

Introduction

“This humble servant crossed the Āmū Daryā River above Kulāb at the ford of Darqad on Wednesday, Jumāda II 22, 1339/March 2, 1921, and entered the territory of Afghanistan. The *bargad-i nizāmī*, the border official of Afghanistan, arrayed his troops and came to welcome and greet [us]. They had prepared a night’s lodging at the residence of ‘Abd al-Nazar Yangī, an inhabitant of Rustāq, where I took a rest. On Thursday, Jumāda II 23 of the said year/March 3, 1921, I arrived at Rustāq. Muḥammad A’lam Khān, the said *bargad*, sent approximately three hundred of his soldiers to welcome me and fired eleven cannon shots as an honorary reception. [Afterwards] I entered Rustāq and stayed there for two nights. They passed a message about my arrival to the governor of Qaṭaghan.

On Sunday 25, I travelled from Rustāq to Qaṭaghan. The son of the governor came with some respectable people of that region to welcome me. [...] On Wednesday, Jumāda II 29/March 9, I entered the provincial capital of Qaṭaghan. They arranged for my accommodation at the royal garden in Ḥayātābād. I stayed there for a further twenty-five days. [...] When this humble servant crossed the Āmū River toward Afghanistan, approximately three hundred reputable soldiers (*naukarīya*) from Bukhara had traversed the river with me. Likewise, one hundred thousand people had crossed the river at each ford to support me. From this group, I selected roughly five hundred persons from the nobles of Bukhara to take with me, while assigning the rest to other places inside Afghanistan. I continued my journey to the capital Kabul together with these five hundred persons.

I continued my journey for several days and reached the capital Kabul on Wednesday, Ramāzān 8, 1339/May 16, 1921. They had prepared the royal garden of Qal’ a-yi Murād-Bēgī for the accommodation of this humble servant so I settled there on my arrival.”¹

With these lines, the last Bukharan ruler Amīr ‘Ālim Khān describes the itinerary of his dramatic flight from Kulāb, a provincial town located at the eastern margin of his former realm, to the Afghan capital in early 1921. An attack on ‘Ālim Khān’s capital and a war for control over the eastern parts of Bukhara between his troops and a Bolshevik army had preceded the decision to abandon his kingdom and seek shelter in Afghanistan.²

¹ Amīr ‘Ālim Khān, *Tārīkh-i ḥuzn al-millal-i Bukhārā. Khāṭirāt-i Amīr Sayyid ‘Ālim Khān, 1910–1920*, ed. Muḥammad Akbar ‘Ashīq Kābulī (Peshawar: Ittīḥādīya-yi niwisandagān-i Afghānistān-i āzād, 1370/1992), 14–15.

² *Ibid.*, 11–13; Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Sayyid Baljuwānī, *Tārīkh-i nāfi’i*, ed. Aḥrār Mukhtarov (Dushanbe: Nashr-i ‘irfān, 1994), 58–67.

A few months before, Bukhara had been taken by Russian troops after several days of fierce fighting. Another author describes the city in the aftermath:

“On Thursday, Dhū‘-Hijja 22, 1338, which corresponds to the Christian year 1920, the Russian soldiers entered the city of Bukhara and that same day they also proceeded toward the steppe. They were freed from fear of the enemy. Having established themselves as governors of that city, they saw that many buildings were burnt and had collapsed. Many residential quarters had been destroyed under the bombardment by airplanes: approximately thirty-four urban quarters, three thousand shops, twenty *sarāys* and twenty-nine mosques were burnt down. The great minaret, which had been erected in the center of the city for the announcement of the Friday prayer and holidays [...] had been hit by cannonballs causing the destruction of its two or three upper levels. Its body had been wounded and the portico of the *madrasa* of ‘Ālim Khān had also been destroyed by cannonballs. Its outer gate as well as the gates of its school had been burnt too. The northern portico of the *madrasa* of Mīr-i ‘Arab had been thrown into the *madrasa*’s interior courtyard by the cannonade. Most of the other *madrasas* and mosques had been burnt and damaged. From the Ḥaẓrat Imām Gate to the quarters of Nazarcha and Kāfirābād, and up to the [neighborhoods] near the Ughlān Gate, the Great Mosque, Tag-i Zindān and the Bath of Qūqūm Dūzī, from the Tag-i Manār up to the bottleneck of the flower bazaar and the linen rags market, from the Rīgīstān Square to the ‘Ashiqān Bridge, nothing had remained, everything was burnt.”³

The apocalyptic picture presented here gives the impression of a city in ruins, a city blasted by a storm that had cut a swath of devastation across its urban landscape. Besides the heavy damage to the urban infrastructure, the military attack had blown out the life of the Bukharan Emirate, thereby ending a tradition of independent rule that had lasted for more than four centuries. The Emirate was replaced by the ephemeral independent Bukharan People’s Soviet Republic, which was later incorporated into the Soviet Union as part of the Uzbek Soviet Republic.

This study aims to explore the history of the area the last Bukharan monarch left behind in early 1921. The period I am going to investigate is the eighteenth century up to the end of the nineteenth century, and the place is Mā Warā’ al-Nahr, Transoxania, the region extending north of the Oxus up to the Sir Daryā River. In the Western literature, Transoxania is widely known as the Khanate or Emirate of Bukhara, a toponym that will be used very carefully in this book. This cultural landscape was ruled by the dynasties of the Tuqay-Timurids and the Manghits. Admittedly, it was no

³ Muḥammad ‘Alī Baljuwānī, *Tārīkh*, 68. Dhū al-Ḥijja 22, 1338, was in fact a Sunday or Monday (September 5/6, 1920).

longer the time of the great nomadic conquerors nor does the area in question attract wide scholarly interest. Instead, the period and place investigated seem rather unspectacular in view of the weakness of the central government and centrifugal forces, not only here but in the entire wider region as well. Apart from reconstructing the political setting and a chronological framework of Transoxania in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the aim of this book is to create a profound understanding of the articulation of power and the resulting dynamics in this region. Furthermore, it attempts to investigate the impact of power relations from an intrinsic perspective. To shed light on the conditions of authority in the period outlined, I will take a closer look at a number of little-known narrative sources from Bukhara, primarily court chronicles compiled under Tuqay-Timurid and Manghit aegis. Translating the toponym *Mā Warā' al-Nahr* (Arab. "What is beyond the River," or the land lying north of the river, meaning Transoxania) into an interrogative, the study pursues the following set of questions: What was the binding glue of society and how was social order possible without a monopoly of force held by the king? How was society organized under conditions that are all too often described in terms of disorder, the signs of which were endemic warfare, frequent military activities and protracted sieges? Is it possible to identify patterns of order and ordering, and if so, how resilient were social rules and conventions?

Although it might be tempting to answer these questions by placing emphasis on variables like tribe, state, or modes of administration, I will follow the suggestion of Beatrice Manz in turning the focus beyond administrative modes and tribal structures to the dynamics of interaction.⁴ Taking its point of departure in the wide field of sociology, the present study combines classical historical research based on the analysis of written sources with concepts borrowed from the social sciences. In my attempt to explore patterns of authority and order, I will draw upon the concept of Social Order that is inspired by various authors belonging to different traditions of thought, like Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, Michel Foucault, Michael Mann and others. This concept will be helpful to define a suitable analytical framework for the investigation of the sources. With this, my study deviates from the mainstream literature and represents a different approach to questions of power and authority. Dismissing Marxist

⁴ Beatrice F. Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 19.

assumptions of the despotic authority wielded by the rulers in the region, I will also abstain from protracted discussions on feudalism.

The narrative of this book is arranged as follows:

Chapter 1 is devoted to conceptual questions concerning social order, power and authority from a relational point of view. The analytical framework will be supplemented by theoretical reflections on patron-client ties, gift exchange and mediation.

Chapter 2 serves two purposes. First, it gives a historical overview of the setting I am going to deal with. Particular attention will be paid to the social order among the Mongols and the subsequent changes in Turko-Mongol patterns of authority under the Shibanids and their successors. In addition to the organization of the space of authority, I will highlight the most important institutions characteristic of the Chingizid dispensation. The second part of the chapter represents a kind of encyclopedia acquainting the reader with the various localities. It ranges from Bukhara to the regions at the margins of Transoxania such as Ḥiṣār, and also gives an overview of the numerous tribal groups.

Chapter 3 details the political game and the strategies of a vast range of actors in the first six decades of the eighteenth century. It thereby introduces the most important figures of that period, mainly the Uzbek *amīrs* and their tribal followings.

Chapter 4 discusses the language of power in the sources and gives an insight into the three fields of authority: patronage, gift giving and mediation.

Chapter 5 explores the impact of power relations in different social contexts in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century, for instance the royal court, the politics of the Russians toward Bukhara, the relations of foreign travelers with the natives, and the political dynamics in the countryside of late nineteenth-century Bukhara.

Depending on the reader's focus and background knowledge, the following history of Mā Warā' al-Nahr addresses a heterogeneous readership with manifold interests. Hence it can be read in varying ways. Those who are interested in questions of power and authority will have to read the admittedly long and detailed conceptual chapter. The same applies to readers with particular interest in patronage and related practices. Thus this chapter provides a conceptual lens offering social historians some possibly novel ways of reading historiographical and other sources. They and other specialists in the field of power may skip over more descriptive or encyclopedic sections and continue directly with the summaries of the main

chapters and of course the concluding remarks entwining the historical narratives gleaned from the sources with the conceptual part. Most of the summaries can be read in their entirety as (pieces of) a local case study of institutionalization processes and power dynamics. As such, they offer conceptual conclusions and may also enrich the academic debate on power and especially the value of sociological concepts and their application to non-European contexts.

Conventional historians looking for a comprehensive state of knowledge regarding the conquest of Mā Warā' al-Nahr by the Uzbeks and its repercussions may be referred to the second chapter that also looks back to the Mongol period. The second part of this chapter is outlined as a comprehensive encyclopedic overview of the various areas and tribal factions in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Transoxania. Each of the sub-sections can be read separately and in relation to the respective sub-sections of the next chapter, which introduces the most important actors and societal groups in the first half of the eighteenth century. Here I will try to uncover hard historical facts and events that can be extracted from the sources.⁵ To mitigate the effect of the dynastic perspective, special attention will be paid to the stratum of Uzbek chiefs (the *amīrs*). Attempting to follow their career paths and to highlight the various ways in which they attached themselves to the ruling dynasty, this chapter comes up with a bunch of local histories taking the reader on a trip to faraway areas such as Ḥiṣār, Bāysūn, Ūrgūt, Nūr and Shahr-i Sabz. Combined with the encyclopedic paragraphs in chapter two, these local histories may also be critically used for student classes. Some of these sections contain information about topics that are rarely touched upon by standard histories on Central Asia (e.g., eunuchs, military slaves, court astrologers or the ordinary populace).

