultān-Ḥusayn seems to have penetrated into the more westerly provinces of the Uzbek possessions. His sister married the Astrakhan khan Aḥmad <sup>6</sup>, possibly the khan of the Golden Horde who was Ivan III's opponent <sup>7</sup>. Later this princess, with her daughter and two sons, returned to her brother in Herat <sup>8</sup>.

Circumstances favoured Sultān-Ḥusayn so well that he succeeded in occupying Khorasan even without the help of the Uzbeks. At the end of February 1468 <sup>9</sup> Abū-Saʿīd set out on the conquest of Western Persia — an expedition which cost him his life. Since the autumn and throughout the winter, an attack from Sultān-Ḥusayn had been expected in Herat, and measures were being taken for the defence of the town. Abū-Saʿīd's son,

<sup>1</sup> AR, 337b. Muḥammad Sāliḥ, *Shaybānī-nāma*, ed. Melioransky-Samoylovich, SPb. 1908. Preface and ch. XV, where we find the expression: "he drank the cup of martyrdom".

<sup>2</sup> On the date of Abul-Khayr's death see *EI*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 165 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *HS*, 214.

<sup>5</sup> [*Marāḍ-i qābiḥ*, "a hideous illness", cannot be "paralysis". V.M.]

<sup>6</sup> *GMS*, I, 164.

<sup>7</sup> [Tsar Ivan III reigned 1462-1505].

<sup>8</sup> *HS*, 242.

<sup>9</sup> At the beginning of Shaʿban 872, according to AR, 339a.

SULTĀN-AḤMAD, had even set out of Samarqand with 50,000 men but, on the Murghāb, heard of his father's death<sup>1</sup>. Sultān-Ḥusayn had made sure that the news should reach him. According to Khwāndamīr, Sultān-Aḥmad had come as far as Andkhoy where he was joined by his brother SULTĀN-MAḤMŪD, who had returned from Azarbayjan with the remnants of the army and had made an unsuccessful effort to establish himself in Herat. The brothers decided to abandon the struggle for Khorasan and withdrew beyond the Amu-Darya. How swift was the succession of events may be seen from the dates given by ʿAbd al-Razzaq. On Friday 10 March<sup>2</sup>, after the religious ceremony, the news spread of Abū-Saʿīd's death, and on Thursday the 16th<sup>3</sup>, Sultān-Maḥmud entered Herat. On Friday the 17th, the *khutba* was read in his and his brother's names, and on the next Friday Sultān-Ḥusayn alone was mentioned in the public prayer. A few days before, the commander of the citadel of Ikhtiyār al-dīn had revolted and Sultān-Maḥmud had been forced to withdraw from the town. On March 24 Sultān-Ḥusayn in person entered Herat. In April he was joined by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, who until then had been with Sultān-Aḥmad's army, in the suite of Aḥmad Hājji beg, the all-powerful ruler of Samarqand.

We have said that since 1457 Mīr ʿAlī Shīr stayed in Mashhad and did not accompany Sultān-Ḥusayn either to Marv, or in his further peregrinations. One of Sultān-Ḥusayn's chief companions at arms was Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's maternal uncle (*taghay*) MĪR SAʿĪD, as Mīr ʿAlī Shīr calls him<sup>4</sup>, or Mīr Saʿīd Aqa, as in ʿAbd al-Razzaq<sup>5</sup> and Khwāndamīr<sup>6</sup>. He perished in 1461, when Sarakhs surrendered to Abū-Saʿīd. The surrender took place by agreement and all the other warriors were spared. But such was the hate that Abū-Saʿīd bore the amir that he had him put to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 347a.

<sup>2</sup> 25 Shaʿban 873, *ibid.*, 343a.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Ramadhan, *ibid.*, f. 345a.

<sup>4</sup> *Majālis*, 31a. Notice, 225, has *Mir-Said* and "oncle paternel", although the note gives the right explanation.

<sup>5</sup> AR, f. 327b.

<sup>6</sup> HS, 210.



death contrary to the pact. Saʿīd Aqa enjoyed Sultān-Ḥusayn's full confidence. He wrote Turkish poetry and his poetical *nom de plume* was Kābulī. He had a younger brother Muḥammad-ʿAlī, surnamed GHARĪBĪ<sup>1</sup>, also a Turkish poet, as well as a musician and calligrapher. Like Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's other relatives, he belonged to Sultān-Ḥusayn's "old servants" and, in addition, enjoyed the sultan's special favour for personal services rendered. Later, he left him and was killed in Samarqand by his elder brother's assassin. This latter reference can hint only at Abū-Saʿīd, and from it the conclusion can be drawn that Gharībī, like the other relations of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, was in Sultān Ḥusayn's service in the years of the latter's "cossack life". Amīr Saʿīd Aqa left a son ḤAYDAR<sup>2</sup>, a handsome, brave and promising youth whose end, under Sultān-Ḥusayn, was even sadder than his father's<sup>3</sup>. He was closely related to Mīr ʿAlī Shīr who regarded him as a son. "On both his father's and mother's side (he descended) from old retainers of the palace, nay was even a child of the palace"<sup>4</sup>. At first he devoted himself to study and wrote poetry; then he became a soldier, winning fame by his skill in archery and swordmanship, and finally became a hermit (see below p. 62). Mīr ʿAlī Shīr expressed the hope that he might yet find himself but events frustrated this expectation.

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's *Majālis al-nafāʿis* gives many characteristic details on the life of the author and of other persons connected with him. To our regret, the work cannot be attributed to any definite period of the author's life, nor is its official date (896/1490-1) supported by some of the passages. Thus the ruler of Samarqand contemporary with the author is called Sultān-ʿAlī mīrzā, Sultān-Maḥmūd's son<sup>5</sup>, but he ruled in Samarqand for

<sup>1</sup> *Notice*, 225: *Ghourbeti*.

<sup>2</sup> On his extraction see *HS*, 282.

<sup>3</sup> He is undoubtedly identical with the Ḥaydar, surnamed *Sabūhī*, mentioned in the *Majālis*, f. 67b; *Belin*, *o.c.*, 225.

<sup>4</sup> *Dargāh-nin bayirisi bālki toghmasi dur*.

<sup>5</sup> *Majālis*, 805: "now established on the throne of the sultanate in Samarqand".

a short time in 1496, and then for a longer period in 1498-1500<sup>1</sup>. In 1490-1, Sultān-Maḥmūd was still alive and so was even his eldest brother and predecessor Sultān-Aḥmad. Sultān-Ḥusayn is spoken of as one already dead<sup>2</sup>, which shows that this passage does not belong to Mīr ‘Alī Shīr and was written at least 5 years after his death.

Both from Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s work and from other accounts we learn that he spent the years 1457-1469 at first in Mashhad, then in Herat, and finally in Samarqand. The dates of his movements from Mashhad to Herat, and from Herat to Samarqand are not given. We have seen that his stay in Mashhad lasted well into the period when Abū-Sa‘īd’s power was established in Khorasan. In those troubled years Mashhad does not seem to have been involved in the military operations, though the armies on several occasions approached the town<sup>3</sup>. However, Khorasan was torn by internal strife from which even Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s father did not stand aloof, despite the fact that he did not attend Sultān-Ḥusayn. In the beginning of 1458 he was in Herat in the suite of the prince Sultān-Ibrāhīm, Shahrukh’s great-grandson, and, jointly with the father of the historian Mirkhond, took part in the embassy which visited Abu-Sa‘īd in Balkh<sup>4</sup>. Later Mīr ‘Alī Shīr joined Abū-Sa‘īd in Herat. He spent “some time” with him but was disappointed by his reception and in consequence went on to Samarqand<sup>5</sup>. According to Babur<sup>6</sup>, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was banished by Abū-Sa‘īd to Samarqand for some offence (*jarīma*). Mīr ‘Alī Shīr himself explains that he went to Samarqand to study<sup>7</sup>, a reason for which in those days nobody left Herat for Samarqand. It was natural for Yūsuf Badī‘ī mentioned in the same passage to have gone from Andijan to

<sup>1</sup> The dates are, for instance, in Babur.

<sup>2</sup> *Majālis*, 81a: “let God illuminate his grave”.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Abū-Sa‘īd’s troops in the spring of 1460, see AR, 322b.

<sup>4</sup> *HS*, 179. AR, 312b, in his account of this embassy names only the shaykhs who took part in it, but not the laymen.

<sup>5</sup> *HS*, 217.

<sup>6</sup> *GMS*, I, 170b.

<sup>7</sup> *Majālis*, 28a.

study in Samarqand, just as Mīr ʿAlī Shīr’s friend Muḥammad Badakhshī, a native of the village of Ishkamish<sup>1</sup> went for his studies first to Samarqand, and after that to Herat to complete his education<sup>2</sup>, but to leave Herat for Samarqand must have been regarded as an exile.

Some light on this period of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr’s life may be shed by his account of SHAYKH ṢADR AL-DĪN RAVĀSĪ, an unusually handsome and eloquent man who “captivated his heart”<sup>3</sup>, and who was also greatly admired by persons of high rank, such as the shah of Badakhshan who became the Shaykh’s murid and took private lessons with him, and even the “king of the time”, the Sultan Abu-Saʿid<sup>4</sup>.

This shows that Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was in Herat in Abū-Saʿid’s time while the SHAH OF BADAQHSAN sojourned there. The dynasty of the shahs of Badakhshan<sup>5</sup>, who claimed descent from Alexander the Great, was exterminated by Abū-Saʿid, who married shah Sultān-Muḥammad’s daughter and had by her a son, Abū-Bakr<sup>6</sup>. Later, he sent an army against Badakhshan. Sultān-Muḥammad submitted volutarily and came to Herat, while his son fled to Kashghar. Abū-Bakr was made prince of Badakhshan. Then the fugitive prince returned from Kashghar, and Abū-Bakr fled. Badakhshan had to be re-conquered, after which Abū-Saʿid ordered all the members of the dynasty to be put to death. According to Daulatshāh<sup>7</sup> this took place in 871/1466-7. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr gives no dates and speaks only of the killing of the shah, whose poetical *nom de plume* was Lālī, and of his son, Ibn Lālī. In the case of the latter he uses the same expression as when speaking of the death of his uncles: Ibn Lālī was killed

<sup>1</sup> Which at that time belonged to the Qunduz province.

<sup>2</sup> *Majālis*, 57a.

<sup>3</sup> *Majālis*, 16b.

<sup>4</sup> The account of the sultan’s attachment to the Shaykh adds: “to say nothing of the other people”: *özgä khalayiq-qa ne yitkäy*.

<sup>5</sup> On this dynasty see *EI*, s.v. Badakhshan. On its fall see AR, f. 349a.

<sup>6</sup> *TR*. 108.

<sup>7</sup> Daulatshāh, 453.

“by his father’s murderer”<sup>1</sup>. Natives of Badakhshan enjoyed some importance in Herat. One of them, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad Badakhshī, was requested to write the history of Abū-Sa‘īd’s reign, apparently in verse. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr once pointed out to him a mistake in the metre, and this incident was the beginning of their friendly relations<sup>2</sup>.

These facts suggest that Mīr ‘Alī Shīr joined Abū-Sa‘īd after 1464 when Sultān-Ḥusayn had temporarily, and as it seemed definitely, disappeared from the stage, and probably soon after Abū-Sa‘īd’s conquest of Badakhshan. Before this happened, shah Sultān-Muḥammad was still in Badakhshan and had married one of his daughters to the Moghul Yūnus-khan. The eldest son of this marriage was the future Khan Maḥmūd, born in 868/1464<sup>3</sup>.

In view of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s close ties with men of Badakhshan, the events of 871 may have affected his position. There may have been, too, some jealousy on the Sultan’s part towards the friends of the handsome shaykh. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr, who till the end of his days had neither family, nor descendants, seems to have had a *penchant* for handsome youths. One of his favourites was Hājjī Muḥammad, a native of Mashhad, “an angel in human shape”, whom he loved “as a son, and even more”<sup>4</sup>.

It is hard to understand how Mīr ‘Alī Shīr could have expected any particular regard on the part of the Sultan by whose orders his uncles had been put to death. In Samarqand Mīr ‘Alī Shīr found two noble patrons, Darvish Muḥammad-tarkhan (whose sister was Abū-Sa‘īd’s senior wife and mother of Sultān-Aḥmad), and AḤMAD-HĀJJĪ BEG<sup>5</sup>. Aḥmad-Hājjī beg, whom Mīr ‘Alī Shīr mentions several times, was a professional soldier but he had been brought up in Khorasan and was an educated man. Under the *nom de plume* of Vafā‘ī he composed a poetical

<sup>1</sup> *Majālis*, 21a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *TR*, 108, *GMS*, I, 11b.

<sup>4</sup> *Majālis*, 57b.

<sup>5</sup> *GMS*, I, 18, 57. During the struggle for Samarqand in 1496 both these begs, who belonged to opposite factions, lost their lives.

divan<sup>1</sup>. For ten years Aḥmad-Hājji beg was governor of Herat, then for a long time the all-powerful ruler of Samarqand, the sovereign's viceroy<sup>2</sup>.

In Samarqand, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's teacher was KHOJA FAḌLULLĀH ABUL-LAYTHĪ, a descendant of Abul-Layth. His knowledge of the *fiqh* won him the nickname of the second Abū-Hanīfa, and his mastery of Arabic was considered equal to that of Ibn-Hājib (d. in 1248), the famous author of the manual *al-Kāfiya*<sup>3</sup>. Other scholars contemporary with Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, as for instance Muḥammad Badakhshī, studied under the same Khoja. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr worked with him for two years, and judging by the information quoted above, these two years may cover the whole of his sojourn in Samarqand. He lived in the *khanaqa*<sup>4</sup>, or madrasa<sup>5</sup>, of Shaykh Faḍlullah, who called him his son.

The time spent in Samarqand is the only period of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's life before he entered Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's service that has become known. This is apparent from what Babur says<sup>6</sup> about Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's exquisite manners (the term *nazākat* or *nāzik-lūk* must be probably understood in this sense)<sup>7</sup>: others explained this quality by haughtiness, but in fact such manners were natural to Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and in Samarqand he behaved much in the same way.

In 1469 Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, together with Aḥmad-Hājji beg, was in Sulṭān-Aḥmad's army. Belin naively supposes that this could

<sup>1</sup> *Majālis*, 44b, 70b. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr objected to this *takhallus* because he considered it wrong to appropriate a poetical name already rendered famous by another poet.

<sup>2</sup> On the madrasa built by him see *ibid.*, 32a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 15b: ʿarabiyat-da Ibn-Hājib kaffa-si-gha tutar-erdi. In Belin's translation (*o.c.*, 185) there is a lacuna here which distorts the sense of the passage: "le khadjé, dit Ali-Chîr, était tellement versé dans la jurisprudence qu'on le comparait à Ibn-Hâdjib". The words on the *kaffa* evidently hint at the title of *al-Kāfiya*. [The two words are of different origin, and the supposed hint would be based only on the assonance. V.M.]. On Ibn Hājib, Brockelmann, I, 303.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Khwāndamīr, *HS*, 217.

<sup>5</sup> Thus in *Notice*, possibly after Sām-mīrzā (cf. Nikitsky, 36).

<sup>6</sup> *GMS*, I, 170b.

<sup>7</sup> [The term may also mean "shyness", or "touchiness". V.M.]

have been a measure of precaution taken by Sultan-Ahmad<sup>1</sup>, but this prince had nothing to fear from Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, if he was at all aware of his existence. With his patrons' help Mīr ʿAlī Shīr could have found his way to the young sultan, but he does not seem to have wished to do so, perhaps because he knew how foreign Sulṭān-Aḥmad was to all literary interests<sup>2</sup>.

When the news of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's entry into Herat was confirmed, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr asked Aḥmad-Hājjī beg's leave and set out for Herat. No credit should be attached to Sām-mīrzā's statement<sup>3</sup> that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn personally asked Aḥmad-Hājjī beg to allow Mīr ʿAlī Shīr to join him, and that Aḥmad-Hājjī beg surrounded this journey with every possible luxury. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr arrived in Herat without pomp, but once in Herat he became an important person thanks to his friendship with the monarch.

On the day of Bayram (14 April) Mīr ʿAlī Shīr presented to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn his *Hilāliya qasida* ("the New-Moon ode") which the Sultan greatly admired. It is quite unlikely that this qasida should have been Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's first poetical work, or even that he should have come to Abū-Saʿīd empty-handed. Yet we know of no earlier verses of his, not even by title. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's Turkish divan, disposed according to the four ages of man (childhood, youth, middle age and old age)<sup>4</sup> — and thus supposed to include poems written in his childhood and youth — does not contain, as far as it is known, any addresses either to Abul-Qāsim Babur or Abū-Saʿīd. The poet must have had reasons of his own for linking up his fame exclusively with that of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, for which end he concealed or destroyed all that he had written before.

<sup>1</sup> *O.c.*, 186 (mesure de précaution).

<sup>2</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Notice*, 186 sq., and Nikitsky, 36, where the fitting out of the traveller is ascribed to Sulṭān-Aḥmad himself — probably owing to faulty translating.

<sup>4</sup> *Notice*, 238.

#### IV. MĪR ʿALĪ SHĪR AND SULTĀN-ḤUSAYN BEFORE THEIR FIRST DISAGREEMENT

(1469-1487)

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr found the situation in Herat far less peaceful than could have been expected from the rapidity with which Sultān-Ḥusayn had established his power. The change of rulers brought an innovation that stirred up strong feelings, namely the Shiʿite *khutba* which was introduced with the names of the twelve imams included in it. A particularly fierce outbreak occurred on 22 June when the *Qurban-Bayram* was celebrated. On this day a fanatical Shiʿa preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) made an allocution. The Sunnis were indignant and carried their complaint to the Sultan, whom they found on his way from the main street to the place of prayer. He sent men who dragged the preacher from the pulpit, and the sovereign's orthodoxy was thus re-asserted. This account by a contemporary of the events<sup>1</sup> clearly shows how innocuous were the religious disputes of those days in comparison with what took place in the sixteenth century under the Safavids. Babur<sup>2</sup> says that after this incident Sultān-Ḥusayn strictly conformed his actions to the Sunna, though in his old age ill-health (probably gout) prevented him from performing the ritual prayer (*namāz*); nor did he observe the fast. We have seen that Babur names Mīr ʿAlī Shīr among the persons under whose influence Sultān-Ḥusayn reverted to the Sunna.

Sultān-Ḥusayn and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr thought it necessary to have the support of the representatives of religious authority. They were fortunate in that, contrary to the experience of the Samarqand Timurids, they did not have to cope with a "rustic shaykh" sprung from the people<sup>3</sup>. The head of the Herat Naqshbandis was a highly educated poet and mystic ʿABD AL-RAHMĀN JĀMĪ

<sup>1</sup> AR, 349b.

<sup>2</sup> *Babur-nāma*, GMS, I, 164b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 174 sq.

(b. in 1414) with whom a common language was easily found. Even in the case of disputes between Shi'as and Sunnis, Jāmī never acted contrary to the tolerance habitual in Herat<sup>1</sup>. When one day in Baghdad, where he spent the winter of 1472-3 on the way to Mecca, he was brought to account for verses suspected of anti-Shi'a leanings, Jāmī was able to tell his accusers that it was rather from the Khorasan Sunnis that he had expected trouble over his book<sup>2</sup>.

The good relations which existed between Jāmī and the followers of Khoja Aḥrār are attested both in Jāmī's own works and in the pages of the *Rashahāt*, dedicated to him. Khoja Aḥrār himself regarded Jāmī as a natural mediator between himself and the government of Herat. On 11 September 1469, Sultān-Ḥusayn marched with his army on Astarabad against the rebel prince MUḤAMMAD-YĀDIGĀR, Shāhrukh's great-grandson. Meanwhile Khoja Aḥrār from Samarqand addressed a letter to Jāmī in which he pleaded for the Samarqand begs who without Sultān-Ḥusayn's permission had quitted Herat on his accession, leaving their property behind. In compliance with the Khoja's request, Jāmī proceeded to the camp of the Sultan who had just set out on his expedition, and was received with exceptional honours<sup>3</sup>. Later, in 1490, during his last illness, Khoja Aḥrār appealed directly to Mīr 'Alī Shīr begging him to send him a physician from Herat, which was held to be the centre of eminent scholars and doctors. The aged mystic, enemy of all scholarly learning<sup>4</sup>, was now driven to seek the aid of science. Mīr 'Alī Shīr sent him the physician Niẓām al-dīn 'Abd al-Hayy. The latter was unable to save the aged Khoja, but this did not lower him in

<sup>1</sup> Bouvat (*J. As.*, CCVIII, 268), without referring to any particular text, represents Jāmī as a fervent Sunni. On the contrary, Belin, *Notice*, 346, sees in Mīr 'Alī Shīr's report that Jāmī on his death-bed recited the names of the imams, a proof that he was a Shi'a.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Browne, *o.c.*, 510. This passage speaks of his return from the pilgrimage, but on his way back from Mecca Jāmī did not visit Baghdad. Cf. details in the *Rashahāt*.

<sup>3</sup> AR, f. 350s sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 121.



Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's or Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's esteem. He attended Sulṭān-Ḥusayn and his family, and his quality of physician gave him entry into the harem <sup>1</sup>.

In 1469 Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was with the Sultan's army. As on many later occasions, Herat was entrusted to Mīranshāh's grandson AḤMAD, the husband of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's sister. He must have been considerably older than Sulṭān-Ḥusayn who treated him with filial respect <sup>2</sup>. In December, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn sent his troops against Astarabad and himself returned before reaching that town. In March 1470 <sup>3</sup> he set out once again, for the menace from Muḥammad-Yādigār had increased in view of the aid that he had received from the Turkmans. Meanwhile disorders broke out in Herat where the people rose against the abuses of the officials. The Sultan sent Mīr ʿAlī Shīr to inquire into the matter. On a Friday, the "Amīr Niẓām al-dīn ʿAlī-Shīr", who enjoyed the exceptional confidence of the sovereign <sup>4</sup>, read from the pulpit the Sultan's edict meant to calm the populace. This was Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's first public address to have attracted attention, and the only one mentioned by ʿAbd al-Razzaq.

After Mīr ʿAlī Shīr had left, another edict was received ordering the imprisonment of the vazir and the appointment of a new one. In June the king himself returned to Herat where he was received with the customary demonstrations of joy, but treason in the army forced him to leave the capital. In the beginning of July <sup>5</sup>, Muḥammad-Yādigār ascended the throne in Herat only to fall victim of a surprise attack in August <sup>6</sup>. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr took part in this affair, and the episode is the only

<sup>1</sup> *HS*, 339.

<sup>2</sup> *Majālis*, according to Belin, *o.c.*, 294. In the Univ. MS. 618, f. 79a, and the As. Mus. MS. a281, f. 120b (this MS. is apparently a copy of the former) the words *Sulṭān-Aḥmad mīrzā* are in the wrong place.

<sup>3</sup> Beginning of Ramaḍān 874, AR, f. 315b.

<sup>4</sup> ʿAbd al-Razzaq's expression: "because of his sincere attachment (to the king) and because of his powers and the respect he enjoyed, Truth itself was witnessing in his favour".

<sup>5</sup> According to AR, 352a, his *khutba* was read on Friday, 6 Muharram 875.

<sup>6</sup> 23 Ṣafar, *ibid.*, 353a.

one in his life when his sword is mentioned, though, even in this instance, it played no active part. As Khwāndamīr tells it, in the early morning Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's troops surrounded the castle where the usurper was staying. Fearing an ambush the soldiers hesitated to begin the assault. With the Sultan's leave, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr entrusted his horse to the amir Bābā-ʿAlī and, using his naked sword as a staff, climbed up a little-used path, followed by the amir Qul-ʿAlī. The latter and the infantry-man Hājji ʿAlī found the prince asleep and brought him down to the Sultan along the path used by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr in his ascent. The Sultan ordered the prince to be put to death. In ʿAbd al-Razzaq's version Mīr ʿAlī Shīr is not mentioned; this historian only insists on the unexpectedness of the attack and the result achieved by Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's soldiers without any casualty, for they found the prince sleeping on the roof with one attendant and two female servants <sup>1</sup>.

After the elimination of this pretender, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's power in Herat remained undisputed until his death on 4 May 1506 <sup>2</sup>. The numerous expeditions which he led to the West, East and South <sup>3</sup> were not always successful, but to the end he remained ruler of a vast kingdom with its magnificent capital, Herat. According to Babur <sup>4</sup>, his possessions comprised all the lands from Khwarazm in the North to Qandahar and Sistan in the South, and from Balkh and Ghazni in the East to Damghan and Bistam in the West. His capital, like many other mediaeval cultural centres in Asia and Europe, was famous both for its refined culture and its vice. This explains why, sometimes in the same work, widely differing judgments are passed on the life of the city in accordance with the aspect of it which is being presented. No louder praise of both capital and king can be found

<sup>1</sup> These accounts are very unlike Belin's rhetorical description, *o.c.*, 188, of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's part in the affair: "de sa propre main il arrêta le prince qu'il fit conduire au roi".

<sup>2</sup> Khwāndamīr gives the date, *HS*, 326, as 11 Ramadan 911.

<sup>3</sup> In the North his dominion never seems to have spread further than Marv.

<sup>4</sup> *GMS*, I, 165 sq.

than in Babur's Memoirs <sup>1</sup>: "in the whole habitable world there is no city like Herat. In the days of Sultān-Ḥusayn, thanks to his solicitude and administration, its brilliance and beauty increased ten, and even twenty-fold". Or: "The time of Sultān-Ḥusayn was extraordinary. Khorasan, and Herat in particular, was full of eminent and peerless men. Whatever work a man undertook, he aimed and aspired at bringing that work to perfection" <sup>2</sup>. Yet the same Babur admits <sup>3</sup> that Sultān-Ḥusayn and his sons, his army and the whole town abandoned themselves to nearly incessant drunkenness. Only during the first six or seven years after his accession to the throne did the Sultan lead the life of a reformed character. Then once more he took to drink, and till the end of his forty years' rule drank every day, though only after the midday prayer (*namaz-i pīshīn*), never drinking in the morning. Sultān-Ḥusayn, who during his "cos-sack" days had performed many feats of valour and wielded the sword as no other Timurid had done, after his accession gave himself up to pleasure and amusements. His example was followed by his courtiers: "they would no longer endure the hardships and fatigues of conquest and soldiering; no wonder that instead of expanding, the number of *nukars* and the area of the dominions should have begun to shrink" <sup>4</sup>.

Babur very probably heightens his colours when painting the two aspects of Sultān-Ḥusayn's reign, especially the second. Even in his old age Sultān-Ḥusayn took a personal part in expeditions when he could have contented himself with sending his troops; he also successfully put down the rebellions of his sons. Babur was working under the impression of the weak resistance offered to the Uzbek invasion, when Sultān-Ḥusayn made no effort to oppose it by rallying the Timurids round himself. The old and ailing monarch set all his hopes on defensive action, which provoked the following remark from Babur: "if such a great king

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 188.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 177 below.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 164b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 166.

as Sultān-Ḥusayn who sits on Timur-beg's throne, orders defence against the attack instead of marching out against the enemy, then what hope remains to the people?"<sup>1</sup>. Shortly before his death, when Khorasan had already been lost, Sultān-Ḥusayn set out with an army against the Uzbeks, but it was too late. He died at the outset of the expedition. Neither he, nor his sons proved worthy opponents of Shībani, although their troops in Balkh and Khwarazm performed their duty better than could have been expected under the circumstances.

At Sultān-Ḥusayn's court, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was at first only the "Keeper of the Seal" (*muhrdār*) and he owed his importance not to the duties of this charge but to his close intimacy with the Sultan. For this reason, he always tried to resign official posts as soon as he could. There is a record that within a short time he even relinquished his charge of Keeper of the Seal in favour of the poet and maecenas NIZĀM AL-DIN SUHAYLĪ<sup>2</sup>, whose name figures in the title of Ḥusayn-Vāʿiz's famous work (*Anvār-i Suhaylī*)<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, in February 1472<sup>4</sup> Mīr ʿAlī Shīr became officially *amir* or *beg*, as he was wont to be called even before. On the Sultan's orders, only one beg, MUẒAFFAR BARLAS, enjoyed precedence over Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. According to Babur<sup>5</sup>, MuẒaffar had rendered great services to Sultān-Ḥusayn during his "cossack" days, but later his presumption broke all bounds. It was said that Sultān-Ḥusayn had made a pact with MuẒaffar promising him a third of every conquered province. The difficulty was solved by MuẒaffar's death, and Babur records the rumour that he was poisoned, though according to Khwāndamīr, he died a natural death<sup>6</sup>. He was succeeded by another Barlas beg, SHUJA AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD, son of Burunduq, who at that

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 122b.

<sup>2</sup> *Notice*, 187, Khwāndamīr, *HS*, 230.

<sup>3</sup> Daulatshāh, 509 sq. devotes to him a whole chapter, as he does to Jāmī and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr.

<sup>4</sup> Shaʿban 876; *HS*, 230; further (231): end of Shaʿban. Cf. *Notice*, 188.

<sup>5</sup> *GMS*, I, 170 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *HS*, 235.

time had come from Turkestan to Khorasan. To him too the right was granted to appose his seal above those of the other begs. He survived Mīr ʿAlī Shīr.

SAYYID ḤASAN IBN ARDASHĪR, who was named amir, or beg, on the same day as Mīr ʿAlī Shīr<sup>1</sup>, was probably a much older man. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr regarded him as a father and said that he was the best man among the Turks and the Tajiks<sup>2</sup>. His aspirations lay in the field of Sufism and he kept aloof from worldly affairs. Only for a short while did Sultān-Ḥusayn succeed in enlisting his services. The sayyid's life was divided into periods of dissipation (*rindliq chaghī*) and periods of piety and asceticism (*taqvā-va-zuhd*). We know that to combine these different inclinations was not unusual for a Sufi. There exist quotations from his verses belonging to both periods. In the *Majālis* he is spoken of as one dead. His appointment, probably a tribute of respect to a popular mystic, had no repercussions on the affairs of the state. Two other nominations made in the same year 876 (i.e. before June 1472) had more important consequences. NIZAM AL-MULK KHWĀFĪ, who became one of the vazirs, was a son of Shihāb al-dīn Ismāʿīl and previously held the charge of *cadi* in a town of his native province. His countryman KHOJA MAJD AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD was the son of the famous statesman of Shāhrukh's time, Ghiyāth al-dīn Pīr-Aḥmad Khwāfī<sup>3</sup>. Under Abū-Saʿīd, Majd al-dīn was a humble clerk of the *divan*, as was his friend, the future physician ʿAbd al-Hayy. Then he rose to be *vazir* of the "Little Mirza" (*kichik mīrzā*), as Sultān-Ḥusayn's nephew, MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD-SULTĀN son of Aḥmad, was called. Sultān-Ḥusayn asked the prince to let him have Majd al-dīn and appointed him *parvāna*, with precedence over all the other holders of this charge, which, in the Middle Ages, included the transmission of the king's personal orders<sup>4</sup>. Every time when the Sultan was present at the *divan*, it was Majd al-dīn's duty to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>2</sup> *Majālis*, 32a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> *Siasset-Nameh*, texte, p. 81.

report on state affairs, to record the decisions and to appose his seal on the same line with the Sultan's. He was therefore regarded as the king's deputy (*nā'ib*). Khwāndamīr adds that, thanks to the amir Mīr 'Alī Shīr and the *nā'ib* Majd al-dīn Muḥammad, the sultanate and the royal power acquired a new lustre, and order was again brought into the affairs of the subjects and the army <sup>1</sup>.

Thus at the helm of the kingdom two dignitaries were set who, as later events proved, were unable to work in harmony. In 878/1473-4, another vazir was appointed, KHOJA AFDAL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD of Kirman, of whom Mīr 'Alī Shīr speaks in terms of highest praise <sup>2</sup>. He came from a vazirial family of Kerman and, under Abū-Sa'īd, held the post of *mustaufi*, i.e. agent of the financial department. Niẓām al-mulk and Afdal al-dīn joined forces to intrigue against Majd al-dīn and to accuse him before the Sultan. As both of them spoke together, the Sultan remarked that it would be fairer if they spoke separately and did not come out two against one. This indirect support heartened Majd and silenced his enemies from among the Sultan's familiars. The affair ended for Majd better than he could have expected: he was made to pay 60,000 dinars (£ 3,000) and allowed to retain his office of *parvāna*, provided he did not interfere in the affairs of the divan <sup>3</sup>. As according to Khwāndamīr nine years passed between Majd al-dīn's discharge and his re-instatement in 1487 <sup>4</sup>, the dissensions among the vazirs must have ended only in 1478. In this passage Mīr 'Alī Shīr is not mentioned, except for a hint at the Sultan's "familiars", but he was undoubtedly Majd al-dīn's principal enemy, for, in 1487, Majd's re-appointment had to be preceded by his own removal <sup>5</sup>.

Some time before Afdal al-dīn's appointment and Amīr Muẓaffar's death which occurred somewhat earlier, Mīr 'Alī Shīr took part in an expedition against the rebel governor of Balkh,

<sup>1</sup> *HS*, 231. *Notice*, 191, refers these words to Mīr 'Alī Shīr alone.

<sup>2</sup> *Majālis*, 73b sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> *HS*, 235.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 244.

AḤMAD MUSHTĀQ, who had entered into relations with Sultān-Aḥmad and Sultān-Mahmūd, the Timurids of Turkestan (Samarqand). The siege was long-drawn and, after three or four months, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was sent to Herat to see about provisions for the army. He does not seem to have returned to Balkh, but in Herat he successfully put down the revolt of the prince Abul-Khayr whom he imprisoned in the citadel <sup>1</sup>. The siege of Balkh ended in a peace-treaty. Aḥmad Mushtāq surrendered the town and was pardoned, and Balkh was given to prince BAYQARA, Sultān-Ḥusayn's elder brother <sup>2</sup>.

According to Jāmī, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, whom he initiated in 881/1476-7 into the mysteries of the Naqshbandī order, voluntarily gave up all luxury and honours and trod the path of poverty and self-denial. Such renunciation could only have been external. In the years that followed, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr enjoyed more consideration than ever before and governed the capital in the Sultān's absence. MĪRZĀ ABŪ-BAKR, son of Abū-Saʿīd, who had entered Sultān-Ḥusayn's service and then rebelled against him in Northern Afghanistan, was defeated and fled in the direction of Astarābād. He was overtaken and killed near the river Gurgān by his pursuers, among whom was the Sultan in person, and his head was sent to Herat. This happened at the end of Rajab 884/October 1479, and when Sultān-Ḥusayn returned to his capital, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, at that time governor of Herat <sup>3</sup>, organised a solemn welcome.

In the next year, 885/1480-1, Sultān-Ḥusayn had the opportunity to recall his Shiʿa sympathies, and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr does not seem to have opposed him. Among the crudest frauds of Muslim hagiolatry was the miraculous discovery in the twelfth century, under Sultān Sanjar, of the CALIPH ʿALĪ'S tomb in the vicinity of Balkh, a country which the caliph is known never to have

<sup>1</sup> This last detail is omitted by Belin, *o.c.*, 197, cf. *HS*, 234.

<sup>2</sup> Belin, *o.c.*, 294, mistakenly takes Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's words (*Majālis*, 79a) about Sultān-Ḥusayn's brother as referring to his grandfather. Babur, *GMS*, I, 163b, also speaks of Bayqara as Sultān-Ḥusayn's elder brother.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 237.

visited<sup>1</sup>. After the destruction of Balkh and the devastation of that region under Chingiz-khan, the tomb had been forgotten. Now it was re-discovered, from books, by Shams al-dīn Muḥammad, a descendant of Bāyazīd Bistāmī, who arrived from Kabul and Ghazni. At the place indicated there was found a slab of white stone bearing the inscription: "This is the tomb of the Lion of God, the brother of God's envoy, God's favourite". Prince Bayqara, who was present at the uncovering of the stone, informed his brother, and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn came to Balkh in person with his amirs and attendants. The sacred relic was recognised as genuine. In the next year<sup>2</sup> a mausoleum was built over it, and around it a village sprang up with bazaars and public baths. One of the canals of Balkh was assigned as a pious foundation (*waqf*) to the mausoleum. The Sultan returned to Herat, and to commemorate the felicitous occasion distributed largesse to the army and population. This example found imitators. A miraculous tomb was discovered in Herat itself by a driver (*‘arāba-kash*) who found ardent followers. Other similar discoveries followed in Herat and its neighbourhood, as well as in other towns. The *‘arāba-kash* realised in time what dangers he ran and made haste to disappear. Other impostors were seized and incurred bodily punishment, which put an end to their activities, but the village with ‘Alī's tomb remained<sup>3</sup> and continued to attract pilgrims from far and near. In the nineteenth century it had grown into the large town Mazār-i Sharīf.

Khwāndamīr's report shows that even Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's enlightened capital was not immune from gross superstition, although culture did not leave the popular masses entirely unaffected. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr occasionally quotes verses that were recited by "the whole of the people"<sup>4</sup>. Naturally these ephemeral compositions enjoying a wide-spread popularity soon came to be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the report of Abu-Ḥāmid Andalusī (Gharnati) in V. Barthold, *Turkestan, Texts*, 21-2.

<sup>2</sup> The date of the building (886/1481-2) is recorded in C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, 1888, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 240 (Tehran ed., 260).

<sup>4</sup> *Majālis*, 35b: *hama khalq bildilār*.



forgotten. Under Babur, in nearly every house in Samarqand could be found verses written by his cousin, MĪRZĀ BAYSUNQUR<sup>1</sup>, son of Sultān Maḥmūd, yet to-day not one copy of these poems seems to have survived. Works destined for posterity were exchanged as gifts between kings and dignitaries. Thus in 1456, Abu-Saʿid's ambassador brought to Herat for Abul-Qāsim Babur a copy of Ulugh-beg's astronomical tables<sup>2</sup>. One day Mīr ʿAlī Shīr decided to send to the Turcoman SULTAN YAʿQŪB<sup>3</sup> a complete set of Jāmī's works. By mistake the librarian gave the envoy another book<sup>4</sup> in a similar binding. The mistake was discovered only when the Sultan asked the envoy whether he had not found the journey tedious, and the envoy, wishing to parade his learning, replied that he had with him a companion in whose company one could never be dull. He then explained that Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was sending the Sultan a present of Jāmī's works, and that he had found in this book a sovereign remedy against the tedium of the journey. The Sultan expressed the desire to see the book and it was then discovered that the envoy had no works of Jāmī with him at all. This blunder cost the unfortunate man Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's favour<sup>5</sup>. Alongside such people as wished to appear more educated than they really were, there were, of course, others in Herat, especially among the Turks, who combined a certain literary polish with grosser tastes which they took no pains to conceal. Sultān-Ḥusayn himself seems to have belonged to the latter kind. He composed tolerable Turkish verses and at the same time, even in his old age, found pleasure in such primitive amusements as pigeon-flying<sup>6</sup>. The manners and customs of Samarqand were naturally supposed to be coarser than those of Herat. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr describes a Turk of Aḥmad-Hājji beg's retinue who knew no better pleasure than falconry and

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, I, 68b.

<sup>2</sup> *AR*, f. 304a.

<sup>3</sup> Of the dynasty of the White Sheep.

<sup>4</sup> *Futūḥati-Makkī*, i.e. apparently the work of Ibn al-ʿArabī, see Brockelmann, I, 442.

<sup>5</sup> *HS*, 344.

<sup>6</sup> *GMS*, I, 165 above.

riding thoroughbreds. In connection with a crude verse attributed to this Turk he remarks that it may be explained by the gross breeding in Samarqand <sup>1</sup>.

In 886/1481-2 <sup>2</sup>, ten years after Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, his younger brother DARVISH-ʿALĪ became amir, or beg. He also seems to have been a bookish man, for Mīr ʿAlī Shīr obtained for him the post of librarian. The term “librarian” (*kitābdār*) was even in later times attached to Darvish-ʿAlī’s name in what seems a somewhat disparaging sense. But in a town as literary as Herat the duties of keeper of a library must have been of some importance. In a story about the sultan’s librarian the curious term *dārūgha* is used, which can be translated as “commandant of the royal library” <sup>3</sup>. After he became beg, Darvish ʿAlī several times won and lost the Sultan’s favour. He was governor of Balkh, was accused of treason and made a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return he was again admitted into the Sultan’s intimacy. After his brother’s death he retired and lived as a private person in the neighbourhood of Balkh. During Shībani’s expedition against Balkh in 1503 he joined the Uzbeks and, on Shībani’s behalf, travelled to that town, his task being to persuade the local chiefs to open the gates to the Uzbeks. He argued that the Timurid domination was over, but met with a decisive rebuff <sup>4</sup>. After Shībani’s death he joined Babur in Qunduz and made a most unfavourable impression upon him <sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless in 1511 he was still with Babur when the latter succeeded in re-taking Samarqand <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Majālis*, 72b: *shūkh-va-khabīth shivālāri*.

<sup>2</sup> The date is in the *Majālis*, 53a. Cf. Belin, *o.c.*, 192. Belin’s words, *ibid.*, 202, about Darvish-Ali “surnommé le frère d’Ali Shir” are unfounded. Every available source of information avers that he in fact was Mīr ʿAlī Shīr’s brother.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 343: this man was at first in Mīr ʿAlī Shīr’s service, and only after his death passed into that of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn. [*Dārūgha* definitely means here “superintendent”, without any military connotation. V.M.]

<sup>4</sup> *HS*, 313.

<sup>5</sup> *GMS*, I, 173.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 174b

According to Babur<sup>1</sup> Mīr ʿAlī Shīr would accept no gifts from Sulṭān-Ḥusayn; on the contrary, he himself offered him presents every year. This statement must not be taken as meaning that he derived no material benefit from his position at the court of Herat. His private means alone could never have sufficed for his extensive activity as maecenas and builder, which is recorded in all the sources. This is also apparent from what Sām-Mīrzā<sup>2</sup> says about the land which the Sultan granted to Mīr ʿAlī Shīr in Herat, and on which the latter built a series of charitable institutions under the general name of *Ikhḷāsiya* or *Khalāsiya*. This name was meant to reflect the builder's sincere devotion (*ikhḷās*) to his sovereign<sup>3</sup>. At a later date, the historian Mirkhond took advantage of the khānaqā and madrasa of *Khalāsiya* for his studies<sup>4</sup>; Mīr ʿAlī Shīr himself speaks of one ʿAbd al-Muʾmin of Samarqand, of the poetical *nom-de plume* Muʾminī, who was then studying in the *Khalāsiya* khānaqā<sup>5</sup>. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's building activities were not limited to Herat. Daulatshāh, whose work was completed during the year of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's disgrace (892/1487), has left a record of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's constructions before that date<sup>6</sup>. Of these buildings, the following were in Herat: a Friday mosque, a madrasa, a khanaqa, a hospital and public baths. These were all situated in one quarter of the town, on the bank of the Injil canal, which shows that the whole group belonged to the *Khalāsiya*. Among the other buildings are mentioned: 1. the rabāṭ of ʿIshq, on the road from Khorasan to Jurjān and Astarābād, near the pass Darband-i Shiqqān; it had been built in olden times by Qābūs ibn-Vashmgīr<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>2</sup> Belin, *o.c.*, 229.

<sup>3</sup> Thus according to Belin. If, as the MSS. indicate, the reading *khalāsiya* should be accepted, it may possibly have in view the deliverance (*khalās*) of scholars from every material care.

<sup>4</sup> The text is in Nikitsky, 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Majālis*, 72a.

<sup>6</sup> Daulatshāh, 505 sq.

<sup>7</sup> The Ziyārid prince who built the well-known Gunbad-i Qābūs. See my article in *Year-book of Russ. Institute of Hist. of Art* (in Russian), I, 1922, 121 sq.

but had fallen into ruins and was restored by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's liberality<sup>1</sup>; 2. the rabat of Sangbast, at the crossing of the roads from Nīshāpūr to Marv, and from Tūs to Herat, built by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr by the side of the old ruined rabāṭ of Arslan Jādhīb, contemporary of Maḥmūd of Ghazna<sup>2</sup>. The remains of these buildings have lately been studied in great detail<sup>3</sup>. Other buildings erected at that time were: 1. the mausoleum of the poet Qāsim-i Anvār, who died in 835/1431-2 in Khārjird (to the west of Herat), a place of considerable importance for the history of Muslim architecture<sup>4</sup>; 2. the mausoleum of the famous 13th century poet Farīd al-din ʿAttār, in Nishapur; the building was finished later and is still extant<sup>5</sup>; 3. the rabāṭ of Dīrābād near Nīshāpūr. Moreover, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was planning to dig a canal from the spring Chashma-gul to Mashhad, a distance of ten farsakhs.

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's building activities may have been partly responsible for the difficulties in which Sultān-Ḥusayn's treasury was involved at the time, and which brought Mīr ʿAlī Shīr into temporary disgrace.

<sup>1</sup> Daulatshāh, 54. It is still extant.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>3</sup> E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1918, 52 sq., where only Arslan-Jādhīb is named (p. 54), with no mention of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 71 sq. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr is not mentioned here either. It is remarkable that Khanikoff (*Mémoire*, 114) was shown the tomb of Qāsim-i Anvār at another place, in Langar, which is also referred to by Diez, *ibid.*, 25, though he does not locate there any ancient monuments. E. Herzfeld, *ZDMG*, LXXX, 1926, 274 sq., speaks of the madrasa of Shāhrukh and of the remains of the madrasa of Niẓām al-mulk, situated in Kharjird.

<sup>5</sup> See Khanikoff (Khanikov), *Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1862, 95; A. V. W. Jackson, *From Constantinople to the home of Omar Khayyam*, New York 1911, p. 240; V. V. Barthold. *Historico-geographical survey of Iran* (in Russian), 69.

## V. YEARS OF DISGRACE AND OF DIMINISHED INFLUENCE

(1487-1494)

It had been for some time Sultān-Ḥusayn's wish to re-instate MAJD AL-DĪN. Mīr 'Alī Shīr opposed this plan <sup>1</sup>, and in order to find a way out of the difficulty, the Sultan offered Mīr 'Alī Shīr the post of governor of Astarābād. After many refusals, Mīr 'Alī Shīr was obliged to accept and go. The reasons which actuated the Sultan are explained by Babur <sup>2</sup>. One day when Sultān-Ḥusayn was in need of a certain sum of money, the members of the divan declared that there was no money and none to be obtained. Majd al-din who was present smiled, and on being questioned by the Sultan, asked to be received in private. At this audience he declared himself ready, if invested with the necessary powers, to procure the desired sum and to reorganise the economy of the state in a way that the treasury would be full and the Sultan's subjects (the people and the soldiers) content. Having obtained the powers he had asked for, he fulfilled his promise and brought the provinces into a flourishing state, but at the same time displayed a marked hostility towards all the begs and functionaries, beginning with Mīr 'Alī Shīr. It was through their endeavours that he was deposed and imprisoned.

From Babur's report one cannot gather when and where the scene described took place. Mīr 'Alī Shīr's departure had been decided in Marv <sup>3</sup> where the Sultan was spending the winter, i.e. probably in the beginning of the year 1487. After that Majd al-dīn took part in the affairs of the divan, at first with no special powers. The principal vazirs were, as before, AFDAL AL-DĪN and NIZĀM AL-MULK. Among the others, was Afdal al-dīn's brother KHOJA AMĪN AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD, appointed vazir in 887/1482. He

<sup>1</sup> HS, 244: *tajvizi-ān ma'ni namīfarmūd.*

<sup>2</sup> GMS, I, 176 sq.

<sup>3</sup> HS, 243.

was fond of wine and women, but at the same time liked to converse with men of distinction and possessed an amiable disposition<sup>1</sup>. On the whole, he was nothing more than his brother's brother. The decisive scene between the two chief amirs and the sultan and its outcome are reported by Khwāndamīr<sup>2</sup> somewhat differently from Babur. Majd al-dīn was standing "at the foot of the throne", when the Sultan asked the two vazirs to procure the modest sum of two tomans (*circa* £ 1000). The vazirs, "as was to be expected", answered nothing. After they had left, Majd al-dīn told the Sultan in private that not two tomans, but two thousand could easily be found. On the next day he was invested with extensive powers: he was to appose the seal in the Sultan's name, examine all reports and complaints, and without his knowledge no reports on government affairs or finance were to be received from any of the amirs, sadrs, vazirs, "dignitaries of the inner circle" (*ichigi*) or courtiers. He was given the title of "trustee of the sultanate and confidant of the kingdom". Afdal al-dīn, uncertain of his fate, left for Astarābād with Majd al-dīn's permission and joined Mīr 'Alī Shīr under the pretext of recovering arrears for the treasury. Majd al-dīn's administration pleased all the subjects, agriculturists and craftsmen alike, because it delivered them from the oppression of the officials. The latter were brought to account for their previous exactions and within a short time two thousand tomans (*circa* £ 1,000,000) were recovered from them. No official dared oppress a man of the people, no bazaar merchant suffered requisitions. Majd al-dīn devoted his mornings till midday to state affairs, then until midnight he conversed with distinguished men and lavishly entertained them. His banquets were renowned for their gastronomical refinement. With the begs and officials he remained to the very end curt and irascible, and this led to his ruin. Three years later he suffered disgrace and persecution. He set out towards Mecca and died on his way there in 1494 (see below).

The dates quoted indicate that the struggle for power went on

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 332 below.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 244 sq.

for over three years. Its episodes are recorded in various passages of the *Habīb al-siyar*. AFDAL AL-DIN went to Mecca with Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s approval. In western Persia, the Turkman sultan Ya‘qūb put him at the head of the pilgrims of his kingdom, so that the Khoja could perform his pilgrimage in all comfort. On his return he remained in Iraq and Azarbayjan, i.e. in the Turkman kingdom of the White Sheep. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr<sup>1</sup> speaks with considerable sympathy of Afdal al-dīn and harshly condemns Majd al-dīn for the disturbances (*bozughlugh*) in the course of which “not a man remained whose affairs had not become unsettled”. Majd al-dīn had slandered “Khoja Afdal” and forced him to go abroad, after he had been vazir for fifteen years (which is somewhat exaggerated). In the Turkman kingdom he was made “amir of the *hajj*”, but on his return would accept no charge from the Turkman sultans, despite their repeated requests. Although his native town Kerman had long been in the hands of the Turkmans, he regarded the Timurids as his true sovereigns and declared that he could serve none else. At the time when Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was writing the relevant chapter of the *Majālis*, Khoja Afdal was in Qum. We shall see that he returned to Herat in 1498. His brother AMĪN AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD lost his post after his brother’s departure to Iraq, but seems to have suffered no other inconvenience, and at a later date, probably after Majd al-dīn’s disgrace, returned to power<sup>2</sup>.

In Astarābād Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was surrounded by the same respect as in Herat. From every quarter came greetings and gifts, even from a foreign king, Sultān Ya‘qūb. He endured his exile only for a year. In 1488, leaving behind the amir Badr al-dīn, he returned to Herat. He appealed to the Sultan for permission to remain in the capital and to hand over his charge to someone else. The answer being unfavourable, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr had to return to Astarābād where he stayed on for a few months longer. He sent to Herat his cousin Ḥaydar who reported that, according to Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s information, the Sultan’s entourage were trying to get

<sup>1</sup> *Majālis*, 74a.

<sup>2</sup> *HS*, 332 below.

the Sultan's *bukāvul* ("butler") to put poison into Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's food <sup>1</sup>. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was therefore "full of suspicion" and saw no other issue for himself than open rebellion (*mukhālafat*) <sup>2</sup>. Considering the favours shown to Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and his friend by the Turkman sultan this hint might have appeared plausible. The Sultan was much perturbed and sent a courier to Astarābād with a letter in which he assured Mīr ʿAlī Shīr that his information was unfounded and that there had been no designs on his life on the Sultan's part <sup>3</sup>. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr immediately left Astarābād and, ten or twelve days later, arrived in Herat where he sought to convince the Sultan that he had never said anything of the kind to Ḥaydar and that the latter had made up the story. For his lie (or untimely truth) Ḥaydar paid with his liberty, and later with his whole career <sup>4</sup>. On this occasion Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was granted permission to give up his post and remain in Herat merely as "one of the entourage of His Majesty the Sultan" (*muqarrab al-hadrat*). It was then that the complicated form of address to be used in writing to Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was elaborated <sup>5</sup>.

AMĪR MOGHUL, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's predecessor, was re-appointed governor of Astarābād. KHOJA SHAMS AL-DĪN KURD, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's *sāhib-dīvān* remained as civil agent. In 895/1490 Moghul raised a revolt, for some other reason, and the *sāhib-dīvān* fell as its first victim <sup>6</sup>. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn appointed his eldest son Badīʿ al-Zamān, governor of Astarābād, and Moghul fled to the Turk-

<sup>1</sup> *HS*, 246. This typical detail is omitted in Belin, *o.c.*, 201. It will be seen from what follows that the Sultan was supposed to be aware of the plot.

<sup>2</sup> ["Opposition" would be a more adequate translation of the word. V. M.]

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 282.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 195. Originally Mīr ʿAlī Shīr had taken him to Astarābād with the hope of passing on the governorship to him, but in the last years of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's life Ḥaydar came to a sad end (see below p. 62).

<sup>5</sup> Belin quotes it in connection with earlier events in a form which corresponds to the text of the *Rauḍat al-safa*; the text of the *HS*, 265, has *Rukn al-salṭana ʿUmdat al-mamlaka Iʿtiḍād al-dawla* instead of *Iʿtimād al-mulk wal-dawla*. [These titles clearly show that *muqarrab al-hadrat* "the king's intimate" implied much more importance. V. M.]

<sup>6</sup> *HS*, 248.



mans. In 896/1490-1 the Turkman Sultan Ya'qūb died and the throne passed to his son Baysunqur. The later took Moghul into his service, but at the first sign of disloyalty on his part, had him killed.

In Herat MAJD AL-DĪN still remained in power, but with Mīr 'Alī Shīr's return, his influence began to wane. Foreseeing that the "noyons and courtiers", i.e. Mīr 'Alī Shīr's party, might have the upper hand, Majd al-dīn sought to conciliate the former vazir NIZĀM AL-MULK by re-instating him on the solemn engagement that he would undertake nothing against him. This and other facts show that Majd al-dīn was no such sworn enemy of the dignitaries as Khwāndamīr and Babur would suggest. Then occurred the revolt of Mīr 'Alī Shīr's brother Darvish-'Alī Kūkältash who was ruling in Balkh on behalf of Prince Ibrāhīm-Ḥusayn. Watching Majd al-dīn's influence and his strained relations with Mīr 'Alī Shīr, Darvish 'Alī became apprehensive for himself and opened negotiations with Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, the ruler of Hisār. When these tidings reached Herat, it was thought that, in the interest of the state, Majd al-dīn should temporarily relinquish his power. His dismissal was clothed in the most gracious terms and he was presented with 100,000 dinars (*circa* £ 5,000) and a gold-embroidered robe <sup>1</sup>. It is perhaps here that one should place the scene described by Sām-Mīrzā, namely that Majd al-dīn had the honour of entertaining the Sultan in his house and over the robe bestowed on him by the sultan, put on the robe presented to him by Mīr 'Alī Shīr <sup>2</sup>. In any case, this removal of Majd al-dīn on political grounds was that first retirement "after three years of power", to which reference has already been made. This event, therefore, took place in 1490, and Nizām al-mulk now concentrated all the vazirial power in his hands.

The circumstances surrounding Majd al-dīn's removal could not satisfy Darvish-'Alī. In order to secure freedom of action he made up his mind to remove from Balkh his patron Prince Ibrāhīm-Ḥusayn. To this effect he forged an order in the Sul-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>2</sup> *Notice*, 195 sq. Nikitsky, 41 sq.

tan's name summoning the prince to Herat. On his arrival there, Darvish-<sup>ʿ</sup>Alī's treachery was exposed. Sultān-Ḥusayn openly expressed his indignation at the perfidy of a governor who owed him so much. Mīr <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī Shīr's enemies gave to understand that Darvish-<sup>ʿ</sup>Alī would not have defied the government without his brother's knowledge. The Sultan voiced his complaints to Mīr <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī Shīr too, much to the latter's distress<sup>1</sup>. At last a fearless man, Khoja Ghiyāth al-dīn Muḥammad Dihdār<sup>2</sup> came forward and declared himself ready to bring "this sorry slave of a librarian" (*in ghulāmaki-kitābdār*) in chains before the Sultan. He was granted permission to go. Some time afterwards the Sultan in person and his troops set out in the same direction. On arriving in Balkh the Khoja pointed out to Darvish-<sup>ʿ</sup>Alī what dangerous consequences his behaviour might have for him and persuaded him to go with him to the Sultan who, by that time, had reached the Murghab. Having left Darvish-<sup>ʿ</sup>Alī some three or four far-sakhs behind, the Khoja arrived in the camp, and reported that he had brought "the sorry slave of a librarian", but as no blacksmith could be found on the way to rivet the chains, he asked for one to be sent from the *ordu bāzār*<sup>3</sup>, i.e. the baggage-train<sup>4</sup>. The Sultan was overjoyed and declared that he pardoned Darvish-<sup>ʿ</sup>Alī. When the latter arrived, he was admitted and even allowed to entertain the Sultan in his tent. The Sultan then proceeded to Balkh where he spent the winter<sup>5</sup>. In spring, he decided to march on Ḥiṣār against Sultān-Maḥmūd, leaving Mīr <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī Shīr in Balkh and at the same time giving orders to imprison his

<sup>1</sup> The vazir is not mentioned in this connection.

<sup>2</sup> He did this apparently with the intention to oblige Mīr <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī Shīr to whom he had been attached since Sultān-Ḥusayn's accession (before that he was in Abū-Sa<sup>ʿ</sup>id's service). Cf. the *Khamsat al-mutaḥayyirin* in *Notice*, 343.

<sup>3</sup> On this term cf. *Ulugh-beg*, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Belin's account of the events, *o.c.*, 202, is very brief; he just mentions the Sultan's expedition against Balkh, where "grace à l'habilité et l'adresse de Khâdjé-Dihdâr, il ne trouva dans le gouverneur de Balkh qu'un sujet fidèle et et dévoué".

<sup>5</sup> Whether it was the winter of 1490-1, or 1491-2, is not clear from the sources.

brother in the castle <sup>1</sup>. One wonders whether this should be taken for a sign of the utmost confidence in the “sultan’s intimate”, or for an intentional humiliation. The expedition was a failure. The Sultan was obliged to make peace with Sultan-Mahmud, and to conclude a family alliance with him. Sultān-Maḥmūd retained all his previous possessions, including the provinces to the south of the Amu-Darya, such as Badakhshan, Qunduz and Baghlān. Sultān-Ḥusayn returned first to Balkh, then after a great hunting expedition, to Herat. In Balkh, he left Mīrzā Ḥaydar-Muḥammad, under the tutelage of Amīr Mubārīz al-dīn Valī-beg <sup>2</sup>. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr probably returned to Herat with the Sultan.

During the winter spent in Balkh, the Sultan had shown the first signs of his weakening confidence in MAJD AL-DĪN, and Nizām al-mulk, forgetful of his pledge, was quick to exploit the Sultan’s mood. Majd al-dīn was championed by the Barlas begs, one of whom, Shujā‘ al-dīn Muḥammad, son of Burunduq, was the chief beg of the kingdom. Nizām al-mulk immediately launched intrigues against them. Majd al-dīn also found another protector in the person of Jāmī, the representative of religious authority, who, as it appears, was above intrigues. In an interview with the Sultan Jāmī told him that the kingdom could prosper, and the army and population remain content only if Majd al-dīn stayed in power <sup>3</sup>. The Sultan seemed won over and, on the initiative of the Barlas begs, granted an audience to Majd al-dīn who made him a present of 20,000 dinars (circa £ 1,000). Only a few days later however the Sultan ordered both the Barlas begs and Majd al-dīn to be imprisoned. Even the chief beg, Muḥammad, son of Burunduq, spent a whole year in the citadel, though after his release he regained the Sultan’s favour and the dignity of *beglar-begi*. Naturally no measures were taken against the aged Jāmī who died right in the middle of these events on Friday 9 November 1492. We do not know the exact dates of

<sup>1</sup> *HS*, 250.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 253, below.

Majd al-dīn's last audience and arrest, and therefore cannot tell how many days separated them from Jāmī's demise. In any case, the Sultan and his entourage made the most of this opportunity to demonstrate their respect for the memory of the deceased. The funeral took place on the next day, Saturday, and was attended by the Sultan, his suite and all the dignitaries (though the vazir is not mentioned). The Sultan and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, in turn, entertained the dignitaries, sayyids and scholars for the repose of Jāmī's soul <sup>1</sup>, on the site where public prayers were held. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr is, of course, silent on Jāmī's intercession in Majd al-dīn's favour. He devotes to Jāmī a special work <sup>2</sup>, in which he speaks in much detail of their great friendship, and tells how, during Jāmī's last illness, he constantly enquired about his health, and how, on the eve of Jāmī's death, finding no peace in bed, he had himself ridden over at midnight to ask for news, and then on the next day attended his funeral. Among those present was also Khoja Dihdār, who was in Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's service, and had read the Qorʿān to the sick man. After the funeral Mīr ʿAlī Shīr received condolences, and among them, one by letter from the prince Badīʿ al-Zamān, then governor of Astarābād, and another by word of mouth from one of the queens. In spite of a coincidence of names <sup>3</sup>, this queen could not have been Badīʿ al-Zaman's mother who was already dead at that time. A sincere mutual affection is said to have existed between Badīʿ al-Zamān and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr.

Majd al-dīn was questioned under the usual painful conditions, in chains. Niẓām al-mulk and his assistants could discover nothing to indict the fallen vazir, who rendered account of every dinar spent. But when he was handed over to a person of low rank, Muhammad ʿAmrābādī, a retired clerk, Majd al-dīn preferred to give a written acknowledgment of every offence of which he was being accused rather than to undergo interrogation by that man. Following this, the evaluation of Majd al-dīn's property brought to light unexpected treasures. The Sultan is

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Khamsat al-mutahayyirīn*, partly translated in *Notice*, 300-357.

<sup>3</sup> And contrary to *Notice*, 348.

reported to have said: "I was certain that, whenever Majd al-dīn received a costly present, he offered it to me. Now it appears that he was not open with me". Torture was allowed during examinations, on condition that it did not endanger the life of the prisoner. The examination <sup>1</sup> ended in Majd al-dīn's release after he had signed some other financial engagement. As he was unable to carry it out, he secretly left for Kirman in the company of Franks <sup>2</sup>. From thence he set out towards Mecca and on the way there died in Tabūk in Dhul-qa<sup>c</sup>da 899/1494 <sup>3</sup>.

When dealing with these reports, one must bear in mind that Khwāndamīr had risen from Mīr 'Alī Shīr's entourage. It is therefore no accident that they still contain so much that is favourable to Majd al-dīn. Of course, Khwāndamīr quotes also facts about him which produce a different impression. Like other vazirs, Majd al-dīn made short shrift of his enemies, and thus, for instance, Khoja Ni<sup>c</sup>mat-Allāh Surkh was tortured to death by his orders <sup>4</sup>.

Khwāndamīr stresses the fact that, simultaneously with Majd al-dīn, his enemy, Mīr 'Alī Shīr's brother DARVISH-'ALĪ, had also obtained permission to go to Mecca. But whereas Majd al-dīn died in Arabia, Darvish-'Alī safely returned to Herat (though only in 1498) and again became beg. He was re-appointed to the "supreme divan" and directed to appose his seal by the side of that of Amir NĀSIR AL-DIN ABD AL-KHĀLIQ <sup>5</sup>, grandson of the famous Fīrūzshāh, one of the chief amirs of Shahrūkh's time <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On him see *HS*, 254 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *HS*, 255: *mashubi-ta'ifa-yi Firang*. This seems to be the only record of the presence of Europeans in Herat under Sulṭān-Ḥusayn.

<sup>3</sup> The date is in the *HS*, 255 (Tehran ed., 266).

<sup>4</sup> *HS*, 333.

<sup>5</sup> *HS*, 279. Nāsir al-dīn is often mentioned in Khwāndamīr. Babur, *GMS*, I, 172, says that he was several times governor of Khwarazm.

<sup>6</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, pp. 84 and 144.

## VI. MĪR ʿALĪ SHĪR'S LAST YEARS (1494-1501)

The troublous times (*bozughluh*), of which Mīr ʿAlī Shīr speaks in his *Majālis* <sup>1</sup>, ended in a complete victory for him and his party. It may have seemed that the greatest triumph was reserved for the vazir NIZĀM AL-MULK. Like Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, he was a patron of learning, and scholars and shaykhs enjoyed his high regard. The history of Herat by Muʿīn al-dīn Muḥammad Isfizārī <sup>2</sup>, one of the main historical works of the epoch, was dedicated to him. Like Majd al-dīn, he was a friend of the oppressed. His house had neither usher (*ḥājib*), nor door-keeper, and anyone could enter freely and bring his complaints before the vazir. He had two sons, Khoja Kamāl al-dīn Ḥusayn and Khoja Rashīd al-dīn ʿAmīd al mulk. The first was handsome and eloquent, the second a good soldier. Both belonged to the Sultan's entourage. The vazir bore the title of "Trusted person of the powerful state" <sup>3</sup>.

Nizām al-mulk did not remain long in power. Two reasons brought about his downfall and that of his family. First and foremost, were the intrigues that were still going on among the officials; the second, the troubles that broke out in the Sultan's own family.

There had been a time when Nizām al-mulk collaborated with AFDAL AL-DĪN, but now he seemed loth to share his power. Afdal al-din's brother, AMĪN AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD, after his re-appointment, incurred Nizām al-dīn's displeasure and was imprisoned. Only "a year or two later" he escaped out of prison disguised as a woman and remained in hiding until his brother's return <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Majālis*, 74a.

<sup>2</sup> Rieu, *Pers. Man.*, 206.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 253: *amīn al-daulat al-qāhira*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 333 above.

The trouble in the Sultan's family arose out of a trifling incident. At the time when the aimless war against Ḥiṣār had been resumed, BADĪ<sup>c</sup> AL-ZAMĀN, at his father's wish, joined in the operations with a force from Astarābād. As soon as the war was over, Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān was appointed governor of Balkh, but contrary to his expectations, his son Muhammad Mu'min, whom he had left in Astarābād, was not confirmed in that governorship. Sultān-Ḥusayn gave Astarābād to MUẒAFFAR-ḤUSAYN, another of his sons who was his favourite <sup>1</sup>. This caused a breach between the Sultan and his eldest son who ordered Muḥammad Mu'min to oppose Muẓaffar-Ḥusayn, if necessary by force. In 1497 Mīr 'Alī Shīr went to Balkh to persuade Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān to submit to his father. This mission failed owing to the perfidy of the Sultan, who, at the same time, had sent a secret order to Balkh to seize the prince. This order fell into Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān's hands, and Mīr 'Alī Shīr had to return to Herat. The prince opened hostilities against his father and was defeated on 2 May 1497 <sup>2</sup>. By a curious coincidence, on the following day, his son MUḤAMMAD MU'MIN was captured in Astarābād by Muẓaffar-Ḥusayn who sent him to Herat. There in Safar 903/29 September 1497 <sup>3</sup> he was imprisoned in the citadel of Ikhtiyār al-dīn. One night when the Sultan was drinking heavily in his camp on the Murghab, Muẓaffar al-dīn's mother, Khadīja-biki, with the connivance of Nizām al-mulk, and his sons, wrested from him the order to kill his grandson. On the next morning the Sultan came to his senses, and sent a courier to Herat countermanding the order, but it was too late. Mīr 'Alī Shīr was at that time on a pilgrimage in Mashhad and only on his return learnt what had happened. Khwāndamīr <sup>4</sup> avers that in those days he had several times heard Mīr 'Alī Shīr prophesy that the murder of the prince would have the same consequences as the murder of Majd al-dīn Baghdādī, which, in popular belief, was respon-

<sup>1</sup> He is thus described by Babur, *GMS*, I, 166, who adds that neither the person nor the behaviour of this prince justified such affection.

<sup>2</sup> On Tuesday, 29 Sha<sup>c</sup>ban 902, *HS*, 262.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 264.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.

sible for Chingiz-khan's invasion<sup>1</sup>. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's prediction was later regarded as referring to the Uzbek invasion.

In May 1498<sup>2</sup> KHOJA AFDAL AL-DĪN, or Khoja Afdal, as he was called, suddenly turned up in Herat, after he had heard in Western Persia that he was favourably remembered by the Sultan and much missed by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. The Sultan greatly rejoiced at his arrival for, since the killing of his grandson, his feelings towards Niẓām al-mulk had cooled (though nothing is said of the state of his feelings towards Khadīja-biki). Afdal did not conceal his hostility towards Niẓām al-mulk. On Sunday 13 May<sup>3</sup> ʿIMĀD AL-ISLĀM, the brother of Niẓām al-mulk's wife ("the uncle of his sons on their mother's side"), who had held the charge of vazir for twenty years (consequently also under Majd al-dīn) was imprisoned. This was the first sign of the gathering storm. At the beginning of Shawwal (after 23 May), Khoja Afdal was appointed vazir. The Sultan was encamped at Ulang-nishīn awaiting the renewal of Badīʿ al-Zamān's attack. The latter was at the time in the southern part of Afghanistan, and preparing to avenge his son. A detachment was sent against him from Isfizār and with it was ʿAmīd al-mulk, Niẓām al-dīn's "soldier" son. The vazir and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr remained with the Sultan in the camp. The Sultan consulted Mīr ʿAlī Shīr about Niẓām al-dīn's misdeeds of which more and more were coming to light, and it was decided to arrest the whole of Niẓām al-mulk's family and confiscate their property. In the beginning of June<sup>4</sup>, NIẒĀM AL-MULK and his relative NIẒĀM AL-DĪN Kurd were arrested in Ulang-nishīn. A courier was sent to Isfizār with the order to arrest ʿAmīd al-mulk and bring him to Herat. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr personally took to Herat and handed over to Mīrza Aḥmad, who was in charge there, the order to arrest Niẓām al-mulk's other son Kamāl al-dīn, the sons of Niẓām al-dīn Kurd and the son of Niẓām al-dīn's sister, the court

<sup>1</sup> [The shaykh Majd al-dīn was killed by the order of the Khwarazmshāh in 1216, see *Turkestan*, 375].

<sup>2</sup> In the middle of Ramadan 903, *HS*, 267.

<sup>3</sup> 21 Ramadan, *ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> In the middle of Shawwal, *ibid*.



chronicler (*viqāya<sup>c</sup> nivīs*) ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. Another court chronicler, Kamāl al-dīn ‘Abd al-Wāsi<sup>c</sup> Nizāmī<sup>1</sup>, is also mentioned in connection with Nizām al-mulk but he seems to have escaped arrest. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr speaks of him with deep respect in his work on Jāmī and names him among those who recorded Jāmī’s miracles<sup>2</sup>. According to Khwāndamīr, ‘Abd al-Wāsi<sup>c</sup> was one of the many<sup>3</sup> who in the beginning of Sultān-Ḥusayn’s reign planned to write his history, but the sultan did not approve of his work, finding his style too imitative. Majd al-dīn liked him for his cheerful disposition and witty conversation. Later he enjoyed the same favour on the part of Nizām al-mulk and his two sons, and composed verses in their honour.

The arrested men were imprisoned in the citadel of Ikhtiyār al-dīn. One night Nizām al-dīn’s sons managed to escape, but were caught on the following morning and brought back to prison. In the middle of Dhul-qa<sup>c</sup>da (beginning of July), Mīrzā Aḥmad and Amir ‘Abd al-Khāliq, who was also in Herat, received the Sultan’s order which was immediately carried out. An executioner brought into the citadel cut off the heads of Nizām al-mulk’s sons in the presence of their father, after which Nizām al-mulk was taken to the gates of the citadel and there skinned alive. On the same day, the Sultan’s wrath was visited upon the supposed partisans of Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān, namely Khoja ‘Imad al-Islām, Nizām al-dīn Kurd and Maḥmūd-Shah Farāhī<sup>4</sup>.

Having “removed all his enemies”<sup>5</sup> KHOJA AFDAL became now a minister invested with full powers. The title invented for him was as complicated as that of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr: “The Ordainer of the major foundations of the sultanate and caliphate, the Trusted One of the kingdom, the Fair-minded Khoja Afdal al-

<sup>1</sup> On him see *HS*, 338.

<sup>2</sup> The translation is in *Notice*, 344.

<sup>3</sup> Mīr ‘Alī Shīr names among them Khoja Mas<sup>c</sup>ūd Qumi who wrote 12,000 verses on the subject, see *Majālis*, 22b. Cf. also *HS*, 336, where he is mentioned only as a poet and an intimate of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s.

<sup>4</sup> The circumlocution of the *HS*, 268, means apparently that they were executed.

<sup>5</sup> *Ba<sup>c</sup>d az raf<sup>c</sup>i mu<sup>c</sup>ānidān*, *ibid.*

dīn Muḥammad, the Faithful". The highest distinction was conferred on him only after Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's death when he was made to rank with the amirs and noyons while remaining vazir, and thus combined in his person both civil and military power. This occurred when Babur came to Kabul, i.e. in 1504<sup>1</sup>. We do not know whether his relations with Mīr ʿAlī Shīr continued friendly, but indirect symptoms point to the contrary. Among the dignitaries who were at first Khoja Afḍal's friends and later became his enemies, was AMĪR MUBĀRIZ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD VALĪ-BEG, often associated with Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. According to Khwāndamīr, Khoja Afḍal completely crushed the amir and deprived him of every vestige of importance.

The Sultan spent the summer of 1498 in Ulang-nishīn. Before Nizām al-mulk's fate had been sealed, on Friday 24 Shawwal/15 June<sup>2</sup>, news was received of BADĪʿ AL-ZAMĀN's approach. On the Sultan's orders, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, jointly with Mubāriz al-dīn and several others, assembled the troops quartered in Herat and, on the same night, marched them in the direction of the sultan's camp. Badīʿ al-Zamān attacked on the following day<sup>3</sup> but was beaten off. The Sultan remained in Ulang-nishīn to negotiate with his son. On Tuesday 28 August<sup>4</sup>, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr rode from Herat to the camp, which he reached on the following day, and talked the Sultan into accepting conditions which would also satisfy Badīʿ al-Zamān. The Sultan left the camp on Friday 31 August, and on Monday 3 September<sup>5</sup> was back in Herat.

In the autumn of 1498, two of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's sons rebelled in Marv and Abīvard. On 19 December<sup>6</sup> the Sultan marched out against Marv, leaving in Herat his son Muḥammad-Qāsim, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and Amīr ʿAbd al-Khāliq. The siege of Marv lasted some three or four months, at the end of which time "some

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, I, 177.

<sup>2</sup> *HS*, 269, Belin, *o.c.*, 207.