The fourth chapter may be a useful tool for historians dealing with court chronicles as it provides a key to the specific vocabulary employed by their authors to depict patterns of social relationships. In applying this approach, which is inspired by Jürgen Paul's works, I hope to create and foster an understanding not only of the language of power and authority but also of the regular behavior of individual protagonists. Thus one can read the chapter as an "explanatory dictionary" highlighting the meaning of local

⁵ Readers looking for dense descriptions and overviews of particular places, tribal groupings and networks, actors and/or events may leave out the conceptual chapter and go directly to the sections that are relevant to their interests.

concepts, institutionalized daily practices and local notions of order from an intrinsic perspective. As such, this part bridges gaps of meaning between European-connoted terms a current readership may have in mind and those valued and used by eighteenth-century authors. To give an insight into practices and different aspects of social life, the narrative will be arranged as a series of interconnected chapters and sections. Yet a separate reading of the sub-chapters—for example on patronage, gift giving, mediation and so on—is likewise possible. Extracts from the sources varying in length, style and content will be at the center of interest because they mirror articulations of power as well as the repertoire of norms and causal chains of action. Here the question is not so much one of the historical facticity as of practices, conventions and social rules as they are imaged by the chroniclers. The more eloquent authors in particular offer a unique set of data regarding phenomena like protection, promotion, paternity. The impact of divine legitimacy and predestination as well as local ways of addressing issues of order will form another field of inquiry.

In the subsequent investigation of the nineteenth century, I will combine the exploration of court chronicles with the analysis of other types of sources such as archival documents. Since their content can be interpreted in synopsis and combined with data distilled from chronicles and *inshā*' letters, they have the potential to enrich the historical analysis and enable me to draw more general conclusions about the articulation and manifestation of power in different social contexts. Travelogues that were compiled mainly in the nineteenth century will be treated as objects of research, allowing for results from a foreign perspective, rather than as pure data collections. The Bukharan archival records will lead the reader to the villages, hamlets and canal systems, which are rarely the subject of the chronicles. They touch upon domains such as the selection of local representatives, taxation, irrigation and others.

Last but not least, the many extracts and lengthy translations from the primary sources to be found throughout this book may be used by students who are looking for translated versions of Persian texts on rituals of power that stand out for their ornate style and an incredibly rich picture language, which seems antiquated and difficult to understand for present-day readers.

THE OXUS AND MĀ WARĀ' AL-NAHR IN HISTORY

Constituting one of the major landmarks of southern Central Asia, the Āmū Daryā is a river with different names. In antiquity it was known as the Oxus as opposed to Jaxartes, the ancient Sir Daryā.⁶ In Sasanian times it was called Weh-rōdh or Beh-rōdh, while it was designated Jaiḥūn by Arab geographers. The last name is derived from the biblical Gihon, one of the rivers of Paradise.⁷

In eighteenth and early nineteenth-century primary sources, the Oxus appears as an almost mythical river endowed with sublime characteristics. The Iranian writer Muḥammad Kāzīm, for example, describes it as follows:

“The Jaiḥūn River, to which nobody in the inhabited quarter of the world has seen an equal [river], has a swift current, an amount of water and a magnitude like the current of the Shaṭṭ of Baghdad and the River Euphrates. The River Kura flowing from Russia towards Ādharbaijān, the River of Attock and Wazīrābād in India, the Sir and Kalbādām Rivers in Turkistan, the Mashqar and Mashmūs Rivers (?) in China and Khotan, none of these equal this river. As the writer of these pages saw it with his own eyes, there is a river in Mā Warā' al-Nahr and near Chahār Jū known as the Qarāgūl River, near Karkī there is a river known as the Surkhāb, at Qabādiyān flows a river that is half a *farsang* in breadth and called the Kāfirmihān, while in Yakka Basta Sarāy and Qūrghān Tippa flows a river known as the Waksh, coming from the direction of Ḥiṣār and flowing for a length of one to two miles through forests and swamps. When we saw it, we said this is the River Jaiḥūn and nothing else. When we passed it and reached the banks of the [real] Jaiḥūn it was the same current as was observed the first time at Chahār Jū. There is yet another river by the name of Qundūz, which also, like all the other above-mentioned rivers, flows into the Jaiḥūn. Located in the direction of Badakhshān, the source of the said river is known as Tuquz Darra [Āb-i Panj or Panjāb], because the River Jaiḥūn comes from nine valleys. Known as the Imām River in Imām [Šāhib], it continues from Balkh to Khwārazm and peters out in [the region of] the Qazāq and the Qarāqalpāq in the moving sands of Qizil Dāghī. It is well known that it continues subterraneously to the Sea of Māzandarān.”⁸

Apart from its uniqueness, the author attempts to furnish a complete survey of the Oxus by counting its tributaries from west to east, beginning with the more numerous confluents on its right bank. The survey ends with the Oxus

⁶ Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate. Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Moslem conquest to the time of Timur* (London: Frank Cass & Co. LTD., 1966), 433; Bertold Spuler, “Āmū Daryā,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., I, 454.

⁷ Spuler, “Āmū Daryā,” 454.

⁸ Muḥammad Kāzīm Marwī, *Ālamārā-yi nādirī*, ed. Muḥammad Amīn Riyāḥī, 3 vols. (Tehran: Nashr-i 'ilm, 1369/1990), III, 1132.

Delta south of the Aral Sea. The almost mystical hue of the river is further underlined by the scientific discussion on the Uzboi, its old bed extending to the Caspian Sea.⁹

In other accounts, the Āmū Daryā is often likened to an ocean because of its immense breadth. Comparing it with “the swelling Sea of Oman” (*baḥr-i zakhkhār-i ‘Umān-nishān*), a nineteenth-century Bukharan author remarks that until the time of Nādir Shāh, there was no bridge across this river and all world-conquering rulers had crossed it by boat.¹⁰ An Afghan traveler from India, who visited Bukhara in 1812, paints an even more fantastic picture:

“The river Oman, the real name of which is Jaihun, has (also) been mentioned as Mahi-i-Kalan (the great fish) and Amuiya in the books, such as the Tuzuk-i-Timuri and the Shahnama (of Firdausi). At present the river is known as the river Qun. Certain people of Bukhara talk about the extraordinary depth of this river. Indeed, the river has enough depth, and it flows slowly on the surface but very swiftly towards the west. Hazrat Shaikh Sadi writes in the Bustan: ‘As if some one has come out (safely) from the river Oxus.’ The river flows up to a foreign island where pearls are found and it is very deep there also.”¹¹

The breadth of the Oxus varies from four hundred meters at Kilif to three kilometers at Karkī and more than five kilometers on its lower course at Kultak.¹² Apart from the fords like Chahār Jūy, Kilif, Karkī or Patta Ḥiṣār, the river was sometimes completely frozen in winter and therefore fordable. There are also accounts of camel caravans passing the ice-covered Oxus.¹³

Irrespective of its role as a boundary between the ancient lands of Iran and Turan, territorial notions going back to the Sasanian period, “the evocative idea of the Oxus as a divide between Iran and Central Asia often

⁹ For a brief discussion see Spuler, “Āmū Daryā,” 456.

¹⁰ Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf, *Tāj al-tawārīkh* (MS Tashkent: Institute of Oriental Studies, IVANRUz No. 2092), fols. 264a–b.

¹¹ Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Fāzil Khān, *Aḥwāl-i manāzil-i Bukhārā* [*Tārīkh-i manāzil-i Bukhārā*], ed. and trans. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui (Patna: Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 1993), 2 (English text, 11).

¹² Ole Olufsen, *The Emir of Bokhara and his Country* (London: William Heinemann, 1911), 152.

¹³ Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara; Being the Account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary and Persia*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1834), II, 3.

did not match the political realities.”¹⁴ Throughout history, the role of this river shifted between a political boundary separating two realms on the one hand, and a connecting element flowing through the heartland of empires on the other.¹⁵ In spite of these shifts, Mā Warā’ al-Nahr was always viewed as a geographical realm distinct from adjacent Khurāsān, even in periods when the two regions came under the sway of one supreme ruler.¹⁶

Toward the end of the nineteenth century and with the demarcation of the boundaries of the region, the search for an exact location of the source of the Oxus gained a new quality. This search somewhat resembles the feverish search for the source of the Nile. Lord Curzon, who climbed the roof of the world in search of the true source in 1894, reports that

“[f]rom far above, the main glacier can be seen winding round from the north or left hand to the head of the gorge, in which, however, its point of discharge is not visible. Descending to the shingle-bed, which varies from 100 to 350 yards in width, the channel being divided into several branches of from 6 to 18 inches deep, I rode up it to the source. There the river issues from two ice-caverns in a rushing stream. The cavern on the right has a low overhanging roof, from which the water gushes tumultuously out. The cavern on the left was sufficiently high to admit of my looking into the interior, and within for some distance I could follow the river, which was blocked with great slabs of ice, while there was a ceaseless noise of grinding, crunching, and falling in. Above the ice-caves is the precipitous front wall or broken snout of the glacier, from 60 to 80 feet in height, composed of moraine ice, covered with stones and black dust. [...] A lofty mountain crowned with snow blocked up the end of the main valley, and from a *nullah* on the right of this, another ice-field contributed its volume to the main glacier, whose terminal moraine was jammed up and contracted in the narrow outlet of the two valleys. The source of the river is, therefore, not in three great glaciers, but in one great glacier, to which smaller glaciers contribute.”¹⁷

With the beginning of the eighteenth century, the great regional powers—the Mughals in India, the Safawids in Persia and the Tuqay-Timurids in the Oxus region—lost their dominant positions due to rebellions emanating from

¹⁴ Christine Noelle-Karimi, *The Pearl in its Midst: Herat and the Mapping of Khurāsān (15th–19th Centuries)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014), 7.

¹⁵ For details see *ibid.*, 7–12; Bert G. Fragner, “The Concept of Regionalism in Historical Research on Central Asia and Iran (A Macro-Historical Interpretation),” in *Studies on Central Asian History. In Honor of Yuri Bregel*, ed. Devin DeWeese (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 345–53.

¹⁶ Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 6.

¹⁷ George Curzon, *The Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus* (1896; repr., Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1978), 30–31.

the peripheries of the empires. The first to be directly affected were the Safawids, who were overthrown by an insurgency of the Ghilzai-Afghans in 1721–22.¹⁸ At the same time, the Mughals in India and the Tuḡay-Timurids in Transoxania faced similar rebellions at the margins of their kingdoms. The following period has often been described as a “dark age,” a *mulūk al-tawāʿif*, an era characterized by centrifugal forces and the weakness or complete absence of a central government.¹⁹ Nonetheless, this short period was interesting insofar as it marked a point of departure for a range of new developments. The year 1747 can be seen as crucial from every point of view. In 1747 Nādir Shāh was assassinated just when he had reached the zenith of authority.²⁰ The sudden collapse of this empire following his assassination led to a breakup of the existing political constellations in the entire region between Iran, present-day Afghanistan and Transoxania. In the eastern portion of the Afsharid realm, Aḥmad Khān Abdālī—the future Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (r. 1747–72)—established himself as king and created a new empire.²¹ North of the Oxus we observe the rise of the Manghit, an Uzbek tribe under the leadership of Muḥammad Raḥīm Bī.²² He was a contemporary of Aḥmad Shāh, but contrary to his Afghan colleague he is far less known. In comparison with the Durrānī Empire, Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān’s kingdom was rather modest in spatial terms. Likewise, he did not stand unchallenged at the top but was forced to arduously fight his way to the throne. It was a long process and interrupted by setbacks and countless rebellions. It took him almost ten years to quell the revolts of his rivals before he could lean back and take the title of *khān* in late 1756. Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān, however, could not enjoy the fruits of his efforts for long. He died of typhus in spring 1759.²³

¹⁸ Hans Robert Roemer, *Persien auf dem Weg in die Neuzeit. Iranische Geschichte von 1350–1750* (Beirut/Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989), 370–381; Monika Gronke, *Geschichte Irans von der Islamisierung bis zur Gegenwart* (München: C. H. Beck, 2003), 82; Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 84–86.

¹⁹ Roemer, *Persien*, 381.

²⁰ Gronke, *Geschichte Irans*, 82–83.

²¹ Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 104–27.

²² W.W. Barthold [R.N. Frye], “Bukhara,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., II, 1295. Yuri Bregel, “Mangits,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., VI, 418–19.

²³ Anke von Kügelgen, *Die Legitimierung der mittelasiatischen Mangitendynastie in den Werken ihrer Historiker, 18.–19. Jahrhundert* (Istanbul: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2002), 73.

His successors continued to struggle against their enemies. It was only in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that the political conditions became more settled, with new dynasties strengthening their hold on both sides of the Āmū Daryā. While the Qājārs and the Muḥammadzai Durrānīs ruled over Iran and the Afghan kingdom respectively, the region north of the river witnessed the consolidation of the Uzbek polities of Bukhara ruled by the Manghits, Khiwa governed by the Qungrats, and Khoqand under the control of the Ming dynasty. In the mid-nineteenth century, the wider region including Iran and present-day Afghanistan became the arena of the Great Game between the two colonial powers Great Britain and Russia aiming to extend their respective spheres of influence. While the region south of the Oxus was gradually turned into a British protectorate and a buffer state separating the British and Russian spheres of influence, the Uzbek khanates were step by step absorbed into the Tsarist Empire. From the early 1870s onward, Bukhara and Khiwa maintained a precarious independence as Russian protectorates, whereas Khoqand was dissolved and annexed to Russia's Central Asian possessions.²⁴

NOTES ON THE SOURCES

Attempting to reconstruct the bare bones of the regional history, the historian is confronted with a vast range of different, often fragmentary materials, all of which appear challenging while simultaneously offering contradictory data. The sources I have consulted fall into four categories:

- a) works compiled by Bukharan and Iranian authors, particularly court chronicles written in Persian; many of these materials are available only as unpublished manuscripts and belong to the collection of manuscripts maintained by the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent (Inv. no. IVANRUz);
- b) court documents such as royal diplomas of appointment, decrees and instructions, but also documents on property transactions, particularly in land. Some of these materials are unpublished, such as the copies

²⁴ Bert G. Fagner, "Die 'Khanate': Eine zentralasiatische Kulturlandschaft vom 15. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte – Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven* 9, no. 1 (2008): 69–73.

- of original documents (e.g., the correspondence of the rulers with provincial governors) that are preserved in *inshā'* collections;
- c) archival documents from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, mainly petitions that had been kept in the chancellery of the Bukharan *qūshbēgīs* and are currently housed at the Central Archive of Uzbekistan (fonds I-126);
 - d) travelogues produced by foreign visitors and diplomats.

In spite of the ups and downs Transoxania witnessed during the period discussed, the turbulent political circumstances did not affect writing activities and cultural patronage. Most of the works that have come down to us are dynastic histories either devoted to an entire dynasty, beginning with its origin or genealogical background, or to a particular ruler. Serving to glorify the ruler and vilify his enemies, most of these works are biased.²⁵ Moreover, the region as a whole and the period of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries received rather uneven coverage. While the chroniclers in the service of the old dynasty concentrated on tribal warfare and conflicts that are usually attributed to the personal weaknesses of the last two Tuqay-Timurid kings, later authors devoted their energy to legitimizing the new dynasty of the Manghits.²⁶ Most of the court chronicles teem with minute descriptions of battle scenes and sieges. This sort of description is typical of the narratives in the sources I shall deal with. In addition to the military element, the many succession struggles, intrigues and rivalries that frequently occurred in quickly shifting alliances confuse the uninitiated reader often to a frustrating extent. Besides events in the military field, the chronicles provide rich information on the tribal landscape. They also pay attention to the role of the tribal leaders and the ways in which they interacted with the monarchs.

Since most of the manuscripts have received careful treatment by Anke von Kügelgen and Yuri Bregel, I will limit myself to a brief overview in chronological order and do without lengthy descriptions of them. The *‘Ubaidullah Nāma* by Mīr Muḥammad Amīn Bukhārī covers the reign of ‘Ubaidullah Khān from his enthronization in 1702 until his assassination in

²⁵ Yuri Bregel, “Historiography xii. Central Asia,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, XII, 397.

²⁶ Yuri Bregel, *Notes on the Study of Central Asia* (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1996), 8.

1711 as well as the inauguration of his younger brother Abū'l-Faiḏ Khān.²⁷ By the author's own account, he was fifty-nine years old when he entered royal service, and up to this point had led a life full of deprivation and tribulation.²⁸ A Russian catalogue mentions his father, Mīrzā Zamān Bukhārī.²⁹ The author himself says that he worked as a scribe (*munshī*), recording the coronation of his master.³⁰ Although he started writing his work in the early 1700s, large parts of it were compiled no earlier than 1128/1715–16.³¹ Since Amīn Bukhārī's work has been translated into Russian by Semenov,³² it has received much scholarly attention, especially by Soviet authors. There also exists a German translation by Ferdinand Teufel.³³ Capturing the events unfolding during the reign of Abū'l-Faiḏ Khān (r. 1711–47), the *Tārīkh-i Abū'l-Faiḏ Khān* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Daulat, also nicknamed Ṭālī' (lit. horoscope, fortune), covers the violent death of 'Ubaidullah Khān and continues with the first twelve years under Abū'l-Faiḏ Khān.³⁴ The text suddenly breaks off with the description of events taking place in the aftermath of the rebellion by Rajab Khān in 1722–23. The author belonged to the circle of astrologers telling the king's fortune and discerning auspicious moments for action.³⁵ Semenov also provided us

²⁷ C. A. Storey [Stori] and Yuri Bregel, *Persidskaja Literatura, bio-bibliograficheskii obzor v trekh chastjakh, perevel s angliskogo pererabotal i dopolnil, chast' II: Istorija Irana, Kurdistana, Srednej Azii i t.d.* (Moscow: Glavnaja Redakcija Vostochnoj Literatury, 1972), 1144–45; F. Teufel, "Quellenstudien zur neueren Geschichte der Chānate," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 38 (1884): 243–55.

²⁸ Mīr Muḥammad Amīn Bukhārī, *'Ubaidullah Nāma* (MS Tashkent: Institute of Oriental Studies, IVANRUZ No. 1532), fols. 3a–b; N. D. Miklukho-Maklaj, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadjikskikh rukopisej instituta vostokovedenija, vy. 3: Istoricheskie sochinenija* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo. Nauka, 1975), 307; Teufel, "Quellenstudien," 241.

²⁹ O. F. Akimushkin et al., *Persidskie i Tadjikskie Rukopisi Instituta Narodov Azii an SSR (Kratkij Alfabitnyj Katalog)*, (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1964), I, 379.

³⁰ Amīn Bukhārī, *'Ubaidullah Nāma*, fol. 11a.

³¹ Miklukho-Maklaj, *Opisanie*, 307.

³² A. A. Semenov, *Ubaidullah-name*, ed. A. Semenov (Tashkent: Izdat. Akad. Nauk Uzbekskoj SSR, 1957).

³³ Teufel, "Quellenstudien," 285–381.

³⁴ 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ṭālī', *Tārīkh-i Abū'l-Faiḏ Khān* (MS Tashkent: Institute of Oriental Studies, IVANRUZ No. 11).

³⁵ Storey and Bregel, *Persidskaja Literatura*, 1149–50; Mīrzā Shukūrḏāda, "Tārīkh-i Abū'l-Faiḏ Khān," in *Dānishnāma-yi adab-i fārsī*, vol. I: *Āsya-yi markazī*, ed. Ḥasan Anūsha (Tehran: Mu'asasa-yi farhangī wa intishārātī-yi dānishnāma, 1375/1996), 248.

with a Russian translation.³⁶ Unfortunately, only one manuscript of it exists, which is in a very bad condition with the wrong arrangement of the folios confusing the chronological order.³⁷ The *Tārīkh-i qipchāq-khānī* by Khwājam Qulī Bēg Balkhī is a general Islamic history,³⁸ the final section of which furnishes valuable information on the Shibanids and the Tuqay-Timurids. The author served the latter as an official in Balkh and migrated to Lahore in 1107/1695–96.³⁹ There he was also known as Qipchāq Khān. He finished his work in 1138/1726.⁴⁰ The *Mazhar al-aḥwāl* by Muḥammad Amīn b. Mullā Nūr Muḥammad is a little-known source.⁴¹ The author states that he joined the circle around the Sufī sheikh Īshān Sayyid Khwāja Nasafī and took lessons in writing and poetry after his regular school education. Later he entered the service of Muḥammad Ḥakīm Bī Atālīq. A mixture between classical *andarz* literature and conventional history, his work is divided into four main chapters (*faṣl*). The first section further splits into twenty-four sub-sections, so-called *mazhars* (steps, manifestations), which are devoted to religious issues but also to morality and etiquette. Of particular interest is *mazhar* twenty-four (fols. 40a–85a), describing Muḥammad Ḥakīm Bī’s military campaigns against his enemies and the siege of Qarshī by Iranian troops in 1737. The rest of his work pays attention to his former *pīr* and the misdeeds of his son, Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn.

Qāzī Muḥammad Wafā Karmīnagī’s (d. 1182/1768–69) *Tuḥfat al-khānī*, “The Khanly Gift,”⁴² also known under the alternative title *Tārīkh-i raḥīm-khānī*, covers the history of the early Manghits, beginning with the rebellion

³⁶ A. A. Semenov, *Istorija Abulfeiz-khana* (Tashkent: Izdat. Akad. Nauk Uzbekskoj SSR, 1959), 5–6.