<sup>3</sup> The text of the *HS*, 270, gives the date as 25 *Shabān*, which is also in the *Rauḍat al-Safa*, but this is evidently a mistake instead of *Shawwal*.

<sup>4</sup> 10 Muharram 904, *HS*, 279.

<sup>5</sup> 13 and 16 Muharram.

<sup>6</sup> On Wednesday 5 Jamādī I, *ibid.*, 280.

sort of peace” came to be concluded between father and son <sup>1</sup>. During the siege, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr travelled to Mashhad and, from thence, sent the court physician ‘ABD AL-ḤAYY, already mentioned, to ask Ṣultān-Ḥusayn’s permission to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca. Another of Ṣultān-Ḥusayn’s sons, HAYDAR-MUḤAMMAD, who was prior to that in Mashhad, on his father’s instructions marched with Amir Shaykh Aḥmad Suhaylī against Abīvard. This force was defeated and returned to Mashhad, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr, who was already there, stood up for the prince and the amir. In the answer brought back by ‘Abd al-Hayy, the Sultan graciously approved of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s intentions but advised him to put off his pious journey, in view of the unrest in the Turkman possessions, and in the meantime requested him to join the camp under the walls of Marv. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr took counsel with the Mashhad sayyids. The unanimous decision was for him to go and endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between father and son. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr set out early in the spring of 1499. On the way to Marv, in the region of Sarakhs, he learnt that peace had already been concluded with the participation of his brother DARVISH-‘ALĪ, whom the Sultan had sent to Marv at the prince’s request. Soon Ṣultān-Ḥusayn in person arrived in Sarakhs and met with Mīr ‘Alī Shīr at Bāzīrgān-tübā (“Hill of the merchants”). Two or three days later, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr obtained leave to return to Herat and was told that, so long as he remained in the sultan’s dominions, every one of his requests would be granted. In Herat, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr assembled near the mazar Gāzurgāh <sup>2</sup> the chief sayyids, cadis, shaykhs, and scholars, lavishly entertained them and begged for their assistance on the path of darvishism and asceticism <sup>3</sup>.

This suggests that Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was not sure of his position and intended to leave not only the sultan’s service, but also his

<sup>1</sup> His name was Abul-Muḥsin.

<sup>2</sup> Originally: *Kārsār-gāh*. See Barthold, *Historical... survey of Iran* (in Russian), 40.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 281. *Notice*, 209, has only “fut accueilli avec enthousiasme par les savants et les ulémas, auxquels il donna un magnifique banquet”.

dominions. In the same year 1499 the Sultan dealt him a still more painful blow by putting to death his cousin.

After his disgrace in 1488 ḤAYDAR had become a darvish not in word only, like Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, but also in deed. He founded a monastery at a place called *Chashma-yi māhiyān* ("Spring of the fishes") near the *namāzgāh* of Herat. Once or twice (a day) he would pass through the bazaars of Herat in the garb of a wandering ascetic (*qalandar*)<sup>1</sup> collecting money and provisions for his monastery. After a while, he moved on to Balkh where he enjoyed the patronage of Ibrāhīm-Ḥusayn, the Sultan's son, who had been ruling there since 1497. Ḥaydar made his abode in the monastery *Siyāhiya* (perhaps, *Sipāhiya*), and took over the expenses of its upkeep. One day a certain Darvish-Valī, who was in favour with the prince, entered the monastery without Ḥaydar's permission. The latter ordered to give him 200 lashes<sup>2</sup> and made him work in the kitchen. The prince was incensed, and Ḥaydar fled from his wrath to Qunduz where KHUSRAU-SHĀH received him with every mark of esteem. In 1499 Khusrau-Shāh invaded Sultān-Ḥusayn's possessions and invested Balkh. When Sultān-Ḥusayn moved from Sarakhs to his son's assistance, Khusrau-Shāh raised the siege, returned to Qunduz and from thence sent Ḥaydar to negotiate with Sultān-Ḥusayn. In the royal camp Ḥaydar was accused of having incited Khusrau-Shāh to attack the Sultan. He was arrested, and a few days later, put to death. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was profoundly grieved at this news. He had Ḥaydar's body brought to Herat from the camp at Bābā-Khākī where he had been killed and buried him in the monastery he had built. He also supported Ḥaydar's children and relations<sup>3</sup>.

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's grief was not such as to make him withdraw his service from the Sultan, or to prevent him from answering the sultan's call when his advice was needed<sup>4</sup>. The war against his

<sup>1</sup> Khwāndamīr calls him Ḥaydar Qalandar.

<sup>2</sup> *Divāst kaf-i pāʿi*.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 282. Belin omits altogether this episode, so typical of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's relations with the Sultan.

<sup>4</sup> At about the same time in Jamādī I 905/December 1499 Mīr ʿAlī Shīr wrote his last work (*Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*), in which he speaks of Sultān-Ḥusayn as rapturously as in his other works.

sons was taking a dangerous turn for Sultān-Ḥusayn. From Bābā-Khākī he had once more to march on Marv and Abīvard. The prince of Marv joined his brother in Abīvard and the two princes began to retreat. They first succeeded in defeating the pursuers, but then were worsted themselves. The prince of Marv returned to his town, while the prince of Abīvard went on to Astarābād where another of Sultān-Ḥusayn's rebel sons, MUḤAMMAD-ḤUSAYN, was governor. The Sultan marched on Astarābād, occupied the town and spent fifteen days there. Herat had been left under the command of AMIR MUBĀRIZ AL-DĪN, who was then "at the zenith of his power" <sup>1</sup>. He reported to the Sultan that BADĪ<sup>c</sup> AL-ZAMĀN had rebelled again, and the Sultan hurried to the East, leaving in Astarābād the same Muḥammad-Ḥusayn. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr stood by Mubāriz al-dīn in organising the defence of Herat, and on learning of the approach of the Sultan's army, he sent messengers to Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān to persuade him to give up the fight against his father. The Sultan's forces proved, however, much inferior to those of his son, and after consulting Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, he agreed to cede to Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān the town of Balkh and the territory stretching between the Amu-Darya and the Murghab. It was also stipulated that in the *khutba* Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān's name should be read jointly with his father's. Even KHUSRAU-SHĀH recognised Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān's suzerainty, and consented to use his name in the *khutba* and on the coins in Qunduz, Baghlān, Tirmidh, Hisār, Qabādiyān, Khuttalān and Badakhshān <sup>2</sup>.

In Muharram 906 <sup>3</sup>, Sultān-Ḥusayn marched against MUḤAMMAD-ḤUSAYN who for the second time had rebelled in Astarābād. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and Amir Mubāriz al-dīn were again left in charge in Herat where the autumn and winter passed quietly — although it was the time when the decisive struggle with the Uzbeks was taking place for the possession of Samarqand. After SHĪBANI had taken Samarqand and put to death its governor Sultān-ʿAlī,

<sup>1</sup> *HS*, 283.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>3</sup> This month began on 28 July 1500.

he had to abandon it temporarily to [Zahir al-dīn] Babur (then in the prime of life), and only in 1501, after Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s death, Samarqand was definitely annexed by the Uzbeks. Quite rightly, Babur expresses his astonishment <sup>1</sup> that such an experienced ruler as Sultān-Ḥusayn, who was thoroughly awake to Shībani’s activity, should have taken no part in this struggle and rendered him no assistance. An expedition to Samarqand would have seemed more pressing than the aimless excursion against Astarābād which soon ended in a truce. Belin calls this campaign “une promenade militaire” <sup>2</sup>. Neither was there any help forthcoming from Badī‘ al-Zamān. Of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr, Babur says only that in Samarqand he received a letter from him which he answered. Then he sent him a Turkish poem, but by that time it was too late for him to get a reply <sup>3</sup>.

On Monday 28 December <sup>4</sup>, news was received of the Sultan’s return. As usual, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr set out to meet him and his army, but this occasion was to be his last. By now both the Sultan and his vazir had become utterly senile, although Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was only sixty and the sultan sixty-two. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was the more active of the two, for he could still mount a horse, whereas the Sultan moved about in a litter. The meeting took place on Thursday 31 December. When Mīr ‘Alī Shīr dismounted in order to approach the Sultan’s litter, he walked leaning on the shoulders of two attendants. He managed to reach the Sultan and kiss his hand, but immediately squatted down, unable either to rise or to answer the Sultan’s questions. Babur gives a similar account of the scene; he says that Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was able to welcome the Sultan but could not rise <sup>5</sup>. He was laid upon a stretcher. The physicians disagreed, and the young historian KHWĀNDAMĪR, who was in attendance on Mīr ‘Alī Shīr during the last days of his life, also took part in the discussion. Some wanted to leave the sick man where he was and wait for him to recover before

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, 88.

<sup>2</sup> *O.c.*, 211.

<sup>3</sup> *GMS*, I, 86b sq.

<sup>4</sup> 5 Jamādī II, *HS*, 288.

<sup>5</sup> *GMS*, I, 171b.

taking him to Herat <sup>1</sup>; others, including the highest medical authority, ‘Abd al-Ḥayy Tūnī <sup>2</sup>, insisted upon taking the invalid immediately to Herat and there convoking the best physicians in consultation. This last opinion prevailed, but on the way the sick man grew worse. At the instance of Khwāndamīr it was decided to take immediate measures, but, before the Sultan’s permission could be obtained, another three farsakhs were covered and “the opportunity was lost”. Blood-letting was tried but without success, and death took place on Sunday 3 January 1501.

The funeral <sup>3</sup> was surrounded with great pomp. It was attended by the Sultan and his wives, including the queen Khadīja-biki, who was regarded as responsible for the unfortunate event in the royal family, which had been so severely condemned by Mīr ‘Alī Shīr. The Sultan spent three days mourning in the house of his departed friend. A site, to the North of the cathedral mosque built by Mīr ‘Alī Shīr, was chosen for the burial. A solemn feast in memory of the deceased took place on the seventh day at the *Haud-i Māhiyān* (“Tank of the fishes”), situated to the North of the *namāzghāh* of Herat. This is probably the same “Spring of the fishes” (*chashma-yi māhiyān*), where the monastery and the tomb of Ḥaydar were situated. The commemorative repast saw an extraordinary concourse of people. The Sultan had a tent put up for himself with seven steps leading up to it. Many of those present (of course those of gentler birth) were summoned to the Sultan who addressed them with kind words exhorting them to bear patiently the sorrow of the common loss <sup>4</sup>.

The historical importance of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr, apart from his own literary activity, resides in his constructions <sup>5</sup>, and especially in

<sup>1</sup> Khwāndamīr seems to have shared this opinion.

<sup>2</sup> Of him Khwāndamīr speaks in this passage disparagingly as of one who “also had pretensions to medical knowledge (*dam az ṭababat mīzad*)”.

<sup>3</sup> On the funeral see *HS*, 289. *Notice*, 215 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Belin, *o.c.*, 217, takes it as a solemn speech delivered by the Sultan, but more probably the Sultan addressed single persons with “kind words”.

<sup>5</sup> The question whether, as a whole, they present any special character, as compared for instance with the buildings of Shāhrukh’s epoch, has apparently not been raised by experts.

his patronage of science and art. In this respect his services are beyond all doubt, for his name is linked with those of the historians MĪRKHOND (d. 1498 at the age of sixty-six) <sup>1</sup> and KHWĀNDAMĪR (b. *circa* 1475, d. 941/1534-5), of the artist BIHZĀD and many others. Of course not all solicitations received a favourable response from the maecenas, nor did every client enjoy his favour till the very end. In the preface to his edition of Daulatshāh's anthology, E. G. Browne quotes the author's typical complaint of the want which he had to endure, and Mīr 'Alī Shīr's no less characteristic words about Daulatshāh, who had dedicated to him a long *qasīda* in the evident hope of winning his favour. Mīr 'Alī Shīr praises Daulatshāh for he was, despite his noble descent <sup>2</sup>, satisfied with a small income, and lived in retirement, devoting himself to books and study <sup>3</sup>.

Mīr 'Alī Shīr's interests were many-sided. Besides poetry, he cultivated music and calligraphy, and, in his work, mentions artists as well as poets. Similarly to other historians, he devotes a special section <sup>4</sup> of his work to calligraphers who composed inscriptions for the larger buildings. Among the artists who were in Mīr 'Alī Shīr's service and who were dissatisfied with him, there is mentioned a painter (*naqqāsh*) HĀJJĪ MUḤAMMAD, who may be identical with Mīr 'Alī Shīr's handsome favourite, "the angel in human shape" whom he held "even more dear than a son" <sup>5</sup>. Hājjī Muḥammad attained great proficiency in the shaping of figures and in gilding; for some time he worked at making china, and after long experiments succeeded in producing vessels very similar to the Chinese, though less pure in colouring. Under

<sup>1</sup> Mīr 'Alī Shīr says himself in the *Majālis*, 56a, that Mīrkhond undertook his great historical work "at the entreaty of this beggar".

<sup>2</sup> He was the nephew of the sometime powerful beg Fīrūzshāh, and thus second cousin of 'Abd al-Khāliq, one of the noblest begs of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's reign.

<sup>3</sup> In the same passage Mīr 'Alī Shīr quotes the news of Daulatshāh's death as an unverified rumour.

<sup>4</sup> *Majālis*, 15a, on the inscription on the fort 'Imād (cf. *Ulugh-beg*, p. 149); f. 23b, on the inscriptions on some building called Aq-Saray, built under Abū-Sa'īd.

<sup>5</sup> *Majālis*, 57b. Cf. above, p. 30.



Mīr ʿAlī Shīr he was a librarian, and set up in the library a clock which was like a box (*sandūq*) and contained a figure which struck the hours with a staff. In 904/1498-9 (it ought to be 905), Hajji Muhammad turned against Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and joined Badīʿ al-Zamān who at that time was besieging Herat. Under him he also held the post of librarian, and died in the first years of the Uzbek conquest <sup>1</sup>.

The man who had the most grievances against Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was the poet and historian BANĀʿĪ <sup>2</sup> who perished in 910/1512 in Qarshī during the massacre of its inhabitants after the fall of the town. Having quarrelled with Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, Banāʿī joined Sultān Yaʿqūb in Azarbayjan. Some time after, "home-sickness" (he was a native of Herat) took him back to Khorasan, but he again fell out with Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and went on to Samarqand. There he was well received by Sultān-ʿAlī. After the fall of the Timurid power in Turkestan, he joined the Uzbeks <sup>3</sup>. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr <sup>4</sup> speaks of him as of a highly gifted scholar, "unmatched in every science", but proud and prompt to take offence. He therefore (*sic*) preferred the path of poverty, but did not choose a guide, going his way as he pleased, and so gaining nothing. Unable to remain in Herat where he had quarrelled with the inhabitants, he went to [Persian] Iraq <sup>5</sup>, but as a man of talent he could yet come to know remorse and modesty through misfortune. Banāʿī belonged to the middle classes (*ausāt al-nās*), and this may be the explanation of his excessive touchiness when dealing with grandees. However, Babur's account <sup>6</sup> of Banāʿī's second quarrel with Mīr ʿAlī Shīr gives the impression that Banāʿī's only offence was a sharp answer to an unseemly joke made by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. One day when Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was playing chess, he stretched out his foot and accidentally touched Banāʿī's seat, at which he remarked (in Persian): "No matter!

<sup>1</sup> *HS*, 342 sq.

<sup>2</sup> On him see Samoylovich, *ZVO*, XIX, 0164 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 343.

<sup>4</sup> *Majālis*, 34b sq. Banāʿī's name is omitted in the MS.

<sup>5</sup> This was evidently before Banāʿī's return to Khorasan.

<sup>6</sup> *GMS*, I, 180.

In Herat, if you stretch out your feet you are sure to kick the backside of some poet". Banāʿī's answer (also in Persian) is untranslatable <sup>1</sup>.

When Shībani took Herat, he apparently had an exaggerated idea of the open-handedness of the Khorasanian rulers and grandees, and of the riches supposedly amassed by the poets. Banāʿī was given the task of collecting money from them. His efforts to extract gold from poets who had never seen its colour, inspired a cruel, and not quite printable, verse at his address <sup>2</sup>.

There is another typical story <sup>3</sup> about Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's falling out with Khoja ʿALĀ al-DĪN ʿALĪ ṢĀNĪʿĪ, a poet and official in Sultan-Husayn's service. His reputation as poet stood high, but in his official capacity he was said to oppress the poor folk. One day he recited at Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's address a Persian verse in which a mocking allusion was suspected:

"To-morrow, when in the field the swords ring out,  
"The strength of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's arm will be found out".

Gradually the Sultan's mind was poisoned against Ṣāniʿī, and one day he ordered the Yasaul to strike the high turban off the poet's head. On this occasion, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr improvised the following Persian verse:

"You have lightened the burden of the head,  
"Now lighten the burden of the neck".

Ṣāniʿī was imprisoned, and during the six years spent in captivity, composed many works. In those days he wrote a *ghazal* for Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, which began:

"What never reaches you is my complaint,  
"What never crosses your heart is a memory of me".

<sup>1</sup> [The meaning which Barthold takes for a hint at some perversion of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr is based on a misunderstanding. Banāʿī's retort was: "And so you do too if you draw in your feet". See E. G. Browne, *Hist. of Pers. Lit.*, III, 457. V.M.]

<sup>2</sup> *GMS*, I, 206.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 332.

But Mīr ʿAlī Shīr did not relent.

Sultān-Ḥusayn and his capital did not long survive Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. The victory of the Uzbeks was made easier by the folly of the royal entourage, noticed by Babur <sup>1</sup>. After Sultān-Ḥusayn's death, they simultaneously proclaimed sultans Badīʿ al-Zamān and Muẓaffar-Ḥusayn who hated each other. In 1507 Herat was already in the hands of the Uzbeks, and a "boor who had never seen (the world)" <sup>2</sup>, ascended the throne in that centre of Timurid culture.

Well known is Dozy's eloquent phrase <sup>3</sup> about events in Spain in the eleventh century, that the heart breaks ("le coeur se fend") seeing refined culture trampled down by barbarians and insolent upstarts. In our days such sentimental rhetorics are out of place, and one can speak calmly of the disappearance of things, which, like everything in nature and human life, bear within themselves the germs of destruction. What is best in human culture does not perish, but is handed on to the following generations, and so it is with refined urban culture <sup>4</sup>. Shībani himself is credited with the words about the truth "brighter than the sun, and more certain than the day of yesterday", namely, that since the days of the Prophet "till our own times", there had been no monarch of greater learning, intelligence and refinement than Sultān-Ḥusayn <sup>5</sup>. These words, if they were ever uttered, are a tribute of respect not so much to the personality of Sultān-Ḥusayn, whom Shībani probably knew very little, but to the exquisite culture of the capital created by himself and his helpmates, that Herat which, in Babur's belief, had no equal in the world.

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, I, 183.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 206: *rūstāʿi va nā-dīda kishi*.

<sup>3</sup> *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*, I, 276.

<sup>4</sup> [Instead of these three sentences, characteristic for Barthold, the German version (Bearbeitung) of the present essay, see *Abhandlung f. die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXII/8, 1937, p. 88, gives: "Das beste dieser Kultur ist mit dem äusseren Zerfall jedoch nicht untergegangen".]

<sup>5</sup> Wāsifī, *Badāʿiʿ*, MS. As. Mus., 568 ba, f. 303a sq.

## SOME HISTORICAL DATES

- 1331-70 Mu<sup>c</sup>izz al-din Kart in Herat.  
1380 Herat taken by Timur.  
1383 The Karts deposed.  
1397 Shāhrukh in Herat.  
1438 Sultān-Ḥusayn born.  
1440-1 Mīr <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr born in Herat.  
1449 Sultān-Muḥammad in Herat for a short time.  
1452 Abul-Qāsim Babur in Herat. Sultān-Ḥusayn enters his service.  
1457 A. Q. Babur dies in Mashhad. Sultān-Ḥusayn and Mīr <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr separate for 12 years.  
1457-1469 Years of Sultān-Ḥusayn's "cossack" activities. Mīr <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr studies in Mashhad, Herat and Samarqand.  
1458 Jahān-Shāh attacks Herat.  
1459 Abū-Sa<sup>c</sup>id in Herat.  
1413-1492 Historian <sup>2</sup>Abd al-Razzaq (born and died in Herat).  
1461 Sultān-Ḥusayn re-occupies Astarābād.  
1464 Mīr <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr joins Abū-Sa<sup>c</sup>id.  
1468 Abū-Sa<sup>c</sup>id dies in Western Persia.  
1469 Mīr <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr with S. Ḥusayn's army.  
1470 July. Muḥammad-Yadigar temporarily enters Herat.  
1470-1506 S. Ḥusayn undisputed ruler of Herat.  
1472 Mīr <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr officially appointed amir.  
1476 Mīr <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr initiated to the Naqshbandī order.  
1481 Darvish-Alī appointed amir.  
1487-94 Mīr <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr's years of diminished influence.  
1487 Mīr <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr appointed to Astarābād.  
1490 (1491?) Darvish-<sup>c</sup>Alī revolts in Balkh.  
1492, Nov. 9. Death of Jāmī.  
1492 (?) Majd al-dīn's disgrace.  
1498 Afdal al-dīn and Darvish-<sup>c</sup>Alī return from exile.  
1498, autumn. Revolt of S. Ḥusayn's sons in Marv and Abivard.

- 1499, spring. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr mediates between S. Ḥusayn and his son.
- 1499 Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's cousin Ḥaydar executed. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr mediates between S. Ḥusayn and Badīʿ al-zamān.
- 1500 The Uzbeks invade Turkestan.
- 1501, Jan. 3. Death of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr.
- 1501 Samarqand occupied by the Uzbeks.
- 1506, May 4. Death of Sultān-Ḥusayn.
- 1507 Herat occupied by the Uzbeks.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AR — Abd al-Razzāq, *Matla<sup>c</sup>al-sa<sup>c</sup>dayn*, quoted from the MS. of the University of St. Petersburg, No. 157.
- Daulatshah — Dawlatshah, *The Tadhkiratu sh-shu<sup>c</sup>arā* etc., ed. E. G. Browne, GMS, London-Leide 1901.
- EI — Encyclopaedia of Islam, German edition.
- GMS — Gibb Memorial Series.
- HS — Khwāndamīr, *Habīb al-siyar*, Bombay 1857. References to the pages are all to the 3rd *juz*<sup>2</sup> of the 3rd *mujallad*.
- J. As. — Journal Asiatique.
- Majalis — *Majalis al-nafā<sup>2</sup>is* of Mir <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr. MS. of the University of St. Petersburg, No. 618.
- al-Muzaffariyya* — Collection of articles by pupils of Baron Rosen, SPb. 1897.
- Nikitsky — M. Nikitsky, *Amir Nizām al-dīn <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr and his importance as statesman and man of letters* (in Russian) SPB. 1856.
- Notice — Belin, *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir-<sup>c</sup>Alī-Chīr-Nevāi*, *J. As.* XVII (1861), pp. 175-256, 281-357. Pages quoted are those of the journal (not of the offprint).
- Quatremère — M. Quatremère, *Chrestomathie en turc oriental, contenant plusieurs ouvrages de l'Emir Ali-Schir*, I-er fascicule, Paris 1842.
- TR — *Tarīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Doughlat. An English version ed. by N. Elias, the translation by E. D. Ross, London 1895.
- Ulughbeg — V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*. v. II: *Ulugh-beg*. Engl. transl., Leiden 1958.
- ZMDG — Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
- ZN — *The Zafarnāmāh* by Maulana Sharfuddin (sic) <sup>c</sup>Alī of Yazd, ed. by Maulawi Muhammad Iahdad, Calcutta 1887-8.
- ZVO — Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Russkogo Archeologicheskogo Obshchestva.

ANNEX

A HISTORY OF THE TURKMAN PEOPLE

(An outline)





## THE AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

The present Outline, prepared within a narrow time-limit, naturally cannot contain a complete record of information on the past of the Turkman people. In fact such a task would probably require the work of several generations. My purpose was to give to the cultural workers of Turkmenistan such general information on the history of the Turkmans as is not yet at their disposal, information which, in the present circumstances, they would be unable to collect for themselves. Least of all have I striven to present the facts in the light of the requirements of modern historical science — that is a task that still lies ahead. Any attempt to produce a picture of historical life on the basis of pre-established principles, before all the necessary material has been collected and critically examined, seems to me completely useless. The outline which I have prepared is only the first of the preparatory studies in this field without which no comprehensive scholarly work can be achieved. The future will show to what extent the present outline has served its purpose.



## I. THE PRE-MUSLIM PERIOD

The designation "Turkman" appears for the first time in Muslim literature in the second half of the 10th century A.D. in the work of the geographer Maqdisi. The Turkmans are mentioned in it twice<sup>1</sup> in the description of the region which in those days formed the frontier strip of the Muslim possessions in Central Asia. The centre of this region was the town of Isfijāb which, according to the 11th century author Maḥmūd Kāshgharī was called "White City" and "Sayram"<sup>2</sup>. Isfijab was apparently situated on the site of the present-day village Sayram, to the east of Chimkant, although one 16th c. author locates it "between Tashkent and Sayram"<sup>3</sup>. Isfijab, like Chimkant in the 19th c. and Aris railway station to-day, was the cross-roads where the north-western road, coming from the Aral sea up the Sīr-darya, met the north-eastern road coming from the Chu valley and skirting the northern slopes of the Alexandrovsky range. The country along these two roads, where the sovereignty of the Samanid amir resident in Bukhara was recognised, depended directly on the ruler of Isfijab, who did not pay any tribute but once a year sent to Bukhara, together with other presents, four *dānaks* (two thirds of a dirham, i.e. less than twenty copecks) and a broom as a symbol of allegiance<sup>4</sup>.

In his description of the country to the N. W. of Isfijab Maqdisi names in the last place (even after Sauran) Balaj — "a small town whose walls are already in ruins; a Friday mosque stands in the middle of the bazaar". Later the author returns to Isfijab from which he begins his description of the road running from it to the N.E. He first mentions "Barukat, a large (town); both it and Balaj are fortified frontier places against the Turk-

<sup>1</sup> *BGA*, III, 274 and 275.

<sup>2</sup> Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, ed. Istanbul, III, 133.

<sup>3</sup> V. Barthold, *Irrigation*, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> V. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 218. The exact Muslim forms of the names are indicated in the Index. Thus *Isfijab* is *Isfijāb*.

mans who have (now) already accepted Islam out of fear (of the Muslim armies); its walls are already in ruins". There follows the description of other towns on this road; immediately after Merke comes "Ordu, a small town; there lives the king of the Turkmans; he constantly sends gifts to the ruler of Isfijab. The town has a wall with a moat filled with water; the palace stands within the citadel".

Following Maqdisi one can only approximately locate the towns Balaj, Barukat and Ordu which do not seem to be mentioned in other sources. Geographers who wrote before Maqdisi, as for instance Istakhri, describe the Isfijab province as the region through which passed the frontier between two Turkic peoples — the Ghuz (in Arabic authors often *Ghuzz*; the true Turkish form is *Oghuz*) and the Qarluq. The country neighbouring the Muslim possessions in Central Asia from the Caspian sea to Isfijab was inhabited by the Oghuz, and from Isfijab to Farghāna inclusively, by the Qarluq<sup>1</sup>. From this one may infer that Maqdisi's Turkmans included both the Oghuz and the Qarluq. This assumption is supported by Mahmud Kashghari<sup>2</sup> who, while applying the term *Turkman* mainly to the Oghuz, says in another passage about the Qarluq: "They are a tribe from among the Turks, nomads, different from the Oghuz; they are also Turkmans". A trace of such a use of the term *Turkman* has possibly survived in Juvayni's<sup>3</sup> account of the capture in the 1130's of the town of Balasaghun (in the Chu valley) by the Qarakhitays. While speaking about the Qarakhitay conquest he says that by the order of the Gür-khan the title of the local khan "of the house of Afrasiyab", i.e. of the Qarakhanid dynasty, was changed from *Ilik-khan* to *Ilik-Turkman*. The reading *Turkman* is to be found in some manuscripts of Juvayni's works and in sources dependent on him, though not in all of them<sup>4</sup>. In the printed

<sup>1</sup> Especially *BGA*, I, 290.

<sup>2</sup> Kashghari, I, 56, III, 304. On the *Qarluq Turkmans* see I, 393 and I, 80.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Semirechye*, p. 30 (Engl. tr. p. 102).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. in Mirkhond, tr. Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes*, Berlin 1870, p. 132. In Abul-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, p. 49, tr. p. 50.

edition of Juvayni's text <sup>1</sup> the accepted reading instead of *Ilik-Turkman* is \**Ilik-i Turkān* (i.e. *Ilik* of the Turks) and there is not even any mention of variants. The same reading appears in d'Ohsson's <sup>2</sup> translation of this passage: "Il dépouilla le descendant d'Effrassiyab de son titre de khan, ne lui donnant que celui d'Ilk-Turkan, ou de chef des Turcs". This rendering, in my opinion, distorts the meaning of the event, for what happened was not a substitution of one title for another but the demotion of the khan to the status of a man from the people, similarly as in 1211 Chingiz-khan gave orders to style the chief of the Qarluqs, who had voluntarily submitted to the Mongols, not Arslan khan as before, but "Arslan-sartaqtay, i.e. (Iranian) Tajik" <sup>3</sup>.

Later the appellation *Turkman* was retained only by the Oghuz, completely superceding the name *Oghuz* as applied to a people. The term *Oghuz* was used at the time when the Oghuz people was in Mongolia; the term *Turkman* appears for the first time in the West. Even before it was taken up by Muslim literature it had been known to the Chinese, but only as the name of a country in the distant West. Since the time of the first Chinese travellers to the West (2nd c. B.C.) the Chinese knew by hearsay of the country Yang-tsai, later also called A-lang-ya, i.e. the country of the Aorsi or Alans, a nomad people of Iranian descent. The Greeks knew the Aorsi and the Alans at the estuary of the Don and on the Caspian sea <sup>4</sup>. Chinese information on them probably refers to the region by the Aral sea which they could have reached in their wanderings even in those days <sup>5</sup>. In later times there were no Alans to the east of the Volga; the Huns had to cross this river before attacking them in A.D. 374 <sup>6</sup>. At the time the Chinese knew also another name for the country

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, XVI, 2, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire des Mongols*, I, 442.

<sup>3</sup> Rashīd al-dīn, text in *TVOAO*, VII, 171. This detail is not mentioned in the corresponding passage of Juvayni *GMS*, XVI, p. 58).

<sup>4</sup> See particularly the *Geography* of Strabo, p. 506.

<sup>5</sup> V. Barthold, *Information on the Aral sea and the lower course of the Amu-darya* (in Russian), 1902, p. 20 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Thierry, *Histoire d'Attila*, Paris 1856, I, 18.

of the Aorsi or Alans — Su-i or Su-de, which, according to the sinologist Hirth, is the word *Sogdaq* or *Sugdaq* <sup>1</sup>. This was the name which the Turks gave to the country of the Soghdians on the Zarafshan, a people who had a great importance in the history of the Central Asian caravan trade and who had founded a number of trading settlements on the road from their country to China <sup>2</sup>. The fact that the term *Sughdaq*, as a geographical and probably an ethnical designation as well, was also used in the country of the Alans is supported by the existence in our days of the place *Sudaq*, originally *Sughdaq* <sup>3</sup> on the southern coast of the Crimea. In the Chinese encyclopedia *T<sup>c</sup>ung-tien* of the 8th c. A.D. it is said that the country Su-i or Su-de, which in the 5th c. A.D. had commercial and political relations with China, is also called *Tö kü-möng*. This leads Hirth to conclude <sup>4</sup> that the Turkmen are the descendants of the Alans conquered by the Huns and that the establishment of this fact will help to clarify the genealogy of the Turkman people. In modern times the “admixture of nomad, dolichocephalic Iranian tribes” is taken to explain the characteristic trait of the Turkman type — long-headedness. So Aristov thought <sup>5</sup> already in 1896, and at present L. V. Oshanin <sup>6</sup> is conducting anthropological research in this direction.

In the 11th c. the Turks themselves no longer possessed any exact information on the origin and the name of the Turkmen. There existed only an obviously artificial etymology which, however, went to prove that even then the Turkmen were distin-

<sup>1</sup> *Sitzb. Bay. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1899, II, 265.

<sup>2</sup> V. Barthold in *Iran*, I (1927), p. 32 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The name *Sughdaq* was still in use in the 13th c. (*Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, Index to vv. III and IV).

<sup>4</sup> *L.c.*, p. 263 sq.

<sup>5</sup> N. A. Aristov, *Zametki ob etnicheskom sostave türkskikh plemen*, SPb., 1897, p. 177.

<sup>6</sup> *Izv. Sredne-Aziat. Komiteta po delam muzeyev* etc., 1926, fasc. I, p. 131 sq. A. V. Oshanin, *Nekotorye dannye k gipoteze skifo-sarmatskogo proiskhozhdeniya turkmen*, Tashkent 1928. [See now Oshanin's comprehensive work, *The anthropological composition of the Central Asian population and the ethnogenesis of its peoples* (in Russian), Erevan 1959, III, 76 sq.].

guished by their outward appearance from the other Turks. The earliest version of this etymology is found in Kashghari (*scribat* A.D. 1077) <sup>1</sup> who quotes a legend which, like many other local stories of Central Asia <sup>2</sup>, is connected with the name of Alexander of Macedonia. After conquering Samarqand Alexander moved against the Turkish king living in the region where later rose the town of Balasaghun, i.e. in the valley of the river Chu. On learning that Alexander had crossed the Sīr-darya, the Turkish king led his army away to the east and with him sent all those of his subjects who possessed beasts of burden. Twenty two men, ancestors of the Oghuz tribes, remained behind with their families. While hesitating whether to set out on foot or to stay put they saw two men accompanied by their families and carrying their property on their backs following on the traces of the army. Both men were completely exhausted. As they came up with the twenty two, they asked for advice on what to do and were told to stay where they were, for as Alexander never remained at one place, always moving on, now that he had gone it was perfectly safe for them to remain behind. This advice was expressed in the Turkish words *qal ach*, which is purported to mean "wait, remain and extend your stay" <sup>3</sup>. That is how the Khalaj, divided into two branches, came into being. When Alexander returned and saw these men he noticed in them traces of Turkish descent, as well as the Turkish brands on their cattle, and said in Persian: "Türk mānand" ("they resemble Turks"). Thus the name *Turkmān* <sup>4</sup> became attached to their descendants. Actually there were twenty-four Oghuz or Turkman tribes, but later two Khalaj tribes detached themselves and twenty-two remained, the names of which are enumerated by Mahmud Kashghari (see below).

<sup>1</sup> Mahmud Kashghari, III, p. 304 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in Gardizi the legend on the origin of the town of Barskhan on the Issik-kul: V. Barthold, *Otchet*, SPb. 1897, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> [It must be noted that Kashghari, I, p. 38, mentions the particle *aj* used to strengthen the imperative. His Arabic translation of *qal aj* is meant to express "do stay!" V.M.]

<sup>4</sup> [*Turkmān* seems to be an Arabic form, in which the length of *ā* is meant to indicate the Turkish accent on the last syllable. V.M.]

What strikes one as particularly inept in this story is the etymology of the term *qalach* or *khalaj*. As far as it is known, the Turkish root *ach* has not the meaning here attributed to it. Two other meanings of the word *ach* (*aj*) are known, on which two other etymological legends are found in the lore of Oghuz-khan, the mythical ancestor of the Oghuz. One of these is mentioned in an anonymous fragment, in a manuscript written in the Uyghur alphabet; the other is in Rashid al-din. According to the first version <sup>1</sup>, Oghuz-khan saw on his way a house with a golden roof, silver windows and a closed door without a lock. He left one of his companions there with the order: "Stay, open (it)". According to Rashid al-din <sup>2</sup>, on his way back from Isfahan Oghuz-khan was angered by a man who had dropped behind for family reasons, and said to him: "*Qal aj*" ("stay-hungry"). Neither Rashid al-din, nor other authors connect the Khalaj with the Oghuz, and in his enumeration of the twenty-four Oghuz tribes Rashid al-din does not include the Khalaj. According to the Arab geographers, the Khalaj had crossed the Amū-daryā much earlier and already in the 10th century had been living for a long time in the southern part of Afghanistan <sup>3</sup>. Later on part of the Khalaj migrated into Persia where some of them speak a Persian dialect, while others a Turkman one. It was they who gave the name of Khalajistān to the region to the west of Tehran and to the north of Sāva <sup>4</sup>.

As far as it is known the Khalaj are mentioned only in the west, whereas the name of the Oghuz is often found in Turkish inscriptions discovered in Mongolia <sup>5</sup>. In inscriptions composed

<sup>1</sup> V. Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik*, part I, SPb. 1891, p. XII.

<sup>2</sup> *TVOAO*, VII, 24 sq.

<sup>3</sup> V. Barthold, *Historico-geographical survey of Iran* (in Russian), SPb. 1903.

<sup>4</sup> Communicated by V. Minorsky (in a private letter). [See Minorsky, *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, BSOAS, 1940, V/12, 417-37].

<sup>5</sup> Attempts to translate and explain the inscriptions have been made many times; cf. in Russian: V. V. Radloff and P. Melioransky, *Drevne-türkские памятники в Косхо-Тsaidame*, SPb. 1897 (*Sbornik Trudov Orkh. Expeditsii*, IV); P. M. Melioransky, *ZVO*, XII, p. 1 sq. The most recent translation belongs to the now late V. Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 1924, 78, p. 121 sq.



in the name of an 8th century qaghan or khan, the khan calls the Oghuz or Toquz-Oghuz (literally "the Nine Oghuz" — evidently at the time the Oghuz were divided into nine tribes) his own people; a revolt of the Toquz-Oghuz against the qaghan is spoken of as an extraordinary event for which to happen heaven and earth had to be confounded. Elsewhere the khan calls his people "Turks" and himself the Turkish qaghan; sometimes the terms "Turks" and "Oghuz" occur side by side. This seems to justify the conclusion that both terms refer to one and the same people, and that the Oghuz were that Turkish people which in the 6th century A.D. formed the vast nomad empire stretching from the frontiers of China to those of Persia and Byzantium. It is also grammatically possible to read those passages of the inscriptions where "Turks" and "Oghuz" stand side by side as "Turks and Oghuz". Such is the reading of V. Thomsen, and in fact the inscriptions do not know any grammatical form corresponding to our conjunction "and". But if in the 8th century there had existed in Mongolia a Turkish people distinct from the Oghuz, the Qarluq etc., this people soon disappeared without leaving any trace. Already the Arab geographers use the term *Turks* as a collective designation covering a number of peoples related among themselves by their language; in those days there did not exist a separate people simply called *Turks*. The name *Turks*, as a political term, seems to have fallen temporarily into desuetude about the year 740 with the fall of the west-Turkish qaghanate whose last representatives belonged to the Türgesh tribe. As soon as in the 10th century Turkish qaghans, this time Muslim ones, reappeared in Kāshghar and Balasaghun, they once more started to call themselves and their people *Turks*, and it is still a moot question from which particular Turkish people the dynasty had sprung. One can therefore take it as more or less probable that the word *Turks* was a political term, and the word *Oghuz* an ethnographical one. This assumption is supported by the use in the inscriptions of the expression "my Turks, my people". In those days the name "Turks" was not a general one for all Turks in the modern sense. The Uyghur qaghans, successors of the Oghuz qaghans in Mongolia (after A.D. 744) did not call

themselves Turks, as far as one can gather from their inscriptions <sup>1</sup>, and the Chinese were right when they did not extend their term *T'u-chüeh* (i.e. Turks) either to the Uighurs or to the Qirghiz. The Oghuz, whose original habitat was in north-eastern Mongolia, in their westward advance brought with them the term *Turks*, and it was only the Arabs who began to use this term to designate the peoples of a definite linguistic group. On the basis of unity of language and political organisation, both in the present and in the past, Mas'ūdī divides the entire population of the world known to him into seven nations, which he enumerates in the following order: 1. the Persians, 2. the Chaldaeans and peoples related to them, including the Arabs, 3. the Greeks and the peoples politically connected with them, including the Slavs and the Franks, 4. the Lybians with whom the Egyptians are also reckoned, 5. the Turks, 6. the Indians, and 7. the Chinese <sup>2</sup>.

In the inscriptions which have been preserved in Mongolia the terms *Oghuz* and *Toquzoghuz* are used with the same meaning <sup>3</sup>. In the terminology of the Arab geographers the Oghuz and the Toquzoghuz were different peoples living in different regions: the Oghuz, as we have seen, lived along the border of the Muslim dominions from the eastern shore of the Caspian up to Isfijab, while the Toquzoghuz lived in the present-day Chinese Turkestan, from Kucha towards the east, the centre of their territory lying near Turfan <sup>4</sup>. According to the 13th century historian Ibn al-

<sup>1</sup> The main inscription where the historical data are given mostly in Chinese belongs to the years A.D. 808-821 (*J. As.*, 11th series, I, p. 180); an earlier inscription (8th century) in Turkish was published by Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Inschriften*, Helsingfors 1913, in *Journal de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, XXX.

<sup>2</sup> *BGA*, VIII, 77-84; on the Turks see 83.

<sup>3</sup> This is made particularly clear by the inscription of Tongyuquq, the corrected translation of which was given by V. Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 78, p. 162 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See particularly Gardizi's itinerary in my *Otchet*, p. 116; also the statement by Arab geographers that the distance from the frontier of the Muslim possessions in Farghāna to the beginning of the Toquzoghuz region was of thirty days (*ZVO*, VIII, 14, where the now obsolete reading *Tuguzghur* is given).

Athir<sup>1</sup> the Oghuz had been at one time part of the Toquzoghuz and had separated from them in the days of the caliph Mahdi (A.D. 775-785).

According to the Chinese sources, the region where the Arabs locate the Toquzoghuz was inhabited by the Uyghurs who were driven out of Mongolia by the Qirghiz (after the year 840) and occupied the region of Turfan in A.D. 866. This led to the conclusion that the Toquzoghuz of the Arab sources and the Uyghurs of the Chinese were one and the same people<sup>2</sup>, and such identification was used by scholars as a fully established fact for further inferences. Thus Marquart<sup>3</sup> notes the fact that the 9th century geographer Ibn-Khurdādhbih, in that earlier version of his work which de Goeje took to be dated before A.D. 850, knew of the Toquzoghuz in the region near Turfan; this fact, however, shows that, contrary to de Goeje's opinion, the said version cannot be dated before A.D. 866. Actually the name of the Toghuzoghuz (Toquzoghuz) appears in Arabic sources long before this date. Already in the first geographical work composed in Arabic, namely that of Muhammad Khwārizmī, who wrote in the first half of the 9th century at the latest<sup>4</sup>, the first of Ptolemy's two Scythias,<sup>5</sup> the western one, is identified with the "land of the Turks", and the second, the eastern one, with the land of the Toquzoghuz. The historian Tabari<sup>6</sup>, under the year 205/820-1, speaks of a raid by the Toquzoghuz into Ustrūshana, a province which included, as we know, the region from Khojand to Jizak, comprising the lands

<sup>1</sup> Ibn-el-Athiri *Chronicon*, XI, 117.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Pelliot's categorical affirmation in *J. As.*, 11th series, I, 307.

<sup>3</sup> J. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, Lpz. 1903, p. 390.

<sup>4</sup> Khwārizmī's work was published in 1925 by Hans v. Mžik, *Bibl. Arab. Hist. und Geogr.*, III, from the unique MS. on which an article had earlier been written by Nallino (*Reale Acad. d. Lincei*, Serie 5-a, vol. II, part 1-a). Nallino believed that this work was composed in the reign of Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-833), not later than 210 H./A.D. 826-7, but it already contains the mention of the town of Samarrā (in Mžik's edition No. 301), which was founded only in 836.

<sup>5</sup> In Mžik's edition Nos. 1600-1601.

<sup>6</sup> Tabari, *Annales*, III, 1044.

along the upper Zarafshān<sup>1</sup>. From among the Toquzoghuz rose Ṭulūn — the ancestor of the Ṭulūnid dynasty of Egypt (A.D. 868-905) — whom the Sāmānid amir Nūḥ b. Asad, then ruler of Samarqand, sent to the court of the caliph Maʿmūn<sup>2</sup>. It is quite possible that Ṭulūn had been taken prisoner by the Muslims during their military expedition of 205/820. Marquart himself<sup>3</sup> quotes an account by Jāḥiẓ who died in A.D. 869, which shows that this author knew the Toquzoghuz not as newcomers but as a people long established in Eastern Turkestan. He says that formerly the Toquzoghuz were superior to the Qarluq, although numerically they were inferior to them, but that when they had been converted to Manichaeism they had lost their martial qualities. The mention of the Qarluq clearly shows that the account deals with events in Eastern Turkestan and not with the struggle between the Uyghurs and Qirghiz in Mongolia, as Marquart believes.

Neither the Chinese, nor the Western sources give us quite clear information on the regroupings which must have been brought about by the Turkish conquest of the area from China to the frontier provinces of Persia and Byzantium, by the defeats inflicted on the Turks by the Uyghurs in the east and by the Arabs in the west, and by the final disruption of the Turkish empire. We know from Byzantine sources that in the 6th century Turkish rule spread also to the west of the Volga. After their break with the Byzantines in A.D. 576<sup>4</sup> the Turks besieged and took the town of Bosphorus of Cymmeria (Kerch), but in A.D. 590 the Byzantine power was restored there<sup>5</sup>. As a political heritage of the shortlived Turkish successes in those parts one might name the rise of the Khazar qaghanate, first mentioned

<sup>1</sup> V. Barthold, *Irrigation*, p. 136 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitāṭ*, Egyptian ed., I, 313, where Nūḥ is mistakenly called governor of Bukhara. It is well known that Bukhara came under the Samanids only after A.D. 874, see V. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 222.

<sup>3</sup> *Streifzüge*, 91 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux*, SPb. 1903, p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> A. Vasilyev in *Izvestiya Akademii Istorii Materialnoy Kultury*, 1927, V, p. 183 sq. mistakenly connects this data with the Khazars and coins the term *Turco-Khazars*.

in A.D. 625, though this event had hardly any ethnical consequences<sup>1</sup>. In the 8th and 9th centuries the middle and the lower courses of the Volga were in the power of the Khazars and the Bulgars, related to one another and differing in language from the Turks<sup>2</sup>. It is only the Pechenegs who, at the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th centuries, brought a purely Turkic element into the Russian steppes.

More important changes resulted, apparently, from the military activities on the Persian frontier. As in Darband, so also to the east of the Caspian sea and north of the river Gurgān the Persian kings of the Sasanian dynasty had built long walls<sup>3</sup>. The Khazars broke through the Darband line in A.D. 626; the Gurgān line was abandoned by the Persians already in the 6th century, and the fortified frontier of the Persian dominions was transferred to the region south-west of Astarabad where new walls were built from the sea to the mountains. This, according to the tradition, was done under Khusrau Anūshirvān (A.D. 531-579)<sup>4</sup>. In the account of the Arab conquest of the region along the Gurgān in A.D. 717 the name of the local prince Şūl, ruler (*dihqān*) of the town of Dihistān<sup>5</sup> (now the ruins of Mashhad-i Mişriyān) is mentioned. His descendants who bore the surname Şūlī had a certain importance in the cultural history of the ʿAbbasid caliphate. The biography of one of them, the poet Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Şūlī (d. A.D. 857), contains some information<sup>6</sup> on

<sup>1</sup> [The sentence is not quite clear. Perhaps the author wishes to deny the "khazaricisation" of the Russian steppes? V.M.].

<sup>2</sup> This is made particularly clear in *BGA*, I, 225.

<sup>3</sup> According to Tabari, *Annales*, I, 895 (Nöldeke's translation p. 158) these walls were built under Pērōz (A.D. 457-484) and rebuilt under Khusrau I.

<sup>4</sup> *BGA*, VII, 150. On both these walls, the traces of which still exist, see Barthold, *Irrigation*, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Tabari, *Annales*, II, 1320. Baladhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 336; there too see about the brick wall along the northern frontier of Jurjān. [The Şūlids of Jurjān bore the Iranian title of *nahapat* (Arab. plural *nahābidha*), see Ibn Isfandiyyār, transl. by E. G. Browne, p. 106. V.M.].

<sup>6</sup> The original source seems to be the biography of Ibrāhīm Şūlī in *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Egyptian ed., IX, 21. The author, Abul-Faraj Isfahānī died in A.D. 967.

the origins of this family; Şül is said to have been a Turk; he and his brother Fīrūz were rulers of the province of Jurjān (or Gurgān) stretching along the river of this name; in spite of their Turkish extraction they adopted the religion of the Magians (Zoroastrians) and became assimilated to the Persians. The name Şül occurs in Tabari as a geographical term. As the Arab letter *ṣād* is often used to represent the *č* sound, Marquart<sup>1</sup> reads the name as the Turkish word *čöl* “sand” (more correctly “steppe, desert”), and following Nöldeke<sup>2</sup> takes it for the name of one of the Turkish tribes. He thinks that the Turk Şül is named here mistakenly in the place of the head of the Turkish tribe *Chöl*<sup>3</sup>. It is more probable, however, that we have here the title *čur* which occurs frequently in Turkish inscriptions in Mongolia<sup>4</sup>. The Arabs would hardly have put a *ṣād* before a palatal vowel, especially as there was another way of rendering the *č* sound (by means of the letter *shīn*). The tradition quoted contains apparently still another inaccuracy: Şül with whom the Arabs had to deal in A.D. 717 could hardly have been the same person as the chief of the Turks during the conquest of the region along the Gurgān; if the Turks had come here only after the fall of the Sasanian kingdom they would hardly have accepted Zoroastrianism. In any case we have here one of the rare examples of the influence of Iranian culture on the Turks already before Islam.

The account of the event of A.D. 717 speaks merely of Turks without any mention of various Turkish peoples. One may assume that the steppes to the east of the Caspian were occupied by the Turks already in the 6th century, as the clashes of the Turks with Sasanian Persia belong to that period; secondly, that the Ghuz or Oghuz of the Arab geographers were the descendants of these Turks, and thirdly, that they established themselves in the west independently of the splitting of the Toquzoghuz in the 8th century which Ibn al-Athīr has in mind.

<sup>1</sup> J. Marquart, *Eranšahr*, Berlin 1901, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 123, No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Eranšahr*, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> [On the western coast of the Caspian the same title may be reflected in the Armenian appellation of Darband: *Čol*. V.M.].

Some of the Arab reports on the "Tughuzghuz", i.e. the Toquzoghuz coincide with the Chinese accounts of the Sha-t<sup>co</sup> Turks. The word *sha-t<sup>co</sup>* means "steppe" <sup>1</sup>. This was the name of the Turkish tribe which broke away from the state of the western Turks, the centre of which was the valley of the Chu river, and established itself in the extreme east of present-day Chinese Turkestan in the vicinity of lake Barkul. The Chinese render the Turkish name of this tribe as Ch<sup>c</sup>u-yüeh; this may possibly be the word *čol* mentioned by Marquart (see above) <sup>2</sup>. Clashes with the Tibetans forced the Sha-t<sup>co</sup> Turks to move further west into the region where to-day stands the town of Gu-chen and where in the Middle Ages stood the town of Bishbalıq, already mentioned in the Turkish inscriptions in Mongolia. The prince of the Sha-t<sup>co</sup> Turks took up residence in this town in A.D. 712. In the beginning of the 9th century the Tibetans drove them out and forced them to retreat into China where at the end of the 9th century they took part in the putting down of a revolt which threatened the Tang dynasty. In the 10th century there rose among the Sha-t<sup>co</sup> Turks three dynasties <sup>3</sup> whose rule was very shortlived (the three together ruled 28 years, A.D. 923-951) in a small part of China, the province of Ho-nan <sup>4</sup>. Arab authors also speak about the revolt of the 9th century in China and its suppression but transfer to the Toquzoghuz <sup>5</sup> the role which the Chinese ascribe to the Sha-t<sup>co</sup> Turks. This coincidence

<sup>1</sup> Iakinf Bichurin, *Collected data on the peoples who lived in Central Asia*, SPb. 1851, I, p. 452 sq. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux*, p. 96 sq. [Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, I, 47, translates *sha-t<sup>co</sup>* as "sandy downs". V.M.].

<sup>2</sup> [This explanation is doubtful. P. Pelliot tentatively restored the name as \*Chigil. Prof. E. Pulleyblank would restore the name as \*Chungul. He refers to the Chinese appellation of a tribe dependent from the Uyghurs of Khocho, namely Chung-yü or Chung-yün, cf. Hamilton in *T'oung Pao*, 1958, vol. 46, p. 152. V.M.].

<sup>3</sup> Chavannes, *o.c.*, p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> See chronological and geographical details in C. Arendt, *Synchronistische Regententabellen zur Geschichte der chinesischen Dynastien*, *Mitt. der Seminars für Orient. Spr.*, Berlin, III, 158 sq.; IV, 116 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Especially Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, I, 288, 302 sq.

makes it likely that the first information of the Arabs on the Toquzoghuz refers originally to the Sha-t<sup>o</sup> Turks. The Arabs apparently did not know about the ousting of the Turks by the Tibetans or of the Tibetans by the Uyghurs and, taking their information from written sources, continued to speak of the "Toghuzghuz" even at the time when the corresponding area was in the possession of the Uyghurs. Maḥmūd Kāshghari, who wrote in the second half of the 11th century, basing himself not on books but on personal acquaintance with Central Asia, knew only the Uyghurs and not the Toquzoghuz. On the other hand the 11th century author Idrīsī <sup>1</sup> and Mubāarak-shāh Marvarrūdī <sup>2</sup> who wrote in the beginning of the 13th century quote written sources on the Toquzoghuz without mentioning that these sources belong to the past.

Whatever had been the part played by the Oghuz people in Central Asia in the previous centuries, it concentrates after the events of the 8th and 9th centuries more and more in the west, on the border of the Near Eastern civilised world which in the 11th century was doomed to experience the invasion of the Oghuz, or, as they were called only in the west, the Turkmen.

<sup>1</sup> *Géographie d'Idrīsī*, trad. par Jaubert, I, 490 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *A volume of Oriental Studies* presented to E. G. Browne, Cambridge 1922, p. 406 sq., where even the Uyghur writing is ascribed to the Toquzoghuz.



## ii. THE OGHUZ (TURKMANS) BEFORE THE FORMATION OF THE SELJUQ EMPIRE

We have seen that the Oghuz were the neighbours of the caliphate dominions from the estuary of the Gurgān to the region near the present-day town of Chimkant. It was of course impossible for the Arabs to know with any precision how far the territories covered by the Oghuz nomads in their wanderings stretched to the north. Very doubtful is Istakhri's <sup>1</sup> statement that the frontier between the Oghuz lands and those of their northern neighbours, the Kimäks, was formed by the upper course of the Itil (Volga), i.e. according to the Arabs' geographical notions, the lower course of the Kama. On his way from Khwarazm to the country of the Bulgars in the spring of A.D. 922, Ibn Faḍlān <sup>2</sup> found the Oghuz only on the Ust-Yurt plateau, during the descent from its northern rim (Chink). There were apparently no Oghuz in the region to the east of the Emba where Ibn Faḍlān met the advance detachments of the Bashqirs.

The Oghuz had no khans. The traditions of the Turkish qaghanate were carried on in the East by the Toquzoghuz (or Uyghurs), in the West by the Khazars. At the head of the Oghuz, as was the case with their eastern neighbours the Qarluqs, stood a leader with the more modest title of *yabghu* <sup>3</sup> which also occurs in the Turkish inscriptions of Mongolia. The pronunciation *jabghu* is also mentioned <sup>4</sup>. Mahmud Kashghari speaks of the change of the initial *y* into *j* in the languages of the Oghuz and the Qipchaqs, although at the same place he treats this phonetic peculiarity as a feature of distinction between the Turks and the Turkmans <sup>5</sup>, to whose number the Qipchaqs could hardly be

<sup>1</sup> *BGA*, I, 222.

<sup>2</sup> *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk*, 1924, p. 444.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 245.

<sup>4</sup> On this see also my article *Die historische Bedeutung der alt-türkischen Inschriften*, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Maḥmūd Kāshghari, II, 253.

reckoned. The “king”, i.e. the *yabghu* of the Oghuz lived, or at least spent the winter, in the region along the lower course of the Sīr-darya (Jaxartes). The frontier town of the Iranian Samanids on the Sīr-darya was Saurān<sup>1</sup>. From that point down to its estuary the river flowed through the steppes of the Oghuz. Here within the territory of the Oghuz and dependent on them there existed in the 10th century,<sup>2</sup> several towns founded by Muslim immigrants without any military action on the part of the Samanids. The principal among these towns was the one called “New Settlement” (*al-qariyat al-hadītha* in Arabic, *Dih-i nau* in Persian; later *Yangi-kānt* in Turkish). It was situated at a distance of one farsakh (6-7 km.) from the river bank, of two days’ travel from the Aral sea, ten from Khwarazm and twenty from Fārāb (Otrar). Its site is still marked by the ruins of Jankant. In winter the “king” of the Oghuz lived there. In the same region there stood two other smaller towns<sup>3</sup>. One of these, Jand (represented by the ruins in the Tamar-utkul district, some 30 km. from the present-day Qizil-orda), had a certain future (even the Aral sea was sometimes called the Jand lake); the other is no longer mentioned after the 10th century, and even its name cannot be definitely established. As these towns were founded by civilised immigrants their existence is no witness to any spread of town-life among the Oghuz themselves, whereas about another town situated closer to the frontiers of the Samanid dominions, Sughnaq (now the ruins of Sunaq-qurghan), Mahmud Kashghari says that it was “one of the Oghuz towns”<sup>4</sup>. Sughnaq (or Sighnaq) is not mentioned by the Arab geographers but it may be identical with the town Sunakh about which the anonymous author of the *Hudūd al-‘Alam* written in Persian circa A.D. 982 (the so-called Toumansky MS.) says that it is “a small town in the Fārāb (Otrar) province, very rich; from it good bows are exported to various places”<sup>5</sup>. Still higher up the river,

<sup>1</sup> *Turkestan*, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> *BGA*, II, 393.

<sup>3</sup> On this region see, for instance, *Turkestan*, p. 149 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Maḥmūd Kāshghari, I, 392.

<sup>5</sup> *Toumansky MS.*, f. 24b sq.

already in the Samanid possessions, lived “peaceful Turks” (an expression of the Toumansky MS.) from among the Oghuz and Qarluqs who had accepted Islam. The point of concentration seems to have been the town of Sutkand, also a rich settlement on the left bank of the Sīr-darya, the ruins of which can be seen to this day. About Sütkaṅd the Toumansky MS. says that many of the Turks living there had accepted Islam; therefore there must have been some pagans as well. In the same region, along both banks of the Sīr-darya, lived also nomad Turks, numbering some 100 tents<sup>1</sup>, to whom grazing grounds had been allotted. They had become Muslims and had bound themselves to defend the frontiers of the Samanid state against their pagan brethren. What importance the Sīr-darya had for the Oghuz may be gathered from Kāshgharī’s statement that the word “river” (*üğüz*) without any additional qualification meant the Sīr-darya to the Oghuz because their towns stood there and nomads belonging to their people lived along its banks<sup>2</sup>. This differentiation between the towns and the nomads attests that part of the Oghuz had become town-dwellers<sup>3</sup>, although the Toumansky MS. states quite definitely that the Oghuz did not possess a single town<sup>4</sup>.

The utilisation of Arab geographical literature is rendered difficult by its bookish character and the resultant chronological vagueness. For instance, if we know that one author wrote in the 10th century and another in the 11th, this does not mean that the information of the latter refers to a later time than that of the former. Nearly all the authors take their data from books without naming their sources and without determining their dates, so that it often happens that in an 11th century work an earlier source is utilised than in one written in the 10th century. Better chronological definitions are to be found in the few accounts of historians and travellers which have reached us. Thus there exists a report<sup>5</sup> that ‘Abdullāh b. Ṭāhir (A.D. 830-844), ruler of Kho-

<sup>1</sup> *Yurts* — felt tents.

<sup>2</sup> Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, I, 58.

<sup>3</sup> Saurān is also called in Kāshgharī, I, 364, a town of the Oghuz.

<sup>4</sup> *Toumansky MS.*, f. 186.

<sup>5</sup> Baladhuri, 431.

rasan, sent his son and future successor Ṭāhir against the Oghuz; all that is said about the outcome of the campaign is that Ṭāhir reached places which no one had ever reached before. The operation probably took place in the western part of the present day Turkmania because the *rabāṭs*, i.e. fortified frontier posts, in Dihistān (to-day Mashhad-i Miṣriyān) and Afrāva (now Qizil-Arvat) were said to have been built in the days of ʿAbdullāh b. Ṭāhir<sup>1</sup>. His activities seem to have achieved their aim, and the fortifications built by him successfully fulfilled their purpose down to the events of the 11th century. Trade with the Oghuz on this section of the frontier seems, however, to have been far less brisk than on the frontier of Khwarazm and on the Sīr-darya, judging by the silence of the sources. According to the Toumansky MS., there were no cultivated fields around Qizil-Arvat at all; grain was brought in from the neighbourhood of Mashhad-i Miṣriyān (at that time irrigated by canals from the Atrak) and from the country round Nesā (near Ashkhabad)<sup>2</sup>.

If in this region the task consisted in protecting the cultivated lands from the raids of the nomads, on the Sīr-darya the struggle against the nomads was connected with the gradual spread of agriculture northwards, down the river. Here too, the Arabs at first adopted a defensive policy; despite a series of expeditions deep into the steppes, it was the region in the vicinity of Tashkent that became the frontier province of the caliphate, and long walls were built to protect against the nomads the cultivated strip along the Chirchik stretching from the banks of the Sīr-darya to the mountains<sup>3</sup>. It is possible that even this line could not always be held. Tabari's report on the activities of Rafiʿ b. Layth, who rebelled against the Abbasids in Central Asia in 191/806-7, names among the rebels "the ruler of Shāsh (as the province of Tashkent was then called) with his Turks"<sup>4</sup>, from which it may be

<sup>1</sup> *Irrigation*, pp. 34 and 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Hudūd al-ʿAlam*, f. 29b. In the same passage it is also stated that there was only one spring in the rabat. The position was the same in the 19th century. See *Irrigation*, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Irrigation*, p. 143. *Turkestan*, p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Tabari, *Annales*, III, 712. *Turkestan* p. 205.

inferred that the cultivated strip along the Chirchik had temporarily passed into the hands of the Turks. This event may have been connected with the revolt among the Arabs which had broken out in 190 H./A.D. 806. In 189 and 190 H. coins were minted at the silver mine of Angren<sup>1</sup> where one of the caliphal mints was situated<sup>2</sup>. The power of the caliph seems to have been swiftly restored in Shāsh; when the four Samanid brothers were appointed rulers of Mawarannahr, one of them received Shāsh<sup>3</sup>. The conquest of Isfijab in A.D. 840 was a further step forward, and in this case too it is reported that a long earth wall was built round the vineyards and cultivated fields<sup>4</sup>, and thus the conquest was consolidated by defense measures. We know that later on there was a Turkish dynasty in Isfijab which stood in vassal dependence from the Samanids, but whether these rulers were from among the Oghuz is not known.

On the further advance of the Muslims we possess Istakhri's<sup>5</sup> report on the expedition of a huge army against Shaughan (near the present day town of Turkestan). During this expedition a force of 4,000 men lost its way and only after several days succeeded in rejoining the main army. The expedition took place under Naṣr b. Ahmad. There were two Samanid rulers of this name, of whom one ruled in the 9th century. (A.D. 864-892), and the other in the 10th century (A.D. 914-943). The report could refer to either of the two, but it seems more likely to concern the former<sup>6</sup>. Nothing is known about the aim of the expedition or its results.

<sup>1</sup> On its site see *Turkestan*, p. 172. [Originally Ahangarān.]

<sup>2</sup> A. Markov, *Inventory Catalogue of the Muslim coins of the Hermitage* (in Russian), SPb, 1896, p. 33, Nos. 551 and 552.

<sup>3</sup> *Turkestan*, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> *Irrigation*, p.14.

<sup>5</sup> *BGA*, I, 291; II, 330; *Turkestan*, p. 268.

<sup>6</sup> In Istakhri's text amir Naṣr is referred to as one already dead, and the author says that he had heard the story from someone who had taken part in the campaign. If these words, like the greater part of Istakhri's information, go back to Balkhi, only the first Naṣr could be meant here, as the second Naṣr outlived Balkhi. If, however, the words are Istakhri's own, the question remains a moot one. What Istakhri says in another passage (*BGA*, I, 144) about the reign of the second Naṣr leads one to suppose that by that time this reign had come to an end.

The "king", or *yabghu*, of the Oghuz was not the actual ruler of his people, and the desire of unity was as alien to the 10th century Oghuz as it was to the 19th century Turkmans. In this respect the observations of Ibn Faḍlān<sup>1</sup> and the report in the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*<sup>2</sup> produce exactly the same impression. According to the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* each of the Oghuz tribes had a special chief "because of their inability to agree among themselves". According to Ibn Faḍlān the *yabghu* could send his governors or lieutenants to some places; such a governor was called *küdergin* (a term that does not seem to occur in any other source). In addition, in the region crossed by Ibn Faḍlān there was a special army commander; his father, who was still alive, was a relative (father-in-law or brother-in-law)<sup>3</sup> of the king of the Volga Bulgars. Thanks to the protection of this man the Arabs crossed the land of the Oghuz safely; otherwise, according to Ibn Faḍlān, the Oghuz might have robbed and even killed them. But affairs were decided not so much by the orders of these chiefs, as by consultations of the Oghuz among themselves. Respect for old men also played an important part.

The Oghuz produced upon Ibn Faḍlān the impression of being a wealthy nomad people, owning, as the Turkmans did later, huge flocks of sheep. There were very rich men who owned as many as one hundred thousand sheep. Sheep were the principal item of export from the Oghuz steppe to the Muslim provinces, and the trade was the briskest at the frontier places of Khwarazm. In peaceful times the Oghuz came (evidently with their herds) to the town of Parategin<sup>4</sup>, on the left bank of the Amu-darya, one day's distance from the Aral sea, or to Gurganj (now Kunya-Urgenj)<sup>5</sup>. As everywhere else where trade was carried on between nomads and sedentary peoples, this trade was more neces-

<sup>1</sup> *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk*, 1924, p. 244 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Hudud al-ʿĀlam*, f. 18b.

<sup>3</sup> The Oghuz chief called the Bulghar king his *ṣahr*; this term can mean both a daughter's or a sister's husband.

<sup>4</sup> The initial *p* of this name is determined by the Arab transcription which hesitates between the letters *f* and *b*. See index in *BGA*, IV.

<sup>5</sup> *BGA*, I, 303, below. [*Kunya* in this case corresponds to Persian *kuhna* "old".]

sary for the nomads who therefore brought their herds to the frontier places of the cultivated regions without waiting for the merchants of these regions to come to the steppes. Naturally this trade, as Istakhri states, could take place only in peaceful times. Trade relations were often disturbed by the nomads' raids into the cultivated zone or *vice versa* by expeditions into the steppes undertaken mainly with the purpose of capturing Turkish slaves<sup>1</sup>, who of course could be also acquired by trade in view of the frequent feuds of the nomads among themselves. In peaceful times grain was also brought in boats down the Sīr-darya to the "New Settlement"<sup>2</sup>.

We possess very scanty information on those movements of the Turkish people which resulted partly from the urge of the nomads to seize cultivated lands and partly from the struggles among the nomads for the possession of grazing-grounds. Thus Istakhri speaks of the "recent" occupation by the "Turks" of the Siyāh-kūh peninsula ("Black Mountain", a Persian name for Manghishlaq), which until then had been uninhabited; the reason for the Turks' migrating to this peninsula was their clash with the "Oghuz"<sup>3</sup>. It is quite probable that in point of fact Istakhri had in view a struggle among the Oghuz tribes and that the Turks who occupied Manghishlaq were also Oghuz. They found there springs and grazing grounds; they also seized the cargoes of the ships wrecked on the coast of Manghishlaq where there was a whirlpool. Thus Manghishlaq, which later acquired a great importance for trade on the Caspian sea, was in the 10th century merely a source of danger for the ships that sailed near it.

The Turkish neighbours of the caliphate were forced gradually to submit to the influence of Muslim culture and to accept Islam. The oldest version of the legend about the spread of Islam in Kashgharia tells how the Turks appreciated the goods brought by Muslim caravans, such as rich stuffs and sugar, and how later on this led them to become acquainted with Islam as a religion<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *BGA*, III, 285, below.

<sup>2</sup> *BGA*, II, 393.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 219.

<sup>4</sup> *Turkestan*, I, 131 (Russian edition, 1st part).

The same situation must have obtained elsewhere. The spread of Islam among the Oghuz in the 10th century must have been slow. In A.D. 922 Ibn Faḍlān found among this people the same funeral rites as those which prevailed among the Turks in Mongolia in the 8th century. Statues were erected over the grave, numbering as many as the men the deceased had killed in his life-time, in the belief that these people would serve him in the other world<sup>1</sup>. When a man fell sick no-one came near him. If he was rich, a tent was put up for him where he had to lie until he either died or recovered; if he was poor or a slave, he was simply abandoned on the steppe. The dead man (evidently only a rich one) would be seated fully clothed and armed in a deep grave arranged in the form of a dwelling; some of his belongings would be placed by his side, then the grave was filled in and a clay vault erected over it<sup>2</sup>. To commemorate the deceased 100-200 head of cattle were slaughtered, and the skulls, hides and tails hung on trees in the belief that the deceased would ride into the next world on these animals. Ibn Faḍlān saw an Oghuz king who bore the title *yināl al-saghīr* (lesser *yinal*) who had at one time become a Muslim but later reverted to paganism.

Besides Islam, other religions, especially Christianity, were propagated on the steppes, but the information available is very vague. The 13th century author Zakāriyā Qazvīnī<sup>3</sup> calls the Oghuz Christians. In the country of their northern neighbours, the Kimaks, there existed a rock bearing what appeared to be the marks left by the feet and knees of a man who had prostrated himself there, and of a child's feet and an ass's hooves; the Oghuz worshipped these traces ascribing them to Jesus Christ, evidently in connection with the legend of the flight to Egypt. As Marquart<sup>4</sup> has shown, we find an earlier version of the tale about the traces and their worshipping by the Oghuz in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ZVO*, XXV, 64.

<sup>2</sup> On the buildings over Turkish tombs see e.g. *ZVO*, XXV, 57 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *ZVO*, VIII, 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Osttürkische Dialektenstudien*, Berlin 1914, *Abh. Gött.*, Neue Folge, vol. XIII, p. 101.



Bīrūnī<sup>1</sup> (beginning of the 11th century) who says nothing, however, either of Christianity among the Oghuz or of the connection of the traces with Christ, so that it is possible that the explanation of this worship was invented by Qazvīnī himself or by one of his predecessors. It is possible that this cult had arisen quite independently of Christian legends merely because of the strangeness of such a natural phenomenon, as the Oghuz in general, according to the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, worshipped anything which struck them as unusual or remarkable. The same passage contains a remark on the respect awarded to “doctors”, as priests and shamans are called by times, for instance in Ibn Rusta’s report on the Russians (*BGA*, VII, 146).

There exists no clear and detailed information on the success of Islam in the region along the lower course of the Sīr-darya which is linked up by tradition with the gradual movement of the Oghuz southwards and the ensuing conquest of Iran by them. In any case what we witness here is not a unification of a people for a common military undertaking, but scattered movements of separate groups which ended in the submission of the whole of the Near East, the Arab peninsula excepted, if not to the Turkman people, at least to a dynasty that sprang from it.

The most detailed information on the origins and rise of this dynasty is to be found in Ibn al-Athīr<sup>2</sup>. Historians usually call this dynasty “the house of Seljuk”, after the name of its ancestor Seljuk, son of Tuqaq (in the south-Turkish pronunciation: *Duqaq*). The word *tuqaq* was supposed to mean “new bow”. In Ibn al-Athīr’s text the word *jadīd* (“new”) could be read as *hadīd* (“iron”), hence probably the rise of the legend that Seljuk bore the nickname of “the man with the iron bow” (*timur-yayligh*)<sup>3</sup>. In some tales<sup>4</sup> Seljuk’s father is given the name of the legendary sage Loqman, mentioned in the Qorʿān (31st sūra).

<sup>1</sup> *Chronologie*, ed. Sachau, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, IX, 321 sq.

<sup>3</sup> So in *EI*, IV, 222.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Muhammad Husayni (on this work see *ZVO*, XVIII, 0116 sq.), *Das Geschenk aus der Seldschukengeschichte*, ed. Karl Süssheim, Leiden 1909, p. 17. See also Ravandi, *GMS*, New Series, II, 1921, p. 88.

The author of the 15th century history <sup>1</sup> of the Seljuk dynasty combines the two legends and calls Seljuk's father Loqman-Duqaq <sup>2</sup>. According to Ibn al-Athīr already Duqaq showed leanings towards Islam and quarrelled with the Oghuz yabghu when the latter assembled an army for an expedition against Muslim provinces. They even came to blows over it but eventually became reconciled and Duqaq remained with the yabghu. His son Seljuk also won the yabghu's favour and received the title of *sü-bashi* ("Chief of the army"). The same title is given to Seljuk in Mahmud Kashghari <sup>3</sup>. The yabghu's wife set him against Seljuk and the latter with his companions left the land of the unbelievers for the land of Islam. There he accepted Islam, settled down in the neighbourhood of Jand, became the ally of the Muslims in their struggle against the unbelievers, turned out the tax-collectors of the yabghu and freed the Muslims from the tribute they had been paying him. At that time Hārūn, son of the *ilek* (i.e. the Qara-khanid Boghra-khan Hārūn b. Mūsā) <sup>4</sup>, seized part of the Samanid state. The Samanids turned to Seljuk for help. Seljuk sent his son Arslan with whose aid the Samanids retrieved their possessions, after which Arslan returned to his father. Seljuk lived 107 years and died in Jand where he was buried.

Among the events related above exact dates can be chronologically established for the occupation of Bukhara by Boghra-khan and his subsequent retreat: he occupied Bukhara in May 992, and on August 17 of the same year the Samanid amir Nūḥ b. Mansūr <sup>5</sup> re-entered the city. Ibn al-Athīr's account of the help given by Seljuk to the Samanids is not confirmed by the other sources. 'Utbi, the earliest historian to mention these events <sup>6</sup>, speaks only of the harassing by the Oghuz of Boghra's army

<sup>1</sup> The tradition on the name of the author is given by Gordlevsky in *Drevnosti Vostochniye*, IV, special pagination p. 1. See Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, Leipzig 1927, 9, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Asiatic Mus. 590 ba, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Mahmud Kashghari, I, 397.