³⁷ A. A. Semenov, “Predislovie,” in *Istorija Abulfeiz-khana*, 8.

³⁸ Khwājam Qulī Bēg Balkhī, *Tārīkh-i qipchāq-khānī* (MS Oxford: Bodleian Library, Ouseley No. 185).

³⁹ According to the author himself, he went to India with his father. There he received the news about his home region (*waṭan*) from trustworthy confidants (*thiqāt-i mu’tabar*) (ibid., fol. 284a).

⁴⁰ Bregel, “Historiography,” 298; Storey and Bregel, *Persidskaja Literatura*, 1149.

⁴¹ Muḥammad Amīn, *Mazhar al-aḥwāl* (MS Tashkent: Institute of Oriental Studies, IVANRUz No. 1936). In her PhD thesis M. Karimova translated this work into Russian and also attached a facsimile of the text (M. Karimova, ‘*Mazkhar al-akhval*’. *Mukhammad Amina kak istochnik po istorii Bukhary serediny XVIII v.* (Dissertation Abstract, Tashkent, 1979). Unfortunately, her dissertation was not available to me.

⁴² Qāzī Muḥammad Wafā Karmīnagī, *Tuḥfat al-khānī* [*Tārīkh-i raḥīm-khānī*] (MS Tashkent: Institute of Oriental Studies, IVANRUz No. 16).

of Rajab Khān and the Iranian conquest up to the exploits of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān. The second part includes the reign of his successor Dānyāl Bī (r. 1759–85).⁴³ The latter also commissioned the chronicle to be continued until the year 1196/1781–82 by Dāmullah ‘Ālim Bēg b. Niyāz Qulī Bēg Īshān.⁴⁴ Not much is known about its author. Miklukho-Maklaj and his colleagues mention a certain Muḥammad Zāhīr Karmīnagī as his father.⁴⁵ The *nisba* suggests that Muḥammad Wafā’s family originated from the town of Karmīna northeast of Bukhara. The fact that there are more than twenty copies of this work, most of which are kept in the Al-Biruni Institute in Tashkent, is illustrative of its circulation and a certain popularity among the Central Asian readership. The copy I utilized was finished by an unknown scribe on Šafar 29, 1233/January 7, 1818, in Jizakh. One of the property seals (*muhr-i tamalluk*) below the colophon says that in 1305/1887–88, the manuscript was in the possession of the chief judge of Bukhara, Mīr Badr al-Dīn, who was an illustrious figure of his time. According to the colophon of another much shorter copy, consisting of a text translated into simpler Persian,⁴⁶ in 1158/1745–46 Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān himself ordered Qāzī Wafā to write the chronicle immediately after his return from Iran. After the death of his master in 1759, ten years passed before Dānyāl Bī commissioned the second part. Whether the author was really able to finish his work himself is questionable, particularly since the colophon of one of the copies in Tashkent says that he died in 1183/1769–70 at the great

⁴³ A. A. Semenov, *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisej akademii nauk Uzbekskoj SSR*, tom I (Tashkent: Izdatel’stvo Akademii Nauk UzSSR, 1952), 77. For a detailed description of this work and the various manuscript versions, see Miklukho-Maklaj, *Opisanie*, 308–13; von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 106–11.

⁴⁴ Semenov, *Sobranie*, 77. There is only one copy of this version in manuscript form available in Dushanbe. This manuscript consists of 284 pages (568 folios), the last three pages of which are completely missing. The second part of the manuscript has no chapter titles (Qāzī Wafā, *Tuhfat al-khānī* (MS Dushanbe: Institute of Oriental Studies and Written Heritage of Tajikistan, FVRANRT No. 1426/I)). See also *Katalog vostochnykh rukopisej Akademii Nauk Tadzhikskoj SSR*, tom I, pod. red. A. M. Mirzoeva i A. N. Boldyreva (Stalinabad, 1960), 101–02, cont. no. 105.

⁴⁵ *Persidskie i Tadzhikskie Rukopisi*, I, 102.

⁴⁶ In 1324/1906–07 Jahāngīr Bēg Bī, the governor of Yakka Bāgh, complained about Qāzī Wafā’s difficult style and commissioned a “translation” into contemporary Persian (Qāzī Muḥammad Wafā Karmīnagī, *Tuhfat al-khānī* (MS Tashkent: Institute of Oriental Studies, IVANRUZ No. 2726/II, fol. 265b).

age of eighty-seven years.⁴⁷ The work itself stands out due to its ornate style and the very detailed descriptions of historical events and minute accounts of local circumstances in the various corners of Transoxania.

Unfortunately, the *Tuḥfat al-khānī* is the only work that was written in the time of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān. All other chronicles were compiled later and offer retrospective interpretations of events and political circumstances during his reign. The *Tāj al-tawārīkh* by Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf b. Muḥammad Naqī⁴⁸ is the most comprehensive Manghit chronicle.⁴⁹ According to the author himself, he was at an advanced age and physically weak when he entered the service of the king. In the time before that he had led a life full of deprivation.⁵⁰ As a court chronicler he was present during the councils of the nobles and gained a deep insight into administrative affairs.⁵¹ His work is chronologically the second work of Bukharan historiography in the Manghit period. Besides an overview of the Shibanid and Tuḡay-Timurid dynasties, he also mentions Chingīz Khān and devotes much effort to describing the succession rules of the Chingizids, the partitioning of the empire among the sons of the conqueror and the offspring of Jūchī (fols. 67b–68b). The author made use of various sources such as the *Zubdat al-wuzarāʾ* by Rashīd al-Dīn Faḡlullāh, Mīrkhwānd's *Rauḡat al-ṣafā* or Mīrzā Mahdī Astarābādī's *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi nādirī*.⁵² Mullā Sharīf's portrayal of the late Tuḡay-Timurids is based on the *ʿUbaidullāh Nāma* and the *Tārīkh-i Abū'l-Faiḡ Khān*. His depiction of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān's reign largely follows Qāzī Wafā's account.⁵³ In spite of its detail, the text breaks off in the chapter concerning the reign of Dānyāl Bī and his attempt

⁴⁷ von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 106.

⁴⁸ Semenov, *Sobranie*, 85. For a more detailed description of the work and its various manuscripts, see von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 112–20; Yuri Bregel, *The Administration of Bukhara under the Manghūts and Some Tashkent Manuscripts* (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2000), 30–35.

⁴⁹ The manuscript I used (IVANRUZ No. 2092) contains approximately 550 pages (1,100 folios). According to the colophon, the copyist, ʿAbd al-Ḥafīz, dedicated the manuscript to a certain Mullā Ḥakīm Bāy from the Shīrgarān Gate in Bukhara and finished his work on Ramaḡān 9, 1274/April 22–23, 1858 (Mullā Sharīf, *Tāj al-tawārīkh* (MS Tashkent: Institute of Oriental Studies, IVANRUZ No. 2092), fol. 549a).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 17a.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, fols. 20a–b.

⁵² Anke von Kügelgen gives a detailed overview of Mullā Sharīf's sources and the way he made use of them (von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 115–20).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 118–19.

to quell a rebellion at Karmīna (fol. 439a). Bregel and von Kügelgen refer to the interruption marked with a lacuna in the form of an inverted Z. The next two pages continue with a summary of the achievements of Shāh Murād and enthusiastic praise of this ruler, while the account from folio 441a onward depicts Amīr Ḥaidar's coronation.⁵⁴ According to Yuri Bregel, all five copies of the *Tāj al-tawārīkh* in the Al-Biruni Institute have the same break.⁵⁵ The rest of the work is concerned with Amīr Ḥaidar's reign and some retrospective views of Shāh Murād's activities.⁵⁶

Muḥammad Ya'qūb b. Amīr Dānyāl Bī produced a work with the title *Gulshan al-mulūk* ("The Rose Garden of the Kings"), which appears in different versions, all of them unpublished manuscripts. Known as Ganja 'Alī Bukhārā'ī, the author himself was a son of Amīr Dānyāl Bī Manghit and thus belonged to the ruling Manghit dynasty. He was also a chronicler and a poet who did not meddle in daily politics.⁵⁷ His biographical details are not exactly known. According to Miklukho-Maklaj, Muḥammad Ya'qūb lived from the 1770s to the 1830s.⁵⁸ He was known to a wider audience through his *Gulshan al-mulūk*. Reproduced in 1244/1828–29 under the alternative title *Risāla*, another version of this work only contains the history of the Manghit tribe, or more precisely, the reign of its aristocratic lineage until the first years under Amīr Naṣrullah (1827–60).⁵⁹ This work is of particular interest as it lists at the beginning many genealogies of the several branches of the Tūq Manghit clan and gives a general overview of the composition of the Manghit tribe. For my study, I made extensive use of another exemplar,

⁵⁴ Ibid., 113–14. See also Bregel, *Administration*, 32–33.

⁵⁵ Bregel, *Administration*, 33. Anke von Kügelgen attributes the break in the text and the shortened description of Shāh Murād's and Amīr Ḥaidar's reign to the advanced age of the author (von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 114).

⁵⁶ Due to the many pagination errors that occurred during the cataloguing in Tashkent (see also Bregel, *Administration*, 33–34), I decided to follow my own pagination done in the course of reading the source to ensure a proper citation.

⁵⁷ Bābak Ātashīnjān, "Muḥammad Ya'qūb Manghitī," *Dānishnāma-yi adab-i fārsī*, vol. I: *Āsya-yi markazī*, ed. Ḥasan Anūsha (Tehran: Mu'asasa-yi farhangī wa intishārātī-yi dānishnāma, 1375/1996), 788.

⁵⁸ Miklukho-Maklaj, *Opisanie*, 313.

⁵⁹ von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 152–57. According to Storey and Bregel, the compilation of the *Gulshan* started in 1824–25, though the date of 1827–28 appears in the text (Storey and Bregel, *Persidskaja Literatura*, 1160–61). Ātashīnjān says that the compilation of the *Gulshan* started sometime between 1824 and 1828 and ended approximately in 1831 (Ātashīnjān, "Muḥammad Ya'qūb Manghitī," 788).

which is listed under the title *Tārīkh-i amīrān-i manghit* but is in fact a different version of the *Risāla* with the genealogies of the Manghit at the end.⁶⁰ The *Tārīkh-i awā'il wa awākhir* by Mu'īn is devoted to the Manghit dynasty until the beginning of the reign of Naşrullah Khān.⁶¹ This work also includes an account of the arrival of the first Manghit groups in Mā Warā' al-Nahr and ends with a list and a short history of the Uzbek tribe of the Yūz in Ḥiṣār and Ūrā Tippa.⁶²

In addition to the manuscripts, some sources have been published in recent years. The *'Ālamārā-yi nādirī* reflects the Iranian perspective of the Nadirid interlude in Transoxania from 1740 to 1747. Its author, Muḥammad Kāzīm Marwī, states that he belonged to the Qājār of Marw. His father had entered the service of Nādir Shāh's brother Ibrāhīm in 1149/1736–37. Later Kāzīm joined Nādir Shāh and participated in many of his campaigns. After the assassination of the king in 1747, he was an eyewitness to the events in Bukhara and gives a detailed picture of the political circumstances at that time.⁶³

The works written in the following decades mark a visible and qualitative departure from the eloquent *munshī* style dominating Transoxanian historiographical tradition up to that point. Describing the history of the Central Asian khanates and the Afghan principalities, Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm's untitled chronicle,⁶⁴ also simply titled *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale* by

⁶⁰ In the card index of the Biruni Institute, it is listed under this title with the same author as the *Gulshan/Risāla* (Muḥammad Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh-i amīrān-i manghit* (MS Tashkent: Institute of Oriental Studies, IVANRUz No. 2726/I). A comparison shows that it differs from the *Risāla* in that it lists the genealogies of the Manghit at the end. The first two or three pages (four or five folios) of the manuscript are missing. The text begins without any introduction or the *basmallah* with the short reign of 'Ubaidullah Khān and continues with Abū'l-Faiẓ Khān and the Manghits.

⁶¹ *Katalog vostochnykh rukopesej*, 96, cont. no. 100; Mīrzā Shukūrẓāda, "Tārīkh-i awā'il wa awākhir," in *Dānishnāma-yi adab-i fārsī*, vol. I: *Āsya-yi markazī*, ed. Ḥasan Anūsha (Tehran: Mu'asasa-yi farhangī wa intishārātī-yi dānishnāma, 1375/1996), 253–54.

⁶² Mu'īn, *Tārīkh-i awā'il wa awākhir* (MS Dushanbe: Institute of Oriental Studies and Written Heritage of Tajikistan, FVRANRT No. 629). For a detailed overview of this work, see von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 143–50.

⁶³ Muḥammad Kāzīm, *'Ālamārā-yi nādirī*, 3 vols., ed. Muḥammad Amīn Riyāhī (Tehran: Zāwar, 1364/1985).

⁶⁴ In an Afghan catalogue, it appears as *Aḥwāl-i khawānīn-i Afghān wa Kābul wa Bukhārā* (The Conditions of the Afghan Khāns, Kabul and Bukhara) ('Abdul Ḥayy Ḥabībī and Rizā Mā'il-i Herawī, *Rāhnamā-yi tārīkh-i Afghānistān*, 2 vols. (Kabul: Daulatī maṭba'a,

Schefer,⁶⁵ focuses on the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The author served at various embassies in the Ottoman Empire and Russia, and in 1233/1818 wrote his work for ‘Ārif Bēg, an Ottoman official.⁶⁶ The *Zafarnāma-yi khusrawī*, “The Royal Book of Victory,” by an unknown author is characterized by the florid style of previous chronicles, which sets it apart from other contemporaneous works.⁶⁷ According to the colophon, the author, a man of humble origin, finished the writing process in 1279/1862–63. Devoted to Naṣrullah Khān, this book attempts to immortalize the conquests of this ruler in Khoqand and elsewhere. The text ends with the death of the ruler in 1860 and the enthronization of his successor. Strongly reflecting the Khoqandian perspective, the famous *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* was written by Muḥammad Ḥakīm Khān,⁶⁸ a descendant of Khwāja Aḥmad Kāsānī, also known as Makhdūm-i A‘zam, through his paternal line. On his maternal side, he was descended from the ruler Narbūta Bī (r. 1770–99). After the inauguration of Muḥammad ‘Alī Khān in 1822, he left Khoqand with a caravan of traders to perform the pilgrimage in Mecca. On his return, he stayed in Cairo and in 1828 returned to his native region via Iran. After his arrival at Bukhara, he refused Naṣrullah Khān’s offer to protect him and went to Shahr-i Sabz, where he compiled the *Muntakhab*. Written in simple Persian, his voluminous work, consisting of five chapters (*bābs*) that fall into different sections, is a mixture between Islamic world history, local historiography and travel literature. It covers world history from the time of the ancient prophets and kings to Islamic dynasties such as the Abbasids and the Samanids. A large part of the text deals with the history of the Manghits

1348–49/1969–70)). Storey and Bregel refer to the Turkic colophon of the publisher where it appears as *Afghān wa Kābul wa Bukhārā wa Khīwāq wa Khoqand khānlārīning aḥwāl* ... (Storey and Bregel, *Persidskaja Literatura*, 1155).

⁶⁵ Mīr ‘Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī, *Histoire de l’Asie Centrale. Afghanistan, Boukhara, Khiva, Khoqand depuis les dernières années du règne de Nadir Chah, 1153, jusqu’en 1233 de l’Hégire, 1740–1818 A.D.* (1876; repr., Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1970).

⁶⁶ Storey and Bregel, *Persidskaja Literatura*, 1155–56; Bregel, “Historiography,” 398; von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 127–35.

⁶⁷ *Zafarnāma-yi khusrawī. Sharḥ-i ḥukmrawā’ī-yi Sayyid Amīr Naṣrullah Bahādur Sulṭān bin Ḥaidar (1288–1242 h. q.) “dar Bukhārā wa Samarqand”*, ed. Manūchīhr Sutūda (Tehran: Ā’ina-yi mīrāth, 1999).

⁶⁸ Muḥammad Ḥakīm Khān, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, 2 vols., ed. Yayoi Kawahara and Koichi Haneda (Tokyo: ILCAA—Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, vol. II/2006 & vol. I/2009). For the published version I am indebted to Satoru Kimura who was so kind as to send me the books from Japan.

and the Ming until the death of the Khoqandian king Shīr ‘Alī Khān in 1845 and the following turbulences, involving local Qipchāq groups and the followers of the future ruler Khudāyār Khān (1845–58, 1865–75).⁶⁹ Later Bukharan sources such as Mīrzā ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Sāmī’s *Tuḥfa-yi shāhī* or Ṣadr al-Dīn ‘Ainī’s *Tārīkh-i amīrān-i manghitīya-yi Bukhārā* will be utilized to a far lesser extent.

The chronicles will be treated as “snapshots” giving insights into the *Weltanschauung* of their authors and the ideal societal models they project. Monolingual and bilingual dictionaries will be used to grasp the meaning of different social practices, which translate into narrative and literary concepts, and to filter out nuances in the connotation of the terms that belonged to the typical repertoire employed by the authors. We will see that the repertoire of literary forms consisted of a soft language reflecting the ultimate importance of social skills that a ruler had to have. By allowing the sources to speak for themselves, I endeavor to pinpoint the moral dimension of right or wrong behavior and the way Bukharan authors perceived and portrayed human relationships at the rulers’ level and beneath.

In addition to the chronicles, a range of other documents provide information about various fields and contexts of social interaction partly beyond the court. Documents on property transactions, particularly in land, dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, are a valuable source highlighting the emergence of landed elites and social conditions in the rural context. A large number of these documents has been published as facsimiles and translated into Russian by Olga Chekhovich.⁷⁰ Akhror Mukhtarov published and translated a series of similar documents, first and foremost assignments of arable land and water but also administrative instructions to nobles and officials in Ūrā Tip̄pa.⁷¹

Manṣūr Ṣifatgul published a series of Bukharan documents that had been kept for a long time at the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg under the inventory number A-212. Dating from the last decades of the

⁶⁹ Kawahara and Haneda, “Introduction,” in *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, II, xxix–xxx.

⁷⁰ Olga D. Chekhovich, *Dokumenty k istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii v Bukharskom khanstve XVII–XIX vv. vypusk I: Akty feodal’noj sobstvennosti na zemlju XVII–XIX vv.* (Tashkent: Izdatel’stvo Akademii Nauk UzSSR, 1954); A. A. Egani and O. D. Chekhovich, eds., “Regesty Sredneaziatskikh Aktov,” in *Pis’mennie pamjatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovanija*, Ezhgodnik 1975 (Moscow: Izdat. Nauka, 1982).

⁷¹ Akhror Mukhtarov, *Materialy po istorii Ura-Tjube. Sbornik aktov XVII–XIX vv.* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Nauka, 1963).

eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, these materials consist of diplomatic correspondence (*maktūbāt*), royal letters of appointment (*manshūrāt*), decrees with administrative instructions (*farāmīn*), petitions ('*arza-dāsh*t) and *inshā'* letters.⁷² With this vast range of different materials, we have a further type of documents giving insight into the inner workings of the Bukharan bureaucracy. They enable the historian to identify diplomatic conventions and to reconstruct the hierarchy of ranks and offices but also individual career paths and administrative minutiae.

Under the category of *inshā'* falls a collection of personal letters, recording orders and instructions of Amīr Ḥaidar to the governor of Qarshī, Muḥammad Ḥakīm Bī. Bearing the title *Maktūbāt-i Amīr Ḥaidar*,⁷³ these letters, or rather copies of original documents were compiled to serve as stylistic models later scribes could follow.⁷⁴ Although the *inshā'* letters have not been published yet, they were used by two Soviet social historians: M. Abduraimov, who studied landholding patterns and the Bukharan rent system,⁷⁵ and Vasilij Vjatkin for his study of Qarshī.⁷⁶ Royal letters of instructions, *mubārak-nāmas* or *tabaruk-nāmas*, represent yet another, but similar type of documents dating from the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ Giving insights into the daily life of the Bukharan populace and officialdom, they are perhaps the best source for the rural milieu. Many of

⁷² *Maktūbāt wa manshūrāt* (MS St. Petersburg: Institute of Oriental Studies, Inv. No. A-212); published by Maṣṣūr Šifatgul, *Pazhūhishi dar bāra-yi maktūbāt-i tārikhī-yi fārsī-yi Īrān wa Mā Warā' al-Nahr (Šafawiyān, Ūzbekān wa Amārat-i Bukhārā) hamrāh bā guzīda-yi maktūbāt* (Tokyo: ILCAA—Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 2006), 48–73, 395–554.

⁷³ Amīr Ḥaidar, *Maktūbāt* (MS Tashkent: Institute of Oriental Studies, IVANRUz Nos. 2120, 1998, 5412). For this study, I made exclusive use of IVANRUz No. 5412.

⁷⁴ These collections of precepts were kept for the chancellery scribes, while others contain model letters of every type, such as documents, diplomas and government papers. Some works consist either of models for scribes, including stylistic directions, or simply serve as models of style. Collections in which both elements are represented are numerous (Hans Robert Roemer, "Inshā'," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., III, 1241).

⁷⁵ M. Abduraimov, *Voprosy feodal'nogo zemlevladieniya i feodal'noj renty v pismakh emira Khaidara* (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoj SSR, 1961).