<sup>4</sup> On his origins see *Turkestan*, 257, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Turkestan*, 258 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Tārīkh-i Yamīnī* of 'Utbi with Manīnī's commentary (Egyptian edition), I, p. 176.

during his retreat. One can also note (without going into the question of the comparative accuracy of the two sources) the chronological discrepancy between Ibn al-Athīr's report and that of the 14th century historian Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī. According to Ibn al-Athīr Seljuk died in Jand after A.D. 992, whereas according to Ḥamdullāh<sup>1</sup> Seljuk's sons (evidently after their father's death) entered the Samanid possessions in 375/985-6 and settled in the province of Bukhara in the vicinity of Nūr. In any case the accord between the Oghuz and the inhabitants of Jand did not last long; the historian Bayhaqi in his account of the events of A.D. 1034 speaks of an old enmity and blood-feuds between Shāh Malik (who at that time ruled in Jand and on whose origins there is no information) and the descendants of Seljuk<sup>2</sup>.

According to Ibn al-Athīr Seljuk left three sons: Arslan, Mikāil and Mūsā. Mikail was killed in a fight against the unbelievers, and it was only after his death that his sons Toghrul-bek Muhammad and Chaghri-bek Dāvūd settled in Nūr. This information is followed by a chronologically impossible story about the relations of the two brothers with Boghra-khan, about Toghrul-bek's treacherous capture by Boghra-khan and his liberation by Dāvūd.

More credible is the participation of Seljuk's descendants in the events of the early 11th century when the Samanid pretender Muntaṣir began a hopeless struggle<sup>3</sup> against the Qarakhanids who occupied the kingdom of his fathers. According to the accounts of two 11th century historians, ʿUtbī<sup>4</sup> and Gardīzī<sup>5</sup>, Muntaṣir, after unsuccessful operations in Khorasan, set out in A.D. 1003 from Abīvard to join the Oghuz. Unfortunately no definite information is given about the territory where they were living. Gardīzī adds that their ruler, the yabghu, had accepted Islam and established family ties with Muntaṣir. In the account

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, XIV, 434.

<sup>2</sup> Bayhaqi, ed. Morley, p. 856.

<sup>3</sup> On the course of the struggle see *Turkestan*, 282 sq.

<sup>4</sup> ʿUtbī-Manīnī, I, 335 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Gardīzī, Camb. MS. King's College, 213, f. 113a sq

of the historian Ravandī<sup>1</sup> the name Yabghu was borne by Seljuk's son Mūsā, and it is possible that Gardīzī had him in view. As the report on the Oghuz joining Mūsā is immediately followed by the account of the campaign against Samarqand, without any mention of a crossing of the Amu-darya, it may well be that the Oghuz in question were those living in the vicinity of Nūr.

In connection with the help given to Muntaṣir ʿUtbī speaks about the traditional devotion of the Oghuz to the Samanid house; the march of events leads one to suppose that, as usual, the nomads were guided by the hope of booty. With the aid of the Oghuz Muntaṣir won a victory on the Zarafshān, but he was unable to take Samarqand because immediately after the victory the Oghuz withdrew, sending the loot to their camping places and taking with them the 18 enemy chiefs whom they had captured. They refused to give them up to Muntaṣir. Their original intention was to obtain ransom money but later the report reached Muntaṣir that the Oghuz wished to use the captives for concluding peace with the enemy. With 700 warriors (300 horsemen and 400 foot) Muntaṣir left the Oghuz and crossed the Amu-darya at Darghān. The river was frozen over and straw was scattered to help the horses over the ice. The Oghuz pursued Muntaṣir but were unable to cross the river. According to ʿUtbī the danger of the crossing held them back. Gardīzī's version is that the ice broke under them and that they perished. After that Muntaṣir made no attempts to seek the support of the Oghuz.

The Samanid possessions in Central Asia passed into the hands of the Turkish dynasty which the Muslim historians usually call "the house of Afrāsyāb". Russian scholars, since the days of V. V. Grigoryev<sup>2</sup>, use the term *Qarakhanids*, from the title of one of the first representatives of this dynasty. In the Qarakhanid state the clan organisation and the system of fiefs connected with it were even stronger than in most other nomad states; the rulers of different provinces succeeded one another

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, New Series, II, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> *The Qarakhanids in Mavarannahr according to the Tarikh-i Munejjimbashi* (*Trudi Vost. Otd. Arh. Ob.*, v. XVII, 1874).

so rapidly that neither written information nor even coins enable us to establish the chronology of the Qarakhanid epoch and the genealogy of the Qarakhanid rulers.

The origin of the Qarakhanid king ʿAli-tegin under whom the descendants of Seljuk lived in the beginning of the 11th century, is not quite clear. Bayhaqi quotes the statement made by the vazir Maymandi to the Ghaznavid sultan Masʿūd (A.D. 1032) that ʿAli-tegin had been already established in Mavarannahr for 30 years<sup>1</sup>, which is probably an exaggeration. Ibn al-Athīr also gives some details on the relations between ʿAli-tegin and the Seljukids which are not supported by other sources. He speaks of several armed encounters between them, whereas according to other authors there were no hostilities till after the death of ʿAli-tegin which occurred in A.D. 1034. In A.D. 1025 Sultan Mahmūd Ghaznavī, who had succeeded to the Samanids in Iran and in A.D. 1017 conquered Khwarazm, marched against ʿAli-tegin and forced him to flee into the steppes. At the head of the Oghuz in ʿAli-tegin's service stood Seljuk's son Arslan who also bore the Muslim name of Isrāʾīl. He was taken prisoner and on Mahmud's orders sent to India and imprisoned in a fortress where he died. Historians writing within the Seljuk empire, who also influenced Ibn al-Athīr, represent Mahmūd's action as an act of treachery: he invited Isrāʾīl and seized his unsuspecting guest<sup>2</sup>. Gardīzī's earlier account gives a different version<sup>3</sup>. After a report on the meeting of Mahmūd with the chief of the Qarakhanids, Qadīr-khan Yusūf<sup>4</sup>, the historian speaks of ʿAli-tegin's flight into the steppes; at the same time Mahmūd having learnt that Isrāʾīl b. Seljuk had taken cover in a certain place sent men there who arrested him, after which he was sent to Ghazna and from thence to India.

In his account of the relations of the Ghaznavids Mahmūd and Masʿūd with the Oghuz, Gardīzī for the first time calls the

<sup>1</sup> *Turkestan*, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Particularly fantastic is the account of Ravandi (*GMS*, n.s. II, 87 sq.) which has strongly influenced the later Persian historians.

<sup>3</sup> Cambridge MS., f. 125 sq.

<sup>4</sup> On the meeting see *Turkestan*, 283 sq.

*Oghuz Turkmans*. In his record of the events of the early 11th century, he like ʿUtbī uses only the term *Ghuz*. Bayhaqī also calls the *Oghuz Turkmans*, whereas Ibn al-Athīr continues to speak only of the *Ghuz*. One could gather from Ibn al-Athīr's account that, with the help of Arslan (Isrāʿīl?), Mahmūd captured even the *Oghuz* obedient to Arslan, destroying part of them and establishing the others in different parts of Khorasan. In Ravandī Isrāʿīl even speaks of hundreds of thousands of men allegedly at his disposal. On the other hand, from Gardīzī's<sup>1</sup> account it appears that part of the *Oghuz* were hostile to the Seljuk house, and this would explain why Isrāʿīl could come to so sad an end. Turkman chiefs brought to Mahmūd complaints against their amirs (i.e. the Seljukids) and asked that permission be given to 4000 families to move into Khorasan, assuring the sultan that they would be useful both to him and to his subjects because they would bring their flocks of sheep that would feed the inhabitants while their men would increase the army of the sultan. Mahmūd allotted to them grazing grounds in the steppe near Sarakhs, Abīvard and Farāva (Qizil-Arvat). Amir Arslan-Jādhīb, the governor of Tūs, advised Mahmūd not to commit such an error and as an alternative suggested that either the *Turkmans* should be wiped out altogether, or their thumbs should be cut off so that they should be unable to use their bows<sup>2</sup>. Mahmūd thought this advice inhuman, but soon after was obliged to entrust Arslan-Jādhīb with the task of making war on the *Turkmans*. In this connection Ibn al-Athīr explains the revolt of the *Turkmans* by the exactions of the sultan's agents who seized the property of the *Turkmans* and even their children. Gardīzī<sup>3</sup> speaks only of the complaints about the behaviour of the *Turkmans* made by the inhabitants of the towns Nesā, Abīvard and Farāva. By this time the *Turkmans* had become so strong that Arslan Jādhīb was unable to master them and the Sultan was obliged to march against them in person. The *Turkmans* were

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge MS., f. 125 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Thus according to Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 313, below, and Gardīzī, Cambr. MS., f. 126a.

<sup>3</sup> Gardīzī, f. 128a.

defeated; some of them were driven off to Dihistān and Balkhan, while a small number (in one passage Ibn al-Athīr<sup>1</sup> mentions 2,000 tents, and in another 2,000 warriors) went to Kerman and from there to Isfahan, after which down to the middle of the 1040's they successfully plundered and devastated Persia and regions further to the west, including the towns of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan and Armenia.

From that time onwards there are distinguished three branches of the Oghuz or Turkmans with which the provinces of the caliphate had to deal: those of the Seljuks, those of Balkhan and those of Iraq (‘Irāq being the Arabic name of the ancient Babylonia). When in A.D. 1035 Seljuk's grandsons addressed to sultan Mas‘ūd the request to cede to them the region of the towns of Nesā and Farāva, they promised, among other things, “to prevent the incursions of rebels from the direction of Balkhan, Dihistān, the confines of Khwārazm and the banks of the Amu-darya, and to drive out the Turkmans of Iraq and Khwārazm”<sup>2</sup>. In later times, in a letter to western rulers Toghrul-bek spoke of the Oghuz who had advanced westwards as of his servants who had left him while he was at war with the Ghaznavids and had complications with Khwarazm, and expressed his assurance that in the end they would again rally to his banner<sup>3</sup>.

The operations of the Oghuz of Iraq were merely irregular raids and had no immediate influence on the course of political developments; despite the long duration and the wide range of their forays Ibn al-Athīr compares them with a swiftly dissolving summer cloud<sup>4</sup>.

The Turkmans who under Mahmud had been driven to the Balkhan mountains received the permission of Mas‘ud to return to Khorasan, though at the same time (A.D. 1031) the Sultan gave the order to the newly appointed governor of Khorasan and Western Persia to seize the chiefs of the Oghuz, the most important among whom was Yaghmur. They were all (according

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 266 and 324.

<sup>2</sup> Bayhaqi, p. 583.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 275.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 277.

to Ibn al-Athīr<sup>1</sup> fifty of them) killed, and this led in A.D. 1033 to the rebellion of their sons who took their revenge on the Muslims<sup>2</sup>. To put down the revolt Mas‘ūd had recourse to extreme measures; Ibn al-Athīr speaks of executions and maiming; those who got away moved on to Rayy and beyond to join up with those who had gone there earlier. According to Ibn al-Athīr the term “Iraqi Oghuz” was coined at that time.

After A.D. 1025 the grandsons of Seljuk remained with ‘Ali-tegin who, after Mahmud’s withdrawal, was able to return to Bukhara. Despite the campaign<sup>3</sup> undertaken against him on Mas‘ud’s orders in A.D. 1032 by the Khwarazmshah Altuntash, ‘Ali-tegin, until his death in 1034, remained the ruler of the whole kingdom of Bukhara. At the same time the grandsons of Seljuk, heedless of the fate of their uncle, did not sever relations with the Ghaznavids; every year they wintered in Khwarazm where Altuntash allotted them grazing grounds<sup>4</sup>. He died in 1032, and at the hands of his son and successor Hārūn they received still more friendly treatment. In A.D. 1034 Hārūn severed his allegiance to Mas‘ūd and in the same year joined the grandsons of Seljuk who had quarrelled with the sons of ‘Ali-tegin. Hārūn assigned to them lands on the right bank of the Amu-darya near Shūrkhān<sup>5</sup> and gave them support when they were attacked by their implacable enemy, the ruler of Jand, Shāh-Malik. From Khwarazm the Turkmans pushed further on, and in A.D. 1034 there are reports of their appearance in Marv, Sarakhs, Abīvard and Bādghīs (in north-western Afghanistan)<sup>6</sup>. Some Turkmans (probably those who had remained with ‘Ali-tegin’s sons) invaded Qabādiyān and the province of Tirmidh; they crossed the Amu-darya but were defeated at Shāpūrkān<sup>7</sup>. In A.D. 1035 Hārūn was killed at the instigation of the Ghaz-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 267.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in Bayhaqi, 460.

<sup>3</sup> On him see *Turkestan*, 312 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Bayhaqi, 583.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 586.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 535.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 543.



navid government, and the Turkmans, 1,000 horsemen strong, left Khwarazm and by way of Marv arrived in Nesā. Through the new governor of Khorasan, Abul-Faḍl Sūrī, they presented a petition to Sultan Masʿūd asking him to cede to them the towns of Nesā and Farāva. The letter<sup>1</sup> addressed to Sūrī was composed in the name of three brothers — Yabghu [or Bayghu]<sup>2</sup>, Toghrul [Tughril?] and Dāvūd. In the meantime Sūrī reported to the sultan that the Turkmans who were already settled in Nesā and a troop (*fauji*) of “Khwarazmians and Saljukids” had received the newcomers inhospitably without even inviting them to be seated [settle down? V.M.]. Despite such discord among themselves, in the same year the Turkmans managed to defeat the army sent against them, and even detained one of the dignitaries captured by them after conclusion of the treaty (at the end of August 1035)<sup>3</sup>, by which the Turkmans got even more than they had originally demanded. Toghrul received Nesā, Yabghu Farāva, and Davud Dihistān. All three were styled *dihqāns*, as Turkish chiefs were called all over the area where the Turkish and Iranian worlds came into contact, namely from the shore of the Caspian sea down to Kāshghar<sup>4</sup>. The treaty was concluded in Nīshāpūr not with the Turkman princes themselves but with their envoys and it was assumed that, when the sultan would have withdrawn to Balkh and the Turkmans would feel secure, one of the brothers would come to live at the court (apparently as a hostage). In fact all three brothers remained in Nesā<sup>5</sup>.

The relations established by the treaty did not endure long; by the beginning of 1036 news began to come in of the raids of

<sup>1</sup> See the text *ibid.*, 582 sq. [Ed. Tehran 1307, p. 478, ed .Ghanī, p. 470: Sūrī reports that 10,000 Saljuqīs and Yinalīs came *via* Marv to Nasā but the local Turkmans and the *Khwārazmiyān-i Saljuqiyyān* did not give them a place where to settle. The newcomers seem to have lived under the authority of the late ʿAli-tegin.].

<sup>2</sup> [See *History of the World Conqueror*, p. 288, n. 31.].

<sup>3</sup> The dignitary in question was Khwāja ʿAli-Mikāʿil (*ibid.*, 600). Gardizi (Camb. MS., f. 135a) has Husayn ibn-ʿAli ibn-Mikāʿil. Writing *circa* 1050, Gardizi adds (f. 135b): “and he still remains among them”.

<sup>4</sup> On the *dihqān* of Dihistān *v.s.* p. 00; on the *dihqān* of Kāshghar see *Turkestan*, p. 256.

<sup>5</sup> Bayhaqi, 610 sq.

Turkmans (both of the Seljukid and of the Iraquian Oghuz who had joined them) into the northern provinces of Afghanistan and Sarakhs <sup>1</sup>. Within a short time successful operations were renewed by the Turkmans against sultan Mas'ud's forces. The question of the sovereignty over Khorasan was finally decided only by the battle at Dandānaqān (between Marv and Sarakhs) in May 1040 <sup>2</sup>, but even before that, in 1037, coins were struck in Marv in the name of Davud, and in 1038 in Nishapur in the name of Toghrul <sup>3</sup>. The former dihqāns now began to style themselves "Kings of Kings", and this title, in its Persian form *shāhanshāh*, appears on their earliest coins. Later it was replaced by the Arabic *sultān*, and former royal titles — the Arabic *malik* and the Persian *shāh* — were given to vassal rulers. The Seljuk sultans spread their power over almost the whole of Muslim Asia; in such circumstances the region on the Sīr-darya whence they had emerged could not have much importance for them. Sultan Alp-Arslan (A.D. 1063-1072) appeared on the Sīr-darya only in 1065, after he had won resounding victories in the west, to conquer Jand and Saurān <sup>4</sup>. Feeling themselves Muslim, rather than Turkish, rulers, the Seljuk sultans gave scant attention to this borderland of their empire and did not oppose its occupation by another Turkish people, the Qipchaqs. The Seljuk sultans were completely indifferent to the fate of the Oghuz people as a whole, and probably did not even know that in the same year (A.D. 1035) when Alp-Arslan was operating on the Sīr-darya, the Oghuz had crossed the Danube and invaded the Balkan peninsula <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 618.

<sup>2</sup> *Turkestan*, 303.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 327 sq. The chronology has been corrected according to Bayhaqi, 676 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Turkestan*, 314.

<sup>5</sup> [Ancient *Haemus*, called *Balkan* by the Turkmans in recollection of their ancient country by Mt. Balkhan, on the eastern coast of the Caspian.].

### III. FROM THE END OR THE 11TH CENTURY TO THE MONGOL INVASION

Owing to the formation of the Seljuq empire the Oghuz, or Turkman, people acquired for the Muslim world an importance which no other Turkish people enjoyed in the Middle Ages. That is why it has received comparatively more attention and why we find in Muslim literature a detailed enumeration of the clans and tribes into which the Oghuz were subdivided. We possess no similar data for any other Turkish people.

The list of the divisions of the Oghuz people has come down to us in two independent versions. The first is to be found in the work of Maḥmūd Kāshghari <sup>1</sup>, the second in that of Rashīd al-dīn <sup>2</sup>. The first version remained quite unknown until recently, while the second has been often utilised, among others by the 15th century author of the history of the Seljuk house <sup>3</sup>.

We have seen that according to Mahmud Kashghari there were originally twenty-four Oghuz clans, though two of these (their names are not given) were formed by the Khalaj who had separated themselves from the Oghuz, so that in the author's time there were twenty-two Oghuz clans which he proceeds to enumerate. All he has to say on the origin of their names is that each of them was the name of the ancestor of the corresponding clan. According to Rashīd al-dīn, from the earliest times to his day there had always been twenty-four Oghuz clans which all stemmed from the common ancestor of the Oghuz, Oghuz-khan. He had six sons, each of whom had in his turn four sons. The names of these grandsons became the names of the clans descended from them. Rashid al-din gives the meaning of each of these twenty-four names. Twenty-one of these coincide with the corresponding names given by Mahmud Kashghari, the only dif-

<sup>1</sup> Maḥmūd Kāshghari, I, 56 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Trudi*, VII, 32 sq.

<sup>3</sup> MS. As. Mus. 590a, pp. 21-25.

ference being that the latter quotes them in a more archaic form. The names are the following (in the order in which Mahmud Kashghari gives them) :

*Mahmūd Kāshghari*

Qīniq  
 Qayīgh  
 Bayundur  
 Ive, or Iyve  
 Salghur  
 Afshar  
 Bektili  
 Bükdüz  
 Bayat  
 Yazghir  
 Eymür  
 Qara-bülük  
 Alqa-bülük  
 Igder  
 Ürekir, or Yürekir  
 Tutırqa  
 Ula-yondlug  
 Tüker  
 Becheneg  
 Juvaldar  
 Jebni

*Rashīd al-dīn* <sup>1</sup>

Qīniq  
 Qayī  
 Bayundur  
 Yive  
 Salur  
 Avshar  
 Bekdili  
 Bükdüz  
 Bayat  
 Yazir  
 Eymür  
 Qara-evli  
 Alqir-evli  
 Yigder  
 Ürekir  
 Dudurgha  
 Ula-yontli  
 Düker  
 Bijne  
 Javuldur  
 Chebni

Only the last three names are quoted by Rashid al-din in the same order as by Mahmud Kashghari. For the rest the order of enumeration is quite different. The last, twenty-second name given by Mahmud Kashghari, Jaruklugh or Charuklugh <sup>2</sup> (the author apparently did not distinguish between the sounds *j* and *č*)

<sup>1</sup> Mahmud Kashghari vocalises the names; we presume that Rashid al-din has the same pronunciation if the spelling does not contradict it.

<sup>2</sup> The name of this clan was evidently connected with the name of the tribe Jaruq or Charuq, living in Kashgharia, in the town of Barchuq (now Maral-bashi). See *Mahmūd Kāshghari*, I, 318.

has no parallel in Rashid al-din. Rashid al-din gives three names absent in Mahmud Kashghari: Yayirli, Qariq [Qiriq? V.M.] and Qarqin. Both authors give the *tamghas* of each clan (the term itself is only in Rashid al-din) which were used for branding the herds belonging to it. According to Rashid al-din the *tamghas* had been introduced to avoid disputes about ownership. The *tamghas* reproduced in Mahmud Kashghari's text differ considerably from those given in Rashid al-din's. More reliance should be placed on Mahmud Kashghari's text not only because it is earlier in time, but also because it is based on a good copy made in A.D. 1266 from the author's autograph. It is possible that the *tamgha* of the Qiniq clan from which the Seljuk dynasty arose, has been preserved on the coins of the first Seljuk sultans (having a similarity with the *tamgha* reproduced by Mahmud Kashghari). Rashid al-din provides some data which are absent in Mahmud Kashghari. Thus we learn from him that some remnants of totemism survived among the Oghuz even after their conversion to Islam. Each clan revered some bird which the members of the clan neither touched nor ate. Such a totem was designated by the term *onghun* or *uyghun*<sup>1</sup>. It was also strictly established what part of the meat each clan had the right to during common feasts (though there is no Turkish term for such shares). Only six, not twenty-four, *onghuns* and parts of meat were distinguished, one for every four clans, to suit the number of Oghuz-khan's sons. Neither in Mahmud Kashghari not in Rashid al-din does one find any information about the geographical distribution of the clans.

How far the difference in the spelling of the names by the two authors reflects the evolution of the language between the second half of the 11th and the beginning of the 14th century is a moot question. Mahmud Kashghari may have spelt the names in the way in which he himself pronounced them and not as they were pronounced by the Oghuz. Information that he himself gives on

<sup>1</sup> On the pronunciation see Radloff's *Versuch*, I, 1645, where it is also said that in Central Asia the same word meant *tamgha*. In ethnological literature the Mongol word *ongon* that has a somewhat different meaning is generally accepted. Cf. Potanin, *Ocherki sev.-zap. Mongolii*, IV, 93 sq.

the Turkish language and its dialects shows the existence in those days of the phonetic features which even to-day characterise the dialects of the southern group: initial voiced consonants instead of surds (*d* for *t*), the dropping of the voiced guttural (*ğ*) in the middle and at the end of words etc. <sup>1</sup>. It also shows that the Turkman language differed in its vocabulary from the more eastern dialects very much to the same degree as it does now. Of particular interest for the historian are those cultural terms which the Oghuz brought to the west from Central Asia though they were unknown to the Central Asian Turks. There existed already at that time the word *tughra* which was later used to designate the seal of the Ottoman sultans; in the Seljuk empire an adjective, *tughrāʿī* <sup>2</sup> derived from it was used to designate the “keeper of the seal”, one of the principal dignitaries of the empire mentioned next to the vazir <sup>3</sup>; the terms existed already in the 11th century. Mahmud Kashghari <sup>4</sup> gives the word *tughra* in the form *tughragh*, adding: “thus is called the royal seal in the language of the Oghuz; the Turks do not know this word, and I do not know its provenance”. However, in the same passage and elsewhere <sup>5</sup> *tughragh* is also given in another meaning: “thus is called every horse which the king gives to his army on the day of taking the field ...; later (these horses) are returned to him after the halt (in the operations?)”. In the second passage one finds added to this sentence: “and also, in the Oghuz language, a letter when a seal is apposed to it”. The word *yarliq* used in approximately the same sense by other Turks (and later by the Mongols) was unknown to the Oghuz <sup>6</sup>.

The scarcity and vagueness of the terminology make it difficult to get a clear idea of the tribal organisation of the Oghuz, as of any other nomad peoples. In my study on Ulughbeg <sup>7</sup> I quote

<sup>1</sup> Mahmud Kashghari, I, 32 and 35.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, II, 132 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Nizam-oul-Moulk, *texte persan*, éd. par Ch. Schefer, Paris 1891, p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Mahmud Kashghari, I, 385

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 217.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 31.

<sup>7</sup> V. Barthold, *Ulughbeg*, Petrograd 1918, p. 24; English translation, Leiden 1958, p. 27.

examples of the use of different terms having the same meaning, and it is improbable that the strict terminology quoted by Radloff from the dictionary of Ahmad Vefik-pasha was adhered to anywhere and at any time. In that list <sup>1</sup> the term *boy* is mentioned as referring to one of the small tribal subdivisions. As far as I know, it does not exist in the living Turkman language; in Mahmud Kashghari <sup>2</sup> it designates large tribal divisions of the Oghuz, and in this sense it was known to the 15th century author of the *History of the Seljuk house* <sup>3</sup>. Kashghari is silent about the relations between the *boy-s*; nor does he say anything about that military division of all the Oghuz which is mentioned by Rashid al-din, namely the division of their tribes into a right and a left wing <sup>4</sup>, or, as they were also called, into *buzuq* and *uchuq* <sup>5</sup>, each consisting of 12 tribes, and the *buzuq* tribes having recognised seniority. However, the Qiniq tribe from which rose the Seljuk dynasty was counted among the *uchuq* tribes, as was also the Salur (Salghur) tribe which, according to the tradition, was at one time the principal one among all the Oghuz. The division of the Oghuz into *buzuq* and *uchuq* tribes existed in the pre-Mongol period and is mentioned by Ibn al-Athir <sup>6</sup>. Rashid al-din explains these terms as meaning "broken" and "three arrows" and quotes the following legend. One day the sons of Oghuz-khan found a golden bow and three arrows and asked their father to divide their find among them. Oghuz-khan broke the bow into three pieces and gave one to each of his three elder sons, and

<sup>1</sup> Radloff, *Versuch*, I, 1697 (under *ulus*). The term *boy* is not given at its place in the alphabetical order.

<sup>2</sup> Mahmud Kashghari, III, 103; cf. II, 218. The Arabic words *qabila* and *batn* are used here with the same vagueness as the Turkish terms; cf. I, 56, where the idea of a *qabila* is spread over the entire Oghuz people. [On the somewhat limited meaning of the term *boy* under the Aq-qoyunlu (A.D. 1476) see Minorsky, *BSOAS*, 1939, X/1, p. 164.].

<sup>3</sup> MS. As. Mus., 590ba, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> In Kashghari's time (I, 69; III, 114) the Oghuz used for "right" a special word *sagh*, instead of *ong* used by the Turks.

<sup>5</sup> [Most probably *\*bozuq* "(those of the) broken (bow)", and *\*üch-oq* "(those of the) three arrows", see below. V.M.].

<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Athir, XI, 54.

to his younger sons he gave an arrow each. A non-Muslim legend about Oghuz-khan, also belonging to the Mongol epoch, tells a similar story with the difference that the bow was of gold and the arrows of silver, and that they had previously been seen by Oghuz-khan in a dream <sup>1</sup>.

The "Oghuz" naturally realised the special position they held among the Turkish peoples. The term *Chigil* <sup>2</sup>, which was the name of one of the Turkish peoples living in the present-day Jetisu (Semirechye) <sup>3</sup>, was used, according to Kashghari, to designate all the "Turks" beyond the Amu-darya down to "Upper" China, i.e. South China <sup>4</sup> which remained in the 10th century and after under the rule of the national Sung dynasty while Northern China had been conquered by aliens. The name of Chigil was originally borne by a small town not far distant from Taraz (Talas, or Aulia-Ata?), also mentioned in some other sources <sup>5</sup>. This town, allegedly built by Alexander of Macedonia, was continuously attacked by the neighbouring Oghuz, and this hostility persisted in the days of Mahmud Kashghari, i.e. in the second half of the 11th century.

It is remarkable that the name of Oghuz does not appear in the Turkish genealogical epics in the form in which they circulated during the epoch of the Seljuq empire, while that of Chigil does. In the Middle Ages, both in the Muslim and in the Christian world, genealogical conceptions were connected with Biblical legends. Far more definitely than either the Christians or the Jews, the Muslims regarded Noah's three sons as the ancestors of the three human races of the Old World — the white, the black and the yellow. In the latter case it was not the colour of the skin but the broad face, and small eyes that were taken as the basic features <sup>6</sup>. The ancestor of the peoples belonging to this

<sup>1</sup> V. Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik*, Theil I, p. XIII; text *ibid.*, 242 sq.

<sup>2</sup> This pronunciation is determined by the artificial etymology (Persian *chi-gil* — "what kind of clay?") quoted by Mahmud Kashghari, I, 330.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my *History of Semirechye*, p. 16 sq.; Engl. transl. p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> About the three Şin, the Upper, the Central and the Lower, see Kashghari, I, 378.

<sup>5</sup> V. Barthold, *Otchet*, SPb., 1897, p. 15 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Tabari, *Annals*, I, 223.



third race was taken to be Japhet, and at first among his progeny, besides the Turks, figured only the Slavs and the mythical Gog and Magog of the Bible. Japhet was most often called the ancestor of the Turks, and as late as in the 19th century A.D. there were European scholars <sup>1</sup> who suggested calling the Old Turkish language "Japhetic". The supposed descendants of Japhet were acting at that time not as creators of culture but as its destroyers, which allowed to assert that there was nothing good in the children of Japhet. This could naturally not be said by the subjects of the Seljuq sultans, and the anonymous Persian author who wrote in the 12th century <sup>2</sup> makes an exception in favour of the two "clever" sons of Japhet, Turk and Khazar, while admitting that their brothers were no good. Of Turk's sons this author names four: Tütel [Tong? V.M.], Chigil, Barskhān and Ilak. The three younger sons were the ancestors of the Chigil (i.e. perhaps of all the nomad Turks with the exception of the Oghuz), the Barskhanians (inhabitants of the town of Barskhān on the south-eastern side of the Issik-kul who had a special dialect) <sup>3</sup> and the Ilakians (Ilak was the name for the cultivated stretch of land along the Angren (Ahangarān) river which was at the time apparently regarded as turkicised). Nothing is said about the descendants of Tütel who seems to be regarded as the ancestor of the Oghuz. These traditions were also utilised by the authors of the post-Mongolian period who amalgamated them with the traditions of the Mongolian time. Sharaf al-dīn Yazdī <sup>4</sup>, author of the history of Timur (15th c. A.D.), names the same four sons of Turk but his further narrative is somewhat confused; he again speaks of Japhet and names Abulja (the manuscripts give several variants of the names) as a son of his, whereas Rashīd al-dīn <sup>5</sup> considers him identical with Japhet. Both Rashīd al-dīn and Sharaf al-dīn represent Oghuz-khan, son of Qara-khan, as a descendant of Abulja-khan, with the only difference that the

<sup>1</sup> H. F. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, I, 1811, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> V. Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Mahmud Kashghari, III, 182.

<sup>4</sup> Introduction, MS. As. Mus. c 568, f. 226 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Ob.*, VII, 13 below.

genealogy given by Sharaf al-din is more complicated and contains more generations. According to Rashid al-din Abulja-khan had a son, Dib-Bakuy, one of whose sons was Qara-khan; according to Sharaf al-din, Qara-khan was the son of Moghol-khan. Moghol and Tatar were twin brothers, ancestors of the Mongols and the Tatars; between them and Dib-Bakuy there were two more generations. The origins of the Ghuz as a people are mentioned in another genealogy quite unconnected with Oghuz-khan; according to it one of Japhet's seven sons was called Mening (or Ming?), and his son was that Ghuz from whom stemmed the Ghuz, "the worst of all the Turkish peoples" <sup>1</sup>. Rashid al-din <sup>2</sup> on the contrary recognises all the Turkmans, as many as there are in the world, as descendants of the twenty-four grandsons of Oghuz-khan, adding that formerly the appellation *Turkman* did not exist and the Oghuz, like all the other Turkish tribes, were simply called *Turks*; it was only after they had come to Mawarannahr and Iran that "owing to the water and the air" of those lands they had become partly, though not completely, similar to the Tājiks, so that others began to call them *Turkmān*, i.e. "Turk-like".

According to Rashid al-din <sup>3</sup> the Turks always knew exactly from what clan this or that king or amir of theirs originated. The Seljuk sultans who reigned for 400 years (actually a much shorter time) in Iran and Turan and who subjugated all the lands stretching from the frontiers of Egypt to China, sprang from the Qiniq clan.

The sources do not give us any exact information about the position which the Turkmans occupied in the empire which they had created. The Turkish translator of Ravandi's *Rāhat al-ṣudūr* asserts that under sultan Sanjar (A.D. 1118-1157) Oghuz customs were still strictly observed; thus the chief bek of the right wing was always chosen from among the Qayī and Bayat tribes, and the chief bek of the left wing from among the Bayundur

<sup>1</sup> Sharaf al-din, *l.c.*, f. 22b.

<sup>2</sup> Trudi, VII, 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 39.

and Pecheneg tribes<sup>1</sup>. This information is absent in the Persian original<sup>2</sup>. Thanks to the work of the vazir Nizām al-mulk, who for thirty years (A.D. 1064-1092) administered the Seljuk empire, we dispose of sufficiently detailed data on the organisation of this empire at the end of the 11th century. One of the chapters of this work (ch. 26) is devoted to the Turkmans. In it the author says that the Turkmans are a burden to the state but have to be reckoned with in view of their services to the dynasty and their family ties with it. Nizām al-mulk advises the sultan to select 1000 young Turkmans, enrol them among the *ghulāms* (guards) of the palace, and gradually accustom them for service at the court so that they should become used to people and lose their former aloofness. On this pattern it would become possible, in case of need, to form a force of 5,000-10,000 men, equipping them similarly to the *ghulāms* so that they too should enjoy the same privileges: the king would be glorified and they themselves would be content<sup>3</sup>. In fact such a measure could have been of advantage only to a few, and the enrolment among the “ghulams of the palace”, i.e. the guards of the sultan consisting mainly of bought slaves, would hardly have satisfied the Turkmans. Apparently the sultan found a more effective means of ridding the agricultural and urban population of Persia of the “burden” constituted by the proximity of the nomads by sending the Turkmans to the border provinces of the Seljuq empire where a holy war against the Byzantines and the Georgians was going on. This can be the only explanation of the gradual turkicisation of Asia Minor and Azarbayjān.

The Turkmans took part in all the conquests of the Seljuq dynasty and, after its decay, in those of their successors, the atabegs (tutors of the young Seljuq princes who later became independent rulers). When in A.D. 1164 the Syrian atabeg Nūr

<sup>1</sup> MS. As. Mus., 590ba, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> The text of Ravandi's work on Sultan Sanjar was published already in 1886 by Schefer, *Nouveaux mélanges orientaux*, 31-47. Cf. the GMS edition, N.S., II, 1921, pp. 167-174.

<sup>3</sup> Nizām al-Moulk, *Siasset Nameh*, texte éd. par Ch. Schéfer, Paris 1891, p. 94.

al-dīn Maḥmūd sent an expedition to Egypt, Turkmans took part in it; when one of the generals of this expeditionary force, the Kurd Salāḥ al-dīn Yūsuf (Saladin) conquered Egypt, Syria and Tripoli, and founded the Ayyūbid dynasty, "Ghuz" also participated in his African campaigns; some of them took service under the amir Abū-Yūsuf Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb (A.D. 1184-1199), of the Almohad dynasty which ruled in North Africa and southern Spain. A Ghuz, Amir Sha<sup>c</sup>ban, was granted a large estate in Spain which yielded a revenue of 7,000 dinars (up to £ 3,500). In general the Ghuz held high positions in the Almohad state<sup>1</sup>. There were Turkmans in the Mamlūk state which rose after the fall of the Ayyūbid dynasty in Egypt and Syria. The 15th century Egyptian writer Zāhiri<sup>2</sup> enumerates the Turkman tribes which lived in the area between Gaza and Diyārbakr, though he says nothing about their geographical distribution; among the names of these tribes we find the names spelt Üch-Okhlu and Buz-Okhlu, with the substitution of *kh* for *q*, usual with some southern Turkic dialects. Of the tribes enumerated by Zāhiri only one had any political importance, that of *Ibn-Dulghadir* (the Turkish appellation of the tribe which the Arabs called *Dhu'l-Qadr*). The seizure by the Ottomans of the Dulghadir possessions in Asia Minor (comprising the towns of Mar<sup>c</sup>ash and Albi-stān), which were under the suzerainty of the Mamluks, was one of the causes of the war between the Mamluks and the Ottoman sultans that ended in the fall of the Mamluk state<sup>3</sup>. In the dynastic history of the Muslim world we find the term *Turkman* only once for a period of a hundred odd years, namely from the second half of the 14th century to the beginning of the 16th century; this was the time of the supremacy of the Turkman dynasties of the Qara-qoyunlu and the Aq-qoyunlu<sup>4</sup>. The first

<sup>1</sup> Abdo'l-Wahid al-Marrakoshi, ed. Dozy, Leyden 1881, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Khalīl ed-Dāhiry, *Zoubdat Kachf el Mamālik*, texte publié par P. Ravaisse, Paris 1894, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> *Mir Islama*, 1912, p. 373. See *Dhu'l-kadr* in *E.I.*, I, 1000 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Lane-Poole, *The Muhammedan dynasties*, transl. Barthold, SPb., 1899, pp. 214 sq., 302.

stemmed from the Bahārlu<sup>1</sup> tribe, the second from the old Bayundur tribe figuring in the lists of Kashghari and Rashīd al-dīn. Possibly under the Aq-qoyunlu the cycle of epic tales was created which is connected with the name of the singer and patriarch Qorqut, who expressed and preserved the wisdom of the people. In these tales Bayundur-khan is represented as the head of all the Oghuz. It is known that the traditions of Qorqut have survived also in Turkmenia itself but this is merely hinted at in learned literature<sup>2</sup> and no attempts have been made to collect such legends.