⁷⁶ Vasilij L. Vjatkin, "Karshinskij okrug, organizatsija v nem vojska i sobytija v period 1215–1217 (1800–1803) godov," *Izvestija Sredne-Aziatskogo otdela gosudarstvennogo russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva* tom XVIII (1928): 9–26.

⁷⁷ Amīr Muzaḥḥar al-Dīn, *Mubārak-nāmajāt-i Amīr Muzaḥḥar ba Qāzī Muḥyī al-Dīn* (MS Tashkent: Institute of Oriental Studies, IVANRUz No. 407).

these documents are relatively simple in style and wording. Mirroring bureaucratic patterns and routines, they often appear piecemeal and offer little insight if treated in isolation. I will therefore contextualize them against the backdrop information provided by the chronicles or other archival materials. As they help fill the void of data left by the other sources, especially with regard to the village level, they complement the larger picture of history derived from the narrative sources.

Students of Bukharan history working on the basis of archival records are confronted with a fragmentary stock of documents. In general, the more one goes into the distant past, the more sparse the material becomes. There are only a few documents that have come down to us from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷⁸ In the mid-eighteenth century especially, the curve of available documents drops. This sharp decrease can be attributed to the political circumstances in mid-eighteenth-century Mā Warā' al-Nahr. In view of the stabilization of the Manghit, Qungrāt and Ming polities during the nineteenth century, the rulers started to archive documents issued by the court or coming in from the provinces. Court officials, governors, judges and even the *'ulamā'* also preserved documents and perhaps even private archives. The archive of the Bukharan *amīrs* was found by chance in the basement of the citadel of Bukhara in 1921. The vast amount of documents was then transferred to the museum in Bukhara. The archive, which consists of documents issued, received and stored by the Qūshbēgī's chancellery, was later transferred to Tashkent. There it was housed in the State Archive of Uzbekistan (*Tzentral'nyj Gosudarstvennyj Arkhiv Respubliki Uzbekistana*, TzGARUz) and forms the "fond Kontzeljarii kushbegi emira bukharskogo" (The Koshbegi Collection).⁷⁹

The so-called "Koshbegi Archive" consists of more than 87,000 documents in Persian-Arabic script and Central Asian Persian. The bulk of the documents was issued in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century during the reigns of the rulers Muẓaffar al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Aḥad and 'Ālim Khān. Except for the official correspondence

⁷⁸ More than one thousand documents originating from Samarqand and dating from the late sixteenth century are a notable exception (see I. Pervyshev, "O dokumental'noj baze dlja istoriografii feodal'noj formatzii v Srednej Azii," in *Revoljutzija i kul'tura v Srednej Azii*, tom 1 (Tashkent: Pravda Vostoka, 1934), 108.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 108–09; Bahadır Kazakov, *Bukharan Documents: The Collection in the District Library, Bukhara*, trans. Jürgen Paul (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 2001), 7.

between the chancellery and the Russian administration based in Kāgān⁸⁰ and some of the judicial records, most of the documents are undated petitions (‘*arīzas*’), or rescripts of petitions.⁸¹ They were mostly addressed to the *amīr* or the *qūshbēgī*, a state official heading the government and the administration of the Bukharan citadel. Only rarely were they sent to the *dīwānbēgī* or the chief judge, the *qāzī kalān*. Most of the petitions and reports were sent by the provincial governors, local judges and tax collectors.⁸²

To highlight the political dynamics in the Bukharan countryside in the late nineteenth century, a setting that is not captured by the dynastic histories, I mainly worked with the petitions. When the Koshbegi Archive was reorganized between 1969 and 1973, a new catalogue and reference system replaced the earlier one. However, historians who had used the previous reference system were unable to find material they had accessed earlier.⁸³

Now the collection of records is kept under TzGARUZ Fonds I-126 and falls into two parts (*opis*). Here, I will refer exclusively to *opis* I covered by the first catalogue of the fonds.⁸⁴ The catalogue of *opis* I is well structured into nine sections on Administration (*Administratsija*), Political Department (*Politicheskii Otdel*), Economy (*Ekonomika*), Foreign Relations (*Vneshnie Snoshenija*), Military Affairs (*Voennoe Delo*), Judicial Materials (*Sudebnie Materialy*), Culture and Lifestyle (*Kul’tura i Byt’*), Health System (*Zdravookhranénie*), and Religion and Education (*Religija i Prosveshchénie*). This makes it easy for historians to deal with it and to gain a first overview of the inventory. Compared to *opis* I, the second part of the fonds,

⁸⁰ More than 6,000 documents belong to the correspondence of the Bukharan government with the Russian political agent based in New Bukhara (Kāgān) (K. Z. Khakimova, *Krest’janstvo Bukharskogo Emirata v kontze IX–nachale XX vv.* (Tashkent: Izdatel’stvo “Fan,” 1991), 4).

⁸¹ According to Kaukab Khakimova, it was not until 1911, after a recommendation by the Russian political agent, that the documents were dated (Khakimova, *Krest’janstvo*, 4).

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Khakimova, for example, states that she made use of the quoted material according to the inventory she had found in 1961 (*ibid.*). For a brief discussion of the Koshbegi Archive and its reorganization, see Wolfgang Holzwarth, “Community Elders and State Agents: Ībēgis in the Emirate of Bukhara around 1900,” *Eurasian Studies* IX, no. 1–2 (2011): 221.

⁸⁴ *Tzentral’nyj Gosudarstvennyj Arkhiv Respubliki Uzbekistana*, TzGARUZ Fonds I-126: *Kushbegi Emira Bukharskogo*, *opis* I (Tashkent 1969).

covered by three separate catalogues, is far less ordered. There the records are arbitrarily grouped together without any systematic inventoring, so any archival research is like looking for a needle in a haystack.

Until recently, the travelogues that were produced in great number mainly by nineteenth-century visitors were widely used to reconstruct the political setting of the region.⁸⁵ Two kinds of works can be distinguished: those compiled by authors originating from the wider Persianate realm such as Khwāja ‘Abd al-Karīm Kashmīrī, ‘Abbās Qulī Khān and others, and a second category consisting of Western and Russian travel accounts.

Let me first glance at a few works of the first group. Khwāja ‘Abd al-Karīm Kashmīrī lived in Delhi when the city was taken by Nādir Shāh in 1739. He writes that he wished to make the pilgrimage, the *ḥajj* to Mecca, and visit the tombs of famous saints. With the departure of the Iranian army, he joined Nādir Shāh and wrote a travelogue with the title *Bayān-i wāqi‘* that captures the following events and the march of the Qizilbāsh from an individual perspective.⁸⁶ Of particular interest is the part concerning the arrival of the Iranian troops in Bukhara. There is an English translation of his account by Francis Gladwin, but unfortunately it contains a large number of inaccuracies.⁸⁷ Mir Izzetullah furnishes another useful account, an English version of which was published under the title “Travels beyond the Himalaya” in 1825.⁸⁸ Mir Izzetullah was an Indian servant and fellow traveler of William Moorcroft. He visited Bukhara in 1812 on a preparatory tour to the region, which Moorcroft intended to visit.

‘Abbās Qulī Khān’s *Safarnāma-yi Bukhārā* gives an insight into his mission to the court of Amīr Naṣrullah Khān in summer 1844. Although he does not actually mention his name, it and his background can be deduced

⁸⁵ Anke von Kügelgen, “Buchara im Urteil europäischer Reisender des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, ed. M. Kemper, A. von Kügelgen and Dmitriy Yermakov (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1996), 415–16.

⁸⁶ Khwāja ‘Abd al-Karīm Kashmīrī, *Bayān-i wāqi‘—sar gudhasht-i aḥwāl-i Nādir Shāh*, ed. K. B. Nasim (Lahore: Habib Press, 1970).

⁸⁷ Francis Gladwin, *The Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem. A Cashmerian of Distinction* (Calcutta: William MacKay, 1788).

⁸⁸ See also “Mir Izzet Ullah,” *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, ed. C. E. Buckland (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., LIM, 1906), 292. I will refer to this author as Mir Izzetullah, as given in the translation of his itinerary, without resorting to the scientific transcription (Mir Izzet Ullah, “Travels beyond the Himalaya,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 7, no. 2 (1843): 283–342).

from the surrounding circumstances. By his own account, he belonged to a family of officials serving in the Qājār administration for seven generations. Additional information is given by Joseph Wolff who also mentions the envoy's name.⁸⁹ The *Safarnāma* represents a terse account of logistic aspects of 'Abbās Qulī Khān's mission and summarizes the local circumstances in the Uzbek polities.⁹⁰

I will abstain here from describing travel accounts of the second category in detail and give instead a condensed summary.⁹¹ Although nineteenth-century travelers like to present Transoxania as a terra incognita, they did not discover totally new ground. Foreigners visited the region from the early fourteenth century onward, albeit few in number. Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, Johan Schiltberger and Anthony Jenkinson are prominent examples. While eighteenth-century Transoxania witnessed just a few diplomatic missions, for instance that of the Russian envoy Florio Benevini, in the nineteenth century it experienced a true rush of foreign travelers. This influx was caused by the increasing colonial penetration of the wider region and improved lines of transport and communication. Travelling either on behalf of the Tsarist administration or the East India Company, most of the visitors entered Transoxania from the north via Astrakhan, later also via Orenburg and the Kazakh Steppe, or from the south via Lahore, Peshawar, Kabul and Balkh. With the setup of Russian protectorates, the influx of foreign visitors gained new unprecedented dimensions.

Differing in style, content and accuracy, most accounts generally assume a judgmental overtone, a phenomenon that becomes striking at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century.⁹² They are often repetitive in highlighting local peculiarities such as slavery, religious issues and *madrassa* education, the despotism and decadence of the rulers, the occurrence of the Guinea worm also called *rishta*, and so on. As with British accounts on circumstances in nineteenth-century Afghanistan, many observations are

⁸⁹ Christine Noelle-Karimi, "‘Different in All Respects’: Bukhara and Khiva as Viewed by Qājār Envoys," in *Şehrâ-yîn. Die Welt der Osmanen, die Osmanen in der Welt, Wahrnehmungen, Begegnungen und Abgrenzungen [Illuminating the Ottoman World. Perceptions, Encounters, Boundaries] – Festschrift für Hans Georg Majer*, ed. Yavuz Köse (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 436–37.

⁹⁰ For an analysis of 'Abbās Qulī Khān's account see *ibid.*, 439–42.

⁹¹ For a comprehensive overview see von Kügelgen, "Buchara im Urteil."