In the history of Muslim countries many individual rulers of Turkman extraction are mentioned, down to Nādir-shāh (A.D. 1736-1747), who belonged to the Afshar tribe, also named in Kashghari's list. But the rise of rulers from among the Turkmen had little effect, if any, on the life of the Turkman people as a whole. One of the atabeg dynasties was that of the Salghurids<sup>3</sup> in Fars (A.D. 1148-1287); but there are no historical data to show whether this dynasty had any connection with the Salghur (now Salor or Salir) tribe. According to some historians the term *Salghur* should in this case be taken as the personal name of the ancestor of the dynasty and not as a tribal name; but from what the 14th century historian Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī has to say<sup>4</sup> it is clear that already in his time there existed no exact information on the origins of the Salghurid dynasty.

The Ghuz, as a people, appear on the scene during the last years of the reign of Sultan Sanjar (A.D. 1118-1157) when they rebelled and took him prisoner; in A.D. 1156, after three years of captivity he escaped to Tirmidh and from there returned to Marv where he died in the following year<sup>5</sup>. After their victory

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar dominion*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 399.

<sup>2</sup> A. G. Toumansky in *ZVO*, IX, 272 (reference to the tale of the Ersari mullah). Prof. Samoylovich published in *DAN*, B, 1927, 41 sq., a poem, omitted in Toumansky's translation, in honour of Salor-Qazan, ascribed to Qorqut.

<sup>3</sup> Lane-Poole, *Dynasties*, transl. Barthold, p. 415.

<sup>4</sup> *GMS*, text, 503 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See the details in the articles by K. A. Inostrantsev and mine in *ZVO*, XX, 042 sq.; V. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 352 sq.

over the sultan the Ghuz plundered Marv, Nīshāpūr and some other towns of Khorasan, but were obliged to retreat before the walls of Herat <sup>1</sup>.

These Ghuz were divided into Buzuq and Uchuq tribes, from which one might have imagined that the entire Turkman people was meant here. In fact it was only a small group of Turkmans from the region of Balkh (northern Afghanistan), and it is said also that these Ghuz had not followed the Seljuks to Iran but had remained in Mawarannahr from where they had been driven out not long before by another Turkish people, the Qarluq <sup>2</sup>. The names of the "amirs" of the Ghuz are given as Qorqut b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, head of the Buzuq group, and Dudu b. Dadik (according to an official document: Dudu b. Ishaq b. Khizr), head of the Uchuq group. In a document written in A.D. 1156 the Khwārazmshāh Atsiz reminds Dudu-bek that he, the Khwarazmshah, had often given hospitality to the Ghuz in Khwārazm <sup>3</sup> whither they probably went for the winter, as their ancestors had done in the 11th century in the days of Altuntash.

We know nothing of the fate of the two Ghuz chiefs named; even after the death of Sultan Sanjar the Ghuz remained supreme in certain towns of Khorasan, including Marv where in the cathedral mosque the *khutba* continued to be read in the name of the late Sultan Sanjar <sup>4</sup>, no living ruler having been recognised. Like the other elements that struggled among themselves for supremacy in Turkestan and Persia, the Ghuz gave way, in the same 12th century, to the dynasty of the Khwārazmshāhs which for a short time took the leadership in the eastern part of the Muslim world and was in its turn destroyed in the 13th century by the Mongol invasion which opened a new period in the history of Central Asia and the Near East.

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, New Series II, 183.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 116 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Turkestan*, I, 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 359.

#### IV. FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The narrations of the historians of the Mongol conquests, like all detailed accounts of military events, contain valuable geographical and historico-geographical material. They tell what countries and towns the Mongols passed through (with topographical details in the reports on the siege of towns) and in what order, with what peoples and tribes they clashed and where in particular. These data are the more valuable as after the tenth century, the golden age of Muslim geographical literature, we possess no detailed descriptions of Muslim provinces and towns for the pre-Mongol period.

During the epoch of Mongol domination and that of Timur and the Timurids, historical, and to some extent geographical, literature flourished, but that only in Iran. Meanwhile neither the Golden Horde, nor Central Asia produced any historians whose writings have reached later generations, and only under the Uzbeks we find the first important historical works in Central Asia. In this regard too the Turkmans have been luckier than the others; just as for the pre-Mongol epoch we have information on the Turkman clans such as is lacking for other Turkic peoples, so during the period of the Uzbek khanates the Khwārazmian khan Abul-Ghāzī (1603-1663) wrote in 1660<sup>1</sup> a special historical work on the Turkmans<sup>2</sup>, the like of which

<sup>1</sup> In the year of the Mouse (*Genealogy*, 19); the corresponding year of the Hijra is given there as 1071 (A.D. 1660-1), and at the end, p. 74, as 1070 (A.D. 1659-60).

<sup>2</sup> This work has not been published yet in the original; the Russian translation by A. Toumansky, *The genealogy of the Turkmans*, was published in Askhabad in 1897. The same information is partly contained in a somewhat later important work by Abul-Ghāzī on the Turks in general (*Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares* par Aboulghāzi Behādour Khan, publ., traduite et annotée par le Baron Desmaisons, I — Texte, II — Traduction, St. Pétersbourg 1871-1874. [The critical edition of the text of the *Genealogy* with a Russian translation was published by Prof. A. Kononov in 1958.]

does not exist for any other Turkic people. One has to admit however that Abul-Ghāzī's *Genealogy* must be utilised with great caution because, apart from the data borrowed from Rashīd al-dīn, it is exclusively based on oral tradition.

In Abul-Ghāzī's days the Turkmans remembered, as they apparently do even to-day, that they had come from the banks of the Sīr-darya; Abul-Ghāzī uses the term "rear" (*arqa-taraf*) which, according to the Russian translator<sup>1</sup> "is used among the Turkish peoples of Central Asia with regard to the country which that particular people regards as its original home. The Turkmans take theirs to be the banks of the Sīr-daryā". In the time of Chingiz-khan not all the Turkmans had left the banks of that river. When early in 1220 Chingiz-khan took the town of Zarnūq on the left bank of the Sīr-darya, below Süt kand, a "guide from among the local Turkmans" who knew the road well, showed the Mongols a road from there to the town of Nūr (in the region of Bukhara) which had not been used until then<sup>2</sup>. Quite different were the relations between the Mongols and the Turkmans on the lower course of the river. The Mongol army, operating there under the command of Chingiz-khan's eldest son Juchi, took Jand, whence a small detachment was sent to occupy Yangikant; from there a force of 10,000 men formed from "nomad Turkmans" was directed upon Khwārazm. At the head of this force was the Mongol general Taynal who went forward leaving his lieutenant in command of the Turkmans. The Turkmans rebelled and killed their Mongol officers, on learning which Taynal returned and wiped out the greater part of the Turkmans. Those who escaped fled to Marv and Amūye (Charjuy)<sup>3</sup>.

Within the limits of the present-day Turkmenia a special importance was enjoyed by the Yazīr clan (Mahmud Kashghari, as we have seen, uses the more archaic form *Yazghir*), the only Turkman clan which already in the 12th and 13th centuries was connected with a definite locality. The Yazīrs were so numerous

<sup>1</sup> *Genealogy*, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Juvaynī, *GMS*, XVI, 77 sq. *Turkestan*, 439. On the location of Zarnūq see also *Irrigation*, 146.

<sup>3</sup> *GMS*, XVI, 69 sq.



that they were regarded as a separate people. Ibn al-Athīr <sup>1</sup> speaks of “Yazīr Turks”.

In 1160 an army of the Khwārazmshāh Il-Arslan attacked the “Yazīr Turks” who were led by Yaghmur-khan, and defeated them. Many Turkmans were killed. Yaghmur appealed to the “Khorasan Ghuz” for help, and together with them marched against the prince of Dihistān, Aytaq, whom he considered responsible for the attack of the Khwārazmians. Aytaq sought the aid of the shāh of Māzandarān who set out with a numerous army composed of “Kurds, Daylamites, Turks and Turkmans”, living in the vicinity of Abaskun (at the estuary of the Gurgān). The encounter took place not far from Dihistān; five times the Māzandarānian army put to flight the “Ghuz and Yazīr Turks”. Aytaq was with the right wing. Having lost all hope of overcoming the centre of the Māzandarānians, the “Ghuz Turks” attacked Aytaq who fled, and with him the Māzandarānian army. The shah of Māzandarān returned to his capital Sārī with great losses; merchants who were in the vicinity of the battle-field buried the dead and counted up to 7,000 of them. Aytaq fled to Khwārazm and remained there. Immediately after the battle the Ghuz (the “Yazīr” are no longer named) took by storm and plundered Dihistān in January 1161, after which they “devastated Jurjān (the region along the Gurgān) and drove away its inhabitants into various provinces”, and then returned to Khorasan.

According to Muhammad Bakran (author of the geographical work <sup>2</sup> *Jahān-nāma*) who wrote in the early 13th century, the “Yazīrs are a tribe from among the Turks; they came to the border of Balkhan and its mountains. They were joined by a tribe from Manghishlaq and by another from Khorasan. Then their numbers increased, they grew stronger, left that place and came to the limits of Shahristān <sup>3</sup> and Farāva <sup>4</sup>, and later settled

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Athir, XI, 171 sq. Cf. *Turkestan*, 359.

<sup>2</sup> On him see *Turkestan*, I, 81 sq.; II, 37.

<sup>3</sup> See *Irrigation*, 40 (1 farsakh, i.e. 6-8 km. to the north of Nesā, not far from Ashkhabad).

<sup>4</sup> Now Qizil-arvat (*ibid.*).

in the fortress of Tāq. Now they consist of the following groups: the pure Yazīr, those from Manghīshlaq and the Persian (Pārsī) ones”<sup>1</sup>.

Yazīr formed a separate dominion which in the 13th century was ruled for eleven years by Hindū-khān who had deposed his brother ‘Omar-khān; he had wanted to blind him and, although the order was not carried out, ‘Omar-khān throughout his brother’s reign pretended to be blind. After Hindū-khān’s death, Turkān-[Tärkän?]-khātun, the mother of the Khwārazmshāh Muhammad, annexed Yazīr to Khwārazm in view of the marriage ties between the last ruler and the tribe to which the queen herself belonged. ‘Omar-khān pressed his claims but without success. For his long-suffering patience he received the nickname Şabūr-khān. In A.D. 1220 he accompanied Turkan-khatun in her flight from Khwarazm, and was killed on her orders on the boundary of the Yazīr province<sup>2</sup>.

According to Abul-Ghāzī the Yazīr had come to Khorasan and lived for many years near Durūn; therefore Durūn was called their *yurt*. Some of the Yazīr went to live in the hills near Durūn and took up agriculture; they were later called Qaratashlī<sup>3</sup>. According to the most recent data the Qaradashlīs (the usual south-Turkish substitution of *d* for *t*) are “a considerable Turkman tribe living in the Ilyalī region<sup>4</sup>. The Qaradashlī are also mentioned on the Amu-darya below Chārjūy, in the Deynau region<sup>5</sup>. At the end of the 18th century and in the beginning of the 19th the Qaradashlī were driven out of the Akhal oasis by the Teke<sup>6</sup>.

Abūl-Ghāzī’s information needs a correction: the name Durūn

<sup>1</sup> Text and translation by Toumansky, *ZVO*, IX, 303.

<sup>2</sup> Nasawi, ed. Houdas, 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Genealogy*, 58; *ZVO*, IX, 302; cf. on the Yazīr *Genealogy*, 38: “From among the Yazīr there was also a king, and around the Yazīr small tribes gathered”. This item of information seems to have been in Rashīd al-dīn, but the word “Yazīr” is omitted in the MSS. (*Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Ob.*, VII, 39).

<sup>4</sup> *Materials for the regioning of Central Asia*. Book 2, *Territory and population of Bukhara and Khwarazm*, part II, Tashkent 1926, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, part I, p. 237.

<sup>6</sup> A. Samoylovich, *Abdu-s-Sattar-qazī*, SPb., 1914, p. 091.

(now ruins near the railway station of Bahārden) appears in local toponymy later than the name Yazir; it seems to be mentioned for the first time in the account of Timur's expedition in 1384<sup>1</sup>. In the region which the Yazir occupied they found only the fortress Tāq. In a passage the historian Juvayni calls this fortress "Taq of the Yazir"<sup>2</sup>; later the name *Taq* disappears and alone the name *Yazir* has remained. The 14th century author Ḥamdul-lāh Qazvinī describes Yazir as a town of medium size whose district was rich in grain<sup>3</sup>.

In connection with the migrations of the Yazir one regrets the paucity of information on the Manghishlaq peninsula. Above we have quoted Istakhri on the seizure of Manghishlaq by the Turks and their plundering of ships that came to grief on the shores of that peninsula. In the 12th century the situation was different: a special Muslim dominion was formed which, together with Jand on the Sīr-darya, was regarded as a march of the Muslims and a bastion in the war against the infidels. Not far from the sea, probably on the coast, there stood a stronghold "between Khwarazm, Saqsin and the Russian possessions". From this expression of Yāqūt's<sup>4</sup> it is evident that already at that time there existed a trade-route, not mentioned in the 10th century, from Russia across the estuary of the Volga and the Manghishlaq peninsula to Khwarazm. In fact this road was used by the Moscow state in the 17th century and later. The location of Saqsin remains doubtful, but the report of Gharnatī (12th c.)<sup>5</sup>, the only Muslim author who visited Saqsin, leads one to suppose that this town was situated near the estuary of the Volga and had the same importance for trade as had Itil in the 10th century and Astrakhan after the 11th century. In the 12th century the only state which

<sup>1</sup> *Zafarnāmah*, ed. Calcutta, I, 382. *Irrigation*, 41.

<sup>2</sup> *GMS*, XVI, 120 and 122; the editor adopted a faulty reading.

<sup>3</sup> *GMS.*, XXIII, 1, 159 and 2, 155 (also a faulty reading).

<sup>4</sup> Yāqūt, IV, 670, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Text in *J. As.*, CCVII (1925), especially p. 115. Cf. also the opinion of Westberg (*IAN*, 1899, 291) and Marquart (*Abh. Gött.*, Neue Folge, Bd. XIII, No. 1, 1914, 56). [It is probable that Saqsin is only a contraction of the name Sāigh-sin which Ibn Khurdadhbih mentions at the estuary of the Volga. V.M.].

could contemplate seizing the main points of this trade route was Khwārazm; the Khwārazm-shāh Atsiz succeeded in conquering Manghishlaq where he seems to have encountered stubborn resistance. An Arab poet living in Khwarazm says, addressing himself to Atsiz: "You sent, as an ordeal for Manghishlaq, a bolt of lightning from the skies from which all the inhabitants perished" <sup>1</sup>. In 1138 Sultan Sanjar temporarily succeeded in defeating Atsiz and conquering Khwarazm; a document composed on this occasion <sup>2</sup> rebuked the Khwārazmshāh for shedding the blood of Muslims and ghāzīs in Manghishlaq and Jand without the sultan's permission. The Khwarazmshah's reaction to these reproofs was open rebellion. However, a letter addressed to the vazir of Baghdad in A.D. 1133, also in the name of Sultan Sanjar, contains an expression of full approval of the Khwarazmshah's expedition from Jand (which was evidently already in his power) into the interior of Turkestan <sup>3</sup>. After his defeat Atsiz temporarily lost Jand, and later (in 1152) had to conquer it anew <sup>4</sup>; we possess no information as to whether his power in Manghishlaq had been weakened. Manghishlaq is subsequently mentioned several times in documents of the Khwarazmshahs as a province belonging to them <sup>5</sup>. When the Khwarazmshah Muhammad, who had fled from the Mongols, died in 1220 on an island off Abaskūn, his sons left for Manghishlaq where the local inhabitants supplied them with horses <sup>6</sup>; nothing is said about the stronghold which had stood there.

According to Gharnati <sup>7</sup> the Khwarazmshah 'Alā al-daula (meaning apparently Atsiz) for forty years (no Khwarazmshah ruled for that length of time) tried to conquer Saqsin — apparently without success. Saqsin was conquered only by the Mongols in 1229, as can be inferred from the account of the Russian

<sup>1</sup> Yāqūt, l.c.

<sup>2</sup> *Turkestan*, I, 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 41 sq.; II, 351 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 34, 79.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 466.

<sup>7</sup> *J. As.*, CCVII, 88.

<sup>8</sup> *Lavrentyev Chronicle*, SPb., 1872, p. 430.

Chronicle<sup>8</sup> of the flight of the surviving "Saksins and Polovtsi" to the Bulgars. The "Saksins" are named here as a separate people. Westberg<sup>1</sup> takes this term as but another name for the Khazars; Marquart<sup>2</sup> refers to Gharnaṭi's report as quoted by Zakariyyā Qazvīnī<sup>3</sup> that the town of Saqsin was owned by forty Ghuz tribes, but Gharnaṭi's text which has now been published contains no such passage. The question of the ethnographic origin of the inhabitants of the town of Saqsin thus remains still unsolved.

The Turkmans are also mentioned in the accounts of Mongol operations in the vicinity of Marv in 1220<sup>4</sup>. Bahā al-mulk, the newly appointed vazir of Marv, withdrew to the stronghold of Tāq (Yazīr), whence he went on to Mazandaran. He finally submitted to the Mongols and received aid from them for the purpose of occupying Marv. During his absence Marv was seized first by the sultan's former guide, the Turkman Bugha, who drew support from "the Turkmans of those parts" as well as from the soldiers who had fled before the Mongols; later, in 1221, the former vazir of the town, Mujīr al-mulk, ousted Bugha who was obliged to submit to him although "the Turkmans and soldiers of the town" numbered more than 70,000. While Mujīr al-mulk was preparing for the Mongol attack, Ikhtiyār al-dīn, the former ruler of the town, arrived in Marv from Amūye (Charjuy) which had been taken by the Mongols. In Marv he joined "the other Turkmans" who elected him their leader. An additional force of 2,000 men followed by "Turkmans and the sultan's Turks" arrived from Khorasan. Mujīr al-mulk and Ikhtiyār al-dīn fell out; the Turkmans wanted to seize the town but were thwarted by the measures taken by Mujīr al-mulk. They withdrew to the bank of the river (probably the Amu-darya) and from there raided the country around Marv. During one such raid a Turkman force, twelve thousand strong, was ambushed by the Mongols; later the same happened to the main Turkman forces

<sup>1</sup> *IAN*, 1899, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> *Abh. Gött.*, Neue Folge, Bd. XIII, p. 56, 102, 111 (No. 3).

<sup>3</sup> Qazvini, ed. Wüstenfeld, *Gött.*, 1848, II, 402, below.

<sup>4</sup> Zhukovsky, *Ruins of ancient Marv*, SPb. 1894, p. 48 sq. The main source is Juvayni (*GMS*, XVI, 119 sq.).

numbering over 70,000<sup>1</sup>. During the disorders which prevailed in Marv and its neighbourhood in 1222<sup>2</sup> a certain Arslan seized the power in the town. When news from Marv reached Nesā, the Turkman Tāj al-dīn ‘Omar b. Mas‘ūd collected a crowd of his fellow-tribesmen and marched to Marv where the inhabitants voluntarily submitted to him. He mustered 10,000 troops and for six months ruled in Marv, Abīvard and Kharāqān<sup>3</sup>, sending detachments to the upper Murghab to attack the Mongol baggage-train stationed there. Tāj al-dīn decided to possess himself also of Nesā whose ruler, Nuṣrat al-dīn Ḥamza ibn-Muhammad, was a descendant of the local dynasty. During the siege there arrived from Yazīr in aid of the besieged a certain Pahlavān (perhaps Kush-tegin-Pahlavān, a former ruler of Marv who had fled to the Gurgān). The besieged made a sortie and in the ensuing battle Tāj al-dīn was killed. After this the region along the Murghāb fell entirely into the power of the Mongols who completed the destruction of Marv.

Yazīr and its Turkmans are also mentioned in the account of the events during the reign of the Khwārazmshāh Muhammad<sup>4</sup>. When in 1208 the participants in the rebellion of the governor of Nishapur, Qazli, realised the hopelessness of their enterprise, they held council about finding a way out of the situation. Among them was a “Turkman from Yazīr” who suggested marching in the direction of Yazīr, seizing the fortresses of that region and making a stand there. He volunteered to lead the way and take the fortresses by ruse. The inhabitants guessed his intention, arrested him and sent him in chains to the sultan. This account suggests that there were several strongholds in the Yazīr region. Nevertheless in the accounts of expeditions and migrations Yazīr is usually mentioned as a region through which all passed without stopping on their way to other places. When Turkān-[Tärkän]-khatun, mother of the Khwārazmshāh Muhammad, left Khwārazm at the time of the Mongol invasion, she went to Māzan-

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, XVI, 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Turkestan*, II, 485. *GMS*, XVI, 131 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Not far from Marv. Cf. *Irrigation*, 60 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *GMS*, XVI, 2, p. 71 sq. *Turkestan*, II, 338.

darān by way of Yazir and Dihistān<sup>1</sup>. When Chingiz-khan's youngest son Tuluy was entrusted with the conquest of Khorāsān, he took Marv, Nishāpūr and Herat at the head of his troops, while the taking of the remaining Khorasan towns, and among them of Yazir<sup>2</sup>, was left to separate Mongol detachments. Towards 1230, when the Mongols, temporarily driven from Persia by the victories of the Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-dīn, once again returned to Khorasan, Yazir is mentioned among the towns which surrendered to them some voluntarily, some by force<sup>3</sup>.

Under the Mongols the different sections of the Turkman people, except those who had gone westwards to the Near East, were divided among the three principal states formed by the Mongols: the Golden Horde or the dominions of the Juchids, descendants of Chingiz-khan's eldest son; Persia, or the dominions of the descendants of Hulagu (son of Tuluy); and Central Asia, where in the 14th century the supreme power passed to the descendants of Chaghatay, Chingiz-khan's second son. The only source in which the boundaries between all these states seem to be more or less accurately described is the Chinese map of A.D. 1331<sup>4</sup>. On it Dihistān and Marv are shown as belonging to Persia; the northern part of Khwārazm with Urgenj (now Kunya-Urgenj) and the bank of the Sīr-darya from its estuary to Saurān — to the Golden Horde; and the southern part of Khwārazm — to the Chaghatay state. We are comparatively well informed on Persia of the Mongol epoch; we even possess a detailed geographical description of Persia, the work of Ḥamdullāh Qazvinī, completed in 1339<sup>5</sup>); but this work too has nothing to say about the Turkmans, and the very term *turkman* occurs only in one passage<sup>6</sup> where a "Turkman village" (Dih-i Turkmān or Turkmān-kendi, now Turkmānchay) is mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Juvayni, *GMS*, XVI, 2, 199, names only Dihistān; Nasawi has Yazir, ed. Houdas, p. 39. V.s., p. 000.

<sup>2</sup> *GMS*, XVI, 118.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, 219.

<sup>4</sup> *Trudi Ross. Duh. Missii v Pekine*, IV; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, v. II.

<sup>5</sup> *GMS*, XXIII.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

in Āzarbayjān, on the road from Sultāniya to Tabrīz. In general the Turkmans who are most often mentioned are those who lived at the time to the west of the present-day Turkmenia; one interesting detail is given by the Arab geographer Ibn Sa'īd (13th c.)<sup>1</sup> who says that the Turkmans of Asia Minor "make Turkman rugs which are exported to (various) countries". This seems to be the earliest record of Turkman carpets by an Oriental author<sup>2</sup>, and it is highly probable that the Turkmans of Asia Minor had brought this craft with them from Central Asia.

The Central Asian author Jamāl Qarshi who in 672/1273-4 visited Barchkand (or Barchīnliḡhkand) on the Sīr-darya writes that Turkmans were still living there<sup>3</sup>; this statement is interesting, if only the Arabic plural *tarākima* which he uses was not given in those days a social, rather than an ethnical sense, as is the case now in the Caucasus where *tarakima* denotes the poorest and least cultured elements of the nomad population.

At the time when the Mongol state in Persia was breaking up, there arose within the limits of the present-day Turkestan a state founded by the Chūnghurbāni tribe, probably Turkman<sup>4</sup>. Its ruler Arghun-shāh who was known for his building activity in the stronghold of Kalāt<sup>5</sup> held also the towns of Tūs, Qūchān, Abīvard, Nesā and the Marv oasis<sup>6</sup>; the chief inhabited place of the latter, after the destruction of Marv, was Māhān, on the site of present day Marv<sup>7</sup>. After the death of Aghun-shāh his dominions were divided between his sons, Muḡammad-bek and 'Alī-bek; the former was the eldest but 'Ali-bek became better

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Abul-Fidā (*Géographie d'Aboulféda*, publ. par Reinaud, Paris 1840, p. 379).

<sup>2</sup> Marco Polo's account belongs to approximately the same time, *Marco Polo's travels*, Russian transl. by Minayev, SPb. 1903, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Turkestan*, I, 151.

<sup>4</sup> [This is doubtful. The name *Jwn-gh.rbān* is probably Mongol: *dzaun ghurban* "the three (divisions) of the left (wing)". The family of these rulers was apparently affiliated to the Oyrat governor of Khorasan Aghun-gha. See my article *Tūs* in *E.I.* V.M.]

<sup>5</sup> V. Barthold, *Istor.-geogr. ocherk Irana*, SPb. 1903, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>7</sup> *Irrigation*, 61.



known from his struggle against Timur. About 1362 Timur was taken prisoner by the Turkmans on the Murghāb and spent 62 days imprisoned in Māhān which belonged to ‘Ali-bek; then he was set free but was given no food for his journey. He was helped out of these straits by Mubārak-shāh, one of “the rich Turkmans of Māhān” and chief of the Sanjari clan. For this act of kindness Mubārak-shāh and his descendants enjoyed particular respect in Timur’s dominions <sup>1</sup>, and even in later times the members of the Sanjari clan are spoken of as Timur’s friends <sup>2</sup>. In 1382 ‘Ali-bek was defeated by Timur and sent to Farghāna where he was put to death in the following year. His wars with Timur left such a strong impression that even in the beginning of the 15th century the northern regions of Khorasan were called “Ali-bek’s Khorasan” <sup>3</sup>. However, the historical traditions of the Turkmans mention neither ‘Ali-bek, nor the Chūnghurbāni tribe, nor the Sanjari clan, nor the Arghun tribe which lived in the vicinity of Bukhara and was reckoned to the “Turkestan Turkmans” <sup>4</sup>.

Abul-Ghāzī quotes several traditions, of obviously legendary character, about the origins of the Turkman tribes. Like all legends these tales teem with chronological contradictions, and the author himself <sup>5</sup> draws attention to the chronological unreliability of his sources. An important place is given to the Salor (or Salir) tribe from which a number of other tribes are supposed to have stemmed. According to these legends <sup>6</sup> the Turkman country stretching from the Sīr-darya to the Amu-darya and thence to the Murghāb once belonged to ‘Alī-khān, who resided in Yangikant. The vile nature of his son Shāh-Malik provoked a rebellion headed by Toghrul [Tughril]. Shāh-Malik was killed, and ‘Ali-khan died soon after; dissensions broke out among the Turkman tribes, and the greater part of them dispersed

<sup>1</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 16 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Zafar-namah*, Calcutta ed. I, 126.

<sup>3</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 69 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 157. Daulatshah, ed. Browne, 364.

<sup>5</sup> *Genealogy*, 62 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 55 sq.

to other countries. Those who remained "at the estuary of the Sir and on the Amu-darya" proclaimed Toghrul their khan, after whom, until the rise of Seljuk, there came several other khans. A number of Turkman tribes, including the Salor, migrated to Manghishlaq. Some of the Salor, however, numbering ten thousand tents (*kibitkas*), went to Khorasan and thence to [Persian?] Iraq and Fars; when these provinces submitted to Sultan Malik-shāh men of Dingli-bek's clan came to him and established their kinship with him by telling him that their ancestors had migrated from Turkmenia. Later on other Salor, headed by Oghurjīq, went to Manghishlaq. In Iraq Oghurjīk had clashed with the Bayundur tribe after which he went with 1,000 tents by way of Shamākhī to the Crimea, and from there across the Volga on to the Yayik. Having quarrelled there with the khan of the Qangli people, Gök-Tonli, who took 700 tents from him, Oghurjīk with the remaining 300 tents went to Manghishlaq. There he remained three years but then was forced to flee from his enemy still further south to the Balkhan mountains. Like Oghuz-khan Oghurjīq had six sons: of the two eldest one was the ancestor of the Yomut<sup>1</sup> and apparently of the Ersari (the name Ersari-bay occurs in the *Genealogy*), and the other the ancestor of the "Inner Salor" (*Ichki-Salor*). Abul-Ghāzī quotes another legend<sup>2</sup> according to which the ancestor of the Salor was Salor-Qazan who lived some 300 years after the Prophet<sup>3</sup> and fought the Pechenegs. A Pecheneg raped Salor-Qazan's mother, and by him she bore a son named Irek; the son of Irek, Arikli, was the ancestor of the "Inner Salor". The existence on Manghishlaq of "Inner" and "Outer" Salor is also mentioned in the 16th century by Jani-Maḥmūd Ghujduvani, author of a biography of Shaykh Kamāl al-dīn Khwārazmī. One can gather from the text that the Inner Salor lived on the coast, while the Outer Salor lived further east from the coast on the way to Khwarazm<sup>4</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> The current Russian pronunciation *Yomud* does not occur anywhere in Oriental sources.

<sup>2</sup> *Genealogy*, 65 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>4</sup> *ZVO*, XV, 208.

division into "Inner" and "Outer" existed also among the Salor living in the southern part of Turkmenia, where, according to Abul-Ghāzī<sup>1</sup>, the Inner Salor were the westerly ones, those of Khorasan, while to the Outer Salor belonged the tribes Teke, Sariq and Yomut. About the origins of the Teke and Sariq the *Genealogy*<sup>2</sup> says that their ancestor was a certain Toy-Tutmaz from among the Salor.

The *Genealogy* enumerates several other Turkman tribes which were not pure Turkmans but "had joined the Turkmans". The origins of these tribes are partly connected with the events of the reign of khan Jānī-bek (A.D. 1341-1357) of the Golden Horde. He sent as his governor to the Turkmans the Uyghur Sankli-Sin. In the last year of Jānī-bek's reign this governor was murdered by his slave Ayaz at the instigation of the Turkmans. Ayaz remained among the Turkmans and from him stemmed "the entire Eski people"<sup>3</sup>. According to Abul-Ghāzī long before Jānī-bek there had lived Ersari-bay, the ancestor of the Ersari tribe, because the Ersari elders, who were contemporaries of the 14th century Golden Horde, referred to Ersari-bay as their greatgrandfather<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, Shaykh Sharafkhoja, author of the *Mu<sup>c</sup>in al-Murid*<sup>5</sup>, who lived in the beginning of the 14th century, is named as Ersari-bay's contemporary.

Ersari-bay clashed with the "ruler of Iran", i.e. the khan of the Persian Mongols, and was killed by him; his beautiful daughter, Mama-bike, was seized by Qoma-bek who had been sent from Iran, and became his wife, but was later sent back to the Turkmans accompanied by a male slave given to her by Qoma-bek. This slave had four sons — Khizr, 'Ali, Ik-bek and Qashgha; they were freed and settled down to cultivate the land on the Uzboy, where the Amu-darya flowed at the time, and

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire des Mogols* etc., I, 209 sq (text): II, 223 sq. (transl.).

<sup>2</sup> *Genealogy*, 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 68. A MS. of this work exists in Ankara. On it see A. Z. Validi in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, v. II, Istanbul 1928, p. 315 sq. The date of the copy is Ramadan 713, i.e. December 1313 or January 1314 (*ibid.*, 320).

many people gathered round them. From Khizr and Ali stemmed the tribal groups Khizir-eli, with the subdivision Qutlar, and the Ali-eli, with the subdivision Moghulchiq. The descendants of Ik-bek were called *qul* (slave) and were divided into two clans, the Qullar and the Chaghatay-Qullar; the latter stemmed from a fugitive of the Chaghatay tribe Arlat<sup>1</sup> who had come to live among the Turkmans at the time of the Timurids (15th c.). The descendants of Qashgha were called Qara-öyli ("of the Black House"); they were poorer than the rest and their land was ill-suited for agriculture.

In the same region on the Uzboy still another tribal group was formed, that of the Teveji, i.e. "camel-drivers". According to Abul-Ghāzī<sup>2</sup> Jānī-bek khan, who held the whole of Turkmenia from Urgenj to Astarabad, learnt that Balkhan was "a place wonderfully suitable for breeding camels", and for this purpose sent there thirty families who were hence called "Teveji". When after Berdi-bek's death (A.D. 1359) disorders broke out in the Golden Horde, the Turkmans seized the khan's camels and plundered the Teveji who became fishermen and later joined the Qara-öyli. As time went on the Qara-öyli became poor while the Teveji became very numerous. Khalīl "the Bold", who was the chief both of the Qara-öyli and the Teveji, came to an agreement with the Ersari who lived in Balkhan by which they gave him land with the obligation to deliver to them half the harvest, two thousand loads of reeds for cattle enclosures and a number of hunting birds; for the snares to catch the birds they provided him with the necessary ropes. Abul-Ghāzī adds that in his days the descendants of Khalīl were called Tagh-saqari.

In his other, larger work Abul-Ghāzī gives much information on the struggle between the Turkmans and the Uzbeks of Khwarazm whose khans regarded the Turkmans as their subjects. Details on the geographical distribution of the tribes are found only in an account of life on the Uzboy in the 16th century when the Amu-darya flowed in that direction. Abul-Ghāzī<sup>3</sup> divides

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ulugh-beg*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Genealogy*, 71 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire des Mogols*, text, 207; transl., 221 sq.

the region along both banks of the river from Pishgah down to the sea into three parts. Between Pishgah and Qara-kechit lived the Adaqli-Khizir tribe; between Qara-kechit down to the western slopes of the Balkhan mountains, the Ali-eli tribe, and from there to the estuary, the Teveji tribe. All three together were called Üch-el ("three tribes"), and they paid to the khan of Khwarazm a tenth part of their crops; the Teveji and the Ali-eli also paid a tax on their herds; the Adaqli-Khizir provided the khan with *nukars* (servants or bodyguards) <sup>1</sup>.

As I have established elsewhere <sup>2</sup> Pishgah was the name of the wells situated at a long day's march from Urgenj (i.e. Kunya-Urgenj) to the south of the river-bed; these wells were reached by travellers going from the Qurtish wells to Urgenj; the Qurtish wells <sup>3</sup> are also mentioned in the *Genealogy* as the dwelling place of Khizir who gave his name to the Khizir-eli tribe. The name Qari-kechit occurs only in this passage; the Adaqli-Khizir seem to have formed part of the Khizir-eli tribe and to have lived near the stronghold of Adaq, in all probability not far from the place where the Uzboy emerges from the Sariqamish depression <sup>4</sup>.

All this information is given by Abul-Ghazali in connection with the clash between the Turkmans and the khan of Khwarazm, Shufyan. After Timur and his descendants, predominance in Central Asia passed to the Uzbeks who came from the Golden Horde. The Uzbek khan Shibanī, who overthrew the Timurids, formed a vast state which included, besides Tashkent, Farghana, Bukhara and Samarqand, also Khwarazm and Khorasan. In A.D. 1510 Shibanī was killed near Marv in a battle with the Safavid Shah Isma'il who had sprung from among the Azarbayjan Turks <sup>5</sup> and founded the new Shi'ite Persian state. Of the lands conquered by Shibanī some passed to the Timurids, as vassals of

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 210 sq.; transl., 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Information on the Aral sea*, Tashkent, 1902, p. 93 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Genealogy*, p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ZVO*, XV, 186.

<sup>5</sup> [Shah Isma'il was a descendant of the shaykhs of Ardabil but, like his grandfather and father, was supported by the Turkman tribes of Azarbayjan and Armenia. V.M.]

Shah Ismā'īl, while the remainder was directly annexed to Persia, though only for a short time. The Uzbeks soon recovered their power, and this time formed two independent khanates, one in Samarqand and Bukhara, the other in Khwarazm. The founding of the latter dates apparently from 1511 <sup>1</sup>.

Khwarazm under the rule of the Uzbek conquerors was not a unified state. The power was in the hands of the entire family of the khan whose members were styled "sultans"; one of the older members of the family occupied the throne but his power over the sultans was slender. Personal qualities mainly determined the importance of each sultan, and some of them often possessed more power and influence than the reigning khan.

The first detailed information of Abul-Ghāzī on the distribution of the provinces of Khwarazm among the members of the khan's family belongs to the time of Şufyan-khan. The chronology of Abul-Ghāzī contains certain lacunae and obscurities, but as I have established elsewhere, Şufyan-khan's brief reign began and ended between the years 1525 and 1535 <sup>2</sup>.

Urgenj belonged directly to Şufyan-khan; the remaining part of Khwarazm was parcelled out among the sultans. In addition to the lands watered by the Amu-darya (*Su-boyu*, literally "the strip along the water-course") the khans of Khwarazm also held sway over the area in the south stretching along the Küren-dagh and the Kopet-dagh mountains (*Tagh-boyu*, lit. "the strip along the mountains"). Among their subjects were also reckoned the Turkmans living on the Manghishlaq peninsula, along the Amu-darya (along the Uzboy?), in Balkhan and in Dihistān (Mashhad-i Mişriyān) <sup>3</sup>. Şufyan-khan clashed with the Balkhan Turkmans, namely with the Ersari tribe; after having agreed to pay a tax (*zakāt*) to the khan the Turkmans killed the forty tax-collectors sent by him. Şufyan-khan undertook an expedition against the Ersari tribe and their allies, the Salor of Khorasan. The Turkmans took refuge in Chutaq, lying at a three days' distance from Balkhan. Abul-Ghāzī visited Chutaq several times:

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, II, *Khwārazm*.

<sup>2</sup> *Information on the Aral sea*, 92.

<sup>3</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, 206; transl., 220; *ibid.*, on subsequent events.

it stood on a height surrounded by mountains and was accessible only by a narrow path wide enough for one loaded camel<sup>1</sup>. According to Abul-Ghāzī this natural fastness had only one drawback, the lack of water; otherwise it could have withstood any foe. Already after a few days lack of water forced the Turkmans to send their *aqsaqals* ("white beards") to parley with the Uzbeks; at the same time they sought the intercession of Şufyan-khan's brother Aqatay (Abul-Ghāzī's greatgrandfather). It was agreed that the Turkmans would give 1000 sheep for every tax-collector killed; of the total the Ersari tribe and the Salor of Khorasan had to supply 16,000 each, while the remaining 8,000 were to be delivered by the Teke, the Sariq and the Yomut who were jointly called "Outer Salor". The following year the khan sent his tax-collectors (*barātdārs*) and received the agreed number of sheep in full; later he began to levy the same number every year, and this practice continued for several generations<sup>2</sup>.

In this connection Abul-Ghāzī describes the tribute levied in sheep from the other Turkmans. The custom was for an additional 10% of the agreed tribute to be levied for the khan's kettle, and a distinction was made, therefore, between such sheep and those levied on the *barāt*. The Inner Salor gave 16,000 sheep with an additional 1,600 for the khan's kettle; the same number was exacted from the Hasan-eli tribe (only once mentioned by Abul-Ghāzī) to which the Igdır and Chavuldur clans<sup>3</sup> also belonged; these supplied 12,000 and 1,200 sheep, the remaining 4,000 and 400 sheep being given by other small clans. The Arabachi tribe (named by Abul-Ghāzī also only in this passage)<sup>4</sup> gave 4,000 and 400, the Göklen, 12,000 and 1,200. On the taxes levied from the Turkman agricultural tribes on the Uzboy see above.

<sup>1</sup> The exact site of Chutaq needs a further location.

<sup>2</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, 210, above; transl., 224.

<sup>3</sup> Now the Choudur tribe is also called Esen-eli (i.e. probably Hasan-eli); the Igdır are regarded as a division of the Choudur (*Territory and population of Bukhara and Khwarazm*, part II; *Khwarazm*. Tashkent 1926, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> On the present day Arabachi group see *Territory*, 105 (on the right bank of the Amu-darya, in the Turtkul district).

Taxes were levied from the Turkmans not only for the khan but also for individual princes. In his account of the events of the following years<sup>1</sup> Abul-Ghāzī mentions Muhammad Ghāzī-sultan, ruler of Durūn who sent his *barātdārs* to the Turkmans living on the Uzboy.

The khan of Bukhara, ʿUbaydullāh (1533-1540), took advantage of the dissensions among the Uzbeks of Khwarazm and in 1538 seized Khwarazm. Having occupied Urgenj ʿUbaydullāh brought the Uzbeks away from that place leaving the Sarts and Turkmans in peace. Both the Sarts and the Turkmans are described as *raʿya*<sup>2</sup>, i.e. as sedentary agriculturists, which shows that at that time there were Turkmans who had taken to agriculture not only on the Uzboy but also in the region of Urgenj. On the Gurgan, the Turkmans had to deal both with the Uzbeks of Khwarazm and the Persian government. In those days the military power in Persia belonged to other Turkmans, those of Azarbayjan, and it was from among these that the Safavid dynasty sprang [see above].

Persian historians distinguish as a separate group the Turkmans who lived between the Gurgān and the Atrak and were called “the tribe of Sayīn-khan”, i.e. of the Golden Horde (Sayīn-khan being the nickname of Batu), or else Yaqa-Turkman, i.e. probably “river-side” Turkmans. According to the Persian historian Iskandar-munshī<sup>3</sup>, these Turkmans helped the Khwarazmian prince Dīn-Muḥammad in his struggle against ʿUbaydullāh. Dīn-Muḥammad came to the Turkman Adaqlī-Khizīr tribe on the Uzboy and promised them, in the event of victory, the *tarkhanate*, i.e. exemption from taxes, and full equality with the Uzbeks<sup>4</sup>. With the aid of these Turkmans Dīn-Muḥammad succeeded in ousting the Bukharans; whether he kept his promise is not known. In any case under his brother, ʿAli-Sultān, who died in 1565<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, 214; transl., 230.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 223; the term does not appear in the translation, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran edition, 1314, p. 80. The author was himself a Turkman.

<sup>4</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, p. 225; transl., p. 241.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, text, p. 246; transl., p. 264; Year of the Bull. A.H. 976 as given by Abul-Ghāzī is wrong: it should be 973 as in Iskandar-munshi, p. 84, above.



a tax in sheep was again being levied from the Turkmans. Every infantryman in 'Ali-sultan's army received 16 sheep, the expense being covered partly from the Turkman tax and partly from the fifth part of the booty taken during the raids into Khorasan<sup>1</sup>.

Iskandar-munshi<sup>2</sup> tells of the revolt of the Turkmans against the authorities of Astarabad which occurred in 957/1550. The Turkmans brought gifts to the newly appointed governor of Astarabad, Shāh-verdi-sultān. A handsome young Turkman, Aba-bek, chief of the Okhlu clan (*Oqlī* or *Oqlī-göklen* in Abul-Ghāzī; apparently a division of the Göklen tribe) attracted the attention of the sultan. This gave cause to rumours insulting for Aba-bek. He left Astarabad, appeared suddenly in the midst of his clan and killed the head (*dārūgha*) of the tribe, Shatīr-bek (apparently appointed by the Persian government). During the attempt to quell the revolt Shah-verdi-sultan was killed. In 962/1555 a new army of the shah arrived. Aba-bek fled to Khwarazm where he sought the aid of 'Ali-sultan. The latter granted his request but soon made his peace with the Persians and returned to Khwarazm. This report does not seem to give the full truth for in the same passage the death of the Persian commander, Kōkche-sultan Qajar, is mentioned, and it is even stated that Aba became still more rebellious and in 965/1557-8 raided Astarabad. The Persians had to send another expedition (12,000 strong according to Abul-Ghāzī) which is very similarly described by Iskandar-munshi and Abul-Ghāzī<sup>3</sup>: on the banks of the Gurgān the Uzbeks and Turkmans commanded by 'Ali-sultan inflicted a crushing defeat on the Persians. 'Ali-bek had 3,000 men and Aba-bek only 300. Yet it was the latter who assured the victory, despite the Uzbek apprehensions of a treachery on his part. Soon after Aba-bek was killed by a captive Persian girl whom he had married by force; his head was carried to Shah Tahmāsp in Qazvin<sup>4</sup>.

The Turkmans are also mentioned by Abul-Ghāzī in his account of the events of the end of the 16th century when Khwa-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, text, p. 243 sq.; transl., p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Tehran edition, p. 82 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Aboul-Ghāzī, text, p. 244 sq.; transl., p. 261 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Iskandar-munshi, p. 83, is alone to speak of this event.

razm was conquered by ‘Abdullāh-khan of Bukhara. On the first occasion, in 1591<sup>1</sup> ‘Abdullāh-khan made peace with the sultans of the Khwarazmian Uzbeks, among whom was the uncle of Abul-Ghāzī’s father, Timur-sultan, who had received from his father, Aqatay-khan (killed in the 1550-s) the Teveji tribe of the Turkmans, which at the time counted from 5,000 to 6,000 families<sup>2</sup>. During ‘Abdullāh’s second expedition in 1593 Timur-sultan was no longer alive, and only his sons are mentioned<sup>3</sup>. In the days of Aqatay-sultan’s youth, when with other Uzbek princes he had come to Urgenj, the princes did not disturb the Turkmans who had agreed to pay a tribute but plundered those who refused to pay. Aqatay himself raided the Göklen and captured the daughter of one of their chiefs (*on-begi*)<sup>4</sup> of the Chaqirlar clan. He married her and had by her a son, khan Hajji Muhammad, or Hajim, born in A.H. 930, in the Year of the Dragon<sup>5</sup>, i.e. A.D. 1520 (the date according to A.H. is, as usual, wrong).

In 1593 ‘Abdullāh-khan’s power spread both over Khwarazm and the Uzbek possessions in Khorasan which belonged to Nūr-Muhammad (or Nūrum-khan). This khan was regarded as the grandson of Dīn-Muhammad, but his descent from the khan is doubtful<sup>6</sup>; the rulers of Khwarazm did not recognise him as a relative and often raided his province. Nūrum-khan’s possessions included Marv, Abīvard, Nesā and other towns; his army consisted partly of Uzbeks of the Nayman clan and partly of “Sayīn-khan Turkmans”. Already in 1589 he became friendly with ‘Abdullah’s son, ‘Abdul-Mu<sup>2</sup>min who was operating against the

<sup>1</sup> The date is in Iskandar-munshi, p. 301, below, as that of Hajji Muhammad’s return from Khorasan to Khwarazm; Abdullāh’s expedition is mentioned only as a rumour started by his son ‘Abdul-Mu<sup>2</sup>min.

<sup>2</sup> Aboul-Ghāzī, text, p. 253; transl., p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, text, p. 259 sq.; transl., p. 277 sq.

<sup>4</sup> This term means literally “chief of ten”, and was used in the sense of “commander” only by the Turkmans.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, text, p. 254; transl., p. 271 sq.

<sup>6</sup> He was the son of a Marv courtesan, and on this account bore the nickname Lūlibacha (*ibid.*, text, p. 241 sq.; transl., p. 258 sq.). [Lūlī “a gypsy”].

Persians in Khorasan. Nūrum-khan had originally mustered his forces (6-7,000 men) to defend himself against ‘Abdu-l-Mu’min, but the Persians construed his action as a sign of hostile intentions against them, refused to believe his explanations and gave him battle in which they were utterly defeated. Nūrum-khan sent news of his victory to ‘Abdu-l-Mu’min<sup>1</sup>. In 1591 Hajjim-khan undertook an expedition against Nesā while a Persian army commanded by Farhād-khān was sent to Khorasan. Hajjim-khan met Farhād-khan in Bistām and made an alliance with the Persians, but ‘Abdullāh’s expedition<sup>2</sup> forced him to return to Khwarazm. In 1592 Hajjim-khan succeeded in seizing Nesā and Durūn. Nūrum-khan sought out ‘Abdullāh in Bukhara and offered him Marv<sup>3</sup> on condition that the Bukharans help him to recover Nesā. ‘Abdullāh-khan occupied Marv but went no further and put off his aid to Nūrum-khan for a year on the pretext that a Persian army under the personal command of Shāh ‘Abbās had arrived in Bistām and that the Persians had an alliance with Hajjim-khan. Nūrum-khan left the Bukharans and went to Abīvard. It is possible that he succeeded in recovering Marv, for in 1593, according to Iskandar-munshi, the Uzbek Naymans in Marv betrayed Nūrum-khan and passed over to ‘Abdu-l-Mu’min. Nūrum-khan went to the shah’s court in Isfahan<sup>4</sup>. According to Abul-Ghāzī it was earlier, in 1592, that Nūrum-khan came to Hajjim-khan in Urgenj and that it was only with him that he went to Shāh ‘Abbās in 1593 after the conquest of Khwarazm by the Bukharans<sup>5</sup>. From Iskandar-munshi’s account it is only clear that in the spring of 1595 both Hajjim-khan and Nūrum-khan were at the shah’s court in Qazvin<sup>6</sup>.

The Turkman Süyünüch-Muḥammad was appointed governor (*ḥākīm*) of Nēsa and Abīvard on behalf of the khan of Bukhara<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Iskandar-munshi, Tehr. ed., p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 30-.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 306 sq. Aboul-Ghāzi, text, p. 242; transl., p. 259. Cf. Zhukovsky, *Ruins of ancient Marv*, p. 75 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 316.

<sup>5</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, p. 266; transl., p. 285.

<sup>6</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 345.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 347.

In 1595 Hajjim-khan, together with two of his sons, ‘Arab-Muhammad and Muhammad-quli, took advantage of Shah ‘Abbās’s campaign in Khorasan in an attempt to return to Khwarazm with the help of the Turkmans. According to Abul-Ghāzī <sup>1</sup> they left the shah’s army in Bistām, but according to Iskandar-munshi <sup>2</sup> they did so somewhat later, in Isfarāyīn. The shah considered that, while ‘Abdullāh-khan was in power, such an attempt was doomed to failure and did not support the Khwarazmians, though he did not hold them back. They arrived in Astarābād which at that time did not belong to the Persians for, according to Iskandar-munshi <sup>3</sup>, some time previously the Turkmans of the Sayīn-khan and Eymūr clans had established themselves there; according to Abul-Ghāzī <sup>4</sup> the Eymūr (now Imreli) clan in Astarabad had for its chief ‘Ali-Yār-bek. Neither of the authors confirms the account of the Russian ambassador Grigory Vasilchikov, who was in Persia in 1588 and 1589, according to which the man responsible for the wresting of Astarabad from Persia was the Khwarazmian prince Mahmet (Muhammad)-qul, son of Hajjim-khan, who had been living as a hostage in Persia since 1575 <sup>5</sup>. This prince is alleged to have left the shah during one of his expeditions into Khorasan and to have gone to the Turkmans where he was joined by a lot of people; “and having come to the sea he took from the shah the town Starabat, and is now established in Starabat and has possessed himself of many places near Starabat, and intends to make a stand against the shah” <sup>6</sup>. According to Iskandar-munshi, Muhammad-quli left the shah with the latter’s permission only in 1595 in Bistām, not in Isfarāyīn as his father Hajjim-khan and his brother ‘Arab-Muhammad had done. Abul-Ghāzī has it that ‘Arab-Muhammad and Muhammad-quli left the shah’s army together. From Astarabad

<sup>1</sup> Aboul-Ghâzi, text, p. 266; transl., p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 348 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 349.

<sup>4</sup> Aboul-Ghâzi, *l.c.*

<sup>5</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Pamiatniki diplomat. i torgovikh snosheniy Mosk. Rusi s Persiey*, ed. Veselovsky, I, 111.

Hajjim-khan and his kinsmen went to Küren-dagh where they were joined by some 50 or 60 Teke and Yomut, former subjects of Hajjim-khan's brother, Mahmūd-sultan, one time ruler of the town of Vazir (in Khwarazm). At the Qurtish and Orta-quduq wells on the Uzboy they were joined by 5-600 Turkmans of the Ersari tribe who had been driven out of Manghishlaq by the Mangit (Noghays), Manghishlaq having thus become almost completely deserted<sup>1</sup>. From Grigory Vasilchikov's account of the embassy's return from Persia it appears that at that time the Turkmans were still in Manghishlaq and Ust-Yurt. During the ten days when the ship carrying the embassy was held up in the bay of Mertviy Qultuq it was attacked by "Turkman people"<sup>2</sup>. The Turkmans of the Ersari tribe were subjects of two other brothers of Hajjim-khan, Pulād-sultan and Timur-sultan, and for this reason came to the aid of Pulād-sultan's son, Bābā-sultan who was with Hajjim-khan. There were so few Bukharan troops in Khwarazm that even with that small force Hajjim-khan took Urgenj, while Bābā-sultan occupied Khiva and Hazārasp, though neither of them was able to maintain his conquest. The Turkmans with their booty hastened to abandon them; only five or six Teke and Yomut stayed with Hajjim-khan while Bābā-sultan was left with three of his own *nukars* and three Ersari Turkmans; the Uzbeks of Khwarazm had nearly all been taken by ʿAbdullāh to the khanate of Bukhara. In such conditions ʿAbdullāh speedily restored the power of Bukhara in Khwarazm. Hajjim-khan returned to Persia with ʿArab-Muhammad, Bābā-sultan was killed, and Muhammad-quli went to the Mangit (Noghays) and from there to the Russians with whom in 1598 he took part in Boris Godunov's expedition against the Crimean Tatars<sup>3</sup>. Hajjim-khan reached Persia through Astarabad where he was helped by "Yaqa-Turkmans of Sayin-khan"<sup>4</sup>. From Iskandar-munshi's account<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aboul-Ghâzi, text, p. 267; transl., p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> *Pamiatniki*, I, 106.

<sup>3</sup> Barthold, *History of the study of the East*, Leningrad 1925, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 357.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 373. As can be seen from another passage (*ibid.*, 400) ʿAli-Yār-khan received the title of Khan and the formal confirmation from Shāh ʿAbbās.

we know too that the chief of the Eymür tribe, ʿAli-Yār-bek (Iskandar-munshi has ʿ*Ali-Yār-khan*), mentioned by Abul-Ghāzī, was succeeded by his son Muhammad-Yār. In 1597 he was killed by Turkmans of the Okhlu clan, a division of the Göklen. His younger brother Qīlich-bek fled to Shāh ʿAbbās in Persia, where he was graciously received and confirmed in the governorship of Astarabad. Like his predecessor, Qīlich-bek had no actual power for the Okhlu clan did not obey him; disorders took place in Astarabad caused by a turbulent element of the local inhabitants nicknamed *siyāhpūsh* (“blackclothed”). In his time ʿAli-Yār-bek had been completely helpless against them and was glad to have them accept his lieutenant (*nāʿib*) in Astarabad while he himself remained on the Gurgān. The federation formed by the Turkmans under the name of Sayīn-khānī, or Yaqa-Turkmans, consisted of the tribes Okhlu, Göklen, Eymür, Salor and others <sup>1</sup>. They lived between the Atrak and the Gurgān and were agriculturists, but at the same time they raided and plundered the region of Astarabad. The bulwark against them was the fortress Mubārak-ābād on the Gurgān, three farsakhs (some 15 km.) from Astarabad. During the disorders in Persia at the end of the 16th century the Turkmans grew in power and destroyed Mubārak-ābād. ʿAli-Yār-bek of the Eymür tribe became the actual ruler of Astarabad, and Shāh ʿAbbās was obliged to confirm him in this dignity; but, as we have seen, neither he nor his successors were able to gain a firm footing in Astarabad.

The year 1598 in which ʿAbdullāh-khan of Bukhara died saw the restoration of Hajjim-khan’s power in Khwarazm, of Nūrum-khan’s in Marv and Nesā and of Shāh ʿAbbās’s in Khorasan and Astarabad. Hajjim-khan once again accompanied the shah’s army as far as Bistām and from there made his way to Khwarazm through Astarabad, having received from the shah a decree appointing him over the Sayīn-khānī Yaqa-Turkmans, his former subjects <sup>2</sup>. According to Abul-Ghāzī <sup>3</sup>, Hajjim-khan camped near Küren-dagh among the Teke, having with him only his son

<sup>1</sup> See their enumeration in Iskandar-munshi, 399.

<sup>2</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 389.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, text, p. 272; transl., p. 291.

‘Arab-Muhammad and 15 men. Here he learnt about the death of ‘Abdu-l-Mu’min and the breaking up of the khanate of Bukhara, upon which he immediately proceeded to Khwarazm where he seems to have met with no opposition.

In the same year Nūrum-khan returned with the help of the Persians first to Nesā, and then to Marv, where besides the local population his power was recognised also by the Jalayir clan of the Uzbeks, the Turkmans of the Ali-eli tribe and others <sup>1</sup>. According to Abul-Ghāzī he persecuted the Uzbeks despite the fact that “at the price of great efforts they had made him khan” <sup>2</sup>, and favoured the Sarts and Turkmans. In 1600 his powers were revoked by Shāh ‘Abbās and he himself was sent to Shiraz. During his clash with the shah he was abandoned by the Jalayirs and the Ali-eli and Sayin-khani Turkmans who lived within the borders of Nesā, Dūrūn and Bāghbād <sup>3</sup>. The government in the former possessions of Nūrum-khan was entrusted to Persian governors.

The pacification of Astarabad was achieved in 1598 by the victory over Qarī-khan, the chief of the Okhlu clan, who was “defeated on the Atrak and fled to the desert”; the *aqsaqals* (“white beards”) of the other Sayin-khānī clans, and of the Eymür, Göklen, Salor and others <sup>4</sup>, submitted to the shah who ordered the restoration of Mubārak-ābād, the disarming of the *siyāhpūsh* and the execution of their leader, Khoja Sharaf al-dīn Savuri <sup>5</sup>. Thus the 16th century ended with the restoration of the khanate of Khwarazm and the consolidation of the shah’s power in Central Asia.

<sup>1</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 397, below.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, text, p. 242. In the translation (p. 259) these words are omitted.

<sup>3</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 417 above.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 402.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 403. Ridā-Quli-khan in his *Raudat al-safa* composed in the 19th century (Tehran edition, vol. VIII) adds that the former Turkman ruler Qilich-khan was taken away by the shah to Persia.

## V. FROM THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Even in the days when Persia under Shāh ʿAbbās had acquired great strength, the Persian authorities in Astarabad adopted a defensive policy towards the Turkmans. Although the Persians defeated the Turkmans on the Atrak in A.D. 1598 and rebuilt the fortress on the Gurgān (see above), they did not attempt to pursue the Turkmans on their steppes, and the further fate of the defeated Qarī-khan is unknown. In 1621 Farēdūn-khan, the governor of Astarabad, who had administered that march for 18 years, died. He had constantly, and always with success, fought the Sayīn-khānī Turkmans so that, according to Iskandar-munshi, he did not leave one of them alive, especially as regards the Göklen and the Okhlu clan who were held to be the most unruly or all the Turkmans<sup>1</sup>. All this is undoubtedly greatly exaggerated.

By that time the khanate of Khwarazm was no longer divided into “the side of the mountains” and “the side of the water”, because “the side of the mountains” belonged now to the Persians. The first of the shah’s towns on the way from Khwarazm to Khorasan was Durūn<sup>2</sup>. The Turkmans lived in the northern part of Khwarazm. In 1616 the rebel princes Ḥabash and Ilbars received from their father ʿArab-Muhammad the town of Vazir with the Turkmans belonging to it<sup>3</sup>. During their revolt against their father Ḥabash and Ilbars relied on the help not of the Turkmans but of the main Uzbek clans — the Uyghur and the Nayman. Their elder brother Isfandiyār found asylum with the Turkmans in 1621. In the same year ʿArab-Muhammad was deposed and blinded on the orders of Ḥabash-sultan. Isfandiyār, under the pretext of a pilgrimage to Mecca, went to join Shāh ʿAbbās<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 680 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Pamiatniki*, II, 280.

<sup>3</sup>) Aboul-Ghâzi, text, p. 281, above; transl., p. 301, below.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, text, p. 287; transl., 308.



According to Iskandar-munshi <sup>1</sup> Isfandiyār first went to Astarabad where he joined the Persian army which the shah was leading against Qandahār. This campaign was begun in the spring of 1622. "On Wednesday, the 8th of Rajab (18th May)" the army approached Qandahār, and on 11 Sha<sup>c</sup>bān/12 June the town capitulated <sup>2</sup>. On Wednesday 24 Sha<sup>c</sup>ban (there is an obvious mistake either in the date or in the day of the week) the shah set out on the return march, and in August seems to have arrived in Herat <sup>3</sup> where he spent two and a half months <sup>4</sup>. Apparently in Herat the shah dismissed Isfandiyār and ordered the amirs and chiefs of the Sayin-khānī Turkmans, the governor of Astarabad and the amirs of those parts to render him assistance. Isfandiyār collected a large force from among the Sayin-khānī Turkmans and defeated his brothers, one of whom, Abul-Ghāzī, had voluntarily gone over to him. Isfandiyār became khan, after which he frequently sent envoys to the shah's court with expressions of loyalty.

According to Abul-Ghāzī, Isfandiyār went to Durūn on the advice of the shah who also told him to send trusted men to Urgenj and to the Balkhan Turkmans. A passage suggests <sup>5</sup> that Isfandiyār in person went to Balkhan, but from another passage one may gather that the Balkhan Turkmans came to him in Durūn. They numbered 100 or 80 (70 Teke and Sariq and 10 Yomut), while Isfandiyār himself had 300 nukars. By that time Urgenj had become depopulated because the Amu-darya had changed its course; the main inhabited point in its neighbourhood, which served as residence to Ḥabash, was the fortress Tūq (?), probably not far from the present-day Nukuz. In the vicinity of Urgenj were the nukars of <sup>c</sup>Arab-Muhammad (killed in the same year in Khiva by his son Ilbars), of Isfandiyār and of his two brothers, Abul-Ghāzī and Sharīf-Muhammad <sup>7</sup>. All of them

<sup>1</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 688.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 685.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 688.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 692.

<sup>5</sup> Aboul-Ghāzī, text, p. 288; transl., p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 297; transl., 318.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 297; transl., 318.

rallied to Isfandiyār after his sudden attack on Tūq which forced Ḥabash to flee to Ilbars in Khiva. This success was followed by a revolt against Isfandiyār among the Uzbeks at the instigation of a darvish of the Sayyid-Ata order who assured them that they would all be killed by Isfandiyār and their wives carried off into slavery by the Turkmans of Balkhan and Manghishlaq. Isfandiyār was obliged to withdraw to Manghishlaq whence he returned with a more formidable Turkman army of 3,000 men, headed by Muhammad-Husayn-bek. Ilbars was killed, Ḥabash fled to the Mangit (Noghays) on the Emba, but was delivered by them to Isfandiyār and also killed. In the Year of the Pig (A.D. 1623) Isfandiyār became khan of the whole of Khawarazm<sup>1</sup>.

In the Year of the Mouse (A.D. 1624) Isfandiyār was sought out by his brothers Abul-Ghāzī and Sharīf-Muhammad who previously had fled to Bukhara. Abul-Ghāzī drew the attention of his companions to the suspicious behaviour of the khan who had not dismissed the Turkmans after he had gained possession of Khawarazm, a fact which Abul-Ghāzī took for a sign of hostile intentions against the Uzbeks. His advice was<sup>2</sup> that they should, before entering Khiva, wait for the moment when the nukars of the khan, Uzbeks and Turkmans, rode out to meet them and then suddenly attack the Turkmans and kill them all; later they should apologise to the khan for this selfwilled action and explain it by their fear of the Turkmans, "a people having no thoughts and little intelligence, which besides was our enemy of old". Abul-Ghāzī's younger brother, Sharīf-Muhammad, suggested a still more drastic action: to kill Isfandiyār-khan and in his place set on the throne Abul-Ghāzī. Both princes were warned not to say such things, or else all would be told to the khan. Abul-Ghāzī and Sharīf-Muhammad arrived in Khiva, and on the fourth day after their arrival (two months after the death of Ḥabash)<sup>3</sup> the khan issued a *yarliq* ordering the extermination of the Uyghurs and Naymans, with a special injunction not to touch any other Uz-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 291; transl., 312.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 298; transl., 319 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 290; transl., 311.

beks. This clause was not very strictly observed by the Turkmans who on the very first day murdered one hundred Uyghurs and Naymans, and with them ten other Uzbeks. The khan put Abul-Ghāzī under guard, and having won over Sharīf-Muhammad sent him to Urgenj to organise there too a massacre of Uyghurs and Naymans. The remaining Uzbeks, evidently in fear for their lives, threatened to go to Bukhara and take Sharīf-Muhammad with them unless Abul-Ghāzī and Muhammad-Husayn were sent to them; and they further demanded that Abul-Ghāzī should swear to them in the khan's name that they would be safe, and that Muhammad-Husayn should do the same in the name of the Turkmans. The khan complied with the demand and sent to Urgenj a very small force, which fact might also have reassured the Urgenj Uzbeks. Muhammad-Husayn had with him only from sixty to seventy men <sup>1</sup>, and when rumours of hostile intentions on the part of Abul-Ghāzī and Sharīf-Muhammad made him leave Urgenj, it is stated that only thirty to forty men fled with him <sup>2</sup>. The action of the Uzbeks against the Turkmans seems to have been not so much defensive as offensive.

The war which began in the winter of 1624-5 between Urgenj and Khiva (and of which the Qalmuqs took advantage to raid Urgenj) is regarded by the historian as a war between Uzbeks and Turkmans. It achieved no definite results although the Turkmans received aid from Balkhan and Manghishlak <sup>3</sup>, and their numbers grew to 5,000 <sup>4</sup>. All the efforts of Abul-Ghāzī to retain the Uzbeks in Urgenj failed, however, and they dispersed in various directions; some went to the Noghays, some to the Qazakhs, and some to the Bukharan dominions. Abul-Ghāzī himself went first to the Qazakhs and later to Bukhara. The Turkmans in Khiva also fell out with the khan and invited Abul-Ghāzī who, if he is to be believed, accepted the invitation only with the consent of the Uzbeks who were with him in Bukhara, and, according to him, the Uzbeks assured him that their trust in him would

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 301; transl., 322.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 302; transl., 324.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 303; transl., 325.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 305; transl., 327.

always remain unshaken <sup>1</sup>. The khan withdrew to Hazārasp, and Abul-Ghāzī began to rule in Khiva though he had with him only 600 men, whereas the khan's force had grown to 5,000 as the Turkmans living in the region of Bukhara had again gone over to him. Abul-Ghāzī speaks but briefly about the struggle; according to him the whole matter ended peacefully, and Sharīf-Muhammad was now with the khan.

Three years after the events of 1624 <sup>2</sup> a new movement of the Uzbeks took place. Some of them, numbering 3,000 tents, gathered near the estuary of the Amu-darya. A party of 800 Uzbek families of Urgenj were on their way to join them on the Aral sea when they were overtaken by the khan and routed. The khan took advantage of the Uzbeks' settling at the mouth of the river to bring about a final break between the Turkmans and Abul-Ghāzī. In accordance with the khan's wish Sharīf-Muhammad went to the Uzbeks, while the khan pretended complete ignorance of the matter and told the Turkmans that it was Abul-Ghāzī who had called the Uzbeks to the Aral sea and had sent Sharīf-Muhammad to them. Abul-Ghāzī, who had only five or six men with him, was seized on orders from the khan and sent to Persia where he spent ten years, apparently from 1629 to 1639 <sup>3</sup>.

A somewhat different version of Abul-Ghāzī's arrival in Persia is found in the 18th century historical work *Khuld-i barīn* ("The Upper Paradise") <sup>4</sup>. In the Year of the Snake (A.D. 1629) Isfandiyār raided Marv while Abul-Ghāzī raided Durūn and Nesā. He occupied these towns without meeting with any resistance, and, with the support of the Turkmans, marched on Abīvard. At the approach of the Persian army he first retreated, but then accepted the battle and was defeated. Isfandiyār decided to lay the blame entirely on Abul-Ghāzī's shoulders and deliver

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 307; transl., 329.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 290 sq.; transl., 311 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 309; transl., 331 sq.

<sup>4</sup> On this work see *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, II, 587. Rieu, *Supplement*, No. 34. Owing to the kindness of the late E. G. Browne I was able in 1923 in Cambridge to utilise the MS. belonging to this scholar. [The author of the history is Muhammad Yūsuf Vālih, see Storey, *Persian literature*, I, 131.].

him to the shah. He sent an embassy to Persia with gifts to tell the shah that the khan was sending him his brother; in former times Khwarazmian princes had been in the shah's service; should the shah wish to receive Abul-Ghāzī on the same conditions, may he please to do so, or should he wish to punish Abul-Ghāzī for the raid let him punish him. Abul-Ghāzī was taken to Abīvard, and from there further on, and it was only in the month of Jumādā II 1039/January-February 1630 that he appeared before the shah who was at the time in Hamadan. He was received with honours and after that lived in Isfahan in the fortress of Tabarek <sup>1</sup>.

This account shows that Abul-Ghāzī's reconciliation with Isfandiyār-khan and the Turkmans was more complete than could be understood from his own version. When speaking of his flight from Persia <sup>2</sup> he himself mentions the help given him by the Turkmans. He gives no definite date of his flight but as he says that he spent ten years in Persia and left in the eleventh year, this would suggest the year 1640 as the date of his flight; further on, however, he says that he returned to Urgenj in the Year of the Snake (A.D. 1641) having spent the winter among the Ersari near Meihane, two years among the Teke in Balkhan and one year with the "Qalmuq padshah" — evidently Kho-Orloq (A.D. 1632-1644) <sup>3</sup>. The division of the Ersari to which the Turkmans of the Meihane region belonged bore the name of Qizil-ayaq. These Turkmans had formerly lived in Manghishlaq whence they had been ousted by the Qalmuqs. They had come to Meihane three years previously and at first lived in shelters, and only in the year before Abul-Ghāzī's arrival had been able to provide themselves with felt tents. Having ascertained that "these Turkmans were not of those who might betray him to the Persians" <sup>4</sup>, Abul-Ghāzī felt completely safe and at their invitation spent the winter with them. Then, after two more years spent

<sup>1</sup> *Khuld-i barīn*, MS. Browne, f. 7b sq.

<sup>2</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, p. 309; transl., p. 332 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. N. N. Palmov, *Etudi po istorii privolzhskih kalmikov*, part I, Astrakhan 1926, p. 6 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, 315; transl., 337.

among the Teke of Balkhan he went on to Manghishlaq. The Turkmans there were at the time completely broken, only seven hundred families still remained there and these were subjected to the Qalmuqs. This shows that in the 1630-s the Turkmans had been driven out of Manghishlaq by the Qalmuqs as they had been by the Noghays at the end of the previous century. In the interval the Turkmans had evidently dislodged the Noghays and returned to their former grazing grounds, which, according to Russian sources, in the year 1613 stretched to the Emba <sup>1</sup>. In 1633-4 the Noghays were pushed by the Qalmuqs beyond the Volga <sup>2</sup>, though the relations between the Noghays and the Qalmuqs were not always hostile. In 1656 (Year of the Monkey) the Qalmuqs, egged on by the Turkmans, raided Durūn and Astarabad <sup>3</sup>.

The Uzbeks to whom Abul-Ghāzī now went lived evidently not in the ruined Urgenj but on Lake Aral (in the delta of the Amu-darya). They did not recognise Isfandiyār, and they accepted Abul-Ghāzī, although he was proclaimed khan only in 1643. Six months after the arrival of Abul-Ghāzī, in the beginning of the Year of the Horse (i.e. the spring of 1642) Isfandiyār died <sup>4</sup>. Abul-Ghāzī requested the Turkmans to recognise him as his brother's successor, but they preferred to submit to Nādir-Muḥammad-khan of Bukhara who sent them his grandson Qasimsultan; actually all the government posts and revenue remained in the hands of the Turkmans. From the Aral Abul-Ghāzī undertook the conquest of Khiva, but without much success. The situation changed in 1645 when Nādir-Muḥammad was deposed in Bukhara and his son proclaimed khan in his stead. All the Bukharan troops stationed in Khiva returned to Bukhara. In the beginning of the Year of the Hen (spring of A.D. 1645) Abul-Ghāzī entered Khiva, apparently unopposed. Without the Bukharan prince the Turkmans did not want to continue the war, the less so as Abul-Ghāzī proclaimed a full amnesty. Three Turkman chiefs (two of them *on-begis* "commanders of ten

<sup>1</sup> *Pamiatniki*, II, 351.

<sup>2</sup> Palmov, *o.c.*, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Khuld-i barīn*, f. 149b.

<sup>4</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, 291 and 316; transl., 312 and 338.

men") sent half a dozen "white beards" to parley with him and declared that they had no other sovereign but Abul-Ghāzī. The khan hastened to reassure them and invited the "white beards" and other Turkmans to Hazārasp where he had a feast arranged for them. At the very beginning of the feast the Uzbeks, on a secret order of Abul-Ghāzī, fell upon the Turkmans and killed from one to two thousand of them, after which they plundered their homes and carried off their children into slavery, while the "victorious" khan returned to Khiva. The whole story<sup>1</sup> is told quite frankly by Anūsha-khan, the son of Abul-Ghāzī, who completed his father's history.

During the ensuing years Abul-Ghāzī raided a number of times<sup>2</sup> the Turkmans who had fled from Khiva. In the winter of the Year of the Dog (December 1646) he attacked the Turkmans on the Tejen, and in this case too the report tells candidly of the abduction of children and of the khan's victorious return to Khiva. In the year of the Mouse (A.D. 1648) the khan carried out an expedition against the Turkmans who had gathered in the region of Bami-Burma (on the map: *Beurma*), and the Turkmans who had escaped from Tejen and had joined them. The Turkmans sent their baggage to Qara-qastī and entrenched themselves behind fortifications which they built with stones. Their leader was Qāhir-khoja. During a sortie the Turkmans were defeated and all perished before they could reach the safety of their stronghold. The Uzbeks broke into the fort and plundered all those who were in it. In the meantime the khan had gone to Qara-qastī where he looted the Turkman camps and seized their property and children.