⁹² *Ibid.*, 424.

based on second-hand or oral information.⁹³ But while the British had at least access to some court documents of the Afghan rulers, the travelers and diplomats in Bukhara obviously did not obtain written sources. In the preface to the English version of his *Opisanie Bukharskogo khanstva*, Nikolai Khanikov,⁹⁴ for example, mentions his sources: personal observations, inquiries and official as well as private written documents. With regard to the last category he says

“that it is almost useless to allude to it. Official documents either do not exist or are utterly out of the reach of foreigners; while private ones are few in number, and unimportant. I have brought with me some historical works relating to the Khanat of Bokhara, and hope to be able, in time, to communicate their contents to the public.”⁹⁵

Given these characteristics, the quality of the information furnished by this kind of source varies. While topographic descriptions of the landscapes are relatively innocuous, information about the local culture and society, the behavior of the people and the political circumstances needs to be treated more carefully. Very often the accounts say more about the writers and their backgrounds than about the local context they describe. Although contents are colored by the Enlightenment ideals of the authors, they should nevertheless not be devaluated as historical sources giving insights into local conditions, patterns of trade, and the Uzbek administration.⁹⁶

THE SECONDARY LITERATURE

In my attempt to shed light on the history of Mā Warā’ al-Nahr, I have relied on a number of secondary sources. The area and time in question are still relatively little studied. Many works concerned with the historical

⁹³ Christine Noelle, *State and Tribe in Nineteenth Century Afghanistan. The Reign of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan (1826–1863)* (Richmond: Curzon, 1997), xx–xxi.

⁹⁴ Nikolai Khanikov (Khanykov/Khanikoff) (1822–78) received an academic education and pursued a ministerial career within the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He worked as a translator and later also as consul in Tabrīz (1854–57). Inspired by his stays abroad and a range of interests, he published works on Iran and the Caucasus. From 1858 to 1859 he headed an expedition to Khurāsān and parts of Afghanistan. In the 1860s, he was funded by the government and conducted research in France, Britain and Germany. After his retirement from government service in 1866, he settled in Paris (Muriel Atkin, “Soviet and Russian Scholarship on Iran,” *Iranian Studies* 20, no. 2/4 (1987): 227).

⁹⁵ Nikolai Khanikoff, *Bokhara its Amir and its People* (London: James Madden, 1845), viii.

⁹⁶ von Kügelgen, “Buchara im Urteil,” 415–16.

developments in the Uzbek polities often place emphasis on the despotism of the rulers or the decline of established dynasties accompanied by a general crisis of state, society and economy.⁹⁷ The image of decline continued well into the present. In Soviet and Western literature alike,⁹⁸ the period in question is commonly described as a “dark age.” The perception of the region and period under scrutiny fell prey to assessments from a colonial perspective. The internal circumstances of the so-called Uzbek khanates were often branded as corrupt and effete to legitimize Russia’s civilizing mission.⁹⁹ The uncritical reliance on nineteenth-century Western and Russian travelogues contributed to the negative image.¹⁰⁰ Soviet historians mined the sources dating back to this period to reconstruct the bare bones of the regional history.¹⁰¹ Although their works are based on detailed research, many of them have to be treated with particular care because they often interpreted the sources and historical processes through the ideological prism of Marxism.¹⁰²

Nevertheless, there is a bulk of more recent literature dealing with Central Asian, and particularly with Bukharan history from various aspects. Investigating nine historiographical works from the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Anke von Kügelgen’s study on the construction of

⁹⁷ See for example Olga D. Chekhovich, “K istorii Uzbekistana v XVIII v.,” in *Trudy Instituta Vostokovedenija* 3 (1954): 44–48; Gavin Hambly, “Der Verfall der usbekischen Khanate,” in *Fischers Weltgeschichte*, vol. 16: *Zentralasien*, ed. G. Hambly (Frankfurt a. Main: Fischer Verlag, 1966), 186–96; Bertold Spuler, “Geschichte Mittelasiens seit dem Auftreten der Türken,” in *Geschichte Mittelasiens*, ed. Karl Jettmar, Hans W. Haussig, Bertold Spuler and Luciano Petech (Leiden/Köln: Brill, 1966), 123–292, and especially 236–39, 253–66; Seymour Becker, *Russia’s Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865–1924* (Cambridge/Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), 4.

⁹⁸ See here for example Gavin Hambly, who attributes Transoxania’s isolation the deterioration of the caravan trade parallel to the discovery of sea routes by the Portuguese in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Gavin Hambly, “Die Schaibaniden,” in *Fischer Weltgeschichte*, vol. 16: *Zentralasien*, ed. Gavin Hambly (Frankfurt a. Main: Fischer, 1966), 184; Hambly, “Verfall,” 187).

⁹⁹ For this image of Central Asia in the secondary literature, see Scott Levi, “India, Russia and the Eighteenth-Century Transformation of the Central Asian Caravan Trade,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42, no. 4 (1999): 519–22; Florian Schwarz, *Unser Weg schließt tausend Wege ein: Derwische und Gesellschaft im islamischen Mittelasien im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2000), 5–7.

¹⁰⁰ von Kügelgen, “Buchara im Urteil,” 415–30.

¹⁰¹ See von Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*, 1.

¹⁰² Bregel, *Notes*, 6.

legitimacy in early Manghit chronicles is the most comprehensive work about this period. The introduction and first part provide a thorough survey of Transoxania's historical development from the Shibanid time onward as well as an excellent overview of the early Manghit historiography. Ron Sela attempted to approach issues of authority from the perspective of coronation studies by exploring the rituals that surrounded the inauguration of Transoxanian rulers. Focusing on the Bukharan administration, Yuri Bregel analyzed key chapters of two chronicles and provides a good overview of the system of ranks, titles and offices in the Manghit Emirate. Robert McChesney's works on the political conditions in the region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have shaped my understanding of the working of the Chingizid way of government and the dynamics of segmentation and warfare north and south of the Oxus. Martin Dickson also conducted historical research on the clan system and the distribution of appanages under the Shibanids. In spite of being bound to the decline scenario, Burton's monograph on Bukhara's dynastic and diplomatic history up to the end of Subhān Qulī Khān is the minutest study of the Bukharan khanate. However, social and economic aspects of that time are not analyzed at all, and the second part on trade is not connected to the first part on history. Thomas Welsford's dissertation discusses the takeover of Mā Warā' al-Nahr by the Tuqay-Timurids and represents the most recent study on the region.

There is a general lack of materials concerning the eighteenth century. The studies by Lockhart and Avery focusing on the Afsharid era are notable exceptions in this regard. Special attention has been paid to two valuable articles by Wolfgang Holzwarth about "The Uzbek State as Reflected in Eighteenth Century Bukharan Sources" and the relations between Uzbek Transoxania and its neighbors to the north and the south.¹⁰³ In both articles he explores an impressive amount of narrative sources and Russian materials, framed by a careful analysis of the political and economic circumstances in the first half of the eighteenth century.

As I will deal with patterns of authority that can be traced back to the pre-Uzbek period, I have drawn on additional secondary works. Wilhelm Barthold's standard work on pre-Mongol Turkistan provides a valuable overview of the geographical and economic conditions in pre-Mongol

¹⁰³ Another exceptional work is Ron Sela's unpublished dissertation titled *Central Asia in the 18th Century, the Age of Introspection* (Bloomington: 2004), which I have not consulted for my study.

Transoxania, while questions of social organization and communal structures in that period have been discussed in detail by Jürgen Paul in his work on eastern Iran and Transoxania in the medieval period. For the Mongol era I have made use of the studies by Joseph Fletcher, Bertold Spuler, Michael Weiers, and Peter Jackson. Beatrice Manz has devoted detailed studies to the Turko-Mongol patterns of authority shown in the example of Tīmūr, and to the relationship between government and society in the time of his son Shāh Rukh (r. 1409–47).

Drawing on a large amount of archival sources, Florian Schwarz's study on the genesis of the Bukharan khanate in the Shibanid era pays attention to the relations the Jūybārī *khwājas* forged with the rulers and the society. Furthermore, he discusses property relations within the framework of Sufi brotherhoods. Paul's monograph on the role of the Naqshbandīya represents one of the most important sources concerning the rise of the successors of Khwāja Aḥrār and their role in Transoxanian politics. Patterns of authority and changing territorial frameworks in Khurāsān from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries have been addressed by Christine Noelle-Karimi. Her dissertation on the relationship between the state of Dūst Muḥammad Khān and the various tribes of nineteenth-century Afghanistan combines the analysis of British materials with that of a number of native sources.

Several works draw exclusively on Russian archival sources. For instance, Seymour Becker spotlights the developments in Russia's protectorates in the region north of the Oxus, while Mary Holdsworth, undertaking a similar attempt to explore the relations between the Uzbek principalities and Russia, furnishes information on several fields of government and administration. Focusing on administrative issues at the local level, Alexander Morrison's study highlights social and political developments in the period of Russian rule in Samarqand.

The overwhelming amount of Soviet secondary sources has not been considered to the extent it deserves. Nevertheless, I carefully selected a number of Russian works. Ivanov gives an overview of the Uzbek history from the fifteenth until the nineteenth century. Another of his works deals exclusively with the revolts of the Khiṭā'ī-Qipchāq in the Zarafshān Valley, while his work on the Jūybārī *khwājas* provides useful information on their rise and the emergence of their extensive real estate empire. Olga Chekhovich wrote several studies about eighteenth-century Bukhara based on court chronicles. Her works represent a fine probe into historical developments in Bukhara from a bird's-eye view, but also stand in the Marxist tradition. Bil'qis Karmysheva largely concentrates on ethnic issues

and provides useful information concerning the history and composition of various Uzbek tribes. Since I am less interested in monetary issues, I will do without the famous works of Elena Davidovich. Instead, I will make use of the booklet about the history of Hişār that she wrote together with Mukhtarov. Concerned with the history of Bukhara in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century, Olga Sukhareva gives a profound overview of the organization of the urban space, the division of the bazaars and the ethnic composition of the population. Last but not least, Semenov's studies on the administrative and fiscal system of the Emirate of Bukhara form the basis for any investigation of administrative issues. Addressing the organization of the rural economy in the late Emirate, Kisljakov's work combines field research with a minute overview of the works of Soviet historians.

ISLAMIC SOCIETIES IN HISTORY: STATE OF KNOWLEDGE

The academic literature on the history of the Islamic Orient can be divided into two categories. The first consists of general works exploring structural principles characteristic of Islamic societies throughout history. Marshall G. S. Hodgson, Albert Hourani, Ira Lapidus, and Jürgen Paul were particularly concerned with the relationship between the rulers and the societies they governed.¹⁰⁴ The second group of works is made up of a number of studies on the power structures in specific areas and empires: Roy Mottahedeh's study on Buyid Iraq (tenth century),¹⁰⁵ Paul's work on pre-Mongol Iran and Transoxania (tenth to thirteen centuries),¹⁰⁶ David Durand-Guédy's recent book on Saljuq rule in Iran (twelfth to thirteenth centuries),¹⁰⁷ Manz's

¹⁰⁴ Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam. Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, vol. II: *The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods* (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 62–151; Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1991), 83–205; Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 56–66, 81–146; Jürgen Paul, "Herrschaft und Gesellschaft. Einige Bemerkungen," in *Der islamische Orient. Grundzüge seiner Geschichte*, ed. Albrecht Noth and Jürgen Paul (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 1998), 173–84.