In 1651, the Year of the Hare, there took place another expedition against the Turkmans called Bayrach after their chief who were settled on the banks of the Atrak and of the Gurgān. While pursuing the retreating foe the khan found himself on a waterless steppe. His entire army had dispersed, and of 10,000 men (the number is hard to believe) only 400 remained. On their way they

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 319-321; transl., 342-344.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 321-325; transl., 342-344.

came across some Teke merchants who traded with the village of Bayrach, took one for guide and in this way discovered the headquarters of that chief. The khan's men fell to plundering the houses, and only thirty of them remained with the khan. Nevertheless by a swift attack he succeeded in taking the village. Bayrach himself was killed by a bullet at the outset of the fighting<sup>1</sup>. The mention of Teke merchants is interesting as we have no other reference to the existence of traders among the Turkmans. The mention of a clan called after the chief is also unusual. The name did not disappear after the chief's death; among the Sariq there still exists a branch of Bayrach, though the latter lives now not on the Atrak but in the basin of the Murghāb<sup>2</sup>. The Bayrach clan had apparently no connection with the events of Khiva; the only explanation given for the expedition is that these Turkmans did not want to submit to the khan.

Abul-Ghāzī's last expedition against the Turkmans belongs to the year 1653 (Year of the Snake); nothing is said about what prompted it. The attack was made on the Eymür tribe in the locality Fuj (Fauj?)<sup>3</sup>, which is not named in any of the other sources. The Turkmans were robbed and carried off into slavery. On the way back, near the Dīnār well on the Uzboy, the khan came upon some Sariq from whom he also captured children and cattle. It is added in the text (the translation has a lacuna here) that the khan made other raids on the Turkmans about which it would be too long to tell, and that after each raid he returned home with booty.

In 1649 and 1653 Khwarazm suffered from incursions by the Qalmuqs which the khan beat back. Judging from the data quoted above some connection may be presumed between the khan's raids of the Turkmans and the expeditions of the Qalmuqs against Khwarazm. In 1653 peace was concluded with the Qalmuqs, in connection with which Abul-Ghāzī is alleged to have made the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 324 sq.; transl., 347 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Aristov, *Zametki ob etnich. sostave Turkskikh plemen*, SPb. 1897, 141: C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, 1888, pp. 125 and 186.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in the text (p. 325); in the translation, p. 348 — *Toudj*, which is not among the Errata; Index gives — *Foudj*.



bold assertion that the Qalmuqs had never been the enemies of Khwarazm<sup>1</sup>. The first Qalmuq raid had occurred during the winter of 1603-4<sup>2</sup>, as Abul-Ghāzī, himself avers.

Judging by the details given by Abul-Ghāzī, the expeditions against the Turkmans were plundering raids; it is stated that finally the khan brought the Turkmans into submission and for several years, till the beginning of the war with the Uzbeks of Bukhara in 1655 (Year of the Sheep), he ruled in complete peace<sup>3</sup>. During his wars with the Turkmans Abul-Ghāzī took necessary measures to make himself safe on the Persian side, and already in 1648 (Year of the Mouse) he sent an embassy to the shah<sup>4</sup>. During the war between Khwarazm and Bukhara, the khan of Bukhara, ‘Abdul-‘Azīz, asked the shah to release the Khwarazmian prince who was held in Persia, in order to create difficulties for Abul-Ghāzī in Khwarazm, but the shah, in view of Abul-Ghāzī’s long residence in Persia and his good relations with that country since his return to Khwarazm, would not agree<sup>5</sup>.

Under Abul-Ghāzī’s son and successor, Anūsha (1663-1687) the Turkmans<sup>6</sup> had no possibility to oppose the khan’s power. Anūsha’s wife, Tokhta-khanīm, came from among the Turkmans living near Darghān, on the southern border of Khwarazm. Two years after the death of Anūsha, consequently in 1689, her son Erenk-khan ascended the throne. The youthful khan (his elder brother died at the age of seventeen) indulged in romantic adventures, and while returning from one of these escapades was thrown from his horse and killed. No sooner did his mother learn about his death than she had him buried, and before the news had spread, travelled to her tribe in Darghān and brought back

<sup>1</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, 327; transl., 350.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 275; transl., 296.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 327; transl., 351.

<sup>4</sup> *Khuld-i barīn*, MS. Browne, f. 117a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 150b.

<sup>6</sup> According to the Khwarazmian historian Muḥsin who wrote in the beginning of the 19th century. On him see *Mélanges asiatiques*, X, 278; *EI*, II, 987.

with her a nephew who was of the same age as the khan and very similar to him in appearance. It was then given out that the khan had been visiting his Turkman relations and was now coming home. By this trick the young Turkman succeeded in bringing his fellow-tribesmen into Khiva and taking possession of the town, after which he began to persecute the Uzbeks. Some of the latter went to the Aral region, which had seceded from Khiva already during the lifetime of the true Erenk-khan, and returned with an army. The usurper was killed, Tokhta-khanim executed, and perhaps only one in a hundred of the Turkmans escaped with their lives. These events took place in the year 1106/1694-5.

The next mention of the Turkmans comes in the account of the reign of Mūsā-khan, and must belong to the early 18th century. This khan was more powerful than his predecessor and struck coins in his own name. Tribute was paid to him by the inhabitants of towns and castles from Marv to Astarabad "along the mountains". The hostility of the amirs of Khiva forced the khan to seek refuge in Marv where he was killed, and his head sent to Khiva. Such is the version given by Mu'nis. According to the account of Khoja Nafas, who left Khiva in 1713, Mūsā was still alive at the time of the Russian expedition of Bekovich-Cherkassky (1717) and was residing in Astarabad<sup>1</sup>, but Florio Beneveni, who visited Khiva in 1725, knew already that Mūsā-khan had been killed by the Khivans; there were fears that his death was going to be avenged by his son Shah-Timur in whose name rebels were operating<sup>2</sup>.

The time of khan Shīr-Ghāzī (1715-1727), under whom the expedition of Bekovich took place, was a period during which Khwarazm recovered its power. At the very beginning of his reign the khan received expressions of submission and tribute from Persians and Turkmans living from Marv to Astarabad and Balkhan, along the mountains and the banks of the Atrak and the Gurgān. In 1716 (Year of the Monkey) the Turkmans took part in a successful expedition of the khan against Mashhad.

<sup>1</sup> *Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch.*, IX (1853), 321.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 383.

In the reign of Peter the Great three clans of Turkmen, namely the Chavdur (Choudur), the Igdır and the Soyanađi<sup>1</sup>, migrated from Manghişlaq by way of Astrakhan on to the Kuma in the northern Caucasus. According to the data collected in 1809<sup>2</sup>, these Turkmen "joined the Qalmuq khan Ayuq (1670-1724) of their own free will, and followed his seasonal moves, for they were entrusted to his special care". The migration took place before the emperor's Persian campaign (1722), and the tradition still exists among the Turkmen that Peter I personally commended them to Ayuq, while according to some data the migration began already at the time of Puntuq-Monchaq, father of Ayuq (1667-1670)<sup>3</sup>. Information on the history of these Turkmen is scanty. By settling among the Qalmuqs they became, like the latter, Russian subjects and their clashes with the Qalmuqs were investigated by the Russian authorities. In 1737 a small number of Turkmen is mentioned near Astrakhan (133 tents) and Krasny Yar (10 tents). Khan Donduq-Ombo demanded that these Turkmen should be handed over to him together with the Qalmuqs who were in the same region, but met with a refusal. Of greater importance for the Turkmen was the attempt made in 1771 by the Qalmuqs to carry them along with them when they decided to leave Russia for China. Part of the Turkmen, numbering 340 tents, broke away from them on the trek and returned to Russia, where they were settled in the region between Kolpichyev and the Kuma. The other Turkmen and the Qalmuqs with whom they were trekking were attacked by the Qirghiz (i.e. the present day "Qazakhs"). In a report submitted

<sup>1</sup> So spelt in A. N. Samoylovich's article in *Izv. Russk. Komiteta dlia izucheniya Sredney i Vostochnoy Azii*, ser. II, No. 2, SPb., 1913, p. 67. In the documents stands: "the Sunzhazhi clan".

<sup>2</sup> Preserved in the Astrakhan Qalmuq archives and kindly communicated to me by Prof. N. N. Palmov.

<sup>3</sup> E. Weidenbaum's *Guide-book on the Caucasus*, Tiflis 1888, p. 126, contains the statement that in A.D. 1630 the Turkmen were conquered by the Qalmuqs and brought by them on to the steppes bordering on the Caucasus. According to Samoylovich, "*Abdu-s-Sattar-qazi*, a book of tales about the battles of the Teke", SPb. 1914, p. 092, the migration of the Turkmen took place "towards the beginning of the 18th century".

in 1810, the Turkmans themselves speak of a successful battle with "Qirghiz-Qaysaqs", although part of them is known to have returned to Russia from "Qirghiz captivity". In 1778 at St. Peter's fort the testimony was taken down "of the elder Qubunbay about the abduction of Turkmans by Ablay's lieutenant Ubushi, about their captivity at Ablay-sultan's and about their escape from him". Ablay, head of the Middle Horde, assumed the title of khan in 1771. He was regarded as a Russian subject and, like other Qazakhs, had received orders to attack the Qalmuqs and force them to return within the borders of Russia. The Turkmans who had escaped from captivity were obliged to lead their nomadic existence between the Kuma and Kizliar. Their request, submitted in 1776 "for permission to move from the vicinity of Fort Kizliar to the neighbouring uluses of the Qalmuqs" was refused. In a petition dated 1810 the Turkmans wrote about their participation in the defence of Kizliar against the shah of Persia. According to information collected in 1809, there were 836 tents of north-Caucasian, or, as they were later called, Stavropol Turkmans: 336 of the Ighdir tribe and 250 each of the tribes Chavdur and Soynaji. In 1906 the Stavropol Turkmans numbered 15,990 (9,368 men and 6,622 women), and in 1912 somewhat fewer: 15,534 (9,086 men and 6,448 women), which led the Russian investigator to conclude<sup>1</sup> that the Turkmans were dying out. Now they live very far from Kizliar, on the Qalauz, the eastern Manich and the Kuma. In 1809 the Turkmans wrote that "they had no agriculture owing to the unsuitability of the soil and their disinclination for it". To-day many of them lead the life of sedentary agriculturists, keeping in their yards, as do the Uzbeks in Khiva, their felt tents (*yurts*) which "during the summer are taken outside the village". A. N. Samoylovich noted in 1912 the considerable progress of these Turkmans as compared with what was known about them at the beginning of the century. They do not seem to have broken off their relations with their fellow-tribesmen in Central Asia; we know, for instance, that the poet Makhtum-quli of the Göklen tribe, who must have

<sup>1</sup> A. N. Samoylovich, *l.c.*

lived in the days after their migration<sup>1</sup>, became the national poet of all the Turkmans including those of Stavropol.

In the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century the Russians took little interest in the Turkmans who had remained in Central Asia. There were clashes on the Caspian sea between the Russian traders and the sea-board Turkmans. The Astrakhan archives of the Qalmuq affairs possess some information on one of these incidents which occurred in 1719. In a report issued by a headman subordinated to Ayuq it is said: "Like those of Yetsan (?) and Yenibuluk, these Turkmans do not obey us". In 1774 the Turkmans themselves suggested that the Russians build a "trading station" in Manghishlaq; the Ogurchinsky islands (S.W. of Krasnovodsk) were also pointed out as a suitable place for the purpose, but neither suggestion was taken up. There exists an unpublished journal of the navigator Lebedev who, together with Captain Kopitovsky, visited the Turkmans in connection with their request to be accepted as Russian subjects. In reply it was declared to them that "they should deserve the favour of being taken under the protection of Russia by carrying on peaceful trade with the merchants, by giving free passage and help to those who travel with goods to Khiva and Bukhara, and by always returning Russian captives"<sup>2</sup>. In 1768 the rumour spread that the Qirghiz (i.e. Qazakhs) had the intention of "attacking the Turkmans camping in the vicinity of Khiva". This aroused some anxiety in Russia but only because it was feared "that the Qirghiz, changing their minds, might attack the Qalmuqs"<sup>3</sup>. No action seems to have been taken either with regard to a petition which six elders of the Choudur clan from Manghishlaq took to Astrakhan in August 1810; 2,300 families of Turkmans wished to be granted Russian citizenship; the elders said that the Turkmans, numbering 2,500 families, had left Khiva and had held

<sup>1</sup> Makhtum-quli's father, Doulat-Mamed, wrote in A.D. 1753-4 (A. N. Samoylovich in *ZVO*, XXII, 146).

<sup>2</sup> Barthold, *Istoriya izucheniya vostoka*, Leningrad 1925, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> S. M. Soloviyev, *History of Russia from ancient times* (in Russian) ed. "Obshch. polza", VI, 413 sq.

their own in “stubborn fighting” against a Khivan force which had been sent to bring them back <sup>1</sup>.

Turkman traditions connect the movements of the Turkman tribes with the events of Nādir-shāh’s reign <sup>2</sup>. The weakening of the Persian power under the last Safavids made it possible for the Uzbeks and Turkmans to resume their raids into Khorasan. Nādir-shāh not only repelled these raids but undertook a successful campaign into Turkestan, conquering and for a time subduing Bukhara and Khiva which involved the subjection of the Turkmans. Nādir-shāh himself was a Turkman of the Afshar tribe and was born in Deregez, one of the northern marches of Khorasan which gravitated towards Abīvard, at the time the centre of the Afshars. In Abīvard lived the future father-in-law of Nādir-shāh, Bābā-‘Alī-bek Kōse-Ahmadlu, who constantly warred with the Uzbeks and other Turkmans <sup>3</sup>. Nādir-shāh came into prominence during the internal disorders towards the end of the Safavid rule; he surrounded himself with a band of followers and seized Abīvard, Dastajerd (in Deregez where he was born) and Kalāt which remained his main bulwark even in later times. He clashed with leaders like himself who had seized other towns of Khorasan; his chief rival was Malik Mahmūd of Sīstān who had possessed himself of Mashhad, but Nādir had also to fight several Uzbeks and Turkmans, and even some members of his own Afshar tribe. The historian Mahdi-khan gives an account of these hostilities but without any definite dates. Thus he speaks of Nādir’s expedition, in alliance with Qūchān Kurds and others, against Nesā and Durūn held by the Turkmans of the ‘Ali-eli, Imreli, Teke and Yomut tribes. At their head stood the ruler of Durūn, Sa‘īd-sultan, who was forced to submit and make peace <sup>4</sup>. When soon after Nādir was defeated by Malik Mahmūd Sīstānī and with two companions fled to Kalāt, the Turkmans of Durūn gave aid to those Afshars who were in revolt against Nādir.

<sup>1</sup> Astrakhan, Qalmuq archives, Files of the year 1811, No. 987.

<sup>2</sup> A. N. Samoylovich, *Abdu-s-Saṭṭār-qazī*, 092.

<sup>3</sup> Mahdi-khan, *Tarīkh-i Nādiri*, Pers. lith. ed. 1260, p. 27 (below).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

Nādir set out from Kalāt and defeated them near Abīvard<sup>1</sup>. Later we again find the Turkmans of Durūn and Nesā in an alliance with Malik Mahmūd against Nādir. After a quick march from Abīvard, covering 20 farsakhs (some 100 km.) in one night, Nādir fell upon the Turkmans in Bāghābād (near Nesā) and killed and plundered them; thus he brought the Turkmans back on to “the right path” and forced them to obey him<sup>2</sup>.

Nādir also intervened in the affairs of Marv where there were no Turkmans at the time. The town itself was in the hands of the Qajars [also a pro-Safavid clan of Turkmans], while the surrounding country was held by the Tatars and Arabs. Owing to dissensions among the Qajars, the Tatars got the upper hand and won over the Yomut who had migrated from Urgenj (Khwarazm) to Qaraqum. The Qajars in their turn attacked the Yomut, killing some, capturing others; after that the Tatars, Arabs and Turkmans occupied the castle of Kal, 12 farsakhs from Marv, near the Sultānband dam whence Marv received its water, and for three years held out there. The inhabitants of Marv who began to suffer from lack of water appealed for help to Nādir-shāh who set out for Marv but, because of high water in the Tejen, turned aside towards Sarakhs<sup>3</sup>. Mahdi-khan describes the restoration of the Marv dam by Nādir-shāh at another place, in the account of the events of 1731<sup>4</sup>.

The Uzbeks and Turkmans of Khwarazm, who during the decline of the Safavid dynasty had resumed their raids into Khorasan, continued these incursions under the khan Shīr-Ghāzī (1715-1727) but without success. Shīr-Ghāzī stopped his attacks and sent envoys to Khorasan to treat about the passage of trade caravans from Khwarazm. Malik Mahmūd of Sīstān, who was still in possession of Mashhad, had entrusted to the inhabitants of the village of Chahcha, which belonged to him, the task of escorting a caravan back to the Tejen; but in Chahcha the caravan

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 50

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 192. These events are not mentioned at all in Zhukovsky's *Ruins of ancient Marv* (in Russian).

was plundered and the traders killed. Shīr-Ghāzī sent envoys to Nādir, to whom the robbing of the caravan was evidently ascribed, and requested the return of the property and the compensation of the merchants (i.e. probably of their families). The request was granted<sup>1</sup>. This incident is not mentioned in the history of Khwarazm, though Nādir is made out as taking part in armed clashes with Shīr-Ghāzī's forces. In the Year of the Monkey (A.D. 1716) Shīr-Ghāzī took Mashhad after a two days' siege, and marched from there on Nishapur which he was unable to take. Nādir who happened to be in the vicinity of Nishapur learnt of the withdrawal of the Uzbeks and took part in the pursuit. This time Shīr-Ghāzī abandoned Mashhad, only to retake it three years later in the Year of the Pig (A.D. 1719).

In A.D. 1729 Nādir took Herat and from there returned to Mashhad. His intention was to march against the Turkmans during the winter, spending the end of the spring in Astarabad<sup>2</sup>, but circumstances forced him to devote this year to the struggle against the Afghan usurper Shāh Ashraf and to the liquidation of the Afghan rule in Isfahan. Only in September 1730 Nādir arrived in Astarabad and was planning to deliver a simultaneous blow to the Yomut and Göklen. His enemies learnt of his preparations from the Ogurchi Turkmans, and had time to flee — the Yomut in the direction of Khiva, and the Göklen to the river Sumbar. Nādir forbade the Khorasanians to have any dealings with the Turkmans<sup>3</sup>.

In the spring of 1732, on Nādir's orders, the building was begun on the Chandīr<sup>4</sup> of a fort to hold a garrison of three thousand men, from which immediate measures could be taken against the Yomut and the Göklen in case of any movements on their part. This plan was later abandoned because it was recognised that the site was too far removed from "water and human habitation". What buildings had been started upon were razed. In the beginning of June chiefs (*on-begi*) of the Turkmans (pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 53 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 145 sq.

<sup>4</sup> [The northern tributary of the Atrak.]



bably Yomut) and the Göklen came to Mashhad to express their submission to Nādir. He requested them to send him one thousand young men to take part in his campaign in the West. The demand was not complied with, and later new measures were taken against the Turkmans. A blow was dealt to the Yomut who had earlier fled before the Persian army; the men were killed, and the women sold into slavery. The Yomut were pursued as far as Balkhan and Mashhad-i Misriyān <sup>1</sup> (perhaps the first mention of the ruins of Dihistan under this name).

In the spring of 1735 (Year of the Hare) <sup>2</sup> when Nādir was in Shamākhī, news was received that Ilbars-khan of Khiva had dispatched Chyen-vakil of the Yomut with three thousand Turkmans to raid the northern marches of Khorasan. On their way back the Turkmans were overtaken by the Persian troops. According to Mahdi-khan, the Persians killed many Turkmans for which their commanders were rewarded by the shah <sup>3</sup>. The version given in the history of Khiva is that the Persians were defeated and the Turkmans returned to the khan with a rich booty.

In 1739, when Nādir-shāh was in India, Ilbars-khan personally led a force of Uzbeks and Turkmans on a raid into Khorasan. He crossed the Tejen at a distance of five farsakhs (some 25 km.) from Sarakhs, when the son of Nādir-shāh, Riḍā-quli arrived in Sarakhs. Ilbars changed his route and laid siege to the castle of Qahlān, between Nesā and Abīvard. The commander of the castle was in Abīvard where he assembled a force with which he moved to relieve the castle. Ilbars mistook this force for that of Riḍā-quli and turned back to Khwarazm <sup>4</sup>.

In 1740 Nādir-shāh conquered the two Central Asian khanates, Bukhara and Khiva, in each of which there were both Turkmans and Uzbeks. The khanate of Bukhara offered no resistance, but Nādir-shāh took away with him a greater number of fighting

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 197. On the events of 1732 in Turkmenia — p. 191 sq.

<sup>2</sup> In the history of Khiva this raid is placed in the Year of the Dragon (A.D. 1736).

<sup>3</sup> Mahdi-khan, 270 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 368 sq.

men than he was wont to do; twenty thousand Uzbeks and Turkmans enrolled in Nādir-shāh's army passed through Chārjūy <sup>1</sup>. In Khiva, on the contrary, Nādir-shāh met with stubborn resistance; both khan Ilbars and Muhammad-<sup>c</sup>Alī-khan Ushak, chief of the Turkmans <sup>2</sup>, fought valiantly. The Khivan historian says that the Khivan army was composed both of Uzbeks and Turkmans and that the latter (Yomut, Teke and others) displayed the most reckless defiance <sup>3</sup>. For their resistance the khan and many nobles paid with their lives; four thousand Uzbeks were led away, but nothing is said about the Turkmans.

Nādir-shāh installed in Khwarazm Ṭāhir, a local prince, but within six months the latter was killed in an affray with the Uzbeks of Aral and the Qazakhs led by Nūr-<sup>c</sup>Alī, who for a short time occupied the throne of Khiva. The punitive expedition into Khwarazm <sup>4</sup> planned by Nādir who was at the time in Daghestan, did not take place; the leader of the revolt, Artuq-inaq-khan went to Marv, the residence of Nādir's son, Naṣrullāh, who was governor of Khorasan, and gained him to his cause. In the Year of the Dog (A.D. 1742) the Persians, at the request of the Khwarazmians, recognised as their khan Ilbars's son Abul-Muhammad, whom Nādir renamed Abul-Ghāzī <sup>5</sup>. Meanwhile the order was given to transfer the Yomut and Teke from Khwarazm to Khorasan <sup>6</sup>. In the Year of the Pig (A.D. 1743) some Khwarazmian rebels took advantage of this to raise a revolt with the help of the Yomut. According to Mahdi-khan <sup>7</sup> the rebels killed Artuq-inaq, but the history of Khiva quotes another name and lays the killing at the khan's door. It adds, however, that Artuq-inaq too was killed in 1747 (Year of the Hare), also on the khan's orders; then the whole region fell into the power of the Yomut; none of the inhabitants ventured outside the fortifications and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 386.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 388.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 391.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 405 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Thus according to the history of Khiva.

<sup>6</sup> Mahdi-khan, 419.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 445.

famine began. The population appealed for help to Nādir-shāh who sent his nephew ʿAli-quli. In 1745 (Year of the Ox) the Yomut were defeated; they destroyed their homes with their own hands and fled into the Balkhan mountains. ʿAli-quli consolidated the khan's position on his throne and returned to Nādir-shāh who gave orders for one thousand men from among the Yomut to join the Persian army, and for the others to remain where they were and obey the Persian authorities <sup>1</sup>.

These orders could hardly have been complied with; in the year of Nādir's death (1747) there is a mention of a Turkman revolt in alliance with the Qajars of Astarabad <sup>2</sup>. The chief of the Qajars, Muhammad Hasan-khan fled to Bekenj-khan, chief of the Yomut. They were joined by the Göklen. Nādir-shāh's successor, ʿAli-quli, who had taken the name of ʿAli-shah (or ʿAdil-shah) fell suddenly upon the rebels and routed them but did not pursue those who fled <sup>3</sup>.

The same Yomut chief is also mentioned in the history of Khiva under the name of Bekenj-ʿAlī-Şūfī. In 1759 he was defeated among other rebels by the troops of Khiva. Soon after Khiva was brought to the brink of destruction by the three-year domination (1767-1770) of the Yomut <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 459.

<sup>2</sup> *Das Mujmil et-târikh-i baʿd-Nâdirâje des Ibn-Muhammed Emîn Abu-l-Hasan aus Gulistâne*. Herausg. von O. Mann, Leiden 1891, 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Barthold, *Irrigation*, 20.

## VI. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I shall not dwell in detail on the events of the 19th century on which there exists some literature which needs checking on the basis of Turkman chronicles and documents preserved in Russian archives. The khans of the Qungrat [Qangur-at] dynasty, who ruled in Khiva from 1804 to 1920, several times claimed sovereignty over the whole of Turkmenia; the Turkmans now resolutely resisted them in their own country, and now themselves made devastating raids into the khanate. Less important were the claims of the amirs of Bukhara and of the shahs of Persia. In consequence of the rivalry between these three powers, the Turkmans, in the event of a clash with one of them, were able to seek the aid of the other two. Characteristic examples are the secession of the Turkmans of Marv from Bukhara in 1822, and their voluntary submission to Khiva <sup>1</sup>, the building by the Khivans in 1824 of the new (present-day) Marv, the capture of this Khivan stronghold in 1843 by the Turkmans (Salor and Teke) who sent the prisoners to the amir of Bukhara <sup>2</sup>; the victory of Qoushut-khan Teke over the khan of Khiva at Sarakhs in 1855 and the sending to Persia of the head of khan Muhammad-Amīn (Medemin) killed in this battle <sup>3</sup>; the victory of the same Qoushut-khan in 1860 over the Persians and the sending of one fifth of the booty to the khan of Khiva <sup>4</sup>. At the same time dissensions occurred among the Turkmans themselves; the most characteristic event was the occupation by the Teke first of Akhal, where they fought the Emreli and Qaradashī tribes, then of Marv, where they fought the Sariq <sup>5</sup>; the advance of the Teke on Marv took place in 1857 and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 69 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Khiva*, f. 412a (references are to the Asiatic Museum MS. 590 ob).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 505a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 587b.

<sup>5</sup> A. Samoylovich, *Abdu-s-Sattār-qazī*, 091. At another place (*ZVO*, XIX, 018 sq.) Samoylovich quotes extracts from Turkman MSS., according to which the Sariq migrated from Chārjūy into the Marv oasis under Bay-

was crowned with success in 1859<sup>1</sup>. We have seen that separate detachments of Teke had been penetrating into Marv even before that date. The khans of Khiva were also able to exploit dissensions among the Turkmans. In 1854 Medemin-khan undertook an expedition against Marv under the pretext that it was necessary to put an end to the disputes between the Sariq and the Teke about land and water. In March 1855 Medemin-khan fell in the battle against Qoushut-khan Teke near Sarakhs; on September 1st the new khan ‘Abdullāh was killed in a battle with the Teke<sup>2</sup>. The next khan, Qutluq-Murād, was offered help against the Yomut by the Teke of Akhal and the Sariq, and the Teke and Salor of Tejen and Marv<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, the pretender Er-Nazar-biy who appeared among the Qaraqalpaks of Qungrat, entered into an alliance with the Yomut<sup>4</sup>. In the beginning of 1856 the Yomut carried out a successful expedition against Khiva and killed the khan; on February 11th the vazir Muhammad-Ya‘qūb (he was executed in the same year on the orders of the new khan) managed to rouse the population and organise a massacre of the Yomut which lasted three and a half hours<sup>5</sup>.

In Persia, immediately after the cessation of disorders and the establishment of the Qājār dynasty, measures were taken against the Turkman raids. Punitive expeditions were sent from Astarabad against the Yomut and the Göklen, and from Khorasan against the Teke and their neighbours, but produced no lasting results. Even at the beginning of the 19th century such actions taken by the Persians proved fruitless<sup>6</sup>, but the Persians continued to regard the Yomut and the Göklen as their subjects. When in 1819 the Russian ambassador to Khiva, Muravyev, suggested that the trade route across Manghishlaq be replaced by a route from “the port of Krasnovodsk”, Muhammad-Rahim-khan

ram-‘Alī-khan, i.e. before 1785. Shāh-Murād of Bukhara who defeated Bayram-‘Alī-khan gave Marv to the Sariq, and Yolatan to the Salor.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 0103.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Khiva*, 511b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 514 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 516 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 521 sq.

<sup>6</sup> See *Rauḍat as-ṣafā* by Riḍā-quli khan, v. IX.

himself admitted that "although it was true that the Manghishlaq route was much longer than that of Krasnovodsk, the people of Manghishlaq were devoted to him, whereas the sea-board Yomut living in the direction of Astarabad mainly served the Qajars" <sup>1</sup>. Besides raids into Persia, the Yomut made incursions into Khiva. To escape from these plundering attacks the Mangit clan of the Uzbeks migrated in 1800 to the banks of the Amu-darya where they founded the town (or rather a market place) Mangit <sup>2</sup> which still exists to-day. The khans of Khiva, together with the Turkmans, made many incursions into the border lands of Persia and intervened in the hostilities between the Turkmans and the Persians. When in 1834 the Göklen successfully invaded the Gurgān region and a strong Persian army had moved up threatening them with reprisals, their khan Allā-Qul in the following year resettled some of them in Qizil-Arvat, and others in Khwarazm <sup>3</sup>. In 1837 the khan restored the stronghold at Meihane and left there part of the Göklen. Other Göklen were allocated lands near Kunya-Urgenj <sup>4</sup>. This expedition of the khan was in reprisal for the campaign of Shah Muhammad of Persia on to the Gurgan and the Atrak in 1836 intended to push the Turkmans back in the direction of Khiva and Urgenj <sup>5</sup>.

Under Shah Muhammad (1834-1848) there also took place the expedition of the governor of Mazandaran to the island of Cheleken which had been seized by the Turkman Qiyat-khan, of the Ja'far-bay clan (of the Yomut tribe). By seizing the island Qiyat-khan cut the road between the eastern and western shores of the sea; when clashing with the Persian authorities he claimed to be a Russian subject, and during complications with the Russians he made the opposite claim. The Persian governor succeeded in defeating the Turkmans, killing some and taking others prisoner. Shah Muhammad received the news of this event when on an expedition against Herat in 1837.

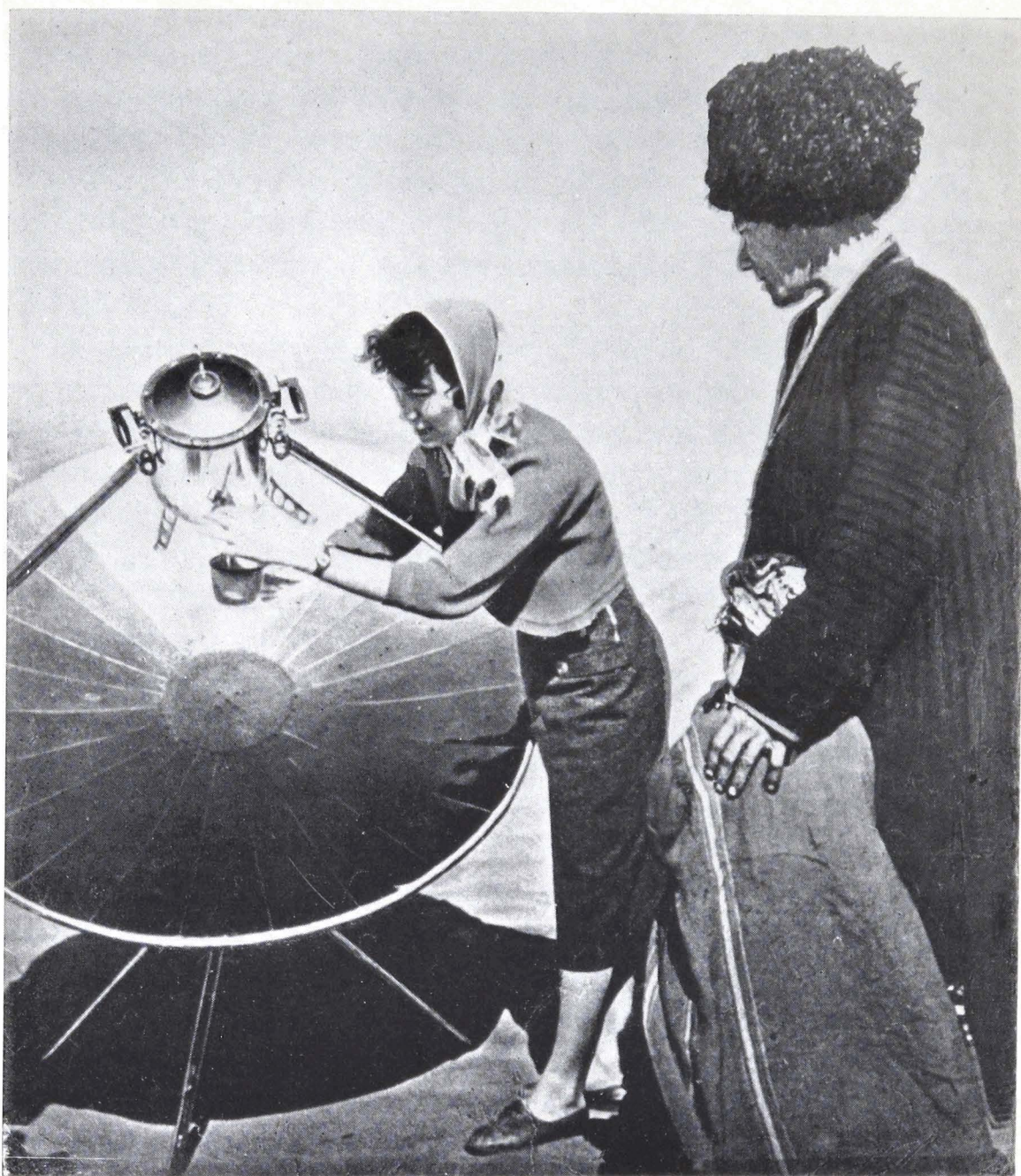
<sup>1</sup> N. Muravyev, *Journey in Turkmenia and Khiva* (in Russian), Moscow 1822, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Khiva*, ff. 75b, 133b and 144b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 351 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 357 sq.

<sup>5</sup> On this and the following events see *Rauḍat as-ṣafā*, v. X.



A Turkman couple in the desert using a solar reflector to make tea





At the end of the reign of Shah Muhammad the former governor of Khorasan, Muhammad-Hasan-khan, who lived in Sarakhs, raised a revolt against the government with the support of the Turkmans (Teke, Yomut, Göklen, Salor and Sariq) living in Sarakhs, Akhal, Tejen, Qari-yab and Khiva. He always had with him three thousand Turkmans — when some left him, others took their place. The revolt was put down with great difficulty.

During the Persian campaign of 1860 the Salor left Panjdeh for Maruchaq, from where they were later driven out by the Sariq, while formerly it was the Ersari tribe that used to live in Panjdeh <sup>1</sup>.

The political independence of the Turkman people came to an end on the Murghab when simultaneously, in 1884, the Russians entered Marv and the Afghans occupied Panjdeh, which, however, they had to leave in 1885. By military action and agreements reached in the 1880-S the lands of the Turkman people were divided between Russia (with the vassal khanates of Khiva and Bukhara) Persia and Afghanistan. The Russian Turkmans, as subjects of the most powerful of the three states, were in the most favourable situation, especially on the Persian frontier where, according to the agreement, none of the small rivers rising in Persia and flowing into Russia could be utilised for irrigation before entering Russian territory. This privilege was lost to the Turkmans after the Revolution. On the other hand, it is on Soviet territory that for the first time the principle of the political unification of the Turkman people was advanced and a feeling of national unity aroused among the Turkmans themselves, the only unity which they had until then realised having been that of language and literature. As a clear witness of the careful study of Turkman life one can quote the following passage from a Russian book on the results of the national demarcation (*rayonirovaniye*) in Central Asia: "Every Turkman knows firmly his genealogy and makes hardly any distinction between his personal interests and those of his clan. Single clans, even those belonging to the same tribe, are often hostile to one another. They band toge-

<sup>1</sup> C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, 1888, p. 189.

ther only when they come out against members of another tribe or people . . . National consciousness is very slight. Only in recent times, especially in the year following the Revolution, separate tribes have begun to get used to the idea that they are only part of a national whole — the Turkman people”<sup>1</sup>. Let us hope that the success of cultural work will help this consciousness to grow.

<sup>1</sup> *Territory and population of Bukhara and Khwarazm*. Part 2: *Khwarazm*. Tashkent 1926, p. 102 sq.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Aboul-Ghâzi — *Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares* par Aboul-Ghâzi Behâdour Khan, publ., traduite et annotée par le Baron Desmaisons, SPb. 1871-1874.

*Genealogy* — *The genealogy of the Turkmans* by Abul-Ghâzi, khan of Khwarazm, Russian translation by A. Toumansky, Askhabad 1897.

*Histoire des Mogols* — see above Aboul-Ghâzi.

*Irrigation* — Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana* (On the history of irrigation in Turkestan), SPb. 1914.

*Otchet* — Barthold, *Otchet o poyezdke v Srednuyu Aziyu v 1893-4* (Report on an expedition to Central Asia in 1893-4), in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, vol. I, No. 4, 1897.

*Pamiatniki* — *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh i torgovykh snosheniy moskovskoy Rusi s Persiyey* (Documents on the diplomatic and trade relations between Muscovite Russia and Persia), ed. N. J. Veselovsky, SPb., vol. I 1890, vol. II 1892.

*Turkestan* — Barthold, *Turkestan*, English edition, GMS, 1928.

*Turkestan*, texts — Barthold, *Turkestan*, Russian ed., I, 1898.

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