¹⁰⁵ Roy Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980).

¹⁰⁶ Jürgen Paul, *Herrscher, Gemeinwesen, Vermittler: Ostiran und Transoxanien in vormongolischer Zeit* (Stuttgart et al.: Steiner Verlag, 1996).

¹⁰⁷ David Durand-Guédy, *Iranian Elites and Turkish Rulers. A History of Isfahān in the Saljūq Period* (London et al.: Routledge, 2010).

groundbreaking studies on the Timurid Empire (fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries),¹⁰⁸ or Noelle-Karimi's works on the Afghan Durrānī Kingdom and its various successors (eighteenth to nineteenth centuries) highlighting questions of power, authority and the relations between the rulers and dynasties and the various societies they tried to control.¹⁰⁹

In her recent study on mapping processes in Khurāsān, Noelle-Karimi shows that in the late medieval and the early modern period “the royal realm was based on the nexus of royal patronage and bonds of allegiance.” It was only in the nineteenth century that the “system based on personal bonds of loyalty (‘Personenverband’)” gave way to the notion of the state as a territorially defined entity.¹¹⁰ This is confirmed by Ralph Brauer, the translator of Idrīsī's *Book of Roger*, who remarks that apart from maritime frontiers, “sharply defined boundary lines within the Islāmic Empire were either non-existent or of little practical importance.”¹¹¹ According to Albert Hourani, the power of a dynasty did not extend over a whole region fixed by boundaries but radiated from a few urban centers, diminishing with increasing distance. Hourani distinguishes three geographic zones within which royal power radiated: first, steppes, deserts and remote mountains difficult to control; second, an intermediate area of oases and surrounding mountains and steppes; and third, fertile plains and river valleys functioning as suppliers of agricultural resources. The dividing lines between these zones were fluid. While the first two areas were ruled indirectly through local chiefs, who could be punished in cases of disobedience, the rulers exercised direct control only over the fertile river valleys and plains. This was particularly true in places where production depended on a dense and sophisticated web of irrigation canals.¹¹² Ronnie Ellenblum argues that Islamic realms should be grasped as “spheres of various degrees of

¹⁰⁸ Manz, *Rise and Rule*; Beatrice F. Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran* (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁰⁹ Noelle, *State and Tribe*; Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*.

¹¹⁰ Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 295, 296.

¹¹¹ Ralph Brauer, *Boundaries and Frontiers in Medieval Muslim Geography* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1995), 36.

¹¹² Hourani, *History*, 138–39. Brauer also states that “the projection of power over the territory of a given ruler was not uniform but rather radiated from his urban center(s) in ever diminishing intensity as the distance from the capital towns increased” (Brauer, *Boundaries*, 42–43).

influence” rather than as well-defined zones surrounded by boundaries.¹¹³ He further notes that territorial rights were never clearly defined because “the orientation was not linear but concentric, and it was definitely not homogenous in space.”¹¹⁴

There are indicators that in the Islamic world, or at least in its eastern parts, this state of affairs continued to the beginning of the colonial period. In many nineteenth-century Afghan chronicles, for instance, the physical landscape does not figure as a part of the narratives but as a scenic background without any significance for the understanding of authority.¹¹⁵

Rather than a precisely defined territory, the role of patronage, clientelistic networks and the mediation by local elites appears as a recurrent strand in the secondary literature.¹¹⁶ Hourani argues that the ruler and urban elites were connected by complex relations “based on mutual need but divergent interest.” He points to the fragile links between notables, ‘*ulamā*’ and wealthy merchants on the one hand and the rulers and their governors on the other, links that were based on reciprocity.¹¹⁷ Investigating historical patterns of authority in medieval Transoxania and Eastern Iran, Jürgen Paul emphasizes that mediation was the business of the notables. These local strongmen wielded influence in segments of the society less controlled by the ruler.¹¹⁸ As benefactors and power brokers, the notables integrated numerous clients into extended personalized networks and factions.¹¹⁹ Paul also projects the picture of concentric circles revolving around patrons and patron rulers, with intermediaries (notables and other people of high social standing) facilitating access to the “inner circle” around the king or another influential actor. Such power brokers bridged social gaps and linked people

¹¹³ Ronnie Ellenblum, “Were there Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 109–10.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹¹⁵ Christine Nölle-Karimi, “Es ist ein weiter Weg nach Buḥārā. Raum-Zeit Koordinaten in der Sichtweise afghanischer Chroniken,” in *Erzählter Raum in Literaturen der islamischen Welt*, ed. Roxane Haag-Higuchi and Christian Szyska (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), 139–40.

¹¹⁶ Hodgson, *Venture*, II, 68, 111–12; Hourani, *History*, 133–37; Lapidus, *History*, 144; Paul, “Herrschaft und Gesellschaft,” 174–75, 178–81.

¹¹⁷ Hourani, *History*, 133–35.

¹¹⁸ Paul, “Herrschaft und Gesellschaft,” 174–75, 178.

¹¹⁹ Paul, *Herrscher, Gemeinwesen, Vermittler*, 169, 175, 179.

and groups of people to those inside the inner circle(s) of power.¹²⁰ In his study on Buyid Iraq, Mottahedeh investigates not only the role of vows in forging bonds of acquired loyalty but also the ways patronage worked, particularly the role of royal generosity and benefits at the level of the *amīrs* and *ghulāms*.¹²¹ Making use of the term social order for headings in his *Venture of Islam*,¹²² Hodgson underlines the formative role of patron-client ties within the *a'yān-amīr* system and the role of patronage granted by local elites of notables (*a'yān*) to an extended clientele. It was those well-to-do elites through whose hands passed the wealth of society.¹²³ Referring to patron-client networks that were also maintained by the religious establishment (*'ulamā'* and Sufi sheikhs),¹²⁴ Ira Lapidus points to the patterns of communal factions and affiliations (e.g., primary groups defined by family, ethnic, or sectarian homogeneity, or by shared employment in a craft or trade).¹²⁵ But the town or village from which individuals originated did not convey any sense of political citizenship. He also points out the significance of parochial group lines and weak geographic solidarity. Informal consultation of notables and their patronage networks allowed for mediation of local disputes and mobilization across parochial lines. Lapidus argues that this pattern of social affiliations and identifications foreclosed the corporation of citizens and a definition of groups by economic classes.¹²⁶ These arguments contrast with the Marxist interpretation of Islamic history that dominates the Soviet literature on the region. Lapidus also introduces the term Islamic social order and postulates that

¹²⁰ Ibid., 162, 172, 179, 190, 203.

¹²¹ Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, 40–96.

¹²² Hodgson, *Venture*, I (Book One: The Islamic Infusion: Genesis of a New Social Order); II (Book Three: The Establishment of an International Civilization/Chapter II: The Social Order: Mercantile Interests, Military Power, Liberty), 62–151.

¹²³ Hodgson, *Venture*, II, 95, 111. See also Paul, “Herrschaft und Gesellschaft,” 175.

¹²⁴ Several authors highlight the crucial role of the religious establishment (Hodgson, *Venture*, II, 206–22; Hourani, *History*, 113–16; Lapidus, *History*, 144–46, 206–10; Ira M. Lapidus, “Muslim Cities and Islamic Societies,” in *Middle Eastern Cities. A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism*, ed. Ira M. Lapidus (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 51–60).

¹²⁵ Mottahedeh speaks here of loyalties of category (Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, 97–174).

¹²⁶ Lapidus, *History*, 145–46.

“[a]uthority was personal, grounded in the relationship of individual religious teachers to their disciples and followers. [...] The influence of the ‘ulama’ with the general populace was further reinforced by the exercise of patronage, which bound ordinary people to the educated elite. The binding force in society was not a structure of offices and institutions, but the networks of personal ties that enabled the ‘ulama’ to uphold family, religious community, and umma as the essential expressions of an Islamic social order.”¹²⁷

Exploring fifteenth-century Transoxania and Iran, Manz and Paul discuss the significance of visits to local shrines by Tīmūr and other powerful men to obtain the intercession of Sufi sheikhs.¹²⁸ Paul refers in particular to *ḥimāyat* (protection, patronage), which was a decisive concept for the emergence of the faction represented by Khwāja Aḥrār.¹²⁹ Manz and Noelle-Karimi also elucidate the continued impact of patronage informing local dynastic politics in Timurid and Safawid Khurāsān.¹³⁰

Other elements like the rent-seeking of local elites, military slavery and the slave household, *sharī‘a* courts, and *iqṭā‘*’s held by *amīrs* are also institutions of an Islamicate social order, to quote Hodgson,¹³¹ and the subject of intense scholarly debate.¹³² The *iqṭā‘*’ system and especially the question of whether it was feudal or resembled forms of European feudalism received a disproportionate share in the discussion.¹³³

¹²⁷ Ibid., 144.

¹²⁸ Beatrice F. Manz, “Tamerlane and the Symbolism of Sovereignty,” *Iranian Studies* 21, no. 1–2 (1988): 112, 117; Jürgen Paul, “Scheiche und Herrscher im Khanat Čaġatay,” *Der Islam* 67 (1990): 296–313. See also Hans-Robert Roemer, “Tīmūr in Iran,” in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. VI: *The Timurid and Safawid Periods*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 52.

¹²⁹ Jürgen Paul, “Forming a Faction: The Ḥimāyat System of Khwāja Aḥrār,” *Middle East Studies* 23 (1991): 533–48.

¹³⁰ Manz, *Power*, 276–77, 280–81. Noelle-Karimi refers to members of the local elite acting as intermediaries on the arrival of the Timurid army before the target cities, thus obtaining royal patronage and avoiding massacres (Noelle-Karimi, *Pearl*, 61).

¹³¹ Hodgson, *Venture*, II, 64–65.

¹³² Hourani, *History*, 116, 139–41; Hodgson, *Venture*, II, 66, 95–97, 101–02, 399; Paul, “Herrschaft und Gesellschaft,” 175; Lapidus, *History*, 104–05, 122, 188; D. Sourdel, “Ghulām i. The Caliphate,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., II, 1079–80; Jürgen Paul, “Von 950 bis 1200,” in *Der islamische Orient. Grundzüge seiner Geschichte*, ed. Albrecht Noth and Jürgen Paul (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 1998), 219, 239, 241–45, 247; C. Cahen, “Iḳṭā‘,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., III, 1088–89.

¹³³ Paul, “Von 950 bis 1200,” 238–39; Lapidus, *History*, 123–25; Cahen, “Iḳṭā‘,” 1088–90